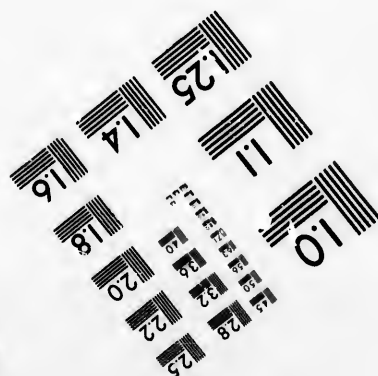
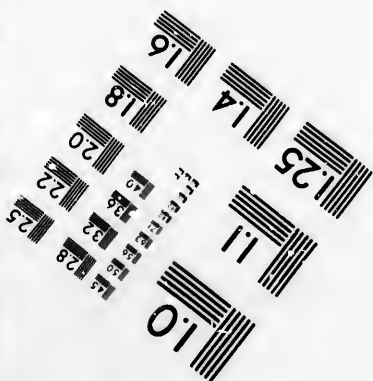
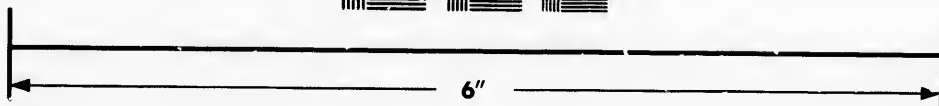
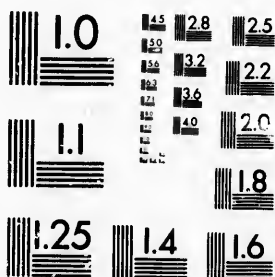


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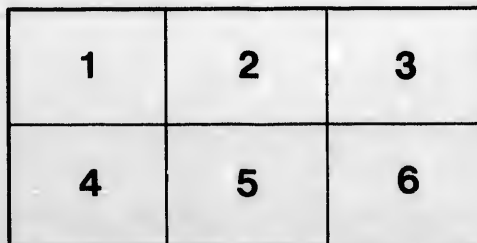
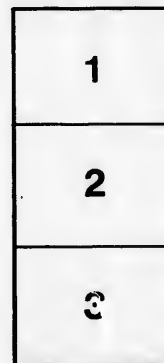
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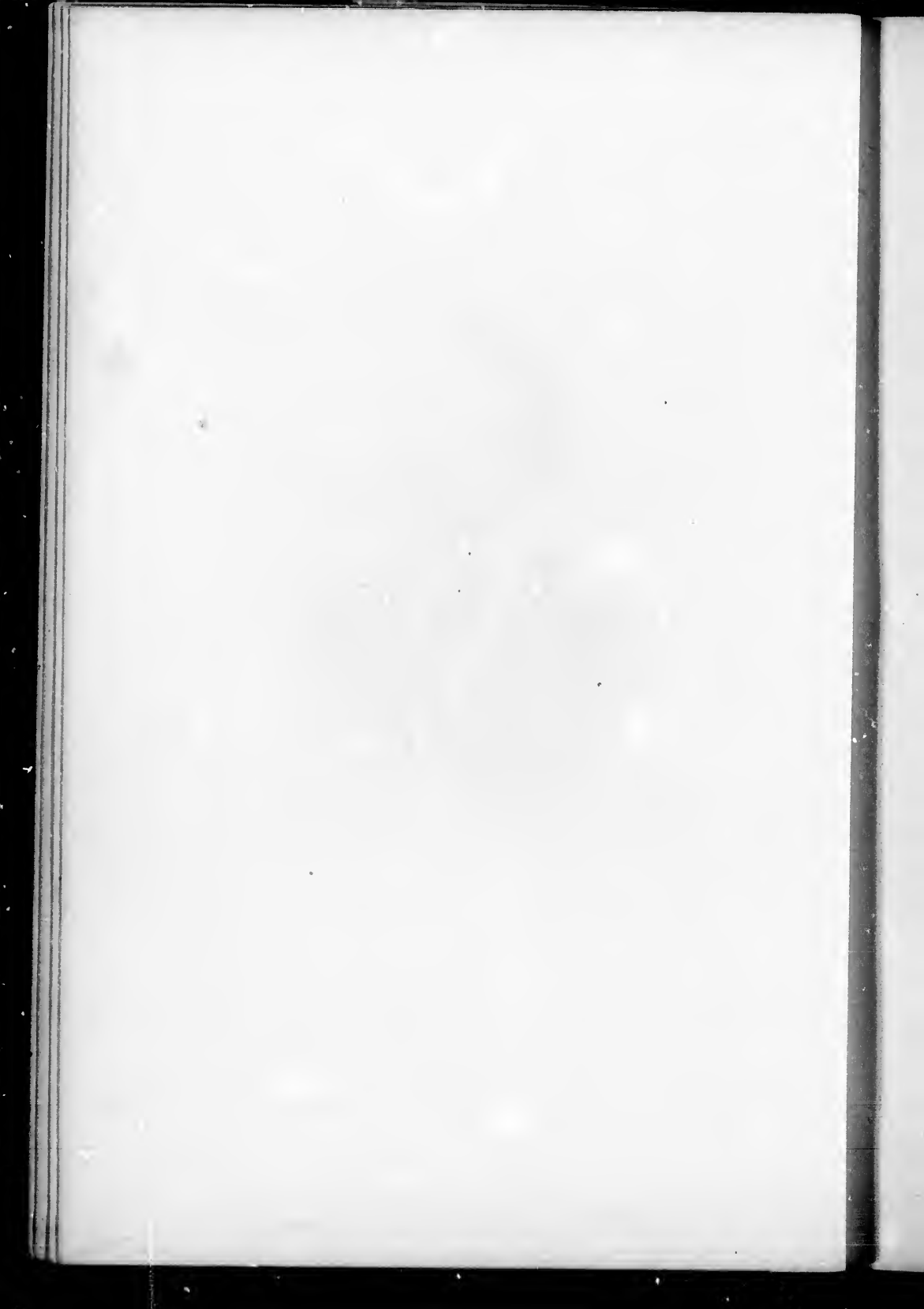


FRANCIS PICKENS





LORD DUFFERIN, K.P., G.C.M.G., K.C.B.



SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
DOMINION OF CANADA,

FROM 1500 TO 1878;

WITH THE
CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY OF ENGLAND
AND THE UNITED STATES,

TOGETHER WITH
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE TURKO-RUSSIAN WAR OF 1877,
AND THE PREVIOUS AND SUBSEQUENT COMPLIC-
ATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

By CHARLES R. TUTTLE,

*Author of "Popular History of the Dominion of Canada, with art engravings," "History of Border Wars of Two Centuries," "Encyclopedia of Universal History and Useful Knowledge,"
Histories of the States of Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, etc.*

Fully Illustrated with Steel and Wood Engravings.

BOSTON:
LEE AND SHEPARD, PUBLISHERS.

NEW YORK: CHARLES T. DILLINGHAM.

1878.

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PREFACE.

It is generally said that no one ever reads a "Preface."



HON. C. M. D. DeSALABERRY.

This will do for a general rule, 't you allow an exception in favor of authors in respect of their own books. But I am determined, if possible, to secure a better regard for these prefatory sayings than that which the above rule permits; and this result will be sought in not referring to any of those subjects usually paraded in remarks thus located. In the first place, I have been impressed

with the idea that the French nationality, as such, is destined to disappear entirely from the continent of North America. If the idea is not an error, it may be regarded as a most singular problem, that a people with such a distinctive nationality and language, who at one time extended their possessions from one to the other of the two greatest gulfs in the western world, were destined to be swallowed up in conquest, and to disappear beneath the rising floods of assimilation. The keen observation of to-day is bearing testimony to the rapid decline of all that is peculiarly characteristic of the



HON. LOUIS J. PAPINEAU.

genuine Frenchman in Canada; and in the French districts of the United States the work of assimilation is still more noticeable. It is worthy of careful examination that Anglo Saxon civilization cannot be circumscribed. Who can doubt that, if Christianity is to embrace the whole world, and bring the entire race in harmony with its good principles of government and in voluntary obedience to its King, Anglo-Saxonism, having closely allied itself with Christianity, will not also become co-extensive with the race of the distant future. But it is one duty of history to immortalize the contrasts between distinctive nationalities; hence the reader is presented in this connection with the portraits of two great Frenchmen, possibly the two greatest French statesmen of Canada connected with the history of the present century. These are the Honorable Charles Mitchel D'Irumberry DeSalaberry, C.B., and the Honorable Louis Joseph Papineau, both of whom have passed from the stage of action of this world. The former was the scion of an illustrious French family. His father was a personal friend of the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. De-Salaberry obtained a commission in the English service, and fought against the French in the West Indies. He took a prominent part in the war between England and the United States in 1812-15, and covered himself with glory at the battle of Chateauguay. For these patriotic and gallant services he received an autograph letter from the Prince Regent, and the decoration of C.B. After the war he served in the Legislative Council, and died in 1829. The latter, the Honorable Louis Joseph Papineau, has a more recent history. At a comparatively early age he was called to a seat in the Parliament of Quebec, and soon became the leader of the Reformers. He was an eloquent debater, and persisted in demanding reforms for his people until royalty was offended. Under his bold leadership the rebellion at length broke out, and blood was shed. After its suppression, Mr. Papineau escaped to the United States, whence he went to France, where he remained eight years. The queen's amnesty enabled him to return to Canada, in 1847, where he was soon after

relected to Parliament by his old constituency. He died in 1871.

I present the portraits of the Honorable W. E. Gladstone, and the not less honorable Mary A. Livermore, side by side,



HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

because I consider them the two most interesting representatives of their respective sexes now living. If Mr. Gladstone is not the greatest living scholar and statesman, a great portion of mankind are mistaken. His abilities in the aggregate have



MARY A. LIVERMORE.

no equal in the whole range of Englishmen from the earliest times to the present day. He is one of the few men whose great popularity is not based so much upon his mastery of one particular department as upon his mastery of many departments. His specialty appears to be that to which he turns his attention, whether it be art, science, literature, finance, or the higher questions of moral and political philosophy. His statesmanship has given a higher dignity to the Liberal party than it has hitherto enjoyed, and his scholarship has added a greater solidity to English literature. Mrs. Livermore cannot, in any sense, be compared to Mr. Gladstone, except that both are moral reformers. She is not a woman of great intellectual attainments, though her general information is creditable to one of ordinary mental powers. She is remarkable rather for the strength and correctness of her convictions, and for the influence which she sways by the eloquence of an earnest life, than for her natural endowments or mental acquirements. Her life thus far is a monument of good deeds, and her sex will hereafter for many generations reap the fruits of her noble efforts.

The portraits of the American poets, Longfellow and Whittier, will awaken the best emotions in every reader. With

blameless and praiseworthy private lives; with a remarkable degree of poetical genius; with the noblest patriotism and the truest Christian devotion, they have won the first grand distinctive



HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

features for American poetry, and given their countrymen works which will not only remain a perpetual source of holy inspiration, but immortalize much that is noble, heroic, and worthy in American history, and thus hand down to fu-



JOHN C. WHITTIER.

ture ages the inspirations of the deeds, principles, conflicts, and victories of the past and the present. America has many poets, — some of no ordinary brilliancy, — but Longfellow and Whittier have won a place in the affections of the people which their contemporaries cannot hope to reach.

Now, in conclusion, let me congratulate myself upon having written a "Preface" that will probably be read in preference, at least, to any other portion of the work, and add simply this. The present work is partly compiled, and its author does not wish to claim for it any very great degree of excellence. It is, undoubtedly, a useful and valuable book for those unacquainted with the subjects treated. The writer very much desires that American readers will pass over the first introductory chapter, which is intended only for Canadians, and which has been inserted, much against the author's wish, to satisfy demands of the publishers in the Dominion, who seek to increase their sales by the favorable newspaper criticisms and other matters included in that article.

CHARLES R. TUTTLE.

BOSTON, June, 1878.

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HISTORY

OF

DOMINION OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

CANADIAN HISTORIES—THEIR AUTHORS—TUTTLE'S HISTORIES—CHARLES R. TUTTLE—HIS EARLY HOME AND LIFE—HIS WORKS—HIS CRITICS—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

1. MY DEAR READER, this is the age of Canadian histories, and it has been inaugurated within the past two years. I knew it would come two years ago, and predicted it then, in Montreal, — not that I was in any sense a prophet, but that I had had experience of a sort which justified this conclusion. I will confess to the conviction that I have never performed any task as well as it has seemed to me that many others might have accomplished it, and yet my work, with all its imperfections, has had hosts of imitators. Some six or seven years ago I began a "History of the United States, in State volumes." By the time the first volume was ready for the market, two other parties were in the same business; but I pushed on vigorously, and out of forty States succeeded in covering Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas. It seemed to me, at one time, that half the authors and publishers in the United States were engaged on State histories. The late Rev. John S. C. Abbott, one of the most prolific of American writers, gobbled up Maine and Ohio. Another gentleman, whose name I forget, probably because his book did not figure prominently enough to make an impression on any one, ran off with Massachusetts. The case of Pennsylvania was precisely similar, only

that two works were brought out for that State at the same time. A gentleman in my employ, knowing more than his master, resigned his position and published Missouri. Thus it ran, until every State could boast a history of itself, while many of them gloried in three or four. Being myself the first to commence this illustrated State history work, it was not difficult, with such an experience, to predict that this imitation would follow me into Canada.

2. And what has been the result? Why, already histories of Canada are coming thick and fast, until it seems that it would be necessary for their publishers to deal with them as with patent medicines, saying, "None genuine unless marked," etc. Now, I do not mean to indicate that I was first in the field as to a history of Canada, and yet I believe mine was the first popular work illustrated and sold by subscription. Certain it is, however, that my work was but the precursor of many others; for behold! they come! I could name them, but dare not extend a free advertisement to a competitor. However, there are a few things which I desire to say soberly. In the first place, if the history or histories of Canada which I have written give satisfaction they will be sure to receive their full share of public favor; and if they do not they will be neglected, just as they should be. I am quite ready to meet a friendly competition, but will not consent to quarrel over the field with any one. It remains, therefore, only for me to state that I have two separate works in the market: one of two large quarto volumes, with elegant steel engravings, ranging in price from fifteen to thirty dollars a copy, according to binding; and another smaller work, — the present one, — complete in one octavo volume, at a price within the reach of all. Therefore I have a high and a low-priced book, each produced at considerable expense, each entirely separate and independent from and of the other. There is not so much as an illustration in one that appears in the other in the same form. The plates of each work are entirely different. To place these works upon the market a large sum of money has been expended, — in all over forty thousand dollars. The future alone will answer as to the wisdom of this investment; but until I have been, in some measure, reimbursed, I shall expect, even in the face of any and all other works, sufficient consideration for my own to secure for them an impartial examination; and this expectation is based on the many and great sacrifices which this great undertaking has imposed upon me.

3. When the first volume of my large work was presented to the public, with perhaps unnecessary modesty, I used this language: "Standing at a point where I can see two-thirds of the work accomplished and one-third yet to be done, the full responsibility of my undertaking is revealed. One year and a half ago I took the first active step towards the publication of this work, which I had from time to time previously compiled in part, and which I have since completed. That the step was taken without sufficient preparation, and that the work might have been done by very many who were better qualified, it would be folly to deny. And yet, after all, this fact is the rule rather than the exception; for is it not true that but few of the most difficult tasks of human experience are performed by those whom art and nature have conspired to make capable and worthy of achieving? Much is undertaken in this world which never knows the rest of completion; still more, hopefully begun, struggles on to imperfect accomplishment, to which the repose of a task *well done* never can come. But few enterprises in any department of human industry, conceived for the good of man though they may be, can be prosecuted so as to benefit all interests with which they come in contact in course of development, or carried to a completion so perfect that all thought which is attracted thereto can find expression only in honest commendation. This arises partly from the conflicting sources of criticism, partly from a disposition to over-criticise, but mainly from the defects in that which has attracted discriminating comment.

4. "Explaining the causes from which imperfections have resulted can never diminish them, and it ought not to make them less imperfect to human wisdom. However, much of the proof I was unable to see at all; and the remaining portion I was enabled to read but once, and a hundred miles from the establishment where the printing was done. Notwithstanding all this, comparatively few errors have crept in; and those which do appear are, for the most part, so distinctive that but few persons will fail to place them to the account of mechanical rather than to literary workmanship. But when I say that this vast enterprise, which will have cost between forty and fifty thousand dollars, was undertaken by a single individual, without capital enough of his own to cover a quarter of the expense; was conducted to completion through indescribable and, to men of ordinary energy, utterly insurmountable difficulties; that the financial support necessary to the elaborate plans of publi-

cation was organized among a class of people who are not distinguished for their love of literature; that it has required nothing short of true genius in planning, and tireless energy and exhaustless perseverance in executing, to save the enterprise from financial ruin; that much of the compiling and editing was done in the midst of this real battle for victory; that I wrote another large work of two volumes during the same time; and, lastly, that when completed it will be, with a few exceptions, in an artistic and mechanical point of view the most elaborate history of any nation of the globe ever published, — when I have said this, I have given every reasonable person a sufficient explanation for every imperfection of the work; nay, more, — ample ground for universal gratitude that any one should have entered upon so hazardous an enterprise.”

With the exception of the last sentence, in which the author seems to compliment himself, the foregoing might be construed into a sort of an acknowledgment that the work to which it refers has no general merit other than as indicating the energy and perseverance of its author. This is because the writer knows, as no one else can ever know, how completely it fails to reach the standard of his own ideal work, as also to reach such a degree of perfection as will satisfy the discriminating intelligence of the three countries where it will most circulate. And yet, after all, there is no great cause for complaint on the part of the public, or discouragement on the part of the writer. My previous history of the Dominion, when complete, and when its work in years to come, as a representative of the British-Canadian nation, shall be completed, will have done more towards vindicating the true position of the Dominion in the eyes of the world than any other literary effort of the kind put forth in the past history of the British-American provinces. Our country needed a better history, though not a more expensive one; but since no one has been found better qualified for the task, who was willing to make the sacrifice of time and money such as an enterprise of this kind is sure to impose, it needed and will gratefully accept that one. The country needed such a work, in the first place, that its citizens might be awakened to the inculcation of a higher and nobler sentiment of patriotism, — a greater love for that country which our beloved sovereign has named the “Dominion of Canada;” and nothing will produce this result more completely or in a more satisfactory manner than an elaborate and widely circulated history and description of its industries, institutions, and resources. The

nation from which we sprung, and of which, God grant, we may long continue to form a part, has such a glorious record in the triumphs of war and peace, and has so filled the whole world with the fame of her achievements for Christian civilization, that in our holy and enthusiastic loyalty to the crown and kingdom we have neglected the still more sacred loyalty to our native or adopted Canada. The motto of British-Americans should be, "Canada for the crown and kingdom means the crown and kingdom for Canada;" for the destiny of Canada, while it does not necessarily mean the destiny of all British subjects, means the destiny of every citizen of the Dominion. But the inculcation of this spirit of national pride means no inharmony with a continuance of that loyalty which makes us worthy subjects of the imperial crown; and in this faith I dedicated my previous work "To the people of Canada who hate annexation, and love independence only as they look for it in a perpetual continuance of the political, commercial, and kindred ties which bind us to the United Kingdom." The country needed such a work, in the second place, that the people of both Great Britain and the United States might be more widely informed concerning the growth and development of our political institutions, the value and extent of our natural and commercial resources, and the probable near future greatness of the confederacy as a first-rate power among the nations of the earth. Previous to the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, with some slight exceptions in favor of the inhabitants of the northern New England States and the southern and western borders of the Great Lakes, the people of the United States knew comparatively little or nothing of Canada; and, in the absence of such information, we were too often regarded with general contempt. But the Centennial revealed Canada to thousands and thousands of American citizens for the first time; and nothing, in my opinion, has transpired since Lord Dufferin came as governor-general to the Dominion, which reflects more credit upon his most excellent administration than the position which our country so nobly assumed in that memorable exposition. This and my previous history, circulating as they are through every State of the Union, will serve to intensify the admiration for Canadian industries and institutions, which the Dominion exhibits at the Centennial Exposition awakened. As to the need of creating a more popular sentiment in favor of us in Great Britain, I shall have nothing to say here. England is not a child. She is old,

aristocratic, proud, even haughty. But she is just; and we can best command her respect by respecting ourselves more.

6. I am gratified at the reception which was accorded my previous History of Canada. The journals, even of the wealthy and influential class, had many words of commendation. Indeed, the entire press of the Dominion, with a single exception, so far as I am now aware, spoke in terms of favor and praise of that work. I will give, following, two extracts characteristic of these reviews, one from the leading conservative, and the other from the representative liberal journal of the Dominion. The "Montreal Daily Gazette," of Nov. 20, 1877, contained a review of the work, of which I give extracts: "This is not the first time that the readers of the 'Gazette' have heard of this great literary enterprise, so highly creditable to all concerned in it. When the first two numbers were issued, we gave a sketch of the plan of the work, and also a forecast of its merits from the promise then afforded. This promise, we are glad to see, has been faithfully kept. Each succeeding number has surprised us with some new excellence, till, now that the first volume has reached completion, the author and publishers have good reason to present it to the world with the fullest confidence. Indeed, when the difficulties which had to be surmounted, the labor that had to be accomplished, and the expense that had to be incurred, are taken into consideration, we cannot but admire the courage and the perseverance which carried the undertaking to so great a success. A little more than eighteen months ago the first steps were taken towards the publication of the work, of which the beautiful volume before us is the first fruits of accomplishment, and only those who have had experience of similar enterprises can appreciate the intellectual and material industry which it represents. Let us just consider what it is. We have here a history of the Dominion from the days when Jacques Cartier stood upon Mount Royal, mapping out in his mind the vast region which he was to bequeath to his successors, to the time when, after changeful centuries, the whole domain, from ocean to ocean, entered into the pact of confederation, and was enrolled, the youngest but not the least, in the sisterhood of nations. The story of the heroic age of New France;—Champlain's undaunted energy and De Frontenac's laborious victories; the tyranny and rapacity of Bigot; the fall of chivalrous Montcalm; the foundation of Quebec and Montreal; the discovery of the Mississippi, and all the manifold events and scenes that grouped

around and intervened between these central points,—this story had to be told in glowing words, and yet with accuracy of detail, so as to be fresh and interesting to the reader, while at the same time it might be trustworthy as an authority. Then, starting from the Battle of the Plains, in 1759, the career of British rule had to be followed through all its changes, the rise and progress of each colony had to be described, the history of constitutional government had to be sketched, until the day when, after many struggles and not a few perils, the grand 'new departure' of confederation gathered all British North America into one. To write such a history was surely a herculean labor, and to have done it successfully deserves no slight praise. And that Mr. Tuttle has succeeded wonderfully no one who examines this volume can hesitate to say. It is a work of which every Canadian ought to be proud, and will long continue to be the standard illustrated history of the Dominion.

"According to the plan which the author set before him, the entire history was to be complete in two grand quarto volumes, of fourteen parts each. The first part, of which we have been speaking, contains, as already intimated, the history of British North America from 1535 to 1867,—the history of each province to the time of its admission into the confederation being given separately. The matter of this history is drawn from the most authentic sources, Mr. Tuttle having spared neither pains nor expense to obtain all the information he required. The arrangement is admirable, the style animated, yet correct, and in his weighing of fact and character the author has shown true historical judgment. Throughout, the work bears the marks of genius and scholarship, combined with immense energy. The sources of knowledge are given, which is both a great aid and a satisfaction to the reader, and nothing is omitted that is of interest or that bears, however lightly, on the progress of the Dominion. But on these points it is scarcely necessary to say anything, Mr. Tuttle's reputation as an historical writer being as extensive as this continent. In the preface he says: 'The federal union of 1867 constituted British America a British nation, with a constitution and government founded on wisdom and justice. The ten years which have elapsed since the union was consummated are full of flattering testimonials to the wisdom of that union, and the present condition of the young nation points to a near future national greatness of surpassing magnitude. In view of these changes, the present seems to demand the publication of this

volume.' Every one who reads these words will agree with the writer, and when he sees the suggestion crowned by so splendid a result, he cannot but be grateful to those to whom it is due. . . . The work is dedicated in the following words, beautifully printed in blue ink, with red underlining, and borders of gold, purple and gold, alternating: 'To the people of the Dominion of Canada, who hate annexation, and look for independence only in the perpetual continuance of the political, commercial, and kindred ties which bind British America to the United Kingdom, this volume is most respectfully dedicated by the author.' We hope the author's loyalty, as thus exemplified, will find a hearty and practical response in a speedy sale of his work. In the introduction the reader is prepared for the pleasant and instructive study, on which he is about to enter, by a sketch which includes the causes which led to confederation, a *résumé* of the qualities of the population and its elements of national greatness, a statement of the various nationalities and religious creeds, and their effects on character; the climate and its influences; and closing with an encouraging picture of our material and intellectual progress, as presented in the honor-roll of Canada's illustrious children. The promise of delight and benefit given in this introduction is amply fulfilled in the history itself, which is not merely a dry skeleton of facts, but bears on every page the impress of the writer's earnestness, patriotism, and independence. And as, guided by his pen, we read of the providential events and the great deeds which have raised this Dominion from its first rude beginning to its present prosperous and growing life, we are constrained to share in his hopefulness for its future, while we thank him for the feeling which he inspires. We see in this volume by what means each of the provinces rose above its difficulties and perplexities, until the day came when it was no longer to live for itself alone. In the second volume we shall see how all the provinces united have worked together for each other's good; how, one after another, they have striven to repress petty local jealousies and ambitions, and to unite their energies in the prosecution of one great, overmastering aim,—the progress and the glory of the nation formed by them all. The history of the first ten years of confederation forms, indeed, a subject of exceeding interest to all Canadians, and we shall await with some impatience, but with no want of confidence, the appearance of Mr. Tuttle's second volume. It will, however, contain a great deal more than the ten years'

history of the Dominion. Besides a detailed history of British Columbia, Manitoba, and the Northwest Territories, from their discovery to 1877, and a full history of each of the seven provinces of the Dominion, from 1867 to 1878, and the history of the Dominion as a whole during the latter period, it will also give an account of all the institutions and industries of the country, an analysis of our system of government, of our educational systems, etc.; a sketch of our progress in literature, science, art, manufactures, and inventions, and about one thousand biographies of the distinguished men of the nation, past and present.

7. The "Montreal Daily Herald," in a review of my previous history of Canada, on Nov. 26, 1877, had this to say: "A few weeks ago we drew the attention of the public to the merits of Mr. Tuttle's praiseworthy undertaking, and the completion of the first volume of his History of the Dominion fully justifies the more than good opinion we then formed, upon the evidence of the advanced numbers of this highly important and well-executed work. . . . The time which Mr. Tuttle has chosen for his work is an opportune one, and the manner in which he has carried it out well justifies the idea he proposes at the outset, that it should be a popular history. To this end he has wisely avoided elaborate deduction, and has given a clear and readable presentation of the salient points, indicating their bearing and results. His authorities are numerous and well selected, the consequence being a very impartial statement of the much-vexed questions which some epochs of our history afford, and herein especially he makes good his claim to popularity. The numerous quotations, from leading authors, throw the light of difference of opinion upon these questions, and give the reader sufficient scope to form an opinion of his own. In assuming the *role* of a compiler Mr. Tuttle has chosen the only course that could result in a satisfactory history; but he has not thereby lost his claim to be regarded as a historian proper, for the satisfactory collation and arrangement of the mass of material from which he has had to select show a good deal of sound judgment, and no small ability on the part of our author, who has, however, had a good deal of experience in this way, as his other works attest. Writing for the general public is a totally different matter from writing for the historical student, and a comprehensive outline of the history of a nation is a difficult task to accomplish if conciseness and interest are to be both preserved, and the work, on the one hand,

redeemed from becoming merely the dry bones of annals, or, on the other, from being so overladen with incident and deduction as to become unwieldy. Mr. Tuttle has, in our opinion, admirably hit off the requirements of his professed object, and done a good service in bringing out such an eminently readable, accurate, and comprehensive history. . . . The chapter on the commerce and industry of New France affords much information on the causes of the inadequacy of the colony to resist its English neighbors to the end, and of the latter colonies a very good notice is given in short compass. The history of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, is particularly full and accurate, and, in view of the evidence afforded by all the documents, our writer arrives at probably the truest conclusion concerning the tragic expulsion of the Acadians, when he defends the policy which necessitated it and condemns the manner in which it was carried out. The Jesuits receive the full share of attention which their great missionary work and self-sacrificing lives deserve; and in dealing with the struggles between the ecclesiastical and temporal power the author displays great fairness, and presents very well the questions which still live and have such an important influence in our own day. The fall of the French power and the subsequent oppression of the French until 1774 are, we are glad to see, very fairly dealt with, allusion being made to their wonderful loyalty at the time of the revolt of the English colonies. The long struggle for parliamentary liberty and the history of the different provinces down to confederation, are handled with great tact, while much evidence is given concerning the numerous and stirring questions which have arisen in that time. Our author displays a little partisan feeling in alluding to some of the events during the civil war in the United States; but this is almost the only occasion in which he has departed from this self-imposed task. Without much pretension, his style is sufficiently easy and good. It has been impossible to verify his dates, but, from an examination of a few taken at random, they appear to be correct, and the general tenor of his work, bearing, as it does, the impress of careful examination and accuracy, confirms our belief that in this, for a popular history, a minor matter after all, he will be found exact. Some mistakes in names and terms are to be found, but they are so evidently faults in proof-reading rather than literary inaccuracies, that we forbear to notice them, and we are quite inclined to allow the author the indulgence he claims on the score of the difficulty attending the correction of proofs in a

work like this. We heartily recommend it, and we hope that by its instrumentality a knowledge and appreciation of our history may be widely disseminated among those whom it most concerns, — the people of Canada.”

8. The single exception referred to came from the pen of an able writer, and it came with all the heat of anger. The pages of my book recorded his political life with such honesty, and yet with such dishonor to the man, that he could do nothing less than smite the object of his dislike; but, with all the genius and power of his most scholarly pen, he could not demolish the records which he had made, and which had now, for the first time, passed irrevocably into history. Since that time the book has gone into every province of Canada, into every State of the Union, into France, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Australia; and the second volume will soon follow it, handsomer, brighter, and better than the first. This criticism came from one of the nobility! Great fault was found with the proof-reading, which I am prepared to admit was wretched, but the right honorable gentleman manifested his profession — the politician — most emphatically, when he insinuated that I was but little known in Ontario and Quebec. It was a case bordering on a doubt as to the existence of any such person as myself. This the knighted gentleman declared to a friend of mine was intended for satire! However, I make it a point to get some good out of most everything which comes in my way, and so in this case I have derived the benefit of receiving a higher estimation of my own work; and received an impulse which has led me to write a short sketch of my own life, for the benefit of my right honorable critic. I trust this will be excused, since my name has become so familiar with many thousands who will, perhaps, never meet me personally.

9. The author of this work was born at Wallace, Cumberland County, N.S., on the 14th of March, 1848, just thirty years ago to-day! which may in some measure account for the free, off-hand style of this introduction; for I suppose one is expected to feel as jolly as possible on his birthday. His father, Gny Tuttle, was the son of Stephen Tuttle, who, among many other loyalists, preferred a home in Nova Scotia with an unbroken allegiance to the British Crown, to one in New England without the latter. Stephen was poor, and had a large family, but managed to give each of his numerous children a farm, — for at that time land was cheap, — but aside from the farms he left them only strong arms and the example of honest

industry. When my father's farm was assigned to him, trees were *blazed* to indicate the boundaries, and he made the first clearing with his own hands. This was enlarged from year to year, until he had made considerable improvement. He next went to New Brunswick in search of a wife. I cannot tell why



CHARLES R. TUTTLE.

he went there, except that perhaps he was always in favor of a union of the provinces. So Guy and Jane Tuttle settled in their new home in the woods, on Wallace Bay. Their worst enemies were the bears but when the old flint musket could be induced to "go off," it generally proved fatal to the invaders, for my father was a good marksman. He continued to enlarge his "clearings," year after year, and to raise sufficient grain, and vegetables, and

stock, and to catch a sufficient quantity of fish (*gaspreaux*) from the bay, to render living ordinarily comfortable. Finally, about ten years after his marriage, when he had four small children, his home, with all its contents, was burned to the ground. This was no small discouragement, but he persevered. The neighbors were not plentiful, but their generosity made up for their lack in this respect. A new house was built, or commenced, soon after, and was completed as circumstances would admit. It was about fifteen years before the house and the two barns, as indicated by the engraving on the next page, were finished. My father worked hard to raise his six children. It was nearly twenty years before he fully overcame the loss of his house. Meanwhile my mother was not an idle spectator; in her old-fashioned loom she swung the heavy latch to and fro, and cast the shuttle from right to left, and from left to right, through many a long and wearisome year, weaving "homespun" cloth at the rate of threepence a yard. But, even at this wretched price, she earned many a pound, so that

to-day, comparing her industry with that of my father's, I cannot tell whose was the most fruitful. She has gone to a richer inheritance, beyond the toils of time!

10. I was the fifth and last son. They named me Charles Richard. An only sister, younger, died at the age of fourteen. In boyhood I had the advantages, or disadvantages, of a very poor country school, the most vivid recollections of which to-



EARLY HOME OF CHARLES R. TUTTLE.

day are associated with unmerciful floggings, to which I had become so accustomed as to look for them as a part of the daily routine. At the age of fourteen I asked

for my "portion," and signified an intention of breaking away from home to find employment elsewhere. My portion was promptly granted in hard cash, and consisted of a single "three and a penny hapenny piece." With this I started for Amherst, going thirty miles on foot, and thence twelve miles to Maccan, where, before the last shilling of my inheritance was expended, I found myself discharging the duties of a moderately lucrative situation in a coal mine, hundreds of feet below the surface, wheeling coal through a long, dark, wet, desolate, dangerous level. Occasionally I was knocked over by a piece of falling soapstone; but the afflictions of such an hour were quickly dispelled by a realization of the fact that I was earning a dollar a day. The mines were run on eight-hour "shifts," affording considerable leisure, in which I was enabled to complete a course of ancient and modern history. At the end of six months I had one hundred dollars, and took leave of my miner-comrades. Investing about forty dollars in school-books, and expending the balance for tuition, I set out in right good earnest for an education. My advantages from that hour were good. There had been an educational awakening all over the province. The Hon. Dr. Charles Tupper had just given us his admirable school system, and, through the ambition thereby

inspired, pupils were blessed with good books, good apparatus, and excellent teachers. I soon graduated into a school-teacher, with the most flattering testimonials of Inspector Christie. Years of teaching followed, two of which were spent at Wentworth, where among my pupils I numbered Henry Reed and Charles W. Swallow. The former passed from my school to school-teaching, in which high calling, during the past ten years, he has occupied a foremost position in that county; the latter has already taken, at least, a medium stand among the Methodist preachers of the province, and others of my pupils have risen to positions of usefulness. At the age of twenty I was married to Miss Margaret Elenor, daughter of the late James Bigney, Senior, of Wentworth, and soon after set out for the United States. I reached Boston in 1868, with less than one hundred dollars. By this time, however, through a course of study pursued while teaching, I possessed a good English education, and was particularly well acquainted with ancient and modern history, for which I have always had a keen relish. From the position of reporter for the daily press I rose to that of city editor, then to that of managing editor, and for a period of about three years was connected with some of the leading dailies of New England and the West. I was managing editor of the Boston "Daily News" for a considerable time, closing my engagement during the year celebrated by Patrick Gilmore's Great Peace Jubilee.

11. From the newspaper press I went into book writing and publishing, my first effort being a History of the State of Michigan, of which about thirty thousand copies were sold. My works, so far, are as follows:—

- I. — HISTORY OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN.
- II. — HISTORY OF THE STATE OF INDIANA.
- III. — HISTORY OF THE BORDER WARS OF TWO CENTURIES.
- IV. — HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WISCONSIN.
- V. — HISTORY OF THE STATE OF IOWA.
- VI. — HISTORY OF THE STATE OF KANSAS.
- VII. — HISTORY OF THE COUNTRIES OF AMERICA.
- VIII. — HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WEST.
- IX. — POPULAR HISTORY OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA, WITH ART ILLUSTRATIONS.
- X. — ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY AND USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.
- XI. — A SHORT HISTORY OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

NOVELS.

XII. — THAT YOUNG MAN.

XIII. — THE BOSS DEVIL OF AMERICA.

12. In religious faith I am a Methodist, with some strong affections for the mother-church, — the Church of England. I have been a member of the former body for several years, and was made a local preacher by the Northern Indiana M. E. Conference in 1874, and have occasionally preached in connection with my literary pursuits. I have made a somewhat careful study of the political institutions of Canada and the United States, and hope to make the information thus acquired of use to my country in time to come. I am both a native and a citizen of the Dominion of Canada. At the proper age I was enrolled in the militia, and took the oath of allegiance to the crown and kingdom of Great Britain, under the late Col. Pinco, at Pugwash. That allegiance has ever been maintained, and a long contact with United States institutions and its Republican form of government has served to strengthen it. Whatever may have been the mistakes of my life, I am to-day, and ever have been, devoted in my loyalty to Canada and to Canada's Sovereign. That loyalty has never been disguised while abroad, and the temporary inconveniences which have resulted are not worthy to be compared with the advantages of such a citizenship as that to which I was born.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS (*continued*).

THE PLACE GAINED BY CANADA AND CANADIANS IN THE ESTIMATION OF THE WORLD—THE CHURCHES—POPULATION AND NATIONALITIES—OBJECTIONABLE EMIGRATION—ROMANISM.

I. I AM glad, to-day, to be able to commence the second chapter of my "Short History of the Dominion of Canada," by saying that no one belonging to the British-American provinces, and travelling or living abroad, in any country, has a reason to disguise or conceal his nativity. It is no small recommendation in the United States to be able to say, "I am a native of

the Dominion of Canada," and particularly is this true of those who can claim Nova Scotia as their birthplace. It is a remarkable fact that Nova Scotia is known the world over, and known favorably. This is due, in the first place, to the fact that Nova Scotia merchant-ships have visited every port of the globe; in the second place, because the name of that province is prominently connected with the history of the past three centuries; and, perhaps, mainly, because of the skill and valor of her brave men who have distinguished themselves in all industries and professions, and all nations, and upon every important battle-field, since the beginning of the seventeenth century. What is true of my own province in particular is true, generally, of the whole of Canada. Canadians have won a proud position among the peoples of the earth. Canada holds an enviable position in the civilization of the nineteenth century. Where, then, is that Canadian whose loyalty is not becoming more intensified? Show me the annexationist, and I will show you the fanatic!

2. Perhaps I may be allowed to repeat substantially here some remarks uttered in the introduction to my previous history, especially in reference to the place which Canada and Canadians have won in the estimation of mankind, and with regard to the internal developments of the country. There is a very large and rapidly increasing element of the population of Canada which has no superior in any nation of the globe. It may be sadly true that the religious orders and institutions in some of the provinces have exercised a fatal influence in moulding a poor type of manhood, but this is being overcome as rapidly as could be expected. However, the major part of the church exercises a most wholesome influence in this respect, and to that salutary force Canada is greatly indebted. The Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Protestant Episcopal, and the Methodist are the four leading religious denominations of the Dominion. There are about 1,500,000 Catholics, 443,600 Presbyterians, 490,000 Episcopalians, and 375,000 Methodists. The latter is the growing, aggressive church, and is destined to become the ruling element in Canada, as it now is in the United States. About 1,082,948 of the people are of French origin. These, for the most part, are the least progressive of the whole population, which is due to the ignorance, priest-imposed, which has clouded their prospects. The church is gradually losing its power over them, and the rising and succeeding generations of this people are destined to freedom and

progress. About 706,369 of the inhabitants are of English origin. Those of Irish origin number 846,141, and those of Scotch, 550,000. There are, also, about 232,613 Germans. The most encouraging fact is that 83 in every 100 of the whole population are native-born Canadians.

3. The material and educational progress of the dominion during the past twenty-five years has been rapid and substantial. Within the last three years the great depression of all kinds of business which has characterized the United States has been very largely shared in by Canada. Many of the best commercial houses have failed, while others are tiding over the crisis with great difficulty. But these hard times present no great cause for alarm, especially from a national stand-point. The offspring of reckless investments and wicked extravagances, which have so shamefully characterized both government and people, they will disappear with a return to honesty and economy. All America needed a lesson in this respect, and there was no surer way to impress the truth upon the heart and mind than the reverses through which thousands are now passing. If only the lesson shall be remembered, then may the nation cease to mourn the dulness of trade at an early day!

4. One of the greatest evils characteristic of the Canadian people is the ill-gotten disposition of the young of both sexes to emigrate to the United States. The continuance of this practice is supported by a delusion. There is not a young man or woman who has emigrated to the United States within the last five years who will not testify to-day that, with the same energy and perseverance, he or she could accomplish more at home than in that country to which they have gone, hoping to better their condition in life. One of the unaccountable circumstances of the present decade, if not one of the most difficult problems to solve, is the fact that the young people of Canada are willing to work harder and suffer greater privations in the United States for comforts which may be obtained at home with less effort and at less cost. But this will not always last. It must not continue longer. Some voice should be raised; some industry put in active operation, to put an end to this miserable practice. At present, and in this connection, I can do no more than raise my voice, and declare to all young people in the Dominion that our own country presents better and more lucrative fields of industry than can be found in the adjoining Republic, where to-day nearly 100,000 native British-Americans are languishing in the overcrowded trades and professions.

In the name of God, my country, and your best interests, I bid you, beseech you, *stay at home!* or if you *must* make a change of location, let it be in the direction of that fertile north-west, out of which the future greatest provinces of the Dominion are destined to rise in all the glory of agricultural magnificence!

5. Canada needs commercial independence, especially in the adjustment of her traffic regulations with the United States. Since confederation, Canada's business transactions with the United States, in the general volume of international commerce, has been entirely one-sided, — to the loss of our own merchants and people. This was not fully recognized, though it was all the same doing its work of ruin, until our money no longer commanded any considerable premium over greenbacks, but the last twelve months have convinced every merchant in Canada making purchases with the United States for importation, that in the recent treaty with that country England purchased her own desires at the expense of Canada. But these things will be remedied when a firmer and more intellectual statesmanship shall distinguish the deliberations of our government.

6. The vexed question of Romanism, as it affects the present, and is likely to affect the future, of Canada, is of course a difficult one, and one in which the historian must deal with great delicacy. Personally I am not disposed to malign Roman Catholics or Catholic institutions, and I regard as Protestant fanaticism those uncharitable and no less unintelligent religious terms which have been applied to the Roman Church, such as Anti-Christ, etc. Romanism has wrought, and is still achieving, a wonderful work, in the hands of an all-wise Ruler, for the civilization of the race. That in some countries it presents the objectionable spectacle of oppressive priestcraft, and in others that of an obstruction to the advancement of popular education, is not a sufficient ground for unqualified condemnation. There is more than one nation of the earth today, which is yet unprepared to throw off, with safety, the restraints of Romanism, unless such can be, at the same time, brought under the protection of those political institutions so grandly characteristic of Anglo-Saxon civilization. With the present political construction of the map of the world Romanism is indispensable, and will never be abolished except with the most radical changes in that map; and when those changes will have come, — and they must certainly come, — it will not

then be true, that, as a whole, Romanism shall have been a curse rather than a blessing to the world.

It is difficult for many people in these advanced days to comprehend the fact that some of the oldest and most unfashionable agricultural implements were once useful, and served a good purpose. My father owned a hoe years ago, as long ago as I can remember; it was a most unwieldy affair, made in one of his unskillful attempts at blacksmithing, from a castaway oven-lid. This was anterior to the "Yankee hoe," which found its way into the provincial markets some twenty years ago, and which, as also "Yankee pitchforks," and kindred implements, succeeded those of the home-made pattern. In time, my father's hoe, that must have weighed about five or six pounds, was thrown aside, and the light Yankee article substituted. Some ten or twelve years later, when we were making an excavation for the foundation of a new barn, this old and forgotten hoe was dug up; but no one recognized it until some three years after, when a peculiar accident caused its identification. It was difficult at that time, because this castaway relic was no longer useful, to realize that it ever had been; but my father was present to testify that it had served him more years and under more trying circumstances than any other hoe he had possessed. Now, this illustration is not more simple than forcible. What is true concerning improvement in implements is, in one sense, true of institutions. Catholicism is the old, burdensome, tax-imposing implement, which, in the hands of God, first rooted out the choking briars that were clustering, in united oppression, around the young plant of Christianity. It can hardly be doubted that so imperfect an implement has, on the one hand, compromised with the evils it sought to overcome, and, on the other, trampled and bruised the fruit it attempted to cultivate. The only point in which my illustration is lame — and herein it teaches an important lesson — is that but one cause prevents the improved instrumentality from supplanting the old, burdensome one, and that is a political cause. We seek to delay its removal, that the struggle may be a bloodless one, and in this, toleration is one of the best evidences of Protestant wisdom, — nay, more, an evidence that Protestantism is of God. Nor by this do I wish to be understood as saying other than that Protestantism is more than a grand improvement on the Roman forms of Christianity; and, holding this, I affirm, also, that there is no ground which can justify, in the sight of Heaven, a persecution of one of

these branches of the church by the other. Moreover, I can have no sympathy with the enthusiasts on either side, who oppress their religious opponents, under the pretext of any Scriptural authority. For my own part, I know too much of history to be led into the delusion that either Romanism or Protestantism will ever be subjugated or driven from the world by oppression or persecution. Such a course ever has and ever will develop the power and promote the growth of any institution founded in truth, and I can see how, pursuant to this method, a continuance of the old feuds between these great divisions of the church can have no result so surely to be depended upon as the perpetuation of each other. If the Protestant really believes in the superior excellence of his form of Christianity, as compared with the old Roman forms, and can manage to add an unbiased intelligence, with an unprejudiced knowledge of history to this faith, it will produce in him the greatest toleration of Romanism. Indeed, it will make him oppose it only in that wherein it is at grievous fault, and to encourage it in all things wherein it promises to uplift and bless its votaries.

7. Could Romanism throw off its bigotry, and suppress such of its forms and ceremonies as should have been laid away in the grave of that empire in which they had their rise; could the old papal church rise to the reforms which it must experience to keep pace with the march of mankind; nay, would the church but embody in its composition, and teach among the masses of its communicants, those principles of popular education and independent thought which she is compelled to tolerate among the higher classes, where wealth and education abound, I see no reason why the followers of St. Peter and St. John might not yet be reconciled and united in a bond of the warmest, purest union. It is just like Christianity to accomplish such a result as this, and in such an event there would be nothing to justify taking the keys from St. Peter's successor, so long as the apostolic succession of St. John was entrusted with the records, as heretofore. But we shall have no signs to indicate the coming of these things until in one or in both branches of the church, a few great men shall be raised up, broad as humanity in their sympathies, and deep as the problem to be solved in their wisdom, — men who shall strive to make the marching song of the ages accord with the pulsations of God's will, and who shall interpret that will by an untram-

melled inspiration. Patient hope will not die until these things be!

8. But to the historical side of the question. There is nothing in the records to alarm Protestants in Canada, or anywhere else, with the possible exception of England, but much to enforce upon the attention of Romanists the needs of subscribing to the relief of a waning cause. We must now tolerate a few statistics, but these will not be considered dry in a subject such as this. There are in the world to-day, according to certain well-authenticated estimates, about 1,400,000,000 inhabitants; of these about 200,000,000 are Romanists, and 100,000,000 Protestants. Previous to the Reformation the sway of Romanism was almost universal, but in three and a half centuries Protestantism has gathered to its standard half as many as now adhere to the Pope. The increase of Protestantism has been at the rate of about 30,000,000 a century, and that of Romanism, during the same period, about half that rate. The reader may follow out this ratio with his own mathematical genius. But, to be a little more specific, there is probably no country to-day which presents such encouraging signs for Romanists as in Old England. Romanism has been gaining in England during the past thirty years, not only with the masses, but in the higher walks of society. Many of her converts are fellows of colleges, ministers of the Church of England, members of the learned professions, and of elevated rank. But this increase of Papists in England is not wholly due to conversions from Protestantism; and this explanation is made plain in the light of the fact that England has been colonized by Catholics from Ireland, to a considerable extent. But place the case in the most favorable light to Protestants, and yet England presents a problem in this respect. However, England is an exception to the whole world, while in the Dominion of Canada we have, in less than a century, reversed the status from five Catholics to one Protestant, to that of three Protestants for one Catholic.

9. Romanists are not asleep to the signs of the times, but are taking the most active measures to perpetuate their doctrines in all parts of the world. In this effort no changes whatever are made, even in the most objectionable forms of the church; but it is sought to continue and exact obedience to the old ones in various ways, but in none more emphatically than among the children of their own adherents and of those of Protestants, who, because of various misfortunes, fall into

their hands. This is particularly characteristic of Romanistic measures in the Dominion of Canada and the United States, where, in the different series of illustrated school and Sunday school books, a recent departure in Roman Catholic literature, — graphic pictures of priests, saints, and Papal ceremonies are set forth. The four different series of Catholic school-books which I have examined, are thoroughly Papal, and profusely filled with legends of the saints, and pictures of worship before crucifixes and images. One series of seven books, of United States origin, is for use by the "Sisters of Charity;" the "Christian Brothers' Series of Readers" is for male schools. This distinction is obvious. Another series is compiled by "a member of the Holy Cross." Now, I am writing a book intended alike for Catholic and Protestant readers, and must pause here to intimate that no one sentence is here written with a desire to offend Catholics; and, in giving the following sketches and illustrations from these school-books, I do no more than is demanded of me in the strict line of duty; no more than any Catholic historian would be compelled to do, and which he would have a right to do, concerning Protestants; and, assuming that there is nothing in these books of instruction for the youth of which Catholics have reason to be ashamed, I cannot think myself giving offence by instructing Protestants in what is taking place around them in all churches. Hence I give a few specimens of lessons and illustrative cuts, found in these readers, to show what kind of an education children secure in Roman Catholic schools. Beginning with the "First Reader," page 49, we have the following cut and lesson:—



"It is bed-time. See! little Mary is saying her prayers before she goes to bed. The crucifix hangs above her bed; when little Mary looks at it, she thinks of God's love that made him die on the cross to save all little children."

The reader will see that this picture is well calculated to strike the imagination of a child. It is carefully taught that

the right way to pray is gazing at a crucifix. On page 51 of the same little book we have this cut and lesson:—

"Here is a little orphan-girl going to rest. Should I call her an orphan? See! she is kneeling before a statue of Our Blessed Mother. She is asking her to be her mother now and forever."



We have in this illustration the crucifix over the bed, and the image of the Virgin Mary, with the girl kneeling before it; and then the prayer, "She is asking her to be her mother, now and forever," is calculated to teach all pupils who use the book to kneel before an image of Mary, and to pray and trust in her. It is not for me to condemn, only to chronicle this, that, even centuries from the present time, those who succeed us may be informed concerning these things. I write for the instruction of future generations. Let us take another lesson from the same "Reader":—

"We are very sad when our friends die, and it is painful to see those we love laid in the cold ground, but it is very sweet to think about the death of those who die as Alice did. She could not remember the time she had not prayed to Our Blessed Mother, and she was so devoted to her that when taken very sick she had no fear of death . . . She



DEATH OF LITTLE ALICE.

had a dear little altar at her bedside, with a crucifix given her by her kind confessor, Father Keenan, and a pretty white statue of the Blessed Virgin upon it. . . . One evening at sunset dear little Alice had just finished saying her beads, when she asked her mother to change her pillow and smooth her hair. . . . Please send for Father Keenan. . . . She saw Our Holy Mother with the Divine Child in her arms, waiting to take her home. The priest came and little Alice received Our Blessed Lord into her heart, and was anointed; then she fell asleep in death like a lily closing its petals at nightfall."

I will detain the reader with but a single lesson more, taken from the "Second Reader," entitled "The Confession":—



"1. I do not know why it is that so many little girls and boys have a horror of going to the confession. Surely they must forget that confession is like a plank thrown into the sea to the drowning mariner, that is the only means whereby we can obtain forgiveness of sin committed after baptism.

"2. If our dear Lord and Saviour had not established this sacrament in his great compassion, I do not know what we should have done. Now, I once heard of a little girl who was so dreadfully afraid

of going to confession that she quite fainted away when she found herself in the confessional. On the preceding page is a picture of her, with her sister by her side trying to encourage her.

"3. Do you know why that little girl was so horrified at the thought of confession? Why, because her father and mother had been so negligent of their duty as to allow their children to grow up to the age of ten or twelve years before they sent them to confession. If they had been sent earlier they would have had no such dread of confessing their sins.

"4. If you ask one of the silly little people why they are so much afraid, the answer will perhaps be, 'Why, how can I tell my sins to the priest? Who knows but he may speak of them to somebody else?' Foolish little girl or boy, have you never heard that one of the saints suffered martyrdom rather than reveal what had been told him in confession?

"5. A wicked emperor, who suspected his wife of a great crime, wished to have her confessor tell whether she was guilty or not, but the saint replied that no priest could speak to any one of what was told him in confession, and that he could not even tell whether the empress was innocent or not.

"6. Hearing this, the tyrant was so enraged that he ordered the holy man to be thrown into the Muldaw, which was the name of the sea near his palace. It was done accordingly, and the good St. John Nepomucine went cheerfully to death rather than disclose the secret of confession. And so it is to-day. The ministers appointed by Jesus Christ to reconcile the sinner with him are never known, never have been known, to tell what they hear in confession."

CHAPTER III.

THE NORSE DISCOVERIES.

1. TURNING now to the narrative before me, it is all important that I should insert in this place a chapter or two on the discovery of America, and more particularly of that part of America included within the boundaries of British America. In my unabridged history of the Dominion of Canada I have given, at considerable length, an account of the discovery of America by the Norsemen, the Spaniards, the French, and the English. In this work it will be expedient only to note some of the principal landmarks in the same narrative. Some time in 1877, a Toronto (Ont.) journal, in reviewing some of the earlier numbers of my previous history, indulged in some remarks intended to be humorous, criticising my account of the Norse discovery of America, and went so far as to volunteer the information to its readers that the author of the history of Canada had mistaken fable for fact. In this instance, however, the *editor*, and not the *author*, was in error. There is still a vast amount of scepticism, especially in the United States and Canada, concerning Norse literature, and many people of considerable scholarship fall into the mistake of regarding the tales of the *sagas* as mere traditions, or fables, unworthy the least degree of confidence; but light is rapidly breaking over this problem, and beneath its generating power Norse literature is growing some grand historical fruit, and none, perhaps, more interesting than that regarding the discovery of America.

2. A few people, mostly of Norse extraction, rush to the extreme fallacy of claiming the authenticity of the early American explorations by the Norsemen to mean something detrimental to the glory of Columbus. This idea should not be tolerated for a single minute. There is nothing in all the Norse expeditions, granting even all that the most enthusiastic Norwegian claims for them, which can take one jewel from the bright crown of Columbus. The only connection they can possibly have with the great explorer is to indicate that knowledge, industriously and honorably acquired, rather than intuition or revelation, guided him in his westward voyages of discovery. For my own part, I believe that recent historical

research has sufficiently shown Columbus to have been in possession of what knowledge the Norsemen could give him before his final resolution to explore the West was unalterably formed.

3. The Norsemen were the descendants of a branch of the Gothic race that in early times emigrated from Asia and travelled north-west and settled in what is now the central part of Norway. They were, in early times, an exceedingly bold and independent people. The rulers of England are descendants of the Norsemen. At an early date they became renowned in all Europe for their feats of navigation; but their enterprising voyages were by no means confined to Europe. In the year 860 they discovered and settled in Iceland, establishing on this island a Republic which flourished about four hundred years. Not long after the settlement of the island it contained a population of 50,000, and became the key, in connection with Greenland, to unlock the secret of the western continents. These bold Norsemen, pushing their course westward, settled in Greenland, and, in an adventurous voyage, sighted the shores of America.

4. But let us glance at the chain of events, link after link, in this account of the discovery of America by the Norsemen. In the year 986, a bold adventurer, named Erik the Red, moved from Iceland to Greenland, that wretched land which he had miscalled by that name, to induce emigration. He was accompanied by numerous friends, among whom was an Iceland-er, named Herjuif; the latter had a son named Bjarne, a man of great enterprise, the owner of a ship, and a large fortune. He was on a voyage to Norway when his father moved to Greenland, and on his return he resolved to follow him without unloading his ship. His men were eager to accompany him; so away they sailed and soon lost sight of Iceland. But the wind failed. Subsequently a north wind and a heavy fog set in, and they knew not whither they were drifting. This condition of the weather continued many days, during which the alarmed crew drifted far out into the sea, to the south-west. At length the sun appeared, the storm subsided, and, lo! in the horizon, not many leagues distant, they beheld the well-defined outlines of an unknown land, the continent of North America. Approaching nearer, they saw that it was without mountains, and covered with wood. Bjarne was satisfied that this was not Greenland, he knew that he was too far to the south; so he left the land on the larboard side, and sailed northward for two

days, when again he discovered land. But still this was not Greenland; turning the ship from the land, they continued their course northward for three days. Then land was seen for the third time; but Bjarne refused to go ashore, knowing that it did not answer to the description of Greenland. So they sailed on, and after four days they reached Greenland, landing not far from where the father of the unfortunate navigator had settled. It is supposed that the land Bjarne saw on this involuntary voyage in 986 was, first, the present Nantucket, one degree south of Boston; second, Nova Scotia; and, third, Newfoundland.

5. Bjarne was censured, by his countrymen of Norway, for not going ashore and exploring the land to which the tempest had driven him. Nevertheless, the imperfect description which he was enabled to give seemed to arouse the mind of Lief Erikson, who determined to make farther investigation. He bought Bjarne's ship, set sail with thirty-five men, and found the lands just as they had been described to him, A.D. 1000. Erikson landed his crew in Hellerland (Newfoundland), and in Markland (Nova Scotia), explored these countries somewhat, named them, and then proceeded to discover the land which had first been seen by Bjarne. After two days they came to land, and sailed into the sound, which was so shallow at ebb tide that their ship grounded. But so much did they desire to reach the land, that they sprang into the water and waded ashore at a place, as the translation has it, "where a river flows out of a lake." This lake is undoubtedly Mount Hope Bay. At flood tide they brought their ship into the bay, and cast anchor. Taking their skin coats ashore they soon raised tents, after which a council was held, at which they resolved to remain through the winter, and build a large house; they obtained an abundance of fine salmon, both in the river and in the bay. From the account of this expedition, preserved by the Norsemen, we learn that they quartered in latitude $41^{\circ} 24'$, which places their tents at the mouth of Fall River, Massachusetts. Lief Erikson called the country Vinland.

6. Early in the spring of 1001, Lief Erikson returned to Greenland, where the news of his discovery created great commotion. Thorwald, Lief's brother, desired to explore the land more extensively, and solicited his brother's ship for that purpose, which the generous Lief readily granted. Another expedition was accordingly fitted out in the year 1002, by Thorwald Erikson, who sailed to Vinland, where he remained three years, and where he fell in a battle with the Indians,

pierced by an arrow. He was buried in Vinland, and two crosses were raised above his grave. The exact location of this grave could not now be ascertained, but it is indeed hallowed ground that contains the dust of the first European who died and was buried in America. In 1831 there was discovered, in the vicinity of Fall River, Massachusetts, a skeleton in armor, and many of the circumstances connected with it are such as to leave room for, at least, the conjecture that it was the skeleton of this very Thorwald Erikson. This skeleton was the subject of much learned discussion at the time, and the American poet, Longfellow, wrote a poem on it, years after, beginning with these words, —



TOWER AT NEWPORT.

“Speak! Speak! thou fearful guest.”

The poem makes the skeleton tell the story of his adventures as a viking, sing of the pine forests of Norway, of the voyage across the Atlantic, and of the discovery of America. The tower delineated by the above cut is the famous Newport tower, in Rhode Island, which was undoubtedly built by the Norsemen. When the Norsemen had buried their chief and leader, Thorwald, they returned to their tents at the bay, loaded their ships with the products of the land, and returned to Greenland in 1005.

7. Next we are told by the Sagas, that Thorstein, the youngest son of Erik the Red, resolved to visit Vinland, and procure the body of his brother Thorwald. “He was married,” say the Sagas, “to Gudrid, a woman remarkable for her beauty, her dignity, her prudence, and her good discourse. Thorstein fitted out a vessel, manned it with twenty-five men, selected for their strength and stature, besides himself and Gudrid.” This party put to sea, and were soon far from Greenland; but, being overtaken by a storm, they were tossed and driven, they knew not whither, for many a day. Finally they reached land, which proved to be the western coast of their own Greenland. Here Thorstein and several of his men died, and Gudrid returned to Eriksfjord.

8. Thorfinn Karlsefne was the most distinguished explorer

of Vinland. Being a wealthy and influential man, and descended from the most famous families of the North, he was able to command the means necessary to a successful expedition. In the fall of 1006 he emigrated from Norway to Greenland, with two ships, where, at Eriksfjord, he met Lief Erikson, who offered the Norse navigator the hospitalities of Brattahlid during winter. Thorfinn soon began to treat with Lief for the hand of Gudrid, Lief being the person to whom the right of betrothment belonged. In the course of the winter they were married with due ceremony. Gudrid, full of bold resolve, urged her second husband to undertake an expedition to Vinland, in which her first husband had perished. Accordingly, in the spring of 1007, Thorfinn, accompanied by his wife, sailed to Vinland, where he remained three years. The Sagas emphasize the fact that Gudrid was the heart and soul of this expedition, and represent her as addressing her husband in the following language: "I wonder that you, Thorfinn, with good ships and many stout men, and plenty of means, should choose to remain in this barren spot instead of searching out the famous Vinland and making a settlement there. Just think what a splendid country it must be, and what a desirable change for us, — thick and leafy woods, like those of old Norway, instead of these rugged cliffs and snow-clad hills; fields of waving grass and rye, instead of moss-covered rocks and sandy soil; trees large enough to build houses and ships, instead of willow-bushes, that are fit for nothing except to save our cattle from starvation when the hay crop runs out; besides, longer sunshine in winter, and more genial warmth all the year round, instead of howling winds and ice and snow. Truly, I think this country has been woefully misnamed when they called it Greenland."

9. This expedition was on a much larger scale than any that preceded it. It is plain that Lief and Thorwald and Thorstein had not intended to make their permanent abode in Vinland. They brought neither women nor flocks nor herds with them. Karsefine and Gudrid, on the other hand, came forth with all the equipage for colonization. The party consisted of one hundred and fifty-one men and seven women. A number of cattle and sheep were also brought to America with this expedition. They all arrived safe, and remained in Vinland three years, when the hostilities of the Indians compelled them to give up the colony. During his three years' stay in Vinland Thorfinn was not inactive. On the contrary, he

conducted an extensive and profitable trade with the Indians, and began to develop the resources of the country. The year after their arrival a son was born to Thorfinn and Gudrid, who was named Snorre Thorfinnson. He was born within the limits of the present State of Massachusetts, at Buzzard's Bay, in the year 1008, and was the first man of European blood of whose birth in America we have any record.

10. The Sagas give elaborate accounts of other expeditions by the Norsemen to Vinland. There is one by Freydis, 1011, and in the year 1121 the Bishop, Erik Upsi, came as a missionary to the colony. There are also accounts of expeditions by the Norsemen to Great Irland (North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida). The last-mentioned was in 1347, but this was in the time of the Black Plague, which raged throughout Europe with unrelenting fury from 1347 to 1351, and also reached Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, and cut off communication between these countries. This plague reduced the population of Norway alone from two millions to three hundred thousand; and this fact gives us some idea of the terrible ravages of this fearful epidemic, which may be regarded as the immediate cause for the withdrawal of Norse settlements in America.

11. We may now trace the chain of circumstances which connects the discovery of America by the Norsemen with that by Christopher Columbus, which is more recent and better known. In Washington Irving's biography of Columbus we learn from a letter, written by the explorer himself, that while the design of attempting the discovery in the West was maturing in his mind he made a voyage to Iceland. This was in the spring of 1477. We have the right to assume that in his conversations with the Bishop and other learned men of Iceland, he must have been informed of the discovery of Vinland. It will be remembered that this visit of Columbus to Iceland was only fifteen years before he discovered America, and only one hundred and thirty years after the last Norse expedition to Vinland. Another link is furnished in the fact that Gudrid, the wife of Thorfinn, after the death of the latter, made a pilgrimage to Rome, where she was well received, and where she certainly related the story of her transatlantic voyage to Vinland, and her three years' residence there. Rome paid much attention to geographical discoveries, and took pains to collect all new charts that were brought there. They must have heard of Vinland before, but Gudrid brought them personal evidence. Again, that Vinland

was actually known to the Vatican is manifest by the fact that Pope Pascal II., in the year 1112, appointed Erik Upsi, Bishop of Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, and this same Bishop visited the latter place in 1121. It should, of course, be borne in mind that Columbus lived in an age of discovery; England, France, Portugal, and Spain were vying with each other in their discoveries. Hence it would be astonishing to believe that Columbus, in the midst of these evidences, with his nautical knowledge, did not hear of America years before his ship left Palos. We have also a remarkable record of the early discovery of America by the Norsemen, in the writings of Adam of Bremen. He visited Denmark, and on his return home he wrote a book "On the Propagation of the Christian Religion in the North of Europe," and, at the end of this book, he added a geographical sketch of the country of the Norsemen. In his treatise he speaks of Vinland at considerable length, closing with the remark, "This we know, not by fabulous conjecture, but from positive statements of the Danes." Adam of Bremen's work was first published in the year 1073, and was read by intelligent men in many parts of Europe. Columbus being an educated man, and so deeply interested in geographical studies, especially when they treated of the Atlantic Ocean, must have read and studied this work. These are facts, and the biography of Columbus will show that he always maintained a firm conviction that there was land in the West, and he honestly adds, that he based this conviction on the authority of the learned writers. He stated, before he left Spain, that he expected to find land soon after sailing about seven hundred leagues; hence he was acquainted with the breadth of the ocean. A day or two before coming in sight of the New World, he agreed with his mutinous crew that if he did not discover land within three days he would return. In fact the whole history of his discovery is fraught with evidence of his previous knowledge of America.

12. Such is an account of the Norse discovery of America, which I have repeated in this volume, in order that it may become as widely known as any other equally well-authenticated historical narrative concerning the discovery and exploration of the shores of America. I have not given the sources of my own information on this subject, deeming it unnecessary, since, to avoid expense, the foot-notes requisite to such a course are not included; but the authority upon which this account is given, as also all other statements in this work, is ample and authentic.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DISCOVERY OF COLUMBUS — OTHER DISCOVERIES.

1. I HAVE but little space in this work to repeat what is already well known concerning the more recent voyages of discovery to America, but will sketch them, briefly, in their order. On the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus, under the wise patronage of the Spanish rulers, with a flotilla of three small vessels, set sail on his first voyage to the Western World. I shall not give the particulars of the voyage; they are already well known. The empty days and nights wore on, when at length, at a critical moment, the great heart of Columbus beat with deep emotion; as the dove announced the appearance of land to the great navigator of Mosaic history, so was it the sight of land-birds that first sent the waves of emotion coursing through the great soul of Columbus. These feathered messengers proclaimed his near approach to land by the eloquence of their inspiring presence. Then came the sight of sea-weed, as a confirmation of that which the birds foreshadowed, at which the heart of Columbus beat still faster. As night came on, the keen eyes of the great commander were greeted by the faint glimmer of distant lights. In these last and dreadful hours of suspense he was not left without a sign by day and by night. The birds, sea-weed, and faintly glimmering lights were indeed, to the heart of Columbus, as full of assurance as were the pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire to the weary Israelites in their long and painful marches to discover the Land of Promise. At length, as the morning twilight advanced, joy filled the hearts of the whole crew; and the rising of the sun on the ever memorable 11th of October, 1492, was greeted with continued shouts of "Land!" "Land!" from the little Spanish fleet. Before the weeping eyes of Columbus, whose heart could not keep from sending its crystal tokens of joy upward, there



COLUMBUS.

lay, in all the grandeur of tropical magnificence, the Island of San Salvador!

2. On landing, Columbus bowed with due reverence, and kissed the soil with deep religious fervor. Nor should we too lightly treat this ceremony. Well might the lips of the great discoverer press the virgin soil of this island of the Western World! He raised the flag of Spain on the island; and, in a spirit of thankfulness for what had been achieved, the congregated crews chanted the *Te Deum*. The aborigines of the country were not less moved by the appearance of the Spaniards than the voyagers themselves, though in a different way. Almost naked, they flocked around the explorers, being struck with awe and curiosity at the odd ceremony enacted before them. It is no great wonder that these simple natives regarded the strangers as children of the Sun on a visit to the earth. But while the Indians were astonished, the Spaniards were overjoyed; they beheld the animals, the trees, the plants, which were so different from any they had seen in Europe. The soil was plainly fertile, but nowhere was there a single trace of cultivation. After making quite an extended survey of the island, Columbus withdrew to his ships to continue his discoveries.

3. After visiting several islands, he reached Cuba, where he also took possession, in the name of their Spanish Majesties. After exploring the island for some time, and obtaining all the information possible from the natives, Columbus weighed anchor and sailed eastward, discovering Hayti, where he was kindly received by an Indian chieftain. While on this coast one of his ships was wrecked, and out of the pieces of the wreck he constructed a rude fort, to protect his crew and his new native allies against the fierce Caribs. He mounted the little fort with the guns of the ship, and left a considerable portion of his crew to garrison it. Shortly after he sailed for Spain, and reached Palos on the 15th of March, 1493. There was great commotion and rejoicing in Spain on the arrival of Columbus. He was ennobled by the monarchs, and treated with great respect by all the people. He made three other voyages to America; but we have already followed his discoveries quite far enough for the purposes of this work.

4. A distinguished Florentine navigator, named Americus Vespuccius, succeeded Columbus in the great work of western discoveries, making four voyages. In an elaborate work on his discoveries he managed to set himself forth in such a light

as to temporarily overshadow Columbus, and in this way he succeeded in giving his own name to the western continent. At this time England was only an inferior province, but her enterprising heart was stirred with the news of his wonderful discoveries, and in 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, residing at Bristol, being actuated by a strong desire to behold the wonders of the New World, obtained a commission from King Henry VII., and in June, on the following year, with his son Sebastian, sailed from Bristol. After a successful voyage, he reached the shore of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, the latter of which he named Prima Vista. On St. John's day he discovered Prince Edward Island, which he called St. John. In 1497 Sebastian Cabot made a second voyage to America, reaching Hudson's Bay, in an unsuccessful attempt to find a passage to China. He sailed as far southward as Florida after failing in his original design.

5. In the year 1500 the King of Portugal sent out Gaspard Cartereal. He discovered Labrador, and visited Greenland. He made a second voyage in the following year, but perished at sea. On his return from the first voyage he carried with him fifty Indians, whom he sold as slaves. In 1502 his brother Michael made a voyage in search of him, and was also lost.

6. The value of the cod fisheries was already attracting considerable attention in Europe, especially in France, and in 1506 Denys, of Honfleur, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the following year Aubert, of Dieppe, made a similar voyage, and it is well authenticated that, in these years, a number of French fishermen visited the coast of Newfoundland. In 1518 the Baron de Lery made a voyage to America, touching at Sable Island. In 1524 John Verazzani, a Florentine navigator, made a voyage to America, with four French vessels, and in the following year he made another voyage, under the patronage of the King of France, and explored about two thousand miles of the eastern coast of America. He returned to France the same year, and is said to have made still another voyage the same year; but nothing was ever heard from this expedition.

7. For nine years after the last expedition by Verazzani, France did nothing towards making western discoveries, which was probably due to the sad effects of his supposed fate. But in 1534 events became more promising, and a scheme of exploration and discovery was set on foot which ended in suc-

cessful colonization. In that year, Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, urged the King, Francis I., to establish a colony in America. He pictured to the mind of his king the successes of Spain and Portugal in similar enterprises, which aroused his jealousy. When he had secured the royal favor he recom-



JACQUES CARTIER.

mended Jacques Cartier, a distinguished navigator of St. Malo, as a suitable person to conduct any expedition which might be set on foot. Pursuant to these plans Cartier sailed for the New World, reaching the coasts of Newfoundland in twenty days. Passing through the straits of Belle Isle, he reached the coasts of New Brunswick, when, on the 9th of July, he entered a bay, which, on account of the intense heat, he named "Baie des Chaleurs." On the 24th of July he sailed out of the bay and rounded the headland of Gaspé, where he landed and took possession of the

country in the name of his king, erecting a cross, thirty feet high, on which he placed the arms of France, and an inscription emblematic of the sovereignty of France in America. Making some farther observations, he completed his work and returned to France, taking with him two Indians, from whom he gained considerable information concerning the interior of Canada, particularly the river St. Lawrence.

8. Cartier's first trip only fired his zeal. He desired to make farther explorations, to enter the river of which the Indians had spoken. Hence, in May, 1535, he again sailed

from St. Malo; this time with three ships. The voyage was tempestuous, but he reached Newfoundland in July, and proceeded to explore the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he had visited the year before. On the 10th day of August he entered a bay at the mouth of a river, now called St. John, which he called St. Lawrence, from having entered it on the festival of that saint, which was a usual custom. This name has since been applied to the gulf and river emptying into it, which Cartier was the first to discover and explore. On the 1st of September he reached the Saguenay; and on the 7th, the Isle of Orleans. At this place he sent his two captive Indians ashore, and commissioned them to negotiate a favorable reception for himself among the savages. They were successful, and on the following day he was kindly received by Donacona, a powerful Algonquin chief.

9. Cartier resumed his journey and proceeded up the river, where, in a basin formed by the junction of the St. Charles with the St. Lawrence, he established his vessels for the winter. Here stood the Indian village of Stadacona, near where now stands the old city of Quebec. Being now located, or established, for the winter, Cartier set himself at work making observations, and gaining what knowledge he could from the Indians. Learning of the Indian village called Kannataë, located some seven days' journey to the west, he resolved to visit it; but before venturing among the savages he thought it prudent to advertise his power and importance as far as possible, and for this purpose caused several of his cannon to be discharged. The performance had the desired effect. Taking one of his ships and two boats, Cartier set out on the 19th of September, and on the 2d of October he reached Hochelaga, an Indian village, situated on the island where the metropolis of the Dominion now stands,—the city of Montreal. Here he met two thousand savages, who greeted him kindly, and with whom he exchanged knives and beads for fish and maize. Thus, in 1535, Cartier explored the site of Montreal, making a visit to the summit of the now celebrated Mount Royal, and admiring the beautiful prospect therefrom.

10. Cartier and his crew spent the winter at their quarters before mentioned, near the site of the present city of Quebec; but it was, in every sense, a wretched winter for the adventurers. Many of them died of a disease contracted by intercourse with the natives, and all would, probably, have met the same fate had not the Indians themselves prescribed a remedy.

When the long winter had ended, and the ice had disappeared from the river, Cartier prepared to return home. On the 3d of May he erected a cross, with the arms of France upon it, — a token of his having taken possession of the country in the name of his king, and on the 6th of the same month, having captured Donacona, two other chiefs, and eight warriors, he sailed for France, reaching St. Malo on the 8th of July, 1536. These Indians, thus cruelly taken to Europe, all died soon after reaching France, nor did their baptism, with great pomp and ceremony in the cathedral of Rouen, atone for the wrong committed upon them.

11. On Cartier's return to France he found his king too much engaged with internal religious dissensions, and with a war with Spain, to devote much time or means to farther transatlantic schemes. Thus five years elapsed before anything farther was done to aid Cartier's return to Canada. However, in 1541, another expedition was made ready, to the command of which the French king had appointed Jean Francois de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, a native of Picardy. The royal commission to this gentleman created him the first viceroy of Canada. Jacques Cartier was named second in command; but, through some delay, M. de Roberval was not ready to embark at the appointed time, and Cartier, in May, 1541, set out in advance. The viceroy followed his lieutenant in April of the next year; but in the mean time Cartier had reached the scene of his visit. He was at first received kindly by the Indians; but when they were informed of the death of their chief, Donacona, and the other chiefs and warriors whom the French had taken away, they became very hostile, which caused Cartier to move farther up the river, to Cape Rouge. Here he made a little settlement, fortified by two small forts or stockades, which he named Charlesbourg Royal. Here he left Beaupré in command, and sailed up the river to Hochelaga, where he made an attempt upon the Sault St. Louis, — Lachine Rapids, — but, failing in the effort, he returned to Cape Rouge, where he spent the winter. In the following spring, 1542, he sailed for France. At Newfoundland he met M. de Roberval, who ordered him to return to Canada, which he avoided by weighing anchor in the night, and continuing his voyage homeward. However, Roberval pressed forward and spent the winter at Cape Rouge. He explored the country in the vicinity of the Saguenay, and made extensive observations in the vicinity of Montreal; but after suffering many hardships he returned to

France in the summer of 1543. Soon after Cartier's return to France he died, but his eminent services were not overlooked by his king. He had been ennobled, and license to trade in Canada was granted to his heirs for twelve years after his death.

12. Owing to the death of Cartier, and the continued internal religious troubles in France, Canada was now almost forgotten by the king and the nobility. This continued for nearly fifty years. Meanwhile, however, they projected colonies in Brazil and Florida; but these failed. In 1508 the Marquis de la Roche was constituted the first lieutenant-general of the king, and vested with power to grant leases of lands in New France, in form of fiefs, to "men of gentle blood." This may be regarded as the origin of the feudal system, afterwards introduced into Canada, and subsequently modified by Cardinal Richelieu into a seigniorial tenure, which was not finally abolished until 1854. The marquis sailed for Nova Scotia, but reached only Sable Island, where he landed forty French convicts, with the intention of leaving them there until he should select a site for a permanent settlement. He was prevented from doing this by a fearful storm. Barely touching the coast of Nova Scotia, he became discouraged, and returned to France, leaving the convicts to their fate. In 1605 the king sent out a ship for their relief, but only twelve men were found alive. These were taken to France, and granted a full pardon by King Henry IV., on account of their hardships. The marquis was unfortunate in his finances, lost all his fortune, and died unhappily; so his administration of the affairs of Canada was fraught with no good results.

But during La Roche's unfortunate expedition to Canada, from which no good seems to have come, there was a class of people in France doing more to demonstrate the value of these transatlantic regions than either king or nobility. I refer to the merchants. They had already begun to profit by the trade in fish and furs. The fishermen continued to frequent the coasts of Newfoundland. A bold adventurer, under the leadership of Dupont Gravé and Chauvin, made several voyages to Tadousac, carrying home valuable cargoes of rich furs. A stone building, which was the first ever put up in Canada, was erected at Tadousac, and from that point, even in those early days, the fur trade was for a long time prosperous. Later, when these random expeditions began to wane, De Chaste, then Governor of Dieppe, formed a company of Rouen mer-

chants, to prosecute the traffic in furs more successfully. In this step the colonization of Canada may be said to have had its origin. It was on the wings of commerce that French civilization came to Canada, after all. Talk as you please of, and applaud as you justly may, the piety and privations of the Jesuit missionaries, yet it was not Roman Catholic zeal which colonized New France. It was for valuable cargoes of fish, and more particularly of fur, which induced the bold expeditions of the French westward, rather than the souls of the red men. The priests may have labored hard to win the savages to the gospel of the cross. Indeed, there can be no doubt of this; but their efforts were not more futile than were their maintenance in the western world dependent upon the enterprising schemes of French merchants, which, in conjunction with and under the royal patronage of the French king, gave rise to the permanent French settlements in America.

14. De Chaste's company of Rouen merchants determined upon active measures, and in 1603 secured the services of Samuel Champlain, who had just returned to France from a voyage to the West Indies. Champlain proved himself to be just the man to whom so important a mission as that of founding the first French settlements in America should be intrusted. Accompanied by Dupont Gravé, who had been associated with Chauvin, Champlain set sail, with three small vessels, in the same year. Passing into the St. Lawrence, he examined the site of Three Rivers, with a view of establishing a trading-post there, and then pushed forward to Hochelaga, which he found deserted, except by a few scattering aborigines. He ascended Mount Royal, and stood where Cartier had stood more than sixty years before; but after making some observations he and his comrades returned to France.

15. However, France was not keeping pace with the other nations in the contest of American colonization, but she was now to take more thorough measures. De Chaste was succeeded by the Sieur de Monts, Governor of Pons, to whom King Henry had accorded a monopoly of the fur trade, which had now become the chief motive power of all French expeditions. His charter included all parts of North America lying between Cape de Roze, in Newfoundland, and the fiftieth degree of north latitude; it farther declared that all French Protestants should enjoy in America, as they then did in France, full freedom for their public worship, with the one reservation that the work of converting the Indians should be

left exclusively to the Catholics. De Monts was a man of great ability, who had distinguished himself by his loyalty and sagacity; hence he was just the man to succeed De Chaste in the management of the company's affairs. I refer to the company of merchants organized by De Chaste. He increased and fully revived this company by including some of the principal merchants of Rochelle and other cities.

Four ships were manned and provisioned; two of these were designed for the fur trade at Tadousac, whence they were to search the entire coast and protect the company in their fur-trading monopoly; the other two vessels were to carry the colonists to suitable places for settlement. The ships which were now ready sailed from Havre-de-Grace in March, 1604. De Monts, preferring Acadia to Canada, sailed with two ships

in that direction. His preference was based on the supposition that the climate was milder in that region. Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was the chief centre of French American traffic at that time. In these ships were Roman Catholic priests, Protestant ministers, artisans, agriculturalists, and soldiers. Samuel Champlain, a distinguished French navigator, and M. De Poutrincourt, a gentleman of wealth, who intended to settle in America, also accompanied De Monts on this important expedition. De Monts and his companions made a pretty general exploration of the



SIEUR DE MONTS.

western portion of Nova Scotia, and the southern part of New Brunswick, with some portions of Maine. Finally he discovered a beautiful spot, near an enclosed sheet of water, which he called Port Royal (Annapolis). Poutrincourt was delighted with the place, and decided upon it as suitable for a settlement, and De Monts, who, by his patent, owned half the continent, made him a grant of it. This grant was the first made in America, and was afterwards confirmed by letters patent from Henry IV. De Monts then sailed in search of a place for his own settlement. He discovered the St. John river, and at length fixed upon a rocky islet, at the mouth of another river, which he named St. Croix. "Here he remained during the winter, while Champlain explored the coast as far as Penobscot. In the following summer he went in search of a more eligible site for his settlement; but, an untoward accident having occurred at Cape Cod, he became discouraged and returned to St. Croix. Not wishing to remain another winter at St. Croix, De Monts removed the colony to Port Royal. Unpleasant news, however, induced him to return at once to France, where he found strong opposition to his colonizing schemes. Through the zeal of Poutrincourt and Marc Lescarbot (a lawyer and poet) he was enabled to fit out another ship, and to despatch it to the colony in charge of these two friends. In the mean time Dupont Gravé, who had employed his leisure in exploring the neighboring coasts, returned to France; while Poutrincourt and Champlain continued the explorations, leaving Lescarbot in charge of the colony. Lescarbot busied himself in tilling the soil, and in collecting materials for a projected history of New France. His versatility and vivacity infused new life into the self-exiled colonists at Port Royal; but in the midst of their enjoyment news arrived that the De Monts' charter had been rescinded, and that the company refused any longer to bear the expense of the colony. There was, therefore, no alternative but to abandon it; and, much to the grief of Memberton (the venerable Indian sagamore of Annapolis, who had been their fast friend), Poutrincourt, Champlain, Lescarbot, and other colonists, quitted the settlement and returned to France in 1607."

Leaving Nova Scotia for a short time, let us turn our attention to Canada, to which De Monts, in 1607, having abandoned Nova Scotia, now directed his efforts. It was probably through the representations of Champlain that De Monts now attempted to establish a settlement on the St. Lawrence. Having

obtained a renewal of his charter for one year, he fitted out two vessels, and committed the expedition to the care of Champlain, appointing Dupont Gravé his lieutenant. This expedition sailed from Harfleur on the 13th of April, 1608, and arrived at Tadousac on the 3d of June. Here Dupont Gravé remained to trade with the Indians, while Champlain pushed forward up the St. Lawrence, looking for a suitable place to make a settlement. He arrived at the site of the Indian village of Stadacona, on the 3d of July. Here, after scrutiny, his choice fell upon a bold promontory, covered by a luxuriant growth of vines, and shaded by large



SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN.

walnut trees, called by the natives, most of whom had now deserted the place, Kebec or Quebec. Near the place Cartier had erected a fort, and passed a winter, sixty-three years before.

17. At this place, on the 3d of July, 1608, Champlain laid the foundation of the present city of Quebec. First of all, rude buildings were erected on the elevation, to serve as a temporary protection to the colonists. "Nature herself would seem to have formed the table land, whose bases are bathed by the rivers St. Lawrence, Cape Rouge, and St. Charles, as the cradle, first, of the colony; next, the central point of an after empire. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that the tact of Champlain led him at once to pitch upon this locality as the proper head-quarters of the projected establishment. Having fairly set his hands at work, Champlain soon saw rise before him a fort,

of some extent and respectable strength, while several laborers were busied in clearing contiguous land for tillage, or in other useful and urgent works. The foundations of a town, yet to become one of the most famous cities of the New World, were now being laid in the presence of wondering red men of the woods."—*Garneau*. When the temporary buildings were erected, an extensive embankment was formed securely above the reach of the highest tides, where Mountain street was afterwards located, on which the more permanent dwellings and fortifications were built.

18. It should be observed that the native population of Canada, in the neighborhood of Quebec and Mount Royal, was no longer what it was in the days of Cartier. The thrifty villages of Stadacona and Hochelaga had fallen into ruins. The brave, athlete warriors no longer darted with a nervous agility through the woodlands bordering the great river, but, in their places, a dwarf, shrunken, suffering, conquered race stalked moodily, in desultory bands. It was plain that, during the absence of the French, the furies of a barbarous warfare had raged in many quarters along this fertile valley. The Algenquins had been sorely defeated by their old enemies, the Iroquois, and were glad to find in Champlain a possible redress of their grievances. When closely pressed regarding the country to the south and west, and urged to act as guides to an exploring expedition to that region, they shrank with terror from entering a country in which they would be under the merciless weapons of their enemies. Champlain was not long in discovering that his Indian friends were living in mortal terror of the Five Nations, who inhabited the country to the south and west of Lake Ontario. Utterly unable to hold out against these fierce enemies, they sought the aid of the French colonists against them. Champlain, unaware of the strength of the Iroquois confederacy, and unacquainted with the possibilities of an Indian warfare, entered into an alliance with the Indians he found inhabiting the Lower St. Lawrence against their foes, perhaps the more readily since he hoped to be able thereby to establish a lasting peace with the native tribes nearest his colony. But in this the great pioneer committed a grave error, for which he is hardly to be censured.

19. The colonists passed the winter at Quebec, but happily without experiencing the hardships of their predecessors. But there were sufficient reasons for this difference. They had much better dwellings, warmer clothing, an abundance of good

provisions, and perhaps a more enthusiastic commander. But little of importance occurred during the winter. Friendly relations were maintained between the whites and the natives, not only among the Algonquins, but even the distant Iroquois sent a deputation to the fort, soliciting the friendship of Champlain, and offering him in return all the aid within their power in exploring the country of the west.

20. Thus was Quebec established, in 1608. A rude fort was erected on that spot, which has since become famous in the literary annals of two great nations. From that early centre of civilization radiated afterwards, as we shall see, a large number of French settlements, embracing those in Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Upper Canada, Michigan, and through the Wabash, Ohio, and Mississippi valleys, as far south as Louisiana. Thus I have traced, briefly, a complete narrative of the early explorations and settlements in America. These explorations had lasted during the fifteenth and sixteen centuries, and at the close of the sixteenth the only permanent settlements were those of the Spaniards at St. Augustine and Santa Fé. At the beginning of the seventeenth century permanent settlements multiplied. They were made by

The FRENCH at <i>Port Royal, N.S.</i> ,	in 1605;
The ENGLISH at <i>Jamestown</i> ,	in 1607;
The FRENCH at <i>Quebec</i> ,	in 1608;
The DUTCH at <i>New York</i> ,	in 1613;
The ENGLISH PURITANS at <i>Plymouth</i> ,	in 1620.

21. Now, to recapitulate the whole subject, by way of chronology, so far as I have pursued it, we have the following valuable result:—

- 1492. Columbus discovered the New World, October 12.
- 1497. The Cabots discovered Labrador, July 3.
- 1498. The Cabots explored the Atlantic Coast.
- South America was discovered by Columbus, August 10.
- Vasco de Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and discovered a passage to India.
- 1512. Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, April 6.
- 1513. Balboa saw the Pacific Ocean, September 29.
- 1519–21. Cortez conquered Mexico.
- 1520. Magellan discovered and sailed through the straits

- which bear his name, into the Pacific Ocean; and his vessel, returning home by the Cape of Good Hope, had made the first circumnavigation of the globe.
1524. Verrazani explored the coast of North America.
1528. Narvaez explored part of Florida.
- 1534-35. Cartier discovered Gulf of St. Lawrence and ascended the river to Montreal.
- 1539-41. De Soto rambled over the Southern States, and in 1541 discovered Mississippi river.
- 1540-42. Cabrillo explored California and sailed along the Pacific coast.
- 1541-42. Roberval attempted to plant a colony on the St. Lawrence, but failed.
1562. Ribaut attempted to plant a Huguenot colony at Port Royal, but failed.
1564. Laudonniere attempted to plant another Huguenot colony on St. John's river. It was destroyed by the Spaniards.
1565. Melendez founded a colony at St. Augustine, Florida; first permanent settlement in the United States.
- 1576-7. Frobisher tried to find a north-west passage; entered Baffin's Bay, and twice attempted to found a colony in Labrador, but failed.
- 1578-80. Drake sailed along Pacific coast to Oregon, wintered in San Francisco, and circumnavigated the globe.
1582. Espejo founded Santa Fé; second eldest town in the United States.
1583. Gilbert attempted to reach the continent, but was lost at sea.
- 1583-7. Raleigh twice attempted to plant a colony in Virginia, but failed.
1602. Gosnold discovered Cape Cod, May 14.
1605. De Monts established a colony at Port Royal, Nova Scotia; first permanent French settlement in America.
1607. The English settled Jamestown; first permanent English settlement in America, May 23.
1608. Champlain planted a colony at Quebec; first permanent French settlement in Canada.

1609. Hudson discovered Hudson River.
 Champlain discovered Lake Champlain.
 1613. Settlement of New York by the Dutch.
 1620. Puritans settled at Plymouth; first English settle-
 ment in New England, December 21.

CHAPTER V.

AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS.

EXPLORATIONS BY THE SPANISH, ENGLISH, AND DUTCH — FIRST SETTLEMENTS —
 1000 TO 1600.

1. MORE than a century had now elapsed since Columbus discovered America, yet in no part of the present Dominion of Canada had a permanent settlement been effected; but this was not the case with other portions of America. Hence we will turn for a moment and trace the current of events in those quarters, and in this short diversion we will return to the beginning of the sixteenth century. First, then, as to the operations of the Spaniards, who were foremost among the earliest western explorations. "America, at this time," says one writer, "was to the Spaniard a land of vague but magnificent promise, where the simple natives wore unconsciously the costliest gems, and the sands of the rivers sparkled with gold. Every returning ship brought fresh news to quicken the pulse of Spanish enthusiasm. Now, Cortez had taken Mexico, and revelled in the wealth of the Montezumas; now, Pizarro had conquered Peru, and captured the riches of the Incas; now, Magellan, sailing through the straits which bear his name, had crossed the Pacific, and his vessel, returning home by the Cape of Good Hope, had circumnavigated the globe. Men of the highest rank and culture, warriors, adventurers, all flocked to the New World. Soon Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and Jamaica were settled, and ruled by Spanish governors. Among the Spanish explorers of the sixteenth century was, first, Ponce de Leon, a gallant soldier, but an old man, and in disgrace. He coveted the glory of conquest to restore his tarnished reputation, and, besides, he had heard of a magical fountain, in this fairy land, where one might bathe and be young again. He accordingly equipped an

expedition, and sailed in search of this fabled treasure. On Easter Sunday, 1512, he came in sight of a land gay with spring flowers. In honor of the day he called it Florida. He sailed along the coast, touching several points, but returned home at last, having found neither youth, gold, nor glory."

2. The second of these Spanish explorers was Balboa, who crossed the Isthmus of Darien in 1513, and from the summit of the Andes beheld the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean. Wading into its waters with his naked sword in one hand, and the banner of Castile in the other, he solemnly declared that the ocean, and all the shores which it might touch, belonged to the crown of Spain forever. The third of these Spanish explorers was De Narvaez, who received a grant of Florida, and, in 1528, with three hundred men, attempted its conquest. Striking into the interior, they wandered about, allured by the prospect of gold. Finally they reached the Gulf of Mexico. Here they constructed some boats and put to sea, but after six weeks of peril they were shipwrecked. De Narvaez was lost. Six years later the



DE SOTO'S MARCH.

only four survivors of the expedition reached the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast. The next was Ferdinand de Soto, who, undismayed by these failures, resolved upon the conquest of Florida. He set out with six hundred choice men, amid

the fluttering of banners, the pealing of trumpets, and the gleaming of helmet and lance. For month after month this procession of cavaliers, priests, soldiers, and Indian captives strolled through the wilderness, wherever they suspected a prospect of gold. They traversed Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In the third year of their wanderings (1541) they emerged upon the banks of the Mississippi. Here De Soto died (1542). At dead of night his followers sunk his body in the river, and the sullen waters buried his hopes and ambition. "He had crossed a large part of the continent," says Bancroft, "and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place." De Soto had been the soul of the company. When he died the other adventurers were only anxious to get home in safety. They constructed boats, and, descending the river, little over half of this gallant array reached the settlements in Mexico.

3. Melendez, the next of the Spanish explorers, followed De Soto, but was wiser than he. On landing, in 1665, he at once laid the foundations of a colony. In honor of the day he named the place St. Augustine. This is the oldest settlement in the United States. Fort Marion, built near this spot, by the Spaniards, in 1756, still exists, and is full of interest.

4. But the Spanish explorations on the Pacific coast are also full of interest. California, in the sixteenth century, was a general term applied to all the region north of Mexico, on the western coast. It is said to have originated in a romance popular in the time of Cortez, in which appeared a character called California, queen of the Amazons. The Mexicans informed the Spaniards that most of their gold came from these northern regions, and Cortez, therefore, turned his attention in that direction, and sent out several expeditions thitherward; but all these expeditions were fruitless. Cabrillo, in 1542, made the first voyage along the Pacific coast, going as far north as the present limits of Oregon. New Mexico was explored and named by Espejo, in 1582, who founded Santa Fé, which is the second oldest town in the United States. Thus Spain, at the close of the sixteenth century, held possession not only of the West Indies, but of Yucatan, Mexico, and Florida; and it is a curious fact, that a writer of that time locates Quebec in Florida, and a map in the time of Henry II. gives the name of Florida to all North America. The Spanish explorers had traversed a large portion of the present Southern States and the Pacific coast.

5. I will mention, in this place, that the French sent out cer-

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tain expeditions to America, in the sixteenth century, which have no particular connection with Canada or Acadia. Jean Ribault, an excellent seaman and a staunch Protestant, led an expedition, in 1552, under the auspices of Coligny. The party landed at Port Royal, S. C. They were greatly captivated by the prospect, and erected a fort, which they named Carolina, in honor of Charles IX., King of France. The fleet departed, and the little party of thirty were left alone on the continent. They were the only civilized men from Mexico to the North Pole. Finally they became discouraged, built a rude ship, and put to sea. Famine overtook them, and they killed and ate one of their number. At last a vessel took them on board, but only to carry them captives to England. Thus perished the French colony of Carolina, but its name still survives. Two years after, Ladonniere built a fort, also called Carolina, on the river St. John. Soon the colonists were reduced to the verge of starvation. Their sufferings were horrible. Weak and emaciated, they fed themselves with roots, sorrel, pounded fish-bones, and even roasted snakes. "Oftentimes," says Ladonniere, "our poor soldiers were constrained to give away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed unto the savages the excessive price which they tooke, these villaines would answer them roughly: If thou make so great account of thy merchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out a laughing, and mocked us with open throat." They were on the point of leaving, when they were reinforced by Ribaut. The French seemed now fairly fixed on the coast of Florida. The Spaniards, however, claimed the country. Melendez, about this time, had made a settlement in St. Augustine. He led an expedition northward, through the wilderness, and, in the midst of a fearful tempest, attacked Fort Carolina. Almost the entire population were massacred.

6. It is necessary, before returning to the Canadian narrative, that I should speak of the English explorations in America during the sixteenth century. The Cabots, sailing under an English flag, discovered the American continent, exploring its coast from Labrador to Albemarle Sound. Though the English claimed the northern part of the continent by right of this discovery, yet, during the sixteenth century, they paid little attention to it. At the close of that period, however, maritime enterprise was awakened. British sailors cruised on every sea. Like the other navigators of the day, they were eager to discover the western passage to Asia.

Frobisher made the first of these attempts to go north of America to Asia, — Cabot's plan repeated. He pushed through strange waters, threading his perilous way among towering icebergs, until, in 1576, he entered Baffin's Bay. Here he set up a pile of stones, and took possession of the country in the name of the British Crown, after which he returned home. "One of the sailors brought back a stone which was thought to contain gold. A fleet of fifteen vessels was forthwith equipped for this new El Dorado. The north-west passage to Cathay was forgotten. After innumerable perils incident to Arctic regions, the ships were loaded with the precious ore and returned. Unfortunately, history neglects to tell us what became of the cargo!" Sir Francis Drake was, perhaps, one of the most famous of the English explorers. In one of his expeditions, while on the Isthmus of Panama, he climbed, as represented by the accompanying engraving, to the top of a tree, whence he beheld the waters of the broad Pacific Ocean. He was delighted with the inspiring prospect, and while enjoying it inwardly resolved to sail an English ship on those waters. Returning to his country, he equipped a fleet, sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and coasted along the Pacific shore to the southern part of Oregon. He repaired his ships in San Francisco harbor; thence sailing westward, he returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, in 1659. Hence he was the first Englishman who explored the Pacific coast, and the second European who circumnavigated the globe. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who carefully studied the accounts of American discoveries, resolved to send out companies to form permanent settlements, but his attempts at colonization were futile and



DRAKE BEHOLDS THE PACIFIC.

fatal. Sailing homeward in a small and insufficient vessel, he went down in a fearful storm, and neither ship nor crew was ever seen again.

7. Sir Walter Raleigh was a half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and succeeded him in the work of colonization. He was a great favorite with Queen Elizabeth, and readily obtained a royal patent to a large extent of territory in America, which he called Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, the virgin queen.



SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

He first attempted to plant a colony on Roanoke Island; but his settlers made no effort to cultivate the soil, rather spending their time hunting for gold and pearls. Their condition soon became wretched, and finally they were narrowly rescued by Drake, while on one of his exploring expeditions, who carried them home. They had lived long enough in America to learn the use of tobacco and the potato. These they introduced into England. But Sir Walter was not discouraged by this failure. The next time he sent out families instead of single men, and John White was appointed Governor of the city of Raleigh, which they were to found on the Chesapeake Bay. A granddaughter of Governor White, born soon after they arrived at Roanoke Island, is said to be the first English child born in America. After the settlement was made, the governor returned to England for supplies, where he found his country engaged in a threatened attack of the Spanish Armada; and it was three years before he was able to return to his American home. Meanwhile the colony and his family had perished completely, no one being left to tell the story of their sufferings. Raleigh had now spent a large sum on his American colony, and, being quite out of courage, transferred his patent to others.

8. But as with the French in respect of trading expeditions,

so with the English, — they were more successful than at efforts at colonization. "English vessels frequented the banks of Newfoundland, and probably occasionally visited Virginia. Gosnold, a master of a small bark, in 1602 discovered and named Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and other neighboring localities. Loading his vessel with sassafras-root, which was then highly esteemed as a medicine, he returned home to publish the most favorable reports of the region he had visited. Some British merchants accordingly sent out, the next year, a couple of vessels, under Captain Pring. He discovered several harbors in Maine, and brought back his ships loaded with furs and sassafras. As the result of these various explorations, many felt an earnest desire to colonize the New World. James I. accordingly granted the vast territory of Virginia, as it was called, to two companies, the London and the Plymouth. The London Company, whose principal men resided at London, had the tract between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth degrees of latitude. This was called South Virginia. They sent out a colony, in 1607, under Captain Newport. He made at Jamestown the *first permanent English settlement in the United States*. The Plymouth Company, whose principal men resided in Plymouth, had the tract between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of latitude. This was called North Virginia. The charter granted to these companies was the first under which English colonies were planted in the United States. It is therefore worthy of careful study. It contained no idea of self-government. The people were not to have the election of an officer." The king and his council appointed at his own pleasure men to have entire control of these colonies, and the Church of England was the established religion; moreover, for five years the entire proceeds of the colonies were to constitute a common fund, and no one was to have any of the product of his own labor.

9. The Dutch manifested no interest in the New World during all these years, but, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Capt. Henry Hudson, an English navigator in the Dutch service, entered New York harbor. In 1609, Hudson, in attempting to reach the Pacific, ascended the grand river which bears his name. On this discovery the Dutch based their claim to the land extending from the Delaware river to Cape Cod, and called it New Netherland.

10. The full extent of the discoveries and explorations which I have enumerated in the foregoing pages may be summed

up as follows: 1. The Spaniards confined their settlements and explorations to the West Indies and the adjacent mainland, and in the United States made settlements only in Florida and New Mexico. 2. The French claimed the whole of New France, and made their first settlements in Acadia and Canada. 3. The English explored the Atlantic coast at various points, and claimed this vast territory, which they termed Virginia, having made their first settlement at Jamestown. 4. The Dutch laid claim to New Netherland, but made no settlement till 1613.

11. These four claims, of course, conflicted with each other, and produced some confusion; but so long as the few settlements were separated by hundreds of miles of savage forests this conflict of claim to territory was of little account. However, the settlements increased and grew, and strife as to boundary began; but the contests were for the most part decided by an appeal to arms.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLAND FROM 1500 TO 1600.

THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH.

1. We have now come to a period in our account of the early history of America, or rather of that portion of America now embraced within the limits of the Dominion of Canada and the United States, and, in accordance with the plan of this work, I must go back and bring forward a brief narrative of the events in English history during the same period, which embraces the sixteenth century. But first let me remark that my reference to affairs in England previous to the conquest of Canada, in 1760, will be very brief. The reason is obvious. Canada, previous to that date, was a French colony; hence, during that period, events in England have nothing in common with those in Canada. However, the people of the Dominion of the present day have a deep interest in English history of any and all periods, and this fact alone is quite sufficient to explain the apparent inharmony of connecting the history of an English kingdom with that of a French colony. If anything more were needed to justify this plan, it may be found in a contem-

plation of the fact that France was only shedding the uncertain light of Christianity upon a country which was destined, in the eternal order of things, to receive the more complete bounty of English institutions and Anglo-Saxon civilization.

2. Decidedly I have nothing to do with the history of England previous to the beginning of the sixteenth century, in this volume, yet I may construct, in this place, a brief tabular statement of the history before that time, as a mere guide-board to prevent any confusion in the minds of young readers:—

ENGLAND FROM B.C. 54 TO A.D. 1760.

England under Roman Rule, B.C. 54 to A.D. 412.

SAXON HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

The Reign of Alfred the Great	from 871 to 901	lasted 30 yrs.
The Reign of Edward the Elder	from 901 to 925	lasted 24 yrs.
The Reign of Athelstan	from 925 to 941	lasted 16 yrs.
The Reigns of the Six Boy Kings	from 941 to 1016	lasted 75 yrs.

THE DANES, AND THE RESTORED SAXONS.

The Reign of Canute	from 1016 to 1035	lasted 19 yrs.
The Reign of Harold Harefoot	from 1035 to 1040	lasted 5 yrs.
The Reign of Hardicanute	from 1040 to 1042	lasted 2 yrs.
The Reign of Edward the Confessor, from 1042 to 1066		lasted 24 yrs.
The Reign of Harold the Second and the Norman Conquest were also within the year 1066.		

THE NORMANS.

The Reign of William the First, } called the Conquerer	from 1066 to 1087	lasted 21 yrs.
The Reign of William the Second, } called Rufus	from 1087 to 1100	lasted 13 yrs.
The Reign of Henry the First, } called Fine Scholar	from 1100 to 1135	lasted 35 yrs.
The Reigns of Matilda and Stephen	from 1135 to 1151	lasted 19 yrs.

THE PLANTAGENETS.

The Reign of Henry the Second	from 1154 to 1189	lasted 35 yrs.
The Reign of Richard the First, } called the Lion-Heart	from 1189 to 1199	lasted 10 yrs.
The Reign of John, called Lackland,	from 1199 to 1216	lasted 17 yrs.
The Reign of Henry the Third	from 1216 to 1272	lasted 56 yrs.
The Reign of Edward the First, } called Longshanks	from 1272 to 1307	lasted 35 yrs.

The Reign of Edward the Second	from 1307 to 1327	lasted 20 yrs.
The Reign of Edward the Third	from 1327 to 1377	lasted 50 yrs.
The Reign of Richard the Second	from 1377 to 1399	lasted 12 yrs.
The Reign of Henry the Fourth, } called Bolingbroke	from 1399 to 1413	lasted 14 yrs.
The Reign of Henry the Fifth	from 1413 to 1422	lasted 9 yrs.
The Reign of Henry the Sixth, } Fourth	began in 1422, ended in 1461, and lasted 39 years.	
The Reign of Edward the } Fourth	began in 1461, ended in 1483, and lasted 22 years.	
The Reign of Edward the } Fifth	began in 1483, ended in 1483, and lasted a few weeks	
The Reign of Richard the } Third	began in 1483, ended in 1485, and lasted 2 years.	

THE TUDORS.

The Reign of Henry the } Seventh	began in 1485, ended in 1509, and lasted 24 years.
The Reign of Henry the Eighth, } Third	began in 1509, ended in 1547, and lasted 38 years.

3. The foregoing table represents that period of English History concerning which I have to say nothing whatever in this volume. It was, however, during the reign of the last-named sovereign, Henry VIII., that Cartier visited and explored the St. Lawrence; but it was not until the reign of James I. that any permanent settlements were effected in Canada or the United States. The following table represents that portion of English history with which we have to do in this volume, and I shall take occasion to intersperse it logically or chronologically, as the circumstances seem to demand:—

The Reign of Edward the } Sixth	began in 1547, ended in 1553, and lasted 6 years.
The Reign of Mary	began in 1553, ended in 1558, and lasted 5 years.
The Reign of Elizabeth	began in 1558, ended in 1603, and lasted 45 years.

THE STUARTS.

The Reign of James the First, } First	began in 1603, ended in 1625, and lasted 22 years.
The Reign of Charles the } First	began in 1625, ended in 1649, and lasted 24 years.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

The Council of State and Government by Parliament	}	began in 1649, ended in 1653, and lasted 4 years.
The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell		
The Protectorate of Richard Cromwell	}	began in 1653, ended in 1658, and lasted 5 years.
The Council of State and Government by Parliament		
The Council of State and Government by Parliament	}	began in 1658, ended in 1659, and lasted 7 months.
The Council of State and Government by Parliament		
The Council of State and Government by Parliament	}	resumed in 1659, ended in 1660, and lasted 13 months.
The Council of State and Government by Parliament		

THE STUARTS RESTORED.

The Reign of Charles the Second	}	began in 1660, ended in 1685, and lasted 25 years.
The Reign of James the Second		
The Reign of Charles the Second	}	began in 1685, ended in 1688, and lasted 3 years.
The Reign of James the Second		

THE REVOLUTION, AND SINCE.

The Reign of William the Third and Mary the Second	}	began in 1689, ended in 1695, and lasted 6 years.
The Reign of William the Third		
The Reign of Anne	}	began in 1702, ended in 1714, and lasted 12 years.
The Reign of George the First		
The Reign of George the Second	}	began in 1727, ended in 1760, and lasted 33 years.
The Reign of George the Third		
The Reign of George the Fourth	}	began in 1760, ended in 1820, and lasted 60 years.
The Reign of George the Fourth		
The Reign of William the Fourth	}	began in 1820, ended in 1830, and lasted 10 years.
The Reign of William the Fourth		
The Reign of William the Fourth	}	began in 1830, ended in 1837, and lasted 7 years.
The Reign of William the Fourth		
The Reign of Victoria	}	began in 1837, and still continues. (1878.)
The Reign of Victoria		

4. First, then, let us notice some of the principal events in the history of England during the sixteenth century. The sovereigns were Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. At the beginning of this century, England was a Roman Catholic country, the power of the Pope and the clergy being yet in the ascendant. During the first nineteen years of the reign of Henry VIII. he was a devoted servant of the papal church. When he ascended the throne, the Pope sent him a consecrated golden rose, dipped in holy oil, and perfumed with musk, and accompanied by the apostolic benediction. And when Luther commenced the Reformation, Henry wrote a book opposing it, which the Pope received with expressions

of warm approval, and in consideration of which he bestowed on its royal author the title of "Defender of the Faith." Little did the Pope imagine that from this same ruler was to come the



KING HENRY VIII.

death-blow to the papal power in England. But in 1534 this same Henry declared himself the "Head of the Church" in his dominions. He caused most of the religious institutions to be abolished, and their wealth confiscated to the crown. Some of the most beautiful buildings were turned into schools and colleges.

5. The most noted character who figured during the reign of Henry VIII. was Cardinal Wolsey. The rule of England, both at home and abroad, was, in a great measure, given into his hands. The greatest sovereigns of the time, as well as the English subject, did willing homage to this great potentate. He was the son of a wealthy butcher; was educated at Oxford; and rose so rapidly that he soon became a member of the court. "He was made, successively, Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York, Cardinal, Lord Chancellor, and, finally, Papal Legate. He was also Abbot of St. Alban's, Bishop of Bath and Wells, which See he subsequently exchanged for that of Durham, and the latter again for Winchester. His equipage and attire exceeded in magnificence that of Thomas à Becket, whose splendor had dazzled a nation in a former age. The cardinal's fine figure was set off with silks and satins of the finest texture, and richest scarlet or crimson dye; his neck and shoulders were covered with a tippet of costly sables; his gloves were of red silk; his hat, of a cardinal, was scarlet; his

death-blow to the papal power in England. But in 1534 this same Henry declared himself the "Head of the Church" in his dominions. He caused most of the religious institutions to be abolished, and their wealth confiscated to the crown. Some of the most beautiful buildings were turned into schools and colleges.

5. The most noted character who figured during the reign of Henry VIII. was Cardinal Wolsey. The rule of England, both at home and

shoes were of silver-gilt, inlaid with pearls and diamonds. . . . He kept a train of eight hundred persons, amongst whom were nine or ten lords, the beggared descendants of proud barons. He had fifteen knights and forty squires. All his domestics were splendidly attired; his cook wore a satin or velvet jacket, and a chain of gold around his neck. When Wolsey appeared in public, his cardinal's hat was borne before him by a person of rank. Two priests, the tallest and best-looking that could be found, immediately preceded him, carrying two ponderous silver crosses; two gentlemen, each bearing a silver staff, walked before the two priests, and in front of all went his pursuivant-at-arms, bearing a huge mace of silver-gilt. Most of his followers were mounted upon spirited horses, perfect in training, and richly caparisoned; but he himself, as a priest, rode on a mule, with saddle and saddle-cloth of crimson velvet, and stirrups of silver-gilt. At his levée, which he held every morning at an early hour, after a very short mass, he always appeared clad all in red." But this great man was doomed to a wretched fall, which was rapid and sudden. From the king's displeasure he came finally to be charged with treason. He was arrested. This was his death-blow. He lived not to pass through the Traitor's Gate into the Tower. Reaching Leicester Abbey, on his journey to London, he grew too ill to go farther. Dismounting from his mule at the door of the convent, where stood the monks with lighted tapers to receive him, he said to the abbot: "Father, I am come to lay my bones among you." Among Wolsey's dying words was the sad, remorseful confession:—

" Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my king, He would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies."

6. The first wife and queen of Henry VIII. was Katherine of Arragon, his brother's widow. The sons who had been born to the king by his marriage with Katherine had died at their birth, or within a few days or hours after it. This circumstance awakened in the mind of Henry doubts concerning the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow, and, to use his own words, "being troubled in waves of a scrupulous conscience, and partly in despair of any male issue by her, it drove me at last to consider the estate of this realm, and the danger it stood in for lack of issue male to succeed me in this imperial dignity." Finally, in 1527, he laid the case before

the Pope, applying for a divorce. The king had already selected the pretty, but unscrupulous, Anne Boleyn, and established her at court as his intended wife. He was secretly married to Anne in 1533, and in the following year an ecclesiastical court pronounced his marriage with Katherine null and void.

7. A large number of executions clouded the reign of Henry VIII. Among the most prominent of these were those of Sir Thomas Moore, Bishop Fisher, and his own wife, Anne Boleyn. The latter left one child, Elizabeth. Immediately after Anne's execution the king married Jane Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire. In 1537, a few days after the birth of her son, Prince Edward, the queen, Jane Seymour, died. The king next married Anne of Cleves, who, turning out to be not so handsome as he was first impressed, procured a divorce. He next married Katherine Howard, and this marriage also proved unhappy. In less than two years she was found guilty of crimes similar to those which procured Anne her death, and she, too, was condemned to die. She suffered the sentence on the 15th of February, 1542. Henry's sixth and last wife was Lady Katherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer. She proved a good mother to Henry's three children, Mary, Elizabeth, and Edward. The king died in January, 1547.

8. Although Henry VIII. had thrown off the supremacy of the Pope, he retained many of the papal doctrines; but from his marriage with Anne Boleyn to the death of Jane Seymour he was inclined to support the Reformation; so much so that Archbishop Cranmer succeeded in getting his consent to an English translation of the Bible. He then employed the most learned scholars he could find to make a new translation of the Word of God. "This was finished in April of the year 1539. It was printed partly at Paris and partly in London. The new Bible was a large folio, adorned with a wood-cut, the design of the celebrated painter, Hans Holbein. The engraving represents the distributing of the Scriptures to the people, and is beautifully executed. When Cranmer received the first copies of the holy book, he declared they gave him more joy than if he had received ten thousand pounds. 'Cranmer's,' or 'The Great Bible,' is the name usually given to this translation."

9. Edward VI., the young prince spoken of, succeeded Henry on the throne of England. During his reign, and

mainly through the efforts of Crammer, the foundation of the Protestant church in England was completed. The Latin Mass-Book gave place to the English Book of Communion Prayer; the worship of images and pilgrimages to shrines were forbidden or discouraged, and finally, in 1552, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (at first only thirty-two) were established.



ELIZABETH'S PROGRESS TO LONDON.

"When Mary succeeded her brother, the end and aim of her government, almost of her existence, was to restore Romanism. The result, however, of this cruel and persecuting reign was to render England more decidedly Protestant than it had ever been before. When Elizabeth came to the throne the great mass of the people had abandoned the old religion. This queen herself held many of the views belonging to the Church of Rome. She had a great aversion to married priests, and to the day of her death she kept a crucifix in her chamber. She was not a religious persecutor, but she checked the spirit of Protestant reform, and maintained the church as Crammer had left it. A large class of English subjects, during the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign, had fled to the continent. There they adopted the opinions of Calvin and Zwingle, who carried the Protestant Reformation to a far greater length than the English reformers had done. When these exiles returned to their native land, on the accession of Elizabeth, they ob-

jected to the conservative policy of the established church, and refused to observe many of the forms of worship retained in its ritual. In 1559 a law, called 'The Act of Uniformity,' was passed, obliging all English subjects to celebrate divine worship according to the forms prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. The Puritans (as they were named in derision) refused to obey this law, and in the year 1566 separated from the established church. They were called non-conformists and dissenters, and, as we shall see, the acts against them, and the persecutions they endured, increased in severity for the next hundred years."

10. Many distinguished scholars flourished in England during the sixteenth century. The great Cardinal Wolsey was a liberal patron of learning and the fine arts. Of the twenty colleges now at Oxford, six were founded during this period; and of the seventeen at Cambridge no less than eight owe their origin to the pious or liberal patronage of learning which prevailed at this time. Later in the century Trinity College, Dublin, was founded by Queen Elizabeth. Christ Church, Westminster, and the Merchant Tailors' Schools, were also established. The first was founded in 1553 by King Edward VI.; the second by Queen Elizabeth, in 1560; and the last by the Merchant Tailors' Company in 1568.

11. This period was also the age in which commerce flourished. It was the age also of nautical adventure. Bartholomew Columbus presented himself at the court of Henry VII., to plead for the discovery of a New World. His brother, the illustrious Christopher Columbus, was invited to England; but his long suit at the Spanish court at last ended in success, and before Bartholomew returned with the invitation Columbus had discovered America for the King of Spain.

12. The discoveries in America were not overlooked by Elizabeth. It was through her patronage that the brave Sir Walter Raleigh, and other distinguished navigators, explored the Atlantic coast of the new continent, and took possession of it for England. The queen named the country Virginia, in honor of herself, and made many attempts to colonize these new possessions. They were unsuccessful, and Elizabeth died before the first permanent settlement had been made in the colony of the virgin-queen.

CHAPTER VII.

CANADA AND ACADIA, 1600 TO 1748.

1. IN order that I may have the more space for the history of English rule in Canada, and still more for an account of affairs since the confederation of 1867, the account of French rule (the following) will be condensed as much as possible consistent with a proper recital of all the facts. We have seen how Champlain founded Quebec in 1608. He found the country in possession of a powerful aboriginal nation, called the Algonquins. During the first winter which he passed at his newly established post, he engaged in the work of concluding a treaty with the natives, in which he was successful. The Indians agreed to assist Champlain in conducting an expedition through the country of the Iroquois, and the powerful Indian nation with which the newly made friends of Champlain were in constant war, on the conditions that the French would lend a helping hand in their general cause. In agreeing to their proposals, Champlain seemed not to have dreamed of provoking a war with the Iroquois, but, in the spring of 1609, when he, with two of his countrymen and a strong guard of his Indian allies, penetrated their country, he was met with a bold front. In the battle which followed the enemy was routed, being awed at the havoc made by the unknown instruments of destruction in the hands of the French. When Champlain returned from this expedition he met sad news. The merchants of France had declaimed against the monopoly of the fur trade vested in De Monts, by which the commission of the latter was revoked, and Champlain was recalled. On reaching France he gave a full and satisfactory account of the new country to the king, but was unable, even through persistent urgency, to obtain a renewal of the monopoly. But his zeal for extending his colony was not checked by this refusal. He formed a league with some traders of Rochelle, in 1610, and returned to America with considerable reinforcement and with fresh supplies.

2. Upon his return to the newly founded colony, he again set out with a party of Algonquins against the Iroquois, in which he repeated his former success. "Before taking leave

of his allies he prevailed on them to allow one of their young men to accompany him to France, while, at the same time, a Frenchman remained to learn the language of the Indians. Having again visited France, in 1611, he returned with the Indian youth, whom he designed to employ as interpreter between the French and their allies. While awaiting an appointment which he had made with his savage friends, he passed the time in selecting a place for a new settlement, higher up the river than Quebec. After a careful survey, he fixed upon a spot on the southern border of a beautiful island, inclosed by the divided channel of the St. Lawrence, cleared a considerable space, inclosed it by an earthen wall, and sowed some grain. From an eminence in the vicinity, which he named Mont Royal, the place has since been called Montreal."¹

3. But the great pioneer again found it necessary to visit his native country,—this time for the purpose of laying a secure foundation for the execution of his gigantic plans of colonization, which he recommended to his Indian allies. "He was so fortunate," says Marcus Willson, "as almost immediately to gain the favor of the Count de Soissons, who obtained the title of Lieutenant General of New France, and who, by a formal agreement, delegated to Champlain all the functions of that high office. The count dying soon after, the Prince of Conde succeeded to all the privileges of the deceased, and transferred them to Champlain, on terms equally liberal. As his commission included a monopoly of the fur trade, the merchants were, as usual, loud in their complaints; but he endeavored to remove their principal objections, by allowing such as chose to accompany him to engage freely in the trade, on condition that each should furnish six men to assist in his projects of discovery, and contribute a twentieth of the profits to defray the expenses of settlement." But, on Champlain's return to New France, he was diverted from his grand scheme by an effort to discover the long-hoped-for passage to China in the north-west. "A Frenchman," says the same author, "who had spent a winter among the northern savages, reported that the river of the Algonquins (the Ottawa) issued from a lake which was connected with the North Sea, that he had visited its shores, had there seen the wreck of an English vessel, and that one of the crew was still living with the Indians. Eager to ascertain the truth of the statement,

¹Tuttle's History of the Countries of America.

Champlain determined to devote a season to the prosecution of this grand object, and, with only four of his countrymen, among whom was the author of the report and one native, he commenced his voyage by the dangerous and almost impassable route of the Ottawa river." This party, after travelling to within eight days' journey of the lake upon which the shipwreck was said to have occurred, discovered the falsity of the Frenchman's report through the testimony of the friendly tribe with whom he had previously lived, and, fearing just punishment, he confessed that all he had said was untrue. His motive in making the statement was to give notoriety to himself, believing that the party could not penetrate the country and discover his deception.

4. Champlain, having once more visited France, and returned to the colony with additional forces, and being ever ready to engage in warlike enterprises with his Indian allies, planned, in connection with them, another expedition against the Iroquois. This time it was determined to march against them in the lake region. The party started from Montreal, and traversed the course of the Ottawa for some distance, thence overland to Lake Huron, where they were reinforced by some Huron bands, who regarded the Iroquois as a common enemy. On the banks of Lake George they found the Iroquois in their fortifications. "The Iroquois at first advanced and met their assailants in front of the fortifications, but the whizzing balls from the fire-arms soon drove them within the ramparts, and, finally, from all the outer defences. They continued, however, to pour forth showers of arrows and stones, and fought with such bravery that, in spite of all the exertions of the few French and their allies, it was found impossible to drive them from their stronghold." In the first assault Champlain lost some of his native warriors, and he was himself severely wounded twice. After several days spent in fruitless attempts to dislodge the Iroquois, the French and Indians were compelled to retire; but, from the dishonesty and indisposition of his allies, Champlain was obliged to spend the winter in the country of the Hurons, being unable to obtain guides and facilities to make the return journey. But in the following spring (1615) he was enabled to leave that region. He sailed for France soon after, and reached his native country in September of the same year. "The interests of the colony were now for some time much neglected, owing to the unsettled state of France during the minority of Louis XIII., and it was not until 1620 that

Champlain was enabled to return, with a new equipment, fitted out by an association of merchants. During his absence the settlements had been considerably neglected, and after all that had been done for the colony there remained when winter set in not more than sixty inhabitants, of all ages."

5. In the spring of 1621 the association of merchants which had fitted out the last expedition was deprived of all its privileges. De Caen was sent out as governor of the colony, and the power of Champlain was for a time suspended. "The violent and arbitrary proceedings of the new governor, however, caused much dissatisfaction, in consequence of which a great part of the population connected with the European traders took their departure. De Caen soon after returning to France, the powers of government again fell into the hands of Champlain, who turned his attention to discoveries and settlements in the interior." Champlain, soon after his restoration, negotiated a treaty between the Iroquois and Hurons, which, for a short time only, put a stop to the war between those nations. From 1622 to 1627, and even later, the progress of the colony in New France was checked by the war between the Catholics and Protestants in Europe, which extended also to America. In the latter year, however, war broke out between England and France, and two Calvinists,—refugees from France,—David and Lewis Kirk, enlisted in the British service, and engaged in an expedition against the French settlements in America. The squadron, under the command of these men, sailed to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, captured several vessels, and cut off all communication between New France and the mother country. Port Royal and other French settlements in that vicinity soon fell into the hands of the English, and, in July, 1629, Sir David Kirk demanded the surrender of Quebec. The post, being weakened, yielded, and now the French possessions in America fell into the hands of the English. But these events had scarcely taken place in the New World when, in the Old, articles of peace had been signed which promised the restitution of all the conquests made previous to April 14, 1629; and, by the final treaty of March, 1632, France was restored to a possession of her American colonies, — not only of New France, but of all Acadia.

6. No sooner was the French authority peacefully reëxtended over New France, than Champlain was reinvested with his former jurisdiction, which he worthily maintained till his death, in 1636. He was succeeded by Montmagny, whose

situation was rendered critical by the dangerous attitude of the Indians. The war with the indomitable Iroquois had broken out with greater fury than ever. The French, being themselves weakened, were unable to render their Algonquin friends any assistance; hence they were humbled; the Hurons were also sorely pressed, and of course the French settlements were in danger. The governor, however, succeeded in effecting another treaty, and for a time it was observed in comparative peace. During this partial peace on the borders the missionaries formed establishments not only at Quebec and Montreal, but penetrated far into the interior, establishing missionary posts, collecting the natives in villages, and converting them to the Catholic faith by thousands. Upwards of three thousand Hurons are recorded to have been baptized at one time, and though it was easier to make converts than to retain them, yet many were for a time reclaimed from their savage habits, and very favorable prospects were opened. But this period of repose was soon ended, the Iroquois having, in 1648, again determined to renew the war, and, as it is asserted, without any known cause or pretext whatever.

7. However, the blow was effectual, and the fury of the invincible Iroquois was felt throughout Canada. "The frontier settlements of the French were attacked with the most fatal precision, and their inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, involved in indiscriminate slaughter. The Hurons were everywhere defeated; and their country, lately so peaceable and flourishing, became a land of horror and of blood. The whole Huron nation, with one consent, dispersed, and fled for refuge in every direction. A few afterwards reluctantly united with their conquerors; the greater number sought an asylum among the Chippewas of Lake Superior; while a small remnant sought the protection of the French at Quebec. The Iroquois having completely overrun Canada, the French were virtually blockaded in the three forts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal; and, almost every autumn, bands of hostile invaders swept away the limited harvests raised in the immediate vicinity of these places. Yet again this fierce people, as if satiated with blood, began of their own accord to make overtures of peace, and to solicit the missionaries to teach them the Christian doctrine. In 1656 a French settlement, connected with a mission, was actually established in the territory of the Onondagas. This establishment, however, was of short continuance, for, as the other confederate tribes disapproved of the measure, the French were

obliged to withdraw. In 1658, the French were compelled to accept humiliating terms of peace; yet even by these means they obtained but little repose. Often, while peace was proclaimed at one station, war raged at another. At length, in 1663, it was announced that deputies from the different cantons of the Iroquois were on their way to Montreal, with the professed intention of burying the hatchet so deep that it should never again be dug up, and of planting the tree of peace, whose branches should overshadow the whole land. But, unhappily, a party of Algonquins, stung by accumulated wrongs, and resolving on vengeance, determined to violate even the sacred character of such a mission, and, having an ambuscade, killed nearly all the party." With this indiscreet blow all hopes of peace disappeared, and the Iroquois renewed the war.

8. Everywhere before them they sent dismay, and behind them they left only devastation and conquest. The Algonquin allies of the French either fled or were slain, with not so much as an attempt at resistance. While these Indians were extending their conquest, the French were helpless within their forts, fearing to venture out in defence of their allies. At length, harassed by the menaces of the savages, the governor visited France to procure aid, but was able to obtain but one hundred men. During these extreme hardships a series of earthquakes occurred in New France, commencing in February, 1663, and continuing for about six months, spreading consternation and alarm throughout the colony. In 1665 the Marquis de Tracy came to Canada as governor, bringing with him quite a large number of emigrants and a regiment of soldiers. He proceeded to erect three forts on the river Richelieu (now the Sorel), and to conduct several well-formed expeditions into the country of the Iroquois, effectually checking their insolence, and for a time the colony enjoyed comparative peace.

9. De Tracy was succeeded by M. de Courcelles, during whose administration the French power was extended to the interior of Canada and on the upper parts of the St. Lawrence. "A settlement of Hurons, under the Jesuit Marquette, was established on the Island of Michilimackinac, between Lakes Huron and Michigan, — a situation very favorable to the fur trade; and the site for a fort was selected at Cataraqui, on Lake Ontario, near the present village of Kingston, — an advantageous point for the protection of the trading interests, and for holding the Five Nations in awe. Count Frontenac, the successor of De Courcelles, immediately upon his accession

caused the fort at Cataraqui to be completed, and it has often, from him, been called Fort Frontenac." This governor conducted the affairs of the colony in an energetic but haughty manner for a period of ten years, when he was recalled, and M. De la Barre-appointed in his stead, in 1684. The latter at first made a show of carrying on the war with considerable energy, and crossed Lake Ontario with a large force, when, being met by deputies from the Five Nations, he thought it most prudent to yield to their terms, and withdraw his army. The home government being dissatisfied with the issue of this campaign, the governor was immediately recalled, and, in 1685, was succeeded by the Marquis Denonville, who enjoyed the reputation of being a brave and active officer.

10. Whatever may have been Denonville's pretensions, it is evident that his intentions were to punish the hostile savages. "Having, under various pretexs, allured a number of chiefs to meet him on the banks of Lake Ontario, he secured them and sent them to France as trophies, and afterwards they were sent as slaves to the galleys. This base stratagem kindled the flame of war, and each party prepared to carry it on to the utmost extremity. Denonville was already prepared, and with a force of eight hundred French regulars, and one thousand three hundred Canadians and savages, he embarked from Cataraqui, for the entrance of the Genesee river. Immediately after landing, he constructed a military defence, in which he left a guard of four hundred men, while with the main body of his forces he advanced upon the principal town of the Senecas." When he was within a short distance of the village, approaching it, he was attacked in front and rear by a heavy force of the enemy. His troops were at first thrown into confusion, and for a time the battle was fierce and bloody; but the Iroquois were finally repulsed, and did not again make their appearance in the field. Denonville afterwards marched upon their villages, intending to destroy them, but they had already been laid in ashes by the retreating Senecas. Some fields of corn were destroyed, but Denonville was unable to do the enemy much damage. On his return he stopped at Niagara, where he erected a small fort, in which he left a garrison of one hundred men. But the expedition had no sooner returned than the Indians besieged forts Niagara and Cataraqui. The former was abandoned after nearly all the garrison had perished from hunger. The Indian cause now prospered, and had the Indians been acquainted with the arts of war they might have driven the

French from the colony. As it was, the governor in 1388, was compelled to submit to the most humiliating terms, and to send a request to France for the return of the chiefs whom he had captured and sent to that far-off country.

11. The treaty thus made was almost immediately broken by the Iroquois, who were now so exasperated as to seize upon the slightest pretext for war. Among their more desperate onslaughts was that upon the Island of Montreal, which they



COLBERT.

devastated, carrying off two hundred prisoners. In the most critical hour Denonville was recalled and Count Frontenac reappointed governor. He reached the colony in 1689, and attempted to conclude a peace with the Iroquois; but they were too much elated over their own victories to listen to any proposal; hence the governor prepared for war. "As France and England," says Marcus Willson, "were now engaged in war, in consequence of the English revolution of 1688, Frontenac resolved to strike the first blow against the English, on whose support the enemy so strongly relied. In 1690 he fitted out three expeditions; one against New York, a second against New Hampshire, and a third against the province of Maine. The party destined for New York fell upon Corlaer, or Schenectady, and completely surprised, pillaged, and burned the place. The second party burned the village of Salmon Falls, on the borders of New Hampshire, and the third destroyed the settlement of Casco, in Maine. The old allies of the French, reassured by these successes, began to resume their former energy; the

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remote post of Michilimackinac was strengthened, and the French were gradually gaining ground, when, from a new quarter, a storm arose which threatened the very existence of their power in America. The northern English colonies, roused by the atrocities of the French and their savage allies, hastily prepared two expeditions against the French, one by sea, from Boston against Quebec, and the other by land, from New York against Montreal. The first, under Sir William Phipps, captured all the French posts in Acadia and Newfoundland, with several on the St. Lawrence, and had arrived within a few days' sail of Quebec before any tidings of its approach had been received. The fortifications of the city were hastily strengthened, and when the summons to surrender was received, it was returned with a message of defiance. After an unnecessary delay of two days, a landing was effected; but the attacks both by land and by water were alike unsuccessful, and the English were finally reduced to the mortifying necessity of abandoning the place, and leaving their cannon and ammunition in the hands of the enemy. The expedition against Montreal was alike unsuccessful. In 1691 the settlements on the Sorel were attacked by the Mohawks and English, under the command of Major Schuyler, who, after making hard attempts, were compelled to withdraw. This left the Governor of New France without any fears for the safety of the colony.

12. Several years of political strife now ensued, but, when the insolence of the savages could be endured no longer, Frontenac marched a large force into their country. He left Montreal in the summer of 1696, and proceeded to Fort Frontenac, from whence he marched to the country of the Onondagas, when he found the enemy had retreated, having first burned their villages. He was sorely harassed in their retreat. The Indians continued the war until the conclusion of peace between France and England, when they negotiated a treaty with the French. Frontenac died in 1698, and was succeeded by Callieres. But in 1702 war again broke out between France and England, involving, of course, the American colonies. The French, on the one hand, in Europe, suffered defeat, which rendered it impossible for that nation to send the needed assistance to New France; while, on the other hand, the English, elated with repeated triumphs, embraced the design of conquering the French colony in America. The Iroquois, although repeatedly solicited by both parties, maintained neutrality.

The French directed their operations mainly against the New England colonies. At length, however, the English, wearied of unsuccess, prepared a powerful armament, under the command of Sir Horenden Walker, for the reduction of Canada; but, fortunately for the French, the squadron was wrecked near the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile the French were having a terrible struggle in the west with the Outagames, or Foxes, who projected a plan for the destruction of Detroit, and in which they failed only after many signs of success. Retreating from Detroit, the Foxes collected their forces on the Fox river of Green Bay, where they strongly fortified themselves; but an expedition being sent against them they were obliged to capitulate. The remnant of the defeated nation, however, long carried on a ceaseless and harassing warfare against the French, and rendered insecure their communication with the settlements on the Mississippi.

13. The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, put an end to hostilities in America, after which, or until the war in which Canada fell, the colony enjoyed comparative peace. Charlevoix, who visited



CHARLEVOIX.

the principal settlements in 1720 and 1721, gives the best account of their condition at this period. Quebec then contained a population of about seven thousand inhabitants, but the entire population of the colony at that period is unknown. The settlements were confined principally to the borders of the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Quebec, extending a short distance below the latter place. Above Montreal were only detached stations for defence and trade. At Fort Frontenac and Niagara a few soldiers were

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stationed, but there were apparently no traces of cultivation in the vicinity of either of those places. A feeble settlement was found at Detroit, and one at Michilimackinac, surrounded by Indian villages. On the whole, however, it appears that west of Montreal there was nothing at this time which could be called a colony.

14. But let us turn from the valley of the St. Lawrence for a few moments, and bring forward the history of Acadia. We have already seen how, in 1605, under the leadership of De Monts, the first permanent settlement was made in Nova Scotia. The settlement was named Port Royal, and the whole country, embracing New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the adjacent islands, was called Acadia. The settlement at Port Royal was invaded, in 1614, by Samuel Argall, under the authority of the colony of Virginia, and reduced, which completed the conquest of Acadia by the British. France made no complaint of Argall's aggression, beyond demanding the restoration of the prisoners, nor did Britain take any immediate measures for retaining her conquests. But, in 1621, Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, obtained from the king, James I., a grant of Nova Scotia and the adjacent islands, and in 1625 the commission was renewed by Charles I., and extended so as to embrace all Canada and the northern portions of the United States.

1632
15. In 1623 a vessel was despatched with settlers; but they found the whole country in the possession of the French, and were obliged to return to England without founding a settlement. In 1628, while the war with France was in progress, Sir David Kirk, who had been sent out for that purpose, succeeded in reducing Nova Scotia, and not only so, but in the following year, as we have seen, succeeded in the conquest of all Canada; but the whole country was restored to the French by the treaty of 1632. At this time the French court divided Nova Scotia between three individuals, La Tour, Denys, and Rozillai, and appointed the latter commander-in-chief of the colony. He was succeeded by Charnise, between whom and La Tour a quarrel arose, which caused great trouble. At length Charnise died, and the trouble was for a time suppressed by La Tour's marrying the widow of his enemy; but, not long after, a creditor of Charnise appeared, named La Bargne, and with an armed force endeavored to reduce Denys and La Tour. He overcame several important posts, and was marching against St. John when a formidable opposition put a stop to his con-

quests. Cromwell had assumed the reins of government, and in 1654 England declared war against France, and despatched an expedition against Nova Scotia, which met with success, bringing the whole country under England. La Tour submitted to the new yoke, and, in connection with Sir Thomas Zemple, obtained a grant of the greater portion of the peninsula. Sir Thomas bought out La Tour soon after, and spent thirty thousand dollars in fortifications, which greatly improved the commerce of the country. But all his fair prospects were swept away by the treaty of Breda, in 1667, by which Nova Scotia was again ceded to France.

16. The French at once took possession of the colony, which as yet contained no very large settlements, the population in 1680 not exceeding nine hundred. The fisheries, the only profitable industry, were conducted by the English. The



SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL.

forts were few and weak, and two of them were plundered by pirates. In this situation, when the war broke out in 1689, Acadia appeared an easy conquest, and the achievement of this was given to Massachusetts. "In May, 1690, Sir William Phipps, with seven hundred men, appeared before Port Royal, which soon surrendered; but he merely dismantled the fortress, and then left the country a prey to pirates. A French commander arriving in November of the following year, the country was reconquered simply by pulling down the English and hoisting the French flag. Soon after, the Bostonians, aroused by the depredations of the French and Indians on the frontiers, sent out a body of five hundred men, who soon regained the whole country, with the exception of one fort on the river St. John. Acadia now remained in the possession of the English until the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, when it was again restored to France."

17. The peace of 1697 was soon followed by war. War was declared against France and Spain, and it was again

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resolved to reduce Nova Scotia, and again the undertaking was intrusted to Massachusetts. This time the invading party was assured that what was gained by arms would not be sacrificed by treaty. "The first expedition, despatched in 1704, met with little resistance, but did little more than ravage the country. In 1707 a force of one thousand soldiers was sent against Port Royal; but the French commandant conducted the defence of the place with so much ability that the assailants were obliged to retire with considerable loss. In 1710 a much larger force, under the command of Gen. Nicholson, appeared before Port Royal; but the French commandant, having but a feeble garrison, and declining to attempt a resistance, obtained an honorable capitulation. Port Royal was now named Annapolis. From this period Nova Scotia has been permanently annexed to the British crown." Cape Breton, however, remained in the hands of the French.

18. But to return to Canada. Count Frontenac was succeeded by M. de Callières in the winter of 1698. The latter died in 1703, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil. There was now a return of peace, and consequently a return of prosperity. The governor set himself at work to develop the resources of the country, and to encourage education among the people. He also extended the fortifications of Quebec, and put Montreal in a better state of defence. Thus he employed himself till his death, in 1725. After a year, during which time the government was administered by Baron de Lorguenil, he was succeeded by the Marquis de Beauharnois. "By order of the king, and with a view still further to counteract the efforts of the British traders, De Beauharnois strengthened the forts at Frontenac and Niagara. Governor Burnet, of New York (son of Bishop Burnet of England), resolved, in 1727, to neutralize the design of the marquis by erecting another fort, midway between Frontenac and Niagara, at Oswego. He also had an act passed by the Assembly of New York, subjecting any French trader to heavy loss who would supply the Iroquois with goods. As an act of retaliation the few English residents at Montreal were peremptorily exiled; and, contrary to existing treaties, the new French fort of St. Frederic was erected at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and a settlement formed there. With a view to punish the predatory acts of the western Indians, M. de Beauharnois, in 1728, despatched a large force to Chicago, by way of the river Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, and the French river. The expedition was highly successful, and penetrated within a

comparatively short distance of the upper Mississippi. Efforts were also more or less successfully made by French agents to detach the Iroquois from the English. As their territory lay between the English and French colonies, and formed a barrier between them, the Iroquois could act against either. It was, therefore, important for both colonies to secure either their coöperation, or their neutrality."

19. The French made several inroads along the frontier line of Canada from Boston to Albany, and greatly harassed the English settlements. The heroic defence, by Sergeant Hawks, of one of the English posts against an attack from Crown Point by De Vaudreuil, called forth the admiration of both sides; while the barbarous treatment of the Keith family by the St. Francis Indians, at Hoosac, near Albany, caused a feeling of the deepest resentment. The colonists were roused, and each one vied with the other in setting on foot an expedition for the conquest of Canada. Troops were promised from England; but, as they never came, the expedition had to be abandoned. At length the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, put an end to these desultory contests, and both countries restored the respective territories which had been taken by them during the war.

CHAPTER VIII.

CANADA AND ACADIA, FROM 1748 TO 1760.

1. THE Marquis de la Jonquière was appointed to succeed Beauharnois as Governor of Canada, but being captured on his way out, the Count de la Galissonnière was appointed in his stead, and administered the affairs for about two years; then the marquis, being released, took the reins. The latter was succeeded by the Marquis du Quesne, in 1752, and the latter again by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, in 1755. These several governments were marked by disturbances with the English colonists, which culminated during the administration of the latter in the final grand struggle in which Canada passed permanently into the hands of the English. Until that struggle came there was nothing very remarkable in the affairs of Canada. In Nova Scotia, in 1744, when war broke out again between France and England, the French

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Governor of Cape Breton immediately attempted the conquest of Nova Scotia. He reduced Canso, and laid siege to Annapolis, but was unsuccessful. The English, on the contrary, succeeded in taking Louisburg, the then Gibraltar of America; but when peace was concluded, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the island of Cape Breton was restored to France. After this treaty Nova Scotia began to be the object of attention of England. The peninsula had hitherto been settled almost exclusively by the French. In order to introduce a greater proportion of English settlers, it was proposed to colonize in Nova Scotia a large number of the soldiers who had been discharged in consequence of the disbanding of the army; and in the latter part of June, 1749, a company of nearly four thousand adventurers of this class was added to the population of the colony. To every soldier were given fifty acres of land, with ten additional acres for every member of his family. Officers had a larger allowance, and every person above a captain received six hundred acres, with proportionate increase for the members of families. These settlers were conveyed free of expense, and furnished with ammunition, and with utensils for clearing their lands and erecting dwellings, and were maintained twelve months at the expense of the government.

2. The emigrants were landed at Chebucto Harbor, under the charge of the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, whom the king had appointed their governor. At this place they at once commenced the building of the town of Halifax, which was named in honor of the nobleman who had the greatest share in founding the colony. The place selected for the new town contained the advantages of one of the finest harbors in America. The colony "was considered of so great importance to England that Parliament continued to make annual grants for it, which, in 1755, had amounted to the enormous sum of nearly two millions of dollars; but, although the English settlers were thus firmly established, they soon found themselves unpleasantly situated. The limits of Nova Scotia had never been defined, by the treaties between France and England, with sufficient clearness to prevent disputes about boundaries, and each party was now striving to obtain possession of a territory claimed by the other. The government of France contended that the British dominion, according to the treaty which ceded Nova Scotia, extended only over the present peninsula of the same name; while, according to the English, it extended over

all that large tract of country formerly known as Acadia, including the present province of New Brunswick. Admitting the English claim, France would be deprived of a portion of territory of great value to her, materially affecting her control over the river and gulf of St. Lawrence, and greatly endangering the security of her Canadian possessions."

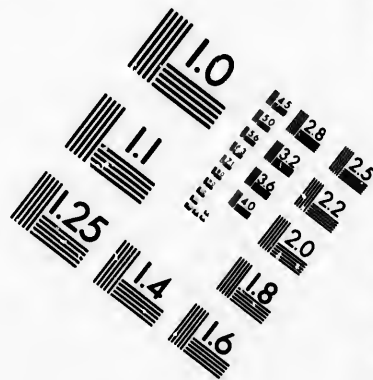
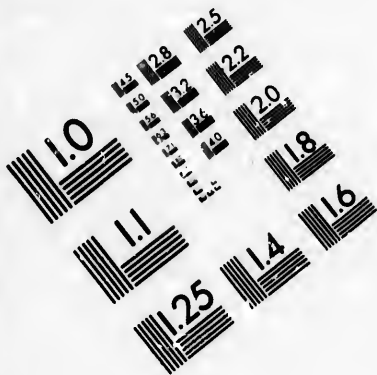
3. No sooner was it apparent that the English intended to colonize the whole peninsula, than the French, jealous of their former enemies, sought to prejudice the Indians against them, "in the hope of effectually preventing the English from extending their plantations, and, perhaps, of inducing them to abandon their settlements entirely. The Indians even made attacks upon Halifax, and the colonists could not move into the adjoining woods, singly or in small parties, without danger of being shot and scalped, or taken prisoners. In support of the French claims, the Governor of Canada sent detachments, which, aided by strong bodies of Indians and a few French Acadians, erected the fort of Beau Sejour on the neck of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, and another on the river St. John, on pretence that these places were within the government of Canada. Encouraged by these demonstrations, the French inhabitants around the bay of Chignecto rose in open rebellion against the English government, and in the spring of 1750 the Governor of Nova Scotia sent Maj. Lawrence with a few men to reduce them to obedience. At his approach the French abandoned their dwellings, and placed themselves under the protection of the commandant of Fort Beau Sejour, when Lawrence, finding the enemy too strong for him, was obliged to return without accomplishing his object." Not long after, Maj. Lawrence was again sent out with one thousand men; but after doing the enemy but little harm he was obliged to retire. To keep the French in subjection, the English built a fort on the narrow strip of land near the isthmus, connecting the peninsula with New Brunswick, which they called Fort Lawrence. The French erected additional forts in the disputed territory, and vessels, with troops and military stores, were sent to Canada and Cape Breton, until the English became alarmed at the critical situation in which they were placed.

4. But in 1755 Admiral Boscawen commenced the war which had long been anticipated by both parties, by capturing on the coast of Newfoundland two French vessels, with eight companies of soldiers on board, and about thirty-five thousand dollars in specie. With commencement of hostilities, a force

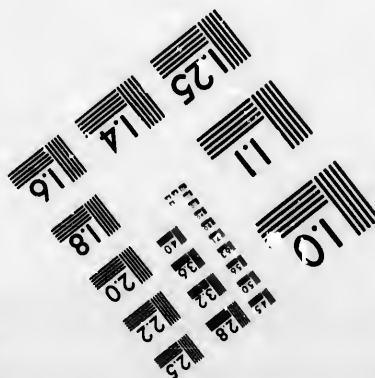
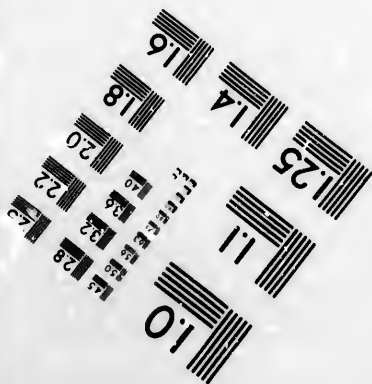
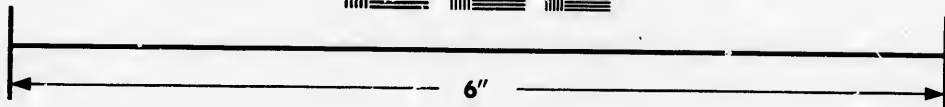
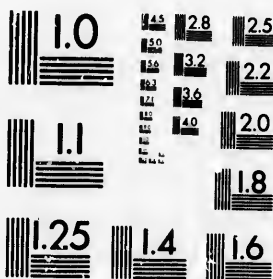
was sent out from New England, under Cols. Monekton and Winslow, to dislodge the enemy, and possess their newly-built fortifications. The troops set out from Boston on the 20th of May, and after a safe voyage anchored in Chignecto Bay, about five miles from Fort Lawrence. On arriving at the river, then called Marsaquah, they found their progress opposed by the enemy, four hundred and fifty of whom occupied a block house while the others were securely posted behind a heavy breastwork of timber. Having dislodged both of these forces, Col. Monekton advanced to Fort Beau Sejour, which he subdued after four days' hard fighting. He changed the name of the fort to that of Fort Cumberland, and left it in charge of a British garrison. He then reduced another French post, on the Gaspereau river, which flows into Bay Veste. Here he obtained a large store of provisions and stores. The success of this expedition was in producing tranquillity in all Acadia, then claimed by the English, and called Nova Scotia.

5. But the situation of the people of Nova Scotia at this time was full of danger. The war in Europe opened adverse to the British arms, and Braddock had been defeated in his invasion of the French outposts in the north-west. The French cause seemed to prosper, and it was believed that Nova Scotia would be invaded. At this time the French Acadians amounted to eighteen thousand. "They had," says an eminent writer, "cultivated a considerable extent of land, possessed about sixty thousand head of cattle, had neat and comfortable dwellings, and lived in a state of plenty, but of great simplicity. They were a peaceful, industrious, and amiable race, governed mostly by their pastors, who exercised a parental authority over them; they cherished a deep attachment to their native country, they had resisted every invitation to bear arms against it, and had invariably refused to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. Although the great body of these people remained tranquilly occupied in the cultivation of their lands, yet a few individuals had joined the Indians, and about three hundred were taken in the forts, in open rebellion against the government of the country. Under these circumstances, Governor Lawrence and his council, aided by Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, assembled to consider what disposal of the Acadians the security of the country required. Their decision resulted in the determination to tear the whole of this people from their homes, and disperse them through the different British colonies, where they would be unable to unite in any offensive measures,





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and where they might in time become naturalized to the government. Their lands, houses, and cattle were, without any alleged crime, declared to be forfeited; and they were allowed to carry with them only their money and household furniture, both of extremely small amount. Treachery was necessary to render this tyrannical scheme effective. The inhabitants of each district were commanded to meet at a certain place and day on urgent business, the nature of which was carefully concealed from them; and when they were all assembled the dreadful mandate was pronounced, and only small parties of them were 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 embarkation 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 property of which they were 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 hardships, 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, and so guarded a silence was preserved by the government of Nova Scotia upon the subject of the removal of the Acadians, that the records of the province make no allusion whatever to the event. Notwithstanding the barbarous diligence with which this mandate was executed, it is supposed that the number actually removed from the province did not exceed seven thousand. The rest fled into the depths 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 even their own lands with a fury exceeding that of the most savage enemy. In one district two hundred and thirty-six 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-places."

6. At the close of the French and Indian War, France was compelled to yield her possessions in North America to the English, and now the English government of the Province of Nova Scotia did all in its power to promote the general prosperity of the settlements; but, after the fullest exertions had been made, the dreadful blank made by the banishment of the French was painfully visible. After the peace the French were allowed to return to their old homes and occupy lands, on taking the customary oaths; but no compensation was offered them for the property of which they had been plundered. However, a few did return, and in 1772, out of a French population of eighteen thousand, that once occupied portions of Nova Scotia, but two thousand remained. It should have been mentioned before, that in 1758, during the administration of Gov. Lawrence, a legislative assembly was given to the people of Nova Scotia; and, also, that in 1761 a treaty was made with the Indians, by which they agreed to forever bury the hatchet, and to accept George III., instead of the King of France, as their great father.

7. The Marquis de Vaudrenil, who succeeded Du Quesne in 1755, was the last of the French governors in Canada. His long administration was brought to a close with the conquest of the English, in 1759. With the commencement of his administration affairs between the French and English colonies were growing serious. In the crisis England aided her colonies with men and money, and sent out General Braddock to superintend the campaign. He adopted measures for the capture of all the western French outposts, but the French prepared to resist the blow. "Braddock arrived in Virginia in February, 1755, and in April assembled the provincial governors at Alexandria to plan the campaign. At this conference four expeditions were planned. The first, under General Lawrence, was designed to reduce Nova Scotia; the second, under Braddock, to recover the Ohio valley; the third, under Governor Shirley,



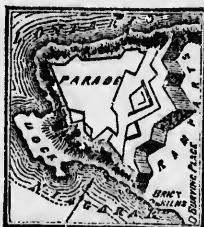
General Braddock.

to capture Fort Niagara; and the fourth, under Johnson, to take Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point). Braddock set out in June with twelve hundred men, and a reserve of one thousand more, to take Fort du Quesne, in Ohio. He was accompanied by Washington, as colonel of his staff. It was a month before he reached the Ohio.



Fort du Quesne.

When within a few miles of the fort he was attacked by M. de Beaujeu, the commandant, with two hundred and fifty Canadians and six hundred Indians in ambuscade. A panic ensued, and Braddock was defeated with a loss of eight hundred out of his twelve hundred troops, and all his artillery and stores. His officers behaved nobly. He himself had five horses shot under him, when he received a mortal wound, and died in a few days." This victory ended that campaign, and assured to the French the possession of the valley of the Ohio for the time. Governor Shirley, in consequence, abandoned his attack on Niagara.



Fort Niagara.

The other expeditions, however, were prosecuted with considerable vigor. In the mean time France was preparing to help her colony, and sent out General Dieskau with a large force. "Hoping to rival the success which had attended the French arms in Ohio, he lost no time in marching from Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point) to attack the advancing columns of the British provincial militia, which had been collected under Gen. Johnson, in the vicinity of Lake George. Leaving half of his force at Carillon (Ticonderoga), (where a very strong new French fort had been erected this year), Dieskau came up with a detachment of Gen. Johnson's men under Col. Williams. Forming an ambuscade, he attacked and scattered the British force, killing its leader, Col. Williams. He then pushed on to attack Johnson's chief post, at Fort Edward (Hudson river), which had just been constructed by Gen. Lyman. In this he entirely failed, — Johnson being too well posted at Fort William Henry (at the head of Lake George), and his own force being too small. Dieskau, in attacking William Henry, was wounded and taken prisoner, and his men forced to retreat. For Col. Johnson's prowess in this battle he was knighted by the king."

8. As the contest waged hotter the contestants extended

their preparations. A council of war was held in New York by the English, and a plan adopted. Meanwhile the French King, Louis XV., determined to despatch M. Montcalm, one of the ablest generals, to Canada early in 1756. Montcalm was accompanied by General de Lévis, M. de Bourgainville, and fourteen thousand men, provisions, war materials, and money. George II. was equally prompt. With Gen. Abercromby and a large reinforcement, he sent out the Earl of Loudoun as Governor of Virginia and generalissimo. The House of Commons also voted one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds sterling to raise and equip the colonial militia. With a view to conciliate the Iroquois and secure their coöperation, Sir William Johnson was, at their request, appointed "sole superintendent of the Six Nations and other Northern Indians," and the various provinces were required to transact all business relating to the Indians through him.

9. The progress of the war was not without some thrilling incidents, among other things a daring feat was performed by Capt. Rogers, of the English colonials. Leaving the head of Lake George with fifty men in five boats, he stealthily glided down the lake, and then carried the boats overland to Lake Champlain. Rowing by night, and lying concealed by day (often within hearing of the passing boats of the French), he passed Forts Ticonderoga and St. Frederic, until he came to where the supply schooners of the enemy, on their way to the forts, were lying at anchor. Rogers suddenly attacked and captured them. Then, abandoning his boats and securing his prisoners he marched them by land to Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George. This exploit worked considerable damage to the French. Meanwhile Col. Bradstreet managed, in a very skilful manner, in conducting reinforcements from Schenectady to Oswego. However, Col. Bradstreet's reinforcements were not sufficient. Montcalm marched against the fort with a strong force, and, after a brief attack, he compelled his enemies to abandon Fort Ontario. This was on the 12th of August. The English retreated to the opposite side of the river, to Fort Oswego. This fort was also surrounded, as its commandant, Col. Mercer, was killed. "So exasperated were the Indian allies of the French at the loss of so many of their warriors, that Montcalm had to shoot down six of them before they would desist from scalping the prisoners. To conciliate the Iroquois, who looked with jealousy upon the British fort in their territory, he destroyed the fort, and returned to

Frontenac in triumph, with one thousand four hundred prisoners (who were sent to Montreal), one hundred thirty-four cannon, and a large amount of military stores. The victory was a most important one for the French, and added so much to their prestige among the Iroquois, that at their solicitation a deputation from each of the cantons (except the Mohawk) went to Montreal to conclude a treaty of peace with De



Sir William Johnson.

Vaudreuil, the governor. Sir William Johnson set vigorously at work to counteract this fatal influence. By the aid of his faithful friends, the Mohawks, he was partially successful, and despatched several war parties to harass the enemy. The capture of Oswego had the farther effect of preventing any hostile movements on the part of the English commander during the remainder of the year."

10. The campaign of 1756 was still more successful for the French arms, and in that of 1757 the French won many brilliant victories. Montcalm reduced Fort William Henry. However, the campaign of 1758 paved the way for the final victory to English arms. "Gen. Lord Loudoun, the commander-in-chief, having failed to act either with judgment or energy, was superseded by Gen. Abercromby; and, in other respects, the British cabinet, under the guidance of the elder Pitt, evinced its determination to prosecute the war with unusual vigor. Circular letters were addressed to each of the colonies in March, offering royal troops and warlike material in abundance, provided they would select officers and raise such additional men



General Abercromby.

among themselves as might be required. Also, as a mark of favor, provincial colonels were raised to the rank of brigadier-generals and lieutenant-colonels to that of colonels. So heartily were these circulars responded to that in two months twenty thousand colonial troops were sent to Albany, equipped and officered, ready to take the field. On the part of the royal forces sent out from England, the campaign in 1758 was signalized by the gallant and memorable capture of Louisburg, the fortified capital of Cape

Breton; but on the part of the colonial forces and the regular troops, under Gen. Abercromby, it proved a disgraceful failure.

In July Abercromby decided to proceed down Lake George and attack Montcalm at Ticonderoga. The youthful and gallant Lord Howe was, however, the real soul of the expedition; but he was killed in a slight skirmish soon after the landing, which so disheartened Abercromby that he withdrew his whole army. But the rangers, under Col. Bradstreet and Capt. Rogers, pushed forward and gained a good position. Abercromby now advanced, but the attack was mismanaged and proved a disgraceful failure. Col. Bradstreet, however, importuned the general for a sufficient force to reduce Fort Frontenac. This was at length granted. Bradstreet lost no time in joining Gen. Stanwix at the new fort which he was then erecting at the Oneida portage (now Rome), on the Mohawk river. With two thousand seven hundred provincials, which Gen. Stanwix had given him, and about fifty Iroquois, under Red Head and Capt. J. Butler, he crossed the lake in open boats, and in two days after reaching the fort compelled the commander to capitulate. Thus was Col. Bradstreet's heroic enterprise crowned with complete success; and all the stores and shipping of the enemy fell into his hands. Great rejoicing followed this important victory; for it was felt that, with the fall of Fort Frontenac, was destroyed Montcalm's power against the English on the great lakes. The noble Montcalm was chagrined, but not discouraged; for, said he, "We are still resolved to find our graves under the ruins of the colony." On hearing of Abercromby's disaster, Gen. Amherst brought five regiments from Louisbourg, by way of Boston, to reinforce him. He then returned to his army. The remainder of the campaign was chiefly favorable to the British. To Gen. Forbes was entrusted the reduction of Fort du Quesne in the Ohio valley. Contrary to the advice of some provincial officers, Forbes sent forward an advance party under Col. Bouquet, part of which fell into an ambuscade, and was completely routed. Forbes himself supposed that the enemy was too strong to be successfully attacked, and had loitered so long on the way that, had it not been for Col. Washington, no attack on the fort would have been attempted that season. The garrison, however, was found to be so weak that on the approach of the Virginians the French commander destroyed the fort, and retired in great haste and confusion down the Ohio to the Mississippi. In honor of the British premier, the fort abandoned by the French was repaired, and named Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg).

11. Our greatest interest, however, must attach to the final campaign of 1759. General Amherst had succeeded Amhercromby. The French busied themselves in making preparations, and making the best possible disposition of their forces. The British made a threefold plan: first, General Prideaux was to attack Niagara; second, General Amherst was to besiege Ticonderoga; and, thirdly, General Wolfe was to attack



Montcalm.

Quebec. General Prideaux set out in July, and, aided by Sir William Johnson and a body of Iroquois, captured Fort Niagara; and by this stroke fell the last of that chain of forts which had so long connected Canada with Louisiana. General Amherst was successful without a battle, the enemy fleeing before him. But the great contest was waged between Generals Wolfe and Montcalm, at Quebec. The former was ably supported by Generals Monckton, Townsend, and Murray. He had a large naval force, and eight thousand troops. It is needless to give a description of the contest here; the battle of the "Plains of Abraham" is too well known to need repetition; hence I omit to give the details of one of the grandest military feats in the whole of Canadian history. Wolfe, having arranged his forces in battle order, quietly awaited the



Wolfe.

enemy. Montcalm marched against him without delay. Wolfe gave his men orders not to fire until the French were within forty or fifty yards. "On the brave Frenchmen came," says a well-known Canadian writer, "and as they neared Wolfe's troops the rattle of musketry, at a given signal, extended, as if by magic, along the whole of his lines. As the French wavered at the deadly discharge Wolfe gave the order to charge. Although already wounded he led on the grenadiers. He had scarcely gone more than a few paces before he was again struck, but this time he was mortally wounded. Nevertheless, with a wild shout his men still pressed on, while he was silently carried to

the rear, near a well. The charge upon the advancing line of French troops was decisive, though they were cheered and encouraged to stand firm by the voice and example of Montcalm, who had already been twice wounded. At length the loud shouts, 'They run! They run!' fell on the ear of the heroic Wolfe, and roused for a moment to consciousness the dying hero. 'Who, — who run?' said he. 'The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere,' was the eager response. Then gasping a hurried message for Col. Burton, he turned on his side and said, 'Now God be praised; I die in peace!' and instantly the brave Wolfe expired. Montcalm himself, with noble courage, restrained the retreating soldiers; but, struck a third time, he fell from his horse mortally wounded, and was carried into the city. De Vaudreuil, on whom now devolved the chief command of Montcalm's army, rallied a portion of the troops, and successfully resisted for a time the advance of the victorious army into the city; but all in vain, for the battle was already decided in favor of the advancing columns of the enemy. Thus was this memorable battle fought and won, with a loss of one thousand five hundred French and seven hundred British; and thus, in the memorable fall of Quebec, fell also, in Canada (although the after-struggle was protracted for a year), that imperial power which for more than one hundred and fifty years had ruled the colonial destinies of New France. The history of French rule in America is full of heroic achievements, of touching and memorable incident; and its termination, though decisive, was still worthy of that great nation, whose history is parallel to our own in noble deeds and chivalrous renown. The death of Wolfe and Montcalm, within so short a time of each other, created a profound feeling of regret. Wolfe's body was conveyed to England and buried at



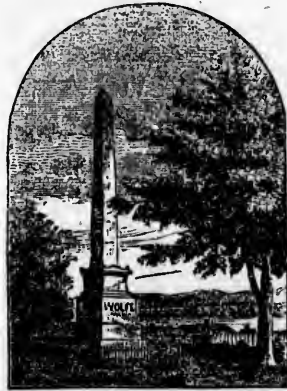
Wolfe's old Monument, Quebec.



Wolfe's new Monument, erected in 1849.

Greenwich. A monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, and another on the Plains of Abraham (which was replaced, in 1849, by the British troops serving in Canada, by a handsomer one), on the very spot where 'Wolfe died, victorious.' Montcalm died on the morning after the battle, aged forty-seven. He was buried at the Ursuline Convent, Quebec. A noble and chivalrous soldier, he was regretted by friend and foe. A monument to the memory of himself and Wolfe was erected by subscription, at Quebec, in 1827, chiefly through the exertions of the Earl of Dalhousie, then Governor-General of Canada."

12. The fall of Quebec before Wolfe's invincible forces stimulated the English, and the victory was followed up with



Wolfe and Montcalm's Monument

the intention of possessing Canada. The English Parliament freely voted men and money for this purpose. In the face of these additional measures the French were ill-prepared to make farther resistance. The small reinforcements despatched by France failed to reach Canada; nevertheless, the governor determined to make a desperate effort to retake Quebec. He sent General de Lévis from Montreal with all his available forces. General Murray marched out of the fort to meet him, but was compelled to retire. However, Murray was reinforced and the French were compelled to abandon

the siege. The campaign of 1760 concluded the drama, and Canada, in this year, became a British province. "General Amherst's plan of the campaign for 1760 was to attack the outlying French posts of Isle-aux-Noix, Os-we-gat-elie (La Presentation, now Ogdensburg), and Fort Lévis at La Gallette (an island in the St. Lawrence); then to concentrate all the troops and rangers for a combined attack on Montreal. Murray was to move up from Quebec; Colonel Haviland was to attack Isle-aux-Noix; and Amherst himself was to advance against La Galette and Oswegatchie, on his way down the river. In June, Amherst left Schenectady with six thousand provincials and four thousand regulars. In July, he was joined at Oswego by Sir Wm. Johnson and six hundred Iroquois, afterwards

increased to one thousand three hundred and thirty. From this place Sir Wm. Johnson sent friendly overtures to the Indians near Montreal, which were accepted. Having sent Col. Haldimand with one thousand men as an advance guard, Amherst proceeded down the St. Lawrence in August. Oswegatchie was soon taken, but Fort Lévis, at La Gulette, held out some days, but at length surrendered. In August, Col. Haviland appeared before Isle-aux-Noix, and opened fire upon it. M. de Bourgainville, the French commandant, did not long resist the attack; but, having withdrawn with his main force, the rest of the garrison surrendered to the British forces. Thus the whole of the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain region passed from the French into the hands of the English. At length the British forces from Quebec, Lake Champlain, and Oswego, converged slowly yet simultaneously upon Montreal; and early in September Montreal was invested by a force of seventeen thousand men under Gen. Amherst. Resistance was useless; and, after some discussion, De Vaudreuil proposed to capitulate. To this Gen. Amherst agreed, and on the 8th of September, 1760, was signed that memorable document by which the whole of Canada was solemnly transferred from the French to the British crown. Thus, after one hundred and fifty years of heroic struggle, with scant means of defence, against powerful rival colonists and a relentless Indian enemy, the first promoters of European civilization and enterprise in Canada were compelled to give place to a more aggressive race. But they did so with honor. Thus concludes our account of French rule in Canada.



Lord Amherst.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES TO THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

EARLY SETTLEMENT. We will now trace the history and development of the colonies, thirteen in all, that united in 1776 to cast off the British yoke, after remonstrances had proved vain as against the tyranny of the English government. Virginia, Massachusetts, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, North Carolina, New York, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Georgia constituted the United States, when the Declaration of Independence was signed; but this division pauses immediately before that step was taken by the Americans. There were two classes of colonists among the early settlers: the first comers were of the class afterwards known in English history as Cavaliers; they landed in Virginia in 1607; the other type, the Puritans, afterwards known as Roundheads in history, landed on Plymouth Rock in 1620, and colonized Massachusetts. The early records show but little intercourse and common sympathy among these distant bands of men striving to master a hard destiny; but in the end the contest resulted well for the world, in the establishment of a new home for liberty.

1. VIRGINIA. Sir Walter Raleigh is credited with having given the name of Virginia to the country in which the first English settlement was made on this continent, in compliment to Queen Elizabeth. The success of the Spaniards in procuring gold from the native population in Mexico induced many to believe that all America was auriferous, and in consequence men who were not accustomed to daily toil came as birds of passage only, intending to return to England as soon as they had realized the wealth which they never doubted would be found in abundance. To become settlers, in the better sense of the term, was no part of their intention. The climate was very trying to such persons, and their endeavors to find gold assisted

to break down their constitutions, so that during the first summer, between April 26th and autumn, one-half of the colony had died.

2. Captain Smith, an adventurer, who published an account of his hair-breadth escapes in London while Charles I. was quarrelling with his Parliament, was apparently the ablest man in the colony of Virginia. His experiences in many countries, under trying circumstances, had given him some readiness and energy, and he persuaded the gentlemen of Virginia to become foresters and workmen, instead of idlers and gold-hunters. At first a prisoner among the settlers, he was afterwards chosen a councillor, and then president of the council. Under his direction a fort was built, and log huts as a protection against wintry rigors; besides which he made friends of the Indians, and procured from them supplies of provisions during his exploring excursions. Under his guidance the colony came through its earliest perils, because he made the rule that none should eat except those that would work.

3. The book published by Capt. John Smith contained many proofs of his ingeniousness as it was full of perilous adventures, and beyond all doubt his courage led him into many difficulties, from which it required all his address to find an escape. While striving to discover a passage to the East Indies up the Chickahominy river, one of the feeders of the James river, the adventurer fell into the hands of the Indians, and was detained as a prisoner. But he awakened an interest among his captors by an exhibition of his acquirements and, in company with them, passed from tribe to tribe nearly all over the peninsula in which Gen. McClellan operated against Richmond in 1862. The great chief, Powhatan, is said to have condemned him to death. But the story is not absolutely beyond doubt, except that men wish to believe it because of the interest attaching to the intervention of Pocahontas. There was some foundation for the story that the beautiful Indian maiden saved



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

his life ; and Smith was after a time sent back to the settlement, with promises of friendship from the Indians.

4. Pocahontas continued to be a good friend to the white settlers ; but the English government, under the incompetent direction of King James I. and his favorites, did all that was possible to ruin the adventure.



SMITH SHOWING HIS COMPASS TO THE INDIANS.

The colonists had established a council to secure just administration ; but the company under whom the first charter for settlement had been obtained, procured a second charter in 1609, vesting the government in a governor only, concerning whose appointment the settlers were never consulted, and in the preparation of whose laws they had no voice. They were treated as dumb cattle by their masters.

5. The president of the council had been in effect governor for some time, and in that capacity the adventurer, John Smith, rendered good service ; but about the

time that the new charter was procured he was severely wounded, and returned to England. Quarrels with the Indians became common, and many of the settlers were killed ; besides which, famine and disease decimated the remainder so rapidly that in six months their numbers fell from four hundred and ninety to sixty. Some of the colonists had tried to thrive as pirates, but their opportunities were few, and they abandoned the undertaking. The miserable remnant concluded to abandon the settlement ; but at the time that they were taking their departure the new governor, Lord Delaware, arrived, with abundant supplies, and many emigrants. This event changed the aspect of affairs, and the men who were just quitting their adopted home returned to try their fortune once more.

6. The river on which the first settlement was established was called James river, and the settlement Jamestown, in honor of the King of England. The king showed his interest

in the suffering colony by issuing a third charter, in 1612, allowing stockholders in the venture to regulate their own affairs, untroubled by a council which had been formed in London.

7. In the year 1613 Pocahontas, the beautiful Indian girl, who is said to have saved the life of John Smith, became the wife of John Rolfe, a planter. Rolfe was a man of singular piety, and his exhortations had induced Pocahontas to receive Christian baptism before they were joined in wedlock. They were married in the church of Jamestown, and three years later Pocahontas and her husband were in London, where they were received at court and in society with every mark of distinction. The child of the forest soon tired of the scenes by which she was surrounded in London, but she died suddenly, in 1617, just as she was about to return. Her infant son is proudly named as the common ancestor of many of the first families in Virginia, and one result of the marriage was a prolonged peace between the settlers on one hand and the Chickahomines and Powhatan on the other.

8. The year before the Puritans landed in Massachusetts, which happened in December, 1620, Gov. Yeardley called together the first legislative body of white men ever convened in America. This event happened June 28, 1619, and the parliament was an imitation of the king, lords and commons, of the mother country, being composed of the governor, council and burgesses, the last named being the representatives of the boroughs. The company in England might decline to ratify the laws passed by the local legislature, but the company could not enforce laws unless they were approved by the colonists: and the rights thus accruing were embodied in a kind of charter, or written constitution, in 1621. The affairs of the company in London were now in the hands of men who were deeply imbued with a love of liberty and justice, and Gov. Yeardley had their fullest support in building up the rights of the colonists. The constitution dates from July, 1621, when the New England colony was only seven months old.

9. Tobacco-growing had become the staple industry in and around Jamestown. Tobacco was the currency of the colony, as well as its export, and along the James river there were settlements extending on both banks for nearly one hundred and fifty miles. The company which, under its earlier management, had sought merely to make a profit out of the adventure, had now set its mind upon making the colony a success, and in consequence many young women were sent out from

London, where they were speedily married, husbands paying one hundred weight of tobacco as the cost of the bringing over of their future helpmeets. That course of action was eminently successful, and many of the more enthusiastic benedicts gave one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco for their better halves. Domestic obligations gave to the colony the permanence of home in Virginia, where every man could vote, and none ventured to interfere with religious freedom.

10. In the year 1619, while freedom was just being established on a broad basis in Virginia, a Dutch vessel arrived at Jamestown, with twenty negroes, and the captain sold them to the planters to be employed in the cultivation of tobacco. That was the beginning of negro slavery in America, and the traffic continued for many years, although the first venture on the part of the American citizens to procure slaves dates from Boston, twenty-six years later.

11. Powhatan was the firm friend of the settlers, and had been so since the marriage of his daughter Pocahontas to John Rolfe; but after his death, in 1618, there was a conspiracy among the Indians to murder all the colonists on the 22d of March, 1622, at midday. Three hundred and forty-seven persons were thus destroyed; but the colony had consisted of four thousand, and the remainder were saved in consequence of the kindness of an Indian who wished to save a white man who had befriended him. Jamestown was fortified enough to scare the Indians from an attack, and all the settlements within reach were warned; but the outlying plantations were beyond rescue, and in them men, women, and children were slaughtered without mercy. The colonists made war upon the Indians after this evidence of their treachery, and for more than twenty years they were peaceful after that outbreak, but the colony only numbered two thousand five hundred persons after hostilities had ceased. The Indians made a somewhat similar attempt April 18, 1644, when about three hundred settlers were slain; but the survivors among the natives were glad to purchase peace by making considerable cessions of territory. The frontier settlements were as usual the points of attack, and the secret was well kept; but the courage of the assailants failed even before the settlers began to assemble in arms.

12. King James annulled the charter under which the colony had been governed, and in 1624 made Virginia a royal province, promising, moreover, to prepare a code of laws for the

government of the people ; but he died in 1625, and that affliction was thus averted. James had probably become jealous of the liberal spirit evinced by the company in London. The governor and council were thereafter nominated by the king ; but Gov. Wyatt, who was governor when the charter was annulled, was continued in office, and the assembly continued in operation.

13. The return of the Stuarts to power in England, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, in 1658, was the occasion of very oppressive legislation in the Parliament of Great Britain, and the colonies which had been aided by the Great Protector were now almost crushed by the enforcement of the Navigation Act in 1660, which required that their tobacco should be shipped to England only, and must be carried in English vessels, by which means a twofold monopoly operated against the industries of Virginia. The first Charles had tried in vain to raise a revenue upon Virginian tobacco, but the advisers of the son were more successful. In 1658 "the Dutch and all foreigners" were invited to take part with Virginia, subject to the same duties as were paid by English vessels ; but times speedily changed to a worse complexion. The cavalier element was largely represented in the colonial assembly, and they played the game of the long Parliament in England, usurping unconstitutional authority. When their term of office expired, they refused to be dissolved, and they fixed their own emoluments at two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco *per diem*. Their tyranny increased with every manifestation of their power. The voting privilege was restricted to freeholders and house-keepers, and the few Quakers in the settlement were taxed at the rate of twelve hundred dollars per annum for non-attendance in the Anglican church. The royalists contrived thus to establish in Virginia two well-defined parties, — the wealthy planters assuming the airs of an aristocracy, making common cause with the office-holders, and the industrious, liberty-loving people consorting together as men deprived of undoubted rights.

14. The premonitory rising known as Bacon's Rebellion, which occurred one century, exactly, before the Declaration of Independence, was the natural and almost the inevitable outcome of the system introduced and upheld by the Royalist Assembly. Gov. Berkeley, who once made his boast that "there were no free schools nor printing-presses in Virginia," had been removed from office as governor by Cromwell, in 1651 ; but being restored by Charles II., in 1660, he continued

in office until the year before his death, which took place in London, in 1677. During 1676 there were troubles with the Indians, and provisions had not been made for the defence of the colony, until a young lawyer named Bacon, aged about thirty-six years, raised a company and routed the marauders. For that service Gov. Berkeley denounced the leader as guilty, of treason, and Nicholas Bacon came, with his armed followers to discuss the question. The governor was driven out of Jamestown, the settlement was burned, and the village has never been rebuilt; but just when things promised a favorable outcome for the people, the young leader died, Oct. 1, 1676, and in the absence of efficient direction the attempt was quelled by Berkeley with great severity.

15. MASSACHUSETTS. New England was the ambition of the Plymouth Company, but, like most of the adventurers that formed companies on the other side of the Atlantic, they knew but little of the task which they proposed to undertake. Several attempts were made on behalf of the Plymouth Company to explore and settle Northern Virginia, and a colony was actually established on the Kennebec in 1607; but the men composing the expedition had not the material of which success is made, and the settlement was abandoned in 1608, only one of the party having died. In the year 1620 the company procured a new patent, as the Council of New England, with great privileges and concessions; but the settlement of New England was not to be achieved under their auspices.

16. Plymouth Rock was reached by the Pilgrim Fathers and their families, on board the Mayflower, in December, 1620, and they landed, to the number of one hundred souls, in the midst of a storm of snow and sleet. They had endured too many hardships in their search for freedom to worship God to care for the inclemency of the season. The actual landing was made on Forefathers' Rock, as it is now called, on December 21, the day being Sunday. The first hours of the new-comers in their adopted home were thus given to worship; but their diligence on the succeeding days showed that their hours of devotion had recuperated minds strong by nature, and their spirit could not be cast down by obstacles and difficulties.

17. The moral force of the Pilgrims had been proved and improved by the persecutions already endured by them in the name of religion, and the wilderness, cold and inhospitable as it seemed, was not more rugged than their determination to subdue it to their purposes as a home, in which liberty, as

they understood the word, should reign supreme, and in which God should be worshipped by all men, according to the views for which they had lived and suffered. Primarily it was their care that their children should be surrounded by religious influences, and be well educated, and they were thrifty in the management of their affairs, being in every respect most worthy and desirable citizens.

18. Trials of fortitude were not wanting at any time in the new settlement; but, during the first winter, the worse than usually severe weather, and the unprepared condition in which it found them, killed more than half their number. There were hardly as many in good health as sufficed to bury the dead and attend upon the invalids; at one time there were only seven who were not sick; but the constancy of the little band never wavered for a moment.

19. The Pilgrims who were sent with the shallop to inspect the coast before a landing was effected at Forefathers' Rock, on December 21, endured one attack from Indians; but after the settlement had been made the colony was undisturbed from that source. The tribe that had lived upon the territory which they occupied had been killed off by a pestilence, so that they were not trespassing in any way upon natural rights. Samoset, one of the tribe of Wampanoags, who had learned some few words of English, came to visit them, one day in early spring, with words of welcome, and a treaty was entered into with Massasoit, the chief of his tribe, which for fifty years was observed on both sides. Miles Standish, whose fame has been sung by Longfellow, was the commander of the small force of the colony; but there was little occasion for actual war. One sachem, named Canonieus, who wavered in his faith as to the Pilgrims, sent a token of defiance; but a reply, that could not be misunderstood, convinced the Narraganset chief that he could not afford to fight the new-comers. Gov. Carver having died soon after the departure of the Mayflower, the office was conferred upon William Bradford, afterwards the historian of the settlement.

20. Starvation seemed for a long time an imminent probability. For many months there was no corn in the settlement, as the harvest proved a failure. It is customary to mention that at one time there was only a pint of corn to be divided, and that the allowance of each settler was only five kernels each; but the actual fact reveals much greater destitution, claims being the only food available for considerable intervals. Com-

manistic methods of working were tried here, as the same system had been tried in the early days at Jamestown, and in both cases failure was the result until every man worked his own land, after which there was comparatively plenty. Four years after the first settlement there were only one hundred and eighty-four persons in the colony, and it was ten years before the Council for New England gave the colony a grant for the land which it had occupied. The people chose their own governor, as no royal charter clogged their liberties, and they made their own laws.

21. *The Bay Colony.* John Endicott, the first governor of the Colony of Massachusetts, was about forty years of age when he came to America, and, although a severe man, it was undoubtedly his desire to be honest. He, with five associates, procured a grant of land about Massachusetts Bay from the English Company, and a royal charter, with power to make laws and rule the colony. The company made over their rights to the people who might take part in the enterprise, and as a consequence many Puritan families were attracted to this region. Salem and Charlestown, already founded by Governor Endicott, in 1629, formed centres of attraction for many; some colonized Watertown and Dorchester, and in the year 1630 Boston was founded, on the site known as Shawmut, afterwards called Tremont, by about one thousand colonists, under Governor Winthrop.

22. Religious intolerance was the vice of the age from which the Puritans fled, but it infected the men who run from it as well as their pursuers. Those who established themselves in Massachusetts Bay were opposed to the forms of the Church of England, and when persons who were inclined to Episcopacy came to their colony they sent them back again to England. A system of religious tests was rigorously insisted upon in the settlement. Among the new-comers was one man, whose admirable heterodoxy took the form of asserting that every person should think for himself on all matters of religion, being answerable only to God. This man was the great Roger Williams, and a bonfire in the midst of a powder magazine could hardly have caused a greater commotion than did his manly teaching around Massachusetts Bay. The interference of the civil magistrate in supposed offences against religious thought was denounced by him as unjust, and in 1635 an order was made that the preacher should be sent to England; but, instead of submitting to that mandate, he fled to the woods, taking

refuge among the Indians, who afterwards gave him land whereon to found a settlement, which he called Providence. The State of Rhode Island was thus founded, and although the grant from the Indians was to Roger Williams in person, he did not reserve to himself one privilege, but sought to build up a purely democratic form of government, with such light, as to conscience, as was then new to the world. In the same relation the name of Anne Hutchinson arises, as, during the same year as that which marked the banishment of Roger Williams from his church at Salem, this wonderful woman, who claimed to have received special communications from on high, was the centre of a great controversy; and her preachings and expositions attracted so much notice, especially among her own sex, that she was banished eventually, and found refuge in Rhode Island, where none were questioned as to their religious views, as under authority. Eventually this pure and high-minded woman was murdered by the Indians, but her record remained undimmed. The Society of Friends or Quakers, also, in their quiet way, disturbed the peace of Massachusetts, and it was in vain that they were fined, imprisoned, whipped, and banished, as their opinions and practices remained unaltered. Four of them were put to death, because they had returned to the settlement after being banished; but that acme of severity had no effect on the remainder, except to make them more persistent, and at last it became so evident that the persecutions could only make martyrs, that the iniquitous system was abandoned.

23. The First Indian War commenced July 14, 1675, under the leadership of Philip, the son and successor of the Sachem Massasoit. While the old chief lived there was peace, but the young man saw that the red men were being dispossessed of their hold upon the soil, and he sought to avert the doom of extinction by an act of savage daring and cruelty which aimed at the destruction of the whole colony. The tribes were confederated for the deed of slaughter, and the first blow fell upon the people of Swanzev, as they returned from church on Sunday. The colonists flew to arms, and Philip was defeated, but he only shifted the point of attack, and seemed to be ubiquitous. Tradition, not of the most reliable kind, says that an attack upon the people of Hadley was made on Fast day, June 12, 1675, and was defeated by the prompt energy of Col. Goffe, one of the judges that condemned Charles I. to the scaffold; but even the date of the assault varies as widely as from June 12 to September 1, in the same year, and it seems probable that

the whole story is an error. Philip was driven from point to point by the settlers, until he was shot by an Indian at Mt. Hope, after having kept the country in continual turmoil until far on in the year 1676.

24. The first union of the colonies only embraced the New England settlements, and it dates from 1643, when Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven formed a league against the Indians, the Dutch and the French settlers. The combination was known as the United Colonies of New England.

25. The Navigation Act, which we have seen oppressing Virginia, was still more cumbersome to Massachusetts, as the commerce of these colonies was considerable. Boston was known as a shipping place from the first year of its settlement, and the colonists concluded that the act should not prevent them carrying on their trade with the West Indies and elsewhere. Charles II. and his advisers determined to put down the independent spirit of the people, but when an officer was sent to enforce the law he was sent back again. The next step was to constitute Massachusetts a royal province, which should take from the people all powers of self-government; but Charles died before the scheme bore fruit, and his obstinate brother, James II., undertook the task. In the year 1686, two years before he was compelled to abdicate the throne of England, James declared the charters of all the New England colonies cancelled, and sent out Sir Edmund Andros as royal governor of New England. For three years the oppressions of the royal appointee were endured; but, as soon as it became known that William III. reigned in England, the colonists deposed and imprisoned the governor, resuming their old forms of administration, until Sir William Phipps came, three years later, as the Governor of Massachusetts, Maine, and Nova Scotia; after which Massachusetts remained a royal province until 1776.

26. The Witchcraft Delusion in Salem came to a head in the year 1692. The belief in witches was at that time all but universal. Kings, judges, clergymen, and men of science, were alike under the delusion all over the world; and in Salem twenty persons were hanged and fifty-five tortured, because of their supposed complicity in hellish practices. Any and every story that was confidently told on this subject was sure of credence; and persons of all ranks were suspected, more especially if they expressed doubts as to the guilt of the accused. The delusion ran its course, however,

and at last died out; but not before many persons had confessed themselves guilty of the abominable impossibilities charged against them.

27. MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE. Laconia was the name of a tract of land which was obtained from the New England Company, located at Plymouth, England, in 1622, by Gov. Gorges and others, forming a proprietary. The grant obtained extended from the Kennebec to the Merrimac. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was an accomplice with the Earl of Essex in his conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth, and became a witness against him in 1601. Under James I., Gorges became Governor of Plymouth, in 1604, and much of his life was spent in trying to found an empire for his family in this country. Gorges was named Lord Proprietary of Maine, and his son was general governor for New England; but eventually the grandson of the original grantee sold his rights in Maine to the colony of Massachusetts, for six thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, in 1677. Under the patent first obtained, Gorges and Mason operated for some time, but beyond establishing fishing-stations near Dover and Portsmouth, nothing was effected until the patent was dissolved, when the country west of the Piscataqua was taken by Mason, who named it New Hampshire; Maine, the country east of that river, being possessed by Gorges. The territory was claimed by Massachusetts, and it was to end all dispute as to the title that the sum named was paid to the grandson of Sir Ferdinando, as set forth. The inclusion which was thus effected continued until 1820. The settlements in New Hampshire were too weak for purposes of self-government and defence, and, in consequence, the stronger colony of Massachusetts was called upon to afford protection, so that the weaker was engrossed by the more powerful colony until 1741, when New Hampshire became a royal province, and enjoyed that distinction until the year 1776. The province was called Maine, to distinguish it from the islands along the coast, and the name once adopted continued. The grants conferred upon individuals, such as Mason and Gorges, were frequently sources of much litigation.

28. CONNECTICUT. Farther west was already the cry of the New England colonists, and the valley of the Connecticut or Long river, as that name implies in the Indian tongue, was the point of attraction. Intelligence concerning the situation had been obtained from traders who had built a fort at Windsor before the council of New England had granted the terri-

tory. The Dutch had a fort at Hartford, and also had commenced traffic with the Indians, from participating in which they vainly strove to keep the English colonists. The requisite grant from the council was procured in 1631 by two of the puritan lords in England, Saye and Seal, and Brooke, after whom the settlement was called Saybrook. The first regular settlers were led to the site of Hartford in 1637, but winter came on early in that year and with great severity, so that men and cattle died in considerable numbers before the spring, and the complete abandonment of the enterprise was determined upon; but in the spring of 1636 a much larger body came, under the guidance of Thomas Hooker and John Haynes, guided by the compass only, and driving flocks and herds before them. A fort, established by John Winthrop, shut out the "Dutch intruders from Manhattan," a regular government was established, and better times realized. The meadow-lands of the Connecticut were the principal source of attraction, but the Indian trade was not despised.

29. Indian perils environed the western colony, and the Narragansets were about to join the Pequods to make war upon the settlement, when the founder of Rhode Island, the blameless and admirable Roger Williams, who had communicated the fact of the impending combination to the Governor of Massachusetts, and had been requested by Sir Harry Vane to interpose his influence with the Narragansets, started for the heart of the combination, and in the very midst of the Pequods used his persuasive arts so effectually that he saved the men who had been the cause of his banishment. The conduct of the great Roman Coriolanus shows but poorly beside the unpretentious nobility of the leader of free thought. His labors and perils extended over three days, and it is safe to say that no other man would have succeeded as he did. The Pequods, unable to drag the Narragansets into the war which had been commenced, were compelled to fight unsupported, and the colony was saved from absolute destruction. Thirty of the settlers were murdered before an expedition, under the command of Mason, was determined upon, consisting of eighty men in all, well armed for such an enterprise, undertook to humble the Pequods. The superiority of European arms left no chance in such an encounter for the clans on the Mystic river, although they were as hundreds to tens. Their fort of palisades on the summit of a hill was carried by the Connecticut forces, the wigwams set on fire, and, as the warriors tried to

escape, they were shot down, or hunted to death afterwards. Almost the whole tribe perished in one day, and all their lands were laid waste.

30. "Union is strength" was the motto among all the scattered colonies, and combinations were made in every locality where support could be given and received by the different settlements. During the Pequod war the Governor of Massachusetts gave assistance by men and counsels to the Connecticut colony. This settlement comprised Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, among which a written constitution, the first framed on this continent by the people themselves, gave the right of voting to all free men. Saybrook colony was a proprietary settlement at first, but Connecticut bought the company's rights, and the settlement was included under its laws. New Haven colony took the Bible for law and government, and the settlement was under church rule. The absorption of Saybrook by Connecticut left only two colonies in the region named.

31. Definitive union was secured, in 1622, by the issue of a royal charter by Charles II., under the influence of John Winthrop, which extended to all the colonists in the combination the rights certified under the Connecticut constitution. King Charles could be induced to indorse such liberal provisions in sheer thoughtlessness, although he would have annulled all the charters if his life had been spared. His brother James, in 1686, sent Governor Andros to Hartford to demand the surrender of the royal gift. The charter was about to be handed over, when the chamber was suddenly darkened, and before the candles could be relighted Captain Wadsworth had disappeared through the crowd, and the document, safely hidden in the Charter Oak, was not visible again until Governor Andros had returned to Boston. The annulment executed by the royalist governor was of no avail, and three years later, James II. having fled from England, Governor Andros was imprisoned by the colonists. The charter was to have been violated in 1693, under the rule of Governor Fletcher, but Captain Wadsworth intimidated the governor into abandoning the project.

32. RHODE ISLAND. "Freedom of thought" was the watchword of this colony from the first. Before Roger Williams came to the island, William Blackstone, an independent, who had become tired of the rigorous rule of the church in Boston, had settled near the site of Providence;

and, as we have seen, Roger Williams made his settlement in 1636, contemporary with the second expedition to Hartford under Hooker. From all the settlements those who were oppressed made their way to Rhode Island, and Williams gave of his lands to every one, until only two small pieces, which he had cultivated from the first, remained in his own possession. Mrs. Hutchinson, and some of her followers, came to the settlement; the good woman having been banished from Massachusetts as being worse even than Roger Williams in the vindication of liberty of conscience. Some of the new-comers established the Rhode Island plantation on the island of Aquiday. The word Rhode came from the Dutch *roode*, or red. In this colony the civil magistrate had no power to interfere with men on account of their religious views.

33. Roger Williams, one of the least worldly of men, was obliged at every step to combat the prejudices of his surroundings; all of them men able to appreciate his goodness, but impressed with the idea that he was light-headed, because he upheld freedom of thought. The Rhode Island settlement was denied the right to join the New England Union, on the plea that no charter had been granted, and the preacher made a voyage to England while the civil war was progressing in that country, which ended in the triumph of Cromwell. Returning with a charter, in 1647, the people were convened to elect their officers, and to affirm the principle of religious liberty; which was the more remarkable in that age, because those who were most zealous against the old tyrannies, or so-called orthodox thought, were among the readiest to put pressure upon the thoughts of other men.

34. New York. Ferdinand, Duke of Alva, boasted that he had put to death eighteen thousand Netherlanders during the war for the suppression of Protestantism in the low countries, but he could not destroy the spirit of enterprise and reform among the people, and soon after the discovery and exploration of the river, in 1609, which bears the name of Hendrick Hudson to this day, Dutch ships began to arrive to cultivate a trade with the Indians. Settlements were made by the West India Company, at New Amsterdam in 1613, and at Albany, on the west bank of the Hudson, in 1614, and Fort Orange, or Aurania, was built in 1623. This settlement was successively called Beverwyck and Williamstadt, before the name of Albany was given, in compliment to the Duke of York and Albany, afterwards James II. of England. Patrons or patroons, who

brought fifty emigrants with them, were allowed by the company to buy land direct from the Indians, and titles so obtained were indefeasible. The Van Rensselaer family obtained twenty-four miles square on both sides of the Hudson.

35. New Amsterdam, on the Island of Manhattan, had four Dutch governors in succession, ending with Peter Stuyvesant, the ablest of the quartette; but none of them were able to understand the principles of civil liberty. Dutch burgomasters could not comprehend the claims of the colonists to enjoy such privileges as had been conceded to the settlers in Connecticut, as the liberties of the Netherlands had been merely the crystallization of the powers of a commercial aristocracy, under which the people enjoyed but little freedom. The Swedish settlement on the Delaware, and the English settlers on the Connecticut, troubled the peace of the Dutchmen, when they were not engaged in warfare with the Indians; but in the end Peter Stuyvesant came to terms with Connecticut as to the territory lying between Connecticut river and the Delaware, and being thus enabled to give undivided attention to the Swedes he reduced their settlement to submission. This happened in 1664, and in September of that year, just when affairs looked more sound than they had ever appeared before since the first landing, an English fleet demanded an unconditional surrender, in the name of the admiral, the Duke of York. The people were certain of more liberty under the new rule than they were enjoying, so they refused to fight, and the brave old governor was compelled to capitulate. The name was then changed to New York, in honor of the duke, who was thenceforth considered the proprietor.

36. Connecticut privileges were not conceded by the new rulers, the people were taxed arbitrarily, and their remonstrances were burned contemptuously by the hangman; so that there was no difficulty about the reconquest of the settlement in 1673, when the Dutch fleets had become masters of the seas. The fleets prepared by Cromwell had been the means of the first conquest; but since Charles II. ascended the throne, England had so much declined in power, that it was feared the Dutch, who had sailed up the Thames,



THE CHARTER OAK.

would even sack London. The presence of a Dutch fleet caused the name of New Amsterdam to be once more assumed, but when the war came to an end, in 1674, England was allowed to resume the mastery. Gov. Andros, who was afterwards imprisoned by the colonists of New England, was the first ruler appointed after the resumption, and his conduct was so monstrous that he was recalled by Charles II. Gov. Dongan, the next comer, obtained permission from the Duke of York to convene a popular assembly, but when the duke became king he revoked every concession, added New York to the New England province, of which Andros became governor, forfeited all the charters, forbid assemblies, and denounced printing, carrying out on this continent the bigoted rule which was the cause of his downfall in England, in 1688. The deputy governor that represented Andros in New York was so conscious of his own misdeeds that he fled as soon as he learned that the people of Boston had imprisoned Andros; and, in the absence of other rule, Capt. Leislor, an able man, in whom the people had much faith, assumed the direction of affairs. The first governor appointed by William and Mary was named Slaughter, and his most objectionable deed was the slaughter of Leislor on a baseless charge of treason. It is claimed that Gov. Slaughter was drunk when the order was made, to gratify the aristocratic enemies of the captain. The rule henceforward was less arbitrary until the days of George II., but there continued to be enough of tyranny to maintain the vigilance of the people in defending their rights.

37. NEW JERSEY. — Dutch parentage must be conceded to the settlements first made in New Jersey, and soon after the Duke of York became proprietor of the New Netherlands he handed over the territory between the Hudson river and Delaware to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. Elizabethtown was named after Lady Carteret in 1664, by a company of settlers from Long Island and the New England colonies, and thus the first permanent English colony in New Jersey was established almost at the same date as the surrender of New Amsterdam to the English fleet.

38. Farther settlement was mainly due to the Quakers, although Puritans and Scotch Presbyterians largely possessed the land. West Jersey was the portion belonging to Lord Berkeley, who sold to some English Quakers, and a settlement from that body was formed at Burlington, being joined by large numbers subsequently. East Jersey was purchased from Car-

teret's heirs, after his death, by another company of twelve Quakers, including William Penn; and the colony prospered.

39. The consolidation of New Jersey was effected in 1702, when the whole of the proprietors surrendered their rights of rule to the English Crown, and the settlements were united to New York under one governor, but with an assembly to legislate on local affairs. In the year 1738 New Jersey was constituted a royal province, at the request of the people, during the reign of George II.

40. Delaware was originally settled by the Swedes in 1637, and it is now, with the exception of Rhode Island, the smallest State in the Union, territorially considered. The first permanent settlement, near Wilmington, was called New Sweden, in honor of the land of their nativity, by the Swedish colonists; but the Dutch, under De Vries, had established a colony in 1630, near Lewes, in Sussex County. The Dutch colony, only thirty in number, was destroyed by the Indians in 1633. The Swedes and Fins, acting under the Swedish West India Company, built a fort at the mouth of Christian Creek, and another on Tinicum Island, below Philadelphia. This action provoked hostilities on the part of the Dutch, and after much fighting the Dutchmen conquered, sending back to Sweden all the colonists who would not swear allegiance to Holland.

41. Lord De La Warr, who came to govern Virginia just when the colonists were leaving Jamestown, in 1610, entered Delaware Bay in that year, and his name now attaches to the State, although Hendrick Hudson was the first explorer, in 1609. When New York fell into the hands of the English, Delaware was claimed by the Duke of York. Lord Baltimore asserted that he had a prior claim, under a grant from the crown; but the Duke, being the king's brother, carried the day, and in 1682 sold his rights to William Penn, who, after litigation with Baltimore, became established as the proprietor in 1685. Delaware was thus included in Pennsylvania for more than twenty years, but in the year 1703 the right to secede was procured; still the colony was governed by the Governor of Pennsylvania until 1776.

42. The three lower counties on the Delaware suffered but little from Indian and foreign wars from the time that the English came into possession, but, during the struggle made by the colonies to dispossess the French, Delaware did its share with honor and alacrity; and later in the day of liberty "The

Blue Hen's Chickens" distinguished themselves on many a sanguinary field.

43. PENNSYLVANIA. — Quakerism had never before so good an opportunity to distinguish its peculiar tenets as were afforded



STATUE OF PENN IN PHILADELPHIA.

when William Penn obtained from Charles II. a grant of the land lying west of the Delaware river. The addition of the territory, which the Duke of York claimed was the result of a purchase, and Pennsylvania was taken in liquidation of a debt which probably would never have been paid otherwise. The followers of George Fox were bitterly persecuted in England, as well as in some of the American colonies, and Penn desired to found a settlement in which that worthy body, his colleagues, might enjoy freedom to worship God according to their consciences. Two thousand men were sent over by him in a single year, and, shortly after, the founder of the colony came to superintend the establishment of his friends in peace.

44. Brotherly love was the basis on which Penn sought to build up a State, and when Philadelphia was founded, in 1683, the land was purchased from the Swedish colonists. The site was in the midst of woodlands, and game of all kind abounded, but the settlement grew apace. There were one hundred houses within twelve months, two thousand inhabitants within the next year, and before 1686 Philadelphia already outstripped New York, which had been settled more than fifty-three years.

45. Penn's toleration was the highest enunciation of that principle extant, except that in operation in Rhode Island. Unlike most persecuted people, the Quakers did not wish to persecute, and the body convened to make laws, soon after the arrival of their founder, promulgated what is known as "The Great Law," which made faith in Christ the only qualification for voting or holding office, and protected from molestation for the sake of religion all men having faith in Almighty God. Jews, who have been enfranchised in all the leading civilized

nations, were not embraced in the toleration of Pennsylvania, which, by so much, fell short of the higher standard adopted by Roger Williams. William Penn did not aim at personal aggrandizement, nor did he wish to have his name prefixed to "Sylvania," which was the appellation selected by him for the lands granted by Charles II. That addition was made in spite of his earnest solicitation. He gave the people every concession that his powers would permit, and that seemed to be necessary for their welfare. His position as a courtier during the reign of the Stuarts was compromising, but his influence was always exerted on behalf of a people otherwise universally oppressed. The dress which was worn by William Penn as a courtier has continued for centuries as the distinguishing garb of the sect to which he belonged, and is indirectly an evidence of the esteem in which he is held.

46. The Grand Indian Treaty is not described by any contemporary writer who was on the spot to make a record of the transaction; but it is attested by letters both before and after the event, and the large elm-tree at Shakamaxon, near Philadelphia, is frequently named. The interview was not for the purchase of lands, but for the ratification of a treaty of amity, which has always been observed on both sides. The Indians were much impressed by the kindly manners of the founder. The tree was prostrated by a storm, in 1810, and a monument now stands upon the spot where it flourished. Penn's address to the Indians was a singular piece of natural eloquence.

47. The founder of Pennsylvania departed from the colony in 1684, leaving all his friends peaceful and at peace. His last words before sailing were, "My love salutes you all." One woman was brought to trial, charged with being a witch, during Penn's visit; he presided on the trial, and the poor woman was acquitted. This was the end of such trials in Pennsylvania. After the death of William Penn, which took place in 1718, his heirs became proprietors, and they ruled the colony by their deputies until the Revolution, after which the State bought out their rights by a payment of nearly five hundred thousand dollars.

48. MARYLAND. Religious persecution was the chief reason why the settlement in Maryland was made in the year 1634 by Lord Baltimore. The title is now extinct, but the name will probably endure to the end of time. The first Lord Baltimore was a Catholic, and stood high in the favor of King James I., who hated Puritanism and Presbyterianism almost as much as

he loved himself. James raised him to the peerage, and afterwards gave him a grant in Newfoundland whereon to establish a colony. In the year 1625 Baltimore went to Newfoundland, but the attempt to establish a settlement was a failure. Three years later he was in Virginia, hoping to find in that colony a tolerant spirit toward his co-religionists; but he was disappointed, and, upon his return, he memorialized Charles I., who had become king, asking a grant of the area now known as Maryland. His son became the founder of the State, under the grant sued out by the first lord, who died in 1632, and his second son, Leonard Calvert, became governor, having conducted an expedition for the foundation of the colony, which left England in November, 1633. The name, Maryland, was in compliment to the Queen of England, daughter of the famous Henri of Navarre, whose second name was Maria. Upon the land north of the Potomac, granted by Charles I., the first settlement was named St. Mary's, at an Indian village near the mouth of the Potomac.

49. The Maryland charter differed favorably from that of Virginia, and the first action under it was to secure for men of all religious persuasions perfect liberty, provided only that the persons claiming toleration were Christians. Every freeman had a voice in legislation, and Maryland soon became known next to Rhode Island as the refuge of persecuted souls. The charters issued by the English government were often so loosely drawn that one overlapped another's boundaries, and in consequence of some such error internecine strife commenced between Maryland and Virginia in the year 1635. There were other disturbances also.

50. Councillor Clayborne, one of the dignitaries of Jamestown, in Virginia, stubbornly contended that Lord Baltimore's grant overlapped the boundaries of Virginia, and he erected trading-posts in Maryland, determining to hold them against the new-comers. This happened in 1635. There was some fighting, and Clayborne's party was beaten. He did not wait the result of the contest, but returned to Virginia, whence he was sent to England to be tried as a traitor. He was acquitted of the charge, and in 1645 returned to Maryland, where he succeeded in raising a rebellion which overpowered the governor for a time; but after a brief interval Gov. Calvert came back to the colony with a force sufficient to defeat Clayborne, and upon his escape the rebellion ended.

51. Intolerance prevailed in the Maryland Assembly as soon

as the Protestants became strong enough to control that body. Catholics were expelled or excluded from the legislative body which had been established by themselves, and they were declared outlaws. There were for a time two governments, and from 1691 to 1715 the Baltimorees were deprived of their rights as proprietors. Civil war went on with alternate successes for some years, and in the main the Church of England gained the mastery, Catholics being disfranchised. After the year 1715 the fourth Lord Baltimore procured a recognition of his rights, and toleration became the rule once more. After that time the course of events went on without disturbance worthy of note until 1776.

52. SOUTH CAROLINA. Charles II. granted a large tract of land to his councillor, Lord Clarendon, and several other noblemen, in 1663, and this vast area south of Virginia was called Carolina, from *Carolus*, in his honor. The first colony that was established in South Carolina was on the banks of the river Ashley, in 1770, and this was known as the Carteret Colony. Ten years later the settlers concluded that they would move their quarters, and in 1680 they emigrated to a tongue of land between the Cooper and Ashley rivers, the site of the present city of Charleston, seven miles from the Atlantic, and surrounded by every facility for an unbounded commerce. There is no finer harbor on the Atlantic coast. The growth of the settlement was not rapid during the first half century, but after that time it increased considerably. The Dutch came from New York and the surrounding country, and the Huguenots from France also contributed a large quota toward the limited success that was achieved.

53. *John Locke's Legislation.* It often happens that great philosophers fail when they attempt to bring down the theorems of the closet to the work of every-day life. Locke serves to illustrate that fact. In concert with the brilliant Earl of Shaftesbury, the philosopher undertook to make laws for Carolina, and he did so; but the system was entirely misconceived. The comprehensive writer on "the Understanding" allowed no understanding to the people, who were entirely lost sight of in a magnificent display of manors, baronies, and feudal titles, such as could only provoke laughter wherever a new attempt might be made to create them. After much time spent in unavailing endeavors to bring the scheme into operation the abortive code was indefinitely abandoned.

54. The royal province of South Carolina, known as the

Carteret Colony, dates from 1729, when the proprietaries, becoming tired of the continuous jealousies of the people, who were unwilling to pay rents and taxes, and who resented every attempt at arbitrary procedure, surrendered to the British Crown their rights of government, and retained only one-eighth of the soil. Up to that time South Carolina had been connected in a very cumbrous way with North Carolina, under the same governor. South Carolina was now a distinct province, having full control of its own local affairs.

55. NORTH CAROLINA. Albemarle Colony was named after Gen. Monk, who, on the 8th of May, 1660, procured the restoration of Charles II., and was created Duke of Albemarle. The grant of land on which it stood covered both Carolinas, North and South, and it would be useless to recapitulate the manner in which it was obtained. The people who had been settled in Virginia, north of the new grant, pushed their way to this point and established a plantation. They selected a governor among themselves, and, upon condition that they paid a rental of one cent per acre to the proprietary, they were not disturbed in any respect as to their rights and liberties.

56. The attempt to introduce the grand model of law was a failure in North Carolina, as well as in South, and in both settlements there was much satisfaction when the claims of the proprietary ended in the establishment of two royal provinces. The arbitrary conduct of the owners of the soil, who had claimed authority to tax, to govern, and to direct, as well as to collect rent, and other impositions, had long kept the people in a peculiarly watchful and jealous mood. The promises made to the people had not been observed, their laws and their officers had been superseded, and they had every cause to look with disfavor upon the men by whom they had been deceived.

57. George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, visited the Carolinas in 1672, while the Locke constitution was under debate, and he found the people very well disposed to hear from him the truths of religion; many Quakers were there, and men of all classes who had fled from oppression elsewhere; but none who were disposed to submit to the arbitrary pretensions of the proprietaries. There was relief from many troubles when the colony was constituted a royal province, in 1729.

58. GEORGIA. George II., the second monarch in the Hanoverian line, granted to an English officer named Oglethorpe, and to some others, in 1732, the tract of land known as Georgia, being named from the king, to be held in trust for

settling the colony. The territory was at that time in dispute between Great Britain and Spain, and Gen. Oglethorpe was commander of forces as well as founder of a colony. John Wesley and George Whitfield were associated with him in the work of settlement, and the latter visited the colony very often, intent upon charitable purposes. The first settlement was made at Savannah, in January, 1733, by Gen. Oglethorpe and one hundred and twenty persons, who were to hold land on the condition of rendering military service when required; but the requirements in that direction were irksome, and great numbers left the colony for North Carolina. After that time a change was made, and every settler was allowed fifty acres of land in fee. When war was declared by England against Spain, in 1739, Gen. Oglethorpe commanded the colonial troops and Indian allies to the number of one thousand, but an expedition into Florida, undertaken by him, proved a failure. Charity contributed largely to make Georgia a home for the suffering and struggling poor in England; but much discontent was expressed because negro slavery, which was allowed in other States, was expressly prohibited here, and in 1752 the trustees surrendered their trust to the crown, and Georgia became a royal province until the year 1776. There were many other limitations in the way of paternal legislation attempted by the trustees during their term of authority, such as prescribing the size for a farm, forbidding the importation of rum, and declaring women incompetent to inherit land. Wisdom naturally suggests limitations as to all such matters as desirable sometimes, but the people will seldom submit gratefully to such prescriptions from others. It was proper, when land was to be held on terms of military service, that women should be disqualified, but in any other respect the law was an absurdity. Georgia was the younger State when the Revolutionary War commenced, but she bore her share in the struggle with exemplary courage.

59. WARS. *Under King William III.* 1689-1697. Protestantism had been fought for between Holland and France for many years before William, Prince of Orange, was called to the English throne. That event made the war English, and involved the colonies. The Iroquois assisted the English settlers; the Indians of Canada and Maine gave aid to France.

60. Indian atrocities were now combined with the strategy and weapons of civilization, and outlying settlements in New York and New England were exposed to terrible outrages. Some of the scenes described are absolutely shocking, and of

course the effort on each side was to outstrip the other, once a beginning had been made. It is claimed that the preliminary assault was made by a war party of French and Indians from Canada.

61. Reprisals were made with little delay. Gov. Phipps, of Massachusetts, led an expedition against Port Royal, in Acadia, and was very successful, obtaining much plunder. Another enterprise, involving a combined attack by sea and land upon Canada, failed utterly. Proceedings dragged on in a desultory way until the King of France, Louis XIV., concluded a peace, in 1697, acknowledging the right of William III., by treating with him at Ryswick. The territories held at the beginning of the war were not disturbed by the treaty.

62. *Under Queen Anne.* 1702-1713. The War of the Spanish Succession was entirely European and dynastic, as the aim of England was to curb the power of France; but it involved the colonies in a resumption of hostilities. New York was protected by the neutrality of the Iroquois, or Five Nations; but New England suffered severely, their frontier line being desolated. Outlying settlements were given up, and, near to the towns, people worked with their weapons ready for use.

63. The colonists replied vigorously by wresting Port Royal once more from the French, with the assistance of English troops, and the place was called Annapolis, as a compliment to the queen. Quebec was assailed once more, without avail; many vessels were lost, and nearly one thousand men. South Carolina and Georgia made attacks upon the Spanish fort of St. Augustine, in Florida, which had become a nest of freebooters; but the colonists had no success in that quarter.

64. TREATY OF UTRECHT. After eleven years' fighting, the genius for war possessed by the Duke of Marlborough, commander of the English forces, compelled Louis XIV. to subscribe to a treaty most unfavorable to France. Among other concessions Acadia was ceded to England.

65. *Under George II.* 1734-1748. European complications once more involved the colonies; but the capture of the fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton, was the main incident on this side of the Atlantic. The capture was effected by English and colonial troops combined; and when peace was concluded by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, France resumed possession of Louisburg.

66. *French and Indian.* 1754-1763. Territorial aggression was the purpose aimed at by France, and probably by all

parties, in the nine years' war which commenced in 1753. During the brilliant, meteor-like career of John Law in France, the nation had become possessed of the idea that this continent contained enormous mineral wealth in all parts, and consequently the policy then inaugurated still continued in operation. Territory must be extended wherever possible. The English possessions were not well situated for defence, as they spread over a coast line about one thousand miles long, without facilities for intercommunication and support between the several colonies. The French had cultivated friendly relations with the Indians for almost a century, since the first arrival of the Jesuits on Lake Superior, and that gave them command of an immense area of country, as well as of very useful allies in such a war as was now to commence. The intercourse of Father Marquette with the native tribes was now to become valuable, in a warlike sense, to his countrymen. France was not well prepared for a war; but it seems to have been anticipated that strategic aggressions would pass unheeded, until the troops should be so firmly established in their posts that any operation against them with the limited force available would be fruitless. From Quebec to New Orleans France had possession; and at many points in the interior there were strong positions, such as could hardly be taken from them without a regular siege and a considerable army. The region west of the Alleghanies, along the Ohio, was debatable land, and the right of the strongest would probably prevail. The outrages inflicted and endured by both sides during preceding wars had created intense animosity, and occasions for quarrel were daily offered. Surveyors on the Ohio, acting under English orders, were seized and detained by French troops, and very soon there was hardly one of the sixty posts occupied by the enemy that had not some unhappy prisoners of war held in duration without authority. The British had established a post on the Miami; the French, with a largely superior force, broke it up, although there was peace between the two nations, secured as firmly as anything can be secured by treaties. In reality all that was being done was under orders from head-quarters, and at the most favorable moment there would be a sufficient force ready to follow up any advantage. Additional forts had to be erected at Presque Isle, near the town of Erie, Pa., on French Creek, known as Fort Venango, and twelve miles north of that point, near the site of the town of Waterford, *Fort le Buœf*. These movements gave much concern to the colonists.

67. George Washington, already a young man of parts and promise, was twenty-one years of age when Lieut. Gov. Dinwiddie commissioned him to visit the forts last mentioned, and request that they should be dismantled. The journey through the wilderness from Williamsburg to Lake Erie was full of peril, but nothing daunted the young hero. The French officers were of course acting under orders, and there was no argument but force that would compel them to retire. The commandants were polite, but confident that they could hold their own, and there were many evidences that expeditions were even then afoot, which boded no good to the colonists. On the return through the wilderness, fully four hundred miles, the horses of Washington and his friend broke down, and they were obliged to continue the journey as pedestrians during a very inclement season. An attempt on the life of the youthful ambassador only resulted in the capture of the skulking Indian; and a still greater peril was encountered by the upsetting of a raft on which the two companions were crossing the Alleghany river. The reply of St. Pierre, the commandant at Fort le Bœuf, left no room for doubt that, within a few months at farthest, war would be commenced by one of the two parties.

68. COMMENCING HOSTILITIES. I may repeat substantially some things here contained in an account of Canadian history on previous pages, but this is necessary. Early in the spring some English traders were driven away by the French from the fork of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, and a fort was erected at that point. The site of Fort Du Quesne was of such importance that even at that moment a Virginian regiment, with Col. Frye, commandant, and Washington as his second, was on the march to hold the position. Washington, with a corps of observation, was despatched to reconnoitre, the first shot of that long war being fired under his orders. Jumonville, a French officer, lying in ambuscade to surprise and slaughter the colonial force, was taken in the rear and defeated by the young Virginian. The colonel commandant dying, Washington built a stockade at the Great Meadows, and defended Fort Necessity against the French with very great odds, until capitulation was inevitable.

69. NECESSITIES OF THE SITUATION. Virginia and Pennsylvania were menaced by the Indian allies of the French as long as Fort Du Quesne remained in the hands of its builders; therefore the fort must be demolished or occupied by British troops. Louisburg, once taken by the colonists, and abandoned by the

British, was, in the hands of the French, a perpetual source of danger to the Newfoundland fisheries, as privateering vessels, harboring there and in Acadia, could commit ravages and escape pursuit under the guns of the fort. Quebec strongly fortified gave to Canada the St. Lawrence river. The route to Canada by the lakes George and Champlain was commanded by the fortresses at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The fortress at Crown Point was called Fort St. Frederick, and it occupied a very fine position for military purposes. After the British procured possession they spent a large sum on the fortification. To take such places out of the hands of the French was of primary importance.

70. BRADDOCK'S COMMAND. The British general to whom was committed the task of capturing Fort Du Quesne held his Indian enemies too cheaply, and would not be warned by his aid-de-camp, George Washington. The approach to Du Quesne, in July, 1755, was signalized by the troops falling into ambuscade of Indians, with whose methods of war the regular soldiers were unfamiliar, and they were terribly cut up. Gen. Braddock fell, mortally wounded, and his command retired in confusion, their retreat being covered by the Virginian troops under Washington, whose conduct deserves the highest praise.

71. BRIGADIER-GENERAL FORBES' EXPEDITION. Three years elapsed before the British were again ready to move on Fort Du Quesne, this time under Gen. Forbes, Col. Washington commanding the Virginia forces. Braddock lost everything and his own life by recklessness. Forbes, a cautious Scotchman, spent so much time in making roads for his troops that it was near the end of November, 1758, before he came within fifty miles of the point of attack, and a council of war determined to abandon the enterprise. Washington urged a rapid advance, and led the van himself, guarding against all chances of an ambush; so that on the 25th of November the fort was abandoned by the French, who set fire to the buildings and retreated. The brigadier-general named the captured ruin Pittsburg, in honor of the first William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, the ablest statesman that had ever been prime minister in England. The spot which was then the key to American security is now the vast entrepot of her manufacturing greatness.

72. CONQUEST OF ACADIA. There was but little glory in the proceedings of the British troops in this expedition, as the people were driven ruthlessly from their homes, which they

had made no effort to defend, and therefore they should have been treated as non-combatants. The forts at *Fond de la Baie*, now rendered Bay of Fundy, were not capable of vigorous defence, and with their fall the whole region east of the Penobscot became British.

73. Louisburg was the next point to be carried, and Gen. Loudoun was to have made the attack in 1757, but after much preparation he abandoned the project and remained at Halifax. Gen. Wolfe and Gen. Amherst, afterwards commander-in-chief, captured the city and fortifications of Louisburg in 1758, after a sharp bombardment; but the island was not made the rendezvous of the British forces.

74. A FRUITLESS BATTLE. When Gen. Braddock was marching to his defeat and death, near Fort Du Quesne, Major-Gen. Johnson, in command of the provincial forces, approached Crown Point. Baron Dieskau, the officer in charge of the French fortress, did not wait to be attacked; he led his forces, with his Indian allies, against Gen. Johnson's camp, and came near destroying the whole expedition. The commandant being wounded early in the affray, the conduct of the defence fell upon Phineas Lyman, the second in command; and with such men as Israel Putnam in the ranks, fighting as private soldiers, it would have been difficult to entirely lose the day. The attacking party was routed completely, but there was no attempt on the part of the commandant to capture Crown Point. Gen. Johnson was made a baronet, had the thanks of Parliament and twenty-five thousand dollars, because of the otherwise barren victory, which he did not improve. This action took place in September, 1775, and after loitering a while longer, building Fort William Henry, he returned to Albany, leaving a small force in charge of the useless fortification. This fort was afterwards taken by the French.

75. GEN. ABERCROMBIE'S FAILURE. About four months before Fort Du Quesne fell, in November, 1758, Gen. Abercrombie, a British officer, ordered an assault upon Ticonderoga, unsupported by artillery, and it was noticed that he was conspicuous by his absence during the fruitless assault. The general was properly removed from the command soon afterwards. The attack was a disastrous failure.

76. OVERCOMING THE DIFFICULTY. Gen. Amherst, with a large army, compelled the evacuation of both Ticonderoga and Crown Point by the French, in 1759, and thus another step was obtained towards security for British Colonial America.

77. General Shirley was to have captured Fort Niagara in 1755, but having reached Oswego with his forces, he was discouraged because of the defeat of General Braddock, and after building a fort, which was afterwards captured by the French general, Montcalm, with a quantity of valuable stores, he left a garrison, to become prisoners, and returned. Four years later, in 1759, General Prideaux compelled Fort Niagara to surrender, and the west was fully possessed by the British and colonial forces.

78. WOLFE AND MONTCALM. The summer of 1759 saw two able and brave men pitted against each other at Quebec. Gen. Wolfe, with a large naval force and eight thousand troops, arrived off Quebec, designing to attack and capture that city and fortress from a French force equal to his own, in a strong position, commanded by a gallant and entirely competent officer, General Montcalm. The city was destroyed without difficulty, by bombardment, but the citadel on the Heights, beyond the Plains of Abraham, seemed to defy all possibility of capture. Wolfe, sick in bed, revolved many schemes; but none promised success, until a careful *reconnaissance* revealed a narrow pathway up the precipitous rocks, and by that road he led his troops to victory. The shore was guarded by sentinels, but a device prevented a premature alarm, and the soldiers were on the Heights ready for battle before daybreak, on the thirteenth of September, 1759. Montcalm was almost paralyzed by the audacity of the assault; but as soon as it became evident that it was an attack in force he used all the means at his disposal to destroy the assailants. Both commanders fell, mortally wounded. Wolfe, thrice struck, died on the field of battle, and Montcalm followed him within twelve hours. The steady conduct of Wolfe's troops was in marked contrast to the precipitancy of the French soldiery on this occasion, and a bayonet charge which Wolfe proposed to lead in person, decided the contest. Quebec garrison and city capitulated five days after the ascent of the Heights to the Plains of Abraham, and this event more than any other contributed to bring the war to an end. The pathetic courage and skill of General Wolfe, with the devotion of Montcalm, divided the admiration of mankind.

79. WILLIAM PITT'S POLICY. The capable and bold man who had conducted the war to the point just seen was wise enough to be aware that France would not lose Canada without a final effort; consequently when, in 1760, there was an attempt to recapture Quebec, a powerful and well-appointed fleet was

despatched in time to defeat the movement. Montreal was taken, and all Canada came under British sway. Spain ceded Florida, and France gave up her territories east of the Mississippi to England, except certain small fishing-stations south of Newfoundland. New Orleans and the country west of the Mississippi, held by France, was given to Spain, and Louisiana remained to be dealt with later by Napoleon.

80. **THE OTTAWA CHIEF.** Pontiac represented, better than any other Indian of his time, the deep hold that the policy of the French had taken upon the tribes. The insolence and *hauteur* of the British officer and troops roused in the Indian nature all that was least lovely, while the polite and friendly bearing of the Frenchman had made allies in all directions. The difference being constitutional, there is no ground for wonderment that the same result has been experienced by all the leading Frenchmen, from Father Marquette and the Baron La Salle to Montcalm, dying at Quebec. Soon after the French forts were surrendered to the English, Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, an able and very treacherous man, proposed to the several tribes a combination against the enemy, so that they, being taken unawares, might be despoiled of all their possessions. Many forts were carried by sudden assaults and other devices. Detroit was to have been the grand stroke, and Pontiac presided there in person; but the night before the attack an Indian squaw, to whom the governor had been kind, revealed the conspiracy. Pontiac and his braves were to wait upon the governor as a delegation, apparently unarmed, but really with their muskets, shortened for the purpose, hidden under their mantles. The chief was to make a complimentary speech, and at its conclusion offer a belt indicative of friendship to the doomed officer; but the manner, differing from the customary method, was to be a signal for the warriors to carry out their scheme of slaughter, by killing the governor and his household first, and then proceeding to the demolition of the settlement. The delegation was received, but every man surrounding the governor was armed ostentatiously; and while Pontiac was speaking, the soldiers on guard in the anteroom were heard handling their weapons so that the wary Indian was afraid to carry out his design. The belt was presented to the governor in the manner indicating peace, and the design was frustrated. The governor, in reply, accused the Indians of treachery; and when they protested that he had been deceived, he pulled aside their dresses, showing their concealed weapons in confirmation

of his statements. Seeing that they held a safe conduct, he permitted them to escape, but the Indians, foiled in their immediate scheme, regularly besieged the city, and the attempt only failed because the allied tribes lost confidence in their leader. Their schemes were successful in eight cases, and their victims were destroyed without mercy. Besides the forts taken, many settlements were ravaged; but eventually Pontiac, still intent on vengeance, was stabbed by an Indian who wished to end the series of disasters that he was bringing upon the tribes. The war ended with a treaty in which nearly all the Indians concurred.

81. CONSEQUENCES OF TRAINING. While these wars lasted the colonies, hitherto divided by distance, and in some degree by petty jealousies, learned to know and to respect each other; so that, although thirty thousand men were lost in the several conflicts and consequences, the force that remained was stronger in proportion and more ready for the work that must be done. The cost of the several undertakings had aggregated about sixteen million dollars, and only about five million dollars of that sum was paid back by Great Britain. Many who might have been first-class Tories but for experience were completely cured by contact with British officers, who looked superciliously upon every man, however brave, unless he had the manners and angularities of the regularly trained military man.

CHAPTER X.

ENGLAND FROM 1600 TO 1760.

THE REIGNS OF JAMES I., CHARLES I., CROMWELL, CHARLES II., JAMES II., WILLIAM III., ANNE, GEORGE I., AND GEORGE II.

1. ENGLAND'S deep-minded, high-spirited, stout-hearted woman king, Elizabeth, was succeeded by James I., the first of the unhappy race of Stuart, on the 25th of July, 1603. At this time there were three religious parties in the kingdom, — the Established Church, the Roman Catholics, and the Puritans. The new king deceived and disappointed both the latter by giving all his support to the Established Church. It was not long until all the disappointed, both of religious and political parties, contrived plots against the king. These were mostly

discovered and punished. Among those who fell victims to these conspiracies was Sir Walter Raleigh. He was charged with conspiring against the life of the king, designing to overthrow the government and religion of the realm, and to place the Lady Arabella Stuart (a descendant of Henry VII.) on the throne. Raleigh, who was one of the greatest geniuses of his age, had rendered glorious services to the crown, as a navigator, a discoverer, and a brave defender of his country. All these claims were disregarded. He was brought to trial before a court composed of the bitterest of his enemies; and, notwithstanding one of the most eloquent defences that was ever pleaded in a court of justice, this brave man was declared guilty, and committed to the Tower. Near the close of the year 1604, the exasperated Catholics entered into the gunpowder-plot conspiracy, which was also discovered, and its participants duly punished, and the laws against the Roman Catholics were made even more severe.

2. James I. had a very high idea of the divine right of kings, and wrote a book to prove his theory. He did all in his power to protect the royal prerogative. In these exalted notions he was supported by the bishops, and most of the nobility. But the Commons opposed him, and remained true to the best interests of the nation. James I. was extravagant, and therefore exorbitant in his demands upon the Commons for means. When the Commons refused to grant his requests, he sold patents of nobility, and created a new title — that of baronet, which he made hereditary and sold for a thousand pounds. His subjects complained of his extravagance and excesses. In this reign perished a victim to the jealousy of the monarch for his title to the throne, — the Lady Arabella Stuart. Like the victims of preceding reigns, she was beautiful, accomplished, and unambitious; her only crime being that she, too, although in a more remote degree than James, was descended from Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. As long as she remained single, although closely watched, the Lady Arabella was not persecuted; but, on her marriage with Sir William Seymour, she was taken into custody, and her husband was sent to the Tower. Both contrived to escape. Sir William Seymour, in the disguise of a physician, managed to get safely to Flanders; but the unfortunate Lady Arabella was seized midway across the Channel, and brought back to England, where, after four sad years of captivity in the Tower, she died insane. In 1612 the Count Palatino, a German prince, came to England

and married the Princess Elizabeth. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. The princess accompanied her husband to Germany, where, in 1619, he was elected King of Bohemia, by the Protestants of that country, but the Roman Catholic Emperor of Austria made war upon Bohemia, and the monarch was driven from his throne, and Elizabeth, unaided by her father, the English king, became a fugitive in a castle on the Rhine. The laws against Puritans, and all dissenters from the Established Church, in this reign, were very severe. Not satisfied with upholding Episcopacy in England, James visited Scotland, to establish it there. The people of Scotland regarded him as a traitor, both to the principles in which he had been educated and to the promises which he had made. He appointed bishops, and ordered festivals to be celebrated; but, so far from establishing Episcopacy, the people clung more fondly than ever to their Presbyterian Church; and James only began a religious struggle, which, in the reign of his son and successor, was continued in rebellion and bloodshed.

3. Sir Walter Raleigh had now been in prison for thirteen years, with naught to cheer the weary hours of his captivity but literary pursuits. Within the walls of the Tower he wrote a history of the world. Being aroused by the accounts of Capt. John Smith, the Jamestown colonist, Sir Walter, in the year 1615, proposed, on condition of recovering his liberty, to fit out an expedition to Guiana, to discover a gold mine, which he believed to exist there. The king gave his consent, but refused a pardon; hence the brave and accomplished adventurer left England on the 28th of March, 1617, with the sentence of condemnation upon him. No gold was found, and, in a battle with the Spanish, Sir Walter's son was killed. Upon his return to England he was seized and thrown into the Tower, where, on the 29th of October, 1618, he was beheaded, under a sentence passed fifteen years before. In 1624 the Princess Elizabeth and her husband still remained fugitives from Bohemia, the English king refusing to aid them against the Spanish and Austrians. James I. now opened negotiations with the Court of France, for the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria, the sister of the French king. These were successful. Meanwhile James I. died, March 27, 1625. He was succeeded by Charles I., who, with his light-hearted French bride, began his reign with even higher notions of the divine right of kings than his father had held. But the House of Commons

had grown both in a knowledge of its rights and a determination to maintain them. The nation had become rich, and now followed the conflicts between Charles I. and the Commons, as also between him and the dissenters. In the Third Parliament



CHARLES I.

of his reign the "Petition of Right" was drawn up, and, after much opposition, was finally granted by the king; also in the same Parliament a committee was appointed to consider the state of religion, in which Oliver Cromwell is introduced to the public for the first time.

4. In 1637 Charles attempted to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland, but the Scots were filled with indignation. The people assaulted the prelates, and threw sticks and stones at the clergymen who attempted to read the liturgy. Finally the Scots, animated by religious enthusiasm, raised an army, and under banners bearing the inscription, "For Christ's crown and covenant," marched to encounter the king's forces which had been raised to quell them. They met near the river Tweed, but no engagement took place. Charles found the

enemy stronger than he had anticipated, and perceived, moreover, that there was no disposition on the part of his own troops to make the attack. Charles was forced to withdraw his army and enter into a treaty with the Scots.

5. Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, having strongly supported the king, had been sent to govern Ireland. He was a man of great ability, and managed to restore order to that country, and went so far as to obtain from the Irish Parlia-

ment supplies of money for the king. When Charles was in the height of his troubles with the Scots he sent for Wentworth, created him earl, and sought his advice. He advised summoning Parliament, thinking he could manage it as he had done the Irish Parliament. Accordingly Parliament met, in April, 1640, but the spirit of the Commons ran higher than ever, and Charles was now in greater trouble than before; and as they began upon the old subject of grievances, before granting any money, the king dissolved it at the end of a short session of three weeks. But the Scots, meanwhile, with a good army, had crossed the border, overcome the royal forces, and entered England to present their grievances to the king. Under these circumstances he was compelled to enter into negotiations with the Scots, and, moreover, to yield to the clamors of the nation, and summon his fifth and last, — the celebrated *Long Parliament*. It met on the 3d of November, 1640. Its first acts were to impeach Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, for high treason. Both were ultimately condemned to the block. In 1641 Parliament passed measures for the removal of the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber. The latter was established during the reign of Henry VII., but did not receive that name until the reign of Elizabeth, when the former was established.

6. After the death of Earl Strafford, a rebellion broke out in Ireland, headed by Roger Moore, a Roman Catholic, and directed against the English of the Pale, as the Protestant colonists of Ireland were called. The news produced a great excitement in England, and men and money were raised to put down the rebellion. The king was so lukewarm in suppressing this outbreak that suspicions were aroused of his being in league with the Roman Catholics. He was accused, moreover, of soliciting the aid of foreign princes to quell the growing power and spirit of his Parliament. Distrust of Charles grew stronger day by day, and when he endeavored to seize five of the Commons, on a charge of high treason, it knew no bounds. These gentlemen, being made aware of the attempt, withdrew before the king entered Westminster Hall, and were soon beyond his majesty's reach. The Parliament, therefore, at once passed a bill, to bring the military force of the kingdom, for the future, partly under their control. The king, of course, refused his consent, and that body then decided to muster an army and put the kingdom in a state of defence, without the king's consent. This was the beginning of civil war. The king at once levied

all the troops possible among the loyal sections of the country. His army was raised, for the most part, among the nobility, who were intensely loyal to the king. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge favored the royal cause. The queen, who had gone to Holland, pawned the crown jewels, and sent her husband the money.

7. The Parliament was not idle, but published their "Ordinance of Militia;" and enlistments, especially from among the lower classes, soon swelled their ranks. "Although there were few well-trained soldiers amongst them, they were enthusiasts for the cause in which they fought. Such zeal was shown in contributions, from the bag of gold, or silver-plate, of the wealthy Londoner, down to the poor countrywoman's silver thimble, that their army was called, in derision, 'The thimble and bodkin army.' John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell had commissions as colonels in the Parliament's army. Colonel Hampden gathered his men under a banner, bearing on one side the inscription, 'God with us,' and on the other the Hampden motto, 'Vestigia nulla retrorsum' (Never retracing our steps). Cromwell set about raising troops who should be 'men of religion,' and soon he had raised his famous body of 'Ironsides,' among whom no drinking nor disorder nor impiety was allowed; nor swearing, because for every oath a fine of twelve pence was paid. There were nearly as many preachers as soldiers in the Parliament's army, and much time was spent in listening to sermons and attending prayer-meetings. The Puritans looked upon their enemies as Amalekites, Philistines, and idolaters, whom they, as God's chosen people, were commissioned to punish and overthrow. Roundheads was a nickname given, in derision, to this army, because of the fashion, generally prevalent among the Puritans, of cropping the hair close. Cavaliers and Malignants were terms applied to the royalist army."

8. During the next four years a fearful civil war deluged the country. The contest began at Edge Hill, in Warwickshire, by an undecisive action, in which both parties claimed the victory; but in the evening four thousand lay dead in the valley of the Red Horse, at the foot of Edge Hill. Of these the greater number belonged to the king's forces. In the following year, in a battle near Oxford, Hampden, one of the leaders of the rebellion, lost his life. In the midst of their reverses Parliament asked aid of the Scots. This they offered to grant on the condition that the English Parliament and army would sign the "National Covenant." By this the Scots hoped

to establish Presbyterianism in England. The Independents, of whom Oliver Cromwell was leader, managed the Presbyterians by adding to their covenant some of their own ideas, and thus giving it something of a civil as well as a religious character. Its new name was the "Solemn League and Covenant," to which the dissenters in both kingdoms readily subscribed. "A large Scottish army under Leslie, Earl of Leven, entered England early in the following year, and being joined by the Parliament's forces, under Lord Fairfax and the Earl of Manchester, besieged the royalists in the town of York. Oliver Cromwell served under Manchester as his lieutenant-general. Prince Rupert, hastening from the west, relieved the besieged city, and then, against the advice of the Duke of Newcastle, an older and better commander, insisted on giving battle to the Parliament forces on Marston Moor. The result was, the bloodiest engagement of the whole war, entire victory to the Roundheads, chiefly owing to the desperate valor and able conduct of Oliver Cromwell, and utter ruin to the royalist cause in the north. York surrendered, and in its glorious old minster the Parliament army and their Scotch allies returned thanks for this great victory."

9. But the Presbyterians and Independents did not well agree. The latter charged the former with mismanaging the war, and managed to predominate by the passage in Parliament of the celebrated "Self-Denying Ordinance." By this ordinance the army was to be reorganized, and all commanders who held seats in Parliament, whether in the House of Lords or House of Commons, were to resign their commissions. The new commander-in-chief was Sir Thomas Fairfax. In favor of Oliver Cromwell, who was too able a soldier to lose, the "Self-Denying Ordinance" was dispensed with. He was kept in the army, and soon won, at Naseby, the most brilliant of his victories over the king. This battle, fought in Northamptonshire, in the centre of England, in June, 1645, was the last in which King Charles took personal command. The next year witnessed many defeats to the king's forces. Charles now turned towards Scotland, where his brave and gallant partisan, the Marquis of Montrose, at the head of a force of Irish and Highlanders, was winning some fine victories. But in this direction he was destined to meet disappointments. The marquis was defeated and his forces scattered. The king now retired to the loyal city of Oxford, but being insecure, and dreading the approach of Cromwell's troopers, he resolved to

throw himself upon the mercy of the Presbyterian army, hoping, through their jealousy of the Independents, and his own promises to tolerate their religion, to secure their favor. The Scots urged the king to sign the covenant and agree to certain propositions, which had originated in the Commons for the safety of the kingdom, as a condition upon which they would support him; but they urged in vain, and finally they decided to deliver Charles into the hands of the Parliament. In June, 1647, he was taken out of the hands of Parliament and placed in the keeping of the army. He was honorably treated by the army. Attempts were now made to reconcile the king and his country; but he rejected the only means by which his throne was attainable. The deserted monarch indulged the foolish hope that he should yet triumph over his enemies. Meanwhile Cromwell detected the king's intentions concerning himself, and resolved to put no farther trust in him. The king now became alarmed, and, escaping from the custody of the army, threw himself upon the protection of the governor of the Isle of Wight. He partly hoped for protection from the governor, and partly thought of this place as the most suitable in case he should attempt to escape from the country; but on this island he was made an actual prisoner. Meanwhile the hostility between the Parliament and the army, which was in truth a quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents, became more intense. "The Parliament were still willing to consider terms of reconciliation with the king, whilst Cromwell and the army had resolved that no more treaties should be offered him. The latter, to secure possession of his person, ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbet to convey Charles from Carisbrook, to the solitary, gloomy castle of Hurst, on the Hampshire coast. Having possession of the king, a band of armed soldiers, under Colonel Pride, entered London, surrounded the Parliament house, and seized the principal members. Many fled, and all that remained were fifty Independents. This seizure is generally called Pride's Purge, and the members who were left are known as the Rump Parliament. In the dreary walls of his prison-house Charles was filled with fears for his life. The idea of his subjects bringing their king to trial, and passing a judicial sentence upon him, could never have entered into the imagination of this firm believer in the divine right of kings. When, therefore, on the night of the 16th of December, 1648, he heard the creaking of the drawbridge, and the tramp of armed men, he feared the hour of his assassination

was come. Great was his relief on finding that their commission was to convey him to Windsor Castle. On the route Charles received touching evidences of the reviving love and loyalty of the people towards their disrowned and fallen monarch. On the day that his majesty entered Windsor, the few Independents who now were left as the House of Commons appointed a committee to draw up charges against the king. On the 6th of January, 1649, a high court of justice was appointed for the trial. On the 20th Charles Stuart was summoned before it, and accused of treason. For seven days, in the presence of that court, composed of those subjects whose power he had despised, was King Charles obliged to appear; and listen to the fearful charges of criminal misrule which were brought against him. On the last day of the trial Charles Stuart, as a 'tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy,' was sentenced to be executed. On the 30th of January, 1649, on a scaffold erected in front of the royal palace of Whitehall, the king's head was laid upon the block. He met death with calmness, even cheerfulness. 'I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown,' were his last words, addressed to Bishop Juxon. When the executioner had performed his office, and the severed head was held up in the sight of the people, 'one dismal, universal groan' broke from the awe-stricken witnesses of this fearful deed."

10. In January, 1649, the great seal was broken, and a new one made, bearing, on the one side, the words, "The Great Seal of England," and on the other, "In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648." Seldom, if ever, was so great a change made in the government of a kingdom with so little bloodshed. England had passed from a Monarchy to a Republic. The remnant of Charles' Long Parliament still continued in session, but the House of Peers was abolished, and their powers vested in a committee, called "The Executive Council of State." Cromwell was of this council. Its secretary was John Milton, who afterwards wrote the celebrated poem of "Paradise Lost." But in Ireland a fearful insurrection was raging, and Cromwell crossed the channel with nine thousand men, and peace, or rather submission, was secured at the price of cruelty, burning, bloodshed, and



OLIVER CROMWELL.

massacre, such as must forever cast a cloud upon the memory of Cromwell. When Cromwell had broken the arm of the rebellion, he recrossed the channel into England, leaving his sons, Ireton and (after his death) Henry, to complete the conquest. In almost all foreign countries, and among a large class of Englishmen, the execution of Charles I. was regarded as a murder, and in the American colony of Virginia the authority of the new government was denied, and the fugitive Prince Charles was invited to cross the ocean and become king in that province. This invitation had no result, except perhaps to win for that colony the title of "Old Dominion." But Prince Charles had also been proclaimed king in Scotland, and invited to that country. He immediately accepted and sailed for Scotland. The English Parliament appointed Cromwell commander-in-chief of the army, and sent him into Scotland. At Dunbar, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, Cromwell, with only twelve thousand men, was surrounded by the Scots, whose forces numbered twenty-seven thousand. The latter were well posted, too, on the hills which rise above the town. It was unwise to attack them in this strong position, and Cromwell waited. On the second day, the Scots, animated by hopes of a certain victory, rushed down from the hills; whereupon Cromwell joyously exclaimed: "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." On the morning of the 3d of September a mist, which had hung over the field, rolled away, and the clear sunlight revealed the contending armies. "Now, let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered," shouted the Puritan general, as he rushed into the conflict. Ere it ended, four thousand of the Scots army lay upon the bloody field, and ten thousand prisoners swelled the train of the conquerors. Cromwell offered praise for this victory, in the glowing language of King David, by ordering the 107th psalm to be sung upon the battle-field. Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other towns, submitted to the Puritan army. The following year, whilst Cromwell was besieging Edinburgh Castle, Charles gathered an army and marched into England, hoping to be joined by the loyalists, and, with their aid, to gain the English crown. When this news reached Cromwell he started at once in pursuit. At Worcester, on the 3d of September, the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, this praying, fighting, praising, Puritan general gained another great victory, which he called "his crowning mercy." No doubt he felt it to be such, for, had royalists and Presbyterians united in support of Prince Charles, the

power of Cromwell and the army might have been broken. As it was, Charles Stuart became a fugitive, indebted for his life to the faithful loyalty of a family of Staffordshire wood-cutters. In the humble cottage of the Penderells, amid the woody shades of Boscobel, he lay concealed for many weeks. On one occasion the thick foliage of a friendly oak sheltered him from Cromwell's troopers, who, passing directly under the tree, uttered, in gay tones, their confident hope of obtaining the price set upon the head of the fugitive Stuart. However, Prince Charles succeeded in escaping to France. Meanwhile Cromwell marched to London, where he was admired as a conqueror.

11. During these years England was not only rising to self-rule at home, but was rapidly advancing in power on the seas. Admiral Blake achieved many grand victories, and in 1652-3, in a naval war with the Dutch, succeeded in a final triumph. In 1653, after an adroit struggle with Parliament, Cromwell had himself declared "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England." The powers of government were to be shared by a Parliament. For a while the Protector had a brilliant administration. His foreign policy was very successful, and England became the leading state in Europe. Cromwell was urged to proclaim himself king; but he rejected the offer, and in 1658 he died, his death being hastened partly through domestic afflictions. Richard Cromwell made an attempt to succeed him, but was too weak, and on the 25th day of April a new Parliament, consisting of both Lords and Commons, as before the Commonwealth, assembled at Westminster. On the 1st of May a letter from Charles was presented to this body, who, after a few hours, voted a loyal answer to the absent prince. All the slumbering feeling of loyalty seemed suddenly to awaken, and the nation which had brought his royal father to the block now rent the air with the shouts of "Long live King Charles II.!" The new monarch, with his brother, the Duke of York, landed at Dover on the 25th of the same month. On the 29th of May, 1660, the exiled Stuart was restored to the throne of England. He entered London through streets hung with tapestry and garlands, flowers strewn in his path, and shouts of rejoicing rending the air. The returning tide of loyalty overflowed the nation with a force which threatened utter destruction to every landmark of constitutional right which the last thirty years had set up.

12. Charles II. reigned until 1685, when he died, — died, it is believed, a secret communicant to the Church of Rome.

The crown passed to his brother James, Duke of York, he having no issue. The reign of Charles II. was characterized by his great cruelty to those who had persecuted his father, and even the body of Cromwell, with those of others, was taken from the tomb and indecently treated. James II. reigned in wickedness, and lost the crown in trying to reestablish the Roman Catholic religion in the kingdom. Seeing no hope in James II., the nation turned to William, Prince of Orange, who had married the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of James. The whole nation now flew to William, and James, seeing his danger, escaped, after a second attempt, in flight to France. After the flight of James a convention declared the throne vacant, and invited William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, to fill it.

13. In the reign of William III. England became a constitutional limited monarchy, under which form of government she still progresses in her grand march among the nations. In matters of religion the king was tolerant, and at length he prevailed upon Parliament to pass a bill granting free toleration to all Christians, excepting Roman Catholics. The exiled king, James II., died at the palace of St. Germain, in 1701, and one year later, 1702, William III. died, and was succeeded by Anne, the second daughter of James II. Though a Stuart she was a Protestant, and no opposition was made to her succession. England, during the reign of Anne and her predecessor, was engaged in a war with the French king, Louis XIV., but through the successive victories of the English the French power was humbled, and might have been quite or nearly destroyed had it not been for the fierce contests between the Tories and Whigs at home, by which the English arm was weakened. The reign of Queen Anne was distinguished by the writings of Addison, Swift, and Pope, and other distinguished poets and scholars.

14. Queen Anne died in 1714, and was succeeded by George, elector of Hanover. He was the grandson of Elizabeth, the daughter of James I., who had married Frederick, King of Bohemia, of whom mention has previously been made. At the death of Anne the Whigs supplanted the Tories in power. In the third year of the reign of King George I. was passed the Septennial Bill, prolonging the duration of Parliament to seven years. Under the triennial law the election of members every three years had caused great disturbances, owing to the excited state of political feeling between the

Whigs and Tories. The continuance of the same Parliament for seven years was therefore a beneficial measure, and contributed greatly to the tranquillity of the country. In the year 1711 the public debt of England amounted to ten millions of pounds, which was thought at that time quite insupportable. To get rid of this great national incumbrance in the course of a certain prescribed number of years, a speculator, named Sir John Blount, proposed, in 1719, the following plan: To make a certain wealthy and prosperous commercial company, known as the South Sea Company, the sole public creditor; then to increase this company's privileges and monopolies to such a degree as to make it enormously rich, and thus enable it not only to pay off the national debt, but also to lend money to government at a low rate of interest. Immense numbers to whom the government owed money bought stock in this company, which, instead of being able to fulfil its engagements, failed, and involved in ruin thousands who had put their trust in it. This scheme is usually called the South Sea Bubble. Sir Robert Walpole earnestly opposed it from the first, and, when the bubble burst, did all that a wise financier could do to lessen the mischief and misery which it brought upon the nation."

15. In 1727 George I. died very suddenly in his carriage, and his son, who was crowned George II., came to the throne. For fifteen years longer the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, who had become prime minister in the year 1721, continued with great advantage to the nation. It was an administration of peace. He sought to advance his country in those arts which contribute to social prosperity, and cared little for the doubtful glories of the battle-field. Notwithstanding these peaceful dispositions, in which he was greatly aided by a similar policy on the part of the good Cardinal Fleury, then prime minister of France, Walpole, rather than resign his office, yielded his sense of right and justice to the clamors of the nation, and engaged in a war with Spain. The English people, indignant against the Spaniards because they searched English ships engaged in unlawful traffic with the Spanish colonies in America, and, lured on by the hope of the rich spoils which the conquest of those colonies would afford, were loud in their rejoicings when the war was declared. Walpole, on the day that the proclamation was made, hearing joyful peals resounding from the church-bells, exclaimed: "They may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands."

And so it proved. The war was disastrous. Walpole became unpopular with the nation, and in 1742, after having guided the helm of state with ability and success for twenty years, was compelled to resign his post as prime minister. Before Walpole's resignation, however, England had engaged in another war by becoming the ally of Maria Theresa of Austria. This noble and high-spirited queen had been robbed of a portion of her territory by the King of Prussia, whilst the elector of Bavaria disputed her accession to the imperial throne. England espoused the cause of the injured Maria Theresa, whilst France sided with Frederick of Prussia and the Bavarian prince. Some of the most important operations during the course of this war, as far as France and England were concerned, were carried on in their colonial possessions in America, as we have already seen.

16. During the reign of this king England was invaded by a Stuart pretender, who raised an army in the north of Scotland, and did some damage before escaping again to France. In the year 1748 the contending states of Europe entered into a treaty of peace, which was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. A few years later another contest, called, from its duration, "The Seven Years' War," engaged the nations of Europe. The position of parties, however, was greatly changed. England and France were still enemies; but France fought with Maria Theresa, and England was the ally of Frederick of Prussia. The opening scenes of this war were laid in the French and English colonies of America. During 1759 England suffered a heavy naval defeat, through the neglect of Admiral Byng, who was court-martialled and shot for his fault. Soon after, William Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) became prime minister, and the war assumed a new and more promising aspect. In America success crowned the English and colonial troops. Quebec fell before the heroic valor of General Wolfe, and the French colonial possessions of America were given him for his country in the hour of glorious death.

17. But before the glory of England's arms had been retrieved in America, and Wolfe had fallen on the Plains of Abraham, another young and ardent English hero had laid the foundation of British Empire in India. The East India Company established factories for trade in Hindostan. On the eastern coast they had built Fort St. George. From these beginnings sprang the flourishing town of Madras. A little farther south, on the Coromandel coast, was built Fort St.

David, whilst on the Hoogly, Fort William, the origin of the splendid city of Calcutta, arose a few years before Peter the Great had laid the foundations of his capital at St. Petersburg, on the banks of the Neva. On the Malabar coast, Bombay was the important settlement. All these had been founded before the close of the seventeenth century. However, in 1670 the French appeared to share the mercantile profits of that region. In that year the French had established factories on the Hoogly, and also at Pondicherry, about eighty miles below Madras, in the large southern province of India known as the Carnatic. When France and England were at war, their colonies, whether in India or America, were involved in the same calamity. In the year 1746 Fort St. George fell into the hands of the French. The garrison, surrendering after a short but brave defence, were promised honorable treatment. This promise was broken, and they were carried prisoners to Pondicherry. Numbers of them contrived to escape, and among these, habited in the disguise of a Hindoo, Robert Clive, a young merchant's clerk of twenty-one, fled to Fort St. David. Such was the position of affairs when the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle obliged the French to restore Madras. We shall find, however, that, as allies of the native princes, the French and English in India carried on hostilities even when the mother countries were at peace.

18. From the early part of the sixteenth century India had been governed by a potentate called "The Great Mogul," who resided in much pomp at his capital of Delhi, and appointed viceroys, who, nominally under him, but truly by their own power, ruled the provinces of Hindostan. Of the splendor of the court of Aurungzebe, one of the greatest of the Great Moguls, descriptions are given, which surpass the wonders of a fairy tale. A French traveller, who visited Aurungzebe's court in the year 1665, tells us of his "seven splendid thrones; one covered with diamonds, another with rubies, with emeralds, or with pearls." Whilst the Great Mogul was seated on his Peacock Throne, so called from its back being formed by jewelled representations of peacocks' tails, thirty splendid horses stood ready caparisoned, with bridles set with precious gems, and a large and valuable jewel hanging from the neck of each. Elephants were taught to kneel before the throne, and do homage with their trunks. The French traveller must have been struck with the insignificant pomp of the court of his Grand Monarque, then the most splendid in Europe, when he con-

trasted it with the surpassing magnificence of this oriental despot. But the great Aurungzebe, when the years of his earthly glory had numbered nearly one hundred, was gathered to his fathers, and the throne of Delhi was mounted by another Mogul, as great in outward state and splendor, but of feeble character. He had no power to withstand the gradual but sure progress of the strange nation from fifteen thousand miles afar, who in God's providence were destined to overthrow the power of the Great Mogul, and plant a Christian dominion in India. This, too, they were to accomplish in less than half a century.

19. Meanwhile the powers of the viceroys in the provinces greatly increased. In the quarrels continually arising among them, the French and English interfered, taking, of course, opposite sides. In the wars which followed, the French and their Indian allies were so successful that they threatened to drive the English from the Carnatic. By the year 1751 the latter were reduced to great extremity. The nabob of Arcot, the only Indian prince remaining faithful to their interest, was besieged by the French in his last stronghold, which, if captured, would render the victors undisputed masters of the country. At this juncture Robert Clive planned and executed an expedition which saved British India. The English, feebly garrisoned at Madras and Fort St. David, could spare no military force to send to the relief of their ally. Clive raised a little band of five hundred men, three hundred of whom were Sepoys (natives who made miserable soldiers), and placed over it officers, who, like himself, were mostly merchants' clerks. With this force he suddenly marched to Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, hoping to excite fears for the safety of this important place, and thus draw the French and Indian foes from their attack on the English ally. Advancing during a thunder-storm, he made himself master of the strong town and fortress. The French ally sent a detachment to recover Arcot, but Clive held the town and effectually restored the English in the Carnatic. A few years later Clive gained other victories, which firmly established the power of the English in India.

20. In the northern province of Bengal there ruled, in 1756, the Nabob Surajah Dowlah, a cruel and detestable tyrant. Becoming jealous of the English, who he believed had accumulated great wealth in their factories at Calcutta, he ad-

vanced against that place with a large army. After a fruitless attempt at defence, the garrison of Fort William surrendered, under promise that their lives should be spared. But the prisoners were left in charge of the officers of the guard and were thrust in the "Black Hole," as it was called,—the dungeon of the fort, only fourteen by eighteen feet in size; its air-holes, only two small windows; one hundred and forty-five European men and women, some of them suffering from recent wounds, and this in the height of the Indian summer-solstice, when the fiercest heat was raging. The horrors of that night were beyond description. Amid agonizing cries of "Water: Water!" these wretched beings trampled each other down to get near the air-holes, outside the bars of which were held skins of water; but, as if in awful aggravation of their misery, these were too large to get through the grating. Meanwhile their fiend-like jailers made most inhuman mirth at their fearful condition, and held the lanterns high to gaze upon the scene within, as though it had been the struggle of brute beasts, intended for the amusement of beings scarcely less brutal. Ere morning dawned, a fearful silence reigned in the Black Hole of Calcutta. Of one hundred and forty-six human beings who had been there imprisoned, twenty-three alone came out through the passage made between dead bodies. Strange to say, one of these was an Englishwoman. When the news of this dreadful outrage reached Madras, the horror and indignation of the English knew no bounds. Clive proceeded with an army to Calcutta, and on the 2d of January, 1757, regained possession of the town and fort. In a few months he fought Surajah Dowlah at Plassey, gained a complete and brilliant victory, with three thousand men fighting against fifty thousand, drove the inhuman monster from his throne, and laid the foundation of English power in Northern India. Hitherto the East India Company had been only merchants and traders; henceforth we shall find them conquerors and sovereigns. The battle of Plassey was fought on the 23d of June, 1757. Three years later Sir Eyre Coote won from the French the battle of Wandewash. This victory, together with the fall of Pondicherry, which occurred within a year, established the supremacy of the English in the Carnatic as firmly as that of Plassey had done in Bengal. Clive, whose health had become impaired, returned to England in the year 1760. He was created a peer, with the title of Baron Clive of Plassey. In

1765 he returned to India as Governor of Bengal. In the year 1760, before the news of the great victories of Wandewash and Pondicherry had reached England, George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III.

CHAPTER XI.

CANADA FROM 1760 TO 1777.

BRITISH RULE — ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL MURRAY — GOVERNMENT OF
GENERAL CARLETON — EVENTS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

1. THREE years after England had conquered Canada a treaty of peace was concluded between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, and signed at Paris in February, 1763. By this treaty France ceded to England the whole of her colonial possessions in America, with the exception of Louisiana and the small fishing-islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, and received back Martinique and Guadaloupe in the West Indies, England retaining Grenada and the Grenadines, while Spain exchanged Florida for Cuba. This treaty ended the long struggle between these powers.

2. Nearly all the French military officers and troops, as also many of the chief inhabitants, returned to France as soon as they relinquished all hope of the restoration of the French power in Canada; and their return was facilitated by the English, who thought themselves fortunate to thus quietly rid themselves of so powerful an element of disturbance. It was well known on both sides that the process of assimilation between the French and English would be very slow, so different was the character of the social and political institutions of the two races. "Independently of the dissimilarity in national tastes and habits, the relations of the French colony with the Imperial government were essentially different from those which connected a British colony with the mother country. The French colony was a child of the State. Everything in it of a civil nature was under official patronage or political *surveillance*, while religious matters were subject to vigorous ecclesiastical control. Two principal objects engrossed the attention of the French colonists, — the extension of the peltry traffic, and the conversion of the Indian tribes. As a means of carry-

ing out these two great projects, exploration and discovery formed a chief feature of French colonial life." In the English colony of that day, on the contrary, the government was as much a civil and social board as an embodiment of the will of the royal authority. Matters of trade were but slightly interfered with, the colonists being left, for the most part, to themselves and their own modes of development. This was why the English engaged themselves so little in enterprises of exploration and discovery. When, therefore, we find the colonists in conflict, it was generally concerning matters of trade and influence over the Indian tribes; but with the fall of Canada these struggles were forever put to an end.

3. Canada was under military rule during the period from the fall of Canada, in the winter of 1759-60, to the treaty of peace, in 1763, when General Murray was appointed the first governor-general of British Canada, in place of the commander-in-chief, Lord Amherst, who had administered a rigid military government during the period mentioned; the boundaries of the new province of Canada, under British colonial government, were "contracted by the separation from it of New Brunswick and Labrador. The old district divisions of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers were retained. General Murray, with an executive council, governed the Quebec; General Gage, the Montreal; and Colonel Burton, the Three Rivers District. Two other districts—the St. Maurice and the St. Francis—were shortly afterwards set apart. Justice was administered in each district, chiefly by military or militia officers, subject to an appeal to the governor. This system was not popular, and only continued in operation for a short time, until a court of king's bench and a court of common pleas were instituted. The laws and customs of France were, however, followed in matters affecting land." At this time the population of Canada did not exceed eighty thousand, including eight thousand Indians. The country had been exhausted by desolating wars, and the peaceful arts had languished into decay and ruin.

4. In 1766 General Murray was recalled, and General (afterwards Sir Guy) Carleton was appointed governor-general, and, as we shall meet this distinguished nobleman frequently in succeeding chapters, we may as well make his acquaintance here. Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) was among the most eminent men who have governed Canada. He was born in England, in 1725, entered the army, and took a prominent

part in the siege and capture of Quebec, under Wolfe, in 1759. He was for his services promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and during the governor-general's (Murray's) absence from Canada, in 1767, he administered the government. Being in England in 1770, he aided in the passage of the Quebec Act of 1771. In 1774 he returned as governor-general, and successfully resisted the attack of the Americans upon Quebec in 1776. In 1778 he returned to England, and was knighted by the king. In 1782 he succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of the royal forces in America. In 1786 he was created Lord Dorchester for his distinguished services, and from that time until 1796 (with an exception of two years) he remained in Canada as governor-general. He was thus connected with Canada for the long period of thirty-six years. During this time he acquired great distinction by his prudence, firmness, and sagacity. When he retired from the government it was with the regret of all classes.

5. In August of the year of his first appointment, Governor Carleton, and Governor Sir Henry Moore, of New York, met at Lake Champlain, with a party of surveyors, to determine the boundaries between their respective provinces. On this occasion the boundary stone was set up where afterwards the iron monument was reared at the time of the Ashburton Treaty of 1842. But, notwithstanding Governor Carleton's great prudence and impartiality, dissatisfaction began to manifest itself, because of the continued administration of civil offices solely by military men, and many of the inhabitants left the province. Memorials and complaints on the subject were sent to England; but these received no reply save instructions to the governor to inquire concerning the truthfulness of the complaints. The governor went to England, in 1770, to report concerning the irritation of his French subjects, and did not return till 1774, in which year the British ministry submitted to Parliament the bill which was finally passed, entitled a "Bill for reconstructing the Government of the Province of Quebec." This bill is known in Parliament as the "Quebec Act," and it provided, among many other things in favor of the French Catholics, for the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, for the establishment of the Legislative Council, and for the introduction of the criminal law of England into the provinces; but it declared that in all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, resort should be had to the laws of Canada as the rule for the decision of the same. "Thus, the enjoyment of the

religion, the protection under the civil laws, of French Canada were confirmed to the inhabitants by Imperial statute; and a system of local self-government was introduced. The act was distasteful to the British residents, but it gave unmixed satisfaction to the French Canadians; and, at a time when the old English colonies were wavering in their attachment to the British crown, it confirmed the French Canadians in their allegiance to the king." This was the price, it may as well be said, at which England purchased the loyalty of her French-American subjects during the Revolutionary War,—a price which has taxed Canada bitterly to pay, and under which our country has suffered much, and is still ill at rest; but, in the light of saving Canada to British rule, the price was not extravagant. It can only be regretted that statesmanship could do nothing better.

6. A detailed account in the following chapters of the earlier revolutionary events makes it unnecessary to speak of them here. The Americans failed, after repeated attempts, to secure the sympathy and coöperation of Canadians, and Congress, therefore, despatched a twofold expedition, to secure the British posts in Canada, and to develop a more friendly feeling of the inhabitants.

One army from Boston, under Gen. Benedict Arnold, was sent against Quebec. The other army, under Gen. Richard Montgomery and Schuyler, marched against Montreal. On its way it surprised and captured the important forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, with all their munitions of war; and, in succession, it also took the posts at Isle aux Noix, St. Johns, Chambly, and Sorel. A still more flattering address was then issued by Congress and extensively circulated in Canada. Many people of both British and French origin



BENEDICT ARNOLD

heartily sympathized with its objects. The governor-general (Sir Guy Carleton) was much embarrassed by such disloyal sympathy; and, although aided by the clergy and seigneurs, he could scarcely collect a sufficient force to stop the progress of the

Americans, to whose victorious standard many British and French Canadians had flocked. Montreal, after a slight resistance, surrendered to the invaders. Gen. Carleton had even to fly in disguise to Quebec." Here he found many of the inhabitants desirous of joining the Americans. These he compelled to leave the city, and proceeded at once to organize the loyal militia, with a view to defending the place.

7. Canada, with the exception of Quebec, was now virtually in the hands of the Americans, and God grant it may never be so again, under similar circumstances! The capture of the ancient capital would therefore have brought the whole country under the Congress. Carleton had but sixteen hundred men, of whom six hundred were raw militia. General Arnold arrived, made an unsuccessful attack, and retired to await Gen. Montgomery. On his arrival an attack was made, in which the latter was killed and the former wounded. The Americans withdrew part of their forces, but still continued the siege. Early in May, 1776, however, they fell back to Three Rivers, but were vigorously followed by Carleton, who had now been reinforced. He captured their artillery and stores, and put them to route. "In the mean time Congress was not idle. It despatched further reinforcements to Canada in June, 1776, under Gen. Sullivan, but without effect; and again issued an animated and characteristic address to the Canadian people. Three special commissioners — Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton (who was accompanied by his brother John, afterwards Archbishop Carroll, of Baltimore), and Samuel Chase — were despatched to treat with the Canadians. Their embassy signally failed; for the inhabitants had by this time learned by experience to regard the Americans as enemies rather than as friends. Strong efforts were also made by the Americans to detach the Iroquois from the British standard, but without effect. Under the able chieftainship of the brave Joseph Brant, or Thayendanega, the Iroquois, or Six Nation Indians, remained fast and loyal allies of king George III."

8. Joseph Brant (Thayendanega), a Mohawk Indian of pure blood, was born on the banks of the Ohio, in 1742. He received a good education, in Connecticut. In the Revolutionary War of 1776 he became the ally of the English; and, as a prominent chief among the Iroquois, he influenced several cantons of the celebrated league to join the British standard. During that war he was chiefly engaged in raids upon the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania, with John, the son

of Sir Wm. Johnson, and Col. Butler. During the Revolution he held a colonel's commission from the king. At the close of the war he removed to Canada, and obtained from Governor Haldimand, for the Six Nations, the grant of a territory on the Grand river, six miles in width, from its source to its mouth. The town of Brantford, or Brant's ford, on the river, was named after him; as was also the county of Brant, in the same locality, and the township of Thayendanege, on the Bay of Quinté, where a number of the Mohawks had settled. He translated the whole of the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk language, and in many ways exerted himself to promote the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people.



Thayendanege (Joseph Brant.)

He was greatly respected and beloved by them and by the English. He visited England in 1783; and died near Burlington, Ontario, on November 24, 1807, aged sixty-five years. His remains were removed to the Mokawk village, Grand river, and interred near the church which he had erected there. His son John subsequently led the Mohawks at the victorious battle of Queenstown, in October, 1812. Joseph Brant was a noble specimen of a Christian Indian, and did much to alleviate the horrors of Indian warfare during the period of the American Revolutionary War.

9. With English reinforcements Canada had now a better heart to resist her foes and deceivers. The American invading force was driven out of Canada, and even from the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. However, under Gen. Burgoyne's poor management, the campaign ended in disaster in October, 1777.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1760 TO 1774.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION — THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLT — A SKETCH OF THE WAR WHICH LOST THE COLONIES TO ENGLAND.

1. TURNING aside, for a few moments, to trace events in these revolting Anglo-American colonies, I find myself in a delicate position. It has ever been a practice of Canadian and American historians to color these records to suit the taste of their respective readers. This was an easy matter, as but one class was expected to read their works; not so, however, with my book, which must be read in both countries, and in both of which I desire my readers to perceive my loyalty to the British crown, together with my complete impartiality in treating these matters. On the one hand, Americans will prize my work the higher because of its independence; while, on the other, I fear that some of my own countrymen will, without a cause, think me *American*, because I cannot find a sufficient excuse for the wholesale condemnation of every American act during the war. This I frankly confess I cannot do, while I regret, as much as any one can, the struggle, or the termination of it, which separated America from England, yet, the more I study the history of the Revolution, the more I am convinced that it was not less England's lame policy than America's impudence that worked the unfortunate separation. But to my task.

2. There was leisure, after the French and Indian war, for men to consider the circumstances in which they stood. There was no longer an enemy at their doors stirring the worst blood of the Indians to spoliation and rapine, and the animosities which had separated the different nationalities from each other were gradually sinking to rest. Men were becoming neither British, French, Swedes, nor Dutch, but American; and in that sentiment there was, in one sense, true patriotism. The colonies, thirteen in all, numbered little short of two millions at the close of Pontiac's war, and there was but a small remnant of the religious rancor which at one time stirred souls against each other; so that there was more room for the consideration

of the claims of all mankind to equal justice in matters social and political.

3. Learning commenced to take root in the soil of America from the first landing, in December, 1620, at Forefathers' Rock, as the people were deeply impressed with the value of their sacred literature; and nine colleges, beside numerous schools, had been already established in the colonies, the endowment for Harvard from the funds of the colonists commencing when the New England settlement was only sixteen years old. Such institutions were due to the people themselves in every instance save that of one college. Consequent upon a love for learning, and zeal for the instruction of the community, came an early demand for the labors of the printing-press, which in the year 1639 was brought into operation in Cambridge, and upon the accession of King James II. was especially interdicted by royal proclamation. Most of the books published then were theological effusions, chiefly sermons, but in 1690 the first newspaper appeared in Boston, bearing date Thursday, September 25. The first number of "Publick Occurrences" contained so many unsound truths that the government censured Benjamin Harris, and suppressed the issue after only one paper had been circulated. The "News Letter" was published in Boston, in 1704; and among some others, the best paper of those early days, the "New England Courant," published by James Franklin, and written for by the compositor, his brother, Benjamin Franklin, came into existence in 1721, in the same town. The number did not very rapidly increase, but the influence of journalism was felt extensively. Besides the library at Harvard, and some small beginnings in other colleges, there was a public circulating library in New York. The first action for libel tried in the colonies was an attempt to suppress the "New York Weekly Journal," in 1735; but the effort was defeated by the jury. There was no newspaper in Virginia until 1736, and then it was a government organ.

4. Industries and manufactures were identical with the commencement of the New England colonies, and even in Virginia, where such employments were less kindly embraced, necessity compelled the settlers to work or starve. Agriculture commanded first attention, and even the Indians learned something in that direction, as one of the tribes, having procured a supply of powder, planted it as seed, expecting to reap a harvest of ammunition. Some kinds of manufactures, rudely carried on, were prosecuted from the beginning of the colonies,

and in Boston ship-building dates from the first year. Cloths and cloth-weaving, shoes, paper, hats, farming implements, furniture, and cutlery were manufactured, although there was a long series of complaints that English manufactures were injured by such action. Commerce was crippled by the operation of the English Navigation Laws, which were supplemented by regulations under which it was provided that the productions of the colonies must be shipped to England in British vessels only, and that no manufactures nor supplies of any kind should be sent into any colonial port except through the intervention of English vessels, sailing from the ports of that country. These restrictions were not rigorously observed by the colonists, but wherever the government was strong enough the system was enforced. Besides these important industries the fisheries of Newfoundland were improved as far as possible, and whaling enterprises to the far north were also undertaken.

5. Travel and traffic between the colonies come next in importance to industries and intellectual culture, and are identified with each. For a long time journeys were made on foot, on horseback, or by means of coasting sloops. From New York to Philadelphia was a three days' trip, with fair winds, and a wagon ran twice a week between New York and different localities in New Jersey. It was an immense improvement when conveyances, called "flying-machines," for their speed, in 1766, made the journey from Philadelphia to New York in two days, and a stage-route from Providence to Boston occupied the same time. The post-office had been inaugurated, and its influence was so highly appreciated, that Franklin, when post-master-general, occupied five months in his carriage, travelling through the colonies to perfect the arrangements of his department, and he took an extra horse with him for occasional service. The monthly mail was commenced in 1672, between Boston and New York, by way of Hartford, Connecticut.

6. Sumptuary laws and customs reveal the life of a people, and New England lived by line and rule. Scriptural teaching was the standard of conduct, ministers were the recognized censors, and were themselves above reproach for some time. Cards and games were prohibited, Sabbath-breaking was an offence, and a man who shot some birds on Sunday was whipped. Tavern-keeping was strictly under surveillance, and drunkards could not buy liquor. Connecticut forbade tobacco to youths under twenty, nor could any one indulge more than once in twenty-four hours, and he must then be distant from

any residence. The clothing to be worn by the different classes was regulated in regard to their wealth and condition. Grand dames rode pillion with their husbands, theological questions were engrossing topics, and a reproof in church was the ultimatum of social severity. The manners of New York closely approximated in simplicity to those of New England, *plus* a trifle more of sociality, which remains crystallized in the custom of New Year's visitings.

7. The plantations in the southern colonies, wherein large estates and numerous servants, often negro slaves, made the rule, had an effect in changing the manners of the people. The negroes had their own quarters, and were kindly treated generally. Tobacco was the staple production, and the planter made his own establishment serve every purpose. He shipped his own tobacco to agents in London, ground his own flour from corn and wheat raised by his slaves; his bondsmen were taught such trades as he required in operation; luxury was the rule among such men; labor fell more and more daily into disrepute; hospitality was the rule everywhere, and display became the fashion in dress, furniture, and equipages, stamping characteristics upon a people which may yet be seen in action.

8. Schools and teachers were obliged to labor under difficulties in the southern colonies, as the governors appointed from England were in some measure opposed to such innovations upon the rule of ignorance, especially for the working-class. Free schools were denounced in connection with printing-presses, by Governor Berkeley, in Virginia, with great emphasis; but in Maryland, under the rule of the Baltimore family, there were free schools in 1696, and in 1712 Charleston, South Carolina, followed that example. Private schools were more generally established, and church rule was ample for all purposes. The minister had a farm of one hundred acres, and a share in the best corn and tobacco first gathered. Non-attendance at church, or disrespectful words to the minister, were offences punished among the slaves by whipping and deprivation of food, with cumulative sentences of terrible import. Even freemen were held under heavy restrictions in many parts, fines being substituted for corporal punishments. Slave-owners in Georgia were liable to a penalty of twenty-five dollars if they failed to send their slaves to church.

9. Massachusetts and Connecticut esteemed education next to religion itself, and with the colonists life was a worthless burden, unless sanctified by worship. The endowment of

Harvard University, then known as a seminary at Cambridge, by the town of Boston, when the settlement was only six years old, tells its own story, unsurpassed in the world's history. The invested funds of the institution, besides the grounds, buildings, libraries, and other property, amounted in 1873 to two million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Since 1642 there have only been five years without a graduating class; nearly thirteen thousand persons have received degrees there, and fully half that number are now alive. The people at one time, when money was scarce, contributed from each family a peck of corn, or one shilling, towards the college. Education was provided for every age; in 1665 every town had a free school, and every considerable town a grammar school; besides which, there were town meetings for general discussions, which every freeman was expected to attend. In Hartford, Connecticut, those who failed to be present, unless excused, were fined. Yale College was founded in Connecticut, in 1700, being first established at Saybrook, and the library afterwards removed to New Haven.

10. New York, Delaware, and Pennsylvania were not behind the other colonies in solicitude for early training. The countrymen of Erasmus loved books, and there were many schools in New York in which English was reckoned among the accomplishments. Princeton College had made an excellent start, and in 1768 had an orrery, to teach as to the movements of the heavenly bodies, such as no European college could then excel. Among the Quakers and other non-conformists at Lewiston, Delaware, the first colonial school for girls had its origin; and among men of the same class in Pennsylvania, in 1683, before Penn had returned to England, a commercial school was inaugurated, the fees being two dollars per annum. Before the arrival of the founder of that colony the Swedes had places of worship, and every denomination made provision in its own way for preachers and meetings. Wampum, beaver-skins, and sometimes tobacco, served as currency for the payment of the salary of minister or teacher; but in no case was it known that the colonists omitted to provide fairly for education and worship.

11. The newspaper press generally confined itself to local matters and news until about and after 1745. Such men as the Franklins and Zenger, who was tried for libel at the instance of the government, were rare exceptions; but after 1745 revolutionary ideas began to find utterance. Samuel

Adams became a journalist in Boston, 1748; but the printer having been imprisoned, the publication was suspended. The "Boston Gazette," which came out in 1755, plainly indicated the desire of the colonists to be left untrammelled by Great Britain. Samuel Adams and John Adams, Mayhew, Otis, Warren, Cushing, Dexter, Austin, Cooper, and others of that stamp, fought every abuse through its columns. This marked a new era in the value of the press, and the spirit thus indicated compelled the British government to repeal, in 1766, the odious Stamp Act, which had become law in March, 1765. The oppressive plans of George III., and the fatal subserviency of his ministers, could not rest at that point, the king being resolved that he would compel the colonists to pay taxes to the mother country; and in 1767 the duties on tea, paper, glass, and on other commodities, having been imposed, the battle of public opinion continued with increasing vigor. The duties could not be collected, and in 1768 British troops were sent to Boston; but notwithstanding every endeavor the duties were afterwards abolished by the British Parliament. Exasperation had become almost unbounded; many of the newspapers suggested an appeal to arms as a means of redress against the oppressions of governors and troops, and the years 1773-4 were signalized by momentous events. The Tea Riot in Boston took place in the year first named, and the latter year saw assembled in Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, the first "Continental Congress." The Boston Port Bill was the immediate cause of that Congress, the declaration of rights its first outcome, and proximately the independence of the nation is due to those events.

12. Growing exasperation on both sides left but little hope that there would be a peaceful end of colonial difficulties after the Declaration of Rights had been adopted, although there were many parliamentary precedents for such action on the part of English subjects; but, unfortunately, George III. was more nearly absolute than any king had ever been in England since the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., and his hatred of America already verged upon insanity.

13. Oppressive enactments crippled every branch of trade, in the hope that the depletion of the colonies would enrich the mercantile, manufacturing, and shipping interests of the mother country. The navigation laws were not stringent enough to secure the desired ends, and there were additional restrictions which were gradually narrowing the industries of the colonists

to a point at which they must have become agriculturists only, without permission to sell their products anywhere, except in England, taking therefor such wares as manufacturers in that country would send, at any prices they thought fit. The yoke was unbearable. The small beginnings of that iron industry, on which modern nations must base their civilization, were common nuisances in that country in the sight of English law-makers, and all manufactures were prohibited. Edmund Burke and the great William Pitt, now become Earl of Chatham, manfully upheld the cause of the colonists, one in the House of Commons and the other in the House of Lords; but nothing availed as against the will of the king.

14. The Stamp Act had been repealed, but not before it had worked a terrible state of feeling among the colonists. Newspapers, documents to have force in law, and printed pamphlets, as well as other matters which it would be tedious to particularize, had to bear a government stamp before publication; and many newspapers just struggling to live were compelled to suspend while the act remained in force. The colonists met the attack with a peculiar energy. When it became known that a man had accepted office as the British Stamp Agent, he was visited by a delegation in many instances, and so completely overawed that he forthwith had to resign his office. Houses were attacked, supporters of the exaction were burned in effigy, and stamps were destroyed whenever a capture was made. Associations were formed, pledged to wear no clothes but such as could be produced in the colonies, nor to consume any article of English manufacture. "Sons of Liberty" were enrolled in all the colonies, and in some the organization was very powerful. The aspect of the people, no less than the eloquence of their leaders, gave evidence that the system would not be endured; but when the Parliament, much to the disgust of the king, receded from their enactment, they yet affirmed their right to tax the unrepresented colonies.

15. Boston had earned already a leading place among the leaders, and, in consequence, when the British Government proceeded to the next act of taxation, a Board of Trade to sit in Boston was nominated, having authority above all colonial assemblies. The tolling bells, days of mourning, minute-guns, suspended business, and other signs of determination, which, by moral force mainly, had rendered the Stamp Act inoperative, were now to be treated with disdain, and troops were sent to enforce the laws. The Mutiny Act would have compelled the

colonists to give quarters and food to the soldiery; but, one after another, the colonies, by their representative assemblies, refused obedience. New York led the van in such vindication of the rights of the people, and the Assembly was immediately disfranchised. Massachusetts backed up New York, by sending an appeal to the other colonies, inviting union, and nearly all the colonies asserted that taxation without representation meant tyranny. Parliament in vain called upon the people to abandon the position, from which no show of right could dislodge them.

16. General Gage, the last Governor of Massachusetts appointed by George III., had, previous to 1774, visited Boston, being chosen by the government to enforce the odious provisions of the Mutiny Act. The struggle seemed to be as of Boston against all England, and Samuel Adams was Boston. General Gage came with his troops, marching to martial music, with colors flying, through Boston streets, one Sunday morning. Demanding quarters, and being refused, he took possession of Boston State House. Boston Common was made into a military camp, cannon were planted to command the town, and everything indicated a state of war.

Quarrels were common between the younger citizens and the soldiery, and, during one of these encounters with the City Guard, two young men were badly wounded and three killed. This event, known as the Boston massacre, was the signal for a general rallying of the colonists of Massachusetts, and it was thought best that the soldiery should retreat to Castle William until the effervescence subsided. The soldiers engaged in the *mêlée* were tried for murder; but John Adams and Josiah Quincy defended them, and all save two were acquitted, — the two being convicted of manslaughter only.



FANEUIL HALL.

17. Faneuil Hall was crowded during the evening of December 16, 1773, by men who were determined that the obnoxious tea duty should never be collected in America. There were three ships in the harbor laden with tea, and the agents were willing to send it back to England; but the British authorities refused to grant permission for the departure

of the vessels. All the duties, except that on tea, had been abandoned; but that impost was insisted upon, to affirm a right. English traders were now so anxious for peace that they reduced the price of the commodity, so that the tea delivered in Boston, inclusive of duty, would cost less than it had ever cost the people before; but it was a question of principle, not of price. From other ports the tea was only returned; and the same course was to have been pursued at Boston, but for the stubborn refusal of the officials to grant clearances for the ships. The conclusion was only made known that night, and the Boston Tea Party, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships, emptying three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the harbor. There was no attempt to conceal the fact that the Indian costume was only a disguise, as one of the party conversed with Admiral Montague on the subject, immediately after the operation had been effected, and before his war-paint had been removed.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1774 TO 1777.

EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION—INCIDENTS OF THE WAR WHICH LOST THE COLONIES TO ENGLAND.

1. THE new Governor of Massachusetts came to Boston, May 17, 1774, as the English government thought General Gage precisely the man to carry out their loyal scheme of vengeance against the head-quarters of the rebellion. Boston port had been shut against all commerce by act of Parliament, and much distress was being experienced. Virginia, by its Assembly, denounced this act of oppression, and was immediately dismissed by the royalist governor. The popular side in the struggle took the name of Whig, and the opposition set were Tories. Minute-men were enrolled, ready to assemble and fight for the cause at one minute's warning. The governor, alarmed, commenced the fortification of Boston Neck, and it became more evident every day that there would be a war and a Continental union.

2. Under such auspices the first Continental Congress assembled in the City of Brotherly Love, and every colony was

represented except Georgia, the youngest of the thirteen. Independence, in the broader sense, was yet only the dream of a few. The Congress denounced the presence of a standing army; sustained Massachusetts in its resistance; disclaimed the recent acts of the English government, and resolved to hold no intercourse with the mother country. The rights of the colonists were to be upheld, but the men forming the Congress believed that so much could be effected without breaking the connection.

3. The Governor of Massachusetts, having ascertained that there were military stores at Concord, belonging to the people, concluded that he would procure them for his own use, or destroy them, and an expedition of eight hundred men, under Colonel Smith, was detailed April 19, 1775, for that purpose. The people started off messengers to rouse the minute-men, and a signal lantern on the steeple of North Church called assistance from considerable distances. Lexington was one of the rallying points of the colonial forces, and when the Britishers arrived there they found almost a company of minute-men assembled on the village green. Major Pitcairn, second in command of the royalists, ordered the people to disperse, and, upon their declining to do so, a battle ensued, in which seven of the Americans were killed. The troops pushed on to Concord, and the stores were hastily destroyed, as it had now become evident that the retreat to Boston must be conducted through a country swarming with minute-men, impatient to avenge the blood spilt at Lexington. Every point that could give shelter to a marksman, trees, rocks, buildings, fences, inequalities of surface, were all turned to good purpose by the colonial troops, and three hundred loyal troops fell before the remainder were rescued by reinforcements from Boston. The war had commenced, and as the news, carried by swift messengers, coursed through the land, men left their work in the fields unfinished to hurry to the scene of conflict. Israel Putnam, a brave man, was one of the earliest recruits, and he was in Boston almost as soon as the retreating regulars, leaving his cattle yoked in the field. There was no longer a vestige of authority in the hands of British governors from Massachusetts to Georgia, other than that their troops could compel obedience. Twenty thousand men worked at the entrenchments that were to shut up General Gage and his forces in Boston. Congresses were formed instantaneously in all the colonies, to consider the situation, and committees were duly authorized to call out the troops should emergencies arise. Governor Gage had com-

menced a war which he did not live to see fought out to its unhappy result.



PUTNAM SUMMONED TO WAR.

4. The colonists were determined to see the matter to an end, or perish in the attempt, and Colonel Prescott was chosen to command in the first regular engagement. The President of Harvard prayed at the head of the troops before they started from Cambridge to fortify Bunker

Hill, and they worked through the bright moonlight until morning, when their earthworks were completed. They had preferred Breed's Hill for their fortification, as they found it more commanding; and so silent had been their labors, although within hail of the sentinels in Boston, that the British troops knew nothing of their proceedings until they saw the redoubt fully constructed, June 17, 1775. Sir William Howe commanded an attack, and three thousand men ascended the hill to within ten rods of the redoubt without being molested. The colonel had given orders that the defenders should not fire until they could see the whites of their opponents' eyes, and they were soldierly enough to obey his orders. At the proper moment the word "Fire!" was heard, and contemporaneously every rifle vomited forth its messenger of death. The redcoats, immovable as a wall one second before, had fallen in their ranks, or were in rapid retreat when the smoke lifted. They had anticipated nothing so terrible as that act of slaughter. The village of Charlestown, set on fire by Governor Gage, was the rallying point of the regulars, and, having reformed there,

the troops once more breasted the hill. The deadly volley met them as before, and they were compelled a second time to retire; this time so shattered that they could not renew the attack without reinforcements. Had the colonists possessed a sufficiency of ammunition the whole force under Howe's command would have been insufficient to dispossess them; but their weakness consisted in that lacking. When the third assault was made there was only powder and ball sufficient for one volley, but that was delivered with emphasis and terrible effect. The British troops paused for a moment, and then, finding no repetition of the sanguinary salute, charged over the earthworks at the point of the bayonet, and the colonists, having no weapons but their clubbed muskets, were compelled reluctantly to retire from the scene on which they had already immortalized the name American. Twice the British had come in contact with the continentals, whom they professed to despise, and on each occasion they had won success. Before this engagement, and after the battle of Lexington, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had, in May, 1775, declared General Gage unworthy of obedience, and he had responded, in June, by a proclamation offering pardon to all rebels, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. The same document established martial law. Four months after the battle of Bunker Hill General Gage was relieved of his office by Sir William Howe, and returned to England, where he died within two years.

5. Within one month of the Battle of Lexington the fortress of Ticonderoga, so often assaulted in vain by regulars and volunteers combined, was surprised and captured by a body of volunteers, under Colonel Ethan Allen and General Benedict Arnold. The commander was in bed when Allen demanded his surrender, and there was nothing possible in the way of resistance. The officer demanded in whose name the force of Green Mountain boys had made the demand, and Colonel Allen replied: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" Crown Point was captured soon afterwards, and the continental forces were thus made masters of large cannon, small arms, and ammunition. There was not one life lost in the expedition.

6. The second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia on the day of the capture of Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775, and it was concluded that twenty thousand men should be raised for the war, to serve under the orders of Gen. Washington, commander-in-chief. A petition to the king was adopted at

the same time, but George III. refused to receive the document. The commander-in-chief proceeded to the camp before Boston, and there found about fourteen thousand men, ill clad and worse armed, many of them unfit for the service which they had taken up on the impulse of the moment, and of which they were already heartily sick. Very few knew any thing about drill or discipline, and there were only nine cartridges per man in the magazine with which the war of independence was to be fought. Gen. Washington did all that could be done under the circumstances, and Gen. Gage remained enclosed in Boston.

7. As already described, in the autumn of 1775 Gen. Montgomery led a force by the way of Lake Champlain, now open to the operations of the colonists, took St. Johns and Montreal, appearing before Quebec in December, where he was joined by a band of men, almost famished, led by Gen. Arnold. The new-comers had ascended the Kennebec, and made a road through the wilderness to the point of attack. The two forces joined were less than one thousand effectives; but with this small body a siege was maintained for three weeks, until an assault was thought practicable, and, in a blinding storm of snow, the forlorn hope advanced by two divisions, one led by Gen. Montgomery, the other by Benedict Arnold. Fortunately for the English, the chief in command fell mortally wounded; and, yet more fortunately for the Americans, Arnold fell wounded, but not mortally. Gen. Morgan, who succeeded Arnold in the command, was hemmed in on all sides and compelled to surrender; and the little army, after maintaining a blockade of the city until spring, retreated on the approach of the British troops to reinforce the garrison.

8. Gen. Washington steadily pursued his purpose all through the winter of 1775-76, to bring his army into form and to compel the British to evacuate Boston. Dorchester Heights were fortified during the night of March 17, 1776, and in the morning the troops in the city saw an opportunity to repeat the experience of Breed's Hill; but a storm prevented action at once, and every hour of delay made the earthworks more complete. Gen. Howe saw the necessity for an instant retirement with his army and fleet before worse happened, and many of the Tories accompanied him. Admiral Parker, with a British fleet of nine sail and two hundred and seventy guns, appeared off Charleston harbor, June 28, 1776, and, finding a fort of palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island,

with earthworks carrying twenty-six guns, the admiral bombarded the fortification. Col. William Moultrie, who was in command of the fort, used his forces so well that, although Gen. Clinton, with a considerable body of troops, coöperated with the naval contingent and tried an attack in the rear, the assailants were beaten off with considerable loss. This exploit was commemorated in the best possible way by naming the position Fort Moultrie, and strengthening the works. The report of this victory was well received all over the colonies, and it was opportune.

9. While Boston was being abandoned by the British troops, and in the South the naval arm of Great Britain was sustaining a defeat, Congress had been deeply pondering the problem which demanded solution; and on the 3d of July, 1776, by a majority of one colony, a resolution, introduced by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, was carried, affirming that: "The United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States." Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert B. Livingston, were appointed to draw up "The Declaration of Independence," and at two in the morning of the eventful Fourth of July the charter of the liberties of a nation of freemen was ratified by Congress, the report of the committee being adopted. The people of Philadelphia had been intensely anxious all the day as to the outcome of the debate, and when the news was at length promulgated, the bell in the steeple of the old State House joyfully rang out the tidings, which the people reëchoed in all directions. The old bell is now preserved as a curiosity, bearing the prophetic motto: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the people thereof."

10. Signing the "Declaration of Independence" was an act which left for the men who had taken that step no retreat. They must conquer the liberty towards which they aspired, or sink under the punishment awarded to rebels by a king such as George III. was known to be. The men who had already drawn the sword could well afford to throw away the scabbard; and, as the event proved, the liberties of the people were in able hands. Gen. Washington, with seven thousand men fit for service, turned his attention toward New York as soon as Boston had been freed; and he was correct in his anticipations that the British commander-in-chief would make a descent in that quarter. Gen. Howe proceeded from Boston to Halifax, where he refitted, and then sailed for New York. His brother, Admiral

Lord Howe, joined him there with a fleet and reinforcements, which, when joined to the troops commanded by Gen. Sir Harry Clinton, gave an army of thirty thousand men. The government had sent by the admiral powers to treat with the Americans, but they were to be dealt with as revolted colonists, not as a free and independent people. An officer was sent to the American camp with a letter addressed to George Washington, Esquire; but the "Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States" refused to receive a communication which failed to recognize his office and rank, and the messenger, after many attempts to overcome the difficulty, carried back the letter.

11. The first defeat sustained by the American troops occurred on Long Island, where Gen. Putman, with nine thousand men, held a fort and defences on the hills south of Brooklyn. The enemy advanced in three divisions, one of which, unobserved, turned the flank of the defenders and assailed them in the rear. The American troops, although outnumbered, were fighting bravely, when the sound of firing from the third division of the attacking force told the colonists that they were surrounded. The carnage was terrific, as, of the five thousand men engaged, two thousand were slain or taken prisoners, to endure a fate almost worse than death. The fort at Brooklyn was not attacked immediately, as the fleet was required to cooperate in the assault, and a delay of two days gave the troops an opportunity to retreat. During the night of the escape a negro servant, sent by a Tory to inform the British of the movement, was captured by Hessian troops, — hired from Hesse Cassel for the war, — and they, unable to comprehend the message, detained him until the morning, so that Putnam withdrew his troops without additional loss.

12. Strategic movements were now the order of the day, as the British, well furnished with all the munitions of war, and much more numerous than the colonial troops, could not be assailed with safety. Gen. Washington had taken up a strong position on Harlem Heights, and the British commander-in-chief did not dare an attack; but the movements of the enemy obliged Washington to withdraw to White Plains, where part of his army was defeated; with the remainder he occupied a strong camp at North Castle, and Howe prudently retired to New York. Fort Washington, which stood where 181st and 186th streets now are, was taken by the Hessians, Nov. 16, 1776, after a very obstinate defence, with two thousand six hundred prisoners. The American army, small from the first,

was now hardly three thousand strong, and it was necessary to retreat into New Jersey to resist a march on Philadelphia. Lord Cornwallis, with six thousand troops in good condition, followed the shoeless ranks of the Army of Independence for three weeks, until Washington crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. Gen. Lee, who was slowly following the commander-in-chief, was taken prisoner by the British during this retreat. The boats on the Delaware had been secured by the colonists, and Gen. Howe concluded that he would cross the river on the ice as soon as practicable, to follow up his successes by taking Philadelphia. The villages along the river were occupied by his troops, and he waited for his opportunity. This was the darkest moment in the war for the Americans. The troops were outnumbered, disheartened, and ill-supported, and the strong places were falling, or had fallen, into the hands of the British; but the sun was still shining behind the clouds.

13. Christmas night, 1776, was made memorable by an event which reanimated the soul of the rebellion throughout the United States. There was a terrible storm,—so severe that men were frozen to death that night,—when Washington recrossed the Delaware, with two thousand four hundred men, and attacked the Hessian troops in Trenton, killing their leader and capturing one thousand prisoners, with a loss of only four of his own men. The surprise was perfect, and when Washington returned to his camp after that victory the prospects of the colonial army had improved wonderfully. Recruits came in daily; men whose term of service had expired, remained; and Lord Cornwallis, who was to have carried to England the news of the almost complete extinction of the American army, was recalled by his commander-in-chief to enter upon a winter's campaign.

14. Washington recrossed the river, Jan. 3, 1777, at the same point, and established himself at Trenton to await the coming of Cornwallis. The royalist forces came up about sunset and attacked the colonial army; but they were repulsed with some loss, and the British general resolved to wait until morning. He had no cause for hurrying; there was no escape for the troops under Washington; they should all be taken in the morning, as his force was enormously superior, and they were shut in by his lines and the impassable river. Washington was no sluggard, and neither his troops nor himself could sleep that night. The watch-fires burned brightly along the whole line,

and behind that wall of flame the colonial army moved noiselessly away with forty cannon, over the newly frozen country roads, which a few hours afterwards were impassable. The British troops at Princeton were entirely unprepared for an attack, when the Americans fell upon them and routed the force, capturing three hundred prisoners, with whom the general marched to Morristown Heights without pausing. Lord Cornwallis arrived at Princeton too late to redeem the fortune of war, and his foes were beyond his power. The praise of Washington was on every American lip, and all that winter he harassed the British, until New Jersey was all but rescued from their arms.

15. The American army was so small and ill provided that it was impossible for Gen. Washington to carry out any large scheme of operations. He could only wait upon fortune, and reserve such force as he possessed for the most promising enterprises. The British general wanted a decisive battle, but the American commander could not be entrapped; and



MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

after waiting until September, 1777, Gen. Howe despatched a force of eighteen thousand men to the Chesapeake in his brother's fleet, to assail Philadelphia from that direction. There was now no option; a general engagement must be risked, and the colonial troops must be posted, as well as circumstances will permit, at Bradd's Ford, on the Brandywine Creek, thirty miles south-west of the city. The army was only eleven thousand strong, and the struggle was unsuccessful for the British. The British won the day, September 11, 1777, and took possession of Philadelphia, establishing winter-quarters at Germantown. The Marquis De La Fayette and the Count Pulaski won golden opinions by their gallant behavior during the battle of Brandywine Creek.

16. Just after the enemy had settled down in winter-quarters, Washington made an attack on their cantonments at sunrise, Oct. 4, 1777, his troops having marched all night to carry out the design. The assault at first was successful, but eventually the colonial soldiers were compelled to retreat

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before a superior force. A dense fog, which prevailed meanwhile, prevented such coöperation as had been planned by Washington. The forts on the Delaware were now bombarded by the British general, and the American troops compelled to retreat, after which the armies went into winter-quarters: Howe and his men in Germantown and Philadelphia; Washington and his troops at Valley Forge.

17. There was better news for the Americans coming in from the north, where an army of ten thousand men, under Gen. Burgoyne, was to have demolished the rebellion. The general took command in Canada in the summer of 1777, and in June commenced his march, attended by about two thousand Indian allies. His army was exceedingly well appointed, and much was expected from his abilities. The forts at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Edward, were captured immediately, and the supplies at Whitehall were taken; the small body of men under Gen. Schuyler being utterly disproportioned to the force under Burgoyne. The roads were obstructed, bridges

destroyed, and such work as untiring valor found possible was accomplished; still the enemy advanced, and the outrages of the Indians, more than even the loss of the forts, roused the American people to participate in the war. From all the surrounding states militia-men were arriving, and daring officers, such as Lincoln, Morgan, and Arnold, were sent to watch the advance. Schuyler is sympathized with because he was superseded by General Gates just at the moment when his schemes ap-



THE ALARM AT FORT STANWIX.

proached fruition; but he was too bitter towards the English to allow that circumstance to dampen his ardor. The army, speedily formed, was drilled as rapidly, and a position on Bemis Heights was fortified under the direction of the brave Thaddeus

Kosciusko, who was to fight for liberty on both sides of the Atlantic.

18. Burgoyne had not found affairs exactly to his mind, although he had found no army ready to attack him. Col. St. Leger was to have taken Fort Stanwix, and, after ravishing the Mohawk Valley, rejoin the general at Albany. Benedict Arnold, with an inferior force, was despatched by Schuyler to create a diversion in favor of the fort and the valley, and he contrived to fill the British troops with the belief that a large American army was close at hand; so that by a ruse he came into possession of their cannon and camp equipments, and defeated their expedition without striking one blow. Another party was detailed to seize the American supplies of Bennington, Vt.; but General Stark and a body of militiamen defeated the foragers, taking nearly six hundred prisoners.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, 1777 TO 1783.

EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION — CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

1. BURGoyNE suffered for the want of reinforcements and supplies, and his troops were becoming demoralized, so that it became necessary to make some vigorous movement; hence he attacked Gen. Gates' strong position on Bemis Heights, September 19, 1777. The battle raged all the day long; but it was not a decisive victory for the Americans, and at night both armies retired to their respective camps, and no other engagement has to be recorded until October 7th. The camp of the British troops had been kept in continual alarm, but no attack in force had been attempted. Gates waited for some false move on the part of Burgoyne, and the British general had come to the point where he must win a victory, surrender at discretion, or starve. He preferred fighting, and a last desperate effort was made. It is claimed that the success of the American arms on the second day's work at Stillwater, sometimes known as the battle of Saratoga, was due to Benedict Arnold, who was undoubtedly brave; but in any case the victory this time was unquestioned. There was a vigorous

charge on the British line of attack, and the soldiers were driven back to their camp, where the Hessians fled in confusion, after firing only one volley.

2. The defeated general fell back to Saratoga, and there deliberated upon the chances of war. Provisions were scarce, and dangers hemmed him in on every side; nor was there any hope of reinforcements. The cannon on Bemis Heights commanded the camp, and a surrender was the only course that could be suggested by a council of war. The Indian allies, once so wily, had nothing to suggest, and the Tories had already taken their departure; so the general made the best capitulation possible under the circumstances, surrendering six thousand men, with all the material for an army of twice that number, to the comparatively raw levies at Saratoga; hence the news from the north compensated the Union for the misfortunes that had befallen Philadelphia.

3. There is an adage that the darkest hour is that before the dawn. Winter in Valley Forge was very dark indeed. Continental currency had so depreciated that it was no longer current. Clothing, food, weapons, even physical strength seemed to have been exhausted, and death came as a relief to brave men who had vowed themselves to the cause of freedom. The endurance manifested by Washington and his brave followers in that fearful season of trial was more truly heroic than to win unnumbered battles with the advantages of wealth and complete equipment. The men who struggled through the winter of 1777-8, under Gen. Washington, were sustained by the courageous example of their leader. Benjamin Franklin, whose efforts in England not averting the necessity for war, had long since been sent to the court of France, where he speedily became very popular, and the dreary winter was enlivened as it drew towards its close by news that France had acknowledged the independence of the United States, and would despatch a fleet to assist in vindicating the rights of the country.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

4. Gen. Washington was surrounded by men who would

die for him, but there were among his officers not a few who, in their wrong-headed obstinacy, imperilled his best-laid schemes. Gen. Lee was a man of that condition. After the conclusion of the campaign of 1777 Gen. Howe returned to England, and Clinton assumed the command. That general, having learned that the French fleet, under D'Estaing, was approaching, resolved upon concentrating his forces, and New York was to be his centre. Washington followed him across New Jersey, and the two forces met at Monmouth, where, just at the moment when victory was imminent, Gen. Lee commanded a retreat. Fortunately for the Americans the commander-in-chief was on the ground, and he changed the fortune of the battle by his personal intrepidity. The engagement lasted all the day, and, in the darkness of the night, Gen. Sir Harry Clinton made a hasty retreat to New York. Count D'Estaing arrived with his fleet, and it was arranged that he should coöperate with the army under Gen. Sullivan in an attack upon the British forces in Newport, Rhode Island; but, just at the time when the combined operation was to have been carried out, Howe, with the British fleet, arrived off the harbor, and the French commander went out to meet him. The storm in which both fleets were involved damaged the ships so badly that both admirals put back for repairs, and there was no farther aid from France during the campaign of 1778; but the presence of D'Estaing prevented Howe entering the Bay of Narragansett just when he might have coöperated with the forces under Gen. Clinton.

5. The scalping-knife and the tomahawk seem more terrible than at any other time when civilized races summon their aid. The massacre of Wyoming illustrates the sickening barbarities which are, under such circumstances, likely to give a new horror to war. The men who were capable of taking part in the war were mostly engaged in the field, when Butler, commanding a band of British and Indians, entered the Valley of Wyoming. There was a fort in which the women and children found refuge, and the old men and youths bravely fought the invaders; but they were outnumbered and defeated, and every torture that malignity could devise was expended upon them by the Indians before they were put to death. The fort was surrendered upon conditions that were shamelessly disregarded, and the whole valley was desolated, the survivors flying for their lives through the wilderness.

6. Georgia, the youngest of the States, was made the scene

of British operations in the latter part of 1778. Savannah and Augusta fell immediately, and the whole State was overrun. Clinton seemed to have despaired of success in the more populous States, and therefore his attentions were directed against a comparatively defenceless section of the Union. Charleston, S.C., was the next point of attack; but the siege under Prevost was precipitately raised on the approach of an American force under Gen. Lincoln, and Prevost returned to Savannah. The recapture of Savannah was gallantly attempted, in Sept., 1779, by Lincoln, in combination with the fleet under the French Admiral, but a thousand lives were lost in an attack, after a severe bombardment of the city, and the Count D'Estaing then refused farther assistance. The Americans blamed him very severely for his conduct. The brave Pole, Pulaski, found a grave here, and his services with the legion bearing his name were, at a later date, commemorated by a monument in Savannah.

7. Northern operations under Clinton were little other than acts of spoliation, where no defence was possible and where no military advantage followed his course of action. Norwalk, Fairfield, and New Haven, Conn., were plundered and set on fire, and the work of destruction was made as complete as possible. Wherever a few men could be gathered to make a show of opposition, the predatory bands were restrained. Gen. Putnam rendered good service to the American cause, and distinguished himself at Horse Neck, operating against Tryon this summer. Stony Point was captured by Gen. Wayne, with a force of eight hundred men, with the aid of a negro who was in the habit of visiting the fort and knew the countersign. The general led the attacking party by a route well known to him, and, advancing alone to the sentinel, gave the word, after which he remained conversing with the soldier until he could be surprised and prevented from giving an alarm. From that point the troops passed over the causeway and reached the hill undiscovered. About midnight the assault was made, with every precaution to secure silence, but the attacking party was fired upon by the first picket of the fort, and Wayne was one of the first wounded; but at his own request he was carried at the head of his column, and the capture was speedily effected. The defenders lost six hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides the fort and its contents. Chastising the Tories and their allies, the red men, was the task allotted to Gen. Sullivan, in the Genesee country, and the Wyoming massacre

was not forgotten. There was a battle near Elmira, N.Y., and the enemy received a crushing defeat; after which the American force laid waste the Indian villages.

8. John Paul Jones, whose real name was John Paul, rendered effectual service to the cause of the Union on the sea. The naval service was necessarily small, but it consisted of able and daring men, in small vessels, generally fitted out as letters of marque and privateers, and within the first three years of the war five hundred British vessels had been taken along the coast. The naval department had no more active and enterprising man than Paul Jones, who ravaged the coasts of Great Britain. After several noteworthy exploits, Jones procured a French vessel, which he named "La Bon Homme Richard," in honor of Benjamin Franklin's genius, and with that vessel captured the "Serapis," an English frigate, in every way a better ship than his own, and carrying heavier guns. Jones' ship was old and rotten before the French gave her to him; but she was made serviceable until the "Serapis" had been taken in a desperate hand-to-hand encounter, and from that time the British vessel was sailed by Paul Jones, under the American flag, a terror to English commerce. The pride of our mother country was more touched by such exploits than by the surrender of an army.

9. Charleston, S. C., was again attacked in 1780, and this time an overwhelming force by land and sea compelled a surrender, after a bombardment and siege of forty days' duration. Gen. Lincoln managed the defence admirably. Cornwallis sent predatory parties, under Tarleton, and other such leaders, to distress the colonists in all directions; and terrible brutalities were perpetrated. Gen. Gates took command of the southern army; but his conduct in this campaign favors the idea that his previous success was not due to his own energy. Gates planned a night attack on Cornwallis, near Camden, and the British, who had entertained a similar project for the same time, were met in the woods, marching to surprise the American camp. After skirmishing in the dark for a time, both forces waited for day, and the advantage of the encounter was entirely on the side of the British. Baron de Kalb, major-general of the force, and second in command, fell mortally wounded on the field, and his comrades were overpowered fighting bravely. The militia fled, and Gates was nowhere during the engagement. The Union forces in the South were entirely broken up.

10. The defence of the South became little other than a guerilla warfare. Marion, Sumpter, Lee, and Pickens rallied the most daring men in the Carolinas, — North and South, — and British detachments were cut off in all directions. Some garrisons were captured, and a system of reprisals, rendered necessary by the conduct of Tarleton and the British, made the country very warm during the continuance of British rule. Some of the Americans were so poorly armed that they depended largely upon procuring the weapons and ammunition of their enemies. Such tactics prevailed at Hanging Rock, August 6, and at King's Mountain, October 7, in both of which engagements the Americans were victorious.

11. Unlimited inflation had been the policy of Congress in all monetary concerns from the first, and two hundred million dollars issued by authority could be bought for fifty million dollars specie. Currency would hardly buy necessary articles, and the soldiers were unable to procure boots with their pay. The British helped the financial muddle by circulating counterfeit notes, and, in some districts, the troops were at the point of famine. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, sent three million rations to the army, and relief associations were formed, but the distress was so imminent that Pennsylvania troops, to the number of one thousand six hundred, left the camp at Morristown to secure redress by force in Philadelphia. Sir Henry Clinton, whose spies were everywhere, improved the occasion by offering bribes to the revolting Union soldiers as a premium for desertion, and numbers of these creatures were handed over to the authorities by the men whose poverty they hoped to corrupt. A congressional committee speedily pacified the clamor by showing that they were doing all in their power to carry the war to a successful conclusion.

12. While the soldiery were suffering heroically, and in the main without complaining, Benedict Arnold meditated an act of treason unsurpassed in the world's history. His bravery had long been his only recommendation to employment, and he never suffered want, if it was possible to rob the men suffering under him, or anybody else. Charges of a grave nature were proved against him, and it became necessary that he should be publicly rebuked by the commander in chief. Gen. Washington performed his duty as gently as circumstances would permit, in consideration of Arnold's services; but the disgrace was keenly felt by the unprincipled man, and he sought an opportunity to revenge himself upon his country. Having, by

solicitation, procured the command of West Point, under the pretence that he wished to redeem his character, this position, the most important in the possession of the Americans, he at once offered to Sir Henry Clinton, for a price, and the terms of the infamous compact were arranged without delay. The plan of surrender required an interview with an agent above the status of an ordinary spy, and Maj. André, an English officer much respected, passed the American lines to complete the details. The British sloop "Vulture" conveyed him up the Hudson to West Point; but fire having been opened on the vessel she dropped down the river, and André was under the necessity to return overland to New York. The papers were concealed in his dress, and André reached Tarrytown on his return, when three men, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart, seized him on suspicion. Knowing that one American officer was corrupt, André thought he could procure his release by bribes; but his offers convinced the men that they had obtained a valuable prize, and he was conveyed to the nearest post. A safe-conduct from Arnold was looked upon as a forgery, and the officer in command was on the point of sending André to West Point as a prisoner; but Providence intervened. A note from the officer conveyed to Arnold the intelligence that his treason had miscarried; so that he had time to escape on board the "Vulture," at a point lower on the Hudson, and he detained the boatmen as prisoners. The price obtained by the traitor was about thirty-two thousand dollars, and a colonel's command in the English army; but officers of standing would not associate with him, and he was continually insulted to the end of his life, although protected by the king. André, sympathized with by all classes, was necessarily hanged as a spy, and the Union service was justly purged of a brave and able, but most iniquitous, officer in the desertion of Arnold.

13. Gen. Greene succeeded to the command which had been demoralized by Gates, and found only about two thousand men, in the last stages of destitution. The battle of Cowpens was fought by a part of this force under Gen. Morgan, who was attacked on the 17th of January, 1781, by Col. Tarleton. The militia retreated in confusion, and the Continentals made a retrograde movement, to secure a strong position. Tarleton thought the whole force was routed, and the soldiers rushed forward to annihilate the colonists; but the American troops, facing about at the word of command, delivered a destructive fire at point blank range, and the British colonel was completely defeated,

many prisoners being taken. Lord Cornwallis was desirous to retrieve this disaster; but Morgan retreated into Virginia, carrying his spoils with him, and the Catawba, just swollen by heavy rain, prevented an instant pursuit.

14. General Morgan was now joined by the commander, and the retreat from this point was conducted by Greene. The weather favored the American forces. Just after the Yadkin had been crossed by the Americans, the river was so swollen that Cornwallis was forced to make a detour before passing the stream. The start thus obtained saved Greene's command from absolute demolition by a superior force. The patriotism of the South was proved by many noble deeds of self-sacrifice during this campaign, and when at last the fords of the Dan were crossed before Cornwallis could come up to dispute the passage, the British commander abandoned the chase. Gen. Greene won and deserved the unanimous thanks of Congress for his masterly conduct.

15. Greene wanted a respite only for his men, and he had given them confidence in his and their own powers. We find him at Guilford Court-House, March 15, 1781, fighting against great odds, but now the assailant. The militia did not stand fire, but the continental troops held their own splendidly, and, although there was not a victory, Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington, pursued by Greene immediately afterwards. The force under his command being insufficient to invest Wilmington, Greene now joined Marion, Sumpter, Pickens, and Lee in South Carolina, and harassed the English until Georgia, as well as South Carolina, were almost entirely free from the troops of England. The enemy was so broken by the battle at Eutaw Springs, September 8, that they retired upon Charleston, South Carolina. The commander of the enemy, relieved from the presence of Greene, made a raid into Virginia, and although the British made many demonstrations, the regular war in the South had come to an end, although Charleston was not evacuated until the following year, 1782.

16. Arnold, the traitor, in the eyes of Americans, was in Virginia, covering himself with poor glory by his endeavors to prove his usefulness to the British. La Fayette, with an inferior force, held him somewhat in check until Cornwallis, coming from South Carolina, assumed the command, and continued, with a much greater force, the same horrible system of butchery, plunder, and destruction. Gen. Clinton, commander-in-chief, recalled Cornwallis from his marauding expedition in

the interior, directing him to keep near the coast, ready to coöperate in a scheme of defence, should Washington attack New York, and, in consequence, that officer fortified himself in Yorktown. The French allies of the Americans and their own forces now proceeded to hem in Cornwallis at Yorktown. Washington assumed the offensive at New York, so that Clinton believed himself in momentary danger of an assault, until the commander-in-chief was drawing near his actual point of attack, and on the 28th of September twelve thousand men were before Yorktown. Batteries were opened immediately, and red-hot shot and shells fired the shipping in the harbor. The American force carried one redoubt, while the French troops carried another, and the finest spirit of emulation made every soldier equal to the work of two men. The walls were soon breached, and an assault was imminent, when Lord Cornwallis followed the example of Burgoyne, and capitulated, on the 19th of October, 1781.

17. Gen. Washington commanded that the sword of Cornwallis should be delivered to Gen. Lincoln, who had been compelled to surrender Charleston; and the captive army, seven thousand strong, marched out from the fortifications with cased colors and arms shouldered, between the two armies, French and American. Cornwallis escaped the humiliation of being present, by a convenient fit of sickness; but the defeat was entire and complete, and every person felt that the war had come to an end. There was great rejoicing in every American heart. Hardships, until now all but unbearable, were swallowed up in victory; joy-bells were ringing, and the watchmen in the streets announced the intelligence with tears of thankfulness, as they made their nightly rounds in the city of Philadelphia. Men, awakened from their slumbers, rushed to the windows to be sure. Congress assembled very early in the morning, and in the afternoon succeeding marched to the Lutheran Church, where the *Te Deum* of thanksgiving from full hearts ascended to the God of Battles, for signal mercies vouchsafed to the youngest nation on the globe, beginning then and there a career of great prosperity. England saw that the conquest of such a people, under the circumstances, was impossible, and the populace demanded that the ministry which had advised on the war should be dismissed. The House of Commons denounced farther action, and George III. was compelled by his weakness to submit.

18. The greatest peril that ever menaced a country was

now pressing upon the United States, although the war was virtually ended. There was no commerce, no trade, no manufactures; and agriculture had long been neglected, because of the war, which, since the battle of Lexington, had decimated the people, and unsettled all avocations. Many, who were wealthy when the struggle commenced, were now penniless, and the currency, which had been forced into circulation for some time past, would buy nothing. The army was almost in open rebellion, because there was no prospect of their services being acknowledged by the scanty pay to which they were entitled, and without which they could not, in many cases, reach home. Under similar circumstances, during the Commonwealth in England, the Puritan soldiers compelled the Parliament to succumb to their demands, and their action made Cromwell dictator; but Congress contained men of a higher type than the Parliament that was dismissed by Cromwell, and the incorruptible Washington was superior to the promptings of ambition. Petitions to Congress for redress could not be answered from an empty treasury, and the angry troops offered the crown to the commander-in-chief; but the influence of the great and good man prevailed with both parties to prevent violent measures, and every difficulty was accommodated by his intervention, so that there was no period of internecine strife to encourage the English government to resume hostilities from the points which were still in their hands.

19. Peace, long since established (January 20, 1783), and the independence of the United States substantially recognized by all the European governments, was formally inaugurated by the treaty signed in Paris, September 3, 1783. The army was disbanded, and the commander-in-chief carried with him to Mount Vernon such devotional regard as has been increasing in the hearts of Americans ever since that day for a ruler of priceless integrity.

CHAPTER XV.

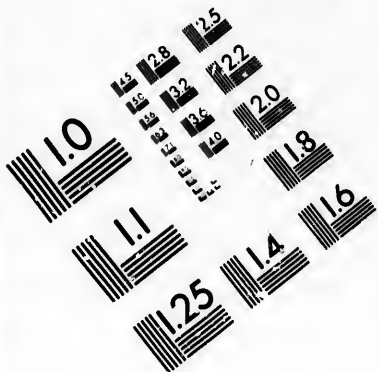
EVENTS FROM AN ENGLISH VIEW, 1760 TO 1778.

FIRST EIGHTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. — EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN WARS — THE DEFENCE OF GIBRALTAR.

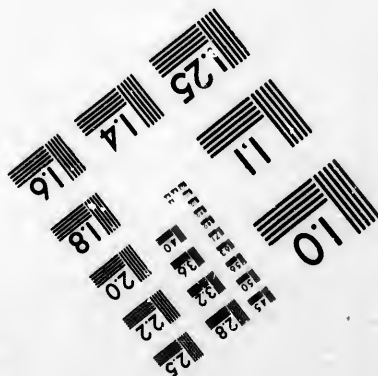
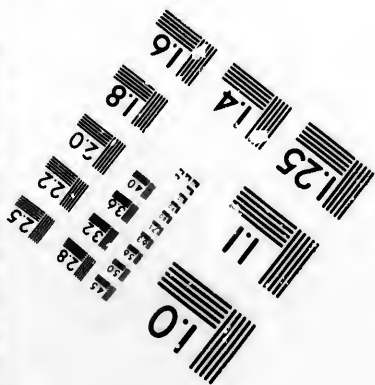
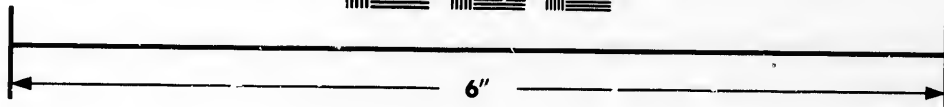
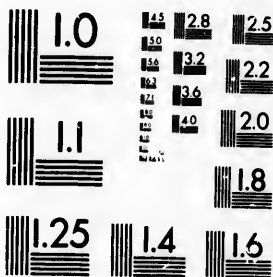
1. IT will now be interesting to view these events, which were transpiring in Canada and the United States, from an English stand-point, and to look at affairs in that quarter during the same period. It was on the 25th of October, 1760, and at the age of twenty-two, that George III. entered upon the longest and, in some respects, the most prosperous reign in the annals of England. In the following year he was married to Charlotte, Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the royal couple were crowned with magnificent ceremonies at Westminster. At this time the power and glory of William Pitt were at their height, the French had been defeated in India and America and on the continent; but these triumphs had been gained at an immense expense, and a party headed by the Earl of Bute, then the most influential adviser of the king, was solicitous for peace. While peace was being negotiated the kings of France and Spain entered into a secret compact, which resulted to England's disadvantage. This arrangement, called the family compact, because the kings who made it were both Bourbons, came to the knowledge of William Pitt, who, to avert the calamity, proposed a war against Spain; but, being unable to prevail, he retired from office, being succeeded by the Earl of Bute. Three months after, however, the new ministry was obliged to declare war against Spain, which greatly added to Pitt's popularity, the more so because the grandest achievements of the war—the conquest of Havana and Manilla in the East Indies—were planned by Pitt himself. In 1762 France and Spain, humbled by their losses, were anxious for peace, and a treaty was signed at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763. Soon after the unpopularity of the Earl of Bute became so great that he was obliged to resign, and Sir George Grenville succeeded him as prime minister, whose administration was characterized by the prosecution of Wilkes and the taxation of the American colonies.

2. John Wilkes was a member of Parliament and editor of a newspaper called "The North Briton." In this paper he made an attack on the personal character of the king, for which his paper was seized, and Wilkes imprisoned in the Tower. A few days after, he was liberated by a writ of habeas corpus before the Court of Common Pleas. He was next arraigned before the bar of Commons for libel, but escaped to Paris. He was then expelled from the Commons, and a sentence of outlawry passed against him. In 1768 he returned to England, and was elected to Parliament for Middlesex; but he was not allowed to take his seat. "These attacks on the freedom of elections and liberty of the press made Wilkes, although a man of corrupt morals, extremely popular, and excited much feeling throughout the country. At length, in 1774, government grew tired of this persecution. He was elected lord-mayor, and allowed to sit in Parliament. The English colonies in the wilds of America, although harassed by Indian and colonial wars, had grown in numbers and prosperity. They had received but little fostering care or kindly encouragement from the mother country, yet their affection for England was both ardent and sincere. They had fought in her battles, and rejoiced in her triumphs. They gloried, too, in the rights of English freemen, and were determined that these rights should flourish in the new land to which they had been transplanted. One of these rights, best known and valued, was that of not being taxed without their own consent. Once, during Sir Robert Walpole's administration, a suggestion was made to levy a tax on the American colonies. 'He who shall propose it will be a much bolder man than I am,' was the wise statesman's reply. And in the days of Walpole the colonies were far less capable of resisting than in 1765. But in 1765 the bolder man was found. In that year Sir George Grenville, at the suggestion of the king, not only proposed, but carried through Parliament, an act imposing a stamp duty on the North American colonies, — colonies unrepresented in the Parliament of England. Sir George Grenville had retired from office when news came across the waters that the indignant colonies, from Massachusetts to Georgia, had, with one consent, resisted this unjust attack upon their English rights and liberties. When the announcement was made, Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, rose in the House of Commons, and exclaimed: 'I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to





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submit would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."

3. We have already traced the results in America. The voice of the latter broke forth in a Declaration of Independence, which has already stood a hundred years. For seven years England withstood this declaration, and the war progressed as we have recorded it. The conduct of the English king and ministry was censured during the whole war by a strong party in Parliament. In June, 1781, a motion was made in the House of Commons "that his majesty's ministers ought immediately to take every possible measure for concluding peace with our American colonies." The motion was ably defended by William Pitt, the youthful son of the great orator and statesman, who, in 1765, had so strongly censured the taxing of the colonies. By the year 1782 the war had become so unpopular that the ministry of Lord North resigned. A new Whig ministry succeeded, and a treaty of peace was concluded, by which the Independence of the United States of America was acknowledged. But England did not lose all her American possessions by this disaster; there still remains the loyal, prosperous Dominion of Canada. When Mr. Adams, the first American minister to the court of St. James, appeared before the king, his majesty said: "I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the Independence of America; but now it is granted I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

4. It must not be forgotten, however, that England was in the midst of great European wars while she sought to quell the revolution in America, and, if her efforts in the latter resulted unfavorably, they were triumphant in the former. The closing year of the contest in Europe was marked by the defence of Gibraltar, one of the bravest and noblest achievements ever recorded in the annals of war. "The recovery of this strong fortress had for years been the constant hope and aim of the Spaniard. Again and again had it been attempted, but the firm old rock, and the firm hearts upon it, had defied every attack. At length, in the summer of the year 1782, after the fortress had been in a state of siege for three years, vast preparations were made for an assault, before which it was deemed that Gibraltar must inevitably fall. Forty thousand French and Spaniards were assembled for the land attack. In the bay floated a formidable fleet. Ten huge floating-batteries, made fire-proof, as the besiegers fondly believed, and armed

with two hundred and twelve brass guns, threw bomb-shells into the fortress, whilst one thousand pieces of artillery thundered against the rock. 'Is it taken?' was the first question asked by the Spanish king each morning on awaking. 'Not yet,' was the daily repeated reply. 'Well; but it must soon be ours,' was the response of the confident monarch. To resist this mighty array, one of the greatest ever brought against a single fortress, there were but seven thousand English soldiers, commanded by General Elliott, and in the bay a single brigade of gunboats, under Captain Curtis. On the morning of the 13th of September were seen crowds of Spaniards assembled on the hills which surround Gibraltar. From this natural amphitheatre they gazed upon a scene of intense and fearful interest. By nine o'clock the enemies' fleet came within gunshot of the walls of the fortress, and a fire was opened upon it, which was soon returned. Four hundred pieces of heavy artillery made the hills resound. All day long the firing was kept up, but early in the evening the hearts of the assailants failed them, for the red-hot shot from the garrison had set the ships on fire, and by midnight 'the only flashes from the floating-batteries were the flames that were consuming them.' At five o'clock on the morning of the 14th one of these huge constructions blew up with a fearful explosion, and a second soon shared the same fate. What followed on the part of the conquerors is become a household word, — a touching and a sacred tale, which two generations of Englishmen have learned in the cradle, and which succeeding generations will tell to their children, as the best exemplification of the axiom, that the bravest are ever the most merciful. On shore General Elliott ordered the firing to cease, whilst the noble crew of Captain Curtis, those few but gallant spirits, dashed among the burning wrecks, to save, not their own men, but the drowning, burning Spaniards, who, clinging to spars, or still on the blazing decks, were exposed to a fearful death. From the flames and from the waves two hundred and fifty were rescued by the intrepidity of this noble enemy. The French and Spanish navy was still formidable, and they hoped that by intercepting supplies to the garrison they might yet compel Gibraltar to surrender. This hope vanished when Admiral Lord Howe, on the 11th of October, sailed through the straits, and a few days later landed stores and troops within the devoted fortress. The hopeless siege was continued, but with little spirit on the part of the Spaniards, until the peace was signed. From the rock

of Gibraltar, at the proud height of fourteen hundred and thirty-seven English feet, the flag of Great Britain still waves over those narrow straits, the key of the Mediterranean, which she has so bravely won, and so nobly guarded."

5. The year succeeding the treaty William Pitt, second son of the Earl of Chatham, became prime minister. He was only in the twenty-fifth year of his age when he thus assumed the government of the country. With great ability and success he held the reins of state for seventeen years. The period of his administration was an eventful one, and his statesmanship was quite equal to that of his illustrious father. The elder Pitt, created in 1766 Earl of Chatham, had, in 1778, been committed to an honored tomb in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XVI.

ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

RELIGION — LITERATURE — DISTINGUISHED WRITERS — THE MINISTRY — OLD AND NEW STYLE — ARCHITECTURE — PAINTING — MUSIC — MANUFACTURES — TRAVELLING.

1. GEORGE WHITFIELD and John Wesley appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century to awaken the people to greater piety. They had been members of the same college at the university of Oxford, and were distinguished during their studies for their high moral character. It was while pursuing their studies that, through their rigid mode of life, they acquired the nickname of "Methodists,"—a name subsequently given the religious society of which they were founders. These two men went forth proclaiming the simple gospel, from which the most astonishing results followed. Wesley, although a clergyman of the Established Church, found himself denied the church pulpits, on account of his peculiarities. This gave rise to the itinerancy,—a distinguished feature of Methodism. At Wesley's death there were seventy-one thousand Methodists in England and forty-eight thousand in America. Whitfield struck a higher vein of society, infusing religious zeal therein. He was aided by the Countess of Huntingdon, which accounts for his success in the upper classes. The Methodism of Wesley found its warmest welcome among

the working-classes. The powerful and eloquent preaching of these men, together with the efforts of Watts, Doddridge, and others, was the means, in the hands of God, of doing much good. The efforts of these men were followed by such men as Fletcher, the vicar of Maudsley, the elder Venn, John Newton, and Rowland Hill.

2. Until 1778 the Roman Catholics in the whole realm were subjected to the severest privations, being denied the right to say mass or teach the youth concerning their doctrines. However, in this year a bill was passed allowing Romanists to engage in education without being subjected to imprisonment, to exercise the rites of their religion, and to enjoy their property; but they were not allowed to hold any civil office. "The concessions of the Relief Bill, limited as they were, met with some opposition in England, and when it was proposed to extend them to Scotland the most tumultuous excitement broke out in that country. A society was formed, called 'The Protestant Association,' the object of which was to oppose all relief to Roman Catholics. The president was Lord George Gordon, a fanatical nobleman, who is supposed, from some of his extravagances, to have been insane. The "Protestant Association" soon extended to England, and an immense body of men, animated by a spirit of bitter intolerance, ranged themselves under the command of Lord George. On the 2d of June, 1780, sixty thousand members of this association assembled in St. George's Fields, and thence proceeded through London to the Parliament House, bearing a petition, signed, it is said, with the names or marks of one hundred and twenty thousand Protestants. Entering the house, the rabble made the old hall of Westminster ring with their shouts of 'No Popery!' 'No Popery!' The riots continued during the week, from the 2d to the 9th of June, with ever-increasing violence. On the night of the 7th thirty-six fires blazed in different parts of the city, whilst the uproar of the mob and the firing of the military added to the terror of the scene. At length, by armed force, the rioters were subdued, but not before five hundred lives had been lost and an immense amount of property destroyed. Lord Mansfield's beautiful mansion and valuable law-library fell a sacrifice to the fury of the mob. When this learned and aged judge pleaded, a few days later, the lawfulness of employing the military against the rioters, he made a slight but touching allusion to his own great loss. 'I have founded my opinion without con-

sulting my books,' said he; adding, 'Indeed, I have no books to consult.' These riots and the excited state of feeling in Scotland prevented the extension of the Relief Bill to that country."

3. The literature of this period was similar in tone to the state of the church, and the English essayists sought to elevate its character. They also founded periodical literature, their essays being issued in small tri-weekly sheets, at the cost of a penny each. The first of these papers, called the "Tattler," was established by Sir Richard Steele. "The Spectator" was the most distinguished of these periodicals; its columns being enriched by the writings of Addison. Jonathan Swift, the Dean of St. Patrick's, was the principal wit of Queen Anne's reign. He was a powerful writer, but his personal character was bad. The last nine years of his life were spent in hopeless insanity. In the early part of the eighteenth century the poet Pope began to attract attention, and he was surrounded by such talent as Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, Parnell, and Prior. Pope gave us the first English translation of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. The other poets of this period were Young, Thomson, and Gray, and, later, Goldsmith and Cowper. This century gave rise to prose fiction. The first author in this style was Daniel Defoe, who wrote "Robinson Crusoe." He was succeeded by Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne. The works of these authors were interesting in their day, but are too coarse to meet the refined tastes of our time. The prose writers of this period are headed by Hume, whose excellent "History of England" is still popular. His contemporaries were Robertson, who wrote a celebrated "History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.;" and Gibbon, the able author of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." The religious infidelity of Hume and Gibbon is the only cloud on their works. Macpherson and Chatterton were also celebrated writers in 1760.

4. But the greatest literary hero of his age was Dr. Samuel Johnson, the sage of Lichfield, the compiler of the celebrated "Dictionary of the English Language." He was an essayist, moralist, biographer, and poet. Blackstone's valuable "Commentaries on the Laws of England" were published in 1765. The female writers were Miss Burney, afterwards Madame D'Arblay, who wrote the agreeable and celebrated novels, "Evelina," and "Cecilia;" the learned Greek scholar, Elizabeth Carter; Mrs. Barbauld, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and the crowning glory of female authorship, Hannah More. In her

pleasant home at Cowslip Green, and later at Barley Wood, this good and gifted woman drew around her the best and most accomplished men and women of her day. The great Dr. Johnson, often rough and uncouth in his manners to others, was ever gentle and affectionate towards Hannah More. Garrick, the dramatist, Horace Walpole, Newton, Wilberforce, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, were all numbered among her friends.

5. It was only with the beginning of the eighteenth century that the king's chief officer, who was the lord treasurer, received the name of premier, or prime minister. Subsequently this minister became the chief executive officer in the realm, by whom all the principal departments of government are filled. The men at the heads of these departments, with the premier at their head, constitute the ministry, to whom the administration of public affairs is entrusted. The great architects of the eighteenth century were Sir Christopher Wren and Vanbrugh. The great painters, named in chronological order, are Sir Godfrey Kneller and Hogarth. The latter died in 1764, and four years later "The Royal Academy of Arts" was founded. Sir Joshua Reynolds was founder of the English school of painters. His associates were West, Wilson, and Gainsborough. Music was also making great progress during this period. The oratorio, one of the most magnificent triumphs of musical talent, was brought out in 1770, by Frederick Handel, who had made England his home.

6. The industrial arts were also making progress. Hitherto the woollen manufacture had been one of the greatest importance, but now the manufacture of cotton became the great source of English wealth. In 1764 James Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, which was made to spin, first eight, and then sixteen, spindles at a time. A few years later Sir Richard Arkwright, at first a poor barber, gave to the world his great invention of spinning by rollers. But, to crown all, in 1785, Watt invented the steam-engine, by which all machinery of all inventions was subsequently driven. "The silk manufacture increased and improved greatly, especially when the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had brought many skilful French artisans into England. Early in this century the Silk Weavers' Company reported the manufacture in England as twenty times greater in extent than in the year 1664, and the silk equal in quality to that imported from France. Until the year 1715 the weavers were dependent upon Italy for their supply of silk thread, in which country the machinery for its manufacture had

been brought to great perfection. In the above-named year an English silk merchant went to Italy, determined to learn the secret of this superior machinery. After much difficulty he obtained employment in an humble capacity in one of the Italian mills. Pleading great destitution, he was permitted to sleep in the work-room; here he employed his nights in making drawings of the machinery. After obtaining the requisite information, he left his Italian employers, returned to England, and, in 1719, established at Derby, in connection with his brothers, the first English silk factory. In the manufacture of porcelain and earthenware the most useful discoveries and improvements were made during the course of this century. In 1763 Wedgwood produced the beautiful article known as queen's ware."

7. Travelling, even until the middle of this century, presented no conveniences or comforts until the method of transportation by canals was introduced. The first was the Bridgewater Canal, constructed by the Duke of Bridgewater, in 1655. It produced a great sensation. Soon after, Brindley, the engineer of the earliest canals, cut through a hill a tunnel nearly three thousand yards in length. This was one of the most wonderful achievements of its day. Society in England during this period was at a low ebb, particularly among the women; but an inspiration to a higher and better life came with the progress in the arts and industries.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CANADAS, 1780 TO 1840.

EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA — THE DOMINION AND UNION OF THE PROVINCES — THE REBELLION.

1. TURNING again to the main thread of our narrative, let us look at Canada internally, in her progress after the Revolutionary war, and we may at once state that the issue of that war was attended with considerable advantage to Canada. A large number of disbanded English soldiers and loyalists from the United States, who had sought refuge in the British territories, received liberal grants of land in the Upper Province, bordering on the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. These new settlers

were termed "United Empire Loyalists," and were greatly encouraged by the English government. They received not only a full supply of land, but also the necessary farming utensils, building materials, and even subsistence for two years. These inducements not only increased the settlements in Canada, but the appearance of it. A wonderful change was soon produced, and a great extent of wilderness converted into fruitful fields. Kingston, on the site of Fort Frontenac, rose in commercial importance, and was for a long time the capital of Ontario. The town of York, afterward Toronto, founded soon after by General Simcoe, rose rapidly, and everywhere Canada moved forward in prosperity. With this advancement came a demand for representative government, and in 1791 Canada was divided into two provinces, called Upper and Lower, afterwards Ontario and Quebec, over which representative governments were established on a British constitution basis. A governor was appointed for each province, and to him was given the same power for convoking, proroguing, and dissolving the representative Assembly that the king himself enjoyed in England. A legislative council, with members appointed by the king for life, was also established. There was also an executive council, appointed by the king, to advise and assist the governor in the performance of his executive duties. The representative Assembly in each province had but little direct power. It formed a concurrent body in the general Legislature. Each provincial government had control over all matters pertaining to the province, excepting the subjects of religion, its ministers and revenues, and the waste lands belonging to the crown. Acts affecting these subjects could not be valid without the sanction of the King and Parliament of England.

2. In 1797 General Prescott was made Governor of Lower Canada, and in 1803 a decision of the Chief Justice of Montreal declared slavery unlawful in that country, and a few individuals held in bondage were freed. In 1807, apprehensions being felt of a war with the United States, Sir James Craig, an officer of distinction, was sent out as Governor-General of the British Provinces. The principal events of the war of 1812, so far as they belong to Canadian history, will be related in a subsequent chapter of this work. Soon after the close of that war internal dissensions began to disturb the quiet of the two provinces, but more particularly that of Lower Canada. So early as 1807 the Assembly of the province made serious complaints of an undue influence of other branches of government over their

proceedings; but in vain they demanded that the judges, who were dependent upon the executive and removable by him, should be expelled from their body.

3. The administration of Sir G. Drummond, in 1815, was marked by a discontent among the people that found emphatic expression. He was succeeded in the office of governor-general by Sir John Sherbrooke, who reached Canada in 1816, and by whom harmony was restored to the provinces. He effected a compromise with the Assembly as to the support of the government; but, in 1818, this governor was succeeded by the Duke of Richmond, who reversed the pacific policy of his predecessor, and exercised a tyrannical rule. However, in 1819, the life of the duke suddenly terminated in an attack of hydrophobia, and, in the following year, Lord Dalhousie was appointed to succeed him. He immediately became involved in the same difficulties with the Assembly that his predecessor had encountered, and, assuming even a higher tone, demanded a large sum as a permanent annual grant for the uses of the government. But the Assembly still adhered to their purposes until a compromise was agreed upon. There seemed to be a growing dislike to the tyranny of the governor-general by the people; and in 1823 the popular cause was strengthened by the insolvency of the receiver-general or treasurer of the province, who proved to be indebted to the public over four hundred thousand dollars:

4. Lord Dalhousie was absent in 1825, during which time the government was administered by Sir Francis Burton, who, by yielding nearly all the points in dispute, succeeded in pacifying the Assembly. But every concession made by the governor to the Assembly only created other demands on the part of that body, and, on the return of Lord Dalhousie, in 1826, the dissensions between the Assembly and the governor became violent. On the meeting of the Assembly in the following year Mr. Papineau was elected speaker. He was the leader of the opposition to the government, and the governor refused to sanction his appointment. The house continued obstinate, and the result was, no session was held during the following winter. In 1828 a petition, signed by eighty-seven thousand residents of Canada, was presented to the king, complaining of the conduct of Lord Dalhousie, and also his predecessors, and demanding compliance with the policy of the Assembly. The petition was referred to the House of Commons, and that body favored its demands. This report was received by the Canadians with

the greatest satisfaction, and their joy was increased when, near the close of the same year, Sir James Kempt was sent out as governor, with instructions to carry the new policy into effect. The judges, although they refused to resign their places in the Assembly, withdrew from its sittings, and seats in the executive council were even offered to Neilson, Papineau, and other popular leaders.

5. Lord Aylmer succeeded to the government in 1830, giving assurances that he would carry out the liberal policy of the Assembly. The home government, however, had instructed him that certain casual revenues, arising from the sale of lands, the cutting of timber, and other sources, were still to be considered as belonging to the crown, and were to be appropriated chiefly to the payment of the stipends of the clergy of the Established Church. When these instructions became known, the designs of government met with violent opposition, and the Assembly declared that "under no circumstances, and upon no consideration whatever, would it abandon or compromise its claim of control over the whole public revenue." A long petition was drawn up, setting forth the grievances of the people. It received the endorsement of the government, and soon after the British Parliament conferred upon the provincial Assembly full control over the most important revenues; but, in turn, permanent salaries were demanded for the judges, the governor, and a few of the chief executive officers. "The Assembly consented to make the required provision for the judges, but on the condition that the casual revenues, which had been sought to be reserved to the crown, should be appropriated for this purpose. This condition, however, the home government refused to accede to. A large majority of the Assembly voted against making a permanent provision for the governor and other executive officers, on the ground that the executive, not being dependent on the representatives of the people for a naval and military establishment, would, in case of such permanent establishment, have been entirely free from that provincial control and dependence essential to public security and welfare."

6. The province, in and through its representatives, was now in direct conflict with the crown. The Assembly now began to name conditions for the payment of salaries, and demanded that the Legislature appointed by the crown should be abolished, and a new one instituted that should compare somewhat with the United States Senate, with members elected

by popular vote. In 1833 a petition urging this measure was transmitted to the king, and in reply the British ministry not only declared the proposed change disloyal, but hinted at the possibility that events might unhappily force upon Parliament the exercise of its supreme authority to put a stop to the internal dissensions of Canada, or even to modify the charter of the Canadas. This intelligence threw the Assembly into a fury, and it refused to pass any measures coöperating with the ministry, and the session of 1834 was passed in the preparation of another petition or remonstrance, setting forth the grievance of the provinces, and closing with a peremptory demand for an elective legislative council. Meanwhile, affairs changed in England, and in 1835 the Earl of Gosford was sent out as governor of Canada. He at once promised, in an indirect way, the speedy performance of all that the Assembly demanded. But if these promises or intimations produced any good feeling, it was speedily swept away when his real instructions from the home government were made known. Lord Gosford probably concealed his instructions from the crown, with a view to obtaining the needed funds, but his designs were discovered before he gained his point. Sir Francis Bond Head, who had been sent out as governor of Upper Canada, was the means of disclosing the instructions to both governors. The British ministry had proclaimed that "the king was most unwilling to admit, as open to debate, the question whether one of the vital principles of the provincial government shall undergo alteration."

7. The excitement that followed these developments was intense; "the Assembly not only complained of disappointment, but charged the governor with perfidy; the customary supplies were withheld, and no provision was made for the public service. In the autumn of 1836 the majority of the Assembly, in an address presented to the governor, declared their positive adherence to their former demands for an elective council; maintained that they themselves, in opposition to the then existing legislative council, 'the representatives of the Tory party,' were the only legitimate and authorized organ of the people; and finally they expressed their resolution to grant no more supplies until the great work of justice and reform should be completed." A crisis had now come.

8. Appearances declared that violent measures would ensue. The provincial Assembly was firm in its radical demands, while the ministry were unwilling to concede the monarchical

prerogatives. "Early in 1837 the British Parliament, by a vote of three hundred and eighteen to fifty-six, declared the inexpediency of making the legislative council elective by the people, and of rendering the executive council responsible to the Assembly. Intelligence of this vote occasioned violent commotions in the Canadas, and various meetings of the people were held, in which it was affirmed that the decision of Parliament had extinguished all hopes of justice, and that no farther attempts should be made to obtain redress from that quarter. A general convention was proposed, to consider what farther measures were advisable, and a recommendation was made to discontinue the use of British manufactures, and of all articles paying taxes."

9. The situation now became unpleasant, and Gov. Gosford, fearing the influence of Papineau, early in June, 1837, called upon the Governor of New Brunswick for a regiment of troops, and issued a proclamation warning the people against all attempts to seduce them from their allegiance. Meetings of the loyalists were also held in Montreal and Quebec, condemning the violent proceedings of the Assembly, and deprecating both the objects and the measures of the so-called patriot party. In August, Lord Gosford called a meeting of the provincial Legislature, and submitted measures for amending the legislative council; but the representatives adhered to their former purposes of withholding supplies until all their grievances should be redressed, when the governor, expressing his regret at measures which he considered a vital annihilation of the constitution, prorogued the Assembly." A resort to arms seems now to have been resolved upon by the popular leaders of the people, as against the government of Great Britain, and it was no doubt hoped by this class that the struggle would result in complete independence. A central committee was formed, with head-quarters at Montreal, and an association known as "Sons of Liberty" was organized by this management, which marched in procession through the streets, demonstrating a feeling of disloyalty, or dislike, to the British yoke, and calling upon the people to rally round the standard of freedom.

10. Violent demonstrations against the crown officers were now witnessed in many quarters. In the county of Two Mountains, north of the Ottawa and adjoining Montreal on the west, the people deposed their magistrates, and reorganized the militia under officers of their own choice, thereby overriding British authority in that section. These proceedings were soon after

imitated in other places. In six counties south-west of the St. Lawrence, all persons holding office under the crown were forced to resign their situation or leave the country. Loyalist associations were also formed in opposition to the freedom party, and these, backed by the Catholic clergy, exhorted the people to loyalty. In Montreal the "Sons of Liberty" were attacked in the streets and dispersed by the loyalists, and, although none were killed, many were seriously wounded. The office of the "Vindicator" was destroyed, and the residence of Papineau, the great opposition agitator, was set on fire by the loyalists, but was saved from the flames after great exertion. Exaggerated reports of these doings spread through the country, creating the wildest excitement. The disloyal movement was now assuming such shape that the government issued warrants for the arrest of twenty-six of the most prominent agitators, of whom seven were members of the Assembly, including the popular Papineau, the speaker of that body. Several were arrested, but the speaker could not be found. Considerable opposition was put forth against the parties endeavoring to make the arrests, and many rescues were effected. "In the latter part of November strong detachments of government troops, commanded by Cols. Gore and Wetherall, were sent to attack armed bodies of insurgents, assembled under Papineau, Brown, and Neilson, at the villages of St. Denis and St. Charles on the Sorel. Col. Gore proceeded against St. Denis, which he attacked with great spirit; but was repulsed with a loss of ten killed, ten wounded, and six missing. Col. Wetherall was more successful. Although St. Charles was defended by a thousand men, the place was carried after a severe engagement, in which the insurgents lost nearly three hundred in killed and wounded. This affair suppressed the insurrection in that quarter. The peasantry, panic-stricken, threw down their arms; Neilson was taken prisoner, and Brown and Papineau sought safety by escaping to the United States."

11. The work of suppressing the insurrection continued. In December, 1837, thirteen hundred regular and volunteer troops were sent against the districts of Two Mountains and Terrebonne, which were still in a state of rebellion. "At St. Eustache an obstinate stand was made by the insurgents, who were finally defeated with severe loss. Numbers of the inhabitants were remorselessly massacred, and their beautiful village burned. The village of St. Benoit, which had been the chief seat of insurrection, surrendered without resistance; but such

was the rage of the royalists, who had been plundered and driven out of the country, that they reduced a large portion of the village to ashes. Several of the patriot leaders were taken, and, at the close of the year 1837, the whole province of Lower Canada was again in a state of tranquillity."

12. But the war was not confined to Quebec or Lower Canada. While these incidents of strife were transpiring in the lower province, events of great importance took place in Upper Canada. A discontented party had arisen there, demanding reforms quite as distasteful to Great Britain as those urged in Lower Canada, and in 1836 the Assembly had stopped the ordinary supplies; but in the following year, when a new election for members was held, the influence of the governor, Sir Francis Head, succeeded in causing the election of a majority of members friendly to the existing government. "From this time tranquillity prevailed until the breaking out of the insurrection in the lower province, when the leaders of the popular party, who had long desired a separation from Great Britain, seized the opportunity for putting their plans in execution. During the night of the 5th of December, 1837, about five hundred men, under the command of Mackenzie, assembled at Montgomery's Tavern, four miles from Toronto, with a view of taking the city by surprise. Several persons proceeding to the city were taken prisoners, but, one of them escaping, the alarm was given, and by morning three hundred loyalists were mustered under arms, and the design of attacking the place was abandoned." On the 7th the loyalists marched to the attack, and the insurgents were easily driven back and many of them made prisoners.

13. The excitement now spread along the border of the United States. Mackenzie, having fled to Buffalo, succeeded in raising there a great enthusiasm for the cause of Canada. A small force was quickly raised, and Van Rensselaer, Sutherland, and others presented themselves as military leaders. This force took possession of Navy Island, in the Niagara Channel, and erected fortifications on it, which were mounted by thirteen pieces of cannon. A thousand recruits soon flocked to this post. Col. McNab soon arrived opposite the island, but without the facilities for crossing the channel or successfully cannonading the fortifications. These scenes and incidents drew around them many Americans, who were disposed to espouse the cause of the "patriots;" but President Van Buren issued two successive proclamations, warning the people of the penal-

ties to which an active participation in the conflict would make them liable. Gen. Scott was appointed to the command on the frontier, with instructions to maintain a strict neutrality. Meanwhile, a small steamer, named the *Caroline*, which had been employed by the insurgents in the channel for conveying supplies, was attacked in the night by Capt. Drew, while moored to the American shore. One of the crew was killed, and the vessel, after being towed to the middle of the stream, was set on fire. The burning craft was carried over the falls. This act, having occurred in United States waters, occasioned great excitement throughout the Union, and led to an angry correspondence between the British and United States ministers.

14. After the arrival of Gen. Scott on the frontier, the insurrection in that vicinity was soon quelled. "Effective measures were taken to prevent further supplies and recruits from reaching Navy Island, when, the force of the assailants continually increasing, and a severe cannonade having been commenced by them, the insurgents evacuated their position, on the 14th of January. Van Rensselaer and Mackenzie, escaping to the United States, were arrested by the American authorities, but admitted to bail. A number of the fugitives fled to the West, and under their leader, Sutherland, formed an establishment on an island in the Detroit Channel. After meeting with some reverses this party also voluntarily disbanded. Tranquillity was now restored to both Canadas. Parliament made some changes in the constitution of the lower province, and in May, 1838, the Earl of Durham arrived at Quebec, as Governor-General of all British America. Having taken the responsibility of banishing to Bermuda, under penalty of death in case of return, a number of prisoners taken in the late insurrection, and charged with the crime of high treason, his conduct met with some censure in the British Parliament, which induced him to resign his commission, and on the 1st of November he sailed from Quebec, on his return to England."

15. Soon after Sir Francis Head, the governor of the upper province, left for England, several bands of Americans, invited by the "patriots," crossed the Niagara Channel, but were driven back by the militia. "A party also crossed near Detroit, but, after losing a few of their number, were compelled to return. On the 3d of November, only two days after the departure of the Earl of Durham, a fresh rebellion, which had been organizing during the summer along the whole line of the American frontier, broke out in the southern counties of Montreal Dis-

trict. At Napierville, west of the Sorel, Dr. Neilson and other leaders had collected about four thousand men, several hundred of whom were detached to open a communication with their friends on the American side of the line. These were attacked and repulsed by a party of loyalists, who afterwards posted themselves in Odeltown Chapel, where they were in turn attacked by a large body of the insurgents, headed by Neilson himself; but after a severe engagement the latter were obliged to retreat with considerable loss.

16. But while these movements were going on, Sir James McDonnell was marching at the head of seven regiments of the line upon the insurgents. So rapid and effectual were his movements that in less than two weeks the whole rebellion in Lower Canada was suppressed. Not long after these events several hundred Americans sailed from the vicinity of Sackett's Harbor, and landed near Prescott, where they were joined by a force of "patriots." The party was promptly attacked by the government troops, but the latter were repulsed; but, being reinforced, the invaders were repulsed or taken prisoners. Later in the year a party of Americans crossed from Detroit, and, after creating considerable disturbance, they were defeated and dispersed. A number of prisoners were ordered to be shot by the Canadian authorities immediately after the engagement. These events closed the year 1838, and were the closing acts of the rebellion. During the struggle the American government had exerted itself to maintain neutrality; but it was evident that the feeling of the people of the United States was in warm sympathy with the Canadians who fought for liberty.

17. On the 23d of July, 1840, the British Parliament, after much bitter discussion, passed an act by which the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were united into one, under the name of the Province of Canada. The form of government was but little changed; the governor was appointed by her majesty, a legislative council, and a representative assembly. The old executive council was abolished. "The members of the legislative council were to consist of such persons, not being fewer than twenty, as the governor should summon, with her majesty's permission, each member to hold his seat during life. The members of the representative assembly were to be elected by the people, but no person was eligible to an election who was not possessed of land, free from all incumbrances, to the value of five hundred pounds sterling. The duties and revenues of the two former provinces were consolidated into

one fund, from which seventy-five thousand pounds sterling were made payable annually for the expenses of the government. After being subject to these charges, the surplus of the revenue fund might be appropriated as the Legislature saw fit, but still in accordance with the recommendations of the governor." We turn, at this point, to bring forward the history of other events.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WAR OF 1812-15.

EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1780 TO 1840, INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WAR OF 1812-15, AND OTHER MATTERS.

1. AFFAIRS across the border, in the United States, were not in a state of perfect harmony, notwithstanding the Revolutionary War had resulted in granting that country its much-valued independence. The country was without any adequate form of government, and the first important step taken was to secure a more perfect system of government. Philadelphia was the city chosen for the assemblage of a convention to revise the articles of confederation, and General Washington was chosen president of the Assembly. The whole of the States, except Rhode Island, sent delegates, and the deliberations were at times anything but calm and conciliatory; but, after much debate, the Constitution of the United States was adopted by that body, on the 17th of September, 1787, and the work of organization having been carried out during the following year, after a sufficient number of the States had ratified the articles to give them the force of law, the constitution was brought fully into operation in 1789. Four of the States delayed their ratification for some time; Rhode Island did not accept the constitution until 1790, but North Carolina, Rhode Island, and the rest came under the operation of the law notwithstanding.

2. General Washington was the President of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, and his moral power, more than the influence of any other single individual, ruled the Union from the close of the war until he was elected President of the United States, in 1789. His inauguration, on the 30th of April, was an almost unanimous outburst of gratitude toward the two-

fold deliverer of his country. He had expelled the British, and he had saved the nation from the tyranny of an armed dictator. His journey from Mount Vernon to New York, the temporary capital, was an ovation, and the people would have crowned him with flowers in every village. His oath to support the Constitution of the United States was taken on the balcony of the old Federal Hall.

3. Want of funds constituted the first difficulty with which the government was obliged to contend. The treasury was empty, and the experiment of a democratic republic being new, the moneyed men of the world had no credit to bestow upon novelties. The Indians were hostile, and there were no forces save the unpaid militia to hold them generally in check. The navy could not protect the merchant vessels from Algerine corsairs. The navigation of the Mississippi was under Spanish



WASHINGTON'S CABINET.

control, and that nation refused Americans the right to travel on its waters. The whimsical hatred of George III. prevented the nomination of an English minister to the United States government, and there was no treaty of commerce between the countries. Washington called around him the men of leading minds, who represented all parties of the Union, and, firmly holding them together, proceeded to arrange the affairs which his government must reduce into order, or fail entirely. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph were associated with him in the cabinet.

4. Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, induced Congress to assume the liabilities incurred by the several States during the war of independence, and to pay the national debt in its totality. Funds were raised, for the purposes of government, by duties on imported goods, and an excise on distilled liquors. Philadelphia was made the home of the United States Mint, and of a National Bank. The vigor exhibited in these measures established credit. There was, in 1794, an organized opposition to the tax on spirits in western Pennsylvania, but fifteen hundred militia-men subdued the riot, and the strength of the government was fully established.

5. The Indians had defeated two armies, sent for their subjugation, in the north-west; but the appointment of General Wayne to the command was the signal of better action. The wiser Indians counselled peace, but a long career of rapine induced the majority to dissent, and the battle of Maumee was the consequence, August 20, 1794. The Indians were routed and destroyed, their towns laid waste for fifty miles, and they were glad to purchase peace by a treaty whereby they surrendered the territory now forming Ohio and part of Indiana. Wayne was a terror to the Indians.

6. England complained that moneys due from citizens of the United States could not be collected, and the answer, unjustly given, was, "Your government, by its tyrannous action, has destroyed our means of payment; therefore, look at home." Individual Americans did say as much, and called attention to the fact that American seamen were still subject to impressment on the high seas, as well as that posts were held on the frontier, as at Detroit and elsewhere. To arrange the matters in dispute Chief Justice Jay went to England as envoy extraordinary, in 1795; but the treaty made by him excited much discontent among all classes, as it gave England all that was demanded, and secured, as Americans thought, no equivalent. The Senate became very unpopular because of the ratification of the treaty, and its advocates fell under the censure of the public.

7. The Mississippi was opened to American ships by a treaty with Spain in 1795, which also defined the boundaries of Florida. The Dey of Algiers was obliged to release American prisoners, detained by his government, and, under a treaty made with him, the commerce of the Mediterranean was made safe and practicable for American vessels. The French Revolution and the European war, which was the consequence of other nations intermeddling with France in matters somewhat domes-

tic, appealed to the sympathies of the American people with great force; but Washington and his cabinet could not see cause for their country to rush into a war on that account, and the neutrality of the United States was preserved, as nearly as possible, under the circumstances. Genet, the French ambassador to America, fitted out privateers in American ports, and appealed to the people against the president; but the minister was recalled upon Washington's representations.

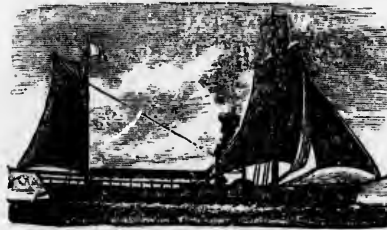
8. Washington could hardly keep the peace between contending parties in his own cabinet. Jefferson associated with Madison, and Randolph led the Republican party in the country, opposing the assumption of State debts by Congress, the English treaty negotiated by Jay, and the establishment of a national bank. Alexander Hamilton and John Adams, able men and high-principled, led the Federalists, who supported Washington and desired a strong central government. Hamilton was rather a monarchist than a republican. Washington might have been reëlected, but he declined a third term, and in the contest between parties Adams was elected his successor by two electoral votes over Jefferson. The nation had made very wonderful advances during the administration of Washington, but he was only too much pleased to resign the authority which he had borne for so many years.

9. John Adams was eminently a man of strong measures, and immediately after his assumption of office he esteemed it necessary to repress the license with which the government of the United States was being assailed by residents in the country who thought that America should assist France. The alien and sedition laws were the natural result of the preponderance of his party, and it was now possible for the president to expel any foreigner from the country if he saw such action to be advisable. Under the sedition law, fines and imprisonment were denounced against any person libelling the president or the government. The people hated those enactments. The revolutionary government in France treated America with marked discourtesy. American vessels were captured and the flag dishonored, and envoys sent to the French Directory were refused an audience. The men who had upheld the cause of France were silenced by such a line of conduct. An army was to be raised, and General Washington was nominated commander-in-chief; but before any decisive action had been taken, Napoleon became first consul, and a better understanding immediately

resulted. The people had learned the value of non-intervention in European politics.

10. Thomas Jefferson, who succeeded Adams, was the most brilliant man that ever filled the presidential chair, and his terms of office were marked by many events of large import for the United States and the world. The acquisition of Louisiana by purchase from Napoleon, in 1803, for fifteen million dollars, was an admirable piece of statesmanship. The territory had been in the hands of Spain, and had been a cause of trouble in the early days of the republic, and France had come into possession under an act of cession made by Spain. This purchase gave to the United States more than one million square miles of land, out of which ten States, two territories, and parts of other States have been constructed, besides making Americans masters of the Mississippi.

11. Aaron Burr, who was vice-president during Jefferson's first term of office, and who had at first the same number of electoral votes for the presidency as Jefferson himself, — seventy-three, — was bitterly antagonistic to Alexander Hamilton, whom he challenged to a duel and shot dead. This event made Burr very unpopular, although he was brilliant and very able, and even those who disapproved of many of the measures of Hamilton still admired the man. Burr went west during the



THE FIRST STEAMBOAT.

second term, and, under a pretence of having a design on Northern Mexico, was suspected of an attempt to break up the Union. On that charge he was arrested, and tried after long imprisonment; but the case could not be established. Burr was a man of irregular life, and with all his talents, had a wonderful faculty for ruining his friends and himself. He passed some years in Europe, and lived to an old age after his return to the United States; but in public life he was a nullity after the death of Alexander Hamilton.

12. The first steamboat that ever travelled was the "Perseverance," built by John Fitch, a native of Windsor, Connecticut, who constructed the vessel in 1787. He constructed a model in 1785. His vessel attained a speed of six miles an hour, on the Delaware, but was subsequently burned. After that event

the next introduction of steamboats is due to the second presidential term of Thomas Jefferson, and the ingenuity of Robert Fulton. The "Clermont" ran for many years on the Hudson, from New York to Albany, being then the only steamboat in the world, and the second ever constructed. The idea was worth more to the United States than Louisiana ten times repeated.

13. The pirates of the Barbary States had levied tribute upon the commerce of Europe for years, and nearly all the maritime nations submitted to the exaction. Cruisers from Tripoli captured small vessels belonging to any country, and held their passengers and crews at ransom. The United States had conformed to the custom of paying tribute; but, in 1801, the year of the accession of President Jefferson, the Bashaw of Tripoli declared war against the United States. The President sent a fleet to bombard the Mohammedan city, and, after a few lessons in the arts of civilized war, the bashaw, completely subdued, asked humbly for peace. The disgraceful act of paying tribute ceased from that time.

14. The wars of the French Revolution continued with varied success. Napoleon was master of the continent of Europe, and England was mistress of the seas. Napoleon sought to destroy the commerce of England by closing all the ports against her, and the carrying of the world was largely conducted by the United States. In the crude condition of international law which then prevailed American shipping suffered from both parties; but England, being more powerful on the seas, injured United States commerce more than France, and, besides, that country claimed the right of stopping any ship on the high sea to impress seamen of English birth into that naval service. This power the United States claimed was as monstrous as that exercised by the Bashaw of Tripoli before the bombardment of his capital. The capture of the American frigate "Chesapeake" by the British frigate "Leopard," off Virginia, brought the quarrel close home, and Jefferson ordered all British ships of war to quit the waters of the United States; but England disavowed the act, and, in consequence, war was not declared. An embargo laid by Congress upon all American vessels, forbidding them to leave port, was very injurious to commerce, and was removed; but intercourse with either of the belligerent nations was interdicted. The war-fever assisted to secure the election of James Madison towards the close of President Jefferson's

second term, and the Republicans hoped that some occasion would arise to wipe out old scores. The Federalists strongly opposed war measures, and they were a powerful minority.

15. Great Britain, by her agents, had been for some time tampering with the Indians, and the brave and wily Tecumseh saw his opportunity, in 1811, to confederate the tribes in the



TECUMSEH.

north-west against the United States. The first great result of his powers of combination was an overwhelming defeat, at the hands of Gen. Harrison, at Tippecanoe, Nov. 7, 1811. The attacking party came upon the American camp by night; but they were crushed completely, with an immense slaugh-

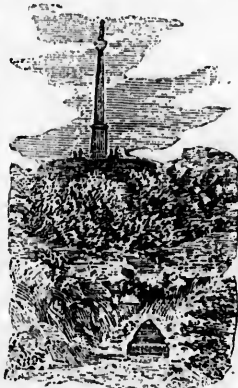
ter. Everybody in the United States thought the hand of England might be seen in the Indian war, and the pretensions of that country as to the impressment of seamen continued without abatement. Sailors were taken, ships were captured if any opposition was offered, and vessels of war were even sent into American waters to make prizes. The British sloop-of-war "Little Belt" was hailed by the American frigate "President," and the answer was made by firing. The "President" spoke the same tongue for a little while, until the sloop was disabled, after which amicable relations were established. Finally it became the conviction of Americans that there could be no honorable peace with the English nation until there had been war, and President Madison made the necessary declaration on the 19th of June, 1812.

16. The invasion of Canada commenced the second war

with England, and the conduct of Brig.-Gen. Hull is, with the exception of Arnold's treason, the worst record that American military history has presented. That officer crossed into Canada from Detroit, where he resided as Governor of Michigan, and issued a proclamation to the Canadians while he prepared to attack Fort Malden. As soon as he learned that a force was preparing to attack him, he fled precipitately, and was subsequently followed to Detroit by Gen. Brock and an Indian force under Tecumseh. The fort at Detroit was sufficiently strong for defence, the troops were ready and willing to fight, and all the material was at hand, when the poor creature raised the white flag, August 16, 1812, under which, without stipulation or condition of any kind, he surrendered Detroit city, garrison, and stores, and the whole of Michigan, to the British. The governor was court-martialled for cowardice, and sentenced to be shot; but, in consideration of his age and services, he was afterwards pardoned.

17. In the autumn of the same year another invasion of Canada was determined upon, and Gen. Van Rensselaer sent a detachment of troops across the Niagara river to carry Queenstown Heights. The position was won, and Gen. Brock, the commander, was among the slain. The general ordered the rest of his force to support the attacking party, but, to his intense disgust, the militia-men stood upon their State rights, and would not go beyond their boundaries. The men who had made themselves masters of the Heights were thus abandoned, and, after some desperate fighting, surrendered.

18. While the United States land forces were thus belying the reputation won by their fathers, the "wooden walls" of the nation were sustaining the character for intrepidity and success which was earned for the navy by the prowess of Paul Jones and his contemporaries. The first sea-fight was between the American frigate "Constitution," Capt. Hull, and the "Guerriere," Capt. Dacres, August 9, 1812. The attack was made by the "Guerriere," and the commander of the "Constitution" manœuvred his ship until he had secured the weather-gage, whereupon he gave broadside after broadside to his enemy for

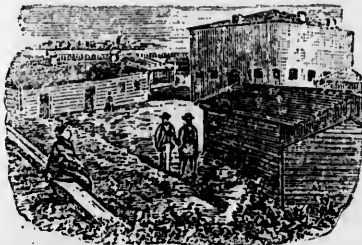


BROCK'S MONUMENT.

nearly two hours. The British ship surrendered when the vessel was so badly damaged that she would not float to be taken into port. The captain of the "Constitution," was the nephew of the brigadier-general that surrendered Detroit and Michigan only seven days later.

19. The sloop-of-war "Wasp" was cruising off the coast of North Carolina, when she fell in with the English brig "Frolic," October 13, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which the defenders of the British vessel fought until there was not a man left to strike the flag. The "Wasp's" men boarded the enemy, and, to their surprise, they found that the only sailor on deck not prostrated by injuries was the man at the wheel. There were some compensations for the poor record on land in such deeds of courage upon the sea, and there were fully three hundred prizes taken by American privateers before the close of the year 1812. While these events were transpiring, the presidential term drew near its termination, and the people signified their endorsement of Madison's war policy by reelecting him president.

20. There were three armies in the field, and the Americans hoped that the proceedings of this season would redeem the character of the land forces from the damage suffered during 1812. Gen. Dearborn commanded the army of the centre, stationed on the Niagara river; Gen. Hampton, with the army of the north, was on the shores of Lake Champlain; and Gen. Harrison, whose name was already popular, commanded the army of the west. The English entrusted the conduct of the



Interior of Fort Missasauga at Niagara.

war to Gen. Proctor, and the Indian allies were under the command of Tecumseh. Two of the armies and their doings may be summed up in a few words. General Dearborn attacked York, now Toronto, and the assault was being splendidly led by General Pike, when the magazine blew up, killing him and a great portion of his command. The place was captured, April 27, 1813. Dearborn was shortly after succeeded by General Wilkinson, who descended the St. Lawrence with his men, to combine with Gen. Hampton in attacking Montreal. After repulsing the British at Chrysler's Field, there was some misunderstanding between

the two leaders, and the armies separated without an attempt on Montreal. Hampton was defeated by the British, at St. Johns, Province of Quebec, and then made his way to Plattsburg, where he was reinforced, and did nothing for the remainder of the year.

21. Gen. Harrison, with the army of the west, made a good showing, and the men under his orders felt that they were in good hands. A detachment of his force on the Maumee, under Gen. Winchester, left the fort to render assistance to the people of Frenchtown, who feared an Indian assault. The Indians were defeated, but before he could recover his position his men were attacked by an overpowering force under Proctor. The battle ended in a surrender; but after the battle the English general, whether thoughtlessly or by design, left the American wounded at the mercy of the red-skins, maddened by whiskey and success.

The result made the massacre at river Raisin a terrible war-cry among Kentuckians during the rest of the campaign, as the sufferers were mostly from Kentucky. Proctor besieged Fort Meigs, defended by Harrison, but he soon found that the conqueror of Tecumseh knew the art of war, although his force was not strong enough to take the field. From Meigs, Proctor hastened to Fort Stephenson, where the garrison was only one hundred and



OLIVER HAZARD PERRY

fifty strong, under the command of Major Croghan; but he was doomed to a second repulse, and after that event he returned to Canada. Still Michigan was in the hands of the English, and Ohio was in danger at many points.

22. The naval force on Lake Erie was assigned to the command of Capt. Perry, a young sailor only twenty-seven years of age, who had never seen a naval engagement. Many of the ships that were to sail under his orders were yet to be con-

structed, and he must win his victory, if there was such an achievement in store for him, against a man who had fought under Lord Nelson. Commodore Borelly bore down upon Perry's fleet of nine vessels, carrying fifty-four guns, on the 10th day of September, with six ships carrying sixty-three guns. The probabilities were all on the side of the largest ships and most guns; but the young commander was a hero that "did not know when he was beaten." His flag-ship, the "Lawrence," was attacked by two of the heaviest ships of the British, as well in number of guns and men as in size, and he continued to fight until there were only eight men left fit for action. When the last gun had been fired on board the "Lawrence," he carried his flag to the "Niagara," passing in a small boat through the British fleet. Hoisting his flag on the "Niagara," he broke the enemy's line, delivering both broadsides as rapidly as his men could load and fire, and before our forces knew what the next movement might be, Perry was master of the situation. The despatch sent by Perry to Gen. Harrison was as good in its way as the brief announcement by Cæsar: *Veni, vidi, vici*. Perry said, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." All over the United States those words were repeated.



PERRY'S MONUMENT.

23. The despatch from Perry found his colleague, General Harrison, preparing for a descent on Canada, where Proctor and his Indians, under Tecumseh, fully two thousand strong, occupied Malden, designing to lay waste the American frontier. The general hurried to Malden at once; but the English had fled, and he followed rapidly in pursuit. His course from Sandusky bay had only prepared him for his work. Our forces were overtaken on the Thames, and, their dispositions being already made, the battle commenced without delay. Col. Johnson, with his horsemen from Kentucky, full of remembrances of the Raisin massacre, charged through the English line and formed immediately in the rear to resume operations. Proctor made his escape, and the army surrendered. The Indians were attacked with special energy, and Tecumseh fell mortally wounded. That incident was in itself

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a defeat for the red men, and they fled in every direction, without striking another blow. This victory, following so rapidly upon the Lake Erie exploit, ended the war in this section of the country, and the two commanders were spoken of, in the United States everywhere, as the men who were alone worthy to command the armies and navy of the Union.

24. Capt. Lawrence, of the frigate "Chesapeake," was in Boston harbor refitting his vessel, and was, it is claimed, in no sense ready for action, when he received a challenge from Capt. Brock, of the "Shannon," then lying off the harbor, to come out and fight him. Half his men had been discharged, and the remainder were unpaid, and all but mutinous, so that he could not properly prepare his ship, even if she had been thoroughly refitted. Still his error was heroic, and the outcome might have been different had not a hand grenade burst in the arm-chest of the ship at the very moment that the "Shannon's" men boarded her. The slaughter was terrific; but when Capt. Lawrence fell, mortally wounded, the last hope of victory was gone. The crew was feeble and disheartened, and the last words of their commander, "Don't give up the ship," fell upon the ears of the men who were already beaten.

25. Tecumseh induced the Alabama Indians to join in his league in 1811, and in 1813 Fort Mims was surprised, the garrison slaughtered, and the women reserved for worse tortures than they suffered in seeing their children slain and mangled. The facts of that piece of treachery and horror brought avengers from every quarter, and under Jackson the Indians were pursued from one point to another, until they made a stand on Horseshoe Bend, in a fortified position. The American troops scaled their works regardless of obstacles, and carried the day at the point of the bayonet. The Creek Indians knew that they were fighting for life, and they did all they could to repulse their assailants. Six hundred fell, and the poor remainder made their surrender on such terms as a dog would have disdained. The tribe will long remember the battle of March 27, 1814.

26. The British navy seemed to have learned how to make war among the followers of Tecumseh, for the whole of the southern coast was ravaged by parties of sailors and marines landed from Admiral Cockburn's squadron. Bridges were destroyed, villages burned, crops devastated, and other such acts of savage war were carried out along the seaboard of Virginia and the Carolinas. In the following year similar tactics were

observed on the coast of the northern States. Commerce was annihilated; towns in Maine and Connecticut were captured or bombarded, and on the 24th of August, 1813, Gen. Ross marched into Washington, where he burned libraries and public records, private dwellings and stores, and consummated successes by destroying the capitol. From that point he made his way, by the sea, to Baltimore, where, on the 12th of September, 1813, the forces were disembarked to cooperate with the fleet in another act of spoliation. Fort McHenry was allotted to the fleet; but the attempted bombardment produced no effect, and the troops met with so much resistance on land that the men who had been under Gen. Ross' orders retired to the ships, and the capture of Baltimore was postponed. Gen. Ross was killed while reconnoitring on this expedition.

27. Canada was attacked once more, in 1814; the army under Gen. Brown crossing the Niagara river. Fort Erie was captured; the victory at Chippewa was won by Gen. Winfield Scott on the 5th of July, and, twenty days later, the bloody



MILLER AT LUNDY'S LANE.

battle of Lundy's Lane was fought to a brilliant finish by the Americans. The day was closing in, when Scott gave Col. Miller instructions to carry the key of the British position,—a battery on a height. The colonel headed his regiment, and was soon master of the battery; but the British knew its value as well as he; three times they concentrated their force upon its recapture, and as many times they were driven back in dismay by the well-organized defence, until about midnight they retired from the contest, leaving victory with the enemy.

28. Plattsburg was almost entirely deprived of troops; there

were only one thousand five hundred in the place on the 11th of September; the rest had been sent to Canada to serve under General Brown, when General Prevost, with twelve thousand men, who had gone through the peninsular wars with the Duke of Wellington, attacked the town. The British fleet on the lake was to render essential aid in demolishing the place, and there was only one obstacle to success, — a squadron of American vessels under the command of Commodore McDonough. Still there was an obstacle sufficient for the purpose by land and by lake. The one thousand five hundred soldiers defended the passage of the Saranac against nearly as many thousand veterans, and the fleet upon which Prevost depended was all but destroyed. The battle of Lake Champlain has a place in history, but we do not care to sing its praise. The British commodore lost his ships, and the general fled with his army, leaving sick, wounded, and military stores.

29. The last engagement in this war was fought after peace had been concluded between England and America. Napoleon, who had been compelled to abdicate the throne of France and retire to Elba, was speedily to leave his splendid prison and reappear in France. England had probably an inkling of what would happen, if she was not really in the secret from its inception, and for that reason she wanted peace on this side of the Atlantic; hence the haste with which peace was concluded, in the latter part of December, at Ghent, to prepare for the bloodier theatre of war. Unaware that they were already friends with the United States, General Pakenham's command of twelve thousand men and a powerful fleet advanced to the attack on New Orleans. General Jackson had thrown up entrenchments some miles below the city, and the assailants were met by a destructive fire; but they moved steadily through the hail-storm of death. Solid columns opposed to the riflemen of Kentucky and Tennessee were bound to suffer, and the soldiers that had been invincible so long wavered now. Pakenham fell dead as he was heartening his troops, and his successor, Lambert, continued the battle until nightfall; but the defeat of the attacking party was as thorough as the attack was found to have been unnecessary. The British lost two thousand men in the encounter, and the defenders only a dozen killed and wounded.

30. The treaty subscribed at Ghent did not contain an express abandonment of the British claim as to impressment, but there was a tacit understanding that it would never be again

put forward; and that concession may have justified the war, although the cost to the country amounted to one hundred and twenty-seven million dollars. The nation had not spent blood and treasure in vain; the powers of her people had been proved by land and sea, and the world had been taught that it is not easy for any force to conquer and retain possession of the United States. While the war lasted there had been an enforced protection of American manufactures, as European shipments had been cut off by the blockade, and when the terrible visitation came to an end the home-made article could hold its own against all honest competition. The resources of the people had not been in any sense permanently impaired, although trade, commerce, and specie were strangers in the land; for within twenty years the war debt had been entirely cancelled, and the nation was on its way to a wonderful prosperity. The naval pre-eminence of the United States showed that the old Norse blood had not degenerated among the hardy mariners that live upon the American coast. While the war continued, the Algerines took advantage of the trouble to renew their depredations in the Mediterranean, and, as soon as the immediate business on hand was completed, a fleet, under Admiral Decatur, proceeded to Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers to remonstrate with great guns. The pirates liberated every prisoner, made ample indemnity for all losses, and gave good pledges for the future. There was yet another consequence of the war. The Federalists, once strong in the affections of the people, were routed because they would have taken peace at any price, and when Madison's second term came toward its end, another Republican, James Monroe, was chosen almost by acclamation.

31. The Missouri compromise was an evidence of growth, as there was a time when no such question as the admission or non-admission of a slave State to the Union would have arisen; but in the year 1820, when it was first proposed that Missouri should be admitted, public opinion was already so strong on the subject that nothing short of the promise contained in Henry Clay's compromise, that the limits of slavery were irrevocably fixed, could have satisfied the nation, or procured the admission of Missouri in 1821. Social progress was manifested under the administration of Monroe by the wondrous recuperative power exhibited by the country just emerging from a peculiarly disastrous war. Internal development, manufactures, steamboat enterprise, and a tendency to expand over the whole continent, spoke of a nation that already felt its destiny as one of the

greatest that is designed to help the progress of humanity. The era of inventive genius which had dawned upon the country, before the colonies became a nation, was now advancing toward the brightness of perfect day.

32. Spain had never much honor nor any profit from the possession of Florida since the days of Ponce De Leon, and since the settlement of Georgia there had occurred many opportunities for defending the fort of St. Augustine at considerable expense. In the year 1819 negotiations were commenced with Spain for the purchase of Florida, and in 1821 the treaty was made under which, in the following year, the territory was organized under the constitution. The announcement by the president in a message to Congress, that an attempt by any European nation to obtain a new foothold on this continent would be considered by the United States as an unfriendly act, deserves special mention, as the Monroe doctrine, whether avowed or not, will continue to be the policy of the United States; and the gradual absorption of the possessions of France and Spain shows that similar views had been entertained for many years by previous statesmen. The purchase of Louisiana was effected during the time that Mr. Monroe was minister at the court of Napoleon.

33. The Marquis De La Fayette, who visited the United States in the day of its peril, and stayed until that danger had been surmounted, went as a guest in 1824, and made a more than royal progress, through the States, welcomed everywhere. The thirteen States, for which he fought at Brandywine, and throughout the war until the surrender at Yorktown, had grown into twenty-four States, and he also had changed from the young noble, full of generous enthusiasm, to the matured statesman, who had sounded the depths of human existence. He had assisted liberty in his native land until it became license, and then endangered his own life by arresting the dangerous excess. He had dared the anger of royalty while it was strong, and generously sustained it when tottering to its fall. He had fought the battles of the people, and been compelled to quit his country for conscience' sake when his emigration cost him a prolonged and unjust imprisonment. His term of usefulness had not even then been reached, as he was to assist in exchanging the Bourbon proper on the throne of France for the Orleans branch in the citizen king, and in every act of his life to testify the presence of a conscience void of offence, and a heart full of generous emotions. The marquis was worthy to be the guest of a nation.

34. The Republican party, which had cast down and destroyed the Federalists, was gradually being broken into its constituent parts. The ties of party were loosening, and a new combination, to become known as the Whigs, was being erected in opposition to the other wing of the old party, thereafter known as the Democrats. John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, favoring protection and internal improvements, represented the Whig element, and the first-named of the leaders, son of President Adams, was chosen as the successor to President Monroe.

35. President Adams had not a majority of the electoral votes, nor had any one of the candidates, and the House of Representatives gave him the position; hence there was no strong party in his favor; and when his name was put forward as a candidate for reelection, he, like his father, was doomed to suffer a defeat. The protective policy championed by him was peculiarly objectionable to the Southern States, and Gen. Jackson, the defender of New Orleans, besides being the nominee of the Democrats, was popular, because of his services, among all classes. The east upheld the protective tariff, but it could not sustain John Quincy Adams against such a combination as was arrayed for Jackson. The first railroad in the United States, and the Erie Canal, date from this term. The war debt was rapidly diminishing, and there was a surplus in the treasury. Public works had been undertaken to an extent never before dreamed of, and at every step the nation was becoming wealthier, because of the wise expenditure of its means. "The old man eloquent" was not to pass off the stage of public life.

36. Rotation in office was the first innovation due to the peculiar constitution of Andrew Jackson's mind. Washington had surrounded himself with men differing in views, because it was his desire to combine the nation. Jackson was resolved to govern, and he would have his own friends and supporters around him, not only in his cabinet, but in subordinate offices. Without descending to changes among clerks, there were about seven hundred removals within the first year,—ten times as many as had been made before since the constitution was adopted. In the third year of Jackson's rule, 1832, South Carolina nullified the tariff, threatening secession if force was used to collect duties under it at Charleston. The president sent troops to the spot immediately, and proclaimed his resolve to execute the laws. Henry Clay's "Compromise Bill" being carried, was the occasion for the pacification of South Carolina. Clay, on this

measure being objected to by his friends, as a bar to his ever winning the presidency, said: "I would rather be right than president."

37. Jackson refused to renew the charter of the bank, and



Daniel Webster.

Henry Clay.

John C. Calhoun.

CLAY ADDRESSING CONGRESS.

on that basis was reflected; so that he assumed to have tested the will of the people upon that question, and thereupon the public money was drawn from that institution. Much suffering ensued, as the bank called in its loans, and a collapse immediately resulted. But, during the crisis, Jackson was strongly upheld by the Democratic majority in the House; and when the local banks were aided by the funds being lodged with them, accommodation became more easy than ever before. Speculation grew rife; building-lots for imaginary cities rose to a value unprecedented in the history of the country until then, and the iridescent bubble attracted all eyes for some years.

38. Black Hawk was in his policy the successor of Tecumseh, with this difference, that he was under treaty obligations to the United States. The Sac and Fox Indians sold their lands to the government, and their reserved rights were respected; but Black Hawk, mistaking consideration for weakness, organized a plot, in 1832, to recover the territory. The war was vigorously prosecuted, the Indians defeated, Black

Hawk deposed from his authority, and still more territory purchased for settlement. The Indians in Florida were peculiarly intractable and fierce, and before settlement could be attempted on a large scale, their absence was necessary. Under a treaty made with the chief after the purchase from Spain, the tribe was to be removed to lands west of the Mississippi; but at the last moment Osceola defied the United States. The chief was taken prisoner, and then consented to carry out the treaty; but as soon as he was free he organized a general massacre, and succeeded in slaughtering some hundreds. After much fighting, the Seminoles retreated to the everglades of Southern Florida, but were defeated in the tangled swamps by Col. Zachary Taylor, in the battle of Okechobee, December 25, 1837. Osceola, seized under a flag of truce, died in Fort Moultrie, in 1838, but the war did not come to an end finally until 1842.

39. The injuries inflicted upon American ships and property during the Napoleonic wars by France were to have been paid for to the extent of five million dollars, but the Bourbon government broke the agreement. The president proposed a system of reprisals, but England, acting as mediator, prevented hostilities, and the debt was paid. The vigor of such action pleased the people, and Martin Van Buren, a Democrat, was elected to follow Jackson, thus indorsing his policy. Gen. Harrison, personally popular, was defeated.

50. Consequent upon the action of Gen. Jackson the local banks had promoted speculation, and just when Martin Van Buren became president there was a great crisis. The demand for payments in gold and silver for public lands was the immediate cause; but such an event must have come. The banks contracted their circulation; business men failed for enormous sums; properties fell to a tithe of assumed values; the general government could not meet its obligations for a time, and eight States failed. There was a complete panic, and trade was almost entirely at an end.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENGLAND FROM 1780 TO 1840.

GEORGE III. — GEORGE IV. — WILLIAM IV. — CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

1. WHILE England was losing colonies by the revolution in America, she was gaining an empire in the East. "The foundation of the great power of the English in India had been laid by the victories of Clive, Sir Eyre Coote, Major Munro, and other commanders; by arbitrary exactions; by treaties made with Indian princes greatly to the advantage of the Company, and by intimidation and conquest when these treaties were violated. In all these transactions there existed no small amount of that injustice and oppression which the strong are ever apt to exercise towards the weak. At various times the state of Indian affairs was discussed in Parliament, and bills brought in to restrain the East India Company, especially in the acquisition of territory, and in the exercise of legislative and executive power. In the year 1773 a bill was passed in Parliament, by which a court of justice was established in Bengal, consisting of judges appointed by the crown. The same bill also provided for the appointment of a governor-general of India, with four counsellors, to be nominated in the first instance by Parliament, but at the end of five years by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, subject, however, to the approbation of the crown. Under this act there was appointed for India a ruler whose character and achievements were as remarkable as those of Clive, and who, like him, devoted all his energies to maintain and increase English supremacy in the East. This was Warren Hastings. He claimed descent from the Danish Viking of that name, who, in Alfred's time, had ravaged England." Hastings went to England as a clerk in the Company's employ, and rose by his energy and talent to become governor-general.

2. The exalted position which Hastings finally attained was one of great difficulty and temptation. He sought to maintain the supremacy of England against the French and the natives, and at the same time serve the best interests of the Company. The Company, at a distance of fifteen thousand miles, were

poorly qualified to judge of matters in India; and they urged the paradoxical claim upon their governor of large profits and kind treatment of the natives. Hastings could not render both; and, as he was forced to disobedience in one particular, he chose the latter. This led him into acts of cruelty and injustice. He seized two provinces belonging to the Great Mogul, and sold them for a large sum to the Nabob of Oude. After this he sold the services of the British troops to enable some nabob to conquer a brave, free, and happy people in the valley of Rohileund. Subsequently, however, Hastings perpetrated, in the eyes of Hindoos, a far greater crime. On the banks of the Ganges stands the city of Benares, as sacred in the estimation of Brahmmin worshippers as is Jerusalem to the most loyal Jew, or Mecca to the followers of Mohammed. "Its splendid temples, its jewelled shrines, its graceful minarets, the flights of marble steps leading down to the sacred stream, the consecrated bulls and apes which thronged the streets or clung to the temples, were objects of time-honored veneration throughout India. Besides the costly offerings of religion, commerce had enriched this favored city. 'In its bazaar the muslins of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere.' Warren Hastings was in need of money. His was the hand by which *might made right*, and, in defiance of the horror which such a deed awakened, he plundered the holy city of Benares in 1781. Whilst these transactions were going on in Bengal, the attention of the governor-general was suddenly demanded in another quarter. Hyder-Ali, the famous Mohammedan chieftain of Mysore, had burst upon the plains of the Carnatic. With an army of ninety thousand men, and the powerful co-operation of the French, he threatened to drive the English from Southern India. Hastings raised an army, gave it in command of the venerable old soldier, Sir Eyre Coote, who drove back the bold invader, and restored to the English the presidency of Madras. This war had drained the governor-general's treasury, and the wealth gained by the plunder of Benares was not sufficient to replenish it. To obtain, therefore, another supply, he robbed two Indian princesses, the mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude. These aged women were imprisoned in their palace until, half famished, they consented to give their rapacious jailer one million two hundred thousand pounds. By such means did Warren Hastings obtain the large revenue requisite to carry on the expenses

of his Indian government. In February, 1785, the governor-general resigned his office and embarked for England.

3. Three years later Warren Hastings stood before the High Court of Parliament, in Westminster Hall, and listened to his impeachment by Edmund Burke, one of the most brilliant orators England ever produced. Never, in the annals of English history, has there been a trial of so high and intense interest as that of Warren Hastings. The galleries contained Gibbon, the historian, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the painter, Gainsborough, and Dr. Parr; also Mrs. Siddons, the celebrated actress. The trial was managed by such men as Burke, Sheridan, and Fox, whose eloquence will never be surpassed. The trial was continued through every session for seven years; and in April, 1795, the prisoner was found "not guilty." But before this trial was ended the ministry of George III. became absorbed with the affairs of France. The French people of that country, rendered impatient and wretched by oppression, rose in opposition to their rulers. They elected a National Assembly, and declared war against royalty and nobility, and, after many acts of violence, their monarch and his queen were beheaded. This brought forth England's protest, both as against this rash deed and the introduction of republicanism. In 1793 the French National Convention declared war against Great Britain. Then commenced the long contest of the French revolution, which continued, with the exception of a short peace, for more than twenty years. England won all of her victories on the sea, while France, especially after the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, continued mistress of the continent.

4. In 1797 England had internal difficulties of no mean importance to contend with. A mutiny extended throughout the whole navy, which greatly impaired the naval service; yet, notwithstanding, reforms in the navy put a stop to the mutineers, and, as in no other war during her whole history, England won the most brilliant victories on the seas. In an attack upon the Spanish fleet, off Cape St. Vincent, by Admiral Jarvis, Lord Nelson distinguished himself by acts of great valor, and in the succeeding year, 1798, all England blazed with illuminations and resounded with artillery, in honor of another triumph won by Lord Nelson at the battle of the Nile. In this year Napoleon Bonaparte, then at the head of the armies of France, invaded Egypt, hoping by the conquest of that country to strike a fatal blow at the English possessions in India. Lord Nelson, who had been ordered to the Mediterranean, learned of the course

Napoleon's fleet had taken, and started in pursuit. On the morning of the 1st of August the two fleets came in contact in the harbor of Alexandria. When Nelson first beheld the French ships, he exclaimed, "Before this time to-morrow, I shall have gained a peerage, or Westminster Abbey." The French fleet, forming a curved line, occupied a strong position in Aboukir Bay. Nelson determined to send a part of his squadron between the enemy and the shore, and to attack with the rest on the other side, thus placing the French between two fires. On communicating this design to one of his captains, the latter exclaimed: "If we succeed, what will the world say?"—"There is no 'if' in the case," replied Nelson. "That we shall succeed is certain; who may live to tell the story is a very different question." The engagement began at three o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted until midnight. At night the blaze of two thousand pieces of artillery illuminated the scene, "and the volumes of flame and smoke that rolled away from the bay gave it the appearance of a terrific volcano suddenly bursting forth in the midst of the sea." By nine o'clock three French ships had struck their colors, two were dismasted, and flames were fast enveloping a third, "L'Orient," although she still made a brave defence.

5. On the burning deck of the "L'Orient" stood the youthful, but brave Casabianca. He was the son of the French admiral, and only ten years of age. With heroic firmness he refused to quit his post, even when the guns had been abandoned, and

"The flames that lit the battle's wreck
Shone round him o'er the dead."

A few moments more, and those flames had reached the powder magazine. Then followed the fearful destruction of the "L'Orient" and her gallant crew,—

"With mast, and helm, and pennon fair,
That well had borne their part;
But the noblest thing that perished there
Was that young, faithful heart."

At the conclusion of the battle, at midnight, the entire French fleet was destroyed, with the exception of four vessels, which escaped to carry the news of their defeat to France. Nelson was severely wounded in the action; but he was rewarded by

a handsome pension and the title of "Baron Nelson of the Nile."

6. In the same year the volunteer system of militia was established in England, which was no small proof of the reliance placed by the king and ministry on the people. One hundred and fifty thousand were enrolled, who rendered good service in quelling domestic disturbances. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, before referred to, caused Turkey — as Egypt was then a province of that empire — to declare war against France. A few months later Napoleon formed the bold design of crossing the desert to Syria, where the principal army of the Sultan was situated. He hoped to conquer this army and to found a grand empire in the East. Stimulated by their bold leader the French army entered the Holy Land, passed over the plains of Galilee, the heights of Carmel, Nazareth, Cana, and laid siege to Acre. "It was defended by the Turks, and in the Bay of Carmel lay a small English fleet, commanded by Sir Sydney Smith. This trying siege continued from the 16th of March to the 7th of May, 1799. On the evening of the latter day an Ottoman fleet of thirty sail, with stores of ammunition and artillery, anchored in the bay. Napoleon at once ordered an assault, hoping to take the town before relief could be thrown into it. This assault, renewed for three days, was made with all the energy of despair. It was unavailing, and at last there fell from Napoleon's lips the first order for retreat which that successful general had ever uttered. He left on the Syrian plains three thousand of his brave men; there, too, lay buried his glorious visions of oriental empire. With heavy hearts the remnant of his army retraced their march to Egypt, through the burning sands of the desert." Of Sir Sidney Smith, Napoleon often said, "That man made me miss my destiny."

7. During this prolonged war Ireland became a source of great trouble to England. That country, ever since its conquest by Henry Plantagenet, had been a source of difficulty to England; and it was, in a great measure, the unjust and cruel conduct of the conqueror that made Ireland discontented. On every fresh conquest the fair domains of Ireland were wrested from the native owner, and bestowed upon a foreign lord. The new proprietor, instead of dwelling on his estate, caring for his tenantry, and becoming Irish in his sympathies and interests, returned to England, leaving an agent to collect rents and raise as much money as he could from the estate. These agents oppressed the peasantry, and thus awakened a feeling

of hostility towards the absent proprietor. Then, too, there lingered in the land a great number of the old, disinherited families, who kept up in the minds of their former dependants a feeling of indignation against the Saxon invaders." At the time of the Reformation England became Protestant, but Ireland still adhered to the Church of Rome. Hence another source of embroilment. The "Society of United Irishmen," on the one hand, and the "Orangemen" on the other, formed two powerful opposing elements; the former adverse to English and Protestant supremacy, and the latter in favor of both. The French, enemies of England, did much to foster this discontent; but in 1799 Ireland and England were brought under one Parliament. The measure met with violent opposition on the part of the great body of the Irish people. Curran and Grattan, the most eloquent orators of their day, pleaded earnestly against it, as subversive of the dignity and liberty of their country. The bill for the union, which had passed in the English Parliament, was agreed to in the Irish House of Lords, and the Commons were won over by bribery. Thus, in the last year of the eighteenth century, the union of England and Ireland was effected. The Irish Parliament ceased to exist, and twenty-eight peers and one hundred commoners represent that kingdom in the national council of the realm. Henceforth the British Isles assumed the title of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

8. In 1801 the governments of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, instigated by France, entered into a confederacy hostile to England. This was called the "Armed Neutrality," and caused England to send a fleet to the Baltic. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson. The advance was made on Copenhagen, and on the morning of March 30, eighteen English ships of the line and a number of smaller vessels, entered the narrow sound which divides Denmark and Sweden. On the 1st of April Lord Nelson with only twelve line-of-battle ships anchored within two miles of Copenhagen. Sir Hyde Parker remained with the remainder of the fleet at the entrance of the sound. At ten o'clock of the 2d of April the battle began. At one o'clock three of the best English ships grounded on the shoals, and Admiral Parker signalled a retreat. Nelson was in the thickest of the fight when the signal was reported, but, instead of obeying it, he remarked to one of his captains, "You know I have only one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes." Then putting the

glass to his blind eye, he added, "I really don't see the signal. Keep mine for closer battle still flying!" Such was the persistent bravery of Nelson, which won the battle of Copenhagen, and of which he afterwards remarked, "I have been in above a hundred engagements, but that of Copenhagen was the most terrible of them all." This, and the death of the Emperor of Russia, and the accession of a new czar, Alexander I., who immediately entered into friendly relations with Great Britain, put an end to the "Armed Neutrality." In 1802 a treaty of peace was signed between France and England; but this made only a brief pause in the din of war. In 1803 war reopened with all its horrors, and raged until the great Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo. I have space to mention only the principal features of this war. In the plan to conquer Egypt France was thwarted. In May, 1804, Napoleon was declared Emperor of the French; and during the following year carried on a successful campaign in Northern Italy and Austria. On the surrender of the old Austrian town of Ulm, by Gen. Mack, on the 20th of October, 1805, Napoleon gazed upon an array of sixty thousand prisoners of war as they defiled before him. He exclaimed, "I must have greater things than these—ships, colonies, commerce! These are what I want!" The morrow's sun shone down upon the battle of Trafalgar, by which these much-coveted advantages were confirmed to his enemies, and the hope of their acquisition was forever crushed in the mind of Napoleon. The battle of Trafalgar, gained by Lord Nelson, on the morning of the 21st of October, 1805, will be ever memorable in the annals of Great Britain's naval history; memorable for the bravery with which an English fleet of twenty-seven sail overcame the combined squadron of France and Spain; and not less memorable for the death of the gallant Lord Nelson, who fell in the moment of victory. On going into the action Nelson modestly said to his men: "England expects every man to do his duty;" and the men responded with such rapturous enthusiasm as has never been equalled in the history of nations. The heroism of the men who fought at Trafalgar, and the bravery of their noble leader, have no equal in all the annals of naval warfare.

9. In 1808 Napoleon had reached the height of his power. All continental Europe was prostrated at his imperial feet. He had seized the thrones of Holland and Naples for two of his brothers, Louis and Joseph, and for the third had created Westphalia into a kingdom; and his fourth stroke was to transfer Joseph

Bonaparte to the throne of Spain, and bestow the consequent vacant crown upon his brave general, Murat. This attempt brought on the mighty peninsular war, and gave opportunity for those deeds of wonderful valor by which Sir Arthur Wellesley (soon afterwards Duke of Wellington) immortalized himself and adorned English history. He was at first sent out with ten thousand troops. At Vimeira, in Portugal, he gained a victory over the French. Subsequently the English entered into an agreement with the French, by which the latter abandoned Portugal. Afterwards Sir John Moore was appointed to the command of His Majesty's forces in the peninsula. He advanced into Spain; but Napoleon had entered that country with two hundred thousand men, defeated the Spaniards in several engagements, taken Madrid, and was now, with fifty thousand troops, in pursuit of the English. Sir John Moore was forced to retreat. Napoleon was called to France, but Marshal Soule assumed command in his absence, and continued the march upon the English, who were now retreating. "When, on the 11th of January, 1809, the army of Sir John Moore gazed from the heights of Corunna upon the sea, and saw not a single transport in the harbor, they knew their only hope lay in successful battle with the pursuing foe. That battle, fought on the 16th, in the face of overwhelming numbers, was won, but with the sacrifice of their brave commander. Sir John Moore perished upon the field of victory. The enemy were repulsed, but there was no time to be lost in the embarkation of the troops on board the transports, which two days before had anchored in the harbor. Hastily, and in silence, a grave was dug on the ramparts of Corunna, in which was laid the body of the departed general." All my readers will remember how the burial of Sir John Moore is described by the poet. We have often repeated with a peculiar inspiration:—

"Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
As his corse to the ramparts we hurried;
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
O'er the grave where our hero we buried."

The generals of Napoleon made themselves masters of Spain during the first years of the peninsula war, but in 1809 Wellington was appointed to the English command in that quarter, and soon the tide of victory followed the march of his army. His victories were won under the most trying circumstances; but his reward came at last. In 1813 the French fled from

Spain, of which they had made themselves masters. On the 21st of June was fought the great battle of Vittoria, in which Wellington gained a series of brilliant victories, driving the French before his invincible troops, even on French territory.

10. In 1812 the great Napoleon, thinking the conquest of Spain secure, set out with five hundred thousand men to invade Russia. This expedition resulted in the burning of Moscow, to prevent its being occupied by the French; but the reader is probably aware of the disastrous retreat and destruction of Napoleon's hosts. Of those who followed the bold leader across the Niemen but twenty thousand recrossed it in return. The storm of defeat now gathered thick and black about the throne of France. From Lisbon to the White Sea all Europe rose against the imperial eagles. A million of Napoleon's soldiers had perished in eighteen months. In 1814 he abdicated before the consuming power of his enemies, and fled to the island of Elba; but in 1815 he returned to France, and so powerful was his presence that he drew around him one hundred and twenty thousand men. With this force he suddenly entered Belgium. His intention was to interpose between the English under Wellington, and their Prussian allies under Blucher; to defeat the latter, and then to meet Wellington, with whom he longed to measure his strength. When the intelligence of this move reached Wellington he calmly ordered his troops to prepare, and then went to the Duchess of Richmond's ball. This incident is made familiar in Byron's "Childe Harold." True, indeed,—

"There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered there
Her beauty and her chivalry."

In June two battles were fought. The Prussians were defeated, and the English were compelled to retreat, to secure a junction with the Prussians under Blucher. Communication was had between the latter and Wellington, who was promised assistance as soon as he could pass the difficult roads with his troops.

11. On opposite hills, overlooking the plain of Waterloo, the French and English armies rested on the night of the 17th of June. The rain fell in torrents, and the dreadful hours were spent on the wet ground. On the morning of the 18th of June, 1815, the French, amid peals of martial music, took their position. The English, with less show, made no less careful

preparations. When Napoleon beheld his foes he haughtily remarked, "I have them, these English!" Marshal Soult intelligently replied, "Sire, I know these English; they will die on the ground on which they stand before they lose it!" I will gratify my readers with a description of this battle from an abler pen, that of A. B. Berard: "As the clock from a neighboring village struck eleven, the first gun was fired from the French lines, and the action commenced by their attack on an old chateau, where was posted a body of English light troops. By a fierce assault the wood surrounding the chateau was carried, but the house held out, an invincible citadel, until consumed by the fire from the French howitzers. Even then the brave foot-guards maintained the garden and court-yard, and turned the storm of battle from that quarter. It then burst in full force upon the British left, to be not only repelled; but returned by such a brilliant charge of cavalry from the Scotch Greys as to extort admiration from Napoleon himself. 'Those terrible Greys, how they fight!' he exclaimed, when he beheld his column of five thousand strong scattered by their charge, two thousand prisoners taken, and eighty pieces of cannon rendered useless. Picton, the brave leader who repelled the French onset, and Ponsonby, who led the charge, both fell in the moment of their brilliant success. And now the massive columns of the French turned upon the British centre. There Wellington commanded, and Napoleon animated the attack. For four hours it was the scene of the intrepid charge of the French cavalry, and the heroic resistance and repulse of the British infantry. Thus the battle raged long past the hour of noon, and the Prussians, under their brave old marshal, had not yet come up. They had begun their march by daybreak; but the route lay through forest roads, made deep and miry by rivulets which had become torrents, and interspersed by deep pools. The gun-carriages often sank axle-deep in mud, and the exhausted and almost despairing soldiers would exclaim: 'We shall never get on.'—'But we must get on,' urged Blücher; 'I have given my word to Wellington, and you will not make me break it. Courage, children, courage, for a few hours longer, and then victory will be ours.' It was past four o'clock in the afternoon when they reached the scene of action. But when the fire of their artillery rang upon the ear, Napoleon felt that the last decisive moment was fast approaching. One more hope remained. It remained in the old Imperial Guard,—those brave veterans of the empire, than whom there were on

earth no braver. But even they were powerless to win back the fatal day of Waterloo; and as the sun went down there rose the despairing cry: 'All is lost; the Guard recoils!' Its departing rays beheld the flight of the last columns of the imperial army. Waterloo was lost, and Napoleon, attended by a few followers, fled from the battle-field. He returned to Paris, and thence endeavored to escape to America, but the shores of France were watched by English cruisers. Disappointed in this hope, he surrendered himself into the hands of the captain of an English vessel in the harbor of Rochfort, —

“ ‘And trusting to his noblest foes,
When earth was all too gray for chivalry,
Died of their mercies 'mid the desert sea.’

The allies entered Paris: the old line of French kings was restored, and the terrible struggle of the French Revolution was ended.”

12. While England was conducting these wars she was also engaged in the war of 1812–15, as we have already seen. Her many defeats in the latter must be explained by the bitter struggles of the former. At the same time the Barbary pirates had ravaged the Mediterranean, and were the terror of every sail. In 1816 the British sent Lord Exmouth to the coast of Barbary to demand reparation. “Tunis and Tripoli acceded to these demands, but Algiers hesitated, on the ground that, being a subject of Turkey, she could enter into no treaty without the consent of that government. An embassy was sent to the sultan, but before any answer could be returned the Algerines committed so gross an outrage on the flag of Great Britain that the British government determined to destroy this stronghold of piracy. A fleet, commanded by Lord Exmouth, was sent to Algiers. The city, built upon a hillside which rises from the sea, presented an imposing and formidable appearance. It was well defended with fortifications, batteries, and gunboats. On the 27th of August Lord Exmouth entered the harbor, and sent to the Dey a flag, with the demands of the British government. An answer was promised in the course of two hours; but, as none came at the appointed time, Lord Exmouth opened a fire upon the town. At four o'clock, P.M., the British fired some Algerine ships in the harbor; the flames spread to the arsenals and stores on the shore, and when, on the following morning, the Dey sent in his submission, his cap-

ital presented a melancholy appearance. A treaty was entered into, by which three thousand and three captives were liberated, and the abolition of Christian slavery was promised by the government of Algiers."

13. At the close of the first month of 1820, George III. died, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth year of his reign. For nearly ten years insanity had rendered him unfit to administer the government, and since 1811 a regency had conducted the affairs of state, having the Prince of Wales at its head. The prince-regent now ascended the throne, and was crowned George IV., King of Great Britain and Ireland. He had been married, in 1795, to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick; but the union was an unhappy one, and in 1814 the queen went to reside on the continent. Efforts, emanating partly from George IV., were put forth to induce her to remain abroad, and renounce the style and title of Queen of Great Britain; but these were in vain. She returned, and the case was brought before Parliament; but before it was settled, in 1821, she died. The domestic history of England during this period was characterized by Roman Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reforms, and the abolition of slavery in the colonies. After a reign of about ten years, George IV. died, and was succeeded by his brother, William Henry, Duke of Clarence. He was crowned with the title of William IV. The latter reigned until June 20, 1837, when he died and was succeeded by Alexandria Victoria, the daughter of his brother, the Duke of Kent. She is the present reigning sovereign. In a subsequent chapter on England during the nineteenth century, the affairs under the three last-named rulers will be reviewed. Meanwhile, let us return to the inner circles of Canadian history.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PROVINCE OF CANADA, 1840 TO 1867.

THE EARL OF DURHAM—LORD SYDENHAM—SIR CHARLES BAGOT—THE UNION.

1. In a previous chapter we have followed the history of Canada down to the union of 1840, passing by events in the other provinces of the present Dominion, for purposes of convenience, to which we shall turn our attention in succeeding

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chapters. Let us now trace the fortunes of United Canada, or the Province of Canada, as it was called by the terms of the Union in 1840, from the time of the union to the confederation of 1867. Reserving all special subjects, such as education, commerce, public works, etc., for separate chapters, later on, we will now follow only the political thread of our narrative, excepting only to mention that notwithstanding the many internal disturbances which shook the two provinces in their separate capacities, time and money were found for considerable public improvements. In Lower Canada large sums of money were voted by the Legislature for the building of the Chambly and Lachine canals, and the same province voted to take one hundred thousand dollars of stock in the Welland Canal of Upper Canada. In the latter province, the Welland Canal was pushed forward with great energy. It was projected by the Hon. William H. Merritt, a son of a united empire loyalist. He served in the war of 1812, and six years later entered upon the work of this important canal. He was a member of the Legislature for many years; was president of the executive council of Upper Canada in 1849, and chief commissioner of public works in 1851.

2. In 1838 affairs in Canada had attracted so much attention in England, that the Earl of Durham was appointed governor-general and her majesty's lord high commissioner, to inquire into and report upon the affairs of the rebellion. The Right Honorable John George Lambton, Earl of Durham, was born in 1792. In 1813 he was elected to Parliament, and in 1838 he came to Canada on the mission stated. His report upon the political state of the provinces was published in 1839, and led to the union which immediately followed. Shortly after his arrival Lord Durham and the several eminent men who accompanied him set about the objects of their mission. Valuable information was collected, witnesses examined, and inquiries instituted with great vigor. A voluminous report on the state of the country was prepared as the result of these inquiries, and laid before her majesty. Among other recommendations made by the earl, the union of the two Canadas was urged as of paramount importance. A hostile censure, in the House of Lords, on Lord Durham's local administration of the government, however, brought his mission to an abrupt termination, and he returned to England. Sir John Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaton) again became administrator of the government in Lower Canada until the appointment of the Right Honorable

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Charles Poulett Thompson (afterwards Lord Sydenham) as governor-general.

3. On the return of peace to the provinces, in 1839, the British government at once adopted measures to maintain the permanent tranquillity of the country. The Right Honorable C. P. Thompson (Lord Sydenham), an eminent merchant, was sent out as governor-general. He was born in England, in 1799, and was elected to Parliament in 1826. His record may be briefly summed up thus: He was vice-president of the Board of Trade in 1829; president in 1834. He established the English schools of design in 1837; appointed Governor-General of Canada in 1839; united the Canadas, and was created Baron Sydenham at Toronto, in 1840; opened the first united Parliament at Kingston, in June, 1841; projected a municipal system in Upper Canada in August; and died, by reason of a fall from his horse, and was buried in Kingston, in September, 1841, aged only forty-two years. "He was directed to obtain the concurrence of the inhabitants to a union of the provinces. The special council of Lower Canada agreed to the proposed union (and the assumption by the united province of the large debt of Upper Canada), after a conference with the governor-general, in November, 1839. The Legislature of Upper Canada also agreed to it, after two weeks' debate, in December of the same year. Lord Sydenham relieved Sir John Colborne in Lower Canada, on his arrival there, 19th October, and Sir George Arthur, in Upper Canada, on the 22d of November, 1839. The act of union, so readily agreed to by both provinces, was drafted by Lord Sydenham, and sent home. It was passed by the British Parliament in 1840, and took effect by royal proclamation (issued by Lord Sydenham) on the 10th of February, 1841,—a threefold anniversary, already memorable in the history of Canada, viz.: *first*, by the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the province was, in 1763, ceded to the British Crown; *secondly*, by the assent of the sovereign to the Imperial Act of 1838, by which the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended; and, *thirdly*, by the marriage of our most gracious sovereign the Queen to His Royal Highness Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, in 1839."

4. The new constitution of the Province of Canada, as set forth in the Imperial Act of Union, embodied several features not heretofore introduced into colonial constitutions. "The most important of these features was, *first*, the institution of responsible government, that is, a government controlled by

colonial ministers of the crown, having seats in the Legislature, and responsible to it for their official acts, and for their advice to the governor-general; and, *secondly*, the concession to the House of Assembly of complete control over the revenue in all its branches, and the supervision of the entire expenditure of the country. Thus were the demands of one great party granted; while, to meet the views of the other party, guards and checks were then interposed, which, since that time, have been gradually relaxed. The year 1841 was an eventful one for Canada. In that year the double system of lieutenant-governors and legislators ceased; and Lord Sydenham became sole representative of the queen in Canada. The elections to the new Legislature took place in March; and the first united Parliament of the province was opened with imposing ceremonies, at Kingston, Upper Canada, in June, 1841. During that memorable session the foundation of many of our important civil institutions was laid, especially those relating to the municipal system, popular education, the customs, currency, etc. Another valuable measure was passed relating to the management of the public works of the province, which had hitherto been constructed, either by private irresponsible companies, or by contracts issued by separate departments of the government. At Lord Sydenham's suggestion the numerous acts relating to public improvements were consolidated, and a Board of Public Works, with a cabinet minister at its head, created." In order to enable this Board to carry on to completion some newly projected public works, and to consolidate the debt already incurred for them, one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling was, upon the governor-general's recommendation, raised in England on the credit of the province. The session was terminated by the sudden death of the governor-general.

5. The "Clergy Reserves" constituted one of the most difficult question for the new government to solve. Under the previous constitution a vast portion of the lands in both provinces were set aside for the benefit of the Church of England. It was resolved to dispose of these lands, and divide the proceeds among the several religious denominations. A bill was accordingly introduced by Mr. Draper, now solicitor-general, early in January, empowering the governor to sell these reserves; part of the proceeds to be applied for payment of the salaries of the existing clergymen of the Church of England, to whom the faith of the crown had been pledged. One-half of the remainder was to go to the churches of England and Scot-

land, in proportion to their respective numbers; the other half, to all other denominations of Christians recognized by the existing laws, in a ratio to their annual private contributions for the support of their ministers. This bill passed the Assembly by a majority of eight. The measure, however, did not satisfy the reform party, and the clergy-reserve question continued to be a fruitful source of agitation.

6. Next, and still more important, was the question of responsible government. The method by which it was introduced was gradual, and illustrative of the slow degrees by which the executive in a monarchical form of government yields to the voice of the people. An address had been prepared by the Assembly to the governor-general, in order to elicit a distinct expression of his views on this question. On the 14th of January, 1840, he sent down a message in reply, which declared "that he had been commanded by her majesty to administer the government in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people; and to pay to their feelings, as expressed through their representatives, the deference that was justly

due to them." Thus, at last, was the principle of responsible government interwoven with the constitution of Canada, a consummation so long struggled for by the reform party. The governor-general's message on this head was followed by the removal of Mr. Hagerman, the attorney-general, who had voted against the union in the Assembly. Mr. Draper was appointed to the vacant post, while Robert Baldwin, the principal leader of the constitutional reformers, was



made solicitor-general. The Hon. Robert Baldwin, C.B., was born in Toronto, in 1804. For a long period he was a prominent leader of the liberal party in Upper Canada. He was first elected to the Legislature in 1829, and became an executive counsellor in 1836. He was appointed solicitor-

general in 1840, and attorney-general and joint-premier of Canada in 1842, holding the latter position again in 1848, and in 1854 he was created by the queen a civil commander of the Bath, for distinguished public services.

7. With the return of peace came a renewal of prosperity. Immigration set in, and once more the flow of population to the western section of the province was seen to inspire the hopes for the future. Mr. Thompson, the governor-general, gave very good satisfaction both to the people of Canada and to the home government, and the queen was pleased to raise him to the peerage, with the title of Baron Sydenham of Kent and of Toronto. A new Parliament was convened at Kingston, then capital of the recently united Canada, on the 13th of June, 1841. "The Assembly chose Mr. Cuvillier, a French-Canadian reformer, as their speaker. The session was opened by the governor-general in a clever and practical speech, alike distinguished for its moderation and good sense. It recommended a new arrangement of the post-office department, the completion of the public works of the province, for which purpose Great Britain was prepared to pledge her credit for one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, the encouragement of immigration on an extended scale, the creation of municipal councils, and a better provision for education. It also stated that a large sum would be annually expended by the home government for the military defences of the country, and declared the fixed determination of the queen to maintain, at all hazards, the existing British provinces of North America as part of the empire. It concluded with a prayer that Providence might so direct their councils as to ensure to the queen attached and loyal subjects, and to United Canada a prosperous and happy people. But the fiery political ordeal through which Canada had so recently passed rendered the wisdom and moderation of Lord Sydenham unavailing in at once removing every trace of dissension. He had to contend against lingering Tory prejudice, on one hand, and extreme reform expectation, on the other, looking at once for sweeping ultra measures."

8. Governor-General Thompson was succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot, in January, 1842. He arrived at Kingston, the capital, in January, and was favorably received by the inhabitants. The government, since the death of his predecessor, had been administered by Sir Richard Jackson, the commander of the forces. Sir Charles was descended from an ancient family.

He was a high churchman and a Tory. He disappointed nearly all Canadian politicians, who expected him to favor only the Tories. On the contrary he determined to use whatever party he found capable of supporting a ministry, and accordingly made proposals to the French Canadians, who had fallen into a minority in the government.



SIR L. H. LAFONTAINE.

In this way he opened the door to political distinction to both French and English. Of course the new governor-general's policy caused some considerable changes in the composition of the ministry. Mr. Draper resigned the attorney-generalship for Canada West; Mr. Henry Sherwood, solicitor-general for the same province, made way for Mr. Aylwin. Mr. Hincks was made inspector-general of public accounts; Mr. Lafontaine became attorney-general for Canada East, Mr. Baldwin for Canada West, and A. Morin, commissioner for crown lands. The new ministry had a decided majority. "The new inspector-general, Francis Hincks, and who now appeared prominently before the public for the first time, was unquestionably a man of no ordinary stamp. His father, the Rev. Dr. Hincks, was a distinguished minister of the Irish Presbyterian Church, and whose five sons appear to have all inherited his great abilities. His youngest son, Francis, was born at Cork, about 1806, commenced his education at Fermoy, in his father's grammar school, and eventually completed it in the classical and mathematical department of the Belfast institution. After four months' initiation into business matters, in the office of a notary, he was articled for five years to a mercantile firm, with whom he duly fulfilled his term in



SIR FRANCIS HINCKS.

1828. But he still remained in Martin & Co.'s employment, continued to retain their confidence, and sailed as the supercargo of one of their ships to the West Indies in the spring of 1830. In the same year he visited the United States and Canada, and determined to settle in the latter country. In 1832 he married, removed to Toronto, and commenced mercantile business, in which he did not meet with much success. His financial abilities, however, soon brought him into notice, and he was appointed secretary to an insurance company, cashier to a new banking concern, and was chosen, in 1835, to examine into the affairs of the Welland Canal Company, then in no small disorder. In the spring of 1838 he commenced the "Examiner" newspaper at Toronto, in the reform interest, and speedily became so distinguished as a public journalist that he was invited to become a candidate for the representation of the county of Oxford, in the new Union Parliament. He was returned by a majority of thirty-one over Carroll, his opponent; and, after his appointment as inspector-general, was again elected for the same constituency by a much larger vote." The governor-general had many difficulties to contend with. During his administration the fires of political strife were frequently rekindled. He acted amidst all with great prudence, and called to his councils the chiefs of the reform party. His health having failed, he resigned his office, and was about to return to England, when he died at Kingston, in May, 1843.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PROVINCE OF CANADA, 1840 TO 1867 — (*continued*).

ADMINISTRATIONS OF LORD METCALF, EARL CATHCART, AND LORD ELGIN.

1. IN 1843 Sir Charles Metcalf, who had distinguished himself as governor in India and in Jamaica, succeeded Sir Charles Bagot. On the 28th of September, 1843, he opened the Legislature at Kingston in a speech which was favorably received. He favored the conservative party, of which Sir Allan M'Nab was now the acknowledged leader. "Some official appointments from the ranks of that party led to an open rupture with the ministry in November, and they accordingly tendered their resignations. In this condition matters remained till after

the termination of the session, on the 9th of December ; when the governor-general, while he declared that he recognized the just power and privileges of the people to influence their



rulers, and to regulate, through their representatives, the administration of government, maintained he had the right to select the executive officers of the crown. He accordingly now received the resignations of the ministry, and sought to form a provisional, or irresponsible, cabinet for the present. Even this he soon found to be a most difficult task, as in the present composition of the House of Assembly all the conservative leaders were unwilling to take

office. Finally, on the 13th, his provisional government was formed, and was composed of Messtiger, Daly, and Draper, the latter now a member of the upper house. But his conduct created much political excitement, and was vigorously denounced by the reform press, as well as by the leaders of the reform party. The determination having been come to, during the recent session of the Legislature (1844), to remove the seat of government to Montreal, that event accordingly took place after the opening of navigation. Monklands was fitted up as the residence of the governor-general, and he removed thither in the month of June. After considerable difficulty, a ministry, under the leadership of Mr. Draper, was at length formed, of a conservative complexion, to suit Sir Charles Metcalf, and it was determined to resort to a dissolution of Parliament, and appeal to the people, for the support of which there was not the most remote chance as the Assembly was then constituted. Writs were accordingly issued for a new election on the 24th of September, and made returnable on the 10th of November following. The election resulted in the return of a small conservative majority. On the 28th of November the Legislature was convened at Montreal, when Sir Allan M'Nab was chosen speaker of the Assembly by a majority of three

votes. The speech of the governor-general was very moderate in its tone, and chiefly distinguished for its allusions to the continual improvement in the finances of the country, and in its affairs otherwise. The debate on the address was a very warm one; but the opposition, led by Mr. Baldwin, was finally defeated, on a motion to amend it, by a conservative majority of six." About this period the governor-general was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Metcalf, in consideration of his long and meritorious services.

2. The year 1845 was rendered memorable by two very disastrous fires in Quebec, which took place respectively in May and June. Several lives were lost, and the dwellings of about twenty-four thousand people destroyed, and many of the sufferers were reduced to utter distress. To relieve the wants of these unfortunate people one hundred thousand pounds sterling were raised in Great Britain by contribution, and over thirty-five thousand pounds were collected by the people of Canada. Temporary dwellings were erected, and before winter came on the city began to rise from its ruins. Lord Metcalf's policy was very unsatisfactory to the reform party, and, in the fall of 1845, he retired from the governorship, being afflicted with a cancer on his right cheek, from which he died soon after. Upon his resignation, Lieutenant-General Earl Cathcart, commanding the forces in Canada, was appointed administrator of the government. He did not mix in the disputes between the rival political parties, but left them to settle their quarrels among themselves. His administration, lasting until the middle of January, 1847, was characterized by an agitation with regard to the payment of losses caused by destruction of property in Lower Canada during the rebellion.

3. On the 1st of October, 1847, the Earl of Elgin, the successor of Lord Metcalf, received his appointment. He was a person of high educational appointments. He arrived at Montreal in January, 1847, and was received with the usual demonstrations. Politics were running high, but in the midst of all came the cry for help from Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, where a fearful famine was raging. The Canadian people were not wanting in charity. A "relief fund" was opened, and from every direction—"from old-fashioned Tories and modern radicals, from conservatives and reformers, from the Iroquois Indians of Caughnawaga, and the Hurons and Delawares of Western Canada, and from her colored citizens—came contributions in money or in food. On the 2d of

June the Legislature convened at Montreal, and the session opened by Lord Elgin in a short, practical, and clever non-committal speech. He stated that the imperial government was prepared to surrender to the colonial authorities the control of the post-office department; and that the house was now empowered, by imperial statute, to repeal the differential duties in favor of British manufactures. He alluded to the necessity of providing increased warehouse facilities at inland ports; to the imperial survey of the intended railroad from Quebec to Halifax; to the proposed alteration with respect to the British copyright question; and to the measures which had been adopted to provide for the large immigration expected to take place to this country."

4. The immigration thus alluded to had already commenced, and was throwing a large number of destitute persons upon the charity of the citizens and the humanity of the authorities. Army after army of sick and suffering people, fleeing from famine in their native land to be stricken down by death in the valley of the St. Lawrence, stopped in rapid succession at Gross Isle, and there leaving numbers of their dead behind, pushed upwards towards the lakes in overcrowded steamers, to burden the inhabitants of the western towns and villages. Up to the 7th of August seventy thousand immigrants had landed at Quebec. The session of the Legislature terminated on the 28th of July, after the transaction of a large amount of business, one hundred and ten acts having been passed. The ministry still continued to hold office, though defeated on some important measures; and it was evident they could scarcely hope to carry on the government much longer. The leaders of the reformers saw clearly they would hardly dare to meet another session of the Legislature with a "no confidence vote" staring them in the face, and warned their party to be ready for a new election, now evidently near at hand. Reform conventions were accordingly held in every direction, candidates decided upon, newspapers started in their interest, and every measure taken necessary to success. In this active state of preparation did the reform party meet the dissolution of Parliament on the 6th of December, 1848. The writs for the election were made returnable on the 24th of the following January. From the general tone of the public mind it was confidently expected by reformers that the conservatives would be overthrown, and the expectation was not in error. All the principal reform leaders were returned, among whom were

Hincks, Baldwin, Price, Blake, Cameron, Nelson, and Papineau. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine were called upon to form a ministry, which they accomplished with but little difficulty. Mr. Hincks became inspector-general, Mr. Cameron, assistant-commissioner for public works, and Mr. Blake became solicitor-general for Canada West. The new cabinet was composed of eight members of British origin and four of French. The latter were Messrs. Lafontaine, Caron, Viger, Taché. This was one of the ablest cabinets that ever directed Canadian affairs; "and measures of the greatest importance to the country, relative to the finances, post-office, education, and public improvements, were passed by the Legislature. One measure, however, produced a sudden ebullition of party violence, which for a time disturbed the general harmony, and brought disgrace upon the province. In 1845 a former ministry, under Lord Cathcart's administration, had issued a commission to inquire into the losses sustained during the rebellion by individuals, either through military necessity or from lawlessness, in 1837-8. Their report was but partially acted upon at the time; but so great was the pressure brought to bear upon the government by parties who had suffered these losses that, in 1849, the matter came up before the governor in council, and subsequently before the Legislature, for final settlement. The measure proposed being thought too indiscriminate and liberal by the party in opposition to the government, warm discussions took place in the house, and an agitation on the subject commenced throughout the country. The measure, however, passed both houses, and was assented to by Lord Elgin, in the queen's name. No sooner had he done so than he was assailed in the streets of Montreal (the seat of government having been in that city since 1844), and, as a crowning act of violence, the Houses of Parliament were set fire to, and they, with their most valuable library, were almost totally destroyed. Besides the irreparable loss of the library and of the public records, a fatal injury was inflicted upon the good name and credit of the country, and popular violence for a time triumphed."

5. The seat of government was at once removed to Toronto, and Lord Elgin tendered his resignation, and the queen decided to accept it, and raised him a step in the peerage. At length peace was restored to the country, and Lord Elgin stood acquitted before the people. A free banking-law was passed in 1850, and in the following year a uniform postage

rate was adopted, and in the same year the corner-stone of the Toronto Normal School was laid by the governor-general.



Indeed, Lord Elgin was the friend of popular education in the provinces. He did much to promote the success of the system of public instruction, founded by the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson. The efforts of Dr. Ryerson, in behalf of the educational progress of his country, cannot be too highly praised. Before retiring from his post Lord Elgin procured the passage of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, — which was abrogated by that country in 1866.

It was also during his administration that the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways were commenced. Sir Allan M'Nab and Sir Francis Hincks were the chief projectors of these lines. "At the Great International Exhibition, which was held in London in 1851, Canada made a most favorable impression on the British public, both by the variety and extent of the samples which were there shown of her valuable natural resources, and by the mechanical skill and enterprise which were apparent in the manufactured goods which were sent by the province to that exhibition."

6. In 1851 the prosperity of Canada was becoming more and more apparent, and began to attract considerable attention from other countries.¹ With the United States a large international traffic had sprung up; and Canadian imports and exports, passing in bond over the New York and New England railways, formed an important item of their business. This close community of interests led to the interchange of mutual national civilities. In the month of September Boston distinguished itself by giving a grand fête to many of the principal Canadian merchants and public men, at which Lord Elgin was

¹MacMullen's History of Canada.

present, and made a most happy speech, tending to augment the mutual good feeling engendered by the occasion, as well as by the more enduring bond of identity of interests. But these occurrences, however satisfactory in themselves, did not diminish the dissensions within the reform party. However, the lapse of time had gradually assuaged the bitter asperities engendered by events which arose out of the rebellion, and the public mind in 1852 exhibited a desire to turn aside from exciting political topics, and apply itself instead to questions of social and physical progress. Hitherto Canada had lagged far behind the United States in many respects; and English and other tourists not infrequently made most unfavorable comments on the backward condition of public improvements in this country. But a visible change for the better was now rapidly taking place. An act favorable to the formation of joint-stock companies had already given a great impetus to the construction of plank and macadamized roads, and in many other ways the industrial resources of the country were now being developed. The cause of education, as regarded the masses, had also been materially advanced by improvements in the common-school law, and the introduction of a uniform system of text-books; while an excellent normal school at Toronto afforded the requisite facilities for the training of competent teachers for Upper Canada. The public mind of the country was evidently becoming eminently utilitarian, and readily applied itself to the development of railway projects of various kinds, as well as to the consideration of the best methods to promote more intimate reciprocal commercial relations with the United States. In the earlier part of the year Mr. Hincks had gone to England to push forward the scheme of a Grand Trunk Railway, the precise location of which continued to be a source of the most fruitful contention, owing to conflicting interests. From the discussion of these matters, the public, in the month of July, turned aside to regard the catastrophe of a terrible fire in Montreal, which laid a large part of that city waste, and rendered ten thousand people homeless. Great exertions were made to relieve the sufferers. The seat of government had now been removed to Quebec; and there, accordingly, the new Parliament assembled on the 16th of August, 1852, and chose Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald as speaker of the lower house. The governor-general's opening speech alluded to the necessity of a change in the seigniorial tenure system, the expediency of having a line of steamers

to sail from Canada to England, the advisability of an alteration in the currency, so as to permit of accounts being kept in dollars and cents, and the propriety of increasing the parliamentary representation,—measures which were all subsequently adopted. During the session Mr. Hincks introduced a series of resolutions relative to the settlement of the clergy-reserves question, which passed; and declared, at the same time, that he felt confident the home government would shortly bring a bill into the Imperial Parliament, permitting the Canadian Legislature to dispose finally of a matter which had been such a source of prolonged agitation. The house, also, unanimously agreed to an address, requesting the imperial authorities to make no concession to the American government in the matter of the fishery dispute, unless in connection with the concession of reciprocity. Mr. Hincks exhibited a desire to retaliate on the United States for not conceding more intimate commercial relations, by adopting differential duties in favor of British commerce, and by shutting the Canadian canals to American shipping. The public voice, however, was at once raised against a narrow and suicidal policy of this kind, and the ministry had to abandon it altogether. But the great feature of this session was its large amount of railway legislation, and which placed no less than fifteen bills on the statute book. Among these the act relating to the incorporation of the Grand Trunk Railway was the most important. By its twenty-eighth section the bonds of this company received the provincial guaranty to the extent of three thousand pounds sterling per mile. The same section further set forth, that for every one hundred thousand pounds actually expended on this railway by the company, forty thousand pounds should be guaranteed by the province. By this act a sum exceeding sixteen million dollars was in a few years added to the permanent liabilities of the country; and, in 1866, the total debt of the Grand Trunk Railway to the government, principal and interest, had swelled to the enormous sum of twenty-three million dollars.

7. Mr. Hincks was the chief motive power in the financial schemes of the country of this period, and this wonderful Grand Trunk enterprise was by no means sufficient to satisfy his ambition. He caused the passage of an act to establish a consolidated municipal loan fund for Upper Canada. "This fund," says MacMullen, "was to be under the management of the provincial government, and designed to enable municipalities to borrow money on the credit of the province for the construc-

tion of railways, macadamized roads, bridges, and other public works. Availing themselves of the provisions of this act, several municipalities rashly incurred liabilities which they were utterly unable to meet, and much unwise speculation was indulged in. Subsequently, in 1854, it was found necessary to amend this act, to extend its provisions to Lower Canada, and to limit the 'fund' to one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling for each province. The full amount of the loan was soon absorbed by Upper Canada, but the lower province acted more prudently. Yet the entire public debt contracted in this way speedily reached the sum of about nine million five hundred thousand dollars; and as most of the borrowing municipalities were utterly unable to pay the interest, the greater portion of it had to be met from the public exchequer, while Parliament was subsequently obliged to pass measures for their relief. Most of the works constructed were, however, of great benefit to the community, and aided in no small degree to develop its resources. It will thus be seen that the legislation of 1852 laid the foundation of a large addition to the liabilities of this country, and paved the way for the annual deficit which subsequently existed in the provincial revenue for so many years. At the close of 1852 the whole debt of Canada, direct and indirect, was twenty-two million three hundred and fifty-five thousand four hundred and thirteen dollars; the net revenue for the year amounted to three million nine hundred and seventy-six thousand seven hundred and six dollars; while the expenditure was only three million fifty-nine thousand and eighty-one dollars. This prosperous state of the finances placed the credit of the country on the soundest basis; and Canadian government securities, bearing six per cent. interest, were now quoted at a premium of sixteen per cent. in the English money market."

8. In 1853 the appearance in Canada of the Italian priest Gavazzi, who had been converted to Protestantism, attracted considerable attention. As a lecturer he was driven from Quebec, and he proceeded to Montreal, where his lectures were the cause of still greater rioting, which terminated in a sad loss of life. While lecturing in the Zion Congregational Church an immense mob, chiefly composed of the lower orders of the city population, assailed the building, in the face of a strong force of police and military. The greatest confusion prevailed, and the dispersing congregation were fired into, probably by mistake, and some five persons were killed outright and many wounded. The mayor of the city, Mr. Charles Wilson, under

whom the police acted, was a Roman Catholic, and was greatly blamed for this proceeding. This circumstance served greatly to weaken the Hincks' administration, and added considerably to the popularity of Mr. George Brown, an extreme Protestant, who at this time was strongly opposing Mr. Hincks in Parliament. But towards the end of the year 1853 the latter gentleman and his associates in the cabinet fell suddenly in public estimation, by charges of corruption. The charges against Mr. Hincks were serious. "A suit in the Court of Chancery, in which Mr. Bowes, the Mayor of Toronto, was the defendant, developed the fact that he and Mr. Hincks had purchased fifty thousand pounds' worth of the debentures of that city, at a discount of twenty per cent., and that the premier had a bill subsequently passed in Parliament, which raised the value of these securities to par. Other charges of improper conduct, in connection with the purchase of some public lands at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, and elsewhere, and designed to be resold to railway corporations, were also made against Mr. Hincks and other members of the government, and had an additional damaging effect on its reputation. We may here state that in 1855 a parliamentary committee was appointed to inquire into the truth of these charges, which exposed a condition of things not at all flattering to the morality of the Hincks administration, and further developed the corrupting tendency of railway speculations." This and the intense opposition of Mr. Brown overthrew the Hincks party in the following year. Personally, however, Mr. Hincks was still popular with his party.

9. The clergy-reserves question was fully settled during Lord Elgin's administration, by which every semblance of a State church was swept away, among all classes of Protestants in Upper Canada; but, while this was transpiring in that section, "the Roman Catholic community of the lower province bowed contentedly to the government of their clergy, regular and monastic, who quietly collected their tithes, took care of their princely city endowments, erected splendid temples for their worship, and swayed the political aspirations of their flocks. No country in the world, not even excepting Spain, is such a paradise for the papal clergy as Lower Canada. Secured in their broad possessions by the terms of the old French capitulation, they repose in peace under the solid and safe protection of the British flag; and revolution or annexation, as regards them, can only mean deprivation and misfortune. The simple and unlettered *habitant* bends willingly to clerical rule, as the

best, not only for his spiritual, but even temporal welfare; while the more educated and refined, who aspire to political position, or social influence, find it a paramount necessity to bow to priestly domination; so complete, indeed, is its sway, that it passes onwards almost unquestioned, and scarcely a murmur against its despotic authority escapes from within its portals to the world outside. In Montreal its religious and educational foundations are wealthy and imposing; there its real estate constantly assumes grander architectural forms, whilst its Jesuit and other churches are either marvels of size or of splendid interior decoration. In Quebec its huge temples tower upwards in a solidity of construction which promises perpetual duration, while all around is touched with the finger of decay and departing prosperity. In the rural districts its churches are the great features of the level landscape, and their spires even glance in the far-off northern sunshine, which lights so coldly the ripples of the romantic and rock-bound Saguenay."

10. At the close of Lord Elgin's administration he became unpopular with the reform party, and it may be said that he favored one side of politics beyond a proper discretion. However, Lord Elgin's life is a record of noble deeds in the interests of his great country. Mr. Hincks remained in Canada but a short time after the departure of Lord Elgin. His popularity was now pretty much gone, and his immediate followers had forsaken his standard. In England he was appointed to the governorship of the windward West India Islands and comforted by the honor of knighthood. He has returned to Canada, and is now prominent in banking operations at Montreal. It is not improbable that, should his life be spared, he will, in his old age, again force his way into politics. He is one of the ablest and most accomplished statesmen in Canada.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PROVINCE OF CANADA FROM 1840 TO 1867—(continued).

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR EDMUND HEAD—VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

1. SIR EDMUND HEAD succeeded Lord Elgin in the government of Canada. He was descended from an ancient and honorable English family of Kent. At an early age he pushed his way into public life, was made Governor of New Brunswick, and finally Governor-General of Canada. On the 23d of February, 1855, the new governor-general summoned Parliament. The session lasted till the end of May, during which the coalition ministry, with a good majority, pushed through a vast amount of public business. The governor-general's closing speech of this session furnishes valuable historical matter. "He alluded to the Clergy Reserves Act of the preceding session as being based on liberal principles, and respecting individual rights; to the Seigneurial Tenure Act, as affecting great changes, with some individual hardship, but establishing Canada as the only country in the world where the feudal system had expired without violence and revolution, and to the benefits already arising from the operations of the Reciprocity Treaty. Great issues had, indeed, been forever disposed of; his excellency had no public evils of magnitude to dilate upon; and, secure in the most ample guaranties of their rights, the people of Canada could now apply themselves, without let or hindrance, to the full development of their material prosperity. A brief paragraph in the speech set forth that a measure, passed during the session, had provided for the improved organization of the militia and volunteers, and this was the first step taken towards the creation of a volunteer force in Canada. Hitherto, in time of piece, the militia was simply a paper organization, and the regular troops were alone available in the event of any sudden emergency. But the new Militia Act produced a most important change for the better in this respect, and ultimately led to the formation of well-drilled and efficiently equipped volunteer corps throughout the whole of Canada;" an element of additional security in time of peace, and an admirable nucleus for a militia army in the event of war.

2. In 1855 Canada took a decided step forward in general progress. The general policy of the Peel administration in England, which culminated in the repeal of the corn laws, had terminated the protective system of trade. Up to this time the commercial legislation of Canada had been made to harmonize with that of England. "But, left to shift for herself as best she could, the Legislature abolished, in 1848, the differential duties in favor of direct trade with Great Britain; and the repeal of the imperial Navigation Laws, in 1849, still farther loosened the commercial bonds between Canada and the mother country. As a necessary consequence, the trade policy of the colony again became the reflex of that of the parent land; and the Reciprocity Treaty was the coping-stone of a system, inaugurated six years before, which opened wide the portals of the Canadian market on equal terms to all the world, and commenced a new and more enlightened era of commercial intercourse. With the close of 1854 the old trade period may be said to have finally terminated. During that year the imports into Canada had amounted to forty million five hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and twenty-five dollars, on which, at an average rate of twelve per cent., the duty collected was four million nine hundred thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine dollars, while the exports were only twenty-three million nineteen thousand one hundred and ninety dollars. The total public revenue from all sources was six million eighty-eight thousand one hundred and ten dollars, against an expenditure of four million one hundred and seventy-one thousand nine hundred and forty-one dollars, thus leaving a large surplus, and which led, in 1855, to the reduction of the customs tariff to ten per cent. On the other hand, the legislation of the three preceding years had increased the public debt by twenty-one million dollars, and which debt, at the beginning of 1855, had swelled to thirty-eight million eight hundred and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three dollars. The greater portion of the new debt had been contracted for the Grand Trunk and other railways, of which three hundred and thirty miles had now been opened, despite the severe monetary pressure mainly resulting from the Crimean war. Towards the close of the summer the Grand Trunk Railway had been completed to Brockville, one hundred and twenty miles above Montreal, and some of the piers of the Victoria Bridge had also been constructed. The rejoicings for the railway opening followed close upon those for the fall of Sebastopol, — an occurrence which illuminated almost

every city and town from Gaspé to Goderich. The commencement of the year 1856 brought with it no event of importance to record. Railway matters had not yet begun to seriously vex the public mind; and beyond a very slight agitation relative to making the legislative council elective, and the seat-of-government question, no political excitement whatever existed. From the general tone of the reform press, however, it was quite evident that the feeling of antagonism to Sir Allan M'Nab's government was on the increase. It was too liberal and progressive to suit the family-compact wing of the conservative party, but not sufficiently extreme to meet the views of that portion of the reform party which acknowledged the leadership of Mr. George Brown. This gentleman, destined to a more recent period to fill a very prominent position in this country, was born in Scotland, at the city of Edinburgh, in 1821. In



1838 his family emigrated to New York, and there his father, Mr. Peter Brown, a man of large general information and excellent abilities, commenced the mercantile business. But his success not being commensurate with his expectations he entered, in 1842, upon the career of a public journalist, and issued a weekly newspaper, intensely Anglo-Saxon in every respect, called the "British Chronicle." Its proposed field of operations was already, however, too completely filled

by the "Albion;" so the "Chronicle" only lived for the brief space of eighteen months. In 1843 the family removed to Toronto, and there Mr. George Brown became the publisher, in the interest of the Free Church Presbyterians, of a weekly newspaper termed the "Banner." In 1844 the publication of this journal was relinquished for that of the "Globe," a newspaper devoted to reform, politics, general news, and literature, and which very speedily attained to a most influential position. In 1849 he was appointed, by the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry, as a

commissioner to investigate certain alleged abuses in the provincial penitentiary, a trust he discharged with much ability and benefit to the country. In December, 1861, he was first elected to the Legislature, as a member for the County of Kent, and his unquestionably great abilities soon raised him to a conspicuous position. A man of this stamp, and whose personal exertions in behalf of his party were aided by the great influence of the leading reform journal of Upper Canada, could not be otherwise than a most formidable opponent. Gifted with a clear and vigorous intellect, possessed of habits of great industry, and of the most indomitable perseverance, his information extended over every branch of the public service, and eminently fitted him for the position of a partisan leader and successful agitator."

3. Early in 1856 Mr. Brown's peculiar views, as well as his public policy, were rising rapidly into favor with the reform party of Upper Canada. His sturdy Protestantism not only rallied to his side the Free Church and Methodist denominations, which had hitherto entered largely into the composition of that party, but was also awakening a profound sympathy in the Orange element of the conservative ranks. The agitation against the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, now unquestionably very great, and against Lower Canadian domination, was already becoming popular in the upper province; and the Baldwin and Hincks policy of a union with the French conservative or church party, was almost entirely abandoned by the western reformers.¹

4. Such was the condition of affairs when Parliament, on the 15th of February, assembled at Toronto, whither the seat of government had now been removed. The governor-general's opening speech set forth that there was a large balance of clergy-reserves money awaiting distribution among the several municipalities; that the subject of an elective legislative council (the old French dream of the visionary Papineau) would again be brought before Parliament; recommending reforms in the Legislature, in the police system, and in prison discipline; stated that a contract for a St. Lawrence line of ocean steamers had been completed, and congratulated the country on the inestimable

¹The remaining portion of this and the succeeding chapter are compiled from MacMullen's book, an English copyright work, which, concerning this particular period, is both full and accurate. I consider it a much more honorable course to use these paragraphs, substantially, from the author spoken of, — John MacMullen, Esq., — giving due credit therefor, than to rewrite them, using the information, and giving it a new garmenting, and thereby disguising the real authorship.

blessing of profound peace, while other parts of the world were suffering the privations and miseries of war. A bitter debate on the address ensued, and ministers were most violently assailed, not only by Mr. Brown and his friends, but also by several conservatives, who disliked their secularization of the clergy reserves, or were tainted by the extreme Protestant views propagated by the "Globe" newspaper, and by other journals of a kindred stamp. The cabinet ultimately carried the address by a good majority, yet it was quite evident that its position was not by any means a secure one, and that the desertion of many of its supporters might now take place at any inauspicious moment. On the 10th of March, John Hillyard Cameron, subsequently Grand Master of the Orange Association for many years, moved for a copy of the charge delivered to the jury by Judge Duval, on the trial of several men at Quebec for the murder of a Protestant, Robert Corrigan, in the neighboring township of St. Sylvester. The judge and jury were all Roman Catholics, and the acquittal of the accused, in the face of evidence generally deemed conclusive, gave a partial aspect to the proceedings, which awoke a storm of indignation on the part of the Protestant population of the country. No previous trial had ever so deeply moved the public mind of Canada, or caused such bitter feeling on the part of the western press; and for a time it seemed as if the Orange element would ally itself permanently with the reform party. The formation of a new and exclusively Protestant party was now advocated by the "Globe" and its immediate partisan contemporaries, while several conservative journals leaned strongly in the same direction. Under those circumstances Mr. Cameron's motion placed ministers in the most serious dilemma. If they agreed to its passage, and so permitted Judge Duval's charge to be reviewed by the house, their French-Canadian supporters would be seriously offended and alienated; while, if they pursued the opposite course, they must expect to lose the votes of some Protestant conservatives. Skilfully covering their procedure by constitutional pleas, ministers refused to agree to the motion, and were defeated by a majority of four. They declined, however, to regard this as a vote of "want of confidence," on the ground chiefly that a subsequent division, the same evening, showed they had still the support of the majority of the house.

5. These occurrences, in addition to the bitter sectional conflict caused by the "seat-of-government question," still un-

decided, materially weakened the ministry; and it now became evident that some changes must be made in its composition, or it would ere long be compelled to surrender the reins of power into the hands of the opposition. The Hincksite section cavilled at the premiership of Sir Allan M'Nab, on the score of his past "family-compact" proclivities, and imagined that, if he were compelled to retire altogether from the cabinet, it would strengthen their hands with the reform party, and disarm the hostility of its press. Born at the town of Niagara, in 1798, Sir Allan had soldiered it stoutly during the three years' war with the United States, was long a member of the Canadian Legislature, and, as we have already seen, rendered important services during the dark period of the rebellion. Solid, loyal, and respectable, his past excellent and consistent record, and not his brilliancy of intellect, had raised him to the position of party leader. But ambition could no longer endure even respectable mediocrity; and his colleagues now determined to sacrifice Sir Allan M'Nab, with the double object of propitiating the opposition, and of making way for the more able leadership of the attorney-general, John A. Macdonald. The intrigue was successful, and on the 23d of May the premier resigned, to be succeeded by Mr. Taché, a member of the legislative council, and a Lower Canadian of respectable reputation and abilities. But Mr. Macdonald, as the ministerial leader in the Assembly, was the real head of the administration; and from that day to this has occupied a foremost place in the public counsels of his country. Like many other political notabilities of Canada, he had been the architect of his own fortunes, and his biographical story may briefly be told. The son of Scottish parents, who established themselves at the city of Kingston, he applied himself, in 1829, to the study of the law, although then but fifteen years of age, and had barely attained his majority when admitted to the bar, — a matter at that day of even less difficulty than it is now. A brilliant defence of the unfortunate Pole, Von Schultz, captured at the battle of the Windmill, in 1839, brought the young lawyer into prominent notice; and his great tact, genial nature, and affable manners made him a



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

favorite with the public, and added to his rising reputation. In 1844 he was elected for Kingston, and has since continued to be the member for his native city, despite various attempts to unseat him. Attaching himself to the conservative party, he was appointed in 1847 receiver-general in the Draper administration, but had only a brief term of office, owing to its defeat in 1848. For the ensuing six years Mr. Macdonald remained in opposition, and on the resignation of Mr. Hincks his counsel and assistance led in no small degree to the formation of the coalition ministry. A ready and fluent speaker, tenacious of purpose, possessed of great tact and sterling administrative ability, he has filled a most prominent position as a public man, through a long, and at times most critical, period for this country, and has tided it safely over difficulties of the most serious kind.

6. Aside from parliamentary matters, but few events of note, intimately affecting this country, transpired during the year. A terrible railway accident, the first of the kind which had occurred in Canada, on the 12th of March, 1856, awoke a general feeling of the most painful description. A passenger train from Toronto to Hamilton broke through a bridge over the Desjardins Canal, leading to Dundas, crashed through the solid ice beneath, and seventy people were killed. The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 1st of April, which terminated the war with Russia, was gladly hailed throughout Canada as an assurance of peace and prosperity to the parent land. But the year had not yet terminated when war broke out between Great Britain and China, and the progress of hostilities, although so remote, had a depressing influence on the commerce of this country. The mutiny of the hitherto pampered and caressed Sepoys of the Bengal army, in British India, in the earlier part of the ensuing year, 1857, tended still farther to produce a stringency in the money market, and a consequent derangement in trade, which seriously checked the progress of Canada, and paved the way for the commercial crisis which soon after ensued.

7. On the 26th of June, 1857, a terrible catastrophe occurred in Canadian waters. A large steamboat, plying between Montreal and Quebec, took fire off Cape Rouge when on her way upwards, and speedily burned to the water's edge. Of two hundred and fifty-eight immigrants, mostly from the Scottish Highlands, who had embarked in the "Montreal," only fifty-eight were saved, although the river at this point is

scarcely a mile wide, and the total loss was estimated at two hundred and fifty souls. In the month of August much public interest was excited by the effort, now being made for the first time, to lay an electric cable between Ireland and Newfoundland. After four hundred miles had been submerged, the cable broke, and the project was abandoned for the time. In September a serious monetary and commercial crisis arose in the United States, which produced numerous bank and mercantile failures there, and reacted very unfavorably on Canada. This circumstance, in connection with the collapse of commercial credit which followed shortly afterwards in England, a poor harvest, and the almost total cessation of railway expenditure in this country, produced a great stagnation of trade, and caused a considerable falling off in the public revenue. This state of things, coupled with the fact that, with the single exception of the Great Western line, government had now to assume the payment of interest, amounting to eight hundred thousand dollars per annum, on all the railway advances, as well as the interest on the Municipal Loan Fund debt, now reaching annually to about four hundred thousand dollars, caused a serious deficit in the public exchequer. At the close of 1857 the entire income of Canada was five millions three hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and ninety-four dollars, while the total expenditure summed up to five millions six hundred and ninety-two thousand nine hundred and forty-two dollars. Too many costly public works had been undertaken, in the fever of excitement introduced by the railway and loan-fund legislation of the Hincks administration; more railways had been built than were required by the necessities of the country, or than its legitimate traffic could sustain; and the reaction which commenced this year was in part the inevitable result of undue speculation. Public improvements had been made in advance of the population, the wealth, and the commerce of the country; and the increase, in the progress of time, of these elements of national greatness could alone restore the healthy equilibrium of the financial condition of the body politic.

8. As the year drew towards its close, Mr. Taché resigned the premiership, and Mr. John A. Macdonald became his successor. A dissolution of Parliament was now determined on, and the country was speedily wrapped in the excitement of a general election. The most strenuous exertions were made, by ministers and their friends, to secure a majority in the new As-

sembly; while the reform party, vigorously led by the "Globe" newspaper, used every effort in the opposite direction. Every possible cry was raised in order to defeat the government, and even religious issues were had recourse to during the contest.



SIR E. P. TACHÉ.

The Hincks element in the reform party of Upper Canada now completely disappeared, while in the lower province, on the other hand, the Rouge party, which had allied itself with Mr. Brown, met with almost total defeat. The latter result had been chiefly produced by the hostility of the French Roman Catholic clergy, who regarded the avowed republicanism of the Rouges, and the outspoken Protestantism of Mr. Brown, with almost equal dislike. Nor were the religious issues raised in Upper Canada barren of results. On the contrary, they produced a complete revolution in public sentiment in several electoral districts; and in the city of Toronto the union of the numerous Orange body with the reformers secured the return of Mr. Brown, and who, now at the zenith of his popularity, was also elected for the North Riding of Oxford. But the principal result of this election was the creation of a new and most embarrassing public issue. The preponderance, although small in extent, secured by the reform party in Upper Canada must render it necessary for ministers, if they desired to retain their portfolios, to abandon the "double-majority" principle, that is, a majority in their favor from both Upper and Lower Canada separately, as well as collectively, and deemed necessary hitherto, in order to prevent unpalatable legislation from being forced by one province on another. This principle had been adhered to since the union in 1840, by the various administrations; and its recognition had led Mr. Baldwin to resign, in consequence of the adverse vote of Upper Canadians on his Court of Chancery policy for their province, although sustained by a large majority of the whole house. A principle of this kind has never been entertained for a single moment by the Imperial Parliament, and in which it has not at any time been deemed necessary that ministers should have a majority of Scotch members on Scotch questions, nor of Irish

members on Irish measures. Yet, however untenable the double-majority principle might be on the score of sound constitutional politics, the antagonism of race, and even of interest, rendered its exercise necessary hitherto to harmonious legislation. While the criminal laws of the country had gradually assumed a uniform condition, the civil law had one statute-book for Upper and another for Lower Canada; and it became necessary, therefore, to exercise the utmost care to avoid exciting the prejudices of race, and, we might also add, of creed. Hence arose the adoption of the double-majority principle, and its abandonment by the administration of Mr. John A. Macdonald led immediately to the cry of French domination on the part of the reform party, to the agitation for representation by population, and paved the way for the governmental dead-lock which ultimately ensued, and the only remedy for which was the Imperial Act of Confederation of 1867.

9. Parliament met on the 28th of February, 1858, at Toronto, and was found to be largely composed of new members, of whom sixty-five had been returned. Among these was John Sheridan Hogan, whose clever essay on Canada had been so generally read, and whose subsequent murder by a band of thieves and prostitutes at the Don Bridge, Toronto, created such a profound sensation at the time. But the most notable of the legislative novelties was unquestionably Thomas D'Arcy McGee, elected by the Irishmen of Montreal West, and whose publicly expressed desire "to have half an hour on the floor of the house with George Brown," had at length been gratified. A newspaper correspondent quaintly narrates, that "Mr. McGee took the oath of allegiance without hesitation, and subscribed it with a firm hand." The man who had written such daring refrains as the "Felon flag of England," had indeed settled down into a respectable and law-abiding Canadian citizen, and now sat in its Legislature as the advocate of Roman Catholicism, and the antidote of the Puritan



HON. THOS. D'ARCY MCGEE.

Mr. Brown, but whose general policy he was speedily found supporting, thus verifying the old adage that extremes sometimes meet.

10. The election of speaker at once developed the weakness of the opposition, who had declined to put forward a candidate of their own. Henry Smith, of Kingston, the ministerial candidate for the speakership, was elected by seventy-nine against forty-two votes; and this fact having been duly notified to the governor-general, he came down in state, on the following day, to open the house. As befitted the occasion of a new Parliament, his speech was more lengthy than usual. It alluded to the progress of the rebellion in India; to the disturbance of commercial relations, which had distinguished the latter part of the preceding year; to the necessity of sundry improvements in the law, and to the fact "that the country had gone to the utmost limit of pecuniary aid to the Grand Trunk Railway," and against farther assistance, to which a great outcry had already been raised outside, as well as in, the Legislative Assembly.

11. The debate on the address was at once stormy and protracted. The opposition, led most ably by Mr. Brown, assailed the policy of the ministry at all points, and exultingly pointed to their majority from Upper Canada as evidence of the soundness of their views, and the popularity of their position. As the session progressed, the question of representation by population, without regard to a dividing line between Upper and Lower Canada, was strongly pressed on the attention of the house, but negatived by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-two. The minority was composed of the whole reform representatives of Upper Canada, with the single exception of John S. Macdonald, of Cornwall. Thus the abandonment of the double-majority principle had already produced an agitation of a new and formidable character.

12. Foiled, however, at every other point by the skilful fencing of ministers, the opposition at length determined to avail themselves of the seat-of-government question in order to defeat them. And here it may be necessary to remind the reader, in order to understand more fully the nature of this question, that after the destruction by a mob of the Parliament building in Montreal, it had been determined to hold the seat of government alternately at Toronto and Quebec, in order to propitiate the representatives of both sections. This perambulating system had proved to be alike most expensive and

inconvenient, and during the session of the preceding year, both branches of the Legislature had agreed to a resolution asking the queen to decide the question of a permanent seat of government, and which, owing to their local interests and sectional jealousies, they could not themselves agree on. Parliament had supplemented this request by passing an act appropriating the sum of nine hundred thousand dollars for the erection of public buildings at such place as her majesty might be graciously pleased to designate. And thus the matter stood at the close of 1857.

13. The three years' war with the United States had taught the imperial government the necessity of some safe mode of communication from tide water to the great lakes. After various explorations, the inland route up the Ottawa was selected, to a point where an affluent of that river, the Rideau, leaps down in a foaming cascade upon its turbid waters; and from thence a ship canal, connecting lakes and rivers, was to extend navigation, by a circuitous route, to the fortified post of Kingston, the Frontenac of French dominion, at the foot of Lake Ontario. In May, 1826, Lieutenant-Colonel John By, of the Royal Engineers, arrived in Canada to carry out this project (completed in 1834), and made his head-quarters where the proposed canal was to descend, by eight locks, a deep declivity of some ninety feet in perpendicular height to the Ottawa river. The romantic beauty of this sequestered woodland spot had no counterpart in all Canada. Less than a mile above, the noble current of the Ottawa, speeding on its way from the north-west oceanwards, narrows into picturesque rapids, and then plunges down the Falls of the Chaudiere, in a cloud of spray and mist, to chafe against its steep, rocky boundaries below. Grassy dells, where the parasitical wild vine clung to the umbrageous forest tree, and hills covered by the stately and solemn white pine, along which the wild deer bounded, and where the notes of the whippoorwill reëchoed plaintively through the solitude, at intervals varied the landscape. And here it was that, under the fostering care of Col. By, and stimulated by the expenditure of English gold, gradually arose a town, mainly peopled at first by the rough diggers of the canal, and the stalwart lumbermen, *habitant* and Anglo-Saxon, who so mercilessly hewed down the magnificent pine forests of the Ottawa, and whose carelessness so frequently produced conflagrations in the woods, still more destructive than themselves. Genuine rough "shiners" were all these sturdy backwoodsmen, and many years elapsed

before their rude impress made way for a more refined civilization. But they were not the less its solid precursors there as well as elsewhere. Bytown, the centre of a vast lumber trade, and spreading out its settlements on every side, gradually expanded into a city of



THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA, ONT.

some fourteen thousand inhabitants, two parts English and one part French, and then it ungratefully cast from it the appropriate name derived from its founder, and selected the more euphonious Indian one of Ottawa. And this was the site wisely selected by the queen for the permanent seat of provincial government. The cur-

rent of the river of the Outawas, here not quite half a mile wide, separated the straggling little city from Lower Canada; and thus, situated on the borders of both sections, in a locality, too, with a mixed population, the selection was a triumph to neither; while its easy accessibility by steamboat and railway, and its inland central situation, made it, of itself, a desirable point for the seat of government. Thanks to the provident foresight of Colonel By, the crown had reserved a bold headland rising over the river, and on this the Parliament buildings of the Dominion of Canada, the finest structures of the kind on this continent, have been erected, at an expense many times greater than was at first intended.

14. Nothing, certainly, could have been more judicious, from every point of view, than her majesty's gracious decision. Yet it met with little favor from those parties who, influenced by motives of personal or local benefit, desired to set the advantage of the seat of government at Toronto or Quebec, above their sovereign's selection, or the necessities of the country. It was a weak and unwise stand-point from which to assail a ministry, and exhibited an utter want of tact, and a recklessness of ulterior consequences. A motion, that it was a cause of deep regret that her majesty had been advised to select Ottawa as the capital of the country, was carried, on the 28th of July,

by a majority of fourteen. Ministers shrewdly saw the advantage they must derive from this vote, and, although it was ostensibly a censure on the queen's judgment and decision, and not on them, at once determined to resign. Thus they completely identified themselves with their sovereign, and that sovereign, too, a woman; and, in becoming her defenders, were covered by the shadow of the public sympathy which at once encircled her. Nor were their shrewdness and tact without their prompt reward. Vexed with themselves that selfish motives had led them into a false position, the conservatives from Upper and Lower Canada, who voted for the motion, took the first opportunity to act hostilely to the opposition, in order to redeem their own reputation.

15. As the leader of the opposition, Mr. Brown was immediately written to by the governor-general, offered a seat in the executive council, as the premier of a new administration, and requested to signify his acceptance of this offer in writing. On the following evening his excellency informed Mr. Brown that he would give him no pledge in reference to a dissolution of Parliament, but that any advice tendered him on this subject would at once receive his serious consideration. To a prorogation, however, he would pledge himself, provided two or three bills, which he deemed necessary for the public welfare, should be passed, and the necessary supplies secured by a vote of credit. Mr. Brown accepted these conditions, and at once proceeded to form the cabinet. On the ensuing evening Mr. Patrick, of Prescott, announced the names of the new ministry. It met with scant favor at the hands of the House of Assembly. On the motion of Mr. Langevin, seconded by Mr. Robinson, this body declared, by a vote of seventy-one to thirty-one, that they had no confidence in Mr. Brown's administration; while the upper chamber made a similar declaration on a division of sixteen to eight. The ostensible reasons alleged for this action were, that the members of the new cabinet already stood pledged to opposite principles, and had not publicly announced a programme of their ministerial policy; but the true causes were the strong dislike entertained towards Mr. Brown by the great majority of the members from Lower Canada, and the desire of others to retrace their course, as regarded their opposition to the queen's decision on the seat-of-government question. This adverse vote led the cabinet to demand a dissolution, on the ground that the House of Assembly did not command the confidence of the country, aside from the circumstance, that it

was entitled to all the support which the governor-general could give it. But his excellency, whose political leanings were quite evidently in another direction, declined to take this step, on several constitutional grounds. He urged that a new-elected house must represent the people; that the business of Parliament had not been completed; that the corruption alleged to have been practised at the recent elections would only be repeated in a new one, unless legislative enactments interposed, and that the law of election should first be altered. And a calm and dispassionate view of the case must lead to the conclusion that Sir Edmund Head had strong grounds for the policy he avowed. The Brown cabinet had now no course left but to resign, and which course it accordingly pursued, after it had remained in power for the brief period of two days. Sir Edmund Head was never forgiven for his conduct at this crisis. He was accused of partiality, of leaning unconstitutionally to the conservative party, and from that day forward his acts were most unfavorably criticised by the reform press, and his position rendered exceedingly unpleasant. Like so many of his predecessors, he had deeply offended one of the political parties of the country, by apparently supporting another, and had accordingly to pay the penalty of partial unpopularity.

16. There are very few readers of classical English literature, who have not made the acquaintance, in some way or another, of John Galt, the friend and biographer of the poet Byron. This



SIR A. T. GALT.

gentleman came to this country in 1826, as a commissioner of the Canada Land Company, and remained here for a period of three years. He left a pleasant record behind him, and founded Guelph, while the town of Galt continues to perpetuate his memory. In 1833 his son Alexander, then only a youth of seventeen summers, commenced life in the eastern townships, as a junior clerk in the service of the British American Land Company. His careful Scotch habits, natural ability, and attention to his duties, won for Mr. Galt the confidence of the company, and the lapse of twenty-two years found him the chief manager of its estates. In 1849,

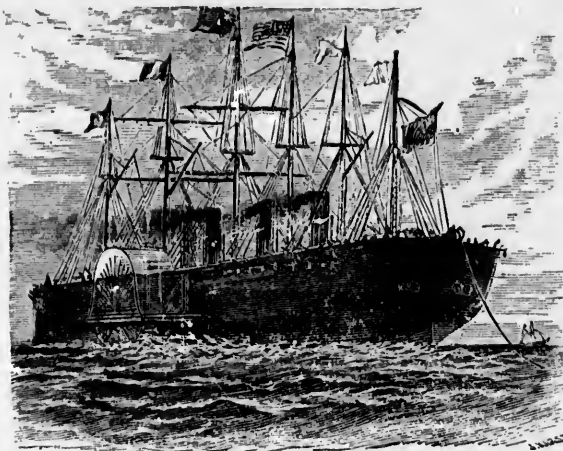
this self-made man was elected for the county of Sherbrooke, and in 1843 for the town of the the same name, and for which he has been constantly returned from that day to this. Of liberal and progressive views, of mild and unassuming manners, an excellent speaker, and profoundly versed in matters of trade and finance, Mr. Galt had gradually risen to the foremost place in the house, and, in the present exigency, the governor-general turned to him, on the resignation of the Brown cabinet, as the person best fitted to form an administration. But, at once a Protestant and a representative of an English-speaking Lower Canadian constituency, Mr. Galt's position was one of isolation as regarded the French element in the Legislature, while his opinions were of too modest a stamp to command the confidence of either of the political parties now struggling for supremacy in the western province. Well aware that these causes precluded him from becoming a successful ministerial leader, and must always compel him to occupy a subordinate position in any government, he promptly and wisely declined the proffered honor. Mr. Cartier, as the leader of the Lower Canada majority, was next applied to by his excellency, and that gentleman, with the aid of Mr. John A. Macdonald, speedily succeeded in forming a new cabinet, and in which Mr. Galt became finance minister.



SIR GEO. E. CARTIER.

17. Out of the formation of this administration a circumstance arose, which produced unmeasured censure from the reform party. The Independence of Parliament Act of 1857 provided, in its seventh section, that if any member of a cabinet elected to serve in the legislative assembly, or legislative council, resigned his office, and within one month after his resignation accepted another office in the government, he should not thereby vacate his seat. Accordingly, those members of the Macdonald cabinet who now accepted office did not go back to their constituents for reelection, and sought to comply with this law, soon after repealed, and which should never have been enacted, by a simple exchange of positions. But, whatever might have been the intention of the law, subsequent events proved that the ministry had complied with its provisions

in a legal point of view. Actions were brought against such of them as had exchanged their offices, in the Court of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, and which, under the ruling of the judges, resulted in their favor. And, while the legality of their conduct was thus established, its constitutionality was also asserted by a solemn vote of Parliament. At the same time the members of the new administration, who had to return to their constituents for approval, were all reelected. But, what-



THE GREAT EASTERN LAYING THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

ever excitement might have attended the closing of Parliament was, on the following day, wholly dimmed by the news that the Atlantic cable had been successfully laid. Such was indeed the case; but its infant life hardly sufficed for the transmission of her majesty's brief message of congratulation to President Buchanan ere it flickered to a close; and it still remained for science to bring the Old and New Worlds within speaking distance, and to enable the wonderful electric spark to travel with the thoughts of two hemispheres through the deep abyss of the Atlantic Ocean. As the year drew towards its close the country was called upon to mourn the death of Robert Baldwin, the Nestor of genuine Canadian reform, the victim of ingratitude and contumely. Two days afterwards his brethren of the bar met at Osgoode Hall, Toronto, to pay their fitting tribute to his memory, and where the two great Macdonalds, John A. and John S., bitter opponents in political life, united to honor a man whose remembrance should always be green in the memories and hearts of the Canadian people.

ever excitement might have attended the closing of Parliament was, on the following day, wholly dimmed by the news that the Atlantic cable had been successfully laid. Such was indeed the case; but its infant life hardly sufficed for the

18. Parliament met at the early date of the 29th of January, 1859, and the governor-general's speech was more than usually suggestive. It declared that it was now necessary to carry out the statute of the queen's decision, relative to a permanent seat of government; that the Seignorial Tenure Commission would shortly close its labors, and that a moderate outlay, beyond the appropriation of 1854, would satisfy all claims. It likewise stated that the project of a union of all British North America had formed the subject of a correspondence with the home government, which would be laid before the house; that the commercial and financial depression had not wholly disappeared, and that it was to be hoped the exercise of a sound and rigid economy would enable Parliament to bring the expenses within the limits of the public revenue. The address, in response to this speech, was permitted to pass without much acrimonious debate. But a question, however, speedily arose which tested the position of ministers. Mr. Brown's name was designedly left off the Committee of Public Accounts, and a motion to have it placed thereon was accepted by the cabinet as expressing a want of confidence in its members, and was lost by a majority of seventeen. This vote had a tranquillizing effect on the house, and the public business was now proceeded with in comparative quiet. The most notable measures of this session were a new Customs Act, which, owing to the continued deficiency in the revenue, advanced the rate of duty on the bulk of staple importations to twenty per cent.; but, at the same time, wisely made provision for a large free list of raw products, to stimulate local manufactures, and the acts respecting the consolidated statutes of Canada and Upper Canada respectively. The work of consolidation had at length been most carefully completed, and at once proved of the greatest value to the bench, the bar, and the magistracy of the country. The seat-of-government question was fully set at rest, and the public buildings at Ottawa were to be at once proceeded with, while a loyally couched and most pressing invitation was given her majesty, and any member of the royal family, to visit Canada, and open the Victoria Railway Bridge at Montreal, now on the point of completion. Towards the close of the session some trouble was caused by the upper chamber refusing to adopt the supply bill, in consequence of its containing an item to defray the expenses of removing the government to Quebec, and where it was to remain until the buildings at Ottawa were completed. But this exhibition of unusual independence

in the legislative council was of very brief duration. More mature consideration of the matter led to calmer resolves, the supply bill was eventually passed as sent up by the Assembly, and the session closed in peace on the 4th of May, 1859.

19. While the United States were convulsed by the shock of northern abolitionism with southern slavery, caused by the insane attempt of John Brown, — the small cloud, like a man's hand, which presaged the advancing storm, — the summer sunshine of Canada remained undimmed by a single untoward event. In November a great gathering of the leaders of the reform party took place at Toronto. The abandonment of the double-majority principle by ministers, and the fact that they were in a parliamentary minority as regarded Upper Canada votes, naturally led, at this convention, to a loud cry of Lower Canadian domination, and to a demand for representation by population. The conclusion was arrived at, that the union of Upper and Lower Canada had failed to realize the intentions of its promoters; that the constitution itself was defective, and that the formation of two or more local governments, with some joint authority over all, had now become a paramount necessity. The resolutions which embodied these opinions were inspired by Mr. Brown, and thus was laid the tangible basis of an agitation which ultimately led to confederation. The only other event of note which the remainder of the year produced was the actual commencement of the Parliament buildings. On the 22d of December ground was broken for the foundations, and the prospect of their town becoming the seat of government gave additional zest to the Christmas festivities of the citizens of Ottawa. The prize for which Quebec and Toronto had so fiercely contested had fallen most unexpectedly into their hands.

20. As the result of the new tariff, and also of an abundant harvest, which stimulated the commerce of the country, the public revenue for 1859 had increased to six million two hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred and seventy-nine dollars, while the expenditure was only six million ninety-nine thousand five hundred and seventy dollars. The imports for the year amounted to thirty-three million five hundred and fifty-five thousand one hundred and sixty-one dollars, and the exports to twenty-four million seven hundred and sixty-six thousand nine hundred and eighty-one dollars, there being thus, as usual, a large trade-balance against this country, to be made good by the expenditure in one way or

another of foreign capital. Nearly all the great railway enterprises were completed, and a total of two thousand and ninety-three miles had now been constructed and put in operation. The public debt had largely increased, and amounted to fifty-four million one hundred and forty-two thousand and forty-four dollars, of which the sum of twenty-eight million six hundred and seven thousand and thirteen dollars was an indirect liability, representing advances on the security of the province to railway companies, and, also, under the provisions of the Loan Fund Act, to municipalities. But none of the public debt had been contracted for the support of fleets and armies, and owed its origin almost wholly to the prosecution of great works for the development of the agricultural, mineral, and other resources of the country.

21. On the 28th of February, 1860, the Legislature assembled at Quebec, whither the seat of government had, in the preceding summer, been removed. After the usual routine proceedings, which embraced no feature worthy of notice, had terminated, the governor-general laid before the lower house a despatch from the colonial secretary, the Duke of Newcastle. It announced the receipt of the joint address of both chambers to the queen, inviting her to visit this country, and the expression of her regret that, owing to her presence being required at the seat of empire, she was unable to comply with their request. Impressed, however, with an earnest desire to testify, to the utmost of her power, her warm appreciation of the affectionate loyalty of her Canadian subjects, the queen expressed, through her minister, the hope that his royal highness the Prince of Wales would be able to attend the ceremony of opening the Victoria Bridge in her name.

22. The Legislature had only been a brief period in session when the opposition proceeded to develop the policy determined on at the Toronto Reform Convention of the preceding November. Mr. Brown gave notice that he would move two resolutions: the first being to the effect that the existing legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada had failed to realize the anticipations of its promoters, had resulted in a heavy debt, great political abuses, and universal dissatisfaction; and that from the antagonism developed, through a difference of origin, local interest, and other causes, the union in its present form could no longer be continued with advantage to the people. The second resolution set forth that the true remedy for those evils would be found in the formation of two or more

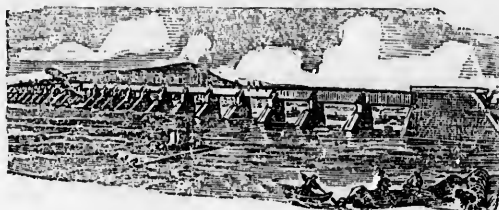
local governments, to which should be committed all matters of a sectional character, and the erection of some joint authority to dispose of the affairs common to all. Three weeks afterwards Mr. Foley moved a direct vote of want of confidence in ministers, and Mr. Ouimet an amendment thereto of a directly opposite character. An amendment to the amendment was moved by another member of the opposition, Mr. Laberge, which struck at the cabinet indirectly. On this being put it was negatived by sixty-eight to forty-four votes. A new amendment was then presented, censuring ministers, because one of them (Mr. Macdonald) belonged to the Orange body, and which was lost by one hundred and five to nine votes. Its bad result, however, did not deter another member from moving that the house did not repose confidence in the administration, because it had deserted Roman Catholic interests, and especially as regarded separate school reform in Upper Canada. But this motion met with even worse success than its predecessors, and was sustained by only six votes. Mr. Ouimet's amendment, expressing confidence in ministers, was then put to the house, when the yeas were seventy and the nays forty-four. This vote convinced the opposition of the uselessness of farther attempts to compel the resignation of the cabinet; the public business was now quietly pushed forward, and towards the close of April the "Estimates," among which was one item of twenty thousand dollars to defray the expenses of the anticipated visit of the Prince of Wales, were well advanced. Meanwhile, a serious division had arisen in the ranks of the opposition, many of whom were now most unwilling to follow any longer the leadership of Mr. Brown. This feeling produced a public quarrel in the house between the latter and some of his political friends; and Mr. Campbell, the member for Rouville, implored him to retire from the leadership of a party with which, so long as he remained at the head of it, the French Canadians could never unite.

23. On the 8th of May Mr. Brown's resolutions in reference to the constitutional relations of Upper and Lower Canada were taken up and finally disposed of. The first was negatived by a vote of sixty-seven to twenty-six, and the second, meeting no better fate, was lost on a division of seventy-four to thirty-two. This result evinced in the most emphatic manner that only a small minority of the Assembly were in favor of a federal union on the basis propounded by Mr. Brown; yet subsequent events have plainly demonstrated that his only

error lay in being in advance of his contemporaries, and also of general public opinion. His "joint authority" scheme was the one ultimately adopted, despite the censure it met with at this time from the leaders of the ministerial party. On the 19th of May, after a loyal address of welcome to the Prince of Wales had been agreed to, a session which had been productive of no very remarkable legislation was brought to a close, and the Parliament prorogued in a brief and appropriate speech by the governor-general, to assemble again some three months afterwards, in order to greet the arrival of the heir to the British throne.

24. No prospective event in Canada had ever cast such a joyous shadow before it as the now looked-for advent of the Prince of Wales. From one end of the country to the other it evoked a feeling of the most loyal enthusiasm, and people of all classes, and of all shades of politics, now united most cordially to do honor to the imperial representative of their good queen. From every direction along the proposed route of progress arose the din of preparation; and city and town and village corporations voted money to decorate their localities, and make fitting arrangements otherwise. At Quebec a portion of the Parliament buildings had been handsomely fitted up for the reception of the prince and his suite, and here, on the 21st of August, he was received in state by both houses of the Legislature, headed by their speakers, Narcisseau Belleu, of the Council, and Henry Smith, of the Assembly; and both of whom received the honor of knighthood. The festivities all terminated at Quebec, and progress westward was resumed to Montreal, where a grand ovation awaited his royal highness. As the steamer "Kingston," which carried him and his suite, entered the harbor, the batteries of St. Helen's Island thundered out a royal salute, the sailors of the vessels of war manned the yards and made the welkin ring with cheers, taken up by the vast multitude who lined the substantial wharves, while the city bells reverberated far and wide their sonorous tones of welcome. A little farther on, the current of the noble river, still chafing angrily from its descent of the Lachine Rapids, was spanned by the Victoria bridge, the idea of which first assumed tangible shape in the mind of a talented Canadian engineer, Thomas C. Keefer, to be elaborated and perfected by the genius of a Stephenson. Stretching ten thousand feet from shore to shore, with pier-openings two hundred feet in width, and rising in the centre one hundred feet above high-

water mark, to permit lake steamers to pass beneath, this colossal structure stood, the eighth wonder of the world. And this was the bridge now formally opened for traffic by the



The Victoria Railway Tubular Bridge from St. Lambert.

Prince of Wales, in the name of his august mother, after whom it was most fitly called. Next day Montreal literally ran riot with joy. A grand hall collected all that was bright and

beautiful in the city to greet the heir-apparent of their sovereign, and night was turned into day by the blaze of illuminations and fireworks that lit up the dark mountain side in the background, or flashed over the broad current of the St. Lawrence as it sped murmuringly oceanward.

25. From Montreal the Prince of Wales proceeded to Ottawa, and there, on the 1st of September, in the presence of the Duke of Newcastle, the governor-general, many of the notabilities of Canada, and a most brilliant suite, he laid the foundation-stone of the new Parliament buildings, and subsequently shot the timber slides of the Chaudiere on the usual lumberman's crib. Proceeding up the Ottawa to Arnprior, he crossed the country by carriage and railway to Brockville, where he arrived at night, and a most brilliant reception awaited him. This loyal little town greeted him with a grand firemen's torchlight procession, with triumphal arches, fireworks, an illumination, and bonfires among the islands in the river. Embarking on board the "Kingston," the royal party proceeded next day westward through the beautiful lake of the Thousand Islands. But no landing was made either at Kingston or Belleville, in consequence of the Orange societies of those neighborhoods insisting on receiving his royal highness with party flags, processions, and music. Some unpleasantness, in connection with the Orange body, awaited him at Toronto, where a triumphal arch on his proposed route was decorated with its flags and emblems, and beneath which he declined to pass. This raised a storm of Orange indignation against his advisers, and the Duke of Newcastle and the governor-general were burned in effigy on Colborne street. His progress through the western peninsula evoked no additional demonstrations of this nature, and the

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most joyous welcome everywhere awaited him. His royal highness finally passed, at Windsor, out of Canada into the United States, to be exceedingly well received in all the great northern cities visited by him, and particularly at Boston; but to have his passage southward stopped at Richmond, the gateway of the slave States, by insulting demonstrations on the part of its mob.

26. Meanwhile, a dark storm-cloud had been gathering over the United States, and the ultimate breaking of which exercised no small influence on the progress of Canada. Wearied at length with the domination of the slave States, the masses of the North broke away from the Democratic party, always southern in its instincts, and elected Abraham Lincoln, an abolitionist lawyer of Illinois, to the presidency of the Union. Great, accordingly, was the ferment at the South, the politicians of which had virtually governed the country for a long period of time. But the loss of power and emoluments of place was even of less consequence with them than the danger to slavery, which they supposed resulted from the election of Lincoln. South Carolina was the first to secede from the Union, and at Charleston a small federal force in Fort Sumter was virtually besieged as the new year came on, and an attempt to relieve it with troops and stores, by the steamship "Star of the West," was repelled by the cannon of the insurgent State. Wild was the alarm that now spread through the Northern States, and in Maine a strong movement was made for annexation to Canada. The government of the Confederate States was speedily organized, and, as spring approached, North and South were alike busily preparing for the coming struggle.

27. Parliament assembled at Quebec on the 16th of March, 1861. The governor-general's speech alluded to the abundant harvest of the preceding year, the acknowledgment by the queen of the loyal manner in which her son had been mainly received in this country, and to the fact that he had been advised to represent to her majesty's government that a writ issued by the English Court of Queen's Bench had been served in this province, and the expediency of preventing by legislation any conflict of judicial jurisdiction. Canada was jealous of its privileges and authority. The debate on the address developed a good deal of ill-feeling, relative to the unpleasant occurrences which had taken place during the visit of the Prince of Wales. It was stated that the Orangemen had been insulted, in not being permitted to give a loyal welcome to his royal highness after

their own fashion ; that the Freemasons had been treated with disrespect, in not being allowed to lay the corner-stone of the public buildings at Ottawa, after having been invited to do so ; and that indignities had also been offered to the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies, in connection with the presentation of their addresses. Amendments to the address embodying these complainings were, however, voted down by large majorities ; and a motion, by Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, asserting that ministers should adhere to the double-majority principle, — a favorite idea with him, — was lost on a division of sixty-five to forty-six. A direct motion of "want of confidence" in the cabinet was also lost by a vote of sixty-two to forty-nine ; and on the 22d terminated six days of weary and profitless debating on the address. Still, it was quite evident that the position of ministers was becoming weaker.

28. After the Easter recess, a portion of the returns of the census, taken at the close of the last year, was laid before the house. These documents showed a large increase in the population of the country. In 1841 the population of Upper Canada was four hundred and sixty-five thousand three hundred and seventy-five ; in 1851, nine hundred and fifty-two thousand and sixty-one ; while in 1861 it had reached one million three hundred and ninety-six thousand and ninety-one. On the other hand, the population of Lower Canada, in 1841, was six hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and eighty-two ; in 1851, eight hundred and ninety thousand two hundred and sixty-one ; and in 1861 it stood at one million one hundred and ten thousand four hundred and forty-four. It will thus be seen that the population of all Canada, at the beginning of 1861, was two million five hundred and six thousand seven hundred and fifty-five. But the rate of increase had been much more rapid in the upper than in the lower province, and the number of its inhabitants was now two hundred and eighty-five thousand four hundred and twenty-seven in excess of that of the latter. This circumstance gave new hope to the members of the reform party in the house, and they eagerly turned to the question of representation by population, as the sure panacea for the evils of French domination. They were strongly opposed by the ministerial party, the premier making, on the 19th of April, a forcible speech in opposition to the motion embodying their views, and were again beaten. But the principle they now advocated was subsequently interwoven with the Imperial Act of Confederation, and which gave nineteen new members to

Upper Canada. The long debates had consumed much of the time of the Assembly, and this session drew towards its close without having added any noticeable legislation to the statute-book. On the 8th of May Parliament was prorogued, and in a few weeks afterwards was dissolved, and the writs issued for a new election. The contest throughout Upper Canada was most vigorously conducted on both sides, and resulted in favor of the reform party. But its leader, Mr. Brown, lost much of his prestige, being beaten in Toronto by a majority of one hundred and ninety-one, owing to the union of the Orangemen and Roman Catholics against him; while at the same time Cartier defeated Dorion, the Rouge leader, in Montreal east.

29. Meanwhile, the troops of the belligerent States were marshalling themselves on the banks of the Potomac, for the conflict which could not now be very long deferred. Westward, at the fork of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, a body of federal troops prevented supplies from reaching the Confederate States, while, at the same time, preparations were made to blockade their ports, and so narrow their resources seaward. This course was a virtual concession of the sovereign authority of these States to levy war, and led to the declaration of Lord John Russell, that the South must now be regarded as a *de facto* power, and be accorded belligerent rights. On the 13th of May the queen's proclamation was issued, warning all her subjects to maintain a strict neutrality, and afford aid to neither of the contending parties. On the 21st of July the battle of Bull Run took place, and the first deep torrent of blood shed in a fratricidal war, during the progress of which fully fifty thousand Canadians, despite the queen's proclamation, entered the Northern army as volunteers, while comparatively few in number attached themselves to the forces of the Confederate States.

30. But, while the attention of the people of Canada was eagerly turned to the progress of the bitter civil conflict now waged in a neighboring nation so intimately connected with them by commercial relations and a common language and lineage, their country peacefully reposed in the shadow of the British flag, and presented, after its election contests had terminated, but few domestic events to record. On the 28th of August William Lyon Mackenzie's wearisome life came to a close, and the troubled spirit sank to rest. Pecuniary embarrassment had thrown a gloom over the last days of his existence. Destitute of income, with failing health, and deeply in debt, he had been living on credit, and his bills matured without

time bringing the means to pay them. The confidence in the future which had lit up his path during the darkest periods of his life failed him at last, and he ceased even to hope. There remained for the erring, though honest patriot but one course now open, — to lie down and die, to quit a world which had no longer a solitary ray of genial sunshine for him. During his last illness he refused all medicine, would comply with no physician's directions, and the grave soon closed over all his troubles. In October Sir Edmund Head ceased to be governor-general of Canada. On the 23d of that month his successor, Lord Monck, arrived at Quebec, and on the following day was duly sworn in. On the same day Sir Edmund departed for Boston, *en route* for England. As already seen, he also had become unpopular with a portion of the community, and had recently been made the subject of a large amount of censure. Like his predecessor, Lord Elgin, he hastened to leave, without regret, a country which had been fatal to the reputations of so many governors-general, and who had unwisely identified themselves with one or the other of its political parties.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PROVINCE OF CANADA, FROM 1840 TO 1867 — (*continued*).

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MONCK — CONFEDERATION.

1. In 1861 Charles Stanley Monck succeeded to the government of Canada. He was born in Ireland, in 1819. He entered Parliament, with an English constituency, in 1852, and in 1848 he was appointed lord of the treasury by the Palmerston administration, holding the office for two years. ¹He had scarcely taken the reins of government of Canada firmly in his hands when what was known as the Trent difficulty arose between Great Britain and the United States, and which, for a time, threatened to involve them in a war, in which Canada, had it occurred, must have acted a most important part. Capt. Wilkes, of the United States steamship "Jacinto," took by

¹ I wish to repeat here, what has been said in a previous note, that this and the preceding chapter are taken substantially from the work of Mr. John MacMullen, an author whose labors in collecting and preserving the materials of Canadian history cannot be too highly appreciated.

force, on the 9th of November, 1861, the Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, from the British mail steamer "Trent," plying between Vera Cruz and Southampton, in utter defiance of the law of nations, and the rights of a neutral power. Hitherto a strong sympathy for the United States had existed in Canada, and the secession of the South was regarded with little favor by the great bulk of its people; but the Trent difficulty, and the idle boastings and threats of the more unscrupulous portion of the American press, now rapidly changed the current of public sentiment, and turned it largely into indifference, or in the direction of the weaker party, — the South. As the year drew towards its close the whole country was rapidly springing to arms, in expectation of immediate hostilities. Volunteer companies were being formed in every direction, steps were taken to organize the militia force, and steamship after steamship, freighted with troops and munitions of war, arrived from the mother country. While the excitement produced by these occurrences culminated to its meridian, Canada was thrown into the saddest mourning by the intelligence that Prince Albert, the amiable and high-minded consort of the queen, had, on the 15th of December, expired of gastric fever. Deep, indeed, was the sympathy of the people of Canada for their bereaved sovereign, who had long since won their hearts by her virtuous and prudent conduct, and by the true womanly instincts of her nature. While this country still mourned the irreparable loss which the empire had sustained, the war-cloud passed away; Mason and Slidell were surrendered to the British government, and were speedily on their way to Europe.

2. The beginning of the year 1862 was not distinguished by any domestic events of importance. Parliament met at Quebec on the 21st of March, and Lord Monck came down in no small state to open its proceedings. A large portion of the inhabitants were out of doors to witness his progress, and fifteen hundred volunteers and a force of regular troops lined both sides of the streets through which he passed. The garrison guns, manned by the royal artillery, thundered forth their salute from Durham terrace, far and wide, over land and water; a battery of volunteer artillery repeated the welcome elsewhere; while the hearty cheers of the dense masses of spectators hailed, in a still more acceptable fashion, the appearance of their new governor-general. At the chamber of the legislative council a brilliant assemblage of military and civil digni-

taries greeted his arrival, and gave additional lustre to the ancient ceremonies of the occasion.

3. Parliament having been opened with the due formalities, the Assembly proceeded to elect Joseph E. Turcotte as their speaker, by a majority of thirteen over the opposition candidate, Mr. Sicotte; and that duty performed, his excellency made a second visit to the house to deliver his "opening" speech. It paid a fitting tribute to the memory of the deceased prince consort; stated how the feeling of loyalty exhibited by the Canadian people during the recent Trent difficulty had been graciously recognized in the queen's speech on the opening of the Imperial Parliament; and congratulated the Legislature on the abundant harvest of the preceding year, and the satisfactory condition of trade, notwithstanding the partial derangement to which it had been subjected by the civil war still raging in the United States. It farther set forth that papers would be laid before it showing that the imperial government entertained no objection to the establishment of a system of free commercial intercourse between the different provinces of British North America, and that during the recess a commission had sat to consider the present condition of the militia force, with a view to improving its organization and efficiency, and the report of which would be submitted for its approval.

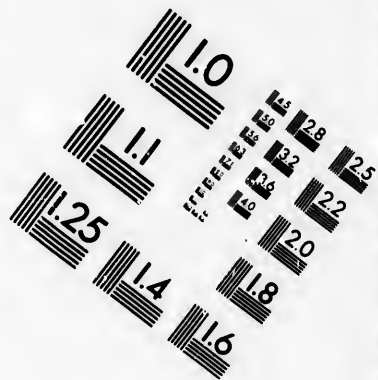
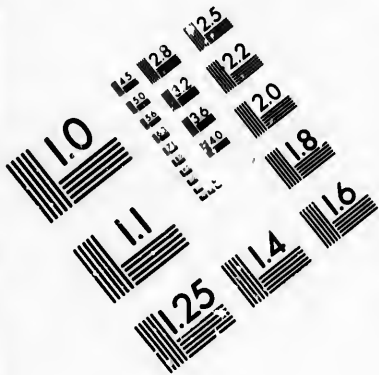
4. The debate on the address was of that lengthy character now so common in the Canadian Legislature, and displayed the discordant elements of which the two great parties in the house were composed. Reformers declared for and against representation by population, — the prominent feature of the wearisome debate; and Sidney Smith voted against his colleagues of the government on the same question. But ministers tided it safely through the prolonged discussion, which terminated on the 5th of April, defeated the opposition on a test vote by a majority of seventeen, and the public business was at length proceeded with. On the 7th an address of condolence to the queen, on the death of the prince consort, was agreed to in the upper chamber, of which Sir Allan McNab was now the speaker, and sent down to the Assembly for its concurrence. It was at once adopted, and a joint committee of both houses presented it to Lord Monck, for transmission to her majesty.

5. As the session progressed, it became more and more evident that the position of the cabinet was daily becoming weaker. Mr. Patton had been defeated on returning to his constituents for reelection, — a circumstance which damaged

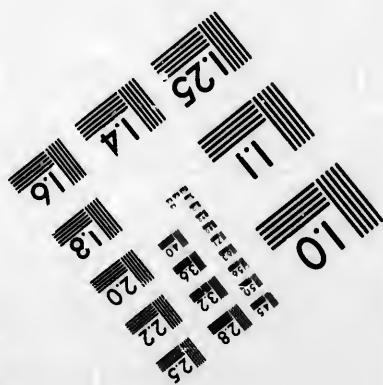
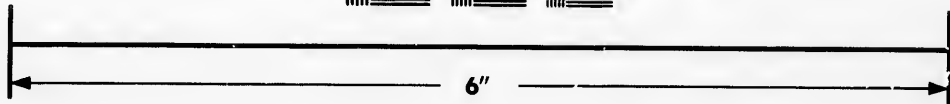
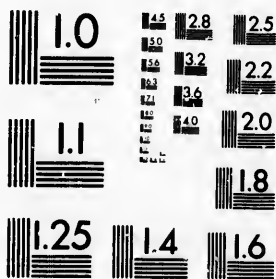
ministers to some extent. A long term of place and power, in a constitutional system of government, of itself naturally weakens a ministry; and not a few gross abuses, which had arisen in some of the public departments, relative to supplies of stationery and other matters, were now used by the opposition to enfeeble still more the position of the cabinet. Added to these causes of dissatisfaction, the constant annual deficiency in the revenue was ascribed to the financial policy of ministers, the cry raised against whom received, as the session progressed, additional volume from the fiscal changes proposed by Mr. Galt, and which found as little favor with the conservative, as they did with the reform press. On the 30th of May, when the second reading of the Militia Bill, a government measure, was moved, ministers were abandoned by several of their Lower Canadian supporters, and defeated on a vote of sixty-one to fifty-four. Their resignation speedily followed, and the Assembly adjourned, on the 23d, to permit of the formation of a new administration. Three days afterwards it again assembled, to learn, from Lewis Wallbridge, of Belleville, that a cabinet had been formed under the leadership of John Sandfield Macdonald and L. V. Sicotte. The same gentleman briefly announced the policy of the new administration to be, the restoration of the double-majority principle, in all matters locally affecting either section of the province; the readjustment of the representation of Upper and Lower Canada respectively; an amended militia law; and a revision of the tariff, so as to produce increased revenue, and afford protection to manufacturing industries; an insolvent debtors' act; a system of retrenchment in the public expenditure; the maintenance of her majesty's decision on the seat-of-government question; and an investigation into certain alleged abuses in connection with the construction of the parliamentary buildings at Ottawa. This







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announcement of their proposed policy was received with a good deal of favor by all classes of the community, and the leaders of the late cabinet now declared their intention to give ministers a fair trial, and throw no obstacles in the way of useful legislation. On the other hand, the Upper Canada section of the new administration was fiercely assailed by Mr. Brown, in the "Globe," for not making representation by population, without any regard to a dividing line between Upper and Lower Canada, a cabinet question, and for having, like their predecessors, surrendered themselves to French domination. Such was the condition of public affairs when the session terminated on the 9th of June, after the transaction of only a very limited amount of business. A short amendment to the Militia Act had rendered it much more efficient, and showed that the country was prepared to incur a larger amount of expenditure for preparation against foreign attack. The closing speech of the governor-general was brief, but courteous; and he still stood well with both parties.

6. The defeat of the Macdonald-Cartier administration on its Militia Bill awoke a most unpleasant feeling in England; and the cry was raised there that the Canadian people were unwilling to defend themselves, and desired to throw the burden on the mother country; and Lord Palmerston angrily declared, in the Imperial Parliament, that the home government had done as much to defend the Canadians as it intended to do, and that it rested with themselves to do the remainder, or disgrace the race from whence they sprung. At a public dinner in Montreal, Lord Monck echoed, in a subdued form, the warning tones of the British premier; told his hearers plainly that England alone could not protect them in the event of war with the United States, and that from among themselves must arise the great armies of defence in the event of an attack. But the imperial premier and the governor-general erred alike in accepting the circumstances of the downfall of an unpopular administration as the act of the people of Canada, and who, in every time of peril, have invariably proved that they are not the degenerate offspring of a gallant ancestry.

7. The second week in August witnessed the death of Sir Allan McNab, at his residence near Hamilton, and who had survived his reform contemporary, William Hamilton Merritt, but a brief space. And thus the links, which bound the present to the past generation of Canada, were being sundered one by one, by the inexorable hand of time. In September the

governor-general paid his first visit to Upper Canada, to open the Provincial Exhibition at Toronto, and increased his prestige, in no small degree, by his frank bearing and popular manners. His return to the seat of government was distinguished by the resignation of Mr. Dorion, the provincial secretary, on the ground that he could not support the Intercolonial Railway policy of his colleagues.

8. The imposition of a high rate of duty by the Canadian Parliament had already produced in the United States a good deal of agitation adverse to the Reciprocity Treaty. The Legislature of the State of New York had adopted a long series of resolutions unfavorable to its renewal, which were transmitted to Congress, and there referred to the Committee on Commerce; and, as time progressed, this agitation received additional force from the heavy internal taxation entailed by the war. Towards the close of the year Canada began to gain enormously by the operations of this treaty. The progress of hostilities was already narrowing down the resources of the Northern States, and farm stock rose to an unusually high value. As the cheapest market, Canada was now inundated with American speculators; and horse-dealers, especially, spread themselves in every direction over the country, to secure remounts for the United States cavalry and artillery. Never had the agricultural community such a market before, and they eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity to dispose of their surplus stocks to the best advantage. In this way a very large amount of money came into their possession, and which the great majority of the recipients prudently used to discharge claims against their properties, and release themselves otherwise from debt. The frugal and simple habits of a rough backwoods population had long since disappeared in most parts of the country, ox-teams and homespun clothing were no longer prized as heretofore, and a fondness for dress, expensive carriages, and luxurious living had deeply plunged a large portion of the rural population into debt. To discharge obligations incurred to store-keepers money was borrowed on mortgage, and many unfortunate and imprudent people, in this way, lost properties which it had cost a long period of hard toil to create. But, having acquired wisdom by the most bitter experience, farmers now eagerly availed themselves of this season of great prosperity to discharge every claim against them, and to bring their transactions much nearer to a general cash basis than was possible with them at any former period. The prosperous years which now followed

were distinguished by an unusually small amount of litigation, and in every direction lawyers of even superior abilities could hardly make a living by their profession; while money-lenders no longer reaped the abundant harvest they had hitherto enjoyed. This gratifying condition of affairs tended also to a diminution of crime, but the volume of which had always been very limited in this country. The war had already absorbed the more unquiet spirits of the population, and the ample employment and high wages which prevailed led, in addition, to light calendars in the courts of justice.

9. Parliament assembled at Quebec on the 13th of February, 1863, and the legislative council, having elected Alexander Campbell as their speaker, in the room of the late Sir Allen McNab, the governor-general delivered his speech. He congratulated the chambers on the loyal spirit evinced throughout the country in the enrolment of numerous volunteer companies, and the formation of drill associations, and submitted a programme for legislation, based on the previously announced policy of the cabinet. He added that commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the state of every branch of the public service, with a view of retrenchment and economy; and gratefully alluded to the spontaneous contributions which had flown so freely from the province to relieve the distress in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain, caused by the great advance in the value of raw cotton, and by the other disturbances to the usual currents of trade resulting from the American civil war.

10. But the policy of the ministry, as avowed in his excellency's speech, was by no means satisfactory to all the reform members of the house, and Matthew Crooks Cameron moved an amendment to the address, asserting the principle of representation by population; while, from the conservative benches, John Hillyard Cameron gave notice of a motion which, without disturbing the existing number of members, would increase the representation of Upper Canada. The great bulk of the western reformers, and some conservatives, declared for the amendment; but the French Canadians to a man voted with the ministry, as well as John A. Macdonald, and it was lost on a vote of sixty-four to forty-two; while John Hillyard Cameron's motion fared still worse, and was negatived by a division of eighty-one to thirty-three. Ministers were safe for the time being, but now stood on dangerous ground, and might, at any adverse moment, be defeated. It was quite evident that public

opinion in Upper Canada was already far in advance of the double-majority expedient, and a large section of the reform press loudly demanded the representative position which its greatly increased population and wealth entitled that province to fill. The lapse of time and the progress of the country had thus created a political difficulty of constantly increasing magnitude, and which a new constitutional revolution could alone remedy. Nor did Mr. Brown long remain without an opportunity to again advocate his views on this point in the Assembly. The elevation of Dr. Connor, a member of the cabinet, to a judgeship in the Court of Queen's Bench,



created a vacancy in the representation of the South Riding of Oxford, and for which, early in March, Mr. Brown was returned; but, for some unexplained cause, a month elapsed before he took his seat in the house. Most probably he felt disinclined to embarrass ministers by pressing his peculiar views on their notice at this juncture.

11. The intelligence of the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales to the beautiful daughter of the King of Denmark, softened, for a brief space, the asperities of party; and the 10th of March, announced as the wedding-day, witnessed the adjournment of the legislative council as a mark of respect for his royal highness. But this auspicious event produced only a temporary suspension of the political storm in the Assembly. Scott's separate school bill which conceded some privileges to the Roman Catholics, awoke anew the hostilities of the western reformers, thirty of whom now voted against it,—a circumstance which increased still more the dislike of the Lower Canadians to coöperate with them. Nor was the statement of the financial minister, Mr. Howland, calculated to raise the confidence of the house in the administration. Despite the large increase of revenue taxation in the preceding

session, the deficit in the public exchequer was still quite serious, and showed that, on this most important point, ministers had proved unequal to the redemption of their promises. Mr. John A. Macdonald now saw, with his accustomed shrewdness, that the correct time had come for adverse action, and, on the 1st of May, moved a direct vote of want of confidence in the administration. A vigorous debate ensued which lasted for four days, and when a division took place the government was defeated by a majority of five, the vote standing sixty-four for the motion, and fifty-nine against it. Ministers had now either to resign or appeal to the country. They chose the latter course, and on the 12th of May the governor-general, in a brief speech, prorogued Parliament, with a view, as he said, to its immediate dissolution.

12. Aside from the excitement caused by a general election midsummer produced no domestic events of importance. In the United States the army conscription, now being relentlessly enforced, caused the greatest alarm among their people, many of whom fled across the borders into Canada; while in the city of New York the dissatisfaction broke out into furious riots, which produced robberies, burnings, and much bloodshed, and were only suppressed with the utmost difficulty. The refugees from the conscription did not prove themselves by any means a desirable addition to our population. Some of them engaged in the illegal occupation of procuring Canadians to swell the ranks of the very army they had themselves declined to join; while others had recourse to still more questionable methods to acquire a living. But while the progress of the war added to the intensity of the cotton famine in the mother country, and produced the greatest suffering among its patient operatives, it deepened the current of Canadian prosperity, and continued to create a large market for our surplus produce.

13. The new Parliament assembled on the 13th of August. Ulrich J. Tessier was chosen speaker of the legislative council, and Lewis Wallbridge, government candidate, speaker of the Assembly, on a vote of sixty-six to fifty-eight. The governor-general's speech was exceedingly non-committal, and did not develop any new ideas of public policy. When the address came up for discussion, ministers were hotly assailed on the score of the recent changes in the cabinet. In the course of the debate the premier stated that the policy of the reconstructed cabinet was not the same as that of its immediate predecessor. The double-majority principle was

not now to be insisted on, and representation by population should be left an open question. His former colleague, Mr. Sicotte, bitterly assailed him for having thus shifting his ground, and charged him with unfair dealing towards himself in the formation of his present cabinet; while the explanations of Mr. Foley and Mr. M'Gee, as to the causes of their compelled resignations, were also very hostile. For full fourteen days did the debate on the address drag its tedious length along; and on the 28th, when the final division was taken, sixty-three voted for ministers and sixty against it. Foley, Sicotte, and M'Gee, all late colleagues of the premier, voted with the opposition; and it was now evident that the position of the cabinet was an excessively weak one. A discussion which ensued, on the expediency of having another removal of the seat of government to Toronto, in the interval of the completion of the public buildings at Ottawa, still farther damaged ministers (who opposed the change very properly) with western members. Nor was the annual budget submitted by Mr. Howland, now finance minister, very reassuring. He stated that the total expenditure for the year would be fifteen million one hundred and nineteen thousand two hundred dollars, including four million two hundred and ninety-four thousand dollars for the redemption of the seignorial tenure bonds, and leaving ten million nine hundred and eleven thousand and ninety dollars as the ordinary outlay. The gross debt of Canada, funded and floating, was estimated by the minister at seventy million dollars, and the annual interest, which the country had to pay, at five million five hundred and sixty-three thousand two hundred and sixty-three dollars. The total deficit in the revenue since 1857 amounted to twelve million dollars, and he stated that some means must now be devised to produce an additional sum of two million dollars annually, in order to make the public income equal to the expenditure. The financial difficulties thus developed were not a little increased by the eagerness of the public men and press of England to have Canada place itself in a still better position for defence.

14. But, small as the government majority was, it held solidly together, and carried it safely through the session, which terminated on the 15th of October. To accomplish this object, however, ministers had to trim their course with the greatest care, and introduce no important measures which might provoke defeat. With a war-cloud lining the horizon, which might at any time break with disastrous force, the

Southern Comederaey giving evidence of exhaustion, which must ere long leave the victors at leisure to turn their arms in this direction, and Congress authorizing the President of the United States to give the necessary notice to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty, never was a strong government more required in Canada than at this juncture. The constitution was now fairly on its trial, a crisis was approaching in the affairs of this country, and how the difficulties of the situation were to be met and overcome became a matter of no small anxiety with many thinking people.

15. The Legislature assembled at Quebec on the 19th of February, 1864. The governor-general's speech informed the public that he had taken steps for the better organization of the militia force and volunteers, under the act of the preceding session; that the period was approaching when notice might be given to terminate the Reciprocity Treaty, by either party thereto; and that he had devoted his best attention to the great interests involved. He farther stated that the Ottawa build-ings had been prosecuted with much diligence during the preceding summer, and a fresh contract entered into for ocean steamship mail service. The debate on the address weakened the confidence in the ministry of several of its supporters. The opposition, however, did not think it advisable to move any amendment, and waited for a more favorable opportunity to assail the cabinet. A motion made by Mr. Brown on the 14th, having reference to representation by population, still more embarrassed ministers. Mr. S. Macdonald now vainly essayed to strengthen his cabinet, and with that view made overtures to leaders of the Lower Canada opposition. But these being rejected, and Mr. Brown having openly stated in the house that, circumstanced as ministers were, they had better resign, they succumbed to the force of adverse circumstances, and surrendered their portfolios into the hands of the governor-general. Mr. Blair, a member of the upper house, and provincial secretary in the late administration, was now sent for by his excellency to form a new government; but this gentleman failing to succeed, Sir E. P. Taché, a Lower Canadian conservative, was next requested to undertake the difficult task. He at first declined the proffered honor, but finally, at the solicitations of Mr. Cartier and other friends, consented to form a new administration. He succeeded, and when the house assembled on the 30th of March, Mr. Cauchon informed it that a cabinet had been completed, with Sir E. P. Taché, as

receiver-general and minister of militia, at its head. Its proposed policy was announced to be the placing of the militia force on the best possible footing, without increasing the existing expense, the maintenance of the Reciprocity Treaty, a commercial union with the lower or seaboard provinces, the readjustment of the canal tolls so as to secure western trade, the permanent establishment of the seat of government at Ottawa, departmental and fiscal reform, and the question of representation to remain an open one. The house adjourned until the 3d of May, to enable the members of the new cabinet to complete their arrangements, and to go to their constituents for reflection. They were all again returned, with the exception of Mr. Foley, who was beaten in the North Riding of Waterloo by a Mr. Bowman.



16. But ministers, on resuming their seats, soon found that the house was not disposed to treat either them or their policy with much forbearance. The factious spirit of the Assembly was now thoroughly aroused, and, wholly forgetful of the great public interests at stake, it appeared to be the sole aim of each of the rival parties to defeat their opponents, and secure themselves in power. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, a motion of non-confidence in ministers, in consequence of their having advised the issuing of an order in council reducing the canal tolls, was moved by the opposition. The vote stood sixty-four to sixty-two, the narrow majority of two being on the side of ministers. On the 14th of June a fresh adverse motion, based on a government loan of one hundred thousand dollars to Montreal, in 1859, was made, and, Messrs. Rankin and Dunkin now deserting the cabinet, it was defeated by a majority of two, the vote standing sixty to fifty-eight.

17. Faction had now literally exhausted itself, the public affairs of the country were completely at a stand-still, and for

a moment it seemed as if constitutional government had finally ended in a total failure. Repeated changes of cabinets had been tried, dissolutions of Parliament had been resorted to, every constitutional specific had been tested; but all alike had failed to unravel the Gordian knot which party spirit had tied so firmly round the destinies of this province, and the public stood aghast at this state of things, while the lovers of British constitutional government regarded the extraordinary situation with unlimited dismay. Lord Sydenham's Act of Union had already fulfilled its mission, and from the progress of the country had arisen a condition of affairs which imperatively pointed to a fresh constitutional revolution as the only solution of the difficulties that surrounded it. Nor could the double-majority principle be now resorted to as even a temporary specific; while, on the other hand, the Lower Canadians would never agree, under existing circumstances, to concede a representative preponderance to the sister province. The leading minds of the country naturally applied themselves, at this juncture, to discover some mode of escape from the dangerous difficulties of the public situation. One course, and one course only, promised relief; and that was the adoption of the "joint-authority" scheme of Mr. Brown, so frequently voted down in Parliament, so long opposed, and so mercilessly ridiculed by friend and foe alike. The night had passed away, and the morning dawn of success at length lit up an agitation based upon correct political principles, and which at one time seemed as if it never could be successful, and only worthy of being classed as the idle dream of an impracticable theorist.

18. Fortunately for the country ministers now proved themselves equal to the grave occasion which had arisen. No time was lost in communicating with Mr. Brown, who had already expressed himself in favor of a settlement, by compromises, of the constitutional difficulty which existed, with a view to some arrangement and mutual understanding, which would permit the business of the country to be carried on. That gentleman had now his revenge in the most ample manner. Mr. John A. Macdonald, the man who had snatched the falling sceptre of Francis Hincks from his hand ten years before; who had so constantly traversed all his plans and neutralized his policy; who had been his perpetual opponent at every point, and the shafts of whose keen wit had so frequently transfixed his "joint-authority" idea,—that man was now prepared to adopt the views he had so often covered with sarcasm, and to aid in

carrying them into practical effect. And Mr. Brown's reform friends, so restive under his leadership (hitherto one of agitation), and which had never led them into power, or secured to them the emoluments of place, so intensely sighed for by the Canadian professional politician, who had so recently tried to stand without him, and failed, — these friends must now bend to him as the true master of the situation, after all, and virtually admit his policy to have been all along that which the country really required.

19. The negotiations which now ensued between the rival political leaders speedily resulted in a satisfactory understanding, based upon a project of confederation of all the British North American provinces, on the federal principle, and leaving to each province the settlement, by local legislation, of its own municipal and peculiar affairs. In order to ensure the satisfactory arrangement of all the details of the project Mr. Brown was to have three seats in the cabinet placed at his disposal. He accordingly became president of the council, William McDougall, provincial secretary, and Oliver Mowatt, postmaster-general. Thus a strong coalition government was formed to carry out the newly accepted policy of confederation, and, although extreme parties, here and there, grumbled at these arrangements, the great body of the people, of all shades of opinion, were thankful that the dangerous crisis had been safely passed, gladly accepted the situation, and calmly and confidently awaited the progress of coming events. Never before had a coalition been more opportune. It rendered the government of the country again respectable, elevated it above the accidents of faction, and enabled it to wield the administrative power with that firmness and decision so requisite during the trying and critical period which speedily ensued. It would indeed seem as if a special Providence was controlling



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matters for its own wise purposes, and evoking results from the ambitions and passions of partisan leaders directly tending to elevate this country to a position of greater eminence and to increased usefulness among the nations. The curtain fell on the parliamentary drama on the 30th of June. But faction, even yet, was not wholly extinct, and soon found a prominent exponent in Matthew Crooks Cameron, who now contested North Ontario with Secretary McDougall, and beat him by one hundred votes. The latter was not, however, left without a seat in the Legislature. He was subsequently returned by the thoughtful Scotch settlers of North Lanark, who gave him a large majority over a Mr. Rosamond, and whose father, an Irish conservative of the strictest school, showed his appreciation of the coalition, by voting for the secretary, and against his own son.

20. Very speedily did the progress of events develop the necessity of a strong government. Hitherto the long frontier of Canada had been wrapped in the most profound quiet; and while this country afforded a ready and safe asylum to Southern refugees, no obstacles were thrown in the way of the North in the purchase of remounts for its cavalry and of other supplies. Nor, unless in very glaring cases, which could not possibly be overlooked, were any active steps taken to prevent recruits for its armies from passing out of Canada in no inconsiderable numbers. But this condition of affairs was now about to be very materially altered. Sorely pressed in all their coasts, without the remotest prospect of European intervention in their behalf, the Confederate authorities essayed, in the month of September, to effect a diversion in their favor from the Canadian frontier; to menace the defenceless borders of the Northern States, and thus, if possible, to cause a war between them and Great Britain. In pursuance of this policy, two American steamboats, the "Philo Parsons" and "Island Queen," were seized on Lake Erie by confederate desperadoes, some of whom had been refugees in this country, with the immediate design of releasing a number of Southern prisoners, confined on Johnson's Island, and of destroying the lake shipping. But beyond the seizure of these steamboats, their partial plunder, and the great alarm occasioned for the moment, no other injury was inflicted. Scarcely, however, had the excitement which these acts produced died away when, on the 19th of October, a body of twenty-three Southern refugees made a raid on the little Vermont town of St. Albans, close to the Canadian frontier.

shot an American citizen there ; robbed its banks of two hundred and thirty-three thousand dollars in current funds, and then hastily retreated across the border. The Canadian authorities promptly arrested fourteen of these marauders, who were committed for safe-keeping to the Montreal jail. Nevertheless, our relations with the United States were now much disturbed, and it became necessary to incur a large outlay, in policing the frontier with thirty volunteer companies, to prevent the recurrence of future raids of a similar character. It was also deemed expedient to pass a stringent act for the prevention of outrages on the borders, and to enable the governor-general to order disorderly aliens to leave the province, or, in case of their refusal to do so, to commit them to prison during pleasure.

21. These unpleasant circumstances, and others of a kindred character, caused the Canadian people to long earnestly for the conclusion of the war. But the reelection of Lincoln to the presidency in November plainly established that the Northern people had determined to prolong the struggle until the total subjugation of the South ensued. A great change had taken place in the sentiments of the Northern States during the progress of the war. At first the preservation of the Union, without any reference to slavery, was the sole object aimed at. But, rendered desperate by repeated defeat and disaster, and coming to regard slavery as the true cause of all their difficulties, its total extinction was finally aimed at ; and to this task, by the reelection of Lincoln, did the Northern people apply themselves. On the other hand, the South was equally resolute in the preservation of slavery, and of founding an empire having that institution for its basis. So the struggle must be prolonged until the total defeat of one or the other of the belligerents, and it only remained for Canadians to fold their arms and look patiently on. Meanwhile, the bitter feelings provoked by the Lake Erie outrage and the St. Albans raid, as well as by the expression of sympathy for the South on the part of many of the Canadian journals, reacted most unfavorably on this country, and materially tended, in conjunction with other adverse causes, to the speedy abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. The hurried and indecent discharge of the St. Albans raiders by Judge Coursol, of Montreal, in December, and the illegal surrender to them of ninety thousand dollars of the stolen money (which the government had subsequently to repay), by the police-chief of that city, still further complicated matters, and

intensified the unpleasant relations now subsisting with the United States.

22. While these events were transpiring in this country, the project of a confederation of the North American provinces had attracted the attention of many of the leading minds of England, and was very generally regarded as the true mode of escape from the difficulties which now enveloped Canada, both as regarded the question of defence, looming up at this juncture into great importance, and the legislative situation. The idea of a union between themselves had already been agitated in the maritime provinces, and a meeting held during the summer, to arrange the preliminaries, was informally attended by a portion of the Canadian cabinet. At their suggestion an enlarged project of confederation was readily entertained, and which, under the pressure of circumstances, speedily assumed a tangible shape. The governor-general opened the preliminary negotiations with the several lieutenant-governors, and, on the 4th of October, thirty-three representatives, of all shades of politics, from the various British North American provinces, assembled in council at Quebec, to arrange the terms of the proposed union. They proceeded to business methodically and cautiously, the representatives of each province having a close eye to its local benefits, and seeking to place its peculiar advantages in the best possible light.

23. Parliament met at Quebec on the 19th of January, 1865. The governor-general's speech congratulated the chambers on the "general contentment and prosperity of the people of the province, and the continuance of the inestimable blessing of peace." He alluded also to the outrages on the American frontier, the perpetrators of which had sought refuge in Canada, rendering a detective police system necessary; to the calling out a portion of the volunteer force and its prompt response; and asked for larger powers to deal with persons who violated the right of asylum in this country. The progress of confederation was briefly yet pointedly limned out, and the Legislature informed that her majesty's Secretary of State was prepared to introduce a measure into the Imperial Parliament, to give effect to the acts of union which might be passed by the different local Legislatures. It remained with the public men of British North America to say whether the vast tract of country which they inhabited should be consolidated into a State, combining within its area all the elements of national greatness, providing for the security of its component parts,

and contributing to the strength and stability of the empire ; or whether the several provinces of which it was constituted should remain in their present fragmentary and isolated condition, comparatively powerless for mutual aid, and incapable of undertaking their proper share of imperial responsibility. His excellency closed his speech by fervently praying, that in the discussion of an issue of such moment their minds might be guided to such conclusions as would redound to the honor of their sovereign, the welfare of her subjects, and their own reputation as patriots and statesmen.

24. On the 23d the Assembly proceeded to take into consideration the address and reply, when two Lower Canadians, Dorion, of Hochelaga, and Laframboise, moved, in amendment thereto, that the house did not desire to disturb existing political relations, nor to create a new nationality. Only four Upper Canadians supported this amendment, and the number in favor of which was twenty-five in all, while sixty-four voted against it. On the 12th paragraph of the address, asserting the feasibility and desirability of union, being put to vote, there were seventy yeas and only seventeen nays, not one member of British origin being among the latter. Another division followed with like result ; and the same day the address was fully concurred in. What a profound relief was this from the wearisome partisan debates, which had of late years characterized the moving of addresses ! So far as Canada was concerned confederation was now an accomplished fact ; and the subsequent long debates on this question, which distinguished this session, were mere matters of form, and designed to give members an opportunity of expressing their individual opinions relative thereto, to be recorded in a "blue book" of one thousand and thirty-two octavo pages, of little value to the historian, and no small expense to the country. The question was finally disposed of by a motion asking an imperial measure of confederation, which the house endorsed by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three. On the 18th of March, the necessary business having all been completed, Parliament was prorogued, and ministers hastened to put themselves into communication with the home government, by a deputation, on the matter of confederation.

25. While a revolution, rendered necessary by the course of events and national progress, was thus being peacefully accomplished in Canada, in accordance with the expansive character of the *unwritten* British constitution, the dark drama of blood destined to reconstruct the *written* constitution of the

United States, with slavery forever blotted out from their escutcheon, was rapidly drawing to a close. Before Petersburg the silent and inflexible Grant still patiently marshalled his legions, waiting for the long-looked-for opportunity to crush the gallant army of Lee, and whose distant rear was already threatened by the victorious forces of Sherman, sweeping down in a desolating current, forty miles in width, through the very heart of the South. In the last days of March the western army of invasion was not two hundred miles from Richmond, and the dark shadow of final defeat was already settling down on the slave empire of the Confederate States.

26. This year brought with it sad misfortune for the ancient city of Quebec. Its narrow streets and frequently recurring wooden buildings had repeatedly made it the scene of terrible fires, and on the 23d of June a new conflagration rendered three thousand people homeless, and destroyed property to the extent of one million dollars. For the last time the Legislature of United Canada assembled there, on the 8th of August, to hear the report of the deputation to England relative to confederation, and to complete the important business left unfinished at its last session. The premier, Sir E. P. Taché, had died a few days before, and Sir Narcissus Belleau, a member of the upper house, became his successor; so the public business moved tranquilly forward. The session was an unusually short one, the large majority now wielded by ministers enabling them to push their measures through the house very quickly. Beyond the act imposing a stamp-duty on notes and bills it developed no very

novel feature in legislation, and was chiefly distinguished for the large number of private measures which were enacted. The despatches and papers laid before the chamber stated the willingness of the home government to aid in forwarding confederation, and that it had already instructed the British minister at Washington, Sir Frederick Bruce, to give all practicable assistance to the Canadian cabinet to procure the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and which



SIR NARCISSUS BELLEAU.

must expire in the ensuing month of March. The death of the imperial premier, Lord Palmerston, in October, produced no

alteration as regarded Canadian affairs, and the policy of his cabinet touching them was fully adopted by its successor. Towards the latter part of the year the removal at length of the seat of government to Ottawa, and the rumors of a Fenian invasion from the United States, were the only events of note.

27. As the period drew near for the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty Canada presented a most unusual spectacle. American dealers in farm-stock and produce spread themselves in every direction over the country, already largely denuded of salable articles, and purchased everything buyable. The various international ferries were choked up continually with vast droves of cattle, sheep, and horses, as though a hostile army had harried all Canada; while the conveying capacity of the railways, in every direction, was taxed to its utmost limits to meet the needs of produce-buyers at this juncture. Under the provisions of the Reciprocity Treaty the international commerce between the United States and this country had swelled to the enormous sum of seventy million dollars per annum. Its termination produced a great disturbance of trade, and the New England States, now so accustomed to the cheap markets of Canada, lying almost at their doors, were largely the sufferers, and had to look elsewhere for supplies for their manufacturing population.

28. The calmness with which the people of Canada regarded the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty puzzled not a little some of the leading politicians of the United States, who had so vainly fancied that it must lead them to clamor for a union with themselves. But, having so totally failed in this direction, they did not hesitate to resort to more questionable means to accomplish their purpose; and to this policy, as well as to the desire to secure the Irish vote, may now be traced the countenance so openly given to the Fenian associations in many of the principal towns in the Northern States. The readiness with which military supplies of all descriptions were procured, and the large numbers of this society, which made no secret of its hostile intentions, led many Americans to indulge in the chimerical idea that it was equal to the conquest of this country, or at least to so harass its people that they would hasten to seek repose under the flag of the United States. Early in March the plan of Sweeny, the Fenian generalissimo, was published. It was based on a series of combined movements, and the 17th of March, St. Patrick's day, designated as the time when hostile operations would commence. The Canadian government

at once responded to the threat of invasion by calling out ten thousand volunteers, our citizen soldiers, and never was a call more promptly met. In less than twenty-four hours fourteen thousand men sprang to arms to defend their country. It was a gallant spectacle, the best possible answer to the sneers of those who would depreciate the military spirit of Canada, and raised it greatly in the estimation of the mother-land. But the 17th of March passed away, no Fenian advance took place, and the proposed invasion exhausted itself, in the month of April, in a silly demonstration by a few badly-armed men, of the O'Mahony faction, against the New Brunswick frontier. In the middle of May all danger having apparently passed away, several of the volunteer corps, called out for active duty, were permitted to return home.

29. As summer advanced it became evident that the Fenian organization in the United States was of much larger proportions than had been deemed possible. It was divided into two sections. One of these, led by O'Mahony and Stephens, made Ireland the sole objective point of its preparations; the other, and much the more formidable, led by Roberts and Sweeny, proposed to conquer Canada in the first place, and make it the base of subsequent operations against Great Britain. However chimerical this project might be, it found some favor among public men in the United States, and both the republican and democratic parties, from President Johnson downwards, coquetted with the Fenian leaders, in order to secure the Irish electoral vote. Hitherto that vote had almost invariably gone with the democratic or pro-slavery party; but the republican leaders now boldly bid for it, and hoped, by a *quasi* countenance of Fenian operations, to effect their object. An indistinct idea was also entertained by them that possibly this course might ultimately promote, in some way, the union of Canada with the United States, obliterate the Alabama claims, and gratify their dislike of Great Britain, intensified by the aid and sympathy extended by so many of its subjects to the South during the war. Under these circumstances the Fenian leaders were permitted, almost without restraint, to make hostile preparations. Fenian circles, or societies, were numerous in all the cities and towns of the United States, and formed the media through which arms and munitions of war, now so cheap and abundant, and money were collected. Aspiring politicians, and other sympathizers, contributed large sums to the invasion fund, while a number of disciplined men, discharged from the

American army, without settled employment, and unfitted for the ordinary routine of civil life by their military antecedents, were only too ready to engage in any enterprise that presented a prospect of pay and plunder. Nor were experienced leaders wanting to direct this dangerous class of men in their designs upon Canada. Sweeny, an officer of some skill, had resigned his commission in the American regular service to take the supreme control, and with him were associated a number of well-trained military men, who had held commands, either at the North or South, during the late war.

30. About the middle of May, and with the expectation of being joined by many presumed disaffected Canadians, the Fenian leaders commenced to make preparations, on a large scale, for a descent on this country. Three lines of operations had been determined on: one from Chicago and other western cities on the Lake Huron coast; another from Buffalo and Rochester, across the Niagara frontier; and a third, and the most formidable of all, from the cities of the Atlantic seaboard, to organize in the vicinity of Ogdensburg. The force to assemble at the latter point was destined to menace Ottawa, only fifty miles distant, to capture Prescott, and operate along the exposed frontier in the direction of the eastern townships. But this system of combined attack was beyond the capacity of the Fenian resources. It rendered necessary a simultaneous movement of their different columns of invasion, and a failure in this respect must largely tend to neutralize every prospect of ultimate success. A few gunboats on the lakes and rivers would have been invaluable at this juncture; but, through the remissness of the home and colonial authorities, these had not been provided. Nor for some cause were adequate preparations adopted to resist the attack which, during the last week in May, it was quite evident would shortly be made. The city of Buffalo, situated at the foot of Lake Erie, now swarmed with Fenian bands, which had collected from all quarters. Before daylight on Friday, the 1st of June, a body of these, about twelve hundred strong, under the command of Gen. O'Neil, crossed at Blackrock, three miles down the Niagara river, at this point about half a mile wide, and established themselves unopposed on Canadian soil. Their first step was to take possession of the ruins of Fort Erie, a short distance above their point of landing, and of the depot of the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway close by; but fortunately not before all the rolling stock had been safely removed. Beyond taking all the

provisions and horses they could lay hands on no violence was offered to the inhabitants, and in some instances guards were furnished by order of O'Neil for their special protection. During the day an American war vessel, the "Michigan," patrolled the river, with the ostensible object of preventing the crossing of reinforcements. Small boats, nevertheless, plied back and forth continually, conveying not only supplies, but recruits to the Fenian camp, no hindrance of any consequence being attempted. But whatever might have been the expectations of the Fenians as to a Canadian rising in their favor, they were almost wholly disappointed. Not half a dozen of the inhabitants joined them altogether; and their only hope of aid lay in reinforcements from the American side of the river, which reached them during the day to the extent of some three hundred men. On Saturday morning O'Neil made a reconnaissance, in force, down the Niagara, to conceal his true objective point. Then, rapidly retracing his steps, he left a guard at Fort Erie, to preserve his communication with Buffalo, and moving in the direction of the Welland Canal, for about ten miles, took up a position in an elevated woodland, termed Limeridge, where a temporary breastwork was at once constructed.

31. Meanwhile, the Canadian military authorities had been actively engaged in making preparations to drive this dangerous band of marauders from our soil. Volunteer corps were called out in every direction, and General Napier, commanding the Western District, instructed to adopt any measures he deemed necessary. During Friday the Queen's Own, a Toronto volunteer corps, composed of college students and other patriotic young men of that city, the 13th Hamilton Volunteers, and the York and Caledonia Volunteer companies, in all not quite nine hundred strong, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Booker, a volunteer officer of no experience, were despatched to Port Colborne, at the Lake Erie entrance of the Welland Canal, to cover that important work. Late on Friday evening a column of eighteen hundred troops, composed of seven hundred and fifty regulars, and the rest of volunteers, with a battery of artillery, all under the command of Colonel Peacock, took post two miles above Niagara Falls, at the classic village of Chippewa. On Saturday morning very little was known about the whereabouts of the enemy, no proper system of scouts having been organized. O'Neil was still supposed to be in the vicinity of Fort Erie, and the design was that Booker's force should

unite with that under Peacock, and attack him there. In pursuance of this plan Booker moved downwards from Port Colborne, at an early hour, six miles by railway and three on foot, and at nine A.M. unexpectedly encountered O'Neil's outposts at Limeridge. Had he been an officer of experience he would have now withdrawn his force leisurely, and communicated with Peacock; but, instead of doing this, the Queen's Own were thrown forward in skirmishing order, and very quickly and gallantly drove back the advanced line of O'Neil on his main body. Had this advance been properly supported, and the whole force, new to the battle-field as it was, been handled with skill, the enemy would unquestionably have been beaten; but, just at the critical moment, an improper order to form square, produced by the sight of a few mounted Fenians, led to immediate confusion, increased by some of the advanced skirmish line getting out of ammunition, and retiring on their supports. The panic so common to raw and badly-led troops now ensued, and the whole force was speedily in full retreat. The loss of the volunteers in this action was one officer and six men killed, and four officers and nineteen men wounded, some quite dangerously. The Fenian loss has never been correctly ascertained, as the possession of the battle-field enabled them to bury their dead without notice; but it was certainly larger than that of the volunteers.

32. O'Neil had not the heart to pursue this temporary advantage, and commenced, soon after the action, a retreat on Fort Erie. He arrived there, about two P.M., to find the post in possession of a force of seventy volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis, who had meanwhile arrived in a tug-boat from Port Colborne, and captured sixty prisoners, which he stowed away in the hold of the vessel. The tug-boat had also rendered efficient service in patrolling the river. A brief action immediately ensued, which necessarily ended disastrously for the little body of volunteers, thirteen of whom were wounded, some badly, and forty made prisoners. But they fought stoutly, and inflicted a loss on the enemy of five killed and quite a number wounded.

33. Worn out with marching and fighting, the Fenians began to understand that campaigning in Canada was not the holiday affair they had anticipated; and after night had set in many of them stole down to the river, and crossed to the American shore in small boats. Meanwhile, their friends in Buffalo were making the most strenuous exertions to reinforce

them; and towards midnight a tug, towing two canal-boats, laden with four hundred well-armed men, and abundant supplies, left the harbor for Fort Erie; while the lower part of the city swarmed with armed sympathizers, and the American authorities were powerless to interfere. But O'Neil and his officers had already given up every hope of success, and all they now desired was to escape in safety from the attack which daylight must bring with it from Peacock's column, lying on its arms a few miles distant. A small boat carried the order from O'Neil, to the officer commanding the reinforcements, to return to Buffalo, and to send the tug and canal-boats to take off his force from Fort Erie. This order reached the reinforcing party when about midway in the river, was obeyed, and shortly after one o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 3d, the bulk of the Fenian force, to the number of fully nine hundred, without even drawing in their pickets, stole on board the boats sent for them, and were speedily on their way to the American shore. Before they could land, however, they were intercepted by the United States armed propeller "Harrison," compelled to surrender, and were soon anchored under the guns of the war-steamer "Michigan." The rest of the Fenians endeavored to cross as best they could, some even, in their extremity, pulling the planks from the wharves, and pushing out into the current upon them. Many also escaped in small boats sent over by their friends, while the remainder, who were probably about two hundred in number, hid themselves in the vicinity, or skulked off into the bush. The prisoners they had captured were all abandoned at Fort Erie, as well as most of their dead and wounded; and when Colonel Peacock came up, on Sunday morning, he found he had nothing to do beyond arresting the straggling Fenians still lingering in the neighborhood, and who were sent to Toronto jail. And thus ingloriously terminated the Fenian invasion of the Niagara frontier. Their New York leaders sought to conceal their chagrin at its ill-success by describing it as a mere feint, designed to cover a more important attack to be made elsewhere.

34. During the earlier part of the ensuing week the American railways leading to Ogdensburg were freighted with large bodies of men for the attack on Prescott and subsequent advance to Ottawa. But the rapid massing of over two thousand volunteers and regulars at the point menaced, and the placing of a British gunboat in the river, completely frustrated their projects. The Fenians now moved downwards to Ma-

lone, as if an attack on Cornwall was contemplated; but a garrison there of three thousand troops and volunteers led them to abandon their designs against this point also. On the 5th fully five thousand Fenians had congregated on the borders of the eastern townships, — a flourishing section of country, with nothing but a surveyed line between it and the United States. But their period of unrestricted action had now passed away. The president could no longer ignore the representations of the British minister at Washington, nor shut his eyes to the fact that war was being made on a friendly country from the United States, and issued a proclamation calling on the Fenians to disperse, and commit no overt acts; while General Meade, an honest and capable officer, was ordered to arrest their leaders and seize their supplies. In pursuance of this order he speedily captured a large amount of arms and ammunition, which arrived by railway at Ogdensburg, and prevented the passage north of other reinforcements. On the 8th, however, a body of Fenians, two thousand strong, under the command of General Spear, crossed the frontier near St. Albans, and marched three miles into the interior. There they formed a sort of camp, and from whence they spread out over the country, plundering every description of property which could possibly be of any use to them. But the advance of troops against them caused them to retreat across the border, where Spear and other leaders were arrested by General Meade, and the masses of mischievous men rapidly dispersed, the American government granting them free conveyance home on the different railway lines. Thus terminated the Fenian invasion of the Canadian frontier. The actual injury to property it produced was not of much account, but the indirect loss sustained by this country — forty thousand volunteers being at one period under arms — was very considerable. No new Fenian attempts were made against Canada. During the summer, gunboats guarded the lake and river approaches; and troops and volunteers stationed at every assailable point demonstrated the folly of farther efforts at invasion. Canada bewailed the death of her college youths and young men of Toronto; but their blood was not shed in vain. It speedily bore fruit; and, in connection with the gallant manner in which a great volunteer force had sprung to arms, raised this country in the opinion of the world, and greatly stimulated the project of confederation. Deeply were the Canadians incensed at the wanton invasion of their borders, and the expense and annoy-

ance they had been put to; and the public voice now loudly demanded that the captured Fenians should receive the most extreme punishment the law could award them.

35. Meanwhile, on the 8th of June, the Legislature had assembled at Ottawa, in the new Parliament buildings. In his opening speech the governor-general set forth, that immediately after the termination of the last session he had, under instructions from the home government, convened a Council of Trade, which included representatives from the different provinces of British North America, and the proceedings of which would be laid before them. He urged that the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States rendered it necessary to seek new avenues of trade; and stated that, with the consent of the imperial authorities, he had sent a deputation to the West Indies and Brazil, to ascertain the best mode of developing and extending commercial relations with those countries. The Fenian attack was also alluded to by his excellency, and, while he deplored the loss of life it caused, he paid a well-merited tribute to the prompt and gallant spirit evinced by the volunteers of the country. To repress further outrages, and to enable improper persons to be summarily dealt with, he asked that the writ of *habeas corpus* be temporarily suspended. And while he congratulated the Chambers on the prosperity of the country, he informed them that the revenue of the past year had been largely in excess of the estimates, and had enabled him, without inconvenience, to provide for the heavy and unlooked-for expenditure entailed by the Fenian outrages.

36. The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty rendered a new tariff a necessity, and Mr. Galt now introduced a bill into the Assembly embodying the desired alterations. It reduced the duty on the great bulk of imported goods five per cent., leaving the maximum rate fifteen per cent., admitted articles which entered largely into the manufactures of the country free, and provided for the deficiency thus produced by increasing the impost on whiskey thirty cents a gallon. While this tariff was a sensible relief to importers of foreign goods it largely stimulated the manufactures of the country; and, with a few isolated interests excepted, gave very general satisfaction. Several other important measures became law during this session. The writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended for one year, the assessment law of Upper Canada amended, and its municipal law subjected to very important modifications, which

raised the franchise in towns, and effected other improvements well received by all classes. On the 3d of July ministers introduced resolutions into the Legislature defining the constitutions of Upper and Lower Canada, respectively, under the proposed measure of confederation, and which were all subsequently embodied in the imperial bill. These proceedings were uneasily regarded by some of the leading politicians of the United States, who strongly deprecated the creation of a united power on their northern frontier, and an attempt was now made to sow the seeds of discord by the introduction of a bill into Congress, which provided for the admission of British North America into the American Union as four separate States, and the assumption of their public debt by the general government. This bill was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It totally failed, however, of its object. The day for annexation had forever departed, and Mr. Banks' congressional bill, already described, was regarded by the Canadian people with the most supreme indifference and contempt, and as an insolent interference with the affairs of an independent country. Early in August Mr. Galt resigned, owing to complications which arose in connection with a school bill, giving larger privileges to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada. It failed to pass, and Mr. Galt, as representing that minority, deeming it treated with injustice, unexpectedly resigned, although avowing himself still prepared to support the general policy of the government. On the 15th of August the cabinet having carried all its measures with large majorities, and the public business having been fully completed, Parliament was prorogued.

37. Towards the close of summer a most disastrous fire occurred at Quebec, by which all of the St. Roch suburb, and also much of the St. Saviour, were burned down. Only a few buildings were left standing in a district a mile long by about half a mile wide; two thousand one hundred and nineteen houses, mostly belonging to the poorer classes, were destroyed, and over twenty thousand people left homeless. Great exertions were made for the relief of the sufferers in Canada, and large contributions were also made for the same object by the benevolent in the mother country. But Quebec is not at all likely to recover from this disaster. Its commerce had already largely declined, and the scattering of its population, which now ensued, accelerated the decay which had so surely seized upon this ancient city. The Fenian trials took place at the October

term, at Toronto, when many of the prisoners were discharged, the grand jury ignoring the bills against them. True bills, however, were found against a large number, several of whom were convicted and sentenced to death, but had their sentences afterwards commuted by the queen to a period of imprisonment in the provincial penitentiary. The calm and firm attitude of our courts of justice during these trials, and the punctilious observance of every form of civil law, constituted the best rebuke to the American politicians, from Seward downwards, who, by an indecent sympathy or interference on behalf of the criminals, pandered to their partisans with the view of securing their electoral support.

Meanwhile, the great project of confederation continued to progress towards final consummation. The Legislatures of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had already passed resolutions adopting the scheme, as did also the Legislature of Newfoundland. But, as regarded the latter, no steps were taken subsequently to carry them into practical effect; while the little Island of Prince Edward repudiated the action of its delegates at Quebec, and wholly declined to become a part of the proposed confederacy. All the necessary preliminaries having been disposed of, delegates from the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick assembled at London, on the 4th of December, to arrange the final terms of the Act of Union to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. Every question at issue having been satisfactorily adjusted, the colonial secretary, the Earl of Caernarvon, introduced, on the 7th of February, 1867, the Confederation Bill into the House of Lords. On the 19th it had its second reading; on the 22d it passed through committee; and on the 26th was read a third time, and sent down to the Commons. It was read a second time there on the 28th of February, and after a brief yet interesting debate the measure was agreed to without a division. It passed through a committee of the whole on the 4th of March, the proposed guaranty for an intercolonial railway loan being alone objected to, but not pressed to a vote. On the 8th it was read a third time, and finally passed without debate. On the 12th a few judicious amendments, made by the Commons, were agreed to by the lords; and on the 28th it received the royal assent, and became the law of the empire. On the following day Mr. Adderley introduced a bill into the Commons, to guarantee a loan of three million pounds sterling for the intercolonial railway, which was accepted by an overwhelming majority, and

also duly passed in the House of Lords. On the 22d of May the work of legislation having been fully completed, and all the other arrangements made, her majesty was pleased to issue her royal proclamation, appointing the 1st of July as the day on which the Dominion of Canada should commence its existence, and nominating its seventy-two senators. The great project of confederation was at length finally and happily completed, and the morning voice of a new people was heard among the nations of the earth. The governors, both French and English, who have administered the affairs in Canada from its earliest settlement to the confederation of 1857, with the dates of appointment, are as follows : —

GOVERNORS OF CANADA DURING FRENCH RULE.

Samuel de Champlain, Viceroy	1612	Count de Frontenac,	1672 and 1680
Marc Antoine de Bras de fer		Sieur de la Barre 1682
de Chateaufort	1635	Marquis de Denonville	1685
Chevalier de Montmagny	1636	Chevalier de Callières	1699
Chevalier d'Ailleboust de Cou-		Marquis de Vaudreuil	1703
longe	1648 and 1657	Marquis de Beauharnois	1726
Jean de Lauzon	1651	Count de Galissonnière	1747
Charles de Lauson Charny	1656	Marquis de la Jonquière	1749
Viscount de Voyer d'Argenson	1658	Marquis du Quesne de Menne-	
Baron du Bois d'Avangour	1661	ville	1752
Chevalier de Saffray Mézy	1663	Marquis de Vaudreuil Cavag-	
Alexandre de Proville Tracy	1663	nal	1755
Chevalier de Courcelles	1665		

GOVERNORS OF CANADA DURING BRITISH RULE.

Gen. James Murray, Gov. Gen.	1765	Sir G. Drummond, Administ. 1815
Paulus E. Irving, Esq., Presi-		Gen. John Wilson, Administ. 1816
dent	1766	Sir J. Coape Sherbrooke	1816
Gen. Sir Guy Carlton (Lord		Duke of Richmond	1818
Dorchester), Governor-Gen-		Sir James Monk, President	1819
eral. 1766, 1774, 1776, and 1793		Sir Peregrine Maitland	1820
Hector T. Cramahé, President.	1770	Earl of Dalhousie	1820 and 1825
Gen. Frederick Haldimand	1773	Sir F. N. Burton, Lieut.-Gov.	1824
Henry Hamilton, Lieut.-Gov.	1774	Sir James Kem, Administ. 1828
Henry Hope, Esq., do.	1775	Lord Aylmer, Administrator	1837
		Earl of Gosford	1837
		Sir J. Colborne (Lord Seaton).	1838
		Earl of Durham	1838
		C. Poulett Thompson (Lord	
		Sydenham)	1839

LOWER CANADA.

Col. Clarke, Lieut.-Gov. 1791
Gen. Robert Prescott	1796
Sir R. S. Milnes	1799
Hon. Thos. Dunn, President,	
	1805 and 1811
Sir J. H. Craig	1807
Sir George Prevost	1811

UPPER CANADA.

Col. J. G. Simcoe, Lieut.-Gov.	1792
Hon. Peter Russell, President.	1792
Gen. Peter Hunter	1799

Hon. Alexander Grant, Pres't 1805	Gen. Sir William Eyre, Adm. 1857
Hon. Francis Gore 1806 and 1815	Lord Viscount Monck, 1861 and 1866
Sir Isaac Brock, President 1811	Gen. Sir John Mielckel, Adm. 1865
Sir R. Hale Sheaffe, President 1813	
Baron F. de Rottenburg, Pres. 1813	
Sir Gordon Drummond 1813	
Sir George Murray 1815	
Sir Frederick P. Robinson 1815	
Hon. Sam. Smith, Adm. 1817 & 1820	
Sir Peregrine Maitland, 1818 & 1820	
Sir J. Colborne (Lord Seaton) 1828	
Sir Francis B. Head 1836	
Sir George Arthur 1833	
	PROVINCE OF CANADA.
	Baron Sydenham and Toronto. 1841
	Gen. Sir R. Jackson, Admin. 1841
	Sir Charles Bagot 1842
	Sir Charles (Baron) Metcalfe 1843
	Earl Cathcart 1845
	Earl of Elgin and Kincardine. 1847
	Sir Edmund W. Head, 1854 and 1857
	Lord Monck 1864

CHAPTER XXIV.

ACADIA FROM 1748 TO 1784.

BRITISH RULE IN NOVA SCOTIA FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK IN 1784.

1. In a previous chapter we have traced events in the history of Acadia to the close of the French and Indian war, which had lost Canada to the French; but in this connection, for the better understanding of the reader, we will go back of that date to the commencement of British rule in the province, not that we shall repeat anything already said, but that we may construct the history from both a logical and chronological stand-point. The Hon. Edward Cornwallis was the first English governor of Nova Scotia who administered the government at Halifax. The English governors who preceded him were located at the ancient capital of Port Royal, where the French governors also resided. The complete list, with the dates of appointment, of both classes are as follows:—

1. FRENCH GOVERNORS OF ACADIE AT PORT ROYAL.

M. de Poutrincourt 1604	M. de Villebon 1687
Isaac de Razillai 1633	M. de Brouillon 1700
Charles de Charnizay 1647	M. de Subercase 1706
Charles de la Tour 1652	Baron St. Castine 1710
M. Manival 1685	

2. ENGLISH GOVERNORS OF NOVA SCOTIA AT PORT ROYAL.

Col. Vetch 1710	Lawrence Armstrong, Esq. 1725
Francis Nicholson, Esq. 1714	Paul Mascarene, Esq. 1740
Richard Phillips, Esq. 1719	

2. P. T. Hobson succeeded Cornwallis in 1752, and Charles Lawrence followed Hobson in 1754, and was followed by Hon. Robert Monckton in 1756. Jonathan Belcher was appointed to the government in 1760, and was succeeded by Montague Wilmont in 1763. The latter died in 1766, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Franklin, whose administration, like that which preceded him, was not remarkable for important events. The colony grew in prosperity, and a steady flow of immigration swelled its population. Agriculture and lumbering were the chief pursuits of the people, and, owing to the restraints of the English government, there was little or nothing done in manufacturing. It is a sorry fact that direct efforts were made by the English government to suppress any attempts at the home production of goods made in England; and in 1768 Governor Franklin received instructions from the Secretary of State to prohibit the working of the Cape Breton coal mines, which was intended as a hindrance to home manufactures and a protection to all that was English. This policy was continued many years, and even after the close of the American war for independence and the advent of the United Empire Loyalists, Cape Breton was kept as if under lock and key; and, while grants of land were freely made in Nova Scotia, none were made in Cape Breton till 1784.

3. This hurtful policy of the government is very clearly set forth in the letter from Governor Franklin to the Earl of Shelburne in 1766. He says: "The country people in general work up, for their own use, into stockings and a stuff called homespun what little wool their few sheep produce. The townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, consisting in the whole of six hundred and ninety-four men, women, and children, composed of people chiefly from the north of Ireland, make all their linen, and even some little to spare to the neighboring towns. This year they raised seven thousand five hundred and twenty-four pounds of flax, which will probably be worked up in their several families during the winter. I cannot omit representing to your lordship on this occasion that *this government has at no time given encouragement to manufactures which could interfere with those of Great Britain; nor has there been the least appearance of any association of private persons for that purpose; nor are there any persons who profess themselves weavers, so as to make it their employment or business, but only work at it in their own families during the winter and other leisure time. It may be also*

proper to observe to your lordship that all the inhabitants of this colony are employed either in husbandry, fishing, or providing lumber; and that all the manufactures for their clothing and the utensils for their farming and fishing are made in Great Britain." This extract reveals the condition of the province at that time with respect to local industries.

4. In Massachusetts, when the excitement was raging over the Stamp Act, the House of Representatives of that province addressed a letter to the speaker of the house in Nova Scotia, in 1768, soliciting the sympathy and support of this province; but, by some good fortune, the letter fell into the hands of the governor, who, without submitting it to the Assembly, forwarded it to the Earl of Shelburne, and sent him therewith the most emphatic assurances of the loyalty of the government and people of Nova Scotia to the crown. The assurance was fully verified throughout the whole Revolution. Nova Scotia, ever loyal, stood firmly by her allegiance.

5. When the war broke out in New England a proclamation was issued by Lieutenant-Governor Legge, who had been appointed in 1773, in which, in the name of the crown, he forbade any correspondence with the rebels in New England. "And an order was afterwards issued by the Assembly prohibiting the exportation of arms, gunpowder, and ammunition, without the sanction of the governor. This was to prevent a traffic in those articles, which would undoubtedly have sprung up, as they were very scarce with the Americans, and prices ranged very high. Indeed the communities of Cobequid and Cumberland did not respect the proclamation, and were punished by disfranchisement. Nova Scotia did not escape altogether the horrors of war during the struggle in the neighboring colonies; some of her settlements were ravaged by privateers, but no regular invasion took place, as was the case with Quebec. The Americans constantly had emissaries at work trying to sap the loyalty of the people, and they so far succeeded that a small demonstration was made by the people of Mongerville, and an attempt made to capture Fort Cumberland (formerly Fort Beauséjour), but it was easily foiled. The people, however, seized a brig which was lying in the Missiquash river, and took it to Machias, where it was sold as a prize. The offence was overlooked by the government on the owner of the brig being indemnified for his loss. The people of Machias, who were empowered by the Massachusetts Assembly, fitted out a sloop,

commanded by Stephen Smith, a member of the Massachusetts Assembly, and made a descent upon the river St. John, destroyed Fort Frederick, and burned the house and stores of Simmons' fishing-station. They also captured a brig of one hundred and twenty tons, laden with supplies for the troops in Boston."

6. The efforts of the Americans on the Nova Scotia Indians proved futile. The agents of the Massachusetts government succeeded in persuading the Micmaes to revolt, and the scheme was carried so far that the Indians entered into a treaty, "agreeing to send six hundred warriors to Washington's assistance; and, in the spring of 1778, a large body of Micmaes and Milicetes appeared at the mouth of the Jemseg, and sent down the British flag to Captain Studholme, who was at Fort Howe, which was equivalent to a declaration of war. Captain Studholme invited all the leading chiefs to attend a council at the fort, at which Mr. Franklin — then commissioner of Indian affairs — was present, and the chiefs were so flattered, feasted, and loaded with presents that they broke their promise to help Washington, and renewed their oath of allegiance to George the Third. The following year they again threatened to break the peace; but more flattery and presents pacified them, and the Indians of Nova Scotia have never made a hostile demonstration since. Several of the numerous privateers which were fitted out in New England during the war combined in June, 1782, to make an attack on Lunenburg. They landed in considerable force, and, compelling some of the inhabitants to pilot them to the town, plundered the settlement, and burnt the house of Mr. Creighton. This was the last hostile act of the war, as far as Nova Scotia was concerned, and the declaration of peace, in 1783, relieved the inhabitants from any farther fears of molestation by privateers. One of these privateers met a tragic end in the harbor of Lunenburg. She was chased by an English cruiser, and put into the harbor; but, while coming to anchor, one of the officers — who had formerly been a seaman in the British navy — set fire to the magazine to escape the fate of a deserter, and, out of a crew of about one hundred, only six were saved."

7. In 1776 Legge was recalled, but being a relative of the Earl of Dartmouth continued through that influence to hold the position of governor, and draw the pay for many years, the affairs of the province being administered by Lieutenant-Gov-

ernors Arbuthnot, Hughes, Hammond, Parr, and Fanning. Legge was a sharp man of business, very industrious, and was particularly active in correcting abuses in the expenditure of the public funds. He made himself unpopular by examining into the past expenses of the province, which was then twenty thousand pounds in debt, and much excitement was caused by the fact that the books of the late treasurer could not be found. Legge was greatly disliked by the council, and that body was glad of his recall.

8. The war had not been fairly over in the United States when the loyalists began to pour into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. On the 18th of May, 1783, the ships bearing the first arrivals of these loyalists arrived at Navy Island, and during the summer over five thousand had settled between Passtown and St. Ann's. The arrivals at Annapolis, Port Roseway, and other points, were also large, and in the fall of 1783 the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, in a letter to Lord North, estimated the whole number of loyalist emigrants at over thirteen thousand. They included all classes, — disbanded soldiers, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, farmers, and mechanics. They brought nothing with them but a persistent energy, but that has proved a valuable acquisition for the maritime provinces.

9. In 1783 Nova Scotia vindicated her intelligence by removing some of the disabilities from Roman Catholics. The province, on this point, was in advance of the mother country. However, all of these disabilities were not removed until 1829. The new population from the American colonies was destined to work a considerable change in the political divisions of the country. At first they began to urge a larger representation for the districts which they occupied in the Legislature. Next they began to agitate for a division of the province, — a policy which the governor strongly opposed, and which gave rise to much ill feeling. Governor Parr went so far as to remove some of the loyalists to the opposite side of the Bay of Fundy; but this did not help the difficulty, and the loyalists, who had many warm friends at the English court, urged a division so judiciously that the ministry yielded to their desires, and the province of New Brunswick was created, and received its name in honor of the House of Brunswick, the reigning family of England. The division took place in the fall of 1784, and Col. Thomas Carleton, brother of Lord Dorchester, was appointed the first

governor of the new province. In the same year Cape Breton was made a separate province, and, as the island of St. John (Prince Edward Island) had been separated from Nova Scotia in 1770, there were now four separate governments in the maritime provinces.

CHAPTER XXV.

NOVA SCOTIA FROM 1784 TO 1837.

CAPE BRETON — THE WAR OF 1812-14, FROM A NOVA SCOTIA STAND-POINT — INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE PROVINCE.

1. THE province prospered well under the government of Edward Fanning, Esq., from 1783 to 1791. The event which caused most excitement and pleasure was the arrival, on the 4th of October, 1786, of H.R.H. Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV. The city dressed herself in her best attire, and presented quite a festive appearance during his stay. In 1792 John Wentworth arrived at Halifax as governor. His first act was to dissolve the Assembly which had sat for seven years. The new election passed off quietly. In May, 1794, H.R.H. Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, and the father of the present Queen Victoria, arrived at Halifax, where he remained for some time. But three years later a sad event occurred to cast a gloom over the province. H.M. frigate, "La Tribune," a fine ship of forty-two guns, was lost near Herring Cove, and out of the crew of two hundred and forty men, with some women and children, only eight lives were saved. Many of the unfortunate crew clung to the rigging for hours, but were all washed off or fell exhausted into the sea; the first person who went to their rescue the next morning being a boy of thirteen, who went out alone in a skiff.

2. Sir John Wentworth, who had been knighted since his arrival in the country, administered the affairs of the province, for sixteen years, in a very satisfactory manner. He was a strong supporter of the church, and through his influence King's College was established at Windsor, in the interests of the Church of England, all other denominations being excluded. He was an accomplished gentleman, and retired from the gov-

ernment with the respect of all classes. He was succeeded by Sir George Provost, in 1808. The latter administered the affairs of the province until 1811, when he was called to the governorship of Canada. His term was not characterized by any very important events. He made a tour of the province, and expressed himself as highly pleased with the general progress of the several industries. The governor laid the foundation stone of the provincial building in 1811, and in doing so he said, "May the building which shall arise from this foundation perpetuate the loyalty and liberality of Nova Scotia." It was now evident that a war would take place between England and the United States, and Sir George was transferred to the government of Canada, his place in Nova Scotia being taken by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke. Sir John arrived at Halifax in October, 1811. In the following June Parliament was summoned to meet the demands of the war. Eight thousand pounds were voted for block-houses, twenty-two thousand pounds for militia purposes, and provision was made for borrowing thirty thousand pounds for general defence. The war nearly doubled all kinds of trade in Halifax. It was from this port that the "Shannon," under Capt. Broke, sailed for Boston harbor, where she met and so completely demolished the "Chesapeake," of which an account has already been given. Early in July, 1814, instructions were received to assume the offensive towards the State of Maine, lying near New Brunswick. Sir John Coape Sherbrooke sent Col. Pilkington, with a small force, to take possession of Moose Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, which he did, the garrison of seven officers and eight men surrendering themselves prisoners of war. On the 26th of August Sir John sailed from Halifax, with a fleet under Admiral Griffiths, and, ascending the Penobscot river, established himself at Castine in September, without opposition, the enemy having destroyed the magazine and retreated. Sir John next sent six hundred troops, with a body of sailors, to capture the frigate "Adams," which had passed up to Hampden, where she was protected by some batteries. The towns of Machias and Bangor were taken, and the whole country from Penobscot to New Brunswick was brought under the British rule, where it remained till the end of the war. Sir John Sherbrooke was publicly thanked for this gallant service, and the Assembly voted one thousand pounds to buy him a service of plate. Nova Scotia flourished during the war in every department of trade and commerce. Sir John was a popular

governor, and just before he retired the principal citizens of Halifax tendered him a grand banquet. He remained in office until 1816, when he was promoted to the governor-generalship of Canada. The affairs of the province were administered temporarily by Maj.-Gen. Stracy Smith, until the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie, who regularly succeeded Sir John Sherbrooke.

3. The earl's administration was distinguished by the founding of Dalhousie college. The Legislature, on the recommendation of the governor, granted thirty-nine thousand dollars, out of the Castine fund, — a fund raised in Maine during the war, while the British held possession there. This grant was for the founding of a college in Halifax, in connection with the church of Scotland, but open to all denominations. In 1818 a part of the parade-ground was given for a site for the proposed college. In 1819 the Legislature made a grant of eight thousand dollars for the erection of a new institution to be called Dalhousie college. In 1820 the college was incorporated, and one year after another grant was made of four thousand dollars towards the erection of a building. Owing to a variety of causes, chief of which was the existence of several rival institutions in Nova Scotia, the new institution was not put in successful operation until 1863, when various denominations united to support it. The general business affairs of the province fell into a condition of comparative stagnation after the war, and for a considerable period hard times prevailed; but the able administration of the Earl of Dalhousie did much to revive the lagging industries. The earl was promoted to the governor-generalship of Canada, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt, G.C.B., in June, 1820.

4. Sir James opened his administration with an effort to annex Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, and we may therefore glance over the history of that island from its erection into a separate province, in 1754, to the reunion with Nova Scotia, in 1820; and in the first place Cape Breton did not enjoy a very successful career as a separate dependency. The council constantly quarrelled with itself and with the governor. Major Desbarres was the first governor appointed, and he arrived in 1784. Previously Louisbourg had been the capital of the island; but the new governor selected a site on Spanish river, and built a residence there. He called the place Sydney, in honor of the colonial secretary of that day. This place has grown to be a considerable town, and was the capital of the island throughout

its separate existence. In 1786 grants were made to loyalists, and the settlements greatly increased. Desbarres was succeeded by Colonel McCormick, but the administration of the latter was not attended with much success for the people of the island. When he retired the government was left with the president of the council or his successor. The immigration of Highlanders was an event in the history of Cape Breton, and with them came a declaration from the crown, in answer to internal disputes, uniting the island with Nova Scotia. The laws of Nova Scotia were extended over the province. An attempt was made to reverse the decision of the crown; but it proved unavailing, and the island has ever since remained, politically, a part of Nova Scotia.

5. The death of the Right Reverend Edmund Burke, first Roman Catholic Bishop of Nova Scotia, in 1820, was lamented by all classes. He was one of the most enlightened and liberal-minded prelates of America. A very extensive and destructive bush fire occurred in September, 1820, which rendered about sixty families homeless and destitute. Sir James Kempt at once sent a government vessel laden with provisions to their relief, and subscriptions for their benefit were also taken up throughout the province. The administration of Sir James Kempt, which lasted eight years, was a mild and prosperous one, unmarked by any political agitation or any very noteworthy incidents. The great fire at Miramichi, in 1825, elicited deep and wide-spread sympathy throughout the province, and handsome subscriptions for the sufferers were taken up in the different districts. Sir James Kempt assiduously devoted himself to the consideration of the roads in the province, which were in a wretched condition, and made a tour through several districts for the purpose of personal inspection, the result of which was that at the session of Parliament in 1828 he recommended many great and important changes in the manner of conducting the department, which suggestions were adopted by the house, to the subsequent great advantage of the province. Sir James Kempt left the province in August, 1828, and Hon. Mr. Wallace acted as administrator until the arrival of Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had been transferred from Upper Canada. At the session of Parliament in 1824 a considerable commotion was created over the suspension of Mr. Barry, member for Shelburne. The affair has been thus recorded: "In presenting a petition from some militia-men asking to be relieved from duty, he made use of some expressions for which he was censured by

the house and ordered to apologize. This he refused to do, and was suspended. He then tried to get his constituents to petition the house to expel him, so that he might be reelected and escape having to apologize; failing in this he wrote a violent letter against the committee which had reported on his case, and attacked its individual members. For this he was brought to the bar of the house, and ordered to be imprisoned for contempt during the balance of the session; but he was rescued by a number of his friends, and the members of the house hooted at and pelted with stones and snow until the military were called out and the mob dispersed. Mr. Barry was subsequently arrested and imprisoned for the remainder of the session, being also expelled the house. He was reelected for Shelburne, and took his seat quietly next session, when he was not disturbed. The Assembly showed more temper, however, with the editors of the "Acadian Recorder" and "Free Press," who published Mr. Barry's letters, and these gentlemen were called to the bar of the house on the 8th of April, 1829, and reprimanded by the speaker, an attack on the liberty of the press which was resented by Mr. Joseph Howe, then of the "Nova Scotian," who said in his next issue: "The Assembly claims freedom of speech within its walls, and those to whom the press is entrusted claim it without; and if the editors are brought for offences to the bar of the house, legislators may depend upon this,—that they will be brought individually and collectively to a bitter expiation before the bar of the public."

6. The "quit-rents" question was a prominent one in Nova Scotia politics in these days, as in the adjacent provinces also. Now these quit-rents originated in this way: when Governor Laurence, in 1759, issued a proclamation with reference to the granting of public lands, it was stipulated that all such lands should be subject to a quit-rent of one shilling a year for every fifty acres, to be paid, after the expiration of ten years, to the receiver-general. Small as this tax was it was not paid, poverty being the general plea, and the collection was not enforced. In 1811 these taxes amounted to some forty thousand pounds, and an effort was made by the receiver-general to collect them; but he had only got in a few hundred pounds when he was ordered to suspend the collection, on account of a petition to the home government from the House of Assembly. The matter then remained in abeyance until 1827, when Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the colonies, issued an order remitting all back rents up to the 1st of January

of that year, but ordering their collection in future, the proceeds to be used for such local improvements as might please the judgment of his majesty. This plan, however, met with no success, and, in 1829, the Assembly gravely resolved: "That it does not appear to be the general wish of the inhabitants of the country that . . . said quit-rents should be collected and enforced; but, on the contrary, this house is induced to believe that the relinquishment of the claim would give general satisfaction to the people of Nova Scotia, as their long suspension had produced a belief among the inhabitants in general that they would never be insisted on, and that the transfers of land had been, with scarcely an exception, made under that impression." In 1830 there was a dispute between the house and the council on the question of the tax on brandy. Soon after the temperance movement began in the province, and many societies were formed. Steam was introduced, ferries were established, and in 1831 a steamboat made regular trips between Pictou and New Glasgow. In October, 1832, the administration of Sir Perregrine Maitland terminated, and Hon. T. N. Jeffery became administrator until the arrival of the new lieutenant-governor, Sir Colin Campbell.

7. The short administration of Hon. T. N. Jeffery was full of events. He met Parliament, and beyond congratulating the house on the escape of the province from cholera, and on the union with Cape Breton, there was very little in the speech from the throne. Chief-Justice Blowers having resigned after thirty-five years' service, the administrator appointed Judge Haliburton to the vacancy, and recommended the house to grant Judge Blowers a pension. He also submitted a despatch from Lord Goderich recommending an increase in the salaries of judges, the pay not being considered sufficient. The chief-justice received eight hundred and fifty pounds per annum; puisne judges, five hundred and fifty pounds per annum; associate judge, three hundred and sixty pounds; master of the rolls, five hundred and forty pounds; chief-justice inferior court Cape Breton, four hundred and fifty pounds; the three judges of the eastern, western, and middle divisions, four hundred and five pounds each. The house in reply adopted an address to his majesty, stating the willingness of the house at all times to accede to his majesty's wishes, and to contribute all possible aid to the government, when required to do so, in the manner prescribed by the British constitution and the usages of the Imperial Parliament; and prayed that the con-

trol of the casual and territorial revenue should be given to the house. A considerable portion of the time of the Assembly was taken up in discussing the currency question, and a bill passed to the effect that only coin or treasury-notes be received for provincial duties; that all notes issued by banks or individuals should be convertible into gold or silver on demand; that the passing of any bills not so payable on demand should be prohibited. The bill passed the house, but was rejected by the council; the members, however, expressing their concurrence in the principle that all bank-notes should be convertible into specie on demand. This principle was shortly after adopted. On the occasion of the opening of the next session of Parliament, in 1834, the administrator sent down a message on the subject of the casual and territorial revenues, and the quit-rents, enclosing an extract from a letter of Mr. E. G. Stanley, Secretary of State for the colonies, in which he offered to surrender to the house the casual and territorial revenues in exchange for a fixed civil list and the quit-rents, on adequate provision being made for the support and independence of the judicial establishment of the province. The solicitor-general moved the adoption of a series of resolutions agreeing to the proposal, and a bill was introduced and read a first time. It provided for the salaries as follows: chief-justice, twelve hundred pounds, besides travelling expenses and certain fees; attorney-general, six hundred pounds; solicitor-general, two hundred pounds; assistant judges of the Supreme Court, seven hundred pounds each; master of the rolls, seven hundred and fifty pounds; first justice of Cape Breton, four hundred and fifty pounds; three justices of common pleas and presidents of sessions, three hundred and fifty pounds each; the provincial secretaries, one thousand pounds, besides five hundred pounds as register, one hundred pounds as clerk of the council, and four hundred pounds for clerks and contingencies. The salary of the governor was fixed at twenty-five hundred pounds. The publication of the salary-list caused great indignation, as it was held that the province was not in a position to stand so heavy a civil list, and petitions from several counties, as well as the city of Halifax, were presented against it, and farther consideration of the bill was laid over until next session. Nova Scotia at this time was almost as completely in the hands of a "Family Compact" as was Upper Canada. It controlled the executive and legislative councils, the meetings of which were held with closed doors, and was very tenacious of its

rights and privileges during this session. "The first attack on the oligarchy was made by Mr. Alex. Stewart, in the shape of three resolutions, having for their object the throwing open of the doors of the council; an increase of the number of councillors by members chosen from the country (all the members of the council at this time were residents of Halifax), and the divesting it of its executive powers. The resolutions led to nothing at the time, but the discussion of them drew attention to the composition of the council, and prepared the public mind for the changes which were to come."

8. The new governor, Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., arrived in Halifax, in July, 1834, and assumed the reins of government, relieving Mr. Jeffery, after an administration of eighteen months. "The year 1834 was a dark one for Nova Scotia, and especially for Halifax. Two years' successive bad harvests greatly reduced the province, while the scarcity of coin, and the flooding of the country with irredeemable paper money, on which the people had to lose nearly four per cent., caused not only heavy loss, but great inconvenience. The prices of produce fell very much, fish declined over thirty per cent., and many heavy failures took place in Halifax; but business trouble was not the only calamity that befell Halifax during this luckless summer, for the grim spectre of cholera marched through her streets, and laid many of her fairest sons and daughters in the cold and silent tomb; while fear of the dread disease drove hundreds from the city and kept the country people from entering it, so that on market day the streets were almost as deserted as on the Sabbath during church hours. The disease made its first appearance on the 14th of August, when several cases were reported, and all through that month and part of September, the death-rate continued to increase until September, when twenty-three deaths were reported as having taken place, on the previous day, out of one hundred and fifty-four cases." Soon after the weather became cooler, and the disease gradually disappeared.

9. The session of Parliament of 1836 was characterized by a settlement of the quit-rents question, and the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of education in the province. The report of the committee informs us that an act for the establishment of common and grammar schools had been passed in 1832, the support depending on the voluntary contributions of each district. The report shows that, in 1836, there were five hundred and thirty schools in the province, at-

tended by an aggregate of fifteen thousand children, which was a good exhibit. An election was held in 1836, at which Mr. Joseph Howe and Mr. William Annand were elected to represent Halifax County. These were two of the ablest reform men of that day, and, with their accession to the house, new difficulties arose between that body and the council. Mr. Howe introduced twelve resolutions, concerning the council, which present the state of affairs at that time. Therefore, the following synopsis is given:—In the infancy of the colony its government was necessarily vested in a governor and council, and even after a representative assembly was granted, the practice of choosing members of council exclusively from the heads of departments, and persons resident in the capital, was still pursued, and, with a solitary exception, had been continued to the present time. The practical effect of this system had been in the highest degree injurious to the interests of the country, inasmuch as one branch of the Legislature had been generally composed of men who, from want of local knowledge and experience, were not qualified to decide upon the wants of distant portions of the province, by which the efforts of the representative branch were in many instances neutralized. Among the proofs that might be adduced of the evils arising from the imperfect structure of the council, it was only necessary to refer to the unsuccessful efforts of the Assembly to extend to the outports the advantages of foreign trade; to the large sum which it was compelled, after a long struggle, to resign for the support of the customs establishment; to the difficulties thrown in the way of a liberal system of education, and to the recent abortive attempt to abolish the fees taken by the judges of the Supreme Court. At the last census of the population, taken in 1827, the membership of the Episcopal Church was twenty-eight thousand, and that of the dissenters one hundred and fifteen thousand; yet the appointments to the council were mainly made from the members of the Episcopal Church, so as to secure to that body a decided majority at the board. There were now



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in the council eight members representing the church, whilst the Presbyterians, who were much more numerous, had but three representatives, and the Roman Catholics — a large body — had but one representative; the Methodists and Baptists being entirely unrepresented. The bishop of the Episcopal Church was a member of the council, whilst the Roman Catholic bishop and clergymen of all other denominations were excluded. The result of this state of things was a general and injurious system of favoritism and monopoly, extending almost through every department of the public service over which the local government had no control, thereby vesting in the hands of a part of the population the resources arising from the industry of the whole, and creating invidious distinction and jealous discontent in the minds of a large number of his majesty's subjects. Two family connections embraced five members of the council. Till very recently five others were copartners in one mercantile concern, and to this circumstance might be attributed the failure of the efforts of the Assembly to fix a standard of value, and establish a sound currency in the province. The Assembly had for years asserted this right to control the casual and territorial revenues of the country, whether arising from the fees of office, the sale of lands, or the royalty paid upon the produce of the mines; but their efforts to obtain justice had been unsuccessful. The lands of the province were in effect mortgaged to pay the commissioner a salary out of all proportion to the services he was called upon to perform, while all the mines and minerals of the province had been leased for sixty years to a wealthy English company, without the consent of the representatives of the people. The presence of the chief-justice at the council board was unwise and injurious, having a tendency to lessen the respect which the people ought to feel for the courts over which he presided. From the warm interest he had always felt in public questions, and particularly in some of those in which the representative branch and the council had been diametrically opposed, and from the influence which his position gave him over a numerous bar, he had generally been regarded as the head of a political party, and frequently brought into violent conflict with a people imbued with the truly British idea that judges ought not to mingle in the trials and contentions of politics. The evils arising from the structure of the council, and the disposition evinced by some of its members to protect their own interests and emoluments at the public expense, were rendered more injurious by the unconstitutional and insulting

practice, still pertinaciously adhered to by that body, of shutting out the people from their deliberations,—a practice which was opposed to that of the House of Lords in England, of the legislative councils of Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, and persevered in notwithstanding the murmurs and complaints of the people, and the repeated representations and remonstrances of the Assembly. In England the people by one vote of their representative could change the ministry, and alter any course of policy injurious to their interests; but here the ministry and his majesty's council, combining legislative, judicial, and executive powers, held their seats for life, and treated with contempt or indifference the wishes of the people, and the representatives of Commons. In England the representative branch could compel a redress of grievances by withholding the supplies. Here they had no such remedy, because the salaries of nearly all the public officers being provided for by a permanent clause, or paid out of the casual or territorial revenues, or from the produce of duties collected under the imperial acts, a stoppage of supplies, while it inflicted a great injury on the country by leaving the roads, bridges, and other essential services unprovided for, would not touch the emoluments of the heads of departments in the council, or of any but a few of the subordinate officers of the government. As a remedy for these grievances it was suggested to pray his majesty to take such steps, either by granting an elective legislative council, or by such other reconstruction of the local government as would insure responsibility to the commons, and confer on the people of the province, what they valued above all other possessions, the blessings of the British constitution. The council was embittered with these resolutions, and, on the 5th of March, gave the house the alternative of rescinding them or being ignored by the council altogether. This created the greatest excitement, and Mr. Howe himself moved to rescind the obnoxious resolutions, and the motion was adopted, by which the public business was resumed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NOVA SCOTIA FROM 1837 TO 1852.

THE BATTLE AND VICTORY OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT — RAILWAYS —
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROVINCE.

1. THE fishery question, which has ever been one of great difficulty in the maritime provinces, is still unsettled. The Americans have had the advantage of British American waters for many years, and have managed, through diplomacy, to pay but little therefor. The war of 1812-15 put a stop to American fishing for the time being, and Nova Scotia took advantage of the temporary suspension to petition the home government that the right of the province should thereafter be more definitely respected in treaty enactments. By the treaty of Paris, 1815, the fisheries question was left to a convention, which did not settle the terms on which the Americans could fish in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland waters until 1818, when an arrangement was agreed to by which foreigners were excluded from fishing within three miles of the headlands, or landing on its coasts. These conditions were speedily broken by the American fishermen, who bought bait from the inhabitants, set nets in the harbors, and otherwise violated the treaty. Thus things continued, and in 1837 the Assembly voted five hundred pounds for arming small vessels for the protection of the coast.

2. In 1837 an effort was made to incorporate the town of Halifax, but was unsuccessful, the house refusing to grant the petition. The rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada was not sympathized in by the reformers of Nova Scotia. At the session of the house in 1838, the address from Sir Colin Campbell, the governor, informed the Assembly of the suppressing of the rebellion in Lower Canada, and thanked the people, through their representatives, for the loyal and patriotic manner in which they had acted during the troubles in the sister provinces. Messages were sent down during the session embodying despatches from the home government, in which almost all the reforms petitioned for at the last session were granted. It was ordered that neither the chief-justice nor any of his colleagues should sit in the council, so that the administrators of justice

may be entirely removed from all participation in political affairs; the right of the representatives of the people to control the whole revenue of the province was admitted; the rents and royalties of the mines were placed at the disposal of the house, and the change in the constitution of the council demanded by the house in its petition granted. By this change two councils were created, one purely executive, consisting of nine members, and the other legislative, consisting of nineteen members. The governor was instructed to send a list of names of the persons he would suggest for appointment to the two councils, and proposed that all the members of the old council should be reappointed to one of the new councils; but Lord Glenelg declined to accede to this, expressing the desire of her majesty, however, that all the present councillors who were not reappointed should retain their rank and title on retiring into private life, as there was no intention to subject them to reproach or discredit. In the formation of the executive council not more than one fourth were to be public officers, and the other members were to be appointed from different parts of the province and different religious denominations, in such manner that it should be made evident that no invidious selections were made on religious grounds. Sir Colin Campbell, however, entirely ignored the latter part of his instructions, and out of nine executive councillors seven were members of the Church of England; and out of the nineteen members of the legislative council ten belonged to the same communion. This action was highly distasteful to the Assembly, and a resolution was adopted that a committee be appointed to wait on the lieutenant-governor and express the dissatisfaction of the house at his not having carried out the liberal instructions of the home government. Before anything more was done, however, a despatch was received requiring the reconstruction of the council, which was accordingly dissolved, and the house prorogued.

3. The enthusiasm of the Assembly on the receipt of information that American troops had occupied part of New Brunswick, on account of difficulties growing out of the frontier question, characterized the session of 1839. The house at once put eight thousand men at the disposal of the governor and voted one hundred thousand pounds to defray expenses. Fortunately war was avoided, as will be seen in our history of New Brunswick. During this session Messrs. Herbert Huntington and William Young were appointed by the Assembly to proceed to England and urge on the government the justice of granting

responsible government; while the legislative council appointed Hon. Alex. Stewart and Hon. Louis M. Wilkins to oppose any change in the existing style of government. The delegates of the Assembly had several interviews with Lord Normandy, and gained certain concessions. Cumberland, Pansboro', Windsor, Shelburne, and Lunenburg were made free ports of entry; the customs and excise departments were combined, thus saving about one thousand five hundred pounds a year to the province, and some reforms were effected in the management of the postal department. A bill was also sanctioned by government allowing actual settlers to acquire land as low as one shilling an acre. The publication of the Earl of Durham's report on the British American colonies, in which he urged a union of all the provinces, caused much excitement in Nova Scotia, and popular feeling was altogether opposed to the projected union. The Assembly passed a series of resolutions against the project, the strongest of which was as follows: "That a federal union of the British American colonies would prove an extremely difficult if not an impracticable measure; that the experiment, if practicable, would be eminently dangerous to the interests of the mother country as well as those of the colonies; that its tendency would be to separate the colonies from the parent State, by imbuing the rising generation with a fondness of elective institutions to an extent inconsistent with the British constitution; that it would involve the lower colonies, which are now contented and peaceable, in the political discussions of Lower Canada, and add greatly to their local and general expenditures, without producing any adequate benefit to them, to the Canadas, or to the empire at large."

4. But there are some other things aside from politics, events of which mention should be made. The province was steadily growing, emigrants flowed in, trade and commerce flourished, and the necessity for the greater use of that great civilizer of the nineteenth century — steam — was beginning to be felt. As early as 1838 efforts were made by Judge Haliburton and others to establish steam communication between Halifax and Liverpool, and in the spring of that year he had an interview with Captain Claxton, secretary of the Bristol Steam Packet Company, on the subject, and afterwards attended a meeting of the owners of the "Great Western," who expressed their willingness to put vessels on the line, provided the government would grant a subsidy for carrying the mails. Application was also made in the summer of 1838 to Lord

Clenelg, by Mr. Howe and Mr. Wm. Crane, of New Brunswick, and his lordship promised to give the matter his attention. During the following year the matter was put into definite shape by the government entering into a contract with Mr. Samuel Cunard (afterwards knighted), a native of Halifax, for the carrying of a weekly mail between Liverpool and Halifax and Boston, the annual subsidy being fifty-five thousand pounds. This project was successfully carried out, and the line thus established now ranks among the largest steamship companies in the world, numbering over fifty vessels. The year previous the first railway in Nova Scotia was opened, running between Albion coal mines and New Glasgow. The event was celebrated by a grand banquet, at which over two thousand persons sat down to an abundance. But, while these internal improvements were going on, the fight for responsible government waged with greater intensity. Mr. Howe led the reformers, and they pushed the cause with great enthusiasm. Sir Colin Campbell was a staunch old tory, and, although the home government had instructed him to administer the affairs of the province in accordance with the wishes of the people, he was not to be persuaded. He had resolutely set his face against responsible government, and he fought it as courageously and as persistently as he, fourteen years afterwards, fought the Russian army at Balaklava with his "noble six hundred." He replied to the house, that to comply with its request would be to introduce a change in the fundamental law of the province, and he could not interpret the secretary's letter as bearing so liberal a construction as that; he therefore declined to make any changes in the executive council. The house and the governor were now at direct variance; and the only course left for the former to resort to was to petition the home government to remove Sir Colin, which was done in a very moderate-toned address, calmly but forcibly setting forth the reasons for the desired change, and couched in such respectful but irresistible language that the home government could not fail to see, that, if the governor would not exercise the power placed in his hands, some one must succeed him, who would. The concluding paragraph states the case very clearly: "That your majesty will join with this house in obviating the necessity for such appeals" (referring to appeals to the public opinion of the other colonies, and not to arms, as may be inferred); "that you will repress these absurd attempts to govern provinces by the aid, and for the exclusive benefit, of

minorities, this Assembly confidently believe; and, in asking your majesty to remove Sir Colin Campbell, and send to Nova Scotia a governor who will not only represent the crown, but carry out its policy with firmness and good faith, the representatives of Nova Scotia perform a painful duty to their sovereign, and to their constituents, but recommend the only remedy which they fear can now be applied to establish harmony between the executive and the legislature of this province."

5. The fight for responsible government was now fairly inaugurated, and Joseph Howe was its champion and leader. On the 30th of March, 1840, a public meeting was held in Masonic Hall, Halifax, at which the action of the Assembly in requesting the recall of Sir Colin Campbell was freely discussed by both the friends and opponents of the Assembly; but, after a debate of about seven hours, it broke up in some confusion, and both parties claimed to have had the support of a majority of those present. All doubt, however, as to the intention of the colonial secretary was soon after set at rest by the arrival of the report of a speech made by him in the Imperial Parliament on presenting some Canadian correspondence, on the 23d of March (a week before the Halifax meeting was held). He said, "The practice had unfortunately prevailed that there had been one set of men enjoying the confidence of the governor, forming very often a small party in the colony, distributing the revenues of the country according to their own notions; and, on the other hand, there had been men, ambitious perhaps, stirring perhaps, but at the same time of great public talents, and that these should be excluded from their share in the administration seemed an unfortunate and vicious system; and they thought that, by the rule of the administration, a better practice ought to be introduced. In conformity with this opinion his predecessor in office, the Marquis of Normandy, informed the governor of Nova Scotia that, whenever a vacancy occurred in the council, he was to fill it up by those persons selected from the majority of the Assembly whom he thought most qualified for such a trust. The occasion of making appointments arose soon after he had succeeded his noble friend, and the Governor of Nova Scotia requested to know whether he was to act on the directions which he had received from his predecessor. He told him he was; and he knew no better way of giving confidence to the provinces, and at the same time making the leaders of the Assembly practised men of business,

than by appointing them to situations of official trust and responsibility. He could by no means lay down an inflexible rule on the subject, but he maintained a general style should be adopted by which the leaders among the majority of the Assembly should be included in the executive government."

6. The marriage of Queen Victoria, in 1840, was the cause of great rejoicings in Nova Scotia; also, the arrival of the pioneer Cunard steamer "Britannia," on the 17th July, after a very successful passage of twelve days and a half, — a happy omen of the good fortune which has attended that lucky line to the present day. Her arrival was made quite an event in both Halifax and Boston, especially at the latter place, where she was most enthusiastically received, and Mr. Cunard was presented by the citizens with a service of plate in acknowledgment of his services. During the summer Halifax was visited by Mr. C. Poulet Thompson, Governor-General of the British Provinces in North America, who carefully consulted with the leaders of both parties on the subject of the proposed reforms in the constitution of the province. In particular he had a long interview with Mr. Howe, who read and explained to him his (Mr. Howe's) pamphlet on responsible government, in which he argued that it could be just as safely and profitably applied to Nova Scotia as to England. The governor asked many questions and explanations, and when he left the province the reformers felt perfectly assured that his report would be in favor of granting their reasonable demands. It was now generally known that Sir Colin Campbell was to be recalled and Viscount Falkland was to succeed him. His lordship arrived at Halifax in September, 1840, and Sir Colin Campbell retired with the respect of nearly all classes, notwithstanding his bitter opposition to the advocates of responsible government.

7. Lord Falkland was no sooner installed in the government than he caused the retirement of several of the executive council, and summoned Messrs. Howe and M'Nab to that body. This was the beginning of responsible government. The house was dissolved in 1840, and a new election ordered, which, however, did not materially change the complexion of that body, as the reformers were still in a respectable majority. On the meeting of the new house, in 1841, Joseph Howe was elected speaker. The principal acts of the session were those granting aid to general educational purposes, and incorporating the town of Halifax. In 1843 the Assembly became entangled

over the question of denominational colleges, and the governor dissolved the house, and at the next election the reformers were beaten by a light majority. The act of dissolution created a wider breach between the governor and the reform party. Messrs. Howe and Annand were the leaders of the latter, and Mr. Johnson was the champion of the Tories. The difficulty between the two parties was increased when Mr. B. Alison, a gentleman who was a relative of Mr. Johnson's, but had not a seat in either branch of the Legislature, was called to the executive council by Lord Falkland, who maintained that the right of appointing to office rested entirely in his own hands. On the appointment being made known, Messrs. Howe, Uniache, and McNab, tendered the resignation of their seats in the executive council.

8. The governor, in his speech from the throne, in 1844, laid down as his policy, that he did not think that the executive council should be composed entirely of one party, and that it would be most conducive to the interests of the province to have all parties represented; and that while he would use the royal prerogative mildly and justly, for the benefit of all classes of her majesty's subjects, he would strongly oppose any attempt to infringe on it. The debate on the address lasted two weeks, and was finally carried by a narrow majority of two, the vote being twenty-six to twenty-four. Towards the end of the session Mr. Howe moved a vote of want of confidence in the executive council, but was defeated by three votes. Overtures were made to Messrs. Howe, Uniache, and McNab to resume their seats in the council, but they declined, and soon afterwards Mr. Howe resumed his connection with the "Nova Scotian" and "Morning Chronicle," and began a fierce newspaper war on the governor, who was constantly lampooned in the columns of those journals. The governor still continued his efforts to get some of the reform party into the council, and tendered seats to five gentlemen, two of whom were Catholics, but excluded Mr. Howe, for the reason — as stated in a despatch to Lord Stanley, colonial secretary — that the main fact of his being reinstated in the council, after the bitter attacks made by him through his newspaper on the representative of her majesty, would be a degradation of his (the governor's) position, and make Mr. Howe *de facto* governor of Nova Scotia. The colonial secretary entirely approved of Lord Falkland's conduct in asserting his right to call whom he pleased to assist him in his deliberations with regard to the government of the province.

9. The session of the Assembly in 1845 was a stormy one, but the government had a majority strong enough to facilitate the business, and the reformers could do nothing but continue their scurrilous abuse of the governor in the columns of the "Chronicle" and "Nova Scotian,"—a class of journalism at which Mr. Howe was an expert. One doggerel composition in particular, entitled "The Lord of the Bedchamber," caused much indignation, and was made the subject of discussion in the house. During the summer Lord Falkland made a journey through the province, but was coldly received in several places, and in some almost openly insulted. During the year 1845 the question of a railway from Halifax to Quebec was very freely discussed in the press, and a provincial committee was appointed, who collected a deal of valuable information as to the route, etc., and strongly urged the great advantage such a line would be to the province in developing its resources, and increasing its trade and commerce. During this year the advisability of a railway between Halifax and Windsor was also discussed at a public meeting in Halifax, and resolutions adopted in favor of its construction. The ill-feeling between the governor and the reform party still continued, and Mr. Howe kept up his newspaper attacks; in 1846 he published a long and bitter article against the governor, because some of his friends had called Mr. Howe a mendicant, on account of his having accepted a sum of money from his admirers to compensate him for the loss he sustained in resigning his office under the government. It having become manifest that Lord Falkland's influence for good was gone, he was recalled in August, 1846, and Sir John Harvey, who had been governor of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, was appointed to succeed him.

10. Sir John Harvey undertook to smooth over party differences, but he found the reformers more inclined to trust the polls at the coming election than to listen to any compromises he had to offer. They were not disappointed; for, in 1847, the reformers again came into power, and voted no confidence in the council, which caused the resignation of the members of that body, when a new council or cabinet was formed from the leading reformers in the house, by which the much-coveted responsible government was fully inaugurated. The great political tide now began to ebb, and the government and people turned their attention to the development of the resources of the country. The coal mines were opened, telegraph lines

were completed, mail routes established, education supported, and the population increased and improved. In 1850 the laws were consolidated. The report of the committee having the work in charge thus concluded: "In the execution of the important and onerous trust committed to our charge, though we have been compelled to bestow an amount of labor and a degree of attention which none of us in the first instance anticipated, there may be some imperfections or defects to be hereafter remedied. The main advantage to be derived from the work will be that the laws which regulate social life, protect and transmit property, determine political rights; and define the punishment of offences, have been reduced to system, and clothed in simple and perspicuous language, so as to be intelligible to all who may have occasion to consult them. And as the present is *the first attempt of the kind* in a British colony, we must bespeak the indulgence of your excellency, and of the public, for the imperfections it may contain, and which are perhaps inseparable from so extensive an undertaking."

11. The subject of railways came up for attention under Lord Falkland, in 1850, and was ably discussed, and we may as well briefly sketch what had been proposed in Nova Scotia in the way of railway communication with Canada and the United States. "Lord Durham, in his excellent report, strongly advocated railways as the most effectual means of binding the provinces together, and the subject was several times agitated; but no one province was able to undertake the scheme, and the province of Canada was too busy trying to build the Grand Trunk, to connect the upper and lower parts of the province, to enter very warmly into the scheme for connecting the maritime provinces with Canada. After the settlement of the boundary question, in 1842 (to which we shall more fully refer in our history of New Brunswick), the imperial government contemplated making a great military macadamized road through New Brunswick, from the bend of the Peticodiac to Quebec. A London company offered to substitute a railway, on condition that part of the money necessary to make the road should be granted to it. This scheme excited attention in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but awakened very little interest in the Canadas. Nova Scotia gave an impetus to the project. The government of Lord Falkland considered it idle and visionary to expect that a vast undertaking, which held out no inducement of immediate profit, could be carried through by a company. It could only be constructed by the imperial government, with

combined and spirited coöperation of the three provinces. The lower provinces undertook to bear the expenses of an exploratory survey of the country through which the railway must pass. Canada, for the sake of the great national party, agreed to join with them. The British government, in response to their united request, sent out Major William Robinson and Capt. Henderson, of the royal engineers, with a staff, to undertake the work. The report of Major Robinson was submitted to the Legislatures of the three provinces in 1849. It gave an enthusiastic estimate of the resources of the country, and of the importance of the railway for their development. Out of the several routes explored the preference was given to that by the coast of the gulf, — the north shore, — as the best for purposes of military defence. The cost was calculated at five million pounds sterling. In anticipation of the immediate action of the imperial government, Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick voted aid to the extent of six thousand pounds a year, and ten miles of ungranted lands on each side of the railway."

12. But, to continue the subject of railways, we find that a new impetus was given to railway enterprises by a convention held at Portland, Me., on July 31, 1850, where delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick met delegates from the New England States to consider the means of connecting Halifax with Bangor, Portland, and the United States railways by a line passing through St. John, N.B., the railway to be known as the European and North American Railway, and a great deal of enthusiasm was shown at the meeting, which was held in a hall profusely decorated with English and American flags, the "Union Jack" and the "Stars and Stripes" being closely interwoven in token of amity. Towards the close of the year Mr. Joseph Howe entered the railway field. He was opposed to having a railway running through British territory controlled by an American company, and proposed building the road on provincial credit, under imperial guaranty. For this purpose he went to England, armed with a letter of introduction from Sir John Harvey to Earl Grey, to endeavor to induce the British government to guarantee a loan of eight hundred thousand pounds to build a road from Halifax to Windsor. Mr. Howe set himself rigorously to work at his task, and by his letter to Earl Grey, and his speeches in England, created so favorable an impression of the resources of Nova Scotia, that Mr. Hawes, under-secretary of state, wrote him, under date 10th March, 1851, that the imperial government would guarantee the road, provided

the three provinces could agree among themselves on a road to extend from Halifax to Quebec or Montreal, and no objection would be made to this road connecting with the European and North American so as to give access to the American railway system. A meeting of delegates from the three provinces was proposed by Earl Grey, and took place at Toronto, in June, 1851. An agreement was arrived at, and for a while it looked as if the Intercolonial and the North American railways would be commenced at once; but misunderstandings followed, which delayed the work, which, however, was finally accomplished, but not until, in the case of the Intercolonial, confederation secured its completion.

13. Sir John Harvey died at the government house, at Halifax. He had administered the affairs of the province for six years, with great fidelity. He was succeeded by Sir John Gaspard Les Marchant; the affairs of the province during the short interval that occurred being administered by Col. Bazalgette.

CHAPTER XXVII.

NOVA SCOTIA FROM 1852 TO 1867.

CONFEDERATION ACCOMPLISHED — HOWE AND TUPPER.

1. THE administration of Sir John G. Les Marchant was one under which the province continued its march of prosperity. Mr. Howe having resigned his position as provincial secretary, in order to accept the chairmanship of the railway road, a reconstruction of the cabinet took place, Mr. William Young being charged with the task. Mr. Young, in a letter to his constituents of Inverness, laid down the railway policy of the new government to be, a trunk line from Halifax to Pictou, one westward to Windsor, and through the eastern counties to Digby, connecting Halifax with the basin of Minas, and a line from Truro to the New Brunswick frontier, to connect with any intercolonial line which might afterwards be built. The money for the construction of these roads was to be raised on provincial debentures, the whole revenues of the province being pledged for payment of principal and interest. For some time past the government of Canada had been endeavoring to effect a reci-

procuity treaty with the United States, and the effort was successful on the 5th June, 1854, when such a treaty was signed, at Washington, by Lord Elgin, Governor-General of Canada, on the one part, and Hon. W. L. Marcy, American Secretary of State on the other. This treaty was to continue in force ten years, after which it could be terminated by either party on giving one year's notice. Under its provisions the produce of the sea, the soil, and the forest could be exchanged between the United States and the British possessions duty free; the Americans were allowed to fish in the waters of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and to use the Canadian canals, on the same terms as Canadian vessels. The treaty was very acceptable to Upper Canada, but caused considerable excitement in Nova Scotia, where it was denounced as unjust to that province, the Imperial Parliament having given away her right in the fisheries without either consulting the wishes of the people or securing them any adequate equivalent. The excitement was, however, of but momentary duration, the attention of the people being shortly afterwards occupied by the Crimean war.

2. In 1854 a grand industrial exhibition was opened in Halifax. Mr. J. W. Johnson introduced a prohibitory liquor law in 1855. The bill was, however, not only opposed, but ridiculed, by Mr. Howe, and was defeated. A general election took place in 1855, and the strength of the reform party was greatly shaken by the defeat, in Cumberland, of Messrs. Joseph Howe and Stephen Fulton, by the conservative candidates, Dr. Tupper and Mr. A. McFarlane. Nothing more of a political nature occurred during the year, or until the 27th December, when a very intemperate letter from Mr. Howe, entitled "Railway Riots and Catholic Commentators," appeared in the "Chronicle," and proved the death-knell of the reform administration. A riot had occurred between some Catholic and Protestant workmen, on ac-



count of the latter interfering with the former while celebrating the feast of Corpus Christi. The Halifax "Catholic" published a very mild article on the subject, not defending the Catholics, who were the aggressors, but deprecating the provocation which caused them to commit a breach of the peace; the editor only said, "that, knowing how sensitive the Irish people are to everything which affects their religion or the character of their clergy, Protestants of any nation, who are brought into contact with them, would show better their respect for the precepts of the Bible if they abstained from those taunts and provocations, and from actions in which they were too prone to indulge." Mr. Howe, on the other hand, was very violent and ungracious in his attack, saying, coarsely, that "every Protestant in every free country had a right to laugh at the Real Presence, as every Catholic had to ridicule that in which he disbelieved, or to laugh at the simple ceremonies which the Protestants deemed sufficient." This letter raised a great deal of ill-feeling—not amongst Catholics alone, but amongst Protestants, who believed in the right of every one to



HON. DR. CHAS. TUPPER.

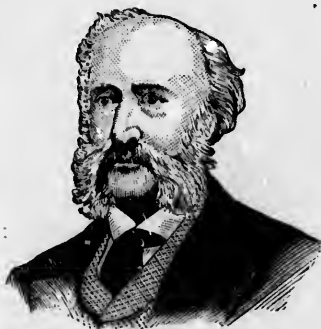
the full exercise of his religious faith without interference by word or deed—against Mr. Howe; and it reacted so much on the party he represented, that when Parliament met, in 1857, the conservatives were able to carry a vote of want of confidence by a majority of seven, and Mr. J. W. Johnson was called upon to form a ministry, which was gazetted on the 24th February, 1856, the members being, J. W. Johnson, attorney-general; Dr. Charles Tupper, provincial secretary; John J. Marshall, financial

secretary; Staley Brown, receiver-general; Martin I. Wilkins, solicitor-general.

3. The new government first engaged its attention in the settlement of the mining difficulty, which it wisely accomplished. In 1858 Sir Les Merchant retired from the government, and was succeeded by the Earl of Mulgrave. A new election, in 1859, resulted in giving the reformers a majority

of two, and although it was pretty generally believed that at least that number of reformers held their seats illegally, the majority protected its own honor, possibly at the expense of the honor of the house, and succeeded in voting a want of confidence in the minority, which resigned. Mr. Young, a popular leader, was called on to form a ministry. The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to Hainax, in 1860, was an event that will never be erased from history. He was received with all the enthusiasm of true, loyal hearts, and for some time the capital put on her best appearance. In 1863 the liberals or reformers were again defeated, and were compelled to resign. Mr. Johnson was again called upon to form a ministry.

4. The new house met in February, 1864, and was opened by Sir Hastings Doyle, the acting administrator, the Earl of Mulgrave having retired, and his successor, Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, not having arrived. The speech from the throne referred to the then proposed federal union of the maritime provinces, and the subject of education. Improvement in educational matters was needed. In 1861, out of eighty-three thousand children in the province, between the ages of five and fifteen, only thirty-one thousand attended school, and one-quarter of the whole population could neither read nor write. The provisions of the bill proposed were ample, and were thus stated by Dr. Tupper in his speech introducing it: "The first thing proposed in the bill which he now submitted was the establishment of a council of public instruction. Difficulty was experienced in determining who should be the council, but, after anxious deliberation, it was thought that the executive council, at all times responsible to the people, could perform the important functions of the position more efficiently than any other body that could be selected. It would be acknowledged that, in order to secure efficiency in the department of public instruction, the services of a qualified superintendent, who should discharge the important duties of examining and reporting on the educational state of every



SIR RICHARD G. MACDONNELL.

locality in the province, were indispensable. It was therefore proposed to appoint such an officer, under whose direction there would be a staff of paid inspectors, whose duty would consist in periodically inspecting all the schools within their respective districts. It was also proposed to appoint a board, with the view of surveying and arranging all the school districts, adapting the subdivision of them to the present condition of the country. Examiners were also to be provided for each district, one of whom should be the inspector; their duty being to ascertain the qualifications of applicants for license to teach. By this means it was hoped the status of the teachers would be materially raised. It was also intended that one of the trustees, who should be charged with the special business of management, should receive, as remuneration for his services, a moderate commission on the money collected. The bill also provided greater facilities for the carrying out of the principle of assessment, and a premium of twenty-five per cent. was to be offered to every school founded on the assessment principle and declared free. In order to meet the necessities of the poorer districts the bill provided that one-fifth of the entire amount placed at the disposal of each Board of Commissioners should be set apart for the purpose of supporting schools in the sparsely settled districts, in addition to the amount to which they were entitled under the law. It was proposed to classify the teachers, according to their proficiency, and to pay them without reference to the wealth and population of the district in which they might be located." The elevation of the Hon. Attorney-General Johnson to the judgeship of the Supreme Court caused a vacancy in the ministry, which was filled by Mr. Ritchie, who was appointed solicitor-general, and called to a seat at the council board.

5. During the session of 1864 Hon. Dr. Tupper introduced a series of resolutions with a view to the union of the maritime provinces, and this led, not to a union of those provinces alone, but the federation of all the provinces, and the formation of the present Dominion. As early as 1808 Mr. R. J. Uniacke introduced the subject of a confederation of the British provinces into the Assembly of Nova Scotia, but the matter was not acted on. During the attempts to impeach Judge Sewell, of Quebec, that gentleman urged on Lord Bathurst a union of all the provinces as the best cure for the troubles then openly existing in Quebec, and threatened in the other provinces. When

the question of a reunion of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was proposed in 1822, Sir John Beverley Robinson, at the request of the colonial secretary, drew up a report on the feasibility of a confederation of all the provinces, and proposed what he would consider an equitable basis for such an union. Again, in 1839, Lord Durham, in his report on the condition of the different provinces, strongly urged confederation as the best remedy to be applied to the troubles affecting all of them, and, in fact, at every period when one or more of the provinces was suffering from internal commotion, confederation was recommended as a sort of universal panacea, warranted to cure every known or unknown ill.



SIR JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

The next positive effort in favor of confederation was made in the Nova Scotia Legislature by Mr. Johnson, in 1854, when the subject was introduced and discussed, Mr. Johnson warmly advocating it, but Mr. Howe opposing it and favoring colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. In 1857 the matter was put into more tangible form by the Nova Scotia Legislature appointing a committee to proceed to England and confer with the colonial secretary on the subject. The Canadian government now took up the matter, and, as we have seen, by the joint efforts of the leading statesmen in each of the provinces the grand scheme of confederation was consummated. Hon. Dr. Tupper must be written in history as the champion of confederation in Nova Scotia. The scheme was bitterly opposed by Mr. Howe, and most of the leading reformers, and was finally carried in the face of a deadly opposition, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter. Nova Scotia, in 1867, became a member of the Dominion of Canada. The following is a list of the governors of Nova Scotia, from 1749 to the confederation of 1867:—

Hon. Edward Cornwallis	1749	Montague Wilmot, Esq.	1763
Peregrine T. Hobson, Esq.	1752	Michael Francklin, Esq., 1722	
Charles Lawrence, Esq.	1754	and	1766
Hon. Robert Monckton	1756	Lord William Campbell, 1766	
Jonathan Belcher, Esq.	1760	and	1772

Francis Legge, Esq.	1773	Gen. Smyth	1816
Mariot Arbuthnot, Esq.	1776	Earl of Dalhousie	1819
Richard Hughes, Esq.	1778	Sir John Kempt	1820
Sir Andrew S. Hammond	1781	M. Wallace, Esq.	1826
John Parr, Esq.	1782	Sir Peregrine Maitland	1828
Edward Fanning, Esq.	1783	Sir Colin Campbell	1834
R. Bulkley, Esq.	1791	Lord Falkland	1840
John Wentworth, Esq.	1792	Sir John Harvey	1846
Sir George Prevost	1808	Sir J. G. LeMarchant	1852
Sir John Cope Sherbrooke	1811	The Earl of Mulgrave	1858
Gen. Darroch	1811	Sir Richard Graves Macdonell	1864

CHAPTER XXVIII.

NEW BRUNSWICK FROM 1784 TO 1832.

PROGRESS OF THE PROVINCE—THE LUMBER TRADE—SHIP-BUILDING—FIRE AT MIRAMACHI.

1. THIS history of New Brunswick dates from its erection into a separate province, in 1784, previous to which it formed a part of Nova Scotia. The first governor of the new province was Colonel Thomas Carleton, a brother of Lord Dorchester. He arrived at St. John in November, 1784, and on the following day he issued a proclamation declaring the existence of the new province which he had come to govern. The government consisted of a Council, which was both executive and legislative, of twelve members, and a House of Assembly, of twenty-six members. This first council was composed almost entirely of united empire loyalists, who had occupied prominent positions in their native States, and who had lost their fortunes by their loyalty to the British cause during the Revolution. The following short sketches, taken from Archer's "History of Canada," will prove interesting, as relating to the twelve most remarkable men in the early history of the province: "Chief-Justice Ludlow had been a judge in the Supreme Court of New York; James Putnam was considered one of the ablest lawyers in all America; the Reverend and Honorable Jonathan Odell, first provincial secretary, had acted as chaplain in the royal army, practised physic, and written political poetry; Judge Joshua Upham, a graduate of Harvard, abandoned the bar during the war and became a colonel of dragoons; Judge Isaac Allen had been colonel of the second battalion of New Jersey

volunteers, and lost an estate in Pennsylvania through his devotion to the loyalist cause; Judge Edward Winslow, nephew of Colonel John Winslow, who executed the decree that expelled the Acadians from Nova Scotia, had attained the rank of colonel in the royal army; Beverley Robinson had raised and commanded the Loyal American Regiment, and had lost great estates on the Hudson river; Gabriel G. Ludlow had commanded a battalion of Maryland volunteers; Daniel Bliss had been a commissary in the royal army; Abijah Willard had taken no active part in the war. He was one of fifty-five gentlemen who petitioned Sir Guy Carleton to grant them each a field-marshal's allowance of land (five thousand acres), on account of the great respectability of the position that they had held. William Hazen and Gilfred Studhome were settled in the province before the landing of the loyalists." This council conducted the affairs of the young province for many years with only one change, the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Putnam being filled by Judge John Saunders, who was descended from an old cavalier family that settled in Virginia at the time of the Commonwealth. He served with distinction during the Revolutionary War.

2. Governor Carleton, in opening the first Assembly, spoke of the prosperity of the young province, and thanked the people for their loyalty. The capital was removed from St. John to St. Anne's Point, in 1788. The place was named Fredericton, and has remained the capital of the province ever since. The removal of the capital to Fredericton was an improvement in point of location in a geographical point, but, of course, had no particular effect over the politics of that day; for the government had scarcely been settled in the new quarters when disputes grew up between the Council and the Assembly concerning the control of the revenues of the province. Following this came the struggle for responsible government, similar to that in Nova Scotia, which we have already noticed. The first general dead-lock between the two branches of the government came up on a question of the pay of the members of the house. They voted themselves a dollar and a half a day, and the council threw out the bill. The house then referred the matter to the colonial secretary in London, the Duke of Portland, who remonstrated with the assemblymen. Before this, however, the house had shown its knowledge of parliamentary intrigue, by refusing to pass any of the appropriations, except with the passage of the appropriation for their own pay.

The contest was continued three years, when the Assembly finally won the battle, and harmony was restored.

3. As early as 1788 an effort was put forth by William Davidson to settle on the Miramichi, to utilize the luxuriant growth of timber in that section. This gentleman brought out quite a number of settlers from the mother country, amongst whom were some ship-carpenters; and, three years after, Jonathan Leavitt launched at St. John the first vessel in New Brunswick. Davidson launched soon after the first one on the Miramichi. This was the beginning, and the lumber trade sprang into great importance at once. The British navy was now sweeping the seas, at the expense of hundreds of masts, and New Brunswick forests afforded a most satisfactory supply. The vessels carried over spars, and brought back immigrants, and thus population and prosperity increased hand in hand. The administration of Governor Carleton continued for twenty years, and was an able and prosperous term. He saw the province reclaimed from a state of nature, and rendered fruitful and productive, while the people enjoyed the blessings of peace, which at the same period were denied the mother country. Governor Carleton returned to England in 1803, with the respect of all whom he had so wisely governed.

4. For some time no successor was appointed, and the affairs of the province were administered by presidents. In 1809, when it became evident that there would be a war with the United States, military men were appointed to the government of all the provinces, and Major-General Hunter was sent to New Brunswick. He only remained a short time, however, and was followed by six other military presidents, very much to the dissatisfaction of the people. In 1809 a heavy duty was imposed on timber coming from the Baltic, while timber from the colonies was admitted free. This gave a great impetus to trade with New Brunswick, and was of material advantage to the province. The declaration of war by the United States called forth the loyal sentiment of the New Brunswickers, and this was shown in a practical way by the "King's Regiment of New Brunswick," which had been first formed out of the united empire loyalists of 1784 enlisting in the regular army for service in the upper provinces. It was mustered in as the 104th, and served with great gallantry during the war. The local Legislature passed very complimentary resolutions at the time of the muster-in, and presented the regiment with a handsome silver trumpet. As the winter was closing in, only a part of

the men could be conveyed from St. John to Quebec by boat, and the remainder made a long and toilsome march over land on snow-shoes. Although the province was greatly excited over the war, and the merchants were kept in constant fear for their vessels by the privateers hovering about the coast, yet the people suffered none of its actual horrors, and were rather benefited than otherwise by the great demand caused for timber for building and repairing the large number of new vessels needed on the ocean and on the lakes.

5. The Assembly had long since become heartily sick of the practice of appointing military presidents, who had no interest in the province, and petitioned the home government to appoint a regular lieutenant-governor. At last attention was paid to their request, and Major-General Tracy Smythe was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1818. Meanwhile, the disputes between the two houses with regard to the disposal of the revenues increased, and legislation was again brought to a deadlock. Governor Smythe sided with the council and dissolved Parliament, which had the effect of making the new house elected more tractable; but, another dissolution taking place in the following year, 1820, caused by the death of George III., a new house was elected, which soon recommenced the obstructionist policy. During the session of 1823 Governor Smythe died, and the house had new matters to engage its attention for a while, a series of curious events following closely on each other. The house was immediately prorogued by the chief justice, on the death of the governor, and Judge Chipman was sworn in as president of the council, and administrator *ad interim*. But his claim was disputed by the Hon. Christopher Billop, who was in his eighty-sixth year, and who issued a proclamation in St. John as administrator, by virtue of being senior councillor. He was too old, however, to attend to the duties of the office; and the home office confirmed Judge Chipman in the position. The judge opened Parliament in January, 1824, and died suddenly, on the 9th of February, while the house was considering a bill providing for the interment of Governor Smythe in the parish church at Fredericton. The Hon. James Murray Bliss became president until the arrival, in August of the same year, of Sir Howard Douglas, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor. During the administration of General Smythe the province continued to flourish, and new settlements were formed; at the close of the war there was an influx of military settlers, who laid out the town of Woodstock,

the French squatters in that neighborhood moving up the river as far as Madawaska. About this time a settlement was also formed at Lock Lomond, near St. John, by a party of negroes, and the first settlements were also made at Dalhousie and Bathurst. Steam also began to make its way into the province, and a steamer plied between St. John and Fredericton. But the people devoted themselves almost entirely to lumbering and ship-building; agriculture was neglected; no pains was taken to utilize the land from which the timber was cut, and the people were almost wholly dependent on the United States for their supply of provisions. The lumber trade had greatly increased, and now gave employment to about one hundred vessels at St. John, and probably half as many at Miramichi.

6. In 1825 Lieutenant-Governor Douglas met Parliament, and urged the necessity for greater attention to agriculture, which was greatly neglected, as were also the roads of the province, which were allowed to run almost any way, without any definite plan; and, as they were all paid for out of the general fund, and there was no such thing as a toll-gate in the whole province, the roads, as a rule, were badly built, badly kept in order, and very expensive. During the year 1824 the first census was taken, and the population of the province found to be seventy-four thousand. The summer of 1825 was one of the hottest and driest that had ever been experienced on the continent; for over two months not a drop of rain fell in New Brunswick; the earth was parched, the rivers were nearly dry, and the forests were scorched. But it was not by the sun's rays alone that the forest kings were shrunken and shrivelled, the fire-demon was abroad, and all through the latter part of September fires were raging in the bush, and gradually drawing nearer the settlements. The growth of the timber trade in the Miramichi district had caused flourishing villages to spring up along its banks; foremost amongst these was Newcastle, the capital of Northumberland County, which had a court-house, jail, Presbyterian kirk, and about one thousand inhabitants. About five miles down the river was the newly started settlement of Douglastown, and across the river was Chatham, the timber depot of Cunard & Company.

7. On the 29th of September the court-house at Fredericton was burned, and several small fires were reported in the bush during the early days of October, while the dense masses of smoke hanging like a pall over the country, and pouring down in blinding rolls of darkness on the villages, told of coming

disaster. Still there was no dread of any great calamity until the evening of the fatal 7th of October, which was to witness so dire a catastrophe. All the day black, dense smoke had been piling up about Newcastle, until, before sundown, the air was so filled with smoke that it was almost impossible to see. Then, as night approached, the lurid flashes of the approaching conflagration began to break through the deepening gloom in fitful bursts of brilliancy, while the short, sharp snaps of the crackling brushwood were from time to time varied by the loud reports of the gigantic pines as they became a prey to the devouring element. Swiftly, steadily, with sullen roar and angry flash, on came that moving, rolling wall of living fire, sweeping all before it in its onward rush on the devoted village of Newcastle. Resistance was in vain, and flight almost useless; the only chance for safety was in the river and swampy ground, whither the wretched inhabitants fled, and cowered down in the water and soft ooze, while the fierce flames swept in a terrible tornado over them, carrying death and destruction in their path. All through that terrible night the wild work of devastation went on, and when morning came again, only twelve houses, and the charred and blackened ruins of upwards of two hundred more, were left to tell where the flourishing village of Newcastle had stood the night before; while of the thousand happy inhabitants of the previous evening, one hundred and sixty had lost their lives either by the flames or in the cold embrace of the river in their efforts to escape, and of the remainder nearly all were burnt, and many severely injured. Douglstown suffered even worse, for only one house was left standing, and that, singular to say, contained the corpse of one who had died on the previous day. The destruction done by this tremendous fire was incalculable; the loss to settlements, mills, etc., was about one million dollars; but the extent burned over was more than five thousand square miles, and the loss of timber was past calculation. The utmost sympathy was felt for the unfortunate sufferers, and large subscriptions were immediately raised in the sister provinces, Great Britain, and the United States; but it was many long days before the Miramichi district recovered from the effects of that terrible scourging with fire.

8. The Maine boundary question had been a troublesome one ever since the Independence of the United States. Commissions had been appointed, but had failed to agree as to the boundaries intended to be given by the treaty; the Americans interpreting the terms used to mean one thing, and the British

another. The quantity of land thus claimed by both was about twelve thousand square miles, and generally got to be known as "the disputed territory,"—neither party occupying it. Every now and then little ebullitions of feeling would be shown by the Americans, who had always displayed a disposition to take forcible possession of this debated land; and, in 1827, Governor Lincoln, of Maine, made a hostile demonstration, whereupon a filibustering party, under command of a man named Baker, made a dash into the Madawaska district and stuck up a pole with the "stars and stripes" attached to it, in token that he had "taken possession of the country in the name of the United States." He did not remain long in possession, however, for the old French inhabitants, having informed Governor Douglas of the intrusion, he moved a body of troops up to the frontier and sent the sheriff to arrest Baker, which was done very quietly; Baker was put in a cab, the flag was put in the sheriff's pocket, the staff was put in the fire, and the "invasion" was at an end. Baker was taken to jail, and was afterwards tried before the Supreme Court at Fredericton, and fined. Meanwhile, Governor Lincoln got up a good deal of excitement, blustered to his heart's content, called out the militia, and threatened a general invasion; but as he found Sir Howard Douglas waiting for him on the British side of the frontier, with a small force of regulars, he decided not to do anything more than talk; and shortly afterwards all excitement on the subject of the disputed territory was allayed by the submission of the matter by both governments to the King of the Netherlands for a settlement of the boundary in dispute.

9. A great change was now coming over the commercial policy of Great Britain. Hitherto the most jealously protected country in regard to manufactures and productions of all kinds, both at home and in the colonies, the long unsuccessful efforts of the free traders began to be heard; the cry of "Buy in the cheapest markets, sell in the dearest," was raised, and one by one the barriers to a free interchange of commercial articles were being thrown down. Hitherto the colonial commerce had been exceedingly limited in its scope, being confined to England and the English colonies; and even on the English trade there were restrictions, and colonial vessels were not allowed the advantage of the English coasting trade,—that is, going from one English port to another in search of a market,—but were obliged to unload and load again at the port for which they cleared when leaving the colony. This was all changed in 1825,

under the Canning administration, when the principles of free trade first began to gain the ascendancy. All English ports were thrown open to colonial trade, and all colonial ports were open to Great Britain and all her allies. This was a great impetus to the trade of New Brunswick; numbers of vessels visited her shore in search of lumber; ship-building flourished, and the people saw gigantic fortunes rapidly accumulating before them. But there were reverses to come; first was the Miramichi fire, and next the extra competition in trade which the breaking down of the protection barriers gave rise to. Under the colonial protection arrangement the Americans were excluded from the West Indies; and a large and profitable trade had sprung up between those islands and the maritime provinces, the islands taking fish and lumber in large quantities in exchange for sugar, rum, and molasses. But in 1830 the West India market was thrown open to the Americans, who could not only supply fish and lumber, but breadstuffs and provisions, of which the islands import large quantities, and the trade of New Brunswick was very seriously injured.

10. At this time colonial timber was still very heavily protected, there being a duty of about fifteen dollars a ton on timber imported into England from the Baltic; this was, of course, an immense advantage to New Brunswick; and, although the people grumbled a great deal at the opening of the West India ports, and the consequent competition against which they had to contend, still they felt moderately well satisfied as long as they had a monopoly of the timber trade in the English market. But free trade was now advancing with giant strides; monopoly after monopoly was moving down before it, and it was not long before a repeal of the duty on timber from the Baltic was agitated, so that England might get her timber as cheap as she could, no matter whether it came from the colonies or from a foreign country. The proposal called forth the most strenuous opposition in the provinces. Suffering severely already from American competition in the West India trade; nearly ruined by the terrible fire at Miramichi, and thoroughly disheartened and discouraged, the people saw nothing but utter ruin before them if the Baltic timber was admitted free into England; and their dissatisfaction was so great that it almost took the form of open disaffection. The Legislature forwarded earnest petitions against the proposed measure, setting forth the immense damage it would do to the province, and the press and the people unanimously condemned it. It happened

that Sir Howard Douglas had been called to England to give evidence with regard to the disputed territory, and he warmly espoused the cause of the province, publishing a very clever little pamphlet, in which he clearly showed the bad policy of repealing the timber duties, and throwing the colony into utter ruin at a time when it was only slowly recovering from a most terrible visitation by God. The pamphlet did its work; the bill was defeated, and great was the joy of the New Brunswickers thereat; but the victory cost them a popular governor, who, for fourteen years, had labored conscientiously for the good of the province. In opposing the repeal of the timber tax Sir Howard had opposed the government which had appointed him; and, as he had virtually defeated his own party, he could no longer hold office under it, and therefore resigned. The people were extremely sorry to lose him, and the Assembly showed its appreciation of his services by voting him a handsome service of plate. Hon. William Black temporarily administered the affairs of the province until the appointment of Sir Alexander Campbell, who arrived in the fall of 1831.

CHAPTER XXIX.

NEW BRUNSWICK FROM 1832 TO 1867.

THE FIGHT AND CONQUEST OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROVINCE—CONFEDERATION.

1. THE struggle for responsible government was characterized much the same in New Brunswick as in Nova Scotia. The reformers fought in a constitutional way. The province suffered from the government of a "family compact" much the same as that which died so hard in Canada and in Nova Scotia; but that in New Brunswick was the least objectionable of them all, and more fairly represented the interests of the people. Lemuel A. Wilnot became the leader of the reform party in New Brunswick, and in that respect was not unlike Howe in Nova Scotia. A singular fact was, that the governors in both provinces, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, were named Campbell, and, although they were not relatives, they appeared much alike in disposition. Both were strong Tories, stern, determined soldiers, and both watched with jealousy any and all innovations

on the royal prerogative. New Brunswick took the lead in political reform. In 1832 the legislative council, which had hitherto been also the executive council, was made a separate body; the grievances of New Brunswick at this time were of a substantial kind. The crown land department was badly mismanaged, in the interests of lumber speculators. The "casual and territorial" revenues also became a subject of dispute, either branch of the government striving to control them. In 1832 a resolution was passed, asking the governor to furnish the house with an account of the receipts and expenditures of this fund; but the request was curtly refused by the governor. Foiled in one quarter the Assembly determined to try in another, and appointed Messrs. E. B. Chandler and Charles Simonds as delegates to treat with the imperial authorities for the surrender of the casual and territorial revenues. The delegates succeeded in arranging terms with Mr. Stanley, then colonial secretary, in 1833; but the arrangement was not carried out, owing either to a misunderstanding, or to some secret influence being at work against the Assembly.

2. About this time there was some dissatisfaction with regard to the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, which had been formed in London in 1831, and was incorporated in 1834. This foreign company was sold a tract of land between the St. John and Miramichi rivers, covering about five hundred thousand acres, for a sum of fifty-six thousand pounds, of which twenty-one thousand pounds were paid down. The object of the company was to relieve some of the overcrowded labor districts of England by removing the labor to a place where it could have a chance of being usefully and remuneratively employed in clearing the land, making roads, building houses, etc.; great inducements were also held out to naval and military officers to settle, and to good, practical farmers to make their homes there. The company was calculated to do good to the province; but the Assembly did not like the idea of so large a portion of the public lands being given to a private company without the consent of the representatives of the people being asked; and at the session of 1836 the question of the right of the Assembly was again brought up by Mr. L. A. Wilmot moving an address to the governor for a return of all the sales of land made during the past year. The governor only furnished a general statement, which increased the dissatisfaction of the house, as it knew he had received instructions from the home office to yield considerably to the demands of the Assembly.

3. The house now moved a formal address to the king, setting forth its grievances in full in the matters of crown lands, revenue, and the control of the public funds, and Messrs. Crane and Wilmot were appointed delegates to present the address in England. The delegates were most kindly received by the colonial secretary, Lord Glenelg, and due consideration given to their complaints. After several interviews everything that they demanded was granted, with some slight modifications, and the draft of a bill for the support of the civil government of the province was prepared. The casual territorial revenue was given up in consideration of the Assembly voting a permanent civil list of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds a year. The salaries were left as they were, but with the understanding that some of them would be reduced when new appointments were made. The management of the crown lands was vested in the governor and council; but they were made partially responsible to the house, by having to furnish a detailed account of the department within fourteen days after the opening of Parliament. Two principles which the Assembly had been contending for were allowed, but not positively ordered: these were representative government, by having members of the majority of the Assembly called to the executive council; and the members of all parties should be called to the legislative council. Another reform granted was that all grants and leases of lands were declared void, unless sold by public auction, after due notice, to the highest bidder.

4. The delegates and their friends were jubilant, and thought that all difficulty had been overcome; but they were mistaken; such sweeping changes could not be effected without opposition, and although it did not last very long it was strong for a while. Sir Archibald Campbell and the executive council had no intention of allowing the control of the revenue to be taken out of their hands, without an effort to retain it, and, accordingly, representations were made to the colonial secretary that the amount of fourteen thousand five hundred pounds was not sufficient to cover the expense of the civil list; the salaries of the judges of circuit courts and contingent expenses having been omitted. Strong exception was also taken to the clause referring to the sale of land by public auction, it being urged that its enforcement would do great injustice to a large class of *bona fide* settlers, who had only squatters' rights, and would not be able to show a clear title to the lands they had reclaimed from the wilderness and settled on, if this clause was insisted on.

The governor had even stronger views on the subject, and did not hesitate to express them freely. The casual and territorial revenue had for some years been exceeding the civil list, and the consequence was that a fund of about eight hundred thousand dollars had accumulated, the expenditure of which Sir Archibald thought it would be unwise to trust in the hands of the Assembly, who, he felt assured, would rapidly squander it. His own pet scheme was to foster this surplus and add to it, so that in a few years the interest on it would supply the civil list, and the casual and territorial revenues could be used for general improvements without other taxation. He therefore, in answer to Lord Glenelg's despatch containing a draft of the proposed civil-list bill, took exception to the bill, and suggested a number of amendments, which virtually nullified it.

5. The Legislature met in January, 1837, and Sir Archibald, who had not yet heard of the fate of his amendments, was anxious to give time. He submitted the civil-list bill, but intimated that in the event of its being passed he would not assent to it unless a "suspending clause" was added, which would render the bill inoperative until the king's pleasure was known with regard to the amendments proposed by the governor. This aroused the suspicions of the Assembly, the members fearing that if the colonial secretary approved of the governor's amendments the bill might be so altered that the law officers of his majesty might recommend him to withhold his assent to it. The bill was passed in both houses by large majorities, and a deputation of the house waited on the governor to urge him to give his assent to it, which he flatly refused to do unless the suspending clause was added. On the seventh it was discovered that the Hon. George F. Street had gone to London on a secret mission, which the Assembly at once interpreted as meaning a mission inimical to its interests, and hastily passed a series of indignant resolutions, strongly condemning the council and the governor, and demanding the latter's recall. An address to the king was prepared and presented to the governor, who received the censure of the house with the utmost indifference, and did not gratify the deputation by informing them that he had placed his resignation in the hands of Lord Glenelg, sooner than carry out that nobleman's instructions. The house at once appointed Messrs. Crane and Wilmot to present the address to the king, and they left Fredericton on the 9th of February amid a most enthusiastic demonstration of the people.

6. The home government was now fully determined to grant

the reforms demanded, and to fully admit the principle of representative government; and, as Sir Archibald Campbell would not obey the instructions of the colonial minister, his resignation was accepted, and Sir John Harvey appointed in his place. The mission of Hon G. F. Street utterly failed in getting any modification of the civil-list bill, and it became law on the 17th of July. Thus was responsible government fairly introduced, and great was the rejoicing of the reformers thereat; the delegates were received with the greatest enthusiasm, and Mr. Crane was called to the executive council, while Mr. Wilmot was made king's council; indeed, so enthusiastic did the Assembly become that it requested Lord Glenelg to allow a full-length portrait of himself to be painted, which was done, and the picture now hangs at the back of the speaker's chair in the House of Assembly, Fredericton. The passing of the civil-list bill quelled all political excitement in New Brunswick, and that province was happily spared any of the sad scenes which marred the years 1837-8 in Upper and Lower Canada.

7. The government of Sir John Harvey was a most pacific one, and everything went smoothly within the province until January, 1839, when another difficulty with the United States occurred on the old subject of dispute, — the Maine boundary. The King of the Netherlands, to whom the matter had been referred, gave a decision, in 1831, which gave the Americans the lion's share of the territory; but, as it did not give them the whole of it, they refused to be bound by the award, and the matter was as far from settlement as possible. Early in the month of January, 1839, some lawless persons from New Brunswick went into the disputed territory to cut timber, when Governor Fairfield, of Maine, sent a large party of constables, under command of the sheriff, to expel the intruders and seize their lumber. A fight ensued, which resulted in a mutual capture; the Americans captured McLaughlan, the British warden, and carried him off to Augusta; while the British made the American land-agent, McIntyre, a prisoner, and locked him up in Fredericton jail. Both provinces at once went ablaze with excitement, and intemperate words threatened to be soon followed by still more intemperate acts. Governor Fairfield sent two thousand men, under Colonel Jarvis, to support the sheriff. Sir John Harvey issued a proclamation claiming the disputed territory as British property, and calling on the Governor of Maine to withdraw his troops; to which that functionary responded by a counter-proclamation, claiming the territory as

part of the State of Maine, and calling out ten thousand State militia to support the claim.

8. Sir John now took decided steps, and despatched Col. Maxwell, with the 36th and 60th regiments and a train of artillery, to the Upper St. John, to watch the movements of the American militia. The people of the province were most enthusiastic; volunteers from St. John, Fredericton, and other points turned out in great numbers and joined the army of the Madawaska, as Maxwell's force was called, and opened communication with Sir John Colborne, at Quebec, and Sir John Harvey, at Fredericton, while the Nova Scotia Legislature, which was in session at the time, became so excited that the members of the Assembly not only voted one hundred thousand dollars and eight thousand men to assist the province, but so far forgot their legislative dignity as to give three cheers for the king, which were caught up and echoed by the crowd in the gallery. The excitement was also very great in the United States; but the democratic party did not want to needlessly risk another war with Great Britain, and President Van Buren adopted a peaceful policy; conciliatory notes passed between the English minister at Washington and the Secretary of State, and Gen. Winfield Scott was despatched to the frontier with full powers to settle the difficulties with Sir John Harvey. The war party in the United States, of course, made a good deal of noise, and Daniel Webster made a little temporary political capital by calling Van Buren a coward, and declaring that if Great Britain would not conform to the treaty of 1783 the United States would take forcible possession of the disputed territory on the next 4th of July; but the bulk of the people were in favor of not disturbing the peace between the two countries, and Webster found out, three years later, that he could gain more by negotiation than he could ever accomplish by force.

9. Scott's first step, on reaching Augusta, was to order the ten thousand militia, Governor Fairfield had ordered out, to remain at home, and this had the immediate effect of quieting excitement. He then entered into friendly negotiations with Sir John Harvey, and they speedily arrived at a peaceful solution of the difficulty. It was agreed that the Maine militia should be withdrawn, and Great Britain undertook to prevent any incursions into the disputed territory until the question of the boundary was settled. This agreement was afterwards ratified by the British and American ministers; but it left the

question of the boundary as unsettled as ever. We may as well continue the history of this boundary question to its close. Both governments ordered fresh surveys, and each lot of engineers made out a very clear case in favor of the pretensions of their own country; but finally, to avoid farther trouble, and the possibility of war, two commissioners were appointed to settle the matter, the award to be final.

10. The American government appointed Daniel Webster, and the British government sent out Lord Ashburton, a very amiable old gentleman, who let Webster have almost entirely his own way, and who consented to giving up seven thousand square miles of the best timbered and agricultural land out of the twelve thousand in dispute. The people of New Brunswick were not very well pleased at the decision arrived at, but they were fain to be content with the final settlement, on some terms, of a question which was a perpetual menace of the peace of the whole nation.

11. Sir John Harvey administered the affairs of the province until 1841, when he was recalled on account of a slight difference between him and Lord Sydenham, then governor-general. He had the happy knack of making himself popular, and although he was subjected to bitter attacks from a small portion of the press published in the interest of the party which opposed the surrender of the casual and territory revenues, still he gained the good-will of the people, and the Legislature voted him a service of plate on his recall, in evidence of the peace and harmony which had existed between it and the executive during his administration. Sir John showed a decided tendency in favor of popular government, and that the acknowledged principle of responsible government was not carried into more active effect was through no fault of his.¹ Political parties were more evenly balanced in New Brunswick than in Canada and Nova Scotia; a spirit of greater moderation actuated its people. Some of the leaders, who had been instrumental in obtaining the concession granted by the civil-list bill, now rested content. When a resolution to give effect to the principle laid down in Lord John Russell's despatch on the tenure of office was introduced into the Legislature, it was defeated by the casting vote of the speaker, Charles Simonds.¹ Sir John Harvey was succeeded by Sir William Colebrooke, who did not find the province in a very flourishing condition.

¹ Archer's History of Canada.

The fears of Sir Archibald Campbell had been justified; the Assembly had no sooner got possession of the hundred and fifty thousand pounds surplus to the credit of casual and territorial revenue, than they had begun to spend it lavishly and extravagantly, and by 1842 it was not only all gone, but the province was in debt and wanted to raise a loan. This was rather "a feather in the cap" of the opponents of the surrender of the casual and territorial revenue, and their satisfaction was increased when the colonial secretary informed the Legislature that their reckless manner of voting away the public funds had injured the credit of the province.

12. The first year of Sir William Colebrooke's administration was not a fortunate one for the province; St. John was visited by a severe fire, and the province was subjected to one of those periodical depressions in the lumber trade which will occur once in a while in every trade as a wholesome check on over-production and over-trading; the revenues fell off considerably, and the prosperity of the province was momentarily checked, but soon began to flow on again. A determined stand for responsible government *de facto* was made by the reform party at the general election of 1842, but the people generally took no interest in the matter; they were thoroughly conservative, and quite content to let things remain as they were; so the reformers were generally defeated at the polls. The Legislature showed its conservatism by voting a congratulatory address to the governor-general, Sir Charles Metcalfe, for a despatch he forwarded to Sir William Colebrooke in 1842, in which he claimed the right of the crown to make appointments, and recommended a reconstruction of the legislative council so that all political parties as well as all religious denominations should be represented in it. This was contrary to the spirit of Lord John Russell's despatch with regard to appointments; but the Assembly applauded it, and had an opportunity the very next year to show its inconsistency by objecting to the first appointment made by Sir William Colebrooke, of which we shall speak by and by. Some very serious riots occurred in Northumberland County during the election of 1842. The elections then—as until quite recently—spread over many days, and parties were thereby enabled to visit a variety of polling-places. A party of disorderly persons, who were opposed to the return of Mr. Ambrose Seelt, the reform candidate, organized for a tour from parish to parish, and destroyed so much property and created so much disorder that

a party of soldiers had to be sent from Fredericton to disperse them. Mr. Harper, in his "History of New Brunswick," draws the following unflattering picture of St. John in 1842: "Destructive fires among the buildings of St. John, and the prospect of a depressing change in British duties on lumber, with an overstocked market, gave an unhappy look to that commercial centre. More than four thousand of its people were dependent upon public charity, while over three hundred were on the limits for debt. Yet the unruly had spirit enough left to quarrel over the silly emblem of an Irish party, which had been placed on a flag-pole. The rumor of coming strife had been abroad all day, and at night a crowd from the offended faction paraded the streets, insulting other citizens and howling like maniacs. Affairs appeared in an unsettled state, but the energy of the mayor and the arrests he made quelled the disturbance. The same feeling, however, flamed out again on the subsequent 12th of July. In the procession of that occasion, and out of it, men were prepared for deadly combat. At the foot of the principal street, on the spot where the loyalists had quoted their motto from Virgil, *O fortunati quorum jam mœnia surgunt*, the disgraceful scene of citizen striving against citizen, with knife and bludgeon and pistol, was witnessed. Many persons were killed, hundreds were wounded; all unlucky victims of the storm which cleared the way for future peace and good-will among the people of St. John."

13. The question as to the right of appointment which the Assembly had endorsed as belonging to the governor was soon tested. On Christmas day, 1844, the Hon. William Odell, provincial secretary, died, after having filled the office since 1818, in which year he succeeded to it on the death of his father, the Hon. and the Rev. Jonathan Odell, who was the first provincial secretary of the province. Sir William Colebrooke, considering that the right of appointment was entirely in his own hand, appointed his son-in-law, Mr. Reade, provisionally; but the action called forth opposition from both parties, reformers and conservatives, and four members of the executive council resigned their seats. Some of the members took rather roundabout grounds for objecting to the appointment; thus Messrs. Johnson, Chandler, and Pazen acknowledged the right of the crown to appoint whoever it pleased, but objected to this particular appointment, because Lord Glenelg, in 1835, had laid down a rule that only natives of the province, or settled inhabitants, should be endowed with public

appointments ; and they could not regard Mr. Reade as a settled inhabitant of the province, although he might become such if he was confirmed in his appointment ; but they objected to paying so high a price for that honor. The Hon. Mr. Wilmot took far more advanced views, and urged this as a favorable opportunity for introducing the practice of responsible government ; he argued that the provincial secretaryship should be made into a department of the government, and a member of the executive council appointed to it, who should be responsible to the Assembly, and hold office only so long as he retained the confidence of the house, instead of being a crown appointment for life. Mr. Wilmot was only a little in advance of his time, but lived to see this principle carried out. Neither the house nor the people were ready for so radical a change at this time, however, and it was some years before it was accomplished. Finding the appointment of Mr. Reade so distasteful the colonial secretary did not confirm it, and the Hon. J. Simecoo Saunders was appointed provincial secretary.

14. The period from 1845 to 1848 was not a very eventful one in the province, which flourished moderately, and there was nothing of a very exciting nature in politics until the latter year. There were some uneasiness and dissatisfaction, for the crown lands were mismanaged, the revenue carelessly expended, and the appropriation of a surplus of the civil-list fund for the purpose of surveying lands in Madawaska was considered a stretch of the royal prerogative by the governor ; but no serious effort to materially change the order of things was made until 1848. In the previous year Earl Gray, the colonial secretary, had sent a despatch to Sir John Harvey, Governor of Nova Scotia, in which he clearly defined the principles of responsible government as applicable to the provinces. He held that members of the executive council, who directed the policy of the country, should hold office only so long as they had the support of a majority of the house, and that all heads of departments should only hold office on pleasure ; that all officers under government were to be excluded from sitting in either branch of the Legislature, and that while holding office only during good behavior they were not to be subject to removal simply on a change of government. At the session of 1848 Mr. Charles Fisher, member for York, holding that this despatch was as applicable to New Brunswick as to Nova Scotia, introduced a resolution fully approving of it, and accepting it as the rule for the province. The debate was opened on the 24th February, and

the resolution was carried by a large majority on a coalition vote, both conservatives and liberals voting for it.

15. Thus was responsible government finally recognized as the rule of the province. This was the last important act in the administration of Sir William Colebrooke, who was appointed to the governorship of British Guiana in 1848, and was succeeded in New Brunswick by Sir Edmund Walker Head, grandson of a baronet of the same name who had been forced to flee from the States with the loyalists of 1783. Sir Edmund had the honor of being the first civilian regularly appointed to the lieutenant-governorship of the province. The career of New Brunswick, from the establishment of responsible government in 1848, to confederation in 1867, was comparatively uneventful, with the exception of the agitations on the questions of the Intercolonial Railway and Confederation, both of which subjects we have freely treated in a previous chapter, and it is useless to go over the same ground here. There was no party spirit in the province, to speak of, until 1855, the principal agitation being on the subject of retrenchment; the cry for reform in this direction being led by Wilmot, and his principal points of attack being the salaries of the judges. The judges protested vigorously against any reduction, and claimed that when the civil list was placed at fourteen thousand five hundred pounds it included their salaries at certain fixed rates, and that to make any reduction would be a breach of faith. On this ground they appealed to England, and were supported by Earl Grey, which caused some dissatisfaction in the houses, and the subject formed "a bone of contention" for some time. "Another source of political strife arose from free-trade discussions. The high imperial duty on flour had led to the erection of several flour-mills near St. John. Afterwards, when this duty was withdrawn by England, the owners of the mills sought the Legislature to protect their trade by a provincial duty on all imported flour. The subject gave scope to the orators of the house, and the tax was legalized. Next session the protectionists again appeared with petitions. They asked for protective duties on all provincial industries, and a fisherman's bounty; but while the Assembly considered the whole subject, a despatch from Lord Grey was presented, in which dissent was recorded against the bill granting a bounty to hemp-growers. This, viewed as an unnecessary interference, quickened into rage the feeling against the despatch system, and the rule of Downing street. The repeal of the navigation laws

added to the vexation. Mr. Wark, by his resolutions in the Assembly, tried to show that responsible government in New Brunswick was yet only a name. In face of the earl's decree, another member introduced a bill to provide for fishery bounties; while, during the debate, the despotism of the colonial office was in everybody's mouth. The house cheered the bill in its third reading, and voted three thousand pounds as a bounty-fund. But the defiance was a mere shadow, for the legislative council rejected the bill, and thus brought about the reaction of quiet.

16. The visit of the Prince of Wales, in 1860, was made the occasion of great and general rejoicing in St. John, and never did the city of the loyalists show itself more loyal than in welcoming our heir-apparent. The "Trent" affair, in 1861, threw St. John, in common with other Canadian cities, into a momentary state of excitement. Forts were repaired, and great activity evinced for a while; but the danger soon passed, and the city fell back into its normal condition. The session of 1866 was the most exciting known in New Brunswick for many years. The province had pronounced, in what would appear to have been most unmistakable terms, against confederation, and Hon. A. J. Smith was at the head of a strong anti-confederate ministry; still it was rumored that a decisive step would be taken to force confederation, and an exciting time was expected. Governor Gordon opened the session by informing the house, in very plain and strong language, that the imperial government earnestly desired a union of all the British North American provinces; and this was followed up by a motion of want of confidence in the government on the general administration of the affairs of the province. While the debate was progressing, a highly dramatic effect was thrown in by the attempt of the Fenians to invade the province. A number of these misguided fanatics, who proposed to "liberate" Ireland by putting Canadians



in bondage, assembled at Portland, and embarked for Eastport, Maine, with the intention of crossing the St. Croix river and making a descent upon St. Andrews and St. Stephens. The 15th regiment, under Colonel Cole, was promptly despatched to the frontier, with a number of volunteers, and occupied Campobello, St. Andrews, and St. Stephens; but the Fenians, finding a warm reception prepared for them, wisely postponed their visit, and all was soon quiet on the frontier again. But the demonstration had had an effect the Fenians little calculated on; it had strengthened the bonds between the provinces and the mother country, showed the necessity for a closer union of the provinces for defence, and made confederation, virtually, an accomplished fact. The legislative council passed an address expressing a desire that the imperial government would unite the provinces upon the Quebec scheme. The governor promptly endorsed the action of the council, and the Smith ministry in the house suddenly found itself without any supporters, and was forced to resign. Mr. Tilley was called on to form a ministry. A general election sent a large majority of confederates to the house. The union resolutions were triumphantly passed, and on the 1st of July, 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into existence as the youngest of nations.

17. The following is a list of the governors from the formation of the province to confederation:—

Gen. Thomas Carleton, Governor	1784
Hon. G. G. Ludlow, President	1786
Hon. E. Winslow, President	1803
Col. G. Johnston, President	1808
Gen. W. Hunter, Governor	1809
Gen. W. Balfour, President	1811
Gen. G. S. Smythe, President	1812
Gen. Sir J. Saumarez, President	1813
Col. H. W. Hailes, President	1816
Gen. G. S. Smythe, Governor	1817
Hon. Ward Chipman, President	1823
Hon. J. M. Bliss, President	1824
Gen. Sir H. Douglas, Governor	1825
Hon. W. Black, President	1829
Gen. Sir A. Campbell, Governor	1832
Gen. Sir John Harvey, Governor	1837
Sir W. M. G. Colebrooke, Governor	1841
Sir E. W. Head, Governor	1848
Hon. J. H. T. M. Sutton, Governor	1854
Hon. A. Gordon, Governor	1862
Sir C. Hastings Doyle, Lieut.-Governor	1866

CHAPTER XXX.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1663 TO 1787.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS — ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR PATTERSON — THE LAND QUESTION.

1. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, at first called St. John, as we have seen in the early part of this work, was not settled until 1663, when France thought to establish on the island an extension of her colonial empire. In that year the island, together with the Magdalen Islands, were granted to Sieur Doublet, by the French king, for purposes of trade; but he did nothing beyond establishing a few small fishing-stations on the island. The first settlements of any considerable importance were made by the French who removed from Acadia after the treaty of 1713, the island still remaining under French rule, while Acadia was transferred to the English. This movement was followed by the establishment of a post and garrison at Port La Joie (Charlottetown), under the protection of the French fort at Cape Breton, which also remained in the possession of the French after the treaty of Utrecht. But even in 1752 the entire inhabitants of the island numbered but one thousand three hundred and fifty-four, notwithstanding the favorable accounts of the soil and climate which had been widely circulated. From this period to the conquest by the English, the progress of the population and wealth on the island was not rapid, yet these were gradually increased and expanded until 1758, when the total number of inhabitants, from the best accounts that can be authenticated, was about five thousand, and probably this increase was to a greater extent indebted to the expulsion of the Acadians in Nova Scotia, in 1755, than anything else. We can record little or nothing of French rule in the island of St. John; there were no events connected with it beyond those mentioned, which are worthy of particular remark here. The treaty of peace between France and England, in 1763, by which all the possessions of the former in North America were ceded to the latter, caused a great change in the destiny of Prince Edward Island. That island, together with Cape Breton and what is now the province of New Brunswick and part of the State of

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Maine, was included in the government of Nova Scotia, and so continued until 1770.

2. In 1764 the British government ordered a survey of the coast of its newly acquired American possessions, and Captain Holland was instructed to superintend the northern portion of the survey, and to commence at the island of St. John. He arrived at the island in October, 1764, and found very poor accommodation at Fort Amherst, which he described as a poor stockade, with scarcely barracks enough to accommodate the garrison, and he was obliged to provide winter-quarters for himself. As to the inhabitants he says, "There are about thirty Acadian families on the island, who are regarded as prisoners, and kept on the same footing as those at Halifax. They are extremely poor, and maintain themselves by their industry in gardening, fishing, fowling, etc. The few remaining houses in the different parts of the island are very bad, and the quantity of cattle is but very inconsiderable." The captain evidently spared no time or pains in completing his survey, for in October, 1765, he sent home Mr. Robinson with plans of the island, as well as of the Magdalen Islands, and an account of the soil, climate, etc., in which he speaks in even more glowing terms of both than had the French explorers who had previously reported on the capabilities of the island. Previous to the reception of this report, in December, 1763, the Earl of Egmont, then first lord of the admiralty, had presented a petition praying for a grant of the whole island, which he intended to turn into a sort of feudal barony, with himself as lord paramount, having forty *hundreds*, or baronies, with eight hundred manors and forty townships, each of one hundred lots containing five acres. This plan was vigorously pushed for some time, but the lords of trade and plantations opposed the scheme, and finally, on the third application for a grant of the island, flatly refused to entertain it. By the survey of Captain Holland the island was found to contain three hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred acres, only about ten thousand of which were estimated as unfit for cultivation. Although the lords of trade and plantations refused to entertain Lord Egmont's scheme, yet they agreed to distribute the island among persons who had — or were supposed to have — claims upon the government; and, in accordance with this plan, nearly the whole island was distributed by a lottery, which was drawn in the presence of the Board of Trade, on the 23d July, 1767; the claims of all peti-

tioners for allotments having been previously adjudicated on by the board.

3. The conditions under which the distribution was made was as follows: "On twenty-six specified lots or townships a quit-rent of six shillings on every hundred acres was reserved, on twenty-nine lots four shillings, and on eleven lots two shillings, payable annually on one half of the grant at the expiration of five years, and on the whole at the expiration of ten years after the date of the grants. A reservation of such parts of each lot as might afterwards be found necessary for fortifications or public purposes, and of a hundred acres for a church and glebe, and of fifty acres for a school-master, was made, five hundred feet from high-water mark being reserved for the purpose of a free fishery. Deposits of gold, silver, or coal, were reserved for the crown. It was stipulated that the grantee of each township should settle the same within ten years from the date of the grant, in the proportion of one person for every two hundred acres; that such settlers should be Europeans, foreign Protestants, or such persons as had resided in British North America for two years previous to the date of the grant; and, finally, that if one-third of the land was not so settled within four years from the date of the grant, the whole shall be forfeited."¹ About six thousand acres were reserved for the king, and lots forty and fifty-nine were reserved for Messrs. Mill, Cathcart, and Higgins, and Messrs. Spencer, Muir, and Cathcart, in consideration of their having established fisheries, and otherwise improved the island; and all the remainder of the island was distributed. Very few of the grantees had any intention of settling on the island, and either sold out or alienated their property; so that in the course of a few years the bulk of it fell into the hands of a few absentee proprietors. The grantees, however, were clamorous for their political rights, and in 1786 petitioned for a separation from Nova Scotia and government of their own, which petition was granted in 1770, when there were only five resident proprietors on the island and about one hundred and fifty families.

4. Captain William Patterson, one of the grantees, was appointed governor, and arrived in 1770, and three years afterwards a complete constitution was granted it, and the first Parliament met at Charlottetown in 1773. The government consisted of a lieutenant-governor, aided by a combined executive

¹ Campbell's History of Prince Edward Island.

and legislative council, and a house of assembly of eighteen members. Of the executive council, three were members of the legislative council and one of the house of assembly. The first trouble in the new province arose from money difficulties. In asking for a constitution the proprietors had offered to make the quit-rents due in 1772 payable at once; but they failed to pay up, and the governor was soon put to great straits to raise sufficient money to meet the civil list, which was very moderate, comprising salary of the governor, five hundred pounds; secretary and registrar, one hundred and fifty pounds; chief-justice, two hundred pounds; attorney-general, one hundred pounds; clerk of the crown and coroner, eighty pounds; provost marshal, fifty pounds; and the minister of the Church of England, one hundred pounds; but even this small amount was not received from the quit-rents, and the governor was forced to use three thousand pounds, raised by the house for the erection of public buildings, to pay the employés of the government.

5. The progress of the colony was very slow; there was little or no emigration after the first excitement had worn off; and in 1779, out of sixty-nine townships into which the island had been divided, efforts towards settlement had only been made in about a dozen, and even in these the colonization was only partial. One reason for the lack of emigration was the bigotry of the Church of England, and the exclusion of Roman Catholics from settlement on the island. In 1775 Governor Patterson went to England; and the proprietors presented a memorial to the colonial secretary praying that the civil establishment of the island should be provided for by an annual grant by Parliament, as was done in other colonies. By a minute of council, passed on 7th August, 1776, it was ordered that legal proceedings should be taken to recover the arrears of quit-rents; but no immediate action was taken by the governor, who was anxious to propitiate the proprietors.

6. The island of St. John was made to feel the horrors of war shortly after the outbreak of the American Revolution. In November, 1775, two American vessels, cruising in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence for the purpose of trying to intercept English steamships on their way to Quebec, suddenly appeared in the harbor of Charlottetown, which was quite defenceless, and, landing a body of sailors and marines, pillaged the place of all that was valuable, and carried off Hon. Mr. Callbeck, who was administering the government in the absence of Governor Patterson, and other officers, prisoners. General

Washington then had his head-quarters at Cambridge, and as soon as he heard of the outrage he released the prisoners, restored the booty, and had the officers who commanded the expedition dismissed the service. The island suffered no more during the war, except that the privateers hovering about the gulf sometimes replenished their scanty provisions at the expense of the farmers' flocks and barn-yards; but the loss was more than compensated by the occasional visits of British men-of-war, one of which, the "Hunter," being placed on the station, effectually protected the island. In 1778 four companies of militia, under Major Hierliky, were sent from New York to protect the island; and in October, 1779, the ship "Camilla," with a regiment of Hessians on board, was forced, by stress of weather, to put into Charlottetown, and remain there until the following June. The town had not enough provisions to support them, but the deficiency was made up by the farmers. The visit was productive of good in the future, for many of the soldiers, pleased with the country, returned at the close of the war and settled there.

7. In 1773 the Assembly had passed an act providing for the sale of allotments in the event of the quit-rents not being paid; but the law had never been enforced. On his return from England, in 1780, however, Governor Patterson decided to enforce the law, and, accordingly, legal proceedings were taken and a number of estates sold for little more than the taxes due. This led to great complaints against Patterson, who bought large quantities of land himself, and ultimately led to his removal. The proprietors whose estates had been sold petitioned against the action of the governor, claiming that he had chosen an inopportune time, while the country was at war, and few English capitalists could be found to invest in colonial property, in an island which might be alienated from the British crown by the next treaty of peace; that he had not followed due form of law, nor given sufficient notice in England of the intended sale; and that he had used his power and position for his personal advantage, and acquired large tracts of the land for himself and his friends. This latter charge Patterson did not attempt to deny, for, in a letter to Mr. Stuart — the agent of the province in England—he says, "That the officers of the government have made purchases is certain, and that I have made some myself is also as certain; but I should be glad to know who would be an officer of government if, by being such, he was deprived of his privilege as a citizen." He denied the

first charge of illegal procedure, however, and tried hard to defend his action, which appears to be just and legal; the proprietors would not comply with the conditions on which their grants had been made them, and either refused or neglected to pay the quit-rents which were absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the civil government. The law provided a remedy by the sale of the lands, and Governor Patterson merely applied the law, that was all, and he was quite right in doing so; but his subsequent conduct is not so easily justified. On the close of the war a great change took place in the value of land in the island, and those proprietors whose estates had been sold for taxes began to be clamorous to have the sale set aside, and the lands returned to them on payment of the arrears of taxes and expenses of sale. Patterson strongly opposed this, and puts the case very clearly in a letter to Mr. Stuart, dated the 12th of May, 1783; he says, "There is some idea, I find, of rescinding the purchases, and that government will order it; whoever has formed such an idea must have strange notions of government. Government may order me, and, if I have a mind to be laughed at, I may issue my orders to the purchasers; but can any one believe that they will be obeyed? Surely not; nor would I be an inhabitant of any country where such a power existed. My money may, with as much justice, be ordered out of my pocket, or the bread out of my mouth. A governor has just as much power to do the one as the other. I should like to know what opinion you would have of a country where the validity of public contracts depended on the will of the governor. The purchases were made in the very worst period of the war, when the property was very precarious indeed, and when no man in England would have given hardly a guinea for the whole island. It is now at peace, and fortunately we still remain a part of the British empire. The lands are consequently esteemed more valuable, and the proprietors have become clamorous for their loss. Had the reverse taken place, — had the island been ceded to France, — let me ask what would have been the consequence? Why, the purchasers would have lost their money, and the proprietors would have been quiet, hugging themselves on their own better judgment. There can be no restoring of the lots which were sold. *There has not been a lot sold on which a single shilling has been expended by way of settlement, nor upon which there has been a settler placed; so that those proprietors who have expended money in making settlements have no cause of complaint.*"

8. The influence of proprietors at court was, however, too strong for the governor, and a resolution in council was passed on the 1st of May, 1784, voiding the sales made in 1781, and allowing the original proprietors to repossess themselves of their property on payment of the purchase money, interest, and charges incurred by the present proprietors, as well as the cost of any improvement which had been made. A bill based on this order in council was framed and sent out, in 1784, to Governor Patterson, to be submitted to the Assembly; but he had no idea of giving up the property he had purchased so easily, and neglected to present the bill to the house, which he knew was unfriendly to him and would immediately pass the bill. Under the pretence that the home government was not fully acquainted with the facts regarding the land sale, the governor suppressed the bill sent out, only submitting it to the council, who were pledged to secrecy. His object was to get the Assembly to pass an act approving the sale of 1781, before he was forced by the home government to submit the rescinding act sent out; and for this purpose he dissolved the house, which he knew was inimical to his interests, and ordered a new election; but he was unfortunate in its result, for on the meeting of the new house one of its first acts was to consider the conduct of the governor with regard to the sales of land, and an address to the king, disapproving of his conduct, was being framed, when the governor hastily interfered and dissolved Parliament again. The governor was favored at this second election by the support of the newly arrived united empire loyalists, many of whom had settled on the island at the close of the Revolutionary War, and whose wants had been assiduously attended to by the governor, in the hope of future political support; nor was he mistaken. In March, 1795, he ordered another general election, and the result was the return of a house entirely subservient to his wishes, although Mr. Stewart assures us that this "was not accomplished without a severe struggle, much illegal conduct, and at an expense to the governor and his friends of nearly two thousand pounds sterling." Nothing was said at the session of 1785 about the sales of 1781, but at the next session a bill was introduced, and passed, entitled, "An act to render good and valid in law all and every of the proceedings in the years one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, which in every respect related to or concerned the suing, seizing, condemning, or selling of the lots or townships hereinafter mentioned, or any part thereof."

9. This legislation was disallowed by his majesty, and the proprietors in England urging on the colonial secretary that Governor Patterson did not intend to obey the orders of the home office, that officer superseded Patterson, and ordered him to return to England to answer to certain charges made against him, Colonel Fanning being instructed to take his place. The letter from the colonial secretary reached him in October, 1786, and at the same time he was peremptorily ordered to submit to the Assembly the bill sent out in 1784, rescinding the sales of 1781, another copy of which was forwarded. Patterson now saw the folly of longer withholding the bill, and submitted it to the Assembly, when it was read for the first time on the 1st of November; but, in accordance with the desire of the governor, the bill was shelved and a private bill passed in its place, which provided for the restoration of the escheated lands, but on such onerous terms that no advantage could be derived by the original proprietors by taking advantage of it. Of course the proprietors would not submit to this, and, on the matter being represented to the committee of the privy council, several members of the council were dismissed. Lieutenant-Governor Fanning arrived at Nova Scotia early in November, 1786, to assume the reins of government, but, to his surprise, found Patterson refused to give them up, pretending that the appointment was made only to fill the vacancy to be caused by his (Patterson's) temporary absence in England; and that, as it was then too late for him to proceed to England that year, there was no vacancy, and would be none until the spring. The claims of the rival governors caused considerable excitement on the island during the winter, as each had his partisans, but no breach of the peace occurred, and Patterson was allowed by Fanning to remain in almost undisputed possession of the government until the spring, when, early in April, the latter issued a proclamation, embodying his appointment, and calling on all loyal citizens to recognize his title as lieutenant-governor of the island. Patterson at once issued a counter-proclamation, to the effect that he was the only duly authorized representative of his majesty, and calling on all to pay no attention to the claims of the usurper. So matters remained at a dead-lock until the next month, when despatches from Lord Sydney settled the matter by curtly informing Patterson "his majesty has no farther occasion for your services as Lieutenant-Governor of St. John," and instructing Fanning to assume the government of the island. Patterson never returned to the island. Deserted

by his friends in England he had no chance of reinstatement; and, being in straitened circumstances, his large and valuable possessions on the island were sold at a mere nominal value under the hard laws which he had himself caused to be passed. "But the question occurs," says Mr. Campbell, "what became of the escheated lands which were ordered to be restored to the original proprietors? After the proceeding already mentioned no determined effort to regain the property was made by the original holders, with regard to whose claims to restitution no doubt could now exist. The Assembly did, indeed, pass an act in 1792; by which the old proprietors were permitted to take possession of their property; but eleven years having elapsed since the sales took place, and complications of an almost insuperable nature having in consequence ensued, the government deemed it inexpedient to disturb the present holders, more particularly as not a few of them had effected a compromise with the original grantees, which entitled them to permanent possession. Hence the act referred to was disallowed, and thus a subject which had for years agitated the community was permitted to remain in continued abeyance."

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1787 TO 1847.

1. COLONEL FANNING administered the affairs of the island for eighteen years, during which but little progress was made. The original proprietors still continued to hold their lands, and not pay the quit-rents. A census was taken in 1798, which showed a population of four thousand three hundred and seventy-two. There were seven hundred and forty-eight heads of families, and amongst these only twenty-five are returned as single men. Fifty families consisted of only two persons each, five of which were widows, with one son each; sixty-two families consisted of ten or more persons, the remaining six hundred and eleven families containing from three to nine persons each. The largest family on the island was that of Lieutenant-Governor Fanning, consisting of eighteen persons, eight of whom were males and ten females. The names of these early settlers are a curious study, there being four hundred and eighty-seven different cognomens divided amongst the seven hundred and

forty-eight families, Scotch names greatly preponderating; indeed one-third of the population were "Maes," for no less than two hundred and thirty-one families, consisting of seven hundred and one males and six hundred and thirty-six females, had the prefix "Mc" to their names, the McDonalds alone mustering sixty-nine families, numbering two hundred and eight males and one hundred ninety-eight females; nor do the McDonalds seem to have been all settled in one locality, but to have been pretty well spread over the island, as out of forty-nine districts from which returns are made the name McDonald appears in twenty-one, and in only one instance—a widow and her daughter—does the family consist of less than three. English names are scarcer, and the Smith, Brown, Jones, and Robinson families are very scantily represented; the former having only three families, of nine males and ten females; the Browns four families, of eight males and eighteen females; the Robinsons two families, of seven males and seven females; while only one Jones—John Jones—is returned in the whole province, and his family consisted of two males and three females.

2. It was during the administration of Colonel Fanning that the name of the island was changed from St. John to Prince Edward. The inconvenience of the former name was felt at an early date, on account of there being the town and other places of the same name, and an effort was made in 1780 to change it to New Ireland, and a bill was introduced and passed in the House of Assembly adopting that name as the future one of the island; but the action was taken without the knowledge or consent of the imperial government, and the bill was disallowed, after which no farther effort was made to change the name for nearly twenty years. During his residence at Halifax as commander-in-chief of the forces in North America, the Duke of Kent ordered new barracks to be built at Charlottetown, and also had the harbor fortified; and the inhabitants felt so grateful to him for his care and consideration of them, that, although he never visited the island, the house, at its session of 1798, passed an act changing the name of the island to Prince Edward, in compliment to him; and the act having received the royal assent on the 1st of February, 1799, the province was thenceforward known as that of Prince Edward Island. The settling of the island went on very slowly under the proprietary system, and, in 1797, when the House of Assembly took the matter in hand, and made a careful examination into the state of the province, very little had been done. In this year the Assembly

presented a petition to the king, praying that the proprietors should be compelled to fulfil the conditions on which the lands had been granted, or the lands themselves escheated to the crown and redistributed. This petition was based on a careful examination of the condition of the sixty-nine townships into which the island had been divided; by which examination it was shown that in twenty-three townships, which were named, and which contained over four hundred and fifty thousand acres, there was not a single resident settler; that in twelve other townships there were only thirty-six families, numbering about two hundred persons, who thus constituted the entire population of nearly one-half the area of the whole island. The opinion of the house was that these lands were only held on speculation, that the proprietors were taking advantage of the leniency of the government, and that the lands should be given to actual settlers. The petition was favorably received by the Duke of Portland, then colonial secretary, and Governor Fanning instructed that the evils complained of should be removed. In opening the session of 1802 Governor Fanning stated that the imperial government had favorably considered the petition, and advised the house to be ready to adopt, when necessary, the legal means to reinvest his majesty with the lands which could be escheated. The house inquired for farther information, and, not receiving it, passed "An act for effectually reinvesting in his majesty, his heirs and successors, all such lands as are, or may be, liable to forfeiture within this island," which, greatly to the astonishment of the house, was disallowed by the home government.

3. The cause of this disallowance is not hard to find. It must be remembered that in the time of which we are writing the provinces were all really governed by orders from the colonial office, and the party most powerful in Downing street controlled the affairs of the provinces, no matter what the local government might desire; now, the proprietary party was still very strong with the home office, and, of course, used its influence against a redistribution of the land, for both the resident and non-resident proprietors were opposed to any change. The non-resident proprietors only held their lands on speculation; it had cost them nothing, and they did not intend that it should, for they paid no quit-rent, made no improvement, promoted no immigration, and were only waiting until their island was sufficiently settled by others to make their land valuable, when they proposed turning it into money, and closing their connection

with the island. Those proprietors who had improved their property were also opposed to any change; for they argued — with considerable judgment — that if the lands now unoccupied were escheated to the crown and redistributed, a number of the settlers, who were now their tenants, would desire to become proprietors, and so leave their lands unoccupied. Both parties, therefore, brought their influence to bear on the home office, and the result was the disallowance of the bill. The Assembly was justly incensed at such disregard for the best interests of the island, and drew up a strong remonstrance, which was sent to the agents of the colony in London for presentation; addresses were also forwarded, through Governor Fanning, to the colonial secretary and the president of the committee of the privy council for trade and plantations; but the influence of the proprietors was so great that not only was no attention paid to the complaints of the Assembly by Lord Castlereagh, then colonial secretary, but a composition was also made with regard to the overdue quit-rents, which now amounted to about sixty thousand pounds sterling, the amount due on some townships being more than it was calculated they would sell for. The commutation was divided into four classes, and the agreement was, that the payment of quit-rents for a certain number of years should be taken in lieu of the thirty-two years now due. Those proprietors who had on their lands the required number of settlers, as agreed for under the original grant, were released from all the past quit-rents by paying for five years, and a proportionate deduction was made for the other classes, who had made partial settlements, and who had made none.

4. This commutation had a good effect, for, although a large number of the proprietors still refused to pay even the small amount demanded, still a great many thought this a good time to sell and realize what they could on the land, and for the next four years a brisk business was done in sales, about one-third of the whole island changing proprietors in that time, many of the purchasers being determined to actually colonize and develop the resources of the country. Foremost amongst these new proprietors was the Earl of Selkirk, who had large possessions on the north and south of Point Prim. This had been the site of an old French settlement, which had been abandoned on the cession of the island to Great Britain, and had become partially grown over with young timber. In 1803 the earl began to remove a number of Highlanders to his island property, about eight hundred coming that year, and the num-

ber being increased from time to time until about four thousand in all settled on the fertile soil, which, under this good management, soon began to yield plentiful harvests. The same Earl of Selkirk afterwards formed a settlement at the Red river, of which we shall speak more fully in our comments on the Northwest Territory. Colonel Fanning resigned the lieutenant-governorship in 1804, and was succeeded by Desbarres, who arrived in July, 1805. Colonel Desbarres was an old man, who had been the first governor of Cape Breton when it was made a separate colony, in 1784, and his administration was not marked by any remarkable events, beyond the growing dissatisfaction of the Assembly at the conduct of the home government, in again disallowing the act passed for the escheating of lands which the proprietors had neglected to settle and improve as required of them by the original grant. War with the United States was declared during his administration, but the tide of conflict did not turn towards the island.

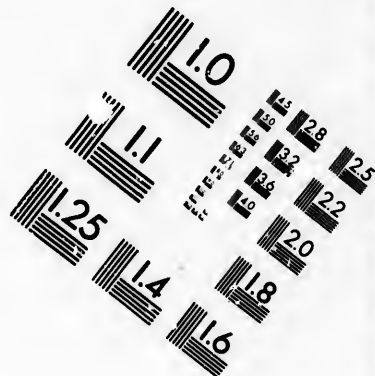
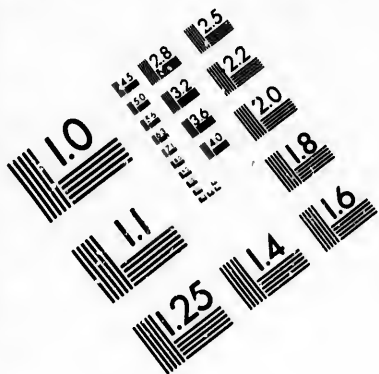
5. Colonel Desbarres was succeeded, in 1813, by Mr. Charles Douglas Smith, a brother of Sir Sydney Smith, who soon changed the character of the government of the island by turning it into a despotism, of which he was the autocrat, and very nearly drove the islanders into open rebellion by his illegal and tyrannical conduct. The Assembly met in November, 1813, and was rather cavalierly treated by the governor, who seemed to think such a legislative body unnecessary, and, after prorogation in January, 1814, did not summon the house to meet again until 1817, when the house, proceeding to inquire into the state of the province, was promptly dissolved by the dictatorial governor, who ordered a general election in 1818. The new house also endeavored to inquire into the state of the province, and was at once dissolved, another being elected in 1820, but was not called together; and so, with the exception of the session of 1813, the island was virtually left without a Parliament, and in the absolute power of one tyrant for eleven years. The governor's tyranny commenced on the vexed subject of quit-rents, — "the root of all evil," we might almost say, at that time in the island. A proclamation was issued in October, 1816, setting forth that the king had resolved to make certain concessions to the proprietors, to remit a portion of the quit-rents, and to fix a reduced scale for them in future. Nothing more was done in the matter until January, 1818, when the governor suddenly ordered the acting receiver-general to collect at once all arrears of quit-rents from June, 1816, to December,

1818, at the old rates. The summary proceedings in collecting these taxes caused great distress and inconvenience to the people; and, on the case being properly represented to the home government, the action of the governor was disapproved, farther proceedings stopped, and a refund ordered of all collected in excess of the rate of two shillings for every hundred acres; it was also announced that in future the collection of quit-rents would be peremptorily insisted on, but over three years passed away and no action was taken; and the general impression was that the government would not enforce the tax again, especially as it had been abandoned in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In June, 1822, a notice was posted up in the office of the receiver-general, Charlottetown, that the office would be open from ten to four during the first fifteen days of July to receive quit-rents; but no attention was paid to it by the few who saw it, and the great bulk of the people never saw or heard anything at all about it. Nothing farther was done until December, when another notice was put up that quit-rents must be paid by the 14th of January, 1823; but no steps were taken to inform the people that proceedings would be instituted against them if the tax was not paid; and, indeed, not one person in a hundred knew that any demand had been made. Immediately on the expiration of the time given in the notice, summary proceedings were taken to force payment. Seizure was made of the property of two of the leading settlers, in townships thirty-six and thirty-seven; and shortly after a regular descent was made on the eastern district of King's County, which was thickly settled, principally by Highlanders, who did not understand a word of English, and great distress was caused. The tax-gatherers demanded immediate payment, or a note at ten days, in default of which an auction sale of all goods and chattels was threatened. The poor Highlanders did not know what to do, but mostly gave their notes, and then hurried up to Charlottetown to sell their winter stock of produce to pay the notes, in some instances being actually driven up like sheep by the tax-gatherer. This long journey of fifty or sixty miles in the depth of winter caused great distress; and the sudden influx of so much produce into Charlottetown depressed prices a great deal, so that many of the farmers were almost ruined by the sacrifice of their crops to pay their notes.

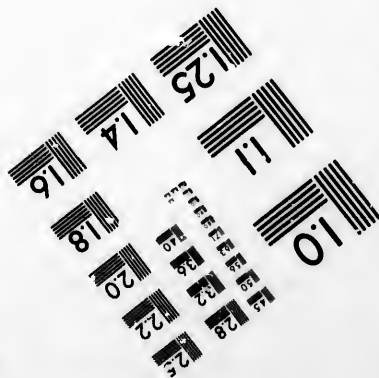
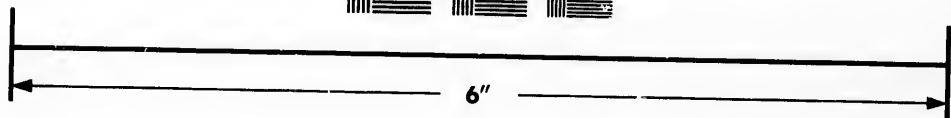
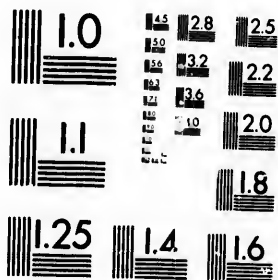
6. Public indignation was now thoroughly aroused against the governor, and the people determined to hold public meetings for the purpose of preparing a petition to the king, praying

for his removal, they being unable to do so through their representatives, as the governor would not call a meeting of Parliament. Forty leading settlers signed a formal requisition to the sheriff, Mr. John McGregor, calling on him to convene a public meeting in each of the three counties into which the island was divided, in order that the people might consult together on the state of the province, they having been deprived of a Parliament for three years. The sheriff could not refuse this very just and constitutional demand, and appointed the first meeting to be held at Charlottetown, on the 6th of March, and subsequent meetings at St. Peter's and Princetown,— a course of action highly displeasing to the despotic governor, who thought the people had no right to complain about him, and he dismissed the sheriff and appointed a Mr. Townshend in his place. The charges against the governor, as formulated in the petition to the king, adopted at the three public meetings held, were numerous and serious. He was charged with utter ignorance of the wants, condition, or requirements of the country, inasmuch as, although he had been ten years on the island, he had never quitted Charlottetown but once, and then only for a drive of eighteen miles in the country; with illegally constituting a court of escheat in 1818; with insulting the Assembly by refusing to meet it, and by summarily dismissing it under particularly aggravating circumstances; with screening the chief-justice of the island from thirteen serious charges made against him; of nepotism, by appointing his son-in-law, Lieutenant Lane, to the council,— a position to which he had no right or title; and of having, as chancellor of the escheat court, permitted his son-in-law, Lane, whom he had appointed registrar and master, to make very heavy additions to the fees. This latter charge was made a pretext by the governor for a charge of gross libel and contempt of the Court of Chancery by the members of the Queen's County committee, who drew up the petition to the king, and warrants were issued for the arrest of the members; the main object of the governor, however, being the arrest of Mr. Stewart, who had been appointed to present the petitions in England, and who had them in his possession. In this the governor was foiled by the prompt escape of Mr. Stewart to Nova Scotia, and he revenged himself on the other members of the committee by imposing heavy fines on them. Had Mr. Stewart been arrested, and the petitions seized and destroyed, as the governor intended, the result would, probably, have been a revolution on the island; for the people were





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terribly excited, and had been provoked almost past endurance by Smith's arbitrary conduct.

7. The first newspaper published in Prince Edward Island was the "Prince Edward Island Register," which was printed by Mr. James D. Haszard, and made its appearance on the 26th of July, 1823. Mr. Haszard published the particulars given above, and for so doing was summoned before the Court of Chancery, charged with libelling the court and its officers, but was let off with a reprimand on his giving the names of the parties from whom he received his information: Messrs. Stewart, McGregor, Mahey, Dockendorff, Owen, and McDonald. The governor made quite a pompous speech to Mr. Haszard, saying, "I compassionate your youth and inexperience; did I not do so, I would lay you by the heels long enough for you to remember it. You have delivered your evidence fairly, plainly, clearly, and as became a man; but I caution you, when you publish anything again, keep clear, sir, of a chancellor! Beware, sir, of a chancellor!" This solemn warning was not very long effective, however, for Mr. Stewart was exceedingly well received in England, the petition taken into immediate consideration, and Smith was recalled, he being succeeded by Colonel Ready, who arrived on the 21st of October, 1824, accompanied by Mr. Stewart, and was most enthusiastically received by the inhabitants, who were heartily sick and tired of Smith and his tyranny, and welcomed any change as a relief, feeling quite confident it could not be for the worse. Charlottetown was brilliantly illuminated on the evening of the governor's arrival, and an address was presented to him, part of which read: "We feel the utmost confidence that the harmony that ought always to exist between the government and the people is perfectly established, and that your excellency will believe that loyalty, obedience to the laws, and a love of order, is the character of the inhabitants of Charlottetown. We cannot omit on this occasion to express our unfeigned gratitude and thanks for the attention which his majesty has been graciously pleased to pay to the interests of this colony, in confiding its government to your excellency's hands, and to add our most fervent wishes that your administration of it may be long and happy." In justice to the islanders, it must be said that, although they were loud and demonstrative in their joy at the appointment of the new governor, entertained him at a public dinner, and made most flattering speeches, they offered no insult to Smith; and when he left for England he was even presented with a fare-

well address by a few office-holders whom he had favored during his administration.

8. No Parliament had met since 1820, and one of Ready's first acts was to order a general election, which took place late in the fall, and the new house met in January, 1825, when Mr. John Stewart was elected speaker. The Legislature quickly busied itself with passing several important bills, which were greatly needed. An act to improve the educational department was passed; also others regulating the fisheries, juries, jurisdiction of justices of peace, and one authorizing the governor to appoint commissioners to issue five thousand pounds sterling of treasury-notes, and to increase the revenue by taxation. The business of the house was promptly and amicably transacted, and the same despatch and harmony characterized a second session in October. At this latter session a petition was presented from the Roman Catholics, praying for the removal of their political disabilities; but, being received late in the session, it was not then considered. After the close of the session Governor Ready visited England on private business, and the Hon. George Wright acted as administrator during his absence. This year the mode of paying the custom-house officials was changed, as it was in the other provinces, and instead of collecting fees they were given fixed salaries. The island was now in a quiet, happy, and prosperous state. The population had increased to about twenty-three thousand. Agriculture was flourishing, and trade and commerce steadily growing. During the year eighteen vessels arrived from Great Britain, and one hundred and twenty-eight from British colonies. The imports were valued at eighty-five thousand three hundred and thirty-seven pounds, and the exports at ninety-five thousand four hundred and twenty-six pounds. The islanders seem to have been far from total abstainers, for amongst the imports we find four thousand gallons of rum, two thousand five hundred gallons of brandy, and three thousand gallons of gin, which would give an average of over two and a half gallons of spirits to every man, woman, and child on the island.

9. The governor, on his return from England, met Parliament in March, 1837, and congratulated the province on the great internal improvements which had taken place, a road having been completed to Princetown, and lines surveyed for extending it to Cascumpee and North Cape. He also advocated the formation of an agricultural society, — a matter which was then attracting a good deal of attention in the other provinces.

The most important bills passed were one providing for taking a census of the island, and another authorizing the formation of a fire company in Charlottetown. The petition of the Roman Catholics for the removal of their political disabilities came up this session, and, after considerable discussion, the resolution to remove these disabilities was lost on the casting vote of the speaker, Mr. Stewart, who gave as his reason not any objection to granting the Roman Catholics the same right to vote as the Protestants, but that, as the question had not been decided in England, he did not feel authorized to admit the principle in the province. During this session (1827) the council and Assembly got at variance about appropriations, and at the following session the council rejected the appropriation bill, which caused great inconvenience to the governor, who, on opening the session of 1829, recommended a conciliatory policy on both sides, and so far succeeded in making peace that business communications were resumed between the two houses, and the supply-bill passed. At this session a bill was passed providing for the establishment of a non-sectarian college at Charlottetown. The session of 1830 was marked by the passage of an act removing all political disabilities from Roman Catholics, and all places of trust, honor, or profit open to other denominations were henceforward open to members of that faith. The years 1829-31 saw quite a stream of immigration turn towards the colony, nearly two thousand fresh arrivals taking place in that time, and a great impetus being given to agriculture, which was now also being benefited by the operations of the agricultural society, and the establishment of branches of it in different parts of the island. Colonel Ready was recalled in 1831, and his departure was greatly regretted by the people. He had come to them when they were writhing under most oppressive tyranny, and by his wise, moderate, and enlightened government he had done much to improve the island, and win the love of the inhabitants, during his seven years of office.

10. Colonel Ready was succeeded by Colonel A. W. Young, who arrived in September, 1831, and met Parliament in January, 1832. Several useful acts were passed at this session, amongst them one granting a subsidy of three hundred pounds a year for a bi-weekly mail service between Charlottetown and Pictou, N. S., a contract being made with the steamer "Pocahontas." An act was also passed changing the term of the Assembly from seven to four years. A census was taken in 1833, which showed the population to be thirty-two thousand, — an increase

of forty per cent. on the return of 1827. Colonel Young visited England in the summer of 1834, when he was knighted. Towards the close of 1834 a general election was held, and Parliament met in January, 1835, when the council and Assembly immediately got at variance on the appropriation bill, and no supplies were passed. Shortly after prorogation, however, the governor got both parties to agree to pass the revenue and appropriation bills separately, and an extra session was called in April, at which the supply bills were passed. The governor opened the extra session, but was too ill to close it, and his malady grew worse until the 1st of December, 1835, when he died, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, forty-one of which had been devoted to the service of his country in various parts of the world; and wherever he was he distinguished himself by courage, prudence, and urbanity, gaining for himself friends and admirers in all the countries in which he served.

11. The Hon. George Wright was sworn in as administrator on the death of Sir Aretus W. Young, and conducted the affairs of the province until the arrival of Colonel Sir John Harvey, in February, 1836. Sir John only remained in office one year, when he was transferred to New Brunswick, and succeeded by Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy, who arrived in June, 1837. He was not long in finding out what was the real cause of the farmers' troubles, the proprietorship of nearly the whole island by absentees, who drained the actual settler of his last farthing, as soon as his farm began to be remunerative, or ejected him if he failed to pay. The governor issued a circular to the proprietors, advising them to sell the land to the tenants under some system of payment by instalment, or allow something to them for improvements. The House of Assembly passed a law providing for an assessment on all lands in the province, which the proprietors opposed. A report was prepared by Messrs. T. H. Haviland, R. Hodgson, and other members of the Assembly, which showed that the local expenditure of the government for the last twelve years had been one hundred and seven thousand six hundred and forty-three pounds, of which twenty-eight thousand five hundred and six pounds had been expended on roads and bridges, to the great advantage of the property of the proprietors; thirteen thousand five hundred and fifty-six pounds on public buildings and wharves; and sixty-six thousand five hundred and sixty-two pounds for other local purposes. And of these large sums, the whole amount contributed by the proprietors of the soil had

been only seven thousand four hundred and thirteen pounds, leaving the balance of one hundred thousand pounds to be borne by the resident consumers of dutiable articles. Lord Durham wrote a long letter favoring the true interests of the island; and at last the enactment received the royal sanction, notwithstanding the importunity of the circle who tried to regulate the land question in London. This showed that, at last, the influence of the proprietors in the colonial office was being broken, and was an augury of good for the island. A mechanic's institute was established in Charlottetown, in 1838, mainly at the instance of the Hon. Charles Young, and a course of lectures inaugurated which were kept up for several years. Parliament met again early in 1839, but almost immediately after its assembly the governor received a despatch from the colonial secretary, requiring him to remodel the council, and he at once prorogued the house. The change was the division of the council, which had hitherto been both executive and elective, into two; an executive council of nine members, and a legislative council of twelve, exclusive of the chief justice, who retired from it. The house met again in March, and Mr. W. Cooper, speaker of the house, was sent to London as a delegate on the land question. Three propositions were submitted by the Assembly: the establishment of a court of escheat; the resumption by the crown of the rights of the proprietors; and a heavy penal tax on wilderness lands; but Lord John Russell, the colonial secretary, declined to entertain either proposition at the moment; but recommended, instead, the adoption as a basis of settlement of terms proposed by the proprietors through their agent Mr. Young. Sir Charles Fitzroy, having been appointed to a governorship in the West Indies, was succeeded by Sir Henry Vere Huntley, who arrived in November, 1841.

12. Sir Henry Vere Huntley filled his term of office (six years) without any very eventful occurrences taking place. The Hon. George Wright, senior member of council, died in March, 1842. He had been nearly thirty years a member of that body, and had filled the office of administrator five times, during absences of the different governors. A serious disturbance occurred in King's County, in March, 1843, caused by the legal ejection of a farmer named Haney, whose friends forcibly reinstated him after burning the proprietor's house. The corner-stone of the new colonial building was laid by the lieutenant-governor on 16th May, 1843, with appropriate ceremonies, and the building was occupied by the Legislature for

the first time at the opening of the session in January, 1847. Some feeling against the governor was caused by his withdrawing his name as patron of the Agricultural Society, because the Assembly refused to enlarge and improve Government House for him in the manner he wished. The society very properly accepted the resignation without any other comment than that it could not see what the Legislature's refusing to repair Government House had to do with the patronage of the Agricultural Society; and then requested H.R.H. Prince Albert to become its patron, — a request which was immediately complied with. A sharp controversy arose in 1846 between the governor and Mr. Joseph Pope, who was speaker of the house and a member of the executive council. A proposal was made to increase the salary of the governor five hundred pounds per annum, which Mr. Pope opposed on the ground of economy; this annoyed the governor, and he dismissed Mr. Pope from the executive council on his own responsibility, and without consulting the council, which would most undoubtedly have supported Mr. Pope. Mr. Gladstone, who was then colonial secretary, informed the governor that he had exceeded his powers, and that he must reinstate Mr. Pope until he had consulted the council. Mr. Pope, however, saved him the trouble by resigning, after a correspondence in which he most decidedly had the best of it, and he repaid the governor his ill-will in the following year, at the expiration of his term of office, by getting up a petition against his reappointment for another term, which was favorably received by the colonial secretary, and the governor was succeeded by Sir Donald Campbell. A very serious election riot occurred between the Scotch and Irish factions in the district of Belfast, in February, 1847, in which four persons were killed, and between eighty and a hundred wounded, some seriously. The currency of the island had for some years been in a very unsatisfactory state, and in 1847 a committee of the house reported in favor of legislation giving the paper money issued by the government a fixed value in English gold or silver, and also advocated the establishment of a bank, where treasury notes could be exchanged for gold. During this session the house had the subject of responsible government under consideration, and passed a series of resolutions favoring its establishment, which were embodied in an address to the queen, and sent to the home office.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1847 TO 1875.

1. SIR H. V. HUNTLEY'S term of office having nearly expired, some of his friends, at his instance, got up a petition that he should be reappointed for another six years; but Mr. Pope—as we have already stated—got up a counter-petition, which was successful, and Sir H. V. Huntley was recalled, his successor, Sir Donald Campbell, arriving at Charlottetown in December, 1847, where he was received with more than the usual welcome, on account of his being a member of an ancient Highland family,—a large proportion of the settlers on the island being Highlanders and their descendants. In 1848 another census was taken, which showed that the population of the province had increased to sixty-two thousand six hundred and thirty-four. At the session of 1849 the Assembly passed an act fixing the elections for the same day throughout the island, it having been found that the system of having different days in different counties gave too great a scope to the rowdy element, and caused many riots. During this session a reply was received from Earl Grey, colonial secretary, to the petition of the house in 1847, for the establishment of responsible government, in which he declined to accede to their prayer on the ground that the island had not sufficient population, and that the existing form of government afforded all the safeguards necessary for the peace and prosperity of the colony; he, however, thought that the time had come when the revenues of the island might be given up to the Assembly, provided it would grant a sufficient civil list, with the exception of the lieutenant-governor's salary, which the home government offered to pay, and which was increased to five thousand pounds a year. The Assembly, in reply, accepted the offer, provided the revenues from permanent laws were granted in perpetuity, all claims for quit-rents abandoned, and responsible government conceded. The colonial secretary was willing to grant all asked, except responsible government; and, in order to test the real feeling of the province on this point, Parliament was dissolved and a general election held. The new house met on the 5th of March, 1850, and was even more strongly in favor of responsible govern-

ment, and in the address to the speech from the throne expressed a want of confidence in the executive council, which was also supplemented by a resolution that the house would grant no supplies until the council was remodelled; or, in other words, until the right of the Assembly to change the executive, when it no longer had the confidence of the majority of the house, had been conceded. The governor tried to temporize, and offered to give three seats in the council to members of the lower house; but this would not do,—the house was fighting for a principle, and it meant to attain its ends by constitutional means. The proposition of the governor was therefore rejected, and another petition to the queen forwarded, praying for responsible government. The house was prorogued on the 26th of March, but, as no supplies had been voted, the governor summoned the members again on the 25th of April, in the hope that a month's vacation would have put them in a better humor. But he was mistaken; the house still held to the ground it had taken, and, although it granted a few necessary supplies, passed no bills providing for roads, bridges, etc., and refused to discuss any business until the question of responsible government was settled, so that the governor was forced to dismiss the house, which he did with a reprimand.

2. Sir Donald Campbell forwarded a very able despatch to the colonial secretary on the condition, resources, and prospects of the island, which, added to the petitions of the Assembly, decided the colonial secretary to grant responsible government; but Sir Donald did not live to see it carried into execution, as he died in October, 1850, before the determination of the colonial secretary had been made known. The Hon. Ambrose Lane acted as administrator until the arrival of Sir Alexander Bannerman, who crossed the strait of Northumberland in an ice-boat, and arrived at Charlottetown on the 8th of March, 1851. The Legislature was convened on the 25th of March, and the governor communicated the welcome intelligence that the home government had yielded to the representations of the Assembly, and consented to grant responsible government on condition that provision should be made for pensioning retiring officers. This the house willingly consented to, and the government was speedily reconstructed, with Hon. George Coles as president of the council; Mr. Charles Young, attorney-general; Hon. Joseph Pope, treasurer, and Hon. James Warburton, colonial secretary. The house passed acts commutting the crown revenues, provided for the civil list and for inland posts, by which

inland postage was reduced to twopence to all parts of the island, and a uniform rate of threepence to any part of British North America adopted. The only other occurrence of any moment in 1851 was a violent storm sweeping over the island on the 3d and 4th of October, by which seventy-two fishing-vessels were either driven ashore or seriously injured, and considerable damage was done to property on the island.

3. The most important business of the session of 1852 was with regard to education, and we will take the opportunity of summing up here what previous efforts had been made in this direction. It will be remembered that at the original distribution of land, in 1767, thirty acres were reserved in each township for a school-master; but nothing was done in the way of education until 1821, when a national school was opened in Charlottetown, and soon afterwards a board of education was appointed for the island, and other schools opened, while in 1836 a central academy was established in Charlottetown. In the following year, 1837, the office of superintendent of schools was established, Mr. John McNeil being the first incumbent. Education seems to have been at a low ebb, to judge from the superintendent's first report, as for a population of about thirty-five thousand there were only fifty-one schools, with a total attendance of fifteen hundred and thirty-three. In many of the districts the people were so poor that they could not afford to send their children to school, and, besides, wanted what little assistance they could give on the farm. On account of the small salary given, and the precarious manner of receiving it, good school-masters were scarce, and some of rather doubtful character and of very limited attainments had been appointed for lack of better. In his report Mr. McNeil says, "I must also mention another practice, which is too prevalent in the country, and which I conceive is exceedingly injurious to the respectability of the teacher in the eyes of his pupils, and, consequently, hurtful to his usefulness; that is, receiving his board by going about from house to house, in which case he is regarded, both by parents and children, as little better than a common menial." During the next five years there was considerable improvement, especially in the attendance, and, by Mr. McNeil's report for 1842, we find that the number of schools had increased to one hundred and twenty-one, and the number of scholars to four thousand three hundred and fifty-six. In 1848 the office of general superintendent was abolished, and a superintendent for each county appointed. On opening

the session of 1852 the lieutenant-governor — referring to his trip to various parts of the island during the summer — expressed his regret at the want of sufficient educational facilities; and a free-school act was passed, which provided for raising a school-fund by additional taxation on land. This was the basis of the present system of the island, and gave a great impetus to education. In the following year the office of general superintendent for the whole island was re-established. Other educational changes we shall notice in their proper order in the course of events.

4. During the session of 1853 an act establishing universal suffrage was passed, and its effect was shortly afterwards felt, at the general election next year, at which the government party was defeated. Considerable agitation took place about this time among the temperance organizations, with reference to obtaining legislation to prohibit the manufacture, importation, or sale of intoxicating liquors on the island; but nothing came of it. A very sad accident took place on the 7th of October, 1853, by which seven persons lost their lives. The steamer "Fairy Queen," from Charlottetown to Pictou, became disabled in a heavy sea near Pictou Island, and was speedily broken up. The captain and most of the crew seized the only boat, and pulled away, leaving the unfortunate passengers to their fate. Fortunately the upper deck separated from the vessel and served as a raft, by which all the passengers, save seven, — three men and four women, — reached Mesigomish Island. Nothing of importance was done at the session of 1854, except that a vote of want of confidence in the government was passed, which led to a dissolution and the defeat of the government, as already mentioned. The governor, in opening the house, referred in congratulatory terms to the flourishing condition of the province, which was almost free from debt, which at the beginning of 1850 had amounted to twenty-eight thousand pounds. In four years this had been reduced to three thousand pounds, and would have been extinguished altogether but for an expenditure of about three thousand pounds for educational purposes. In these four years the revenue had risen from twenty-two thousand pounds to thirty-five thousand pounds, although the duty on tea had been reduced. Sir Alexander Bannerman, having been appointed governor of the Bahamas, was succeeded, on the 12th of June, 1854, by Sir Dominick Daly, who had formerly been secretary of the province of Canada.

5. Parliament met in September, 1854, when an act was

passed giving effect to the Reciprocity Treaty lately entered into between Great Britain and the United States, by which grain, breadstuffs, and provisions were imported into the island duty free. The same year saw the departure of the imperial forces, on account of the outbreak of the Crimean War; and an attempt to make a partial settlement of the land question, by purchasing some of the large estates from the original proprietors; the Worrell estate, consisting of eighty-one thousand three hundred acres, being so purchased this year for twenty-four thousand one hundred pounds sterling. At the session of 1855 the city of Charlottetown was incorporated, and a long-felt want on the island was supplied by the establishment of the Bank of Prince Edward Island. The governor, in proroguing the house, deprecated the attempts at escheat which were from time to time made, and advocated a continuance of the policy of purchase by the government from the proprietors. He also returned the thanks of her majesty for the vote of two thousand pounds passed by the Assembly as a contribution towards the fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of those who fell in the Crimea. A bill was also passed at this session establishing a normal school, which was opened the following year. The number of schools had now increased to two hundred and sixty-eight, with an attendance of eleven thousand, out of a population of seventy-one thousand, as shown by the census returns of 1855. Two acts were passed at this session with reference to the tenure of land, one imposing a duty on the rent-rolls of proprietors in certain townships, and another to secure compensation to tenants.

6. At the opening of the session of 1856 the governor informed the house that both these acts had been disallowed by the home government, — a decision with which the house was none too well pleased, and it did not hesitate to state that the absentee proprietors had too much influence at the colonial office at home. Mr. Labouchere, the colonial secretary, in intimating the decision of the government in reference to the land acts of the last session, stated that whatever character might properly attach to the circumstances connected with the original grants, which had been often employed against the maintenance of the rights of the proprietors, they could not, with justice, be used to defeat the rights of the present owners, who had acquired their property by inheritance, by family settlement, or otherwise. Seeing, therefore, that the rights of the proprietors could not be sacrificed without manifest injustice, he

felt it his duty steadily to resist, by all means in his power, measures similar in their character to those recently brought under the consideration of her majesty's government. He desired, at the same time, to assure the House of Assembly that it was with much regret that her majesty's advisers felt themselves constrained to oppose the wishes of the people of Prince Edward Island, and that it was his own wish to be spared the necessity of authoritative interference in regard to matters affecting the internal administration of their affairs. With regard to the main object which had been frequently proposed by a large portion of the inhabitants, namely, that some means might be provided by which a tenant holding under a lease could arrive at the position of a fee-simple proprietor, he was anxious to facilitate such a change, provided it could be effected without injustice to the proprietors. Two ways suggested themselves: first, the usual and natural one of purchase and sale between the tenant and the owner; and, secondly, that the government of the island should treat with such of the landowners as might be willing to sell, and that the State, thus becoming possessed of the fee-simple of such lands as might thus be sold, should be enabled to afford greater facilities for converting the tenants into freeholders. Such an arrangement could not probably be made without a loan, to be raised by the island government, the interest of which would be charged upon the revenues of the island. Mr. Labouchere intimated that the government would not be indisposed to take into consideration any plan of this kind which might be submitted to them, showing in what way the interest of such loan could locally be provided for, and what arrangement would be proposed as to the manner of disposing of the lands of which the fee-simple was intended to be bought.¹

7. From the time of the opening of the normal school, in 1856, the question as to the admission of the Bible into both the central academy and the normal school had been raised, and during the session of 1858 petitions in favor of its use in these institutions were presented and referred to a committee, which wisely reported that the compulsory use of the Protestant Bible in mixed schools, like the academy and normal school, would be most injudicious, and recommended that the petition be not granted. An amendment was moved by Hon. Mr. Palmer, to the effect that the Bible may be used by scholars, with the

¹ Campbell's History of Prince Edward Island.

consent of their parents and guardians. The amendment was lost by the casting vote of the speaker, and the report adopted. A general election took place in 1858, but when the house met it was found that parties were so evenly balanced that neither side could elect a speaker; a dissolution was therefore resorted to, and at the ensuing election the government was defeated, and resigned, a new ministry being formed under the leadership of the Hon. Edward Palmer and Hon. Col. Gray. In opening the house the governor intimated that the home government did not propose recommending to Parliament the guaranteeing of the one hundred thousand pounds requested by the Assembly to purchase lands from the proprietors. On receipt of this unwelcome intelligence the house passed a resolution, introduced by Col. Gray, that her majesty be requested to appoint some impartial person, not connected with the island in any way, to inquire into the existing difficulties between tenants and proprietors, and endeavor to suggest some plan for enabling the tenants to convert their leaseholds into freeholds; the means suggested being a large remission of overdue rents, and giving to every tenant having a long lease the option of purchasing his land at a certain price at any time that he may be able to do so. A serious question was raised between the legislative council and the Assembly at this session as to the composition of the executive council. The legislative council claimed that the principle of responsible government had not been carried out, inasmuch as persons were appointed to the departmental offices who were not members of either the legislative council or the House of Assembly, and that as all members of the Assembly were compelled by law to appeal to their constituents after appointment to office under the crown, the appointment of persons having no constituents to appeal to was an evasion of the statute. The council also complained that not one of its members was in the executive council; nor did it contain a single Roman Catholic, although more than one-third of the population of the island was of that faith. On these grounds the legislative council claimed that the executive council was illegally constituted, and presented an address to the queen, praying that it be remodelled in accordance with the royal instructions sent when consent was given to the civil-list bill, in 1857.

8. The Assembly passed a counter-address, in which it was contended that the executive council was constituted in conformity with the instructions of 1857; and that the feeling of

the island was opposed to the presence in the House of Assembly of salaried officers of the government, as was shown by the defeat at the polls, in 1857, of the commissioner of public lands, on his appeal to his constituents on accepting office, and of the same fate having befallen the attorney-general, and the treasurer and postmaster-general. Parliament was prorogued on the 19th of May, 1859, by Sir Dominick Daly, who then delivered his farewell address, he having been appointed to another government. Sir Dominick left in May, and Hon. Charles Young was sworn in as administrator until the arrival of Mr. George Dundas, M.P. for Linlithgowshire, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor, and arrived in June. During the next month a visit was paid to the island by Gen. Sir Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, who was most enthusiastically received. The legislative council and Assembly, not working harmoniously together, — as shown by their petition and counter-petition on the constitution of the executive council, — the governor, in compliance with instructions from the home office, called five new members to the board, thus making a majority in accord with the Assembly. During the session of 1860 the governor laid before the house a communication from the Duke of Newcastle, colonial secretary, on the subject of the land commission petitioned for at the last session of the Assembly. This letter enclosed one from Sir Samuel Cunard, and other proprietors, addressed to the duke, in which they said, "We have been furnished with a copy of a memorial, addressed to her majesty, from the House of Assembly of Prince Edward Island, on the questions which have arisen in connection with the original grants of land in that island, and the rights of proprietors in respect thereof. We observe that the Assembly have suggested that her majesty should appoint one or more commissioners to inquire into the relations of landlord and tenant in the island, and to negotiate with the proprietors of the township lands for fixing a certain rate of price at which each tenant might have the option of purchasing his land; and also to negotiate with the proprietors for a remission of the arrears of rent in such cases as the commissioners might deem reasonable, and proposing that the commissioners should report the result to her majesty. As large proprietors in this island, we beg to state that we shall acquiesce in any arrangement that may be practicable for the purpose of settling the various questions alluded to in the memorial of the House of Assembly; but we do not think that the appointment of

commissioners in the manner proposed by them would be the most desirable mode of procedure, as the labors of such commissioners would only terminate in a report which would not be binding on any of the parties interested; we beg, therefore, to suggest that, instead of the mode proposed by the Assembly, three commissioners or referees should be appointed, — one to be named by her majesty, one by the House of Assembly, and one by the proprietors of the land, — and that these commissioners should have power to enter into all the inquiries that may be necessary, and to decide upon the different questions which may be brought before them, giving, of course, to the parties interested, an opportunity of being heard. We should propose that the expense of the commission should be paid by the three parties to the reference, that is to say, in equal thirds; and we feel assured that there would be no difficulty in securing the adherence of all the landed proprietors to a settlement on this footing. The precise mode of carrying it into execution, if adopted, would require consideration, and upon that subject we trust that your grace will lend your valuable assistance."

9. The colonial secretary endorsed the views of the proprietors, and said, "If the consent of all the parties can be obtained to this proposal, I believe that it may offer the means of bringing these long-pending disputes to a termination. But it will be necessary, before going further into the matter, to be assured that the tenants will accept as binding the decision of the commissioners, or the majority of them; and, as far as possible, that the Legislature of the colony would concur in any measures which might be required to give validity to that decision. It would be very desirable, also, that any commissioner that might be named by the House of Assembly, on behalf of the tenants, should go into the inquiry unfettered by any conditions such as were proposed in the Assembly last year." The proposal of the proprietors was well received by the house, and a motion was made on the 13th of April, by Hon. Mr. Gray, premier, that the proposal be accepted, and the Assembly agree to hold itself bound by the decision of the commissioners. Mr. Coles proposed, in amendment, that the matter should first be laid directly before the people by means of a general election; but his amendment was lost, and Colonel Gray's motion carried by a vote of nineteen to nine, after which it was unanimously agreed that the Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, should be the commissioner selected by the

house on behalf of the tenants. On the 16th of June, 1860, the colonial secretary, in a despatch to Governor Dundas, expressed his satisfaction at the prompt action of the Assembly, and announced that the other two commissioners had been appointed, and that a royal commission would speedily be forwarded. The commission consisted of Hon. Joseph Howe, representing the tenants, Mr. John William Ritchie, representing the proprietors, and the Hon. John Hamilton Gray, representing the crown. The commissioners met in the colonial building on the 5th of September, 1860, Mr. Gray presiding. Mr. Samuel Thompson, of Saint John, N.B., and Mr. Joseph Hensley, appeared as counsel for the tenants; and Messrs. R. G. Haliburton and Charles Palmer as counsel for the proprietors. Mr. Benjamin Desbrissay was appointed clerk, and, after counsel had opened the case on both sides, the hearing of evidence was commenced, and the commission afterwards visited various parts of the island, hearing evidence, and gathering all the information they could, their report not being made until the 18th of July, 1861, to which we shall refer farther on. At the session of 1860 another practical step towards settling the land difficulty was taken by the Assembly, by the purchase of the large estates of the Earl of Selkirk, containing upwards of sixty-two thousand acres, for the very moderate sum of six thousand five hundred and eighty-six pounds, being at the rate of *fifty cents an acre*, thus enabling the government to convert the leasehold tenants into freeholders at a very reasonable rate. In the summer of this year the island was thrown into a fever of excitement by the announcement of the intended visit of the Prince of Wales, and the island stirred itself to fittingly commemorate the first visit of royalty to its shores. His royal highness arrived about noon on Thursday, the 10th of August, in H.M.S. "Hero," and landed shortly after. He was received by the governor, and the mayor and city officers, by whom he was conducted to the government house, a detachment of the sixty-second regiment acting a guard of honor. Four arches were erected on the line of the procession, and the utmost enthusiasm was displayed all along the way. At Rochfort square a large stand had been erected, and on it were four thousand Sunday-school children, who sang the national anthem as the prince approached. In the evening the town was illuminated, but the effect was somewhat spoiled by a steady down-pour of rain; the following day, however, was fine, and his royal highness held a levee in the afternoon, after which he inspected the

volunteers, about five hundred strong, and visited the colonial building, where he was presented with addresses of welcome by the executive council and the corporation of the city. In the evening he attended a ball in the colonial building, and took his departure on Saturday morning, after leaving the handsome contribution of one hundred and fifty pounds with the lieutenant-governor, to be distributed in charity in the manner he thought most suitable.

10. A great sensation was caused in the island by the intelligence that the United States steamer "San Jacinto" had stopped the British mail steamer "Trent," on her way from Havana to St. Thomas, and taken from her the confederate agents Slidell and Mason, on the 8th November, 1861; and the Prince Edward Islanders showed their loyalty by organizing a volunteer force of over one thousand men. Fortunately, however, war was avoided, and they were not needed. In this year, 1861, a general census was taken, which showed the population to be eighty thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, including three hundred and fifteen Indians. The industries had greatly increased, there being eighty-nine fishing establishments, which produced twenty-two thousand barrels of herring, seven thousand barrels of mackerel, thirty-nine thousand quintals of codfish, and seventeen thousand gallons of fish oil. There were one hundred and forty-one grist mills, one hundred and seventy-six saw mills, forty-six carding mills, and fifty-five tanneries, manufacturing one hundred and forty-three thousand pounds of leather. Churches and schools had both increased very greatly, the former numbering one hundred and fifty-six, the latter three hundred and two. In this year the Legislature passed an act admitting the Bible into public schools; and also established the Prince of Wales College, in commemoration of the visit of his royal highness to the island. The executive council appointed commissioners to superintend the collection of the products and manufactures of the island for the international exhibition at London, in 1862, and the duty was so well performed that the island made a very praiseworthy exhibit. The intelligence of the death of Prince Albert, on the 14th of December, 1861, — which reached the island early in January, 1862, — caused universal sorrow; forty-two minute guns were fired, all the flags were half-masted, the island went into general mourning, and an address of condolence to her majesty in her bereavement was adopted by the Assembly.

11. Great anxiety was felt on the island to learn the result

of the report of the royal commission on the land question, and, in reply to a request of Governor Dundas, the colonial secretary forwarded a copy of the report in a despatch dated the 7th of February, 1862. Want of space will not admit of our giving more than a brief *resumé* of the very able and exhaustive report of the commissioners. Their report was unanimous, and embraced the whole question of land tenure from the time of the division of the island, in 1767, to the date of their report, 18th of July, 1861. The commissioners stated that, by making a tour of the island and holding courts in various parts, they had been able to bring the tenants and proprietors face to face, to hear both sides of the question, and to endeavor to reconcile existing differences; they had examined into the whole subject of escheat, quit-rents, the claims of the old French settlers, the Indians, and the loyalists. On the subject of escheat they were of opinion that there were no just grounds on which the estates could now be escheated, on the plea that the original grantees had not fulfilled the terms on which the lands had been assigned them; this plea was valid with the original proprietors, and it would have been quite competent for the government to have escheated the estates when the compact was first broken; but after the lapse of nearly a century, the various compromises made by the government and the changes of proprietorship which had occurred in different generations, the commissioners were of opinion that it would be most unjust to the present proprietors to attempt to confiscate the lands now. With regard to the claims of the descendants of the old French settlers, who had occupied the lands before the session of the island to Great Britain, the commissioners were of opinion that no relief could be afforded them; that their ancestors had been unfortunate in being on the losing side in a great national contest was their misfortune; but the commissioners did not see any means, especially after so long a lapse of time, of relieving them from the penalties which always attached to a state of war. With regard to the Indians the commissioners thought that their claim should be made good; they only claimed the small island of Lennox, and some grass lands around it,—a location which they had held in undisputed possession for upwards of fifty years, and which they had greatly improved, having built a church and numerous houses; the commissioners thought, therefore, that they should not be disturbed. The case of the descendants of the loyalists was peculiar; their ancestors had been induced to come to the island at the close of the Revolutionary War on

the promise of receiving grants of lands from the proprietors; but the agreement had not been fulfilled, and the commissioners were of opinion that the local government should make free grants out of what lands they had, or should acquire from the proprietors, to such of the descendants of the loyalists as could prove that their ancestors had been induced to come to the island on promises which had not been fulfilled. As the best remedy for existing difficulties between landlord and tenant, the commissioners strongly recommended the Land Purchase Act, which had been found to act beneficially in the cases of the Worrell and Selkirk estates. They advocated the acquirement by the local government of the lands by direct purchase from the proprietors, and their reallocation to the tenants at rates as low as possible for the settled portions; while the wild and unsettled lands could be used by the government as inducements to attract new immigration. For this purpose they recommended a guaranty by the imperial government of one hundred thousand pounds, and went into an elaborate statement of the revenue and resources of the island to show how interest at the rate of six per cent. could be paid, and a sufficient sinking fund established to extinguish the debt in twenty years; and the commissioners thought this could be done without increasing taxation, as the great impetus to trade, and the increase of immigration which would inevitably follow the permanent settlement of this vexatious question, and the release of all this land now so uselessly tied up, would vastly augment the revenue, which was already considerably in excess of the expenditure. The commissioners had no doubt but that the proprietors would be ready to sell when it was found that the Assembly had cash to pay; and the competition of the vendors would protect the purchaser from being forced to pay too much. As, however, there would be some who would not sell unless compelled to, the commissioners provided means to force them to part with their lands to tenants, exception being made in favor of those who held fifteen thousand acres or less, or who wished to retain various parcels of land which did not aggregate more than that quantity. Although the commissioners were of opinion that the original grants should not have been made, and that they could have been annulled for non-fulfilment of the terms on which they were made; still, from the frequent confirmation of the grants by the imperial government, the commissioners were of opinion that the titles must be held good, and the basis binding; at the same time they conceived that it was absolutely necessary for

the interests of both the imperial and local governments, as well as for the general prosperity of the island, that these leaseholds should be converted into freeholds, so that the trouble, both to the home and local governments with regard to this question might be settled once and forever. In cases, therefore, where the local government could not come to an amicable settlement with the proprietors, by purchase under the land act, the commissioners awarded that tenants who offered twenty years' purchase, in cash, to the proprietors, should receive a discount of ten per cent., and be entitled to demand a conveyance in fee-simple of the farms they occupied; the tenant being allowed the privilege of paying by instalments if he preferred it; but the payments were not to be less than ten pounds at a time, nor extend over a period of more than ten years. Where farms were not considered worth twenty years' purchase, the tenant might offer what he considered the fair value, and in the event of its being refused the matter was to be submitted to arbitration; if the sum offered was increased by the arbitrators the tenant was to pay the sum awarded and the expenses of arbitration; if it was not increased, the proprietor was to bear the expense. With regard to arrearages for rent, the commissioners awarded that all rents should be released, except those that had accrued during the three years preceding the 1st of May, 1861. "The commissioners closed their report by expressing their conviction that, should the general principles propounded be accepted in the spirit by which they were animated, and followed by practical legislation, the colony would start forward with renewed energy, dating a new era from the year 1861. In such an event, the British government would have nobly atoned for any errors in its past policy; the legislation would no longer be distracted with efforts to close the courts upon proprietors, or to tamper with the currency of the island; the cry of tenant-rights would cease to disguise the want of practical statesmanship, or to overawe the local administration; men who had hated and disturbed each other would be reconciled, and pursue their common interests in mutual coöperation; roads would be levelled, breakwaters built, the river-beds dredged, new fertilizers applied to a soil annually drained of its vitality, emigration would cease, and population attracted to the wild lands would enter upon their cultivation unembarrassed by the causes which perplexed the early settlers. Weighed down by the burden of the investigation, the commissioners had sometimes felt doubtful of any beneficial results;

but they now, at the close of their labors, indulged the hope that, if their suggestions were adopted, enfranchised and disenthralled from the poisoned garments that enfolded her, Prince Edward Island would yet become the Barbadoes of the St. Lawrence."

12. The Assembly met immediately after the receipt of the Duke of Newcastle's despatch enclosing the report of the commissioners, and showed their willingness to abide by the decision of those gentlemen by at once passing a resolution, by a vote of twenty-three to six, pledging itself to introduce a measure to give the report effect; but the proprietors were by no means so willing to be bound by the report of the commissioners, and the colonial secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, intimated that the imperial government would not be inclined to guarantee the loan of one hundred thousand pounds, although previous secretaries had favored the loan. On the 5th of April, 1862, the duke forwarded to Governor Dundas the draft of a bill proposed by the proprietors, the preamble of which stated that the commissioners had exceeded their powers in proposing to submit the matter of the value of the lands to arbitration, and that such a course would lead to endless confusion and litigation. The local government at once adopted a minute in which they declared that they would adhere to the report of the commissioners; that the Assembly considered the imperial government pledged to accept that award, and that it was not considered that the commissioners had in any way exceeded their powers, the wording of the commission giving its members ample and unlimited power to adopt any equitable means of settlement. The minute denied that arbitration would lead to endless litigation, holding that one or two cases in each township would establish a standard of values which both parties would adopt without more trouble. The minute urged on the imperial government the amount of anxiety and annoyance, which had existed for over half a century, on this subject, and hoped that the two bills passed by the Assembly, giving effect to the report, would be sanctioned, so that the matter might be finally settled. The interest of the proprietors, however, was too great at the colonial office, and on the 22d of July, 1862, the Duke of Newcastle forwarded another despatch, which entirely destroyed any hope of settlement. He stated that the main questions the commissioners were to settle were, at what rates tenants ought to be allowed to change their leaseholds to freeholds, and what amount of arrearage of rent should be re-

mitted by the landlords ; instead of doing this the commissioners had delegated their power to fix the amount to arbitrators to be hereafter appointed, — a thing they had not the power to do ; they had been appointed to make the award themselves, not to delegate their power to others. If the proprietors had been willing to accept the substitution of arbitrators for the award of the commissioners, the government would not have objected ; but, as the proprietors declined to do so, the government was forced to admit the force of their argument that a person who has voluntarily submitted his case to the decision of one man cannot, without his consent, be compelled to transfer it to the decision of another. The two bills passed were disallowed, and the land question was as far from settlement as ever.

13. A special session of Parliament for the consideration of the land question was convened for the 2d of December, 1862 ; but before it met Governor Dundas received a despatch from the colonial secretary, informing him that a bill passed at the last session, changing the constitution of the island by making the legislative Assembly elective, had received the royal assent. A dissolution was, therefore, necessary, and advantage was taken of the general election to test the opinion of the people on the award of the commissioners. Public opinion was found to be almost unanimous in favor of it, and a large majority of the house was elected favorable to adhering to the report. The new house met in March, 1863, when the governor announced the decision of the colonial secretary adverse to the report of the commissioners. A new ministry was formed, with Mr. J. H. Gray as premier, and the first business transacted was the adoption of an address to her majesty, setting forth the whole history of the appointment, proceedings, and report of the commission, and praying her majesty to notify the proprietors that, unless they could show cause before a proper tribunal why that report should be adhered to, she would give assent to the bills giving effect to the award. The Duke of Newcastle replied on



the 11th of July, 1863, that he did not know of any method by which the matter could be submitted to a court of justice; that he had submitted the case to the law officers of the crown, and they were of opinion that the commissioners had not fulfilled the duties they were appointed to perform, and that they had no power to delegate those duties to others. Still the Assembly hoped that the home government might be induced to accept the suggestions of the commissioners as a basis of action, if they rejected the report itself, and appointed Messrs. Edward Palmer and W. H. Pope, delegates to England, to endeavor to obtain some equitable terms of settlement. The efforts of this delegation, however, were no more successful than previous efforts in the same direction; a communication was addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, who submitted it to Sir Samuel Cunard, as representative of the proprietors, who, in reply, advanced the novel and almost comical theory that the proprietors were the only parties who had suffered by the immense grants of land made them; that no individual on the island had been injured by these grants, but that, on the contrary, the island had been greatly benefited, and that, therefore, no concessions should be made to the present tenants. Of course the delegates could accomplish nothing, and the land question continued a source of agitation and annoyance until the entrance of the province into the Dominion of Canada, on 1st of July, 1873, — of which we shall speak more fully in the next paragraph, — when an agreement was made by which a loan of eight hundred thousand dollars was guaranteed to the province to enable it to buy up the estates and reallot them. In 1875 commissioners were appointed to determine the value of the estates whose sale, under provision of the act, was rendered compulsory. One commissioner was appointed by the governor-general, another by the lieutenant-governor, on behalf of the tenants, and the third by the proprietor whose property was to be expropriated. Thus the troublesome question was at last settled, and the injustice of a century ago removed; but only at an immense cost to the province, for the benefit of the descendants of a set of adventurers who sat for years like incubuses on the progress of the island, and kept it in a perpetual state of disquiet and unrest.

14. The question of confederation was not brought prominently before the Parliament or people of Prince Edward Island until the session of 1864, when the following resolution was adopted: "That his excellency the lieutenant-governor be

authorized to appoint delegates — not to exceed five — to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, for the purpose of discussing the expediency of a union of these provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island under one government and legislature, the report of said delegates to be laid before the Legislature of the colony before any action shall be taken in regard to the proposed question." The delegates appointed were Messrs. J. H. Gray, Edward Palmer, W. H. Hope, George Coles, and A. A. Macdonald, and they met the delegates of New Brunswick and Nova-Scotia at Charlottetown, on the 1st of September, 1684, the particulars of which meeting, and the subsequent convention at Quebec, on the 10th of October, we have already given. The delegates, on their return to Prince Edward Island from the Quebec conference, found public opinion decidedly opposed to confederation. A large meeting was held in Charlottetown, in February, 1865, at which Hon. W. H. Pope strongly advocated confederation; but he was ably opposed by the Hon. Mr. Coles and Mr. David Laird, now (1877) Governor of Keewatin; and the sense of the meeting was decidedly against him. Other public meetings were held, at which resolutions were passed antagonistic to confederation; so that by the time the Legislature met, on the 28th of February, 1865, it was a foregone conclusion that the Quebec scheme would be defeated. A series of resolutions favoring union with the other provinces was introduced by Hon. W. H. Pope, on the 28th of March, and lost; an amendment declaring confederation injudicious being carried by the overbalancing vote of twenty-three to five. The subject was brought up again at the session of 1866, when the following strongly anti-confederate resolution was proposed by Hon. J. C. Pope: "That even a union of the continental provinces of British North America should have the effect of strengthening and binding more closely together these provinces, or advancing their material interests, this house cannot admit, or that a federal union of the North America provinces and colonies, which would include Prince Edward Island, could ever be accomplished on terms that would prove advantageous to the interests and well-being of the people of this island, separated as it is, and must ever remain, from the neighboring provinces by an immovable barrier of ice for many months in the year; and this house deems it to be its sacred and imperative duty to declare and record its conviction, as it now does, that any federal union of the North

American colonies that would embrace this island would be as hostile to the feelings and wishes, as it would be opposed to the best and most vital interests of its people." An effort was made to put off a vote until an appeal to the people could be had; but it was overruled, and Mr. Pope's resolution adopted, by a vote of twenty-one to seven; and an address to the queen, based on the resolution, adopted and forwarded to England.

15. While the delegates from Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were in session in London, in the fall of 1866, the Hon. J. C. Pope visited England, and an informal offer was made him of a grant of eight hundred thousand dollars as indemnity for the loss of territorial revenue, and for the purpose of buying out the proprietors, if the island would enter the confederation; but the offer was declined, and nothing more was heard of confederation until the autumn of 1869, when Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, Governor-General of British North America, visited the island, when the subject was informally discussed with members of the local government. In December following, a formal proposition was made, from the Dominion ministry, of terms on which the island would be admitted into the confederation. This was submitted to the executive council, who rejected the offer on the ground that sufficient inducement was not offered the island; and nothing more was heard of confederation for six years. But a new and powerful influence was now at work to induce the people to think more favorably of a union with the upper provinces. Prince Edward Island is remarkably destitute of stone or gravel, and it has always been very difficult to make or keep the roads in order. As trade and commerce increased with increasing population, so was this want more keenly felt, and it at length became evident that, to keep pace with the rest of the world, Prince Edward Island must have a railway as well as other places. On the 3d of April, 1871, the Hon. J. C. Pope introduced a resolution in the House of Assembly to the effect that, in view of the difficulty of obtaining stone or gravel to keep the roads in order, and the rapidly increasing trade of the island, it was necessary to have a railway. A bill was accordingly introduced authorizing the government to build a railroad from Georgetown to Cascumpec, touching at Summerside and Charlottetown, with branches to Souris and Tignish, at a cost of not more than twenty thousand dollars per mile, including equipment, provided the contractors would take bonds of the island in payment. The bill was "put through under whip and

spur," and in two days after it was introduced passed its final reading by a vote of eighteen to eleven. But the government soon found it had assumed an enterprise it was incompetent to conduct to a successful termination. It was easy enough to pass a bill to build a railroad, and get it commenced, but it was very difficult to obtain money to build it with; and when the government began to be distressed for means to carry out its great enterprise, it naturally looked to the Dominion to see whether it was yet too late to be taken into its fold and helped to accomplish that which it was impossible to achieve alone.

16. In January, 1873, the Hon. Mr. Haythorne introduced a minute in the council to the effect that, if the Dominion would offer liberal terms, the government would recommend a dissolution of the house, so that the people may have an opportunity of saying at the polls whether they prefer to enter the Dominion, or submit to the extra taxation necessary to build the railroad. On the suggestion of the Privy Council of the Dominion, that a deputation be sent to Ottawa to confer on the subject, the Hon. Mr. Haythorne and the Hon. David Laird were so deputed, but were not authorized to do more than learn what terms could be obtained and report to the house. A general election was held in March, and the house met again on the 27th of April, when the governor sent down the papers referring to the proposed union, and expressed a hope that the house would not lose this opportunity of entering the union. On the 2d of May the committee to whom the matter had been referred reported adversely, not considering that Prince Edward Island had been offered sufficiently good terms. The committee, however, recommended the appointment of a committee to proceed to Ottawa to endeavor to obtain better terms. Messrs. J. C. Pope, T. H. Haviland, and George W. Howland were appointed such committee, and proceeded to Ottawa, where they had an interview with the governor-general — Lord Dufferin — on the 7th of May. A committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Messrs. J. A. MacDonald, Samuel L. Tilley, Charles Tupper, and Hector Langevin, afterwards met the Prince Edward Island delegation, and on the 15th of May an agreement was arrived at which was satisfactory to both parties. The terms were substantially as follows: On condition of Prince Edward Island giving up her revenues, the Dominion agreed to assume a debt equal to fifty dollars a head on the population of the island, which, according to the census of 1871, was ninety-four thousand and twenty-one, thus making

the debt Prince Edward Island was authorized to incur four million seven hundred and one thousand and fifty dollars. As the island had only a very small debt it was to receive interest at the rate of five per cent. on the difference between the amount of its debt and the amount authorized until the debt amounted to four million seven hundred and one thousand and fifty dollars. The Dominion government agreed to advance to the island eight hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of the proprietors' estates, at five per cent. interest, which interest was to be deducted from a yearly allowance of forty-five thousand dollars made to the province of the Dominion. For the support of the government and Legislature of the province the Dominion agreed to pay thirty thousand dollars, and an annual grant of eighty cents per head of the population, as shown by the census of 1871, it being agreed that the next census was to be taken in 1881. The Dominion government also assumed the railway which was then being constructed, and agreed to pay the salaries of the lieutenant-governor, and judges of the superior, district, or county courts; the expenses of the custom-house, post office, and fisheries department; and provide for the maintenance of the militia, light-houses, quarantine, marine hospitals, geological survey, and penitentiary. The resolution accepting these terms as the basis of union was introduced into the Assembly by Hon. J. C. Pope, and carried by a vote of twenty-seven to two, after which an address to her majesty was unanimously adopted, praying for the admission of Prince Edward Island to the union; which prayer being granted, the province was admitted to the confederation on the 1st of July, 1873, that being the sixth anniversary of the formation of the Dominion. The following is a list of governors of Prince Edward Island from its erection into a province to its joining the Dominion:—

Walter Patterson, Esq.	1770	Sir C. A. Fitzroy	1837
Gen. Edmund Fanning	1786	Sir H. V. Huntley	1841
Col. J. F. W. Desbarres	1805	Sir Donald Campbell	1847
Charles D. Smith	1813	Sir Alex. Bannerman	1851
Col. John Ready	1824	Sir Dominick Daly	1854
Hon. Geo. Wright, Admst.,		Geo. Dundas, Esq.	1859
1825 and 1835		Sir R. Hodgson	1868
Sir Aretus W. Young	1831	W. C. F. Robinson	1870
Sir John Harvey	1836		

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE UNITED STATES FROM 1840 TO 1867.

1. WE must now turn awhile from the central channel of our subject to notice its environment. We have followed the British provinces, which constitute the Dominion of Canada, excepting British Columbia, Manitoba, and the Northwest territories to the Confederation of 1867. Let us go back, as it were, and bring forward the contemporary history of the United States and England from the date at which we last left these nations, 1840, to 1867. After this, the reader's attention will again be turned to the Dominion of Canada, when the fortunes of the youthful nation, as such, will be traced through the first ten years of its existence, and in connection with which we shall trace from their beginning the important events in the history of British Columbia, Manitoba, and other portions of British America; from which it is expected new provinces will arise to swell the population, power, and importance of the Dominion. The dates on which these provinces and territories were admitted into the Confederation will afford us points from which we may logically divert for this purpose.

2. First, then, as to affairs across the border in the United States. President Harrison's death occurred thirty-one days after his inauguration; he was sixty-eight years old, and the contest had been one of the most arduous ever, at that time, fought for the presidency. Vice-President Tyler was his successor, and he failed to indorse the measures of the party by which he had been chosen. The "Log-Cabin" president's death was esteemed a great loss to the country. The bill establishing a United States bank was vetoed by President Tyler. The unpopular president never regained the confidence of his party, but eventually died in Richmond, Va., a member of the Confederate Congress.

3. DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES. The Dorr rebellion was the result of partisan strife in Rhode Island, and two sets of State officers were elected. Gov. Dorr made an attack on the State arsenal, but was defeated, arrested, and, after trial, sentenced, in 1842, to imprisonment for life. He was pardoned in 1845, and in the mean time the demands of the party once led by him

had been conceded. The old "patroon" rights in New York State had long been a source of disquietude; but in 1844 the difficulty came to open war. The anti-rent party lynched those who paid rent to the "patroons," and some officers were killed while serving processes. Military force suppressed the disturbance, and eventually the "patroons" abandoned their light and almost forced demands for rent.

4. THE NAUVOO WAR. The Mormons settled in Nauvoo, Ill., in 1840, and built a city. They were followers of Joe Smith, who pretended to have found gold plates containing a revelation from God; but nobody ever saw the plates. The practices of the Mormons excited enmity among the people surrounding them, and in 1845 Smith, who had entrusted himself to the civil authorities for defence, was taken out of their hands by a mob and murdered. The city was bombarded for three days, until the Mormons abandoned the position and fled, first to Iowa, next to Nebraska, and finally to Salt Lake.

5. ANNEXATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS. Gen. Sam. Houston, who was elected president of the Texas republic in 1836, applied for the admission of Texas to the Union in 1844, and, after much debate in Congress and before the people, the State was admitted in the winter of 1844-45. The admission of the new State was favored by the Democrats, who nominated Polk as president, and opposed by the Whigs, who put forward Clay; the result was the reception of Texas, and the election of President James K. Polk. The north-west boundary of the United States came into question in this term of office, but was not settled until the next, when 49° was agreed upon as a compromise of the claim of 54° 40'.

9. GEN. TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGN. The disputed territory on the Rio Grande was to be held by Gen. Taylor and his army, and he built Fort Brown as his base of supplies. The first fight occurred at Palo Alto, where an army of six thousand Mexicans, under Arista, drew up across the road and disputed the passage of the Americans. Gen. Taylor's army consisted of two thousand men; but the attack was made instantaneously, and the enemy routed with great slaughter. The American force lost only nine men. The day following, at Resaca de la Palma, the Mexicans were found in a deep ravine, blocking the road, and with their artillery in position to inflict considerable damage. The post was flanked by thickets, and generally had been well chosen. The guns were the main difficulty, but they were captured by Capt. May and his cavalry, and Gen. La

Vega was made a prisoner at the same time. The infantry completed the triumph, and the Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande in great disorder.

7. **CAPTURE OF MONTEREY.** Gen. Taylor carried this city and fortress by assault, September 24, 1846, with about six



BATTLE OF RESACA DE LA PALMA.

thousand troops, the position being very strong, but poorly defended by the garrison of ten thousand men. The streets were barricaded, and the dwellings on either side filled with troops, who poured a deadly fire on the assailants; but that difficulty was met by capturing the houses and opening a passage through the walls from one to the other. Some travelled along the roofs of the captured dwellings, and the city surrendered, the garrison being allowed the honors of war.

8. **VICTORY AT BUENA VISTA.** Gen. Santa Anna wished to crush this army, while a large detachment was away serving with Gen. Scott before Mexico, but he could not make his arrangements until February 23, 1847. The mountain pass at Buena Vista was held by the American forces, and they were attacked by Santa Anna in person, with twenty thousand picked men. The battle lasted all the day long, commencing at sunrise, and the United States infantry was overwhelmed by superior numbers; but the artillery rendered such effectual

service, under Gen. Bragg, that the Mexican force was compelled to retire during the night, and Gen. Taylor had accomplished the work assigned to him. The justice of the war was hotly contested by Abraham Lincoln and others in Congress, but the execution was admitted to be admirable.

9. Gen. Kearney's army was under orders to conquer New Mexico and California, and his force started from Fort Leavenworth, in Kansas Territory, June, 1846, to make the journey to Santa Fe. Col. Doniphan headed the men on this march, and after two well-fought battles, with one thousand men under his orders, conquered the province and city of Chihuahua. From that point the march was continued towards California, but before his arrival the work had been all but accomplished. Capt. Fremont, with a small force, was in the California country the preceding winter, when he learned that the Spaniards were about to expel American settlers, and he temporarily abandoned his work of an explorer and surveyor to rescue his countrymen from injustice. His conduct in this campaign added California to the United States. The Mexican forces, largely superior in numbers, were routed in every conflict, and by the aid of Gen. Kearney, who arrived in time to take part in the last battle, the conquest was completed. When Fremont first intervened he was not aware that war had been declared, but he was aided materially in his operations by Commodores Stockton and Sloat. Gen. Scott's campaign commenced at Vera Cruz, where he landed with twelve thousand men, on the 29th of March, 1847. The Mexicans did not oppose his landing, and after a bombardment, which lasted four days, the city and castle of San Juan de Ulloa were surrendered to the American arms.

10. CERRO GORDO. Early in April the army began its march to the capital, but the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo was strongly fortified by the Mexicans. The general conveyed his cannon, by means of tackle, up the face of the precipice, into positions which commanded the Mexican lines, and an attack in front was commenced simultaneously with the cannonade, on the 18th of April. The effect was almost instantaneous, and Santa Anna very narrowly escaped capture at that point; three thousand prisoners were taken, five thousand stand of arms, and forty-three pieces of artillery. The moral effect of the victory was still greater than the material advantage, as other positions with large supplies of ammunition and guns were abandoned, Puebla and Perote were occupied without resistance, and at the latter town fifty-four cannon were captured.

11. **FALL OF MEXICO.** Gen. Scott, having been reinforced, resumed his march with eleven thousand men, on the 7th of August, arriving on the crest of the Cordilleras on the 10th. From that point the capital could be seen; but there was a force of thirty thousand men to dispute the approach, and numerous strong fortifications. The least defended route was pursued, and Contreras, an entrenched camp, fourteen miles south of the city, was reached on the morning of the 19th. The force under Gen. Valencia was defeated and the camp taken by assault. The operations of the army covered much ground during that day and the next; but, on the evening of the 20th, the fugitives from many points had been pursued to within one mile and a half of the capital. Churubusco and San Antonio had been carried; three thousand prisoners had been taken, four thousand men had been killed or wounded, the army was dispersed, thirty-seven pieces of ordnance had been won, and there was nothing before the city but surrender. An armistice for negotiation was being improved by the Mexicans in strengthening their works, and, in consequence, General Scott commanded an assault on the 8th of September. The outworks were carried in succession day after day, until the castle of Chapultepec, which commanded the city, was stormed on the 13th, and early on the following day the army marched into the city, which the Spaniards had held since the fall of the Montezumas. The war was ended, although the treaty was not signed until the beginning of February, 1848, under which the vast territory reaching west to the Pacific Ocean and south to the Gila, became part of the United States.

12. The Wilmot Proviso was introduced to Congress in 1846, by David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, seeking to prohibit slavery in any territory that might be acquired during the war. The proposition provoked much debate in the country at large, as well as in the House and Senate.

13. **GOLD IN CALIFORNIA.** Gold was found in Sacramento Valley in February, 1848, immediately after the territory came into possession of the United States, and within a few months emigration had commenced from all parts of the world. Since the Crusades there had never been such an exodus, and San Francisco was speedily changed from a half-sleeping Spanish seaport to the busiest hive in the world. The city did not immediately become beautiful, as it now is, but the gainful industries commenced in those early days have since made California the world's wonder. The gold itself may not have been a

benefit to the State, as it has cost more in the procurement than the metal realizes on sale; but the possession of such a population as that gathered in California makes unends for any such trivial drawback. Streets, banks, churches, halls, and gambling-houses, provided for all that was good and evil in the people, who were crowded together in the pursuit of gold, and when vice and crime outstripped organization, the work of repression and punishment was taken up by the orderly citizens, so that lawlessness found a curb in the genius of the community for self-government. The annexation of California proved to be one of the greatest events in the history of the United States during the decade in which it happened.

14. Selecting a successor showed that there were three parties in the community ruled over by Martin Van Buren. The Free Soilers renominated the president; the Democrats named Lewis Cass as their choice, and the Whigs gave their suffrages to Gen. Zachary Taylor, whose services in Mexico made him a popular idol, and whose sterling qualities well deserved support. The Free Soilers were opposed to the extension of slavery, and most of the party were abolitionists; but their day was not yet. Gen. Taylor was elected. President Taylor died July 9, 1850, but his career in office fully justified the expectations of his friends. Upon his decease Millard Fillmore became president, and his services were in every sense satisfactory to his supporters.

15. Clay's Omnibus Bill was the great question of this era, and it arose upon the application of California to be admitted to the Union as a free State. The two parties, pro-slavery and abolition, not yet distinctly organized as such, were on the watch continually, and the least observant could not fail to perceive that before many years there must be a crisis on that issue. Henry Clay strove for a peaceful solution of the difficulty, and his compromise measure of 1850 was temporarily accepted. It provided for the inclusion of California as a free State, and the formation of two territories, Utah and New Mexico, without any legislative intervention as to slavery. Texas was to be paid ten million dollars to surrender its claims on New Mexico; the slave-trade was prohibited in the District of Columbia and the Fugitive Slave Law was enacted. From the present point of view there was much evil in such a measure, but the growth of public opinion warranted no more at that time. Daniel Webster was eloquent and impressive on this

occasion, and both orators died within two years of the passage of that measure.

16. **FILIBUSTERING EXPLOIT.** Cuba, whose condition has long seemed as though a live man struggled in the rigid embrace of death, provoked in this term a filibustering attempt at annexation; but the expedition, in which six hundred men were active participants, ended in total defeat, and the leader was executed.

17. Franklin Pierce was nominated by the Democrats as the next president after Fillmore, and the president, against whom no one had anything to aver, was not renominated. Gen. Scott was put forward by the Whigs, and both parties bade for the support of the pro-slavery Democrats, by upholding Clay's compromise, against which the more logical Free-Soil party inveighed bitterly. The Democrats elected Franklin Pierce. The expedition to Japan enhanced the value of Fillmore's term of office, and assisted the spread of civilization and commerce in that country.

18. Stephen A. Douglas was the most prominent figure in American history after the great leaders passed away, and his measure as to "Squatter Sovereignty" in Kansas and Nebraska, in 1853-4, was the next compromise on the slavery question. The Missouri compromise had been abandoned practically before this time, as the pro-slavery men saw that the rapid growth of free States must work the ruin of their policy, unless their system was allowed indefinite expansion. The debate on the measure now to be carried provoked strong feeling, and the violence of the supporters of the slavery policy was terribly illustrated in an assault, murderous in its character, upon Charles Sumner by Preston S. Brooks.

19. **WAR IN KANSAS.** The territory of Kansas was to determine for or against slavery, by voting on the question under the "Squatter Sovereignty" clause of the settlement, and the consequence, as might have been anticipated, was war to the knife. President Pierce appointed governors who favored the policy under which he was elected, but every man sent by him to fill that office became at last an advocate of the cause of the Free-State party in Kansas, so violent and unjustifiable were the proceedings of the other side in the territory. Armed emigrants, sent from the Northern States, eventually took the control of matters out of the hands of the "Border Ruffians" from Missouri and other States in the slave interest, so that on

the election of President Lincoln Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free State.

20. FOREIGN POLICY. "The Gadsden Purchase" secured to the United States a large area of country from Mexico, at a cost of ten million dollars. This necessity arose in consequence of a dispute as to boundaries consequent on the use of foreign and erroneous maps in the former treaty, and the outlay named was better policy than armed intervention with a State so completely humbled as Mexico. The expedition to Japan, under Commodore Perry, despatched by the action of the foregoing administration, resulted in a commercial treaty of much value to the United States, which was ratified in 1854, and this movement was much applauded.

21. Slavery tactics, and the movements rendered necessary thereby, more especially when the action of the pro-slavery party in Kansas became known, caused great excitement in every State during the presidential campaign. Stephen A. Douglas expected the nomination from the Democratic party, but, finding that it would cause a division, he withdrew his name, and James Buchanan was elected on that platform. The Republicans, who had already superseded the Whigs as a party, went for Col. Fremont, who was largely supported, and the American party nominated Millard Fillmore.

22. THE DRED SCOTT CASE. The Fugitive Slave Law, added to the Kansas difficulty, had brought affairs to a very heated condition on the slavery issue, when the Dred Scott case arose, upon which Chief Justice Taney decided in the Supreme Court of the United States that slave-owners might carry their human chattels into any State in the Union without invalidating their rights in such property. With such an interpretation of the law staring them in the face, the public concluded that slavery must be dealt with by distinct enactments, and as vigorous administration, without delay. "Personal liberty" bills were passed in some Northern States, decreeing trial by jury for slaves arrested within their boundaries, and disturbances were common whenever slaves were arrested in the States indicated. The case of Scott and his wife called for much sympathy.

23. John Brown, at Harper's Ferry, commanded still greater feeling. The old man had suffered terribly in Kansas, at the hands of the "Border Ruffians," one of his sons being murdered, and another driven insane, and after rendering all the aid in his power to make Kansas a free State, he turned his attention to

the general spread of abolition. He was a religious enthusiast of the highest type, descended from one of the Pilgrim families in the "Mayflower," and he set no value upon his life, compared with the principle upon which he had concentrated his love. With two sons, who had been with him in Kansas, and some friends, about twenty in all, he surprised and captured the arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry, proclaiming freedom to all slaves, on the 16th of October, 1859. The Virginia militia captured him and his friends on the 17th, before any assistance could reach him, and he, with all his party, suffered the penalties of the law. Captain John Brown, whose name will live in history, was hanged in Charleston, December 2, 1859. The man moved before public opinion was ripe.

24. Slavery or secession was the issue broadly announced by the Southern States during the fall campaign, in the year 1860, and, but for division in the Democratic ranks, the party might have elected Stephen A. Douglas. That leader had, however, become unpopular with the extreme section of his party, because he would not concede all their demands, and they divided in their nomination, one section sustaining Douglas and squatter sovereignty, the other presenting John C. Breckenridge, with all the consequences of the Dred Scott decision. Breckenridge did not come near being elected, but his nomination destroyed the chance of Mr. Douglas, who procured on the popular vote one million three hundred and sixty-five thousand nine hundred and seventy-six, against Lincoln's one million eight hundred and fifty-seven thousand six hundred and ten, while Breckenridge carried eight hundred and forty-seven thousand nine hundred and fifty-three. John Bell, of Tennessee, received five hundred and ninety thousand six hundred and thirty-one votes. Abraham Lincoln, who was at that time content to let slavery stand unmolested, but would not allow it to be carried into new territory, was elected.

25. STATE RIGHTS. The Southern States now made ready for secession, as they averred that the government was falling into the hands of their enemies. They held, with Calhoun, the doctrine of State rights, which involved full liberty to leave the Union at any time. The beginning, long prepared for, was made in December, 1860, when South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession, being followed by Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. "The Confederate States of America" organized at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, by electing officers. Jefferson Davis became

president of the seceding States, and Alexander H. Stephens, vice-president. President Buchanan did nothing to avert the calamity of civil war now imminent, although General Scott was urgent for action on the instant. United States arms, buildings, and properties were seized as of right, and many supposed that the Union would be broken without a struggle.

26. Major Anderson, who commanded the United States forces in South Carolina, moved from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, because the latter better admitted of defence, and he anticipated the reception of orders; but none came. The steamer which was to have given him reinforcements and supplies had been driven back by Confederate forces from Fort Moultrie. Buchanan was apparently too much afraid of the Confederates to relieve the threatened fort, unless by their permission, and they said that any decisive act in that direction would commence the war. Under such circumstances, and in imminent peril of assassination, the new president went to his inauguration.

27. FROM INDEPENDENCE TO SECESSION. The struggle to maintain the integrity of the Union being on the threshold, we may as well consider what were the forces to be encountered. When the famous declaration was signed and substantiated there were thirteen States in the Union, and since that time twenty-one had been constituted and admitted. Vermont, or Green Mountain, came fourteenth on the roll, March 4, 1791. First explored by Champlain in 1609, it was not settled until 1724. There were disputes as to territorial rights before 1776, and some blood had been shed in the quarrel between New Hampshire and New York; but in 1777 the inhabitants claimed to be an independent State. New York relinquished her claim, for thirty thousand dollars, in 1791, and Vermont was the first State to come in under the constitution.

28. Kentucky, the arena of Daniel Boone's exploits, came next in order, being admitted June 1, 1792. The battles with the Indians on this territory gave to the region the title of "the dark and bloody ground." Boonesborough was the first settlement here, but Virginia then engrossed the whole of this section of the country until 1790. There were many attempts to set up an independent organization, but without substantial results until 1790, when, under the constitution, Kentucky was made a territory. When admitted as a State there were about seventy-five thousand inhabitants in Kentucky.

29. Tennessee, named from "the river with the great bend,"

was the sixteenth State. The first permanent settlement south of Pennsylvania and west of the Alleghanies was made at Fort London, near the site of Knoxville, Tenn., in 1756. The next, within this area, was made in 1780, where now Nashville flourishes. North Carolina surrendered her claim to the territory in 1789, and, after being joined to Kentucky for a time, Tennessee was admitted to the Union, June 1, 1796. Ohio, so called from "the beautiful river," came in as the seventeenth, the first in the great north-west, Nov. 29, 1802. Baron La Salle was the first European explorer, and the first settlement was made at Marietta in 1788.

30. Louisiana, the eighteenth State, named after the French king, was admitted April 8, 1812. Father Marquette led the way to the Mississippi, under information procured from the Indians, and Baron La Stalla continued the exploration, giving the name of Louisiana to a large area of country, but no permanent settlement was made until 1699, at Biloxi, near the mouth of the river, and in 1712 New Orleans was founded. The territory passed into the hands of Spain in 1762, but Napoleon procured the title from the Spaniards in 1800, and sold the area to the United States for fifteen million dollars in 1803. When Louisiana was admitted as a State, the remainder of that country was known as the territory of Missouri. This State seceded. Indiana came in on the 11th of December, 1816, having been constituted a territory within its present limits in 1809. Indian difficulties retarded its growth, but its progress became rapid after 1810. This, the second State in the north-west, is the nineteenth in the Union.

31. Mississippi, named from the greatest river known to commerce, the twentieth State in the Union, was admitted Dec. 10, 1817. De Soto was the first explorer. Settlements, established by the French in 1700 and 1703, were destroyed by the Indians in 1728, and there were fierce wars with the tribes in consequence. The Mississippi territory was constituted in 1798, and the Alabama territory was cut off in March, 1817. Mississippi seceded. Illinois, named from the "River of Men," was in the territory first visited by Marquette, followed by La Salle; but the territory so named was much larger than the State which was admitted Dec. 3, 1818, the third in the north-west, twenty-first in the Union. The Indians were very pertinacious in their hostility to the first settlers, but the Black Hawk war ended such difficulties. Chicago is the metropolis of the north-west, and its growth seems almost miraculous.

32. Alabama came in Dec. 14, 1819, numbering itself the twenty-second State. The Creek Indians were great enemies of the early settlers. The name "Here we rest," must have seemed a mockery to the pioneers. The first settlement dates from 1702, at Bienville Fort, and Mobile, on the bay of that name, was founded in 1711, being for many years the capital of the French possessions in Louisiana. Gen. Wilkinson took possession of this area in 1813, but terms of purchase were concluded with Spain six years later. This State was strong for secession in 1860, and later. Maine was originally associated with Massachusetts and New Hampshire, being part of the grant to Gorges and Mason from the council of New England and Plymouth. Maine subsequently remained in Gorges family's possession until his grandson, in 1677, sold his rights to Massachusetts for six thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. That State relinquished its claims in 1820, when the State came in, the twenty-third in the Union.

33. Missouri, deriving its name from "Muddy Water," was admitted Aug. 10, 1821, the twenty-fourth in the Union. St. Genevieve, the earliest settlement in the territory, dates from 1755, but United States interest in the soil dates only from the purchase in 1803. The territory of Missouri dates from the admission of Louisiana to the Union in 1812, but the dimensions of Missouri were fixed by the Missouri Compromise, in 1821, under which the State was admitted. There were additions made to the State subsequently. Missouri was in sympathy with the Southern Confederacy, but the State did not secede. Arkansas, named from an Indian tribe, entered the Union, June 15, 1836, being discovered in 1635, and settled by the French in 1670, near St. Francis river. This, the twenty-fifth State in the Union, seceded March 4, 1861, but, before the close of 1863, the government of the country was in the hands of United States troops, and it continued to be under a military government until 1868, when Congress readmitted the State into the Union.

34. Michigan dates as a State from January 26, 1837. Fur-traders and Jesuit missionaries were the first white visitors to this region, and Detroit was founded from Canada in 1701; organized as a territory in 1805; the boundaries of the State were fixed at the time of admission, and Michigan is the twenty-sixth State. Florida, one of the seceders, was organized as a territory in March, 1819, when the purchase from Spain had been consummated, and was admitted March 3, 1845. This

was the twenty-seventh State. Its early history has been given in connection with the Seminole war. Texas was first explored by Ponce De Leon, afterwards by La Salle, who founded settlements at Matagorda Bay, and built a French fort on the Lavaca. Spain established missions here, but failed to civilize the country or the people; so that there was no town worthy of the name in 1820, when a native of Connecticut commenced to attract emigrants to a grant procured from Mexico. Within ten years there were twenty thousand Americans in Texas, and Mexico becoming jealous and oppressive, the people organized a revolution, defeated Santa Anna, became a republic under President Houston, and so continued until admitted to the Union in December, 1845. Texas was one of the first to secede, and was the twenty-eighth in the Union.

35. Iowa came in December 28, 1846. The name, signifying in the Indian tongue "Drowsy Ones," does not describe the people. Dubuque, a French Canadian miner, was the first to discover the value of the country near the city which bears his name, and procured a grant of land from the Indians, as well as permission to mine from the Spanish authorities in this country. He carried on lead-mining until his death, transporting the lead to St. Louis, Missouri, and he was also a trader. After his death, in 1810, the mines were at first worked by the Indians, and then abandoned until 1832, when the mines were again worked until the miners were dispossessed by military orders pending the opening of the territory as a settlement. Dubuque was founded in 1833. Iowa, the twenty-ninth State, was reduced to its present limits at the time of its admission. Wisconsin, once part of Louisiana, then of Illinois, then of Michigan, and afterwards of Iowa territory, was the thirtieth State, and was admitted May 29, 1848. The first exploration dates from 1639, and first settlement at Green Bay from 1745. It became a territory in 1836. The name in the Indian tongue signifies "Gathering of the Waters." The ravages of Black Hawk and his warriors were in part experienced in Wisconsin.

36. California was visited by Sir Francis Drake in pursuit of Spanish treasure ships in 1578-79, and he wintered in San Francisco Bay. The Spaniards established missions here, at San Diego, in 1769, and at San Francisco, in 1776, but in 1835 there was only one habitation near the bay. The monks had the entire management of the country until the Mexican revolution in 1822 upset the Spanish power. The white population of the territory in 1831 was under five thousand, but after 1843 there

was some emigration from this country, and the possession was eventually wrested from Mexico by Capt. Fremont and Gen. Kearney, to become one of the most prosperous States in the Union. Mexico ceded the territory to the United States at the close of the war. The area thus added to the United States embraced what is known as California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, parts of Colorado and New Mexico; in all about four hundred and fifty thousand square miles, with variations of soil and climate capable of producing all the vegetal treasures of the globe. Nearly all of these advantages are being improved. California came into the Union September 9, 1850, and is numbered as the thirty-first State.

37. Minnesota, from the Indian "Cloudy Water," takes its name from the river. La Salle and Father Hennepin were the first explorers, in 1680; but Fort Snelling only dates from 1819, and St. Paul was founded in 1846, the territory being organized three years later, but rapid growth was not entered upon until the Sioux ceded a considerable area to the United States in 1851. The State was admitted May 11, 1858, numbered as the thirty-second in the Union.

38. Oregon, named from the Spanish for "Wild Marjoram," which is plentiful on the coast, was part of the land purchased in 1803 from Napoleon, while Jefferson was president, and Madison the minister to France. The Columbia river was partially explored in 1792, by Capt. Gray, in the ship "Columbia," from Boston, who reported in glowing terms as to the country, and the explorers Clark and Lewis, in 1804, were sent by President Jefferson along the Missouri to the head-waters, and thence to the Pacific by the Columbia river. The operations of the American Fur Company followed speedily upon the publication of their romantic adventures in a country hardly trodden by white men before their work commenced, and in 1839 American emigration began. The north-west boundary settlement, in 1846, aided the growth of population, and organization as a territory followed in two years. Liberal grants of land by Congress promoted colonization, and on February 14, 1859, the thirty-third State was admitted; Washington Territory having been organized, north of the Columbia river, in 1853.

39. Kansas came into the Union through fire and blood, after the secession of that element which had struggled so desperately to possess the soil and construct thereon a slave State. Clark and Lewis were the first white visitors in modern

days, although there is a probability that both French and Spaniards were here in much earlier times. This also was part of the land purchased from the Emperor Napoleon; and the explorations by Fremont, the Mexican War, the Mormon exodus, the Sante Fe trade, and the gold fever in California, led toward settlement, which was deferred under an erroneous impression that much of the land was a desert. Slavery had been introduced into the territory in defiance of the Missouri compromise before the Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced by Douglas, and from the beginning Missouri was resolved upon the establishment of a slave State in Kansas. The war that was commenced so bitterly on that area was fought out on a wider field, to an end which none but enthusiasts of the John Brown type thought possible within that generation. Kansas, organized by Act of Congress in 1854, was not admitted to the Union until President Buchanan had given place to his incomparably greater successor, Abraham Lincoln, on the 29th of January, 1861, thus closing the record before the war with thirty-four States enrolled.

40. A comparative study of the States seceding, and of those that were resolved to uphold the Union, should have convinced an impartial observer on which side victory would rest, assuming a like earnestness on the question at issue, on either hand; but much, after all, depending upon careful and statesmanlike management of affairs, so that public opinion should not be shocked by violent action, which might have reacted against success. Wealth, population, philosophy, and right were on the side of the North; but on the other were brave men, trained to statesmanship, to negotiation and to war, who had long controlled the resources of the Union, with the expectation of such a time supervening, and who had arranged the forces and supplies at that moment expressly to suit their aims, unchecked, if not absolutely assisted by President Buchanan. Abraham Lincoln was called to the work of a giant, and he was equal to the task.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

1. LAWLESS designs were so apparent when the day approached for inaugurating the new president, that it was found necessary for Mr. Lincoln to expedite his movements and arrive in Washington before the schemes of his enemies were ready for execution. The rumor that he travelled in disguise through the disaffected State is a popular fallacy; he only passed through before he was expected, and that course of action better suited every good purpose. The inauguration of the president was a solemn event in the history of the Union, and the troops under Gen. Scott were no idle form in that pageant. None could tell in what quarter danger might even then be lurking, and there was a delusive confidence in the tone of the Confederate party. Officers in both arms of the service were resigning to join their



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

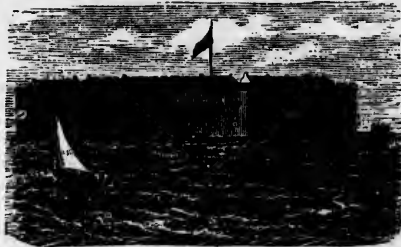
fortunes with those of the seceding States. It was believed that the Union party was strong in the North, although circumstances kept them comparatively silent for a time, and the great majority still hoped that war would not become inevitable. The government must carry with it public opinion, and that is not the view of the foremost thinker, but the resultant from many minds; hence, the necessity for such cautious procedure as would keep from the skirts of the administration the stain of precipitating strife. If bloodshed must

come, the responsibility should rest on the other side. That line of policy made the early days of President Lincoln's government seem hesitating and weak, when truly he was pausing in wisdom and mercy, hoping against hope that some means might be devised to save the Union without a baptism of fire. There was vigor on the other side, and every sound of

preparation. Arms and arsenals had been seized and appropriated, troops were on the march, recruits were coming in with enthusiasm, money and supplies were voted, and a vigorous prosecution of the war, if war it was to be, was freely promised by men who still retained their seats in Congress.

2. The first gun in the era of strife was fired against Fort Sumter on Friday morning, April 12, 1861, and the war had commenced. The unarmed steamer, sent with supplies during the last days of President Buchanan, had been fired upon and driven back; but the friend of the Confederacy saw no ground for continued action, so that there were only seventy men scantily provisioned in Fort Sumter, opposed to fully seven thousand, backed by the whole force of the seceding States. There had come into the presidential office a friend to the Union, and he, after a careful survey of all the facts, concluded that the fort must be reinforced and supplied, peacefully if possible, but at any rate the duty must be accomplished. That fact being

known, the commander of the confederate troops, Gen. Beauregard, demanded the surrender of the fort, and upon Maj. Anderson's refusal there was a cannonade, which lasted thirty-four hours, the barracks were set on fire by shot and shell, the garrison was exhausted in a fruitless contest, and capitulation with the honors



FORT SUMTER.

of war ended the fight. The garrison saluted their flag before they lowered it to the enemy, and the North was united as one man. Democrats and Republicans were now prepared for war; the Rubicon was passed. Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand troops; his old rival and *quondam* enemy, Douglas, urged upon him to increase the requisition, and defended his course before the Democratic party; his dying words to his sons soon after were: "Obey the laws and support the constitution of the United States." Three hundred thousand volunteers answered the call for aid; the flag, lowered at Fort Sumter, was raised all over the North, evoking the spirit of '76, and the best men were ready to march to the front.

3. The South was inflamed by the first victory, and looked forward with enthusiasm through the smoke and din of battle

to a result which might justify the terrible arbitrament. Virginia joined the Confederacy, closely followed by Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee; the armory at Harper's Ferry and the navy-yard at Norfolk were seized by the Virginian troops, and Richmond was made the capital. Washington was in danger, and a regiment of Massachusetts militia, marching to aid in its defence, was attacked in Baltimore city, on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, a number of men being killed. The war had commenced in earnest. Virginia was the scene of operations, because the capital of the Union must be protected; and Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth, with his Zouaves, occupying Alexandria, was shot at the very beginning of the conflict. Arlington Heights, opposite the capital, was seized by national troops on the 24th of May, 1861. Fortress Monroe, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, was garrisoned under Gen. Butler, and soon afterwards an expedition was sent against Big Bethel, where the Confederates had fortifications. Several forces were despatched at midnight, June 9, 1861, by Gen. Butler, to make the assault on the following morning; but the different bodies mistook each other for enemies in the uncertain light, and the assault failed, after causing the United States a loss of one hundred men. The Confederate force, under Col. Magruder, immediately fell back to Yorktown.

4. Union victories were rare in the first year of the war; the troops were raw levies, enthusiastic but untrained; and there is an apprenticeship necessary for officers and men before even the bravest can look unmoved upon the probability of instant death, leaving the care of those dearest and best loved to the sympathies of strangers. Western Virginia was loyal to the Union, but it was held by Confederate forces, and a series of engagements at Philippi, Rich Mountain, and Carrick's Ford, under the command of Gen. McClellan, won the whole State for the Union. The Confederates, under Wise and Floyd, tried to recover the lost ground; but Rosecrans attacked the ex-war secretary at Carnifex Ferry, Gov. Wise did not give support to Floyd, and there was another defeat for the seceders. Gen. Lee tried to sustain the failing cause, but his repulse at Cheat Mountain was not followed by any decisive gain for his side, and the Union remained master in Virginia to the end of 1861.

5. On to Richmond was the cry of the inexperienced public, and the battle of Ball Run, July 21, resulted from a desire to satisfy that impatient demand. Gen. McDowell commanded the army of the Potomac, and the opposing forces were each

about thirty thousand. The Confederates were driven from the field in the beginning of the fight, but they were rallied by the example of Stonewall Jackson, and a reinforcement from Winchester, coming up before the still continuing contest could be ended, caused a "panic" among the northern men, such as happily never occurred again during the war. The North was cast down, but not dismayed; the war must be a trial of strength and of moral purpose



STONEWALL JACKSON AT BULL RUN.

among men constitutionally unused to surrender, and an effort proportioned to the purpose must be made. Congress voted five hundred thousand men and five hundred million dollars for the service, and McClellan was made commander of the army of the Potomac. His promotion to the command-in-chief followed shortly after. Col. Baker, senator from Oregon, one of the ablest and best men on the side of the Union, fell at Ball's Bluff, October 21, in an action in which a reconnoitring party of two thousand was overwhelmed by superior numbers; but a victory at Dranesville, after a spirited engagement, December 20, restored the courage of the Federals, when all around looked dark.

6. Missouri remained neutral in spite of the attempts to carry a secession ordinance; but the troops of both parties selected this ground for many battles. Gen. Lyon, with a small Federal force, broke up Camp Jackson, defeated an attempt on the Union arsenal at St. Louis, and on the 17th of June routed a Confederate force of two thousand five hundred men in an entrenched camp at Booneville, capturing guns, clothing, and camp equipage. Gen. Sigel, outnumbered by the combined forces of the Confederates under Jackson and Price, after a well-fought battle, was compelled to retire on Carthage and Sarcoxie, on the 5th of July, and Lyon, left unsupported, chose to attack

the armies of Price and McCulloch at Wilson's Creek, on the 10th of August. He fell leading a bayonet charge in that unsuccessful action, and Col. Mulligan was subsequently compelled to surrender Lexington. Gen. Fremont, assuming the command, forced the Confederates under Price to retreat to Springfield; but he was superseded by Hunter before a decisive battle could be fought. Gen. Halleck, who soon succeeded Hunter, continued the course commenced by Fremont, and Price retreated to Arkansas. On the 6th of November Gen. Grant, with four thousand troops, descended the Mississippi river, from Cairo, and on the following morning drove the Confederates from their camp at Belmont, after a prolonged engagement, and destroyed the camp with all its contents; but strong reinforcements from Columbus, under Polk, coming to the rescue of the enemy, Grant was eventually driven back to his boats, without losing a gun, and carrying with him artillery captured during the assault; thus the year ended favorably for the Union in Missouri.

7. Coast and sea offered a field for operations, of which Jefferson Davis proposed to avail himself by issuing commissions to privateers, and in consequence the southern ports were blockaded. The Union navy had been scattered all around the world by the Buchanan administration, and of the forty-two ships in commission there was but one efficient vessel on the northern coast. Before the end of 1861 the navy consisted of two hundred and four ships of war. The "Savannah" privateer was the first to sail under the Confederate flag, and she was captured after making only one prize. The "Petrel" was sunk by the St. Lawrence, having mistaken a war-frigate for an unarmed merchant ship, and Captain Semmes sold the "Sumter" in Gibraltar Bay, to prevent her falling into northern hands. The forts at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., were captured by a joint attack of land and sea forces, and a similar combination carried Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah, and Port Royal entrance, S. C., which became the depot of the Union fleet.

8. Belligerent rights had been conceded by England and France to the Confederates, and the South, hoping for foreign aid, sent Commissioners Slidell and Mason to those courts. The British steamer "Trent" was boarded by Captain Wilkes, of the "San Jacinto," and the commissioners captured; but the general government disavowed the act, and the prisoners were set at liberty. France and Louis Napoleon would have joined England in rendering aid to the Confederates; but the English gov-

ernment was held in check by public opinion, and it was desirable that the sympathies of the British people should be carried with the North through the war.

9. The end of 1861 showed a somewhat mixed result. The losses at Harper's Ferry and Norfolk were material, but they were not defeats for northern arms, such as they had sustained at Bull Run and Wilson's Creek. There had been reverses also at Big Bethel, Lexington, and Ball's Bluff. Carthage, not a defeat, had compelled a retrograde movement, and the brilliant affair at Belmont was not entirely a success; still, on the whole, there were compensations. Northern men were becoming trained to war, and that was everything in the great result. Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, had been saved to the Union by a wise concentration of force, and Fort Monroe, on Old Point Comfort, Va., was also in Federal hands, as also Hatteras Inlet and Port Royal. Missouri, Maryland, and West Virginia had been rescued from the secessionists, and besides winning the battles of Philippi, Rich Mountain, Booneville, Carrick's Ford, Cheat Mountain, Carnifex Ferry, and Dranesville, the whole South had been thrown into a state of siege, shut in by armies on land, and by a formidable blockade upon the coast.

10. LOOKING AHEAD. The force voted by Congress — half a million of men — had been raised to meet the Confederate force of three hundred and fifty thousand. The disparity was not overpowering, but it gave an earnest of the inexhaustible power, back of the Union half million, which could be drawn upon as a reserve force to the bitter end. The campaign on the Union side began with three purposes: opening the Mississippi, completely closing all southern ports, and capturing Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, must be captured, and impregnable Columbus opened to northern troops; so that there was no child's play before them. Cumberland Gap, Mill Spring, and Bowling Green, were also strong positions in Confederate hands, and it was hoped that if the Tennessee river could be carried there would be valuable results before the commencement of 1862.

11. ON THE TENNESSEE. Gen. Grant and Com. Foote, with the army and gun-boats, moved from Cairo, February 2, and on the 6th the combined attack was to be made on Fort Henry; but before the army could come up the fort surrendered, and the troops driven out by the bombardment escaped to Fort Donelson, increasing its defence by three thousand

men. The general in command and seventy men were taken with the works. Grant moved upon Fort Donelson on the 12th, having waited until the gun-boats had been repaired. The force to be assailed was very strong, having been reinforced by the Confederate Generals Pillow, Buckner, and Floyd, and the battle lasted three days. Fighting began on the 13th, when, after a vigorous cannonading, an assault was made, and repulsed. On the 14th reinforcements to the number of ten thousand men joined Grant, and, the gun-boats having come up, the battle was renewed; but before the afternoon closed Com. Foote was compelled to retire with the gun-boats, and the lines of investment by land were drawn closer. On the 15th the Confederate generals tried to cut their way through Grant's force, but their aim had been divined and they were driven back with considerable loss. An advance along the whole line forced the defenders back within their works, with no alternative but surrender. Pillow and Floyd made their escape, and the surrender devolved upon Buckner. Grant was ready on the 16th for a general attack, but with early dawn came a messenger asking for an armistice and terms of capitulation. The reply was worthy of Grant: "No terms but unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move upon your works at once." The surrender was made on those conditions, and the fort, with ten thousand prisoners, forty-eight guns, and large quantities of ammunition, fell into Federal hands February 16. The consequence was, as had been anticipated, that Bowling Green and Columbus were abandoned by the Confederates and Buell took possession of Nashville. Corinth was the next rallying-point of the Confederates, and Gen. Johnson and Beauregard concentrated their strength at that point, the railroad centre of Mississippi and Tennessee. Grant, in command, ascended to Pittsburg Landing, and Buell was to come up with reinforcements. The Memphis and Charleston Railroad was to be secured by northern forces, and the Confederates saw the purpose to be important.

12. PITTSBURG LANDING. Grant, who had won the first great success of the war, was now major-general, but subordinate to Halleck, and he was commanded not to attack Corinth. He encamped at Shiloh with thirty-eight thousand men, and waited for Buell. Five thousand of his troops were beyond supporting distance, when the Confederates, fifty thousand strong, advanced from Corinth to crush Grant before he could procure reinforcements. The slaughter was terrible, and the

national forces slowly retired to the river, where they were held by Grant until dark, when Buell's force began to arrive. The guns were worked all night upon the Confederate camp, and early on the following day Grant, with the combined forces, drove the Confederates back to Corinth. Johnson was slain, and Beauregard returned with a loss of eleven thousand men. The loss on the northern side had been very severe, but the ground fought over was in their hands, and, although the surprise had been a severe shock, the *prestige* of victory remained with their forces. The evacuation of Corinth and its possession by Halleck, on the 30th of May, was a consequence of the desperate struggle on the 6th and 7th of April, as no fighting had since that time occurred.

13. RESULTS OF SHILOH. When the Confederates abandoned Columbus, they occupied Island No. 10, in the Mississippi, where they were bombarded for three weeks by Com. Foote; but the surrender of the force, seven thousand strong, on the day of the victory at Shiloh, was compelled by the action of Gen. Pope. The troops of the South had been concentrated at Corinth, and New Orleans was left almost unprotected. The Confederate iron-clad fleet was defeated on the river by the Union gun-boats, May 10. Fort Pillow fell immediately after Corinth, the Memphis and Charleston Railroad was secured, Memphis was taken, and the Confederate flotilla in front of Memphis destroyed by northern gun-boats; and indeed Kentucky and all western Tennessee were in possession of the North. From Memphis almost to Chattanooga the Federal line was unbroken, and Buell was on the advance to the point last-named. Bragg, Price, and Van Dorn, the Confederate generals, at Chattanooga, Iuka, and Holly Springs, were under an imperative necessity to break the Union line or retreat. They chose the former alternative.

14. BATTLE AT PERRYVILLE. Gen. Bragg advanced with fifty thousand men, and Buell retired to Nashville, where, having ascertained that his opponent meant to reach Louisville, he made a forced march of three hundred miles to cut off Gen. Bragg, beating him by just one day. Buell, being reinforced, had now one hundred thousand men under his command. Grant had sent every veteran that could be spared, and Bragg slowly retreated to Perryville, where a desperate fight occurred on the 8th of October. Bragg drew off during the night succeeding the battle, carrying a vast quantity of plunder which had been gathered on his march, and Gen. Buell was superseded by

Rosecrans on the last day of October. The retreat from Kentucky was now inevitable.

15. IUKA AND CORINTH. While Grant was weakened by the absence of the men sent to assist Buell, Price and Van Dorn meditated the recapture of Corinth. Grant also had a design, and he moved upon Iuka September 19, hoping to capture Price; but Rosecrans did not carry out his instructions, and Price escaped, and to that extent the victory was incomplete; but the Confederates lost nearly one thousand five hundred men. The Confederate generals then carried out their scheme, and made a combined assault on Corinth with forty thousand men. Grant strengthened the fortifications and directed the defence which resulted in another Confederate defeat on the 3d and 4th of October, followed up by the battle of the Hatchie on the 5th, the losses of the enemy being more than six thousand men.

16. ROSECRANS AT MURFREESBORO'. Before abandoning Kentucky, Bragg determined upon a final effort, and advanced with sixty thousand men to Murfreesboro', where he was met by Rosecrans December 31. The Confederate right, strengthened for the purpose, attacked the Union right, which had been weakened to carry out a similar project of assaults by Rosecrans; and the assault would have been fatal but for the courage of Gen. Sheridan, who held his men together until Rosecrans could reform his order of battle. The Confederates advanced four times after the first assault, but were defeated with great slaughter. On the 2d of January, 1863, Bragg renewed the battle; but, after one of the most sanguinary contests of the war, one-fourth of the united forces being destroyed in the two days' fighting, he was compelled to retreat and to stand only on the defensive. Kentucky was beyond recovery, and the way was open for farther advances on Chattanooga.

17. MOVING AGAINST VICKSBURG. Major-Gen. Grant moved into Mississippi on the 2d of November, to threaten Vicksburg in the rear with thirty thousand men, while Sherman attacked the place by the river with forty thousand, descending from Memphis. Grant had reached Oxford, fifty miles in advance, when Col. Murphy surrendered Holly Springs to Gen. Van Dorn's cavalry. Murphy was dismissed from the army for his incompetency, or worse; but the campaign had to be abandoned. Sherman, unaware of this change, made his attack at Chickasaw Bayou, but was defeated with great loss. Arkansas Post was captured by Sherman on the 11th of January, 1863,

and the campaign of 1862, on the Mississippi, was closed by that act. Missouri was still the scene of operations, but Gen. Curtis drove Gen. Price into Arkansas in February, 1863, and when Van Dorn, with a command of twenty thousand, attempted to recover the lost ground, he was totally defeated at Pea Ridge, March 7, 8, and no farther important battles were fought in Missouri.

18. **FARRAGUT AT NEW ORLEANS.** The southern armies being concentrated at Corinth, left New Orleans an easy prey to northern arms; but the defences on the sea-front were tremendous. As soon as the capture was resolved upon, Commodore Farragut was nominated to the command. His preparations and his orders for the attack were worthy of the success that was achieved; he left nothing to accident, and no mishap marred his victory. His fleet of forty-four vessels carried eight thousand men, under Gen. Butler. The defences at the mouth of the river were bombarded for some days, but at length it was concluded to run in past the forts and come to close quarters with the city. The daring movement was eminently successful. Shot, shell, and fire-rafts, failed to destroy the Union fleet, and the Confederate force of thirteen armed steamers, the steam battery "Louisiana," the Ram "Manassas," and the forts at short range, were all in turn vanquished, and twelve of the flotilla destroyed. The city was then defenceless under the Union guns, and the forts, menaced from the rear, surrendered. Thus New Orleans was reached and conquered through an array of defences which, to that day, had been deemed invincible. The commodore proceeded up the river in the summer of 1862, ran the Vicksburg batteries, passing through the awful fire of the forts at Port Hudson, and joined Flag Officer Porter in command of the fleet on the Upper Mississippi, assisting in the capture of Port Hudson, as he had already taken Baton Rouge and Natchez. He well deserved the thanks and promotion bestowed upon him by Congress. Porter was also made a rear-admiral.

19. **CAPTURE OF ROANOKE.** Gen. Burnside rendered an important service to the Union cause in the capture of Roanoke, the key to the defences of Norfolk, as it made the blockade of the South more than ever effective. This island was well said to unlock "two sounds, eight rivers, and four railroads." The forts at Roanoke were captured, the fleet annihilated, Newbern, Elizabeth City, and Macon were taken, so that Beaufort Harbor and the whole coast of North Carolina fell into northern hands.

Port Royal, having been captured in 1861, was now a base of operations against Florida and Georgia, and during this campaign Fernandina, Fort Clinch, Jacksonville, Darien, St. Augustine, and Fort Pulaski were taken in succession. The last-named capture closed the port of Savannah; and every city on the Atlantic coast except Mobile, Charleston, and Savannah was held by northern troops.

20. "MERRIMAC" AND "MONITOR." The iron-clad "Merrimac," really named "Virginia," steamed into Hampton Roads



THE MONITOR.

March 8, at noon, steering directly for the "Cumberland" sloop of war, in whose side she made a hole large enough to admit a man. The sloop sank at once with all on board, the men working their guns as they went

down, with colors flying. The "Congress" frigate was run aground to save her from the same fate, but she was compelled to surrender to this irresistible power. There was no longer a place on the coast where wooden vessels could be safe against such an enemy, and the "Merrimac," sure of victory, reserved the feast of destruction until the next day. The Confederates were full of joyous auguries. No blockade was possible while the "Merrimac" kept afloat. Just then the "Monitor," built by Ericsson, arrived in Chesapeake Bay, with the revolving turret, armed for attack, and a form almost invulnerable. The occasion was critical. Should she answer the expectations of her friends the Confederacy might be broken; but, otherwise, who could foresee the result? Her tonnage was a bagatelle against that of the "Virginia,"—nine hundred tons, compared with five thousand. Ready for service in the Hampton Roads, she waited the arrival of the monster from whose sides and roof the shot of the "Cumberland" had rolled off harmlessly as hail from a cliff. The morning brought the destroyer, and the "Minnesota" steam frigate was chosen as the first victim; but from under the lee of that ship came the "Monitor," delivering shot one hundred and sixty-two pounds in weight; masses of iron whose impact was destruction. The "Minnesota" was spared until the little termagant could be silenced. Shot failed to affect her, she must be run down; and five times the experiment was tried; but the "Monitor" came from under the "Virginia's" prow untouched. The world had never witnessed

a duel so strange; but the victory was with the Union; as the "Virginia" gave up the contest, and steamed back into Norfolk, leaving the "Monitor" substantially unharmed. Ericsson's ship of iron and white oak was worth the ransom of four million slaves. Perhaps the "Monitor" even saved the Republic.

22. **YORKTOWN BESIEGED.** Gen. McClellan, landing on the 8th of April at Fortress Monroe with one hundred thousand men, commenced the Peninsula campaign by advancing to Yorktown, where Gen. Magruder, with five thousand, held him at bay for one month, until heavy siege-guns could be procured from Washington, and, when all was ready for a terrible beginning, Magruder gave up his untenable position, where many of the guns were found to be wooden substitutes, painted in mockery. It would have been an ill wind for Magruder that blew him into McClellan's hands at that time.

23. **BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.** Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, posted at Richmond, having sent reinforcements to the Confederate rear-guard in the forts at Williamsburg, Gen. Hooker was afforded an opportunity for a battle, as the retreating troops determined to make their stand at this point. Nine hours the battle raged, but the assaulting party being reinforced, Gen. Hooker carried the works by storm, and pursuit continued until the fugitives were within seven miles of Richmond. The city would probably have fallen an easy prey at that time.

23. **CONFEDERATE PANIC.** The Congress sitting in Richmond hastily adjourned, and an attack was hourly expected in the capital, where all was hurry and confusion; but McClellan had learned that there was a force at Hanover Court-House which might endanger his base of supplies, and the time passed for operations. Hanover Court-House was captured May 27, 1862, and the army waited for Gen. McDowell; but the junction was rendered impossible by other movements.

24. Stonewall Jackson was hurled towards Washington, not with the expectation that an opportunity for an assault upon the national capital would arise, but for the purpose of relieving Richmond. His action in the Shenandoah valley, concentrating upon himself the attention of a force of seventy thousand men, yet eluding pursuit and being always on hand to deliver telling strokes against the Union forces, provoked admiration among those who deprecated the cause to which his abilities were dedicated. The Union troops, under Gen. Banks, marching thirty-five miles in one day, crossed the Potomac, as a necessary

movement under the circumstances. The president took military possession of all the railroads, and consternation was general in Washington. The northern States were called upon to send militia to defend the city, and three generals — Fremont, Banks, and McDowell — were commanded to make Jackson their prisoner; but it was as dangerous an operation as grasping an electric eel, and apparently impossible. He dashed through every obstacle in his retreat, burning the bridges by which he passed; and when Fremont attacked him at Cross Keys, June 8, he fought from nine in the morning until night, and then continued his retreat in the darkness. At Port Jackson, on the 9th, he engaged and defeated Gen. Shields, capturing seven guns, and returning to his starting-point with nearly three thousand prisoners and over nine thousand stand of captured arms. These exploits, with fifteen thousand men, diverted attention from Richmond, and prevented a junction between McDowell and McClellan.

25. **MCCLELLAN AT FAIR OAKS.** The general had pushed his left wing across the Chickahominy, just when a storm had changed the creek into a torrent, and the Confederate commander in Richmond came down upon a semi-detached force with terrible effect, sweeping all before him for a time; but Gen. Sumner, by a brilliant movement, saved the fortune of the day, and, when night fell, the Confederate leader, Johnston, was severely wounded, so that the command fell into less able hands the next day. June 1 saw the Confederates driven back into Richmond, with tremendous losses of men and arms, and the pursuers followed them to within five miles of that city; but, once more, Gen. McClellan did not see his way to make one of those bold strokes which are possible only to military genius.

26. Gen. Lee now took command of the Confederate army, but, in consequence of the influence exerted by his political chief, the supreme control of military operations was not vested in him, and the forces were scattered over a wide range of territory, in services which did not permit of continuous support. He was much loved by his troops; an able defensive soldier, but not a good disciplinarian, nor a very successful general, as a rule, save in defence. His knowledge of the art of war was well-nigh perfect, but he seemed to lack first-class capacity to mass his troops and direct their operations in the field. Perhaps there was not another man in the Confederacy who could, with the same means, have made a defence so

brilliant as that which will perpetuate his fame in connection with the name of Richmond. He would have abandoned Richmond at a much earlier date, but that he was overruled by the Confederate government in that, as in many other particulars, and the intellectual merit of his work is enhanced by the fact that he was laboring much of his time under difficulties all but insuperable. The appointment of Lee to the Confederate command was speedily followed by a severe check to the Union arms under McClellan. That officer approached Richmond once more. Hooker's pickets were in sight of its steeples when Gen. Stuart, on the 12th of June, made a movement with cavalry round the Union forces, burning supplies along the roads most important for northern purposes, and returned untouched. Stonewall Jackson threatened Hanover Court-House and the Union White-House communications, so Hooker was called off from the advance, and a retreat to the James river commenced on the 26th of June.



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

27. Confederate aggressions began by an attack on the Union right at Mechanicsville, at dawn of day on the 26th, which was repulsed, and the Federal troops fell back to Gaines' mill, where Porter held the bridges across the Chickahominy, until darkness shrouded the Union movements; the retreat, hotly contested, going on all the time. As soon as the Federal baggage-train had crossed, the bridges were burned, and the retrograde movement continued all night. Similar operations, the localities only being changed, continued for seven days and nights. The retreat was an act of consummate generalship on the part of McClellan; but Lee had discovered his aim, and troops were thrown forward by all roads to intersect his line of march. On the 29th, at Savage's station, Magruder was on the flank; but, as before, the position was held until night, when the retreat was resumed. On the 30th Longstreet and Hill tried to cut the Union lines at Frazier's Farm, but were beaten off, and that night the northern forces concentrated at Malvern, on a position favorable for defence, where the last battle of this series was fought. Batteries, tier above tier, on the sloping

sides of the plateau, told the Confederates, on the morning of July 1, that the retreating Army of the Potomac was ready for action. Really, the brave fellows were reduced to the last pitch of exhaustion by the harassing work of the preceding days and nights, but none would have recognized that fact in the proceedings of the day. Naval support on the James river protected the left; but, nothing daunted, the Confederates hoped to carry the position and completely destroy McClellan's power. The repulse sustained by Lee's army at this point was tremendous, and the Union army proceeded to Harrison's Landing without further molestation afterwards. But the effect of the Confederate movements under Lee, taken as a whole, gave great confidence to the secessionists. Twenty thousand men lost at Malvern Hill was a small price to pay for a succession of victories up to that point, which had driven McClellan from under the works at Richmond, taken ten thousand prisoners, destroyed and secured stores of enormous value, demoralized an army of one hundred thousand, or nearly that number, and only left them when naval forces came to the rescue. McClellan's loss in killed and wounded was terrific; the North was depressed beyond measure, and the president made a fresh levy of three hundred thousand men.

28. Pope's record on the Rapidan, commanding the troops intended to defend Washington, was the next object of attention. The Confederates, no longer fighting for their own capital, now threatened the North, and McClellan was subordinated to Gen. Pope, being ordered to bring his army to Aquia Creek. Lee determined to crush Pope before relief could arrive, and, having detailed Jackson to flank him, compelled that general to fight the whole force of the Confederacy under his command, on the old battle-ground of Manassas, or Bull Run. The actions of August 29th and 30th cost the North a terrible discomfiture, in which the loss of thirty guns and a vast quantity of military stores, very valuable to the South, formed the smallest items in the account. The Army of the Potomac, all but demolished by this new loss of thirty thousand men, and the *prestige* of utter rout, found safety in the fortifications of Washington.

29. McClellan resumed command of the army, such as it had become under Pope, and, after reorganizing the force, he followed Gen. Lee into Maryland. Having ascertained that Lee had despatched Stonewall Jackson with twenty-five thousand men to capture Harper's Ferry, defended by Col. Mills, with only eleven thousand men, McClellan overtook the Con-

federate main body at South Mountain and forced the battle of Antietam, on the 17th day of September. The battle might have been fought on the 16th, but McClellan lost twenty-four hours, and that allowed Jackson to return with part of his command before the engagement came to an end. But for that delay Lee would have been crushed, or at any rate that was the general impression in the North. At dawn on the 17th Hooker fell upon the Confederate left, Burnside waiting a favorable moment to carry the bridge and attack the right. Hooker was wounded and his attack repulsed; but, both sides being reinforced, the battle continued until night, the advantage at the close of the engagement being with Lee, who retired into Virginia shortly afterwards, and was not followed by McClellan until after a delay of six weeks. Lee had been compelled to abandon his scheme of invasion, Washington was safe, and the battle of Antietam had thus the results of a victory.

30. EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES. President Lincoln, whose mind had long pondered the question of slavery as an abolitionist, and the policy of emancipation as a statesman, issued his famous proclamation on the 22d of September; but the actual operation of its conditional clauses only commenced when the supplementary document followed, on January 1, 1863. The original draft had been made in July, but the president had waited for some favorable moment to publish his intention, when it should not appear to have been forced out of him by reverses. The declaration was opportune, as it gave fresh courage to many who had been disheartened by what had seemed the want of purpose in a war arising out of slavery. The South was already so bitter that nothing could increase its animosity against the North, consequently there was no reason for farther delay; still it was important with many in the North to make it evident that emancipation was necessary as a war measure.

31. McCLELLAN SUPERSEDED. Public opinion had long been wavering as to McClellan; but the campaign of 1862 was fatal to his popularity, and he was superseded by Gen. Burnside, November 7th, who advanced to Fredericksburg on the 17th, crossing the Rappahannock on pontoon bridges, and found Lee ready to make a masterly defence of his position in the bloody conflict of December 13. The position to be assailed on the 13th of December could have been taken with ease, when Gen. Sumner asked Burnside for orders to capture the place on the night of November 17; but the newly appointed commander seemed resolved that he would prove his ability to move so

large an army, of which he had already publicly spoken, and he waited until the force of one regiment of cavalry had been changed to the entire Confederate army under Lee in person. The battle was a series of blunders on the northern side, in which orders, half understood, were executed or attempted with useless heroism, and the slaughter under the stone wall at Marye's Hill, defended by Gen. Longstreet, was an entirely fruitless massacre of brave men before an impassable obstacle. Twelve thousand men fell, and half of that number, at Marye's Hill, dying like heroes, but without result, except that Burnside's estimate of his own powers had been fully sustained, and eight days later he was relieved from the command.

32. RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN. The victories of the South had been won almost entirely against the Army of the Potomac, and it was evident, at almost every movement, that the Union forces were outgeneralled by superior men, with whom they had been associated at West Point, until every minutia of their minds had been read. The victories of Stonewall Jackson and of Lee in the Peninsular campaign, and against Pope at Manassas, followed by Cedar Mountain, Chickasaw Bluff, and Fredericksburg, almost ended the record; as the operations of Bragg in Kentucky had been considerably checkered by reverses. The victories of the North had still been such as to counteract all these drawbacks, and to prove that there were on the Union side commanders who knew how to move masses of men with deadly celerity upon points of attack, and to win victories by land and sea. Forts Henry, Donelson, Pulaski, Macon, Jackson, St. Philip, and Island No. 10, taken by the Federal army, proved the bravery of northern troops and the capacity with which they were directed in the opening of the Mississippi early in the year. The same river opened to Vicksburg, the capture of New Orleans, Roanoke Island, Newbern, Yorktown, Norfolk, and Memphis, the battles of Pea Ridge, Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, South Mountain, Antietam, Iuka, Corinth, and Murfreesboro', the destruction of the flotilla before New Orleans, and the defeat of the "Merrimac" by the "Monitor," made a good showing for the work of the year; but most men saw that the command of the Union resources in the West and along the coast had been much more conducive to glory and success than that which, under several heads, had sacrificed the North in Virginia.

33. Indian difficulties came in to increase northern complications during 1862. The Sioux, unable to procure their pay-

ments from Indian traders, committed horrible massacres in Dacotah, Iowa, and Minnesota, driving thousands from their home, and murdering about seven hundred whites. Colonel Sibley pursued the savages for one month, took five hundred captives, and thirty-nine were hanged at Mankato, after Christmas, 1862, thereby ending the outbreak.

34. The campaign of 1863 opened with the emancipation of the slaves; they were no longer merely "contrabands of war;" they were free within the boundaries of the Union; and there were seven hundred thousand men in arms to carry out that policy. Already the Confederates were being destroyed by the mere continuance of the war, as their numbers in the field were hardly three hundred and fifty thousand. The occupation of Tennessee was now added to the former plans of action.

35. CAPTURE OF VICKSBURG. Grant, in command of all the troops in the Mississippi Valley, in January, 1863, took a position in front of Vicksburg, and determined to carry the place. Some months were spent in unceasing devices in the North, before the general concluded to pass the river below Vicksburg, in April. The gunboats ran the batteries, and the troops were crossed on the last day of the month. Pemberton, not yet shut up in Vicksburg, was in the field with fifty-two thousand men, and was on the point of being reinforced by Johnston, who had preceded Lee in the command at Richmond. Grant's command was only forty-three thousand, therefore it was important that the Confederates should be taken in detail. Pushing himself between the two armies he, on the 1st of May, defeated part of Pemberton's command at Port Gibson; on the 12th he destroyed a force coming from Jackson, and on the 14th scattered Johnston's army, capturing Jackson at the same time. Two days later he routed Pemberton's entire force at Champion's Hill, and on the 17th, having overtaken him in pursuit, he inflicted upon him another defeat at Black-river Bridge, driving him into Vicksburg the following day. Assaults failing to carry the city on the 19th and 22d, siege-work began on the 23d, and the 4th of July was signalized by the surrender of Vicksburg, with thirty-one thousand men and one hundred and seventy-two cannon, besides other stores. The Confederate loss in that campaign was forty thousand prisoners, and about twenty thousand killed, wounded, missing, and deaths by disease. Thus the great river was open to the sea, and the Mississippi Valley saw no more heavy fighting. The Union loss altogether was under nine thousand men, in winning five

battles and capturing two cities, besides which the fall of Port Hudson, which had resisted Gen. Banks for many weeks, followed immediately on the surrender of Vicksburg, and the Confederacy was completely severed.

36. CHICKAMAUGA. The energy displayed by Grant was not emulated by Rosecrans in Tennessee, and it was not long before the voice of the people called the pacificator of the Mississippi Valley to higher commands. He was forthwith made a major-general in the regular army. Rosecrans made no movement, after Murfreesboro, until June, when he marched against Bragg, with sixty thousand men, and compelled that general to abandon Chattanooga, September 8, to preserve his communications. Assuming Bragg to be in full retreat, Rosecrans followed precipitately, and was nearly destroyed by the sudden movements of Bragg, near Chickamauga, when the pursuing force was scattered along a line of about forty miles. The battle lasted two days, September 19 and 20. The first day saw no advantage gained by either side, but, about noon on the 20th, Longstreet broke the Federal line and swept away the centre and right, Rosecrans being among the fugitives. Gen. Thomas, with the left, held the field against the entire Confederate army until night, when he retired to Chattanooga, taking some prisoners as he went. The army of the Union was shut up, and Bragg cut off all communications, threatening the garrison with famine. Thomas was afterwards known as "The Rock of Chickamauga."

37. Chattanooga was closely beleaguered when Grant's command was extended to cover that region, October 16. One week from that date he was on the spot, and on the 27th the battle of Lookout Valley relieved the army of the Cumberland. There was no Rosecrans now to dally with danger. Hooker came from the Potomac by rail, with two corps, twenty-five thousand men, and Sherman dashed into the scene of glory by forced marches from Iuka. November 23, 24, and 25 saw Bragg defeated in the battle of Chattanooga, driven from positions supposed to be impregnable, losing five thousand prisoners in the open field, and forty pieces of artillery. The Confederates reported two thousand five hundred men killed and wounded. Orchard Knob was seized by Gen. Thomas on the 23d, and on the 24th Lookout Mountain was carried in a grand charge by Hooker, who the next morning advanced on the south of Missionary Ridge. Sherman disturbed the equanimity of Bragg by his operations on the northern flank, and the

centre was weakened to resist him. Grant, at Orchard Knob, saw his opportunity, and sent Thomas to carry the rifle-pits at the foot of the ridge; but his men, forgetting all limitations, bettered the instruction by sweeping up the ridge with headlong impetuosity. A charge along the whole line was the crowning movement of the day. Bragg's army was annihilated, his own guns were turned upon him; there was no longer a hostile army west of the Alleghanies, and Georgia was open to northern arms, with Virginia, the Carolinas, and the complete control of East Tennessee. Bragg resigned his command immediately afterwards, and Grant became the idol of the North.

38. Knoxville, Tenn., was now the abiding-place of Gen. Burnside, who, after his misfortunes in command of the Army of the Potomac, had achieved many successes in this region, but had been shut up in Knoxville, Sept. 17, by Longstreet, with a superior force. Immediately after Chattanooga, the commander sent Sherman to relieve Burnside, by forced marches, with barefoot troops, over terrible roads, a distance of one hundred miles. Longstreet made his grand assault Nov. 29, hoping to subdue Burnside before aid could reach him; but that general knew how to fight to the last man, and the attack was heroically defeated. The relief under Sherman came on the 4th of December, and Longstreet retreated in good order.

39. General Hooker succeeded Burnside in command, after Fredericksburg, in January, and upon the departure of Longstreet, who was sent into Tennessee to help Bragg, Hooker determined upon an advance with about one hundred thousand men, to attack Lee, who had now only about sixty thousand within reach. Sedgwick was left before Fredericksburg, and Hooker pushed forward to Chancellorsville, taking up a very strong position, from which Lee was unable to dislodge him. The fight continued two days, — May 2 and 3, — but on the second day Hooker, having been stunned by a cannon-ball, which struck a post against which he was leaning, could not direct the operations of his side. A terrible attack in the rear of the force by Stonewall Jackson, while Lee made an assault in front, partially demoralized the army; but the great body of the forces held their ground. The redoubtable Stonewall Jackson fell in this battle, being shot by mistake by one of his own men, as is believed; and the loss of such an officer was worse than the destruction of a regiment for the Confederate cause. Sedgwick crossed the Rappahannock, carried Fredericksburg by assault, and attacked the rear of Lee's army; but

that officer, concentrating his force upon Sedgwick, drove him back across the river, and Hooker, having lost eighteen thousand men, recrossed the Rappahannock. The Confederates lost about thirteen thousand. Sedgwick's movements were well executed, but the accident to Hooker prevented the designs originally formed from being carried into execution.

40. Philadelphia and New York were now the objective points with Gen. Lee, and he was confident that he could dictate terms of peace in the heart of the northern States. The successes at Vicksburg and in that neighborhood were yet in the future, and the South made a desperate effort to equip an army superior to anything ever yet attempted by the secessionists. Hooker, who was in command of the Federal army when Lee moved down the valley of the Shenandoah and crossed the Potomac, advancing to Chambersburg, continued on the same line along Blue Ridge and South Mountains. Fearing some movement that would endanger his communications, Lee turned east, to threaten Baltimore. Hooker continued in command until the army arrived in Frederick City, when, in consequence of his demands as to the disposition of troops not being complied with, he resigned, and the command devolved upon Gen. Meade. Congress afterwards gave a vote of thanks to Gen. Hooker for his services in averting the blow which might have been inflicted upon the capital by the Confederate forces under Lee.

41. GETTYSBURG. Gen. Meade only assumed the command of the Army of the Potomac, June 28, and the great battle commenced on the 1st of July, being continued for two days afterwards. The plans made for the campaign by Hooker were eminently judicious, and in part his movements were answerable for the results at Gettysburg. There was no intention on either side to fight at that point, but an accidental encounter between cavalry corps, on the 30th of June, led to another assault of a similar character at Willoughby's Run, near Gettysburg, July 1st, when Gen. Buford, with four thousand horse, held the ground against thirty thousand men of all arms; and so, by the will of God, the great battle was fought on the place allotted. Other forces rallied to the support of both sides, and the first day ended with some slight disadvantage to the Union forces; but they had taken up an impregnable position, and "Seminary Ridge" had given the troops confidence in themselves and in each other. There were about seventy-five thousand men on the side of the Union, and on the

other side about eighty thousand. Lee's force was one hundred thousand when he started, but many had scattered beyond reach when the battle commenced. The second day was a terrific struggle on both sides, but Lee had gained no advantage when the sun went down, nor afterwards when the battle was continued by moonlight, until both armies sought rest. The position taken by Sickles on the second day has been blamed by some military authorities, but the greatest authority we know, Gen. Grant, after surveying the battle-field with a full knowledge of all the circumstances, pronounced Sickles to have been "right." The dawn of day on the 3d saw the battle recommenced at Culp's Hill; but the Confederates were repulsed after a struggle which continued from about six in the morning until eleven. There was a lull until about one P.M., when one hundred and fifty great guns opened fire upon the Federal position, and for two hours the atmosphere seemed freighted with death; then came the charge up Cemetery Ridge, one of the finest charges of the war; but heroism was met by heroism, and position told sufficiently to more than compensate the Union disparity of numbers. The attack was a grand failure, and the battle of Gettysburg was won for the North. The losses on the part of the South were over thirty-one thousand, and Meade was generally blamed because he did not follow up his advantage. President Lincoln is reported to have said that "Providence had twice delivered the army of northern Virginia into our hands, and, with such opportunities neglected, we ought scarcely to hope for a third chance." Meade allowed Lee even to carry off the prisoners taken in the first two days, and slowly followed him to the Rapidan. Grant, in the same place, would have ended the war at Gettysburg. The campaign so ended, closed out all fears of a northern invasion, and Lee slowly retired toward Richmond to wait the time for a surrender of his hopeless struggle. The veterans lost in the great battle, added to the death of Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville, had taken the heart almost entirely out of the once indomitable force.

42. Admiral Du Pont, on the 7th of April, 1863, tried force his way to Charleston with eight iron-clads, but after engaging Fort Sumter for nearly two hours, and having failed to silence the batteries, he drew off to reconsider the attack, and eventually concluded that Charleston could not be taken without a combined assault by land and sea. Fort Wagner was afterwards taken by regular approaches, and Fort Sumter

reduced to ruins; but even then it was found impossible with the force at hand to effect a capture. Thus the year came to an end with results generally more favorable for the Union arms than any previous year since the rebellion commenced. The Confederates claimed Chickamauga, but the victory was tempered by the heroism of Thomas. Chancellorsville was not a crushing defeat for the Union arms, and Galveston was the only considerable gain made by that side, except that Charleston had been held against the Union assaults. The record on the Union side had many brilliant features. The doubtful victory won by Bragg at Chickamauga had been followed by the destruction of his army at Chattanooga, in the charge up Missionary Ridge. The battles before Vicksburg, and the capture of that fortress city, with the demolition of two armies, more than equalled in results the three days at Gettysburg. Port Hudson and Jackson were but small items in a return of such magnitude. The Mississippi had passed under the control of the North. The Confederates were cut off from supplies, Arkansas, East Tennessee, Mississippi, and much of Louisiana, with Texas to the Rio Grande, had submitted to Union arms. There was substantial cause for rejoicing in the North, but the price was felt to be enormous. How much more terrible was the cost paid by the South for its terrific failure?

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR—(continued).

1. LIEUT.-GEN. GRANT had won the suffrage of all thinking men by his promptitude and capacity for command, before the command in chief of all the forces of the North was conferred upon him. Men spoke of his good fortune, which consisted in his leaving nothing to chance where his powers could be made to cover an emergency. With ample authority and sufficient force, he was now to take supreme military control, and the armies of the North would move in concert. Grant assumed the task of subduing Lee in Virginia, devolving upon Sherman the duty to defeat Johnston in Georgia.

2. ADVANCING ON ATLANTA. Gen. Joseph Elleston Johnston was stationed at Dalton, Ga., when Gen. Sherman moved

upon his works, and he had prepared for the attack which must come by a series of almost impregnable lines, which must retard, and which might prevent, the capture of Atlanta. The advance, with one hundred thousand men, was made early in May, and Sherman was confronted by Johnston with only fifty-four thousand men, who prudently avoided an engagement in the open country. At Resaca Johnston defended his position with obstinate valor, repulsing Sherman with considerable loss; but Johnston, finding himself outflanked, retired successively to Adairsville and Cassville, hotly contesting every step. The Allatoona Pass was the scene of a very determined resistance, and many days elapsed before that position could be carried. Retreating then to Kenesaw Mountain, where his field works showed profound military science, and the flanks of his position were strengthened by Pine and Lost Mountains, Sherman was once more held at bay by his brave and able antagonists, losing three thousand men in one assault, while the Confederate loss was four hundred and forty-two. Outflanked at last, the Confederate general fell back on Atlanta on the 10th of July, having fought over one hundred miles of country more than two months against a force nearly twice as strong as his own; and as the reward for his arduous labors he was superseded at that point by Jefferson Davis, who could not appreciate the policy that was being pursued. Gen. Hood took command of the defence, and soon discovered that there was nothing before him but escape or surrender. After hard fighting, and great losses on both sides, Hood evacuated the city of Atlanta and made a dash into Tennessee. Atlanta had long been a storehouse for the South, and it was now in northern hands, having cost thirty thousand men on the Union side to forty thousand on the other. Before Sherman started from this position for his famous "March to the Sea," the inhabitants were, as a precautionary measure, driven from the city and the place reduced to ashes. The supplies of clothing, cannon, powder, wagons, harness, and cannon-balls which had been drawn from Georgia were now no longer available for the southern armies. Ten battles had been won and lost, but the result attained was worth the fighting.



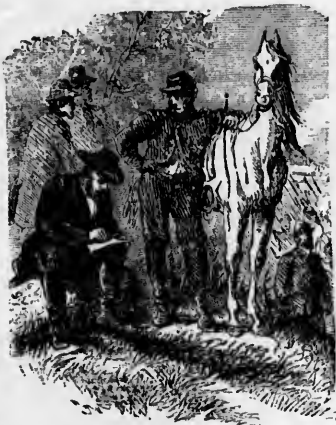
ULYSSES S. GRANT.

3. THOMAS AT NASHVILLE. Hood, with an army of forty-five thousand men, abandoning Atlanta, sent a detachment to capture Allatoona; but sustained a repulse in that quarter, with terrible slaughter, at northern hands. He surrounded Resaca, but did not dare an attack, as Sherman was close upon him, and from that point he commenced his march upon Tennessee. Sherman sent reinforcements to Gen. Thomas at Nashville, and was ready to reorganize his force. Hood destroyed everything as he advanced, and recruited his ranks, until, when he reached Pulaski, his force had grown to fifty-five thousand, against which Thomas could only oppose thirty thousand, under the command of Schofield. The Union men retreated to Franklin, in a bend of the Harpeth, where, with twenty thousand men, Schofield defended himself desperately against nearly sixty thousand, inflicting a loss of five thousand, and never losing a gun. Continuing his retreat in the night of November 30, Schofield joined Thomas at Nashville, and the place was almost immediately besieged by Hood. There was an ominous inaction for about two weeks; but the "Rock of Chickamauga" was only biding his time. He permitted Hood to believe that there was a glorious career of victory before the Confederate arms in Tennessee, and then, when every preparation had been completed, sallied upon his besiegers, whom he defeated and drove in every direction during two days of terrible fighting, December 15 and 16. Thomas secured seventy-two guns, twelve thousand prisoners, one of them a major-general, and more than two thousand two hundred men took the amnesty oath as deserters. The over-confident Hood escaped over the Tennessee, at Bainbridge, with barely the fragment of an army. His force was not merely demoralized, it was destroyed. East Tennessee was cleared of armed Confederates, and it was evident, for the first time, that the war in every department had fallen into right hands. The war at the West was ended, save as to a few petty operations, and Sherman was already off upon his celebrated march.

4. SHERMAN'S MARCH. Confident that Thomas could do all that was required in Tennessee, Sherman started from Atlanta, on the 16th of November, with sixty-five thousand five hundred men. Skirmishers and Kilpatrick's cavalry disguised the direction of the army as it moved onward in four columns, and none knew its direction until a place had been struck. Railroads and works likely to succor the Confederates were destroyed. Telegraph wires were cut so that no intelligence

of his movements could be transmitted by such means, and, in five weeks from the outset, with some fighting at river crossings, the army had reached the sea at Savannah. Fort McAllister, on the Ogeechee, was carried by assault on the 13th of December, and seven days later Savannah was abandoned. The Confederacy was once more sundered. Sherman's subordinate officers had carried out his orders by distressing the secessionists, and one hundred and sixty-seven guns, with over one thousand three hundred prisoners and immense stores of provisions, had been captured. The moral effect of that march, however, entirely transcended its physical results. The cannon and twenty-five thousand bales of cotton were transmitted from Savannah to President Lincoln as a Christmas present for the nation; and within a few days the march through Georgia was the only event of which any person spoke or sang.

5. THE WILDERNESS. When the army under Grant had come into the Chancellorsville country, after crossing the Rapidan, the Confederate army under Lee attacked them, toiling along the narrow roads in the Wilderness. The butchery was terrible; but the men on both sides stood their ground with wondrous resolution. Two days the battle raged, and on the third both armies rested in their entrenchments. Grant's army was reduced by twenty thousand; Lee admitted a loss of ten thousand; and there was some hope that the Union men would retire behind the Rapidan once more. Grant made other arrangements. The 5th and two following days had been spent in the Wilderness, and on the 8th of May he outflanked Lee, making for Spottsylvania Court-House. The Confederate commander was playing his best card, — defence, — and every



Crossing the Rapidan — Grant's Telegram.

movement was calculated upon. When Grant arrived at his destination, a Confederate army was before him, and for five days more there was hard pounding between men as nearly as possible compeers of each other in courage and skill. On the 12th of May Grant determined that he would once more turn

the right flank of his antagonist; but Lee, divining the intention, was before him at the North Anna, and the battle of Cold Harbor resulted on the 3d of June. It was during this terrible series of battles that Grant wrote his well-known despatch, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The commander-in-chief came into this region with one hundred and eleven thousand men, and he was opposed by Lee, on the defensive, with seventy-five thousand. Before reaching the James river he had lost six thousand killed, twenty-six thousand wounded, and seven thousand missing. The Confederates carefully destroyed their own records of losses, consequently there is only a guess at results; but they captured only six thousand prisoners, while Grant captured ten thousand, and it is probable that in every particular their losses were nearly as great, perhaps greater, than the Union. Grant never fought harder battles than those in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor; but after every engagement Grant advanced and Lee lost ground. The purpose in view was the annihilation of the army under Lee, as it was very evident that the Confederacy could never replace such soldiers in the field; and the loss of a few thousand human lives must not stand in the way of that result. The course of the army from the Rapidan to the James before the Confederate capital had been well considered, and the cost was on the whole more distressing to the South than to the North. The attack on Petersburg proved the prescience of Lee, as the works were so defended that nothing less than a regular siege could compel submission, and Grant commenced his entrenchments without delay. The works were begun in June.

6. BEFORE RICHMOND There were but few events of national importance in the early days of the siege upon this spot, but the whole military scheme of the Union converged here. The siege kept Lee so completely occupied that he could do nothing to assist the other victors, while Grant was calmly directing every considerable movement. The conquest of Atlanta and the march to the sea all contributed to the success which had to be secured at Richmond. Thomas, reinforced, not only made Sherman's march a possibility, but destroyed an army also; and Sheridan, here, there, and everywhere, carried defeat into the enemy's ranks wherever he struck. The forces were not greatly dissimilar, allowing for the requirements of attack and defence. Grant, joined by Butler's force, had one hundred and ten thousand men, and Lee had joined to his

regular force of seventy-five thousand men, five thousand more, including the local militia and gun-boat crews. There was an explosion of a mine under a fort at Petersburg on the 30th of July, and the work became a ruin; but the result was not of such a character as to enable the Union forces to carry Petersburg. The Weldon Railroad was captured by good strategy and hard fighting, on the 18th of August, and although Lee, knowing the importance of the communication, put forth all his powers to recapture that position, the Union lines permanently closed in upon him to that extent. The scheme which had so many times called off the Union forces from the capital of the Confederacy was to be tried once more, and Washington was threatened; but Grant continued to devote his personal energy upon Lee, and made ample provision for the defence of the northern territory through other hands.

7. CEDAR CREEK. Gen. Hunter had allowed himself to be deflected from the line of march planned for him, and there was in consequence an opportunity for Gen. Lee to despatch Early along the Shenandoah Valley toward Washington, and on the 10th of July he threatened Fort Stevens, one of the defences of the capital, with twenty thousand men. One day lost there rendered action an impossibility, and, with some plunder, having burned a village, he was back in the Shenandoah. Sheridan, despatched by Grant for the purpose, came down upon Early like a cyclone, striking him at Winchester, and again at Fisher's Hill, driving him apparently into thin air. The Confederate general, having been reinforced, struck Sheridan's camp at daylight on the 19th of October, at Cedar Creek, during the absence of Sheridan, and the left flank was turned and driven in confusion for some distance. Sheridan heard the cannonade, and returned at full speed to find the aspect of affairs. His men felt his presence as an inspiration, and when he said to them, "Boys, we are

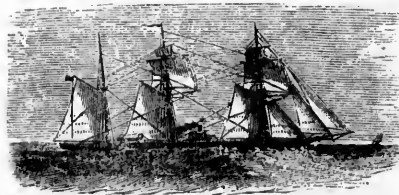


SHERIDAN'S ARRIVAL AT CEDAR CREEK.

going back," there was no difficulty in routing the Confederates, recapturing his own guns and thirty pieces of artillery beside, releasing his own men and taking two thousand prisoners before sundown. Early and his force were completely broken by this brilliant campaign of only one month, and Washington was threatened no more. The joint expedition on Red river, which was to have captured Shreveport, proved a failure because of the incompetency of Gen. Banks, who was routed by the Confederates at Sabine Cross-roads. Gen. Banks was at once relieved of his command.

8. Mobile was the object of an expedition under the command of Admiral Farragut, and his ships fought their way past the Confederate forts to engage the iron-clad fleet, all of which were captured or put to flight. The iron ram "Tennessee" was one of the prizes. Fort Fisher, the defence of Wilmington Harbor, N.C., was attacked by Commodore Porter, and a land force under Gen. Butler, Dec. 24, 25; but, after bombarding the fort, Butler was convinced it could not be taken, so he returned to Fortress Monroe. The fleet remained off the harbor, as Porter was certain that the fort could be reduced, and upon his request the troops originally sent were returned to him with one thousand five hundred more, and the works were carried by a hand-to-hand fight on the 15th of January, 1865; the assailants being two columns, one of soldiers and the other of sailors. The defenders behaved heroically.

9. RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN. The unification of the war under the lieutenant-general showed excellent results. The blockade had become so effectual that the Confederacy was at its last gasp. Fort Fisher, just taken, closed the last Confederate port.



THE ALABAMA.

Confederate cruisers, so called, had damaged northern commerce, but the South was without commerce of any kind. The Alabama, suffered by the British to escape from an English port, had done immense injury, for which Great Britain ultimately paid; and, before the war ended, Capt. Winslow, of the Kearsarge, destroyed that vessel off Cherbourg harbor, Commander Semmes escaping in an English yacht after he had surrendered. The wants of the men under arms, and more

especially of the wounded and suffering, called forth an amount of philanthropy, in all classes, such as was never exceeded in the annals of civilization. Over seventeen millions of dollars were expended by the sanitary and Christian commissions in such works of mercy, their modes of operation being numberless. Despite the load of debt incurred by the administration in conducting the war, Abraham Lincoln, renominated by the Republican party, with George B. McClellan for his opponent, put forward by the Democrats, carried the Union by a majority of over four hundred thousand, and McClellan had only three States. The gains of the Confederacy in field or fort, this year, had been small indeed. Olustee and the Sabine Cross-roads, Bermuda Hundred and Monocacy, were all their victories, except that they held Grant at arm's length at Richmond, and had defeated expeditions at Red river and into Florida. On every side they were giving way. North and South Carolina were their only States east of the Mississippi. Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida, had been overrun by northern troops. The Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor had been followed by the results of victory for the North, and there had been undoubted victories for the Union arms at Resaca, Dallas, Kencesaw, and Atlanta, at Pleasant Hill, Winchester, Fisher's Hill, Cedar Creek, and at Nashville. The forts in Mobile harbor, Fort McAllister, Fort DeRussy; the march through Georgia; the capture of Atlanta and Savannah; the devastation of the Shenandoah Valley, and the demolition of its army of defence; the annihilation of Hood's army by Thomas; the coast blockaded by our navy; the destruction of the flotilla at Mobile, and the firm grasp by Grant of every avenue to victory, as well as of Lee and the last shred of Confederate force at Richmond, left it now only a question of a few months at longest, when the rebellion should be reckoned among the things of the past.

10. THE LAST CAMPAIGN. The beginning of the end had come, and already the Union forces were concentrating upon Richmond, with the desire of the huntsman to be in at the death. Sherman, after a brief rest at Savannah, had only to end the military career of Johnston, and he could then join Grant. Sheridan was already in the lines of circumvallation. Wilson and Stoneman were within hail, ready for whatever duty the commander-in-chief might find necessary, and the courage of the nation stood never at a higher pitch of enthusiasm.

11. Sherman's march through the Carolinas, from Savannah,

commenced February 1, 1865, after a brief rest, was a movement as rapid as the conditions of the time and hot haste could render possible. Rivers that had no bridges without a long distance were waded, and one battle was fought by his army shoulder deep in a stream. Grant's orders were, that he should come north without delay; and Sherman obeyed to the letter and spirit. Fifty miles was his front, and the army, sixty thousand strong, marched in four columns, leaving the broad print of their footsteps in desolation. Hardee evacuated Charleston and retreated north towards Lee, with twelve thousand men. Columbia, the State capital, was burned by accident. Kiipatrick, routed by a sudden rush of Wade Hampton's forces, recovered the surprise, gathered up his men, and retrieved his fortune. Fayetteville, North Carolina, saw the first decided stand against the Union armies. Johnston had collected forty thousand men under Beauregard, Hardee, Cheatham, and Bragg, with cavalry forces under Wheeler and Hampton. A halt was called on the 11th of March, to mass the forces of the Union, and on the 15th the word was once more, "Forward!" Hardee, on the left wing, attacked him in a narrow pass, but the force was beaten off. The right was attacked near Bentonville by Johnston with his main body, but there was another defeat for the Confederates on the 18th. Halting his forces at Goldsboro', on the 19th of March, Sherman hastened forward to City Point to consult with his commander. A junction of forces between Lee and Johnston was now the forlorn hope of the Confederates, and the chance was microscopic, with Grant on the alert as usual, and so many forces converging toward the Union lines. Still Lee would not abandon his hope as long as a possibility remained.

12. BEFORE RICHMOND AGAIN. An attack on the right was the device that was to divert Grant's attention from the more important movements contemplated by the Confederate general, and Fort Stedman was surprised and captured at day-break, March 25, with a loss of two thousand five hundred troops on either side, including the assault by which the position was recovered; and Lee lost two thousand prisoners out of his force of only five thousand. Hardly five hundred returned to report the substantial failure; and Grant, not called off from his main purpose, closed in with fatal tenacity upon the works. He saw that the time for the evacuation or surrender of Richmond was at hand, and his watchfulness was communicated to every man in the ranks.

13. FIVE FORKS. The movement of Sheridan toward Five Forks was part of a much larger operation commenced by Grant on the last day of March to turn Lee's right. The Confederate general fought with his whole force to avoid the calamity; but on the 1st of April the brilliant affair at Five Forks completed the operation, taking nearly five thousand prisoners, and rendering Lee's position, in a military sense, untenable. The Union loss was only about one thousand, and the end was now within easy reach.

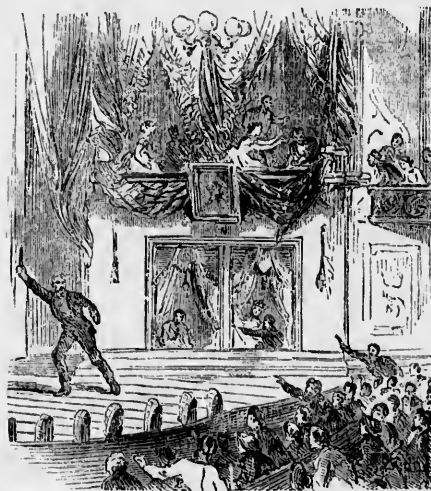
14. Petersburg and Richmond were evacuated on the following days in consequence of an advance of the whole line upon the works. President Davis was informed soon after — ten in the morning of the 2d — that the city could be held no longer, and before the next morning at four, Richmond, damaged as much by fire and explosions as their means would permit, had been abandoned by the army under Lee, whose hope was now that he might escape from the toils of his able adversary. Davis escaped to Danville, hoping to hear tidings of success in the field from Lee; but the case was hopeless. He then fled towards Johnston, and remained a while at Greensboro', N.C.; but seeing no hope there, started for Georgia with a cavalry force of two thousand, which soon dwindled to very meagre proportions. Then, putting aside the dignity of office, he tried to escape with his family, and was captured on the 10th of May, to be confined in Fortress Monroe for two years, and then liberated on the bail of Horace Greeley, a monument of northern mercy. Turning now to Lee, a lion at bay, we find him at Amelia Court-House with thirty-five thousand men, trying in vain to provision his army; and with Grant close upon his tracks, outnumbered, out-generalled, borne down at every point, his ranks thinned out by the hourly desertions of starving men, whole corps surrounded and captured, the heroic defender of the cause of the Confederacy proposed to meet Grant and discuss the terms of peace. Hemmed in on all sides, he was at the mercy of his



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

foes ; but still he was a brave man, and that secured him consideration. Grant could offer no terms but to receive his surrender, and on the 9th of April he accepted that hard condition in the open field at Appomattox Court-House, with all that remained of his once powerful army, now reduced to twenty-seven thousand men. An army of seventy thousand men had been annihilated in ten days, and there was no longer a plank on which the Confederacy could float. His treatment of Lee had in it so much of magnanimity that the outlying generals speedily came in to share the terms upon which the war was ended. There were some operations after this date, and before the news could be flashed along the coast ; but the rebellion had now been extinguished in the blood of nearly a million of men.

15. CONSUMMATION OF THE TRAGEDY. Grant returned to Washington to disband the army which had won such laurels ;



ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

and there, on the 14th of April, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in the midst of universal rejoicings. Grant had been invited to share the president's box that night in Ford's theatre, but his engagements prevented acceptance, or, perhaps, he also would have fallen a victim to the savage hate of men who could not appreciate the mercy shown to their misguided champions. The news went over the land and around the world with the effect of a funeral pall in the presence of a bridal party ; and such tears were shed, even in distant lands, over the heroic life thus ended, as told of an influence over the souls of civilized man everywhere, unexampled in the history of rulers.

16. Compared with Lincoln's death, men all over the Union held the heavy cost of the war as nothing. Three hundred thousand brave citizens had died facing the foe in battle

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array, or in diseases superinduced by war; two hundred thousand maimed and crippled remained to tell of the struggles through which the Union had passed; and the armies in gray had probably suffered more severely. The Union debt had increased to two billion seven hundred and fifty million dollars; but all these items were as nothing for a time in the presence of that soul of mercy and patriotism, slaughtered by an insane zealot, with the cry "*Sic semper tyrannis.*" The words seemed accursed, and the cowardly rage which at such an hour could fruitlessly slaughter the best man of his time and country, procured, as it merited, the reprobation of the human race. The end of the Lincoln epoch had arrived. Andrew Johnson had become president; but upon the hero of the war, after Lincoln, the greatest man, all eyes were turned. The nation was growing, and demanded able administration, for, even while the war progressed, new States had sought admission to the Union. West Virginia and Nevada had brought up the numbers to thirty-six in June, 1863, and in October, 1864; besides which the problem of reabsorbing the seceded States presented a task for every leading mind to ponder.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ENGLAND FROM 1840 TO 1856.

REIGN OF VICTORIA — AFFAIRS IN IRELAND — THE CRIMEA — FALL OF SEBASTOPOL.

1. OUR next work must be to trace the fortunes of Great Britain from 1840. The good Queen Victoria had ascended the throne, as we have already noted. Sir Robert Peel's ministry fell soon after the passage of the Corn Law Repeal Bill. Ireland, with the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, was not yet satisfied. One great cause of the disturbance remained. The population of Ireland embraced six and a half millions of Roman Catholics, while the members of the Church of England on the island numbered but little over eight hundred and fifty thousand, yet the Church of England was by law established in Ireland, and the whole population, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, were taxed for its support. "In 1834 the revenues of the establishment in Ireland were more than

eight hundred thousand pounds. There were fourteen hundred parishes, of which forty-one did not contain a single Protestant; twenty had only five each, and one hundred and sixty-five could



QUEEN VICTORIA.

number only twenty-five each; yet there were four Protestant archbishops and eighteen bishops. The Roman Catholic Church received no support by law. Its priests were poor, and the little which their poor parishioners could offer them—the cow, the pig, the sack of corn, or the bit of money—was carried off by the tithe collector; often backed by an armed police, to support the clergymen of the establishment.” In view of these things we wonder only that the peasant hatred of the Church was not even greater than it was. In the midst of these things the English

Parliament debated, session after session, the subject of Irish difficulties; and from 1835 to 1840 a system of national education was introduced into Ireland with beneficial results. But from 1841 to 1843 Daniel O’Connell raised the cry for the repeal of the union in Ireland, and the sentiment was caught up by every tongue and repeated with patriotic zeal. The Repeal Association was the organic form assumed by the agitation. Funds were raised to support the cause, at the rate of three thousand pounds a week. But finally, before it was too late, government interfered. A proclamation was issued, forbidding the assembling of a great public meeting summoned by O’Connell. “A few days later, O’Connell and other leaders of the Repeal Association were arrested, and tried. They were convicted of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling; but an appeal having been made against the sentence, some technical difficulty was allowed by the judges to whom the last reference was had, and the prisoners, in consequence, were set at liberty. This magnanimity on the part of the British government had a great effect in lessening the moral influence which O’Connell possessed over his countrymen. His political sincerity was questioned, his popularity deserted him, and a few years later he died at Genoa.”

2. In the midst of these things Father Mathew came to the front with the temperance movement. This was in 1841. This movement exerted a wholesome influence, for some four or five years, over the affairs of Ireland. Drunkenness, and its ten

thousand crimes, disappeared ; but, unfortunately, this reformation was associated with the repeal movement, so that when the latter was overcome, the former also languished, and the evils of intemperance again triumphed, — triumphed amid fearful results. " Sir Robert Peel attributed these calamities, in a great measure, to the want of a liberal provision for religious and secular education among the priests and people of that unhappy country. To supply this want, a bill for the establishment of three colleges, at Belfast, Cork, and Limerick, was introduced and passed through Parliament. To insure to the priests an education in their own land, another bill proposed an enlargement of the grant to Maynooth College. This institution, for the training of Roman Catholic priests in their own faith, had been founded in the year 1795 ; but the grant made to it, being only nine thousand pounds per annum, was inadequate to the numbers requiring education there ; nor could it secure a very high order of instruction. The bill for increasing the grant to Maynooth met with violent opposition, being regarded by many as injurious to the principles of the Protestant Reformation, and providing for the maintenance of religious error. It was carried, however, and the grant to the college increased to twenty-six thousand three hundred and eighty pounds."

3. But a greater woe awaited Ireland ! In 1846-47 one of the most terrible of famines ever recorded, spread its desolating terrors over the island. " This was owing to the failure of the potato crop, the staple food of the Irish laborer. The disease in the potato plant extended with such fearful rapidity as often to convert in a single night acres of bloom into a mass of putrefaction. These scenes of suffering presented during this calamitous time were heart-rending. Often, when the door of the wretched cabin was opened, there was found a whole family lying dead in a group. The wail of the starving arose in every district. The workhouse doors were besieged by famishing multitudes begging for bread. Government, roused by the magnitude of the calamity, applied itself to immediate measures of relief. Above half a million of peasantry had been deprived of their usual food, — potatoes. There was grain, but they had no money to buy it. To afford employment and wages to the laborer, government appropriated several millions sterling to the erection of public works in Ireland, and in March, 1847, seven hundred and thirty-four thousand laborers found employment, their aggregate wages amounting to two hundred thousand pounds. Large sums were subscribed for sending food to Ireland. All duties were taken

off' of grain, the navigation laws were suspended, so that relief might be transmitted immediately, and food imported from foreign countries. Yet with such fearful strides had disease and death followed in the train of famine, that hundreds died before relief could be brought to them, or perished from exhaustion before they could reach the public works. The scenes of horror exceeded anything which the pen of Dante or Defoe, or the canvas of Poussin, had depicted. In the words of Lord John Russell: 'A famine of the thirteenth had fallen on the population of the nineteenth century.' The conduct of the British government reflects the highest honor on its character for generous liberality. During these years of wide-spread distress no less than eight millions of pounds were bestowed upon Ireland either in the form of public appropriations or private subscriptions. Nor were the people and government of the United States less liberal in their efforts to mitigate the horrors of the Irish famine. Private subscriptions were opened, large supplies of provisions collected, and shipped in a public armed vessel to the coast of Ireland. During the year of the famine and those immediately succeeding the immigration of the Irish to foreign shores was immense. The population, which in 1841 was over eight millions, was in 1860 but little over six. The Irish left the land of their birth, to find subsistence in the country of strangers, but their affections still centred in the home they have left. In proof of this, the remittances made to Ireland, from her children abroad, amounted in the year 1853 to nearly seven millions of dollars. Theirs is the feeling which breathes so touchingly in the familiar song of 'The Irish Emigrant's Lament': —

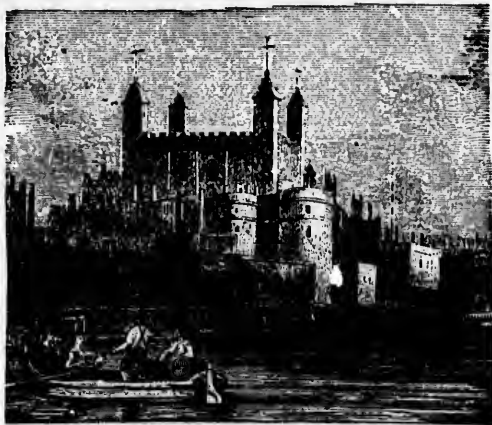
' They say there's bread and work for all,
And the sun shines always there,
But I'll ne'er forget old Ireland,
Were it fifty times as fair.'

In July of 1848 an insurrection broke out in Ireland, headed by Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis Meagher, and others. It had for its object the old aim, repeal of the union and restoration of the ancient constitution and native rule. This rebellion was put down with little difficulty on the part of the government. O'Brien and other leaders were arrested, tried, and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to that of transportation for life. At the conclusion of the Russian war an amnesty was proclaimed, under which these political exiles, excepting only

those who had broken their parole, returned to their country after an absence of eight years."

4. In 1848 the revolution in France drove King Louis Philippe from his throne; and it was the apparent success of this revolution which, together with the great distress among the manufacturing districts of England, caused the Chartists to adopt measures with a view to force their charter upon the government. To afford them a pretext for assembling, they got up a monster petition, to be presented on the 10th of April by as many as could gain entrance to the House of Commons. In this way they expected to alarm the government to fear, and proclaim a republic. But the great Duke of Wellington was sufficient for the defeat of this grand scheme. A proclamation forbade more than ten persons to present a petition at any one time, and otherwise prohibited the assembly of large bodies in connection therewith. Police, cannon, and troops were placed in position to command the crowd, should it assemble; "regiments were kept in reserve at various other unseen points, and artillery was

in readiness at the Tower, to be conveyed on board armed steamers to any part of the metropolis which might require such defence. All the public offices were well guarded, and the Bank of England was occupied by bodies of infantry, and strongly barricaded. One hundred and seventy thousand special



TOWER OF LONDON.

constables, previously trained for duty, were stationed throughout London; and among these served on that important occasion, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, afterwards Emperor of the French. These wise precautions effectually frustrated the hopes and designs of the Chartists. Being informed by a few resolute policemen that they might send their petition in a proper manner to the house, but that any attempt to pass the

bridges in procession would be resisted, the large body of some fifty thousand men broke their ranks and gave up their attempt. A few bodies of Chartists tried to force their way into Westminster, but were repelled by the police, and by seven o'clock in the evening all had dispersed, and order and quiet reigned in the vast metropolis. The most violent Chartist leaders, who still kept up the spirit of insurrection in London, were seized during the course of the summer, tried, convicted, and transported for life."

5. In 1854 occurred the singular spectacle of a union army of English and French marching to defend the empire of Mohammed against the Russians. Russia now threatened to become the controlling power of Christendom; Turkey lay, as she does to-day, prostrate at the feet of a Russian army; and the peace of Adrianople, concluded between these nations in 1829, threatened the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. At these successes England became jealous, and all Europe was filled with alarm. The tottering dominions of the sultan were all that prevented the czar's control of the Mediterranean. These once overcome, and England would have a rival on the seas in the military advantages of Russia, and the eastern empire of the English would be overcome. But the circumstances which precipitated the war arose from a conflict between the Latin and Greek churches on the subject of the holy places in Jerusalem. This circumstance, as related by Berard, in his history of England, are as follows: "Syria was a province of Turkey, but the sultan permitted both Greek and Latin Christians to maintain places for worship in the holy city. There for centuries had been established churches, shrines, and grottos, commemorative of various scenes in our Saviour's life, sufferings, and death. Among these the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built over the supposed site of the tomb of our Lord, was held especially sacred. For the exclusive possession of this holy place the monks of the Greek and Latin churches kept up incessant disputings. Some idea of the extent of these disgraceful quarrels may be gathered from the following conversation, which took place between an English missionary and a Turkish pasha of Jerusalem, whom the former sought to convert to Christianity: 'What are the advantages of your religion over mine?' asked the pasha. 'Peace on earth, and glory after death,' replied the missionary. 'As to the latter,' said the Turk, 'our Prophet promises that too; and for the peace on earth, the Church of the Sepulchre has a band

of Greek Christians on the one side, and a band of Roman Christians on the other, and in the centre is a Turkish guard, to keep them from cutting each others' throats.' The Russian czar, Nicholas, as head of the Greek Church, and Louis Napoleon as the representative and protector of the Latin Christians, demanded of the sultan for their respective churches exclusive privileges quite incompatible with each other. The sultan, Abdul-Mejdid, was placed in an embarrassing position, — between two formidable and rival claimants, both of whom he was desirous to please. After much delay and perplexity he issued a firman (or decree) designed to be sufficiently liberal towards the Greek Church, and yet not so partial as to give umbrage to the Latin Christians. The Czar Nicholas, on the very day the firman was issued, demanded, through his ambassador, the right of absolute protection over all Greek Christians. This demand, it was asserted, implied the control over twelve millions of the sultan's subjects. It was refused by the Ottoman Porte. The western powers then interfered, and at the end of eight months of diplomatic negotiations England and France announced their intention to take up arms in aid of the sultan, against the 'unprovoked aggression' of the czar. Then these western powers united as the ally of Turkey, and the troops of these nations saw service in strangely foreign parts. On the 4th of the preceding October, the New Year's Day of the Mohammedans, the sultan's declaration of war against Russia had been read in all the mosques, and large Turkish armies were collected in the Danubian provinces and on the frontiers of Asia. In the wild mountain region of Caucasus the native tribes, to the number of twenty thousand, under their brave chief and prophet, Schamyl, united with a Turkish army to attack the Russians. The heroism of this mountain chief, and the enthusiasm which he awakened in his followers, occasioned severe reverses to the Russian arms during the year 1854. The latter, however, finally prevailed, and the czar triumphed in that quarter, by the capture of the important town of Kars, towards the close of 1855." The defence of Kars had been conducted by Gen. Williams, afterwards governor of Nova Scotia.

7. Honor was reflected upon the armies of the sultan in their desperate performances in the Dobrudscha, an unhealthy section between the Danube and Black Sea. "The Russians with a powerful army occupied the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Turks, under Omar Pasha, in

the autumn of 1853, addressed themselves to the difficult task of opposing their farther advance upon the dominions of Turkey. The victory of Oltenitza, won in November, and other successes obtained during the winter, animated the spirits and courage of the Turks. In the spring of 1854 a Russian army laid siege to Silistria, an important town situated on the Danube. From the 11th of May to the 22d of June the place was besieged. The defence was maintained with great spirit, skill, and bravery on the part of the Turks, under the command of Mussa Pasha. At length the Russians — aware that the allied armies had reached Varna; that a detachment of French and English had been sent forward for the relief of Silistria; and that the combined fleet had passed the Bosphorus — raised the siege, and turned to the defence of their dominions, now formidably threatened, on the shores of the Black Sea. At the expiration of forty-two days the Russian army, which at one time had numbered sixty thousand, and had thrown, from sixty pieces of ordnance, no less than fifty thousand shot and shell into the town, were forced to abandon the first siege of this campaign, the defence having been maintained by the skill and valor of Turks alone. Meanwhile, the armies of the English and French allies had arrived in Turkey. Owing to lamentable mismanagement on the part of the commissariat, when the troops reached that country no adequate provision had been made for their support. This neglect occasioned a vast amount of suffering, especially at Varna, a port on the Black Sea, where the allied forces were quartered from June until August, 1854. The soldiers were in want of tents, proper food, bedding, and medical stores. During the stay at Varna the cholera and typhus fever broke out, and these frightful diseases, spreading through the camps and in the fleets, added to the intense sufferings which the allied armies endured throughout the entire war."

7. But the most thrilling scenes of the war were enacted in the Crimea, a peninsula extending into the Black Sea, on which stood the Russian naval depot of Sebastopol. The most powerful fortifications protected the Russian fleet in the harbor. The great batteries of Forts Constantine and Alexander, which crowned the northern and southern extremities of the entrance to the harbor, were not all. The place was also protected by sunken ships, which barred the entrance against the approach of the invading fleet. The governments of England and France resolved upon the destruction of this strong fortification, by which it was hoped to render it impossible for Russia to obtain

naval supremacy in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. On the 14th of September, 1854, an army of twenty-seven thousand English, twenty-five thousand French, and eight thousand Turkish troops arrived in the Crimea, and on the 19th this vast army marched towards Sebastopol, about thirty miles distant, Prince Mentschikoff, with fifty thousand Russian troops, awaited the allies at the Alma, one of the rivers which lay in the route. The English were commanded by Lord Raglan, and the French by Marshal de St. Arnaud. The battle of the Alma was a fierce one, and the Russians were defeated, after which the invading army marched on for Sebastopol. The work of bombarding the city began on the 17th of October, 1854, and the siege, such as will forever form one of the most thrilling themes in all the annals of war, was continued, with varied success, until the final bombardment of September, 1855. For three days the work was continued, with peculiar irregularity. These changes in the mode of fire, from slow to quick, and from an entire suspension to a rapid rate, were designed to bewilder the enemy, and the plan was successful. The fearful struggle was brought to a close the following night, when the Russians quietly withdrew across the harbor, and when, a few minutes later, the flames of the burning city burst upon the darkness. The proclamation of peace reached the allied armies in Sebastopol on the 2d of April, 1856, and a few weeks later the troops returned home, leaving in the soil behind them the graves of many thousand brave English and French soldiers. The darkness of this terrible war is relieved by a strange, fascinating light, which shines in the noble deeds of Florence Nightingale, — that heroic English woman who devoted herself with so much skill and tenderness to the care of the sick and the wounded.

8. In the winter of 1855-6 the London "Times," in referring to the war, remarked that whatever were the losses and disappointments England had undergone, whatever the reverses of her arms, whatever the drains upon her treasury, these evils had been as nothing compared with the tremendous visitation that had fallen on her stubborn and overbearing enemy. While England's trade had undergone no diminution, Russia's was almost completely annihilated. "If we have felt a little tightness in the money market, she has been driven to suspend specie payments. If we have increased our debt by sixteen million pounds, she would esteem it the greatest good fortune to borrow half that sum on the most unfavorable terms. If we

have lost a few thousand men, she has sacrificed whole hcatombs of thousands. If we do not recruit as fast as we would wish, Russia has already drained the classes of men from which she can renew her armies. Despondency and terror, we are well assured, reign throughout her vast dominions."

9. One year later, the same journal, in referring to the same war, said: "The great war is over. Hard terms have been wrung from the exhaustion of Russia, and, after much subsequent wrangling, she has been held to the letter and spirit of her bond. We have celebrated that peace with great and cordial rejoicing. Prussia was admitted at the eleventh hour to a share in its honors. Our fleets and armies have returned, and have had their ovations." Thus ended a great war, mainly between England and Russia.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

FROM 1867 TO 1878 — GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK — LEGISLATION.

1. WE find it most convenient to leave for a while the affairs of English history, and return to Canada. After we have followed the fortune of the Dominion during the first eleven years of its existence, from 1867 to 1878, we will bring forward to the latter date a record of events in the United States, and then resume the narrative of important affairs connected with Great Britain, commencing at 1856, where we now leave them, and following the current forward which will bring us to our account of the Turko-Russian war, and the subsequent diplomatic war between England and Russia. On the 1st of July, 1867, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, by proclamation, declared the provinces of Ontario (Upper Canada), Quebec (Lower Canada), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick united under one federal government, to be known thereafter as the DOMINION OF CANADA. This was perhaps the most important, the most salutary measure ever adopted by the mother country, in behalf of the Canadas, nor was it by any means the measure of England. The scheme originated in British America, in the minds of provincial statesmen; but it was through the good offices of the English Parliament and

English statesmen, that the confederation was consummated at such an early date.

2. The Dominion was launched with but four provinces in the bond of union. Since the confederation the number has been increased to seven. Three other provinces, viz., Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and the recently established province of Manitoba, have since joined the compact. During the ten years which have elapsed since confederation the young nation has had a prosperous experience in many respects. The immediate effect in the two Canadas, for instance, has been to facilitate the settlement of questions which were before sources of angry recrimination. In the Province of Quebec, a Legislature representing an enormously excessive constituency of Roman Catholics, conceded to the Protestant minority, on a question of education, what probably they would never have yielded to the more equally proportioned forces, when Ontario and Quebec were under one government. Each Provincial Legislature, relieved of the more general subjects of legislation and debate, is now vigorously pursuing the policy of development, extending education, promoting colonization, roads and railways, and encouraging immigration.

3. The immediate causes leading to the confederation of the British American provinces were threefold, — emanating, first, from the mother country, secondly, from the United States, and, thirdly, from within. Of these, that growing out of the peculiar attitude of the United States, at that time, was probably as strong, or stronger, than any. For several years before the confederation England's policy towards Canada was, in effect, a friendly warning to prepare for a more independent existence. At length the provinces were told, in very explicit terms, that they could no longer consider themselves, in the matter of defence, in the same position they formerly occupied towards Great Britain. But not only did the policy of the home government demand confederation, but the attitude of the United States demanded it. The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, the military operations on the great lakes contrary to the provisions of the addenda to the treaty of 1818; the passport system; the projected ship canal round the falls of Niagara; the wonderful expansion of the American army and navy, and the civil war, were features in the policy of the government of the United States, demanding a union of the British provinces for purposes of mutual defence. But, aside from these actuating causes, there were internal influences tending

towards confederation, a voice from the experience in the government of the provinces. In the then province of Canada, constitutional government had touched a low ebb, when the premier was obliged to confess that he had had five administrations in two years. Under this condition the house was fast losing its hold on the country. The administrative departments were becoming disorganized under such frequent changes of chiefs and policies. These, with many other causes which are more fully mentioned in the proper place, combined with such force that in 1866 public opinion in the provinces was ripe for union. Indeed, with some considerable exceptions in favor of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there was hardly a man of prominence in the whole of British America, who in 1867 would not have been in favor of some kind of union. There were those who did not like the plan proposed, and some of the leading public men of the liberal party in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick fought the scheme with great vehemence. But the opposition of these gentlemen, especially that of Hon. Joseph Howe, in Nova Scotia, was not wholly consistent with their previous acts. However, the great measure triumphed, for which every wise citizen of Canada to-day is devoutly thankful.

4. Under the Federal Constitution of 1867 the Parliament of Canada consists of the Queen, a Senate appointed by the crown for life, and a House of Commons. The members of this Parliament were fixed by the constitution as follows:—

	Senators.	Members of the House of Commons.
For Ontario	24	82
“ Quebec	24	65
“ Nova Scotia	12	19
“ New Brunswick	12	19

The number of senators was fixed (except that six additional senators might be appointed by the crown), that of members of the House of Commons was to vary according to the population ascertained at each decennial census, Quebec retaining the same number. Term of election, five years, unless the house be sooner dissolved. Sessions, annual. The property qualification was: for senators, the possession of four thousand dollars real and personal estate over and above all liabilities; for members of the House of Commons, in Ontario and Quebec, five hundred pounds sterling of real estate. In New Brunswick, the possession, for six months previous to the issue of the writ of election,

of one thousand two hundred dollars of real estate; in Nova Scotia, "a legal or equitable freehold estate in possession of the clear yearly value of eight dollars (\$8.00)," or the candidate must be "qualified to be an elector." The following were electors: in Ontario and Quebec, every male subject being the owner or occupier or tenant of real property of the assessed value of three hundred dollars or of the yearly value of thirty dollars, if within cities or towns, or of the assessed value of two hundred dollars or the yearly value of twenty dollars, if not so situate. In New Brunswick, every male subject of the age of twenty-one years, not disqualified by law, assessed for the year for which the register is made up in respect of real estate to the amount of one hundred dollars, or of personal property or personal and real amounting together to four thousand dollars, or four thousand dollars annual income. In Nova Scotia, all subjects of the age of twenty-one years, not disqualified by law, assessed for the year for which the register is made up in respect of real estate to the value of one hundred and fifty dollars, or in respect of personal estate or of real and personal together to the value of three hundred dollars. Voting in Quebec, Ontario, and Nova Scotia was open, on inquiry by the returning officers, after the person desirous of voting has by reference to the registration list established his right to vote. In New Brunswick votes were taken by ballot. The executive, called the "Privy Council," consists of thirteen members.

5. The Constitution or Union Act fixed the local or provincial governments as follows: The local Legislature of Ontario consists of a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Dominion, and one house only, of eighty-two members, called the Legislative Assembly. Limits of constituencies the same as for the Commons of Canada. Qualifications of members and electors the same as above. Terms four years, unless sooner dissolved. Sessions, annual. The local Legislature of Quebec consisted of a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Dominion, a nominated Legislative Council of twenty-four, and a Legislative Assembly of sixty-five. Limits of constituencies the same as for the Senate and Commons respectively. Qualification of senators, members, and electors, the same as for the Dominion. Term of Parliament, four years, unless sooner dissolved. Sessions, annual. The local Legislature of Nova Scotia consisted of a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Dominion, a nominated Legislative Council of twenty, and an

elective Legislative Assembly of fifty-three. Term, four years, unless dissolved. Sessions, annual. Qualifications as for the Dominion Legislature above. The local Legislature of New Brunswick consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Dominion, a nominative Legislative Council of twenty-two, and a Legislative Assembly of forty members. Qualification of senators, assembly-men, and electors the same as for the Dominion. Duration of Parliament, four years, unless sooner dissolved. Sessions, annual.

At this time the Legislative Assembly of Prince Edward Island, although that province was still independent of the Union, consisted of thirty members, elected for four years, unless Parliament be sooner dissolved. The Legislative Council consisted of thirteen members, elected for eight years; half returning every four years, but being eligible for reelection. Qualification: for members of the Assembly, the possession of free or leasehold estate worth one hundred and sixty dollars above encumbrances; for members of the Legislative Council, no qualification was required. Electors for members of the lower house were male subjects of twenty-one years of age, owning property valued at forty shillings, island currency (six hundred and forty dollars), per annum, or who were by law liable to

statute labor. As by 25 Vic., cap. 2, almost every man was so liable, the suffrage may be called universal. Electors for members of the upper house should own lease or freehold property valued at one hundred pounds, island currency, or three hundred and twenty dollars. The Executive Council consisted of nine members. One only, the colonial secretary, could hold departmental office. His salary was one thousand one hundred and twenty dollars per annum; the other members of the executive received no pay.



7. The first governor-general of the Dominion of Canada was the last who administered the government of Canada

before confederation, viz., the Right Honorable Charles Stanley, Viscount Monck, Baron of Ballytramon, in the County of Wexford, in the peerage of Ireland, and Baron Monck of Ballytramon, in the County of Wexford, in the peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Such is the title of the first governor-general of the Dominion. The first Dominion ministry was composed as follows :—

The Hon. SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD, K.C.B., Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.

The Hon. ETIENNE CARTIER, Minister of Militia.

The Hon. SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY, C.B., Minister of Customs.

The Hon. ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT, Minister of Finance.

The Hon. WILLIAM McDUGALL, C.B., Minister of Public Works.

The Hon. WILLIAM PEARCE HOWLAND, C.B., Minister of Inland Revenue.

The Hon. ADAMS GEORGE ARCHIBALD, Secretary of State for the Provinces.

The Hon. ADAM JOHNSTON FERGUSSON BLAIR, President of the Privy Council.

The Hon. PETER MITCHELL, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Hon. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Postmaster-General.

The Hon. JEAN CHARLES CHAPUIS, Minister of Agriculture.

The Hon. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN, Secretary of State of Canada.

The Hon. EDWARD KENNY, Receiver-General.

8. No sooner was Parliament fully organized than the vast amount of legislation necessary to give full effect to the confederation scheme was entered upon. Laws for the government of departments were enacted, for the collection and proper distribution of revenue, for the organization of a militia system, and for the protection of trade and commerce, and the administration of justice. Many of these laws enter so largely into the government of the Dominion that a brief summary of the most important of them is thought advisable in this place. An act was passed providing for the salaries of the speakers and indemnity to members. The speakers were to receive three thousand two hundred dollars per annum; the members six dollars per diem up to the end of thirty days. For a session lasting longer than that, six hundred dollars, with ten cents per mile for travelling expenses. Five dollars per diem were ordered to be deducted for every day's absence, unless while within ten miles of the capital the member was prevented by illness from attendance.

9. An act was passed imposing a stamp duty of one cent on all promissory notes and bills of exchange for twenty-five dollars; over twenty-five dollars and not exceeding fifty dollars, two cents; over fifty dollars and not exceeding one hundred

dollars, three cents; and three cents for each one hundred dollars or fraction after the first. On each draft or bill in duplicate two cents per one hundred dollars on each part; executed in more than two parts, one cent per one hundred dollars for each part; interest to accrue at maturity of bill or note to be counted as part of the sums. Letters of credit and receipts entitling the possessor to draw the amount again reckoned as bills subject to duty. Commissariat or other official drafts and bank-notes, cheques on banks or savings-banks, post-office money-orders, and municipal debentures and coupons, were exempt. Duty was to be paid by using stamped paper, or an adhesive stamp over which the signature of maker or drawer, or the date, or some other important part of the bill or note, was to be written, to cancel it, or the stamp would be of no avail. A penalty of one hundred dollars was incurred for stamping or writing a wrong date on such stamp. Duties in Nova Scotia to be reckoned in Nova Scotia currency. Minister of inland revenue appointed the stamp distributors; their salaries were fixed by the governor in council. On notes or bills drawn out of Canada the first indorser or acceptor in Canada must affix the stamp. Any one failing to affix stamps or use stamp paper, or affixing insufficient stamps to pay duty, was liable to pay double duty or double the amount by which stamps were insufficient, and pay a penalty of one hundred dollars; and in case double duty had not been paid the note or bill was null and void. Any subsequent party to a note or bill could relieve himself from penalty and render the instrument valid by affixing stamps for double duty; but did not thereby relieve the parties previously in default; and any holder of a note might, by payment of double duty, render such instrument valid without becoming a party thereto. To affix stamps already used was a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of five hundred dollars. These penalties were incurred for each such instrument and by each such party to them. Forging, counterfeiting, or imitating the government stamps, or using or selling them knowing them to be forged, or preparing a plate or die for the purpose of the forgery, or having such plate or die in one's possession, or tearing off a stamp or removing writing or marks cancelling a stamp, was a felony punishable as forgery, by imprisonment not exceeding twenty-one years. Such was the act passed for the management of revenue.

10. The act passed for the government of the post-office department repealed previously existing postal laws in these

provinces, and the whole department was brought under the Revenue Act. A department presided over by postmasters-general, appointed by commission under the great seal, was established at Ottawa. The governor was to appoint all salaried postmasters in cities or towns, the deputy postmaster-general and post-office inspectors; the postmaster-general, all other officers and servants of the department; to suspend or dismiss them; open and close mail routes; enter into and enforce contracts; make regulations respecting available matter; establish rates on such matter not provided for in the act; cause postage stamps and stamped envelopes to be prepared and issued; make arrangements with British or foreign postal authorities, and for the refunding postage to military and naval authorities; make regulations about money-orders and registration of letters, and other regulations, and amend or repeal the same; sue for and recover postage and penalties; establish and provide street letter-boxes in every city, town, or railway station; grant licenses for the sale of stamps; and impose penalties with consent of the governor in council. Such regulations have effect from the day of their publication in the "Canada Gazette," or such subsequent day as is stated therein. The governor was to appoint inspectors, for such districts as he might determine, to superintend the due performance of the mail service, the proper discharge of their duties by postmasters; to inquire into the loss of letters, and generally to obey instructions of the postmaster-general. The deputy postmaster-general had, under the postmaster-general, the general direction and supervision of the business of the department. The officers and clerks of the department were to receive a stated salary, and no other allowance or remuneration for extra work. The postmaster-general could grant reasonable compensation to masters of ships — not post-office packets — for the conveyance of letters beyond the sea, and the governor in council could make regulations prohibiting such ships from breaking bulk at certain ports in Canada until such letters have been delivered. No one but the postmaster-general and officers under him could collect, convey, and deliver letters in Canada, under a penalty of twenty dollars, except letters sent by a private friend or by messenger sent on purpose about private affairs of sender or receiver. Documents relating to proceedings in court of justice; letters addressed to a place out of Canada sent by sea and private vessel, or brought into Canada and there delivered at nearest post-office; letters to consignees, etc., about cargo, goods, etc.,

and carried without fee, or carried by other common carriers respecting goods, if they carried them without payment, were exempt, but such letters could not be collected for the purpose of so sending them. No person was obliged to send newspapers or other printed matter by post. In cases of illegal sending letters could be seized and charged with postage by any revenue officer. The postmaster-general could establish branch offices in any city, and employ carriers to deliver letters and papers and receive not more than two cents each for such delivery, or could make the delivery free, charging one cent per half ounce on local or drop letters besides the drop-letter rate. He could make regulations and fix rates for a parcel post. Letters and other mailable matter addressed to or sent by the governor, or any department at the seat of government, or the speaker or chief clerk of the Senate or of the House of Commons, or a member of either house at the seat of government, during the session of Parliament, or the ten days next before, were free. The speaker and chief clerk of either house could send public documents and printed papers to any member, and members could send documents printed by order of either house, free, at any time. Letters, etc., about post-office business could be sent free under regulations of the postmaster-general. Petitions and addresses to either of the provincial Legislatures, and papers printed by their order, could be sent free under regulations of the postmaster-general. From the time mailable matter was posted, it became the property of the person to whom it was addressed. The postmaster-general was not liable for any such matter lost, nor could it be seized or detained by legal process while in the custody of the department. Any letters remaining undelivered and advertised, or which could not be forwarded, are sent as dead letters to the department, and there opened and returned to the senders, subject to any unpaid postage and five cents additional, or otherwise disposed of. Money in letters whose owner could not be found was carried into the postal revenue, but a special account kept of it, so that it could be paid over when the owner was found. The bill likewise provided for the details of the mail service at considerable length.

11. PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT. An act respecting the public works of Canada constituted a department presided over by the minister of public works, who was to be appointed by the governor-general, who also appointed deputy, secretary, chief engineer, and such other officers as might be necessary. No

contract or deed bound the department or government which was not signed and sealed by minister, or deputy and secretary. The governor might at any time require any person, corporation, or provincial authority, to deliver up maps, plans, reports, etc., relating to public works under control of this department. All works, records, and implements for improving the navigation, all works for facilitating the transmission of timber, roads, bridges, public buildings and railways, the provincial steamers, and other property in hands of former provincial governments, including the ordnance property transferred to Canada and placed under the control of the public works department, was vested in her majesty, and under the control of the minister of public works, except those works, etc., transferred to the provinces, to municipalities, private companies, or other parties, or placed under the control of another department, or works abandoned and left to the control of municipalities. The governor might, from time to time, by proclamation, declare any work purchased or constructed at public expense, and not transferred to the provinces, to be works under this act, and subject to the public works department. All public works thereafter constructed or completed at expense of Canada must be under its control. No warrant for money voted for any public work could issue without certificate of the minister of public works or his deputy. He could require accounts of contractors to be attested by oath, and might send for and examine parties on oath respecting business of department. Annual report is to be made to governor and submitted to Parliament. Tenders were to be invited for all works, except in cases of pressing necessity. When it was deemed expedient that lowest tender should not be taken, case to be reported to governor and his authority obtained. Sufficient security in all cases to be taken, and no work to be begun or payment made till contract is duly executed. The minister of public works can authorize persons in employ of the department to enter upon any property, private or public, for the purposes of survey for public works. Surveys made by employé of the public works department should have same force and authority as if made by provincial land surveyor. The minister of public works might take possession of any property necessary for public work, and might acquire a good title from curators to parties incapable of contracting, which as between private parties would not be good. By his agents he might take wood, sand, or other materials from any uncleared lands for public works, and open temporary roads to



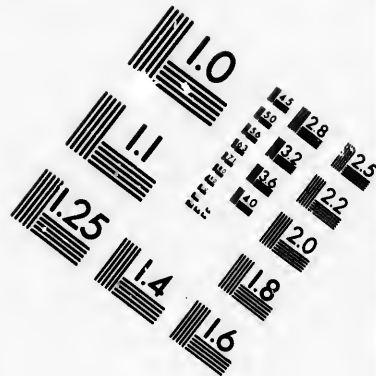
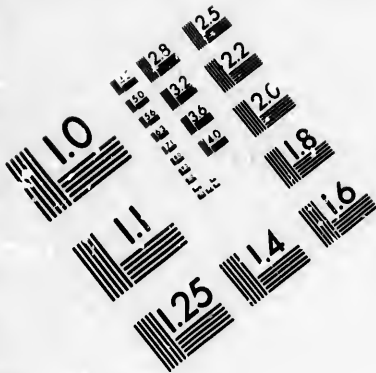
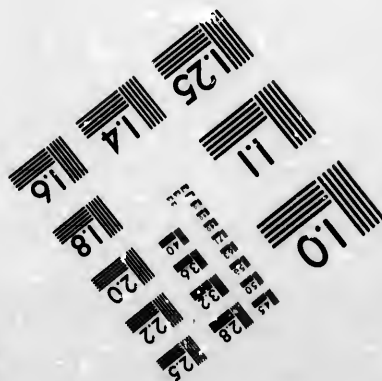
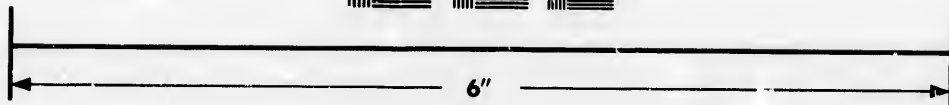
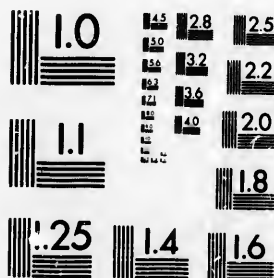


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them, and might turn necessary drains upon private property, making due compensation, such compensation to be paid within six months after it has been agreed upon or appraised. Before taking possession of property the minister of public works might tender the reasonable value, and three days thereafter take the property. When owners were not residents on the property, he advertised his intention to take possession. He might alter the line of any public road, and remove fences and construct ditches during the time the work was going on, repairing the damage after its completion. The governor might appoint a board of arbitrators, to consist of not more than four members, to whom all claims for land or other property taken by the public works department, and for any damages done, and for any deductions from accounts for work, might be referred by the minister, after he had tendered what he conceived a sufficient compensation. He might refer them to one or more; but the decision was subject to appeal to the board when not referred to the whole board. Claims had to be filed within twelve months after they arose. Works required for defence by governor in council, or declared to be public works, and claims for land taken for the same, or damage done, or enforcement of the obligation to keep ground free from obstructions, may be dealt with under this act; which should not, however, diminish powers already possessed by the secretary of state for war. The governor in council may, by order, impose tolls for the use of the public works, to be always payable in advance. Vessels running the rapids in the St. Lawrence were liable for dues as if they passed through the canals. Her majesty's troops were exempt from tolls, and horses and vehicles employed in her majesty's service; but not vessels on canals conveying them. Collector might recover tolls in civil courts, and penalties were recoverable before a justice of the peace, and might be levied on goods and chattels, in default of which, offender might be committed to jail. Any goods on a vessel or vehicle seized for tolls, dues, or fines, were liable therefor, to whomsoever they belong. Tolls on public roads might be let out to farm, and farmer has the same right as to collection as collector. The governor in council might make regulations respecting management and use of public works, and impose fines for their infraction not exceeding four hundred dollars, and authorize seizures and sales of property for payment of penalties or damages. The laws respecting railways and public works, theretofore in force in Ontario and Quebec, were extended to New Brunswick

and Nova Scotia, so that any person breaking regulations of governor in council, or of a railway company, so as to cause an accident or increase the danger thereof, was punishable at the discretion of the court, by a fine of not more than four hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both. If no such injury was done or danger caused, the penalty was fifteen or thirty days' pay.

12. The foregoing summary gives the pith of a few of the laws enacted at the session of the Dominion Parliament opened on the 6th of November, 1867, and adjourned on the 21st of December. Pursuant to adjournment, Parliament was reopened on the 12th of March, 1868, and prorogued on the 22d of May, at which session other very important laws were enacted, of which the following is a summary of such as enter into the government of the nation permanently: An act to secure the independence of Parliament was passed, which provided that no person was eligible, or could sit in the House of Commons, who held any office of emolument under the government of Canada, except members of the privy council, or those holding any one of thirteen offices then held by the privy councillors, except also one commissioner of the inter-colonial railway, and officers of the army, navy, or militia; but staff officers of the militia drawing regular salaries were also disqualified. Contractors with her majesty, or a department, with respect to the public service of Canada, or under which any money of Canada was to be paid, were disqualified, and their election was to be null and void, and if any such should sit and vote, each should forfeit two thousand dollars for each day. On accepting office or a contract from the government a member vacated his seat, but on accepting one of the thirteen cabinet offices he could be re-elected. This law was susceptible of a sweeping interpretation, and has recently given considerable trouble in the house.

13. THE CIVIL SERVICE. A law was enacted providing for the organization of the civil service, but it did not generally apply to what is termed the "outside service" (*i.e.*, servants away from the seat of government), of the customs, post-office, inland revenue, and public works departments, which are placed under the special supervision of the separate departments. The departmental staff consists of four classes, viz.: 1. Deputy (or permanent non-political) heads. 2. Officers or chief clerks. 3. Clerks. 4. Probationary clerks. No one can be appointed to any situation younger than eighteen, nor older than twenty-five years. If an older person be appointed for special capac-

ity by the head of department, he must first report the same to the governor in council for approval, and the candidate pass a special examination; and if over forty the case must also be reported to Parliament. Ministers may appoint private secretaries, to receive not over six hundred dollars; but they do not thereby become members of the civil service, and retire upon the retirement of the appointing minister. All appointments and promotions are made by the governor in council, upon recommendation of the head of department. A candidate must pass an examination before the civil service board, and produce satisfactory evidence as to his age, health, and character. He enters as a probationary clerk, at three hundred dollars per annum. At the end of a year he may be promoted to a clerkship, or he may, with an additional fifty dollars, be kept for a second year's probation. If then he do not show satisfactory proof of capacity he must leave the service. Clerks are divided into three classes, first, second, and third. The third-class clerk receives four hundred dollars, with an increase of fifty dollars per annum up to six hundred and fifty dollars; but he must serve not less than five years in that class. The second class is divided into two parts, junior and senior. The junior commences with seven hundred dollars, and rises by fifty dollars per annum to one thousand dollars, but must serve in that rank five years. The senior begins with one thousand dollars, with the same annual increase up to one thousand four hundred dollars, but is eligible at any time for promotion into the first class. The first clerk receives not less than one thousand two hundred dollars per annum, with the same annual increase up to one thousand eight hundred dollars. A first-class clerk is always eligible for promotion. An officer or chief clerk receives such additional salary as may be fixed for their special duties by the governor in council. If he have no special duties, then four hundred dollars may be allotted to a first-class clerk, with rank of chief clerk. In each department one deputy head is provided for, and two in that of the minister of finance, viz.: the auditor-general and the deputy inspector-general. They are appointed by commission under the great seal, and are paid such salaries as are fixed by the governor in council. They have, under their political heads, general control of their respective departments. In the absence of a deputy head, an officer or chief-clerk may be named to supply his place. The act likewise provides at great length for the details of the service.

14. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. An act was passed providing for a department of justice, with a minister of justice at its head, the minister to be *ex-officio* attorney-general, with duties and powers such as have been possessed by attorney-generals in England and in British America, relating to the administration of the laws confided to the government of the Dominion. A deputy and a full staff of clerks are provided.

15. THE MILITIA. The act passed in 1868 creates a department, and provides for the militia and defence of the Dominion. The command is vested in the queen, to be exercised by her representative. A department of militia is constituted, having control of all expenditures for militia or defence, with deputy, clerks, etc. The militia consists of all male British subjects between eighteen and sixty, who are to be called out to serve in the following order of classes, viz. : first class, eighteen to thirty, unmarried; second, from thirty to forty-five, unmarried; third, eighteen to forty-five, married; fourth, forty-five to sixty. Widowers without children rank as unmarried; with them, as married. It is also divided into the active and reserve. The active includes the volunteer, the regular, and the marine militia. The regular militia are those who voluntarily enlist to serve in the same, or men balloted, or in part of both. The marine militia is made up of persons whose usual occupation is on sailing or steam craft navigating the waters of the Dominion. Volunteers are to serve for three years. Corps now (1868) formed may continue under the new law. They were to be assembled before the 1st of January, 1869, the terms of the act explained, and those who have not given notice for discharge sworn in anew. New volunteer corps may be accepted. Persons who have served three years continuously, and who apply for discharge on or after the 1st of October, 1868, or have been duly discharged within a year previous thereto, after such continuous service for the full term of their enlistment, are exempt from ballot for regulars until other classes are exhausted. Six months' notice for discharge is required. The regular and marine militia are to serve for two years, and thence until other men are taken in their stead. Having served two years and been discharged, they cannot again be enrolled until all the men of the first, second, and third classes in their company division have had their turn. Militia-men in the maritime provinces who have completed their term of service during the year ending 1st of October, 1868, are in like manner exempt. Nine military divisions are provided for:

Nova Scotia to form one, New Brunswick one, Quebec three, and Ontario four. Her majesty may alter these, and may subdivide into brigade, regimental, and company divisions. For each regiment there is to be appointed a lieutenant-colonel and two majors of reserve militia; for each company a captain, lieutenant, and ensign. The company officers are to enrol the militia on or before the 28th of February, 1869, and in February in each subsequent year. Their rolls to be sent to the lieutenant-colonel, who makes up and sends regimental roll to the adjutant-general. Enrolment is embodiment. Judges, clergy, men professors, teaching in religious orders, officers of the penitentiary, infirm persons, the only son of a widow and her support, are exempt from enrolment. Half-pay and retired officers, seafaring men, pilots, and apprentice pilots, and teachers can only be called on to serve in war. Quakers and Tunkers may be exempted. All exemptions must be claimed and supported by affidavit. The active militia to consist of cavalry, field artillery, mounted infantry, engineers, garrison artillery, infantry, and naval and marine corps. Horses may be enrolled. A military train, a medical staff, and commissariat and hospital and ambulance corps may be formed. Every active militia-man must sign a roll and take the oath of allegiance. Volunteer corps may make regulations of their own, subject to approval. Each company division must furnish its quota according to the number on the rolls. It receives credit for every man volunteering or serving either in it or a contiguous regimental division. A volunteer corps disbanded must be replaced by ballot. When enough men do not volunteer, or when a vacancy occurs by death or otherwise, a ballot must be resorted to. Not more than one son in a family can be taken unless the number enrolled fall short. When a company has furnished more than its quota, it cannot again be called on for its full number till the others have furnished as many. A man drawn may be exempted by providing a substitute, or paying thirty dollars to the captain; but if his substitute is afterwards drawn, he must again supply his place. The governor in council may make regulations about enrolment and ballot. Any corps of actual militia may be called out, on requisition of the mayor, warden, or two justices of the peace, by the deputy-adjutant-general or brigade-major of the district, or commanding officer of corps, in aid of the civil power, and receive therefor—officers, the regular pay of army officers, and two dollars extra per diem for horse; and private one dollar per

day, and extra one dollar for horse. An adjutant-general is to be appointed who has attained the rank of staff-officer in the regular army, to have rank of colonel, and the military command and control of the discipline of the militia; salary three thousand dollars per annum. There is to be a deputy adjutant-general at head-quarters, with salary of two thousand two hundred dollars, and one in each military district with one thousand two hundred dollars, — each to have rank of lieutenant-colonel. Such other staff-officers at such salary as the governor in council may appoint. Officers now (1868) holding rank in the militia may be put on the retired list with or without a step to those below a lieutenant-colonel. None can be called on to serve below his rank. No one can be appointed an officer of active militia (except provisionally) without a military-school or board certificate. Officers of the regular army may be exempted from this rule. No higher rank than lieutenant-colonel can be given in peace, except to the adjutant-general. In war, rank may go up as high as major-general. Relative rank of officers the same as in the army. Senior officers in uniform to command on parade or service, but substantive rank takes precedence of provisional, and army of militia. The clothing, arms, and accoutrements are to be such as prescribed by her majesty. Officers to furnish their own; others to last for five years. Only to be used on duty. Any damage done to them to be recovered from the captain, and by him from men, except fair wear and tear and unavoidable accident. Arms and accoutrements to be left in armory, or in charge of the commanding officer. Militia-men leaving Canada must deliver up uniforms, arms, and accoutrements in possession, and take acquittance, otherwise may be liable for embezzlement. Forty thousand active militia-men are to be drilled each year. In regimental divisions, where there are volunteer corps, regular militia only sufficient to complete quota are to be drilled. The drills are not to be less than three hours per day, during not less than eight nor more than sixteen days per annum. Allowance, fifty cents per day, seventy-five cents extra per horse. Officers of the reserve militia may also be ordered out for drill. Occasional drills without pay are provided for. Her majesty may dispense with drills in certain cases and places. Inspections are provided for. Provision is made for rifle ranges at or near the head-quarters of regimental divisions. The governor in council may, under regulations made in that behalf, aid the erection of drill-sheds and armories. Military schools may be established and

carried on under regulations of the governor in council. Her majesty may order camps of instruction for military school men. She may sanction rifle and drill associations. Provision is made for military instruction in schools or colleges, and furnishing arms and accoutrements therefor. The officer commanding a district may, in any emergency, call out the militia therein for service till her majesty's pleasure is known. Her majesty may call all out, in case of war, and may place them under the command of the commander of her majesty's regular forces. The period of service in war is one year, which may be extended by six months. When called out for actual service they are to receive the pay of the regular army, or such other as the governor in council may order. (Since fixed at fifty cents for privates, and non-commissioned officers in proportion, and free rations, or an allowance, in lieu thereof.) They are to be then subject to the queen's regulations and articles of war. Flogging not allowed. Captains must keep accurate rolls, and lieutenant-colonel, or commanding officer of battalion, must see that he does so. Any militia-man called out for service, and not attending for seven days, may be punished as a deserter. Compensation is to be made to men disabled in service, and to the families of those killed. The governor in council may make regulations respecting the transport, cantoning, and billeting of militia on service. Provision is made for courts of inquiry and court-martials, with powers and modes of procedure like those of the regular army. Sentence of death may be pronounced only for "mutiny, desertion to the enemy, traitorously delivering up any garrison, fort, post, or guard, or traitorous correspondence with the enemy." Any officer who claims pay for drill by men not duly attested or belonging to his corps, or includes such person in a parade state, and any non-commissioned officer or private claiming, or taking pay for drill not performed with his own corps, is guilty of misdemeanor, and is also liable to court-martial. Any officer or non-commissioned officer retaining pay of men is guilty of misdemeanor, and is to be dismissed from the service; or if he sign a false parade state roll or pay-list he is punishable for misdemeanor, and likewise by court-martial. Any person refusing to give information required under this act, or giving false information, forfeits twenty dollars for each item. Every officer refusing to make the roll forfeits fifty dollars, and non-commissioned officer, twenty-five dollars. Every militia-man refusing to take the oath, when drafted, may be imprisoned for six months, and twelve months

more for each subsequent refusal to do so. Personating another person on parade is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of one hundred dollars. Persons incur a fine of ten dollars if an officer, and five dollars if a private, etc., for refusing to attend drill. Of five dollars for interrupting drill, and may be taken into custody till drill is over; of twenty dollars for officer, and ten dollars for private, etc., for insolent or disorderly behavior towards superior officer; of four dollars for failing to keep arms and accoutrements in good order; and of twenty dollars for disposing of any articles served out, besides any greater punishment which the law may prescribe. Refusing to turn out to aid civil power, forty dollars for officer, twenty dollars for private, etc. Resisting draft, or dissuading militia-man from performance of his duty, one hundred dollars, or six months' imprisonment. Penalties are recoverable before a justice of the peace on complaint of the adjutant-general or officer acting for him, against officers, and of officer commanding battalion or company or adjutant against men, in the district or county where the offence is committed. Notice or orders need not be in writing. General orders are sufficiently notified by publication in "Canada Gazette;" regimental orders by publication in local paper, or posting at place of worship, or other public place in each company division.

16. SECRETARY OF STATE. This act, provided for the establishment of the department of the secretary of state of Canada, who, under the original bill, should also be register-general and superintendent of Indian affairs. It provided that all Indian moneys in all the provinces were to be paid to the receiver-general, etc. That no transfer of Indian lands should be valid without the consent of the council of the tribe, given in presence of the secretary, or some one deputed by him, or the governor in council, to attend. No intoxicating liquors could be introduced or used at such meeting. The penalty for selling or giving intoxicating liquors at any time to an Indian, except in case of illness, and then by order of a physician or clergyman, was twenty dollars for each offence. Things pawned for liquor by an Indian could not be kept. Presents from government were not liable to seizure for debt. To be within the act and hold property with a tribe, a person must be of Indian blood, reputed to belong to the tribe, or must reside among them, having some Indian blood, or must be a woman lawfully married to a person of one of the above classes, or be the offspring issue of such marriage of descendants of such offspring. None but such

persons could settle on Indian lands; and unauthorized persons might be removed by warrant from the secretary, or his agent, and might be arrested and imprisoned if they returned. The road-work on such lands was to be performed under the orders of the secretary. Persons cutting timber, or removing stone from Indian lands, without license from the secretary, or his agent, incurred a penalty of four dollars if the thing removed was under the value of one dollar; if over, twenty dollars. The secretary was to act for Indians in obtaining compensation for land taken, or damage done, by a railway or public work. The governor in council might authorize surveys, and might make regulations about the protection and management of Indian lands, and the timber on them, imposing fines for breach of them. The secretary also had the management of the ordinance lands, and of any other crown lands belonging to the Dominion and not under the control of the public works. The governor might appoint agents to carry out the act. The governor in council might assign any part of these duties of the secretary to any other member of the privy council.

17. CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT. An act was passed creating a department of customs, with a minister, and a commissioner as his deputy, and assistant commissioner. It authorized a board of examiners, and special examinations for those to be employed in the department. It provided for all the details of the department, which is very extensive. Laws were also passed relating to the currency, establishing a department of inland revenue, also a department of marine and fisheries, and providing harbor police, a quarantine, hospitals for sick mariners, steamboat inspection, naturalization of aliens, geological survey, railways; also an act was passed in relation to treason, riots, forgery, perjury, felony; also providing for police commissioners, penitentiaries, and a great number of private and local acts.

18. At the close of 1868 the population of the four provinces of the Dominion was estimated at nearly four millions. There had been since 1861 a considerable emigration to the United States, but this had been considerably counterbalanced by a large emigration thence to Canada.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA — (*continued*).

FROM 1868 to 1873 — GOVERNMENT OF LORD LISGAR — MANITOBA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA.

1. LORD MONCK was succeeded, in 1868, by Lord Lisgar, the Right Hon. Sir John Young, Baron Lisgar, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. Sir John A. Macdonald still remained at the head of the ministry, but with the following cabinet : —

The Hon Sir JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD, K.C.B., Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.

The Hon Sir GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER, Bart., Minister of Militia and Defence.

The Hon. SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY, C.B., Minister of Customs.

The Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, K.C.M.G., Minister of Finance.

The Hon. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN, C.B., Minister of Public Works.

The Hon. ALEXANDER MORRIS, Minister of Inland Revenue.

The Hon. JOS. HOWE, Secretary of State for the Provinces.

The Hon. EDWARD KENNY, President of the Privy Council.

The Hon. PETER MITCHELL, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Hon. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Postmaster-General.

The Hon. CHRISTOPHER DUNCAN, Minister of Agriculture and Statistics.

The Hon. JAMES COX AIKINS, Secretary of State of Canada.

The Hon. JEAN CHARLES CHAPAIS, Receiver-General.

The following members of the Privy Council were without office : Hon. Sir A. T. Galt, K.C.M.G. Hon. Sir John Rose, Hon. Adam G. Archibald, Hon. W. P. Rowland, C.B. Parliament met on the 15th of April, 1869, and was prorogued on the 22d June, after a busy and important session. The following is a summary of some of the most important acts passed : —

2. NOVA SCOTIA. This bill enacted that the permitted debt of Nova Scotia at the union was nine million one hundred and eighty six thousand dollars, interest being chargeable to her on any excess, and payable to her on any amount by which it is less than that sum. She was to receive for ten years, from the 1st of July, 1867, eighty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-eight dollars annually, in addition to payments under the British North American Act. She was debited in account with Canada for five per cent. upon the cost of the provincial build-

ing until it should be placed at the disposal of the Dominion. All sums were payable in currency of Old Canada. This was in full settlement of all demands of Nova Scotia upon Canada.

3. **NORTH-WEST.** This bill provided for the temporary government of these territories, to be known, when acquired, as the North-west Territory.



LORD LISGAR.

It authorized the appointment of a lieutenant-governor, who, under direction of orders of the governor in council, was to provide for the administration of justice there, and peace, order, and good government of her majesty's subjects and others. The governor in council might also appoint seven to fifteen councillors to aid the lieutenant-governor. All laws in force there not inconsistent with the British North American Act,

this act, or the terms of admissions, were to remain in force till altered or repealed. All public officers there, except the chief, were to continue in office till others were appointed.

4. **DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE.** This act provided for a department of finance, with the auditor-general and deputy inspector-general as deputy heads. The audit board was subordinate to it. The governor in council and minister of finance were given power to distribute the work among the employes and branches of the department. Provision was also made for a committee of council to be called the treasury board, and to consist of the minister of finance, the receiver-general, the minister of customs, and minister of internal revenue, to consider all matters of accounts or finance submitted to it by council, or which they deemed necessary to bring under its notice. The secretary of the board may or may not hold another office in the civil service.

5. **IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANTS.**—This act recited and confirmed the agreement entered into between the Canadian government and the provincial governments of Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, by which the first maintained agencies in London, and elsewhere in Europe, and at Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, Halifax, and St. John,

N.B., and quarantine stations at Grosse Isle, St. John, and Halifax; it provided that the latter should appoint to such agencies as they see fit in Europe and in their own provinces, and furnish the department of agriculture and immigration, and agents abroad, with full information respecting their policy of settlement, etc. Under the law Dominion agents could receive and expend any moneys furnished by any province upon the care and forwarding of immigrants to such province. Masters of vessels were to pay one dollar a head upon all immigrants over one year of age brought into the country with the sanction of the government of the country whence they came; one dollar and fifty cents on those brought in without such sanction. The law also regulated the manner in which immigrants should be brought out, providing for their safety and comfort.

6. PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS. This act provided for a patent office presided over by the minister of agriculture and statistics, and made a branch of his department, he becoming commissioner of patents. It has a seal which all judges and courts will recognize as evidence. He makes rules, with the approval of the governor in council, to carry the act into effect, notice being given in the "Canada Gazette." Proceedings under this act are reported annually. Any person having been a resident in Canada for one year next before his application, and having invented or discovered any new or useful art, machine, manufacture, or composition of matter, or improvement thereof, not known or used by others before his invention or discovery, or not being in public use or on sale in any province of the Dominion, with consent of the inventor, may procure a patent therefor; but no patent shall issue for an invention or discovery having an illicit object, or for a mere scientific principle or abstract theorem. A foreign patent, taken not more than six months before, does not disqualify from obtaining the Canadian. An inventor or discoverer qualified, as above, may transfer or bequeath his right, and his representative take out the patent. A patent for an improvement of a thing already patented does not give the right to make or vend such article, nor to the original patentee to make or sell the article with the improvement. The applicant must make oath to the residence, and his belief that he is the original and true inventor or discoverer, before a justice of the peace in Canada, or before a British minister, consul, etc., or a judge abroad. He must, in his petition, elect a domicile in Canada, and state the place or places wherein, for the year, he was a resident in Canada. He must set up the title of his in-

vention, etc., with a short description, and allege all facts necessary to entitle him to a patent in his petition, and with it must send a written specification, in duplicate, describing his invention in such full and exact terms as to distinguish it from all other similar contrivances or processes. The law also provided for the details of the office, duration of patents, etc.

7. COINAGE OFFENCES. The act provided that counterfeiting current gold or silver coin was punishable by imprisonment for life, or any lesser period. Coloring coins or metals, with intent to pass them as genuine coin, or manufacture them to be so passed, or to make genuine coin pass for coin of a higher value, the same. Impairing or lightening coin, fourteen years or any less time. Filing or clipping it, seven years. Buying or selling counterfeit coin for less than its apparent value, for life. Importing it, the same. Exporting it, less than two years. Uttering it, fourteen years. Passing light coin, one year. Possessing counterfeit coin, three years. Subsequent offences, felony, for life. Uttering foreign coin, medals, etc., as current coin, one year. Defacing coin by stamping words thereon, one year. A tender of coin so defaced is not legal, and uttering it is punishable by ten dollars fine, if the attorney-general consents to the prosecution. Counterfeiting foreign gold or silver coin not current in Canada, seven years. Bringing such coin into Canada, the same. Uttering it, six months. Second offence, two years. Any subsequent offence, seven years. Having it in possession, three years. Counterfeiting foreign coin other than gold or silver, one year. Second offence, seven years. Making, mending, or having unlawfully in possession coining tools, felony for life. Conveying the same out of her majesty's mints into Canada, for life. Suspected coin may be cut or otherwise tested by any person to whom it is tendered. If genuine, he bears any loss; if not, the tenderer. Revenue officers must cut, break, or deface all light coin coming into their possession. Any person finding counterfeit coin, or materials, machines, or tools for coining, or filings, or chippings, or dust from lightened coin, might at once seize them, and take them before a justice of the peace, or a justice of the peace may issue his warrant to seize the same by day or night. When no longer needed for evidence, such coin or tools, etc., are to be defaced, broken, or destroyed. The coin to be cut or broken in open court or before a justice of the peace. Where offences have been committed in two

provinces, districts, or counties within ten days by the same person or by confederates, proceedings may be taken in either of them for the whole. The evidence of a surveyor or officer of the mint is not necessary to prove a coin counterfeit; that of any other creditable witness is sufficient. Differences of date between the true coin and counterfeit is not a ground for acquittal. The offence is complete, though the counterfeit coin made or uttered is not finished. Any person may arrest and deliver to a peace officer any one guilty of an offence under this act. A person convicted of a misdemeanor may be fined and ordered to find sureties to keep the peace and be of good behavior, instead of any other penalty; if convicted of felony, may be ordered to find sureties in addition thereto, but no one can be detained more than one year for the failure to find sureties. Laws were also passed for the punishment of forgery, injuries to the person, larceny, injury to property, perjury, and a long list of other offences. A very lengthy act relating to the duties of justices, summary convictions, etc., was also passed at this session, besides a vast number of local and private acts.

8. In 1869-70 Confederation had already greatly increased the importance of British North America in the eyes of the whole world. The best evidence of this fact was to be found in the augmented flow of immigration to our shores. It is estimated that twenty-five thousand immigrants settled in the different provinces during 1870. This is a marked increase over previous years, and indicates that since the union we have received, as we deserve, increased attention from foreign countries. But there were comparatively few abroad, — and not so very many even among ourselves, — who fully appreciated the vast extent of our territory, the amplitude of our resources, the general excellence of our institutions, and the important future which, with anything like wise statesmanship on the part of our rulers, is certainly in store for this country. With the single exception of Russia, the Dominion of Canada embraces the largest area of territory of any country in the world. This may surprise those who have not closely examined their maps, but it is borne out by facts. Our neighbors, the people of the United States, who sometimes speak as if the whole continent were theirs, have to take a secondary place to the Dominion when boundaries come to be discussed. The Dominion territory, even in 1870, was as follows: —

Province of Ontario	121,260 square miles.
“ Quebec	210,020 “
“ Nova Scotia	18,660 “
“ New Brunswick	27,105 “
“ Manitoba	12,000 “
Northwest Territories, say	2,737,000 “
Total area	2,127,045 “

9. Adding to these figures the area of British Columbia, which was afterwards admitted, 220,000 square miles, and Prince Edward Island 2,100, we find the full size of the Dominion of Canada to be no less than 3,349,045 square miles! Counting these important provinces as part of the Dominion, — as they now are, — it occupies, in point of size, the second place among the nations, as will be seen by the following statement of the areas of the ten largest countries: —

Russia	7,012,874 square miles.
Dominion of Canada	3,127,041 “
Brazil	2,408,104 “
United States	2,999,848 “
Australian Colonies	2,582,070 “
Turkey	1,812,048 “
China	1,297,999 “
Mexico	1,030,442 “
British India	933,722 “
Argentine Confederation	842,780 “

10. Much of our enormous territory, it must be frankly admitted, is unavailable. We have our Siberia, over portions of which the foot of civilized man has never trodden, and which, from its coldness and sterility, will never be fruitful or habitable. But, after making due allowance for these inhospitable regions, the Dominion still embraces an area of fertile territory sufficiently large, with resources sufficiently varied and inexhaustible, to be able to furnish homes for at least 100,000,000 of the human race. The natural resources of the Dominion are abundant and varied. Prominent among these are our forests, which, for extent, wealth, and beauty, are unmatched. It is estimated that the timber districts in the valleys of the Saguenay, St. Maurice, Ottawa, Trent, and on the shores of Huron and Superior — all in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec — cover no less than 297,711 square miles. As regards the wealth of our forests, statistics have set down the annual value of the lumber and timber produced by the whole Dominion at \$30,000,000. This estimate is in all probability below the mark,

for our exports of lumber, in 1868-9 alone, amounted to \$19,838,963, which would leave only a little over \$11,000,000 worth for our entire home consumption. Beauty is but a secondary consideration; but we may be pardoned for mentioning it, when poets have sung the glories of Canadian woods, and beggared language to depict the gorgeous coloring of the dying foliage. Of our agricultural capabilities the extent of our annual exports afford satisfactory evidence. The farming lands of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are much like those of the New England States; those of Ontario produce crops second to none on the continent, and the extensive prairies of the North-west are now known to be unsurpassed for depth and richness of soil. The fisheries of the Dominion come next in importance. Both our deep sea and fluvial fisheries are valuable; the former, which lie along the coasts of the maritime provinces, are admittedly superior to all others, and furnish this invaluable article of food to a large portion of Western Europe as well as America. We have no means of estimating the quantity taken annually by French fishermen; but Mr. F. H. Derby, an excellent authority, estimated the catch of cod and mackerel by New England fishermen at \$12,000,000 a few years ago, three-fourths of which were taken in our waters. Our annual exports of produce of the fisheries (including Newfoundland, which contributes the most) amount to nearly \$9,000,000, and the home consumption may be set down at \$3,000,000 more. They gave employment to about 50,000 fishermen and 15,000 vessels and boats. This portion of the Dominion's resources exhibits no signs of exhaustion, and now that restrictions have been placed on the fishing of foreigners, must speedily increase in value and productiveness. Our mineral wealth is abundant. It lies scattered over every portion of our territory, inviting development. In the maritime provinces, coal, iron, and gold mines are regularly and successfully worked; Ontario and Quebec possess iron, copper, silver and gold in paying quantities; in the north-west territories there are coal measures said to be large enough to supply the whole of America for ages; and if we were to cast our eyes across the Rocky Mountains to our Pacific provinces, we might see the noble Fraser river "coursing over 800 miles of its golden bed, and cutting in twain mountains of silver and copper and iron." The annual produce of our mines now (1869) falls little short of \$2,500,000, but this affords little indication of the ample field which

our mineral resources offer to capital and labor. The past progress of the Dominion in wealth and population has been satisfactory. In 1867 a well-informed statistician estimated the realized wealth of British America, exclusive of railways, canals, public buildings, etc., at \$1,136,000,000. It is believed this is now (1869), at least, considerably beneath the mark. The gross property of Great Britain in 1868-9 was estimated by Mr. R. Dudley Baxter to be worth \$30,000,000,000, which gives nearly \$1,000 to each individual, and Mr. David A. Wells estimates that of the United States at \$23,400,000,000 currency, or \$600 for each person. Allowing only \$200 to each person, and taking our population to be 4,283,103, — which is the estimated number at January, 1871, — the total realized property of the Dominion would be \$1,713,241,200. As the evidence of the rapid accumulation of wealth we may refer to the returns of our monetary institutions. Their business has greatly increased of late years. In the hands of building societies there are now fully \$6,000,000, and the deposits in the government and other savings-banks, principally the earnings of the poorer classes, are about \$7,000,000. The deposits in the banks of Ontario and Quebec have trebled — increased 200 per cent. — since 1860!

11. The following remarks on the industries and resources of Canada is from a paper written by James Young, Esq., M.P. of Galt, Ont., in 1870, and to be of interest to the reader its date must be constantly borne in mind: —

The population of the Dominion is larger than was the population of the United States when they asserted and achieved their independence. Their numbers were then about 3,000,000; the inhabitants of the provinces, if the rate of increase during this decade has equalled the last, numbered 4,149,959 at the beginning of 1870, and will be 4,283,103 by the first of January, 1871. The population of the whole of British America is calculated to be 4,701,369, and, if the past rate of increase be maintained, it will be 6,441,000 in 1881; 8,825,000 in 1891, and 12,000,000 by the close of the century. If we turn to the records of our annual commerce, we find no evidence of dulness or stagnation, but cheering signs of progress. Nothing more surely indicates the true condition of a country than its trade returns, and Canada has no cause to fear such a test; indeed, when numbers are considered, we have some reason to feel proud of the extent to which our commerce with foreign countries has swollen. Confirmation of this will be found in the following statement of our total trade (both imports and exports), during each year since 1850, the figures being those of Ontario and Quebec alone up to the date of confederation, after which those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are included: —

Year.	Total Trade.	Year.	Total Trade.
1850	\$29,703,497	1860	\$68,955,093
1851	34,805,461	1861	76,119,843
1852	35,594,100	1862	79,398,067
1853	55,782,739	1863	81,458,335
1854	63,548,515	1864 $\frac{1}{2}$ year	34,586,054
1855	64,274,630	1864-5	80,644,951
1856	75,631,404	1865-6	96,479,738
1857	66,437,222	1866-7	94,791,860
1858	52,550,461	1867-8	119,797,879
1859	58,299,242	1868-9	119,411,514

It will be observed by these statistics that the volume of our annual trade increased from \$29,000,000 in 1850, to \$68,000,000 in 1860, — more than doubled in ten years, and has nearly doubled again since 1860, having amounted to \$119,411,514, in 1868-69. Adding on the amount of coin and bullion imported and exported (which is excluded from all the above returns), the gross transactions of the Dominion in 1869 were over \$127,000,000. Few countries possess better means of transportation, both by water and by rail. The heart of the Dominion rests in the lap of the finest fresh-water lakes on the globe, whose great outlet, the St. Lawrence, passes with majestic flow through our territory to the ocean; the north-west contains numerous lakes and rivers not less grand and beautiful, if at present less known and appreciated; whilst the front of the Dominion rests on the Atlantic, whence our fleets sail into every navigable sea. The natural navigation has been improved by an elaborate and efficient canal system, whose aggregate length is two hundred and twenty-seven miles, and whose construction cost close upon \$20,000,000. When the projected enlargement of these canals is carried out, the St. Lawrence must become the chief highway for the products of the great West to reach the ocean, and it requires no effort of imagination to picture the time when the immense production of the interior will crowd every avenue of transportation, and the sparkling waters of this noble river will be whitened with sails. Our railway facilities are abundant. With the exception of the American Pacific, we can boast, we believe, of possessing the longest single line of railroad, and we are acquainted with no country so sparsely populated which has exhibited greater enterprise in the construction of these useful works.

In referring to the proposed Canadian Pacific Railroad, we may state that if ever any considerable portion of the trade of Western Europe with India, China, Japan, and other Oriental lands, can be carried on across the American continent, it must be through our territory. The writer confesses, however, to some scepticism in regard to so great a change in the course of Eastern trade, particularly since the great work of M. De Lesseps, the Suez Canal, has become an accomplished fact. But Lord Bury said in England, some years ago: "Our trade in the Pacific Ocean, with China and with India, must ultimately be carried on through our American possessions;" and the late D'Arcy McGee, more than once during his more eloquent utterances, pictured the productions of the Orient passing across this continent through British territory to Europe. Should such hopes be realized, and a revolution take place in the course of Oriental trade, the advantages which a Canadian Pacific Railroad would have over American lines are undoubted. The most obvious advantage would be a saving of at least five hundred miles in distance. The following is the estimated distance by each route from Liverpool to the Pacific Ocean:—

American Pacific Route.

From Liverpool to New York	2,980 miles
“ New York to San Francisco	3,300 “
Total number of miles	6,280 “

Canada Pacific Route.

From Liverpool to Montreal	2,740 miles
“ Montreal to Thunder Bay	1,030 “
“ Thunder Bay to mouth of Fraser river .	1,979 “
Total number of miles	5,749 “

These figures show a difference of five hundred and thirty-one miles, but besides this all-important advantage, our route possesses several others which, it is believed, would secure it the preference. These are as follows: 1st, the western country through which the Canadian Pacific Railway would pass, is rich and fertile; for a long distance the American road runs through a desert; 2d, the passes in the Rocky Mountains in our territory are over eleven hundred feet lower than those our neighbors have to climb over; 3d, above the fortieth parallel the snow-fall near these mountains is comparatively trifling, seldom more than ten inches; the Americans have had to erect some twenty miles of sheds to prevent their trains being buried in avalanches of snow; and last, but not least, we have abundance of cheap coal, both in the Red-river country and British Columbia,— whilst our neighbors have no suitable coal for steam purposes within hundreds of miles of the Pacific slope, and the line of steamers now running between San Francisco and the East cannot start upon their voyage until they have sent seven hundred and eighty miles, to Nanaimo, in British Columbia, for the coal necessary to keep their engines working. In case of close competition, these circumstances must inevitably give superiority to the Canadian Pacific route. The Dominion of Canada possesses one element of national strength and prosperity which has attracted marked attention among foreign nations, but the importance of which is probably not fully realized by many among ourselves. We refer to our maritime power. During the great debate in Parliament on confederation something was said about British America becoming “the fourth maritime power in the world;” but how few have fully realized the importance of the fact that, with the exception of Great Britain, the United States, and France, this country possesses a larger tonnage of inland and sea-going vessels than any other power in the world. The following statistics of the principal merchant navies are taken from the “Statesman’s Year Book,” for 1870, and prove the justness of our claim to rank fourth in the list:—

Countries.	Number of Craft.	Number of Tons.
Great Britain	22,250	5,516,434
United States	23,118	4,318,309
France	15,637	1,042,811
Dominion of Canada	7,591	899,096
Italy	17,788	815,521
Norway	6,215	795,876
Prussia	1,460	406,612
Spain	4,840	367,790

Countries.	Number of Craft.	Number of Tons.
Netherlands	2,117	267,596
Austria	7,830	324,415
Russia	2,192	180,992
Denmark	3,132	175,554

The number of fishermen and other seamen in the various provinces, according to the census of 1871, was 69,256. There cannot, therefore, be less than 75,000 persons, besides their families, dependent for their living on the deep, and who, in times of trial, would be found a strong arm of defence. In ship-building we have heretofore taken a prominent place. In a single year our ship-yards have turned out six hundred and twenty-eight vessels of all sizes, weighing in the aggregate 230,312 tons, and of which we sold to the value of \$9,000,000 in gold. From various causes this industry has not been so prosperous of late years, but, having abundance of timber, and cheap means of production, we do not despair to see it revive.

Not the least of the attractions of the Dominion are the moderate cost of living and low rate of taxation. Whatever may be the material, intellectual, or social advantages of a country, if the people are oppressed with financial or other burdens, these advantages might as well not exist so far as the masses are concerned, for they can only be enjoyed by the opulent few. But we know not where to find a country in which the necessaries of life are cheaper, or the fiscal burdens press more lightly upon the community.

On the 30th of April, 1870, the net amount of the public debt of Canada was \$77,432,961, and if we add the surplus debt to be assumed by the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, \$10,937,976, we find the gross amount to be \$88,370,937. Without wishing to underrate this sum, or detract in the slightest degree from the conclusive arguments in favor of keeping our indebtedness within the smallest possible compass, still the amount cannot be considered heavy when compared with the public debts of other countries. For the purpose of comparison, we append the following statement of indebtedness of some of the principal nations, and all of the Australian colonies. It was prepared by an American writer, and is sufficiently near correct for our present purpose:—

Countries.	Total Debt.	Annual Interest.	Int. per Head.
Great Britain	\$3,753,420,000	\$125,840,000	\$4.28
United States	2,453,559,735	130,694,242	3.75
France	2,613,600,000	121,000,000	3.16
Austria	1,210,000,000	63,920,000	1.96
Italy	1,094,040,000	82,280,000	3.70
Belgium	135,520,000	7,260,000	1.42
Spain	793,760,000	19,360,000	1.14
Prussia (old)	285,560,000	9,680,000	0.36
Russia	1,282,600,000	53,240,000	0.70
Peru	104,000,000	9,680,000	3.46
Brazil	116,160,000	9,680,000	0.98
Canada	72,600,000	3,630,000	0.98
New South Wales	29,040,000	1,306,800	3.16
New Zealand	24,200,000	1,210,000	5.98
Queensland	7,260,000	435,600	4.94
South Australia	3,872,000	33,800	2.14
Tasmania	2,420,000	145,200	1.48
Victoria	43,560,000	1,790,800	3.06

The calculations for Canada in the above table were based on the returns of 1867, and are now, of course, a little below the mark. As we have already seen, the net amount of the Dominion debt, as furnished by Mr. Langton, is (in round numbers) \$77,000,000, and the gross amount, \$10,000,000 more; to pay the interest on the former requires about \$1.04 per head, and on the latter sum, \$1.17. For the purpose of comparison with other countries, the net debt and interest are the proper figures to take, and when these are placed beside the obligations of other countries the contrast is not unfavorable to us.

The pressure of the indebtedness of a country cannot be correctly ascertained unless its assets, and the ability of its people to pay, are taken into account. We may mention, however, that whilst it would take about \$122 to pay off the public debt of Great Britain, \$73 from the people of France, and \$64 for our neighbors in the United States, it would require less than \$25 for each person to enable us to set every creditor at defiance. Turning to the Australian colonies, a good authority contains statistics which show that it would take \$77 per head from each inhabitant to liquidate the indebtedness of New South Wales, \$90 that of Victoria, and no less than \$173 that of New Zealand! This indebtedness appears to be enormous; but it must be remembered that the position of these splendid colonies is at present abnormal. With small populations, they have invested largely in railroads; these return interest upon the capital employed, but have been constructed more with a view to the future than the present. After making due allowance for these considerations, however, the financial burdens of the Dominion, when compared with theirs, appear to be light and trifling.

The last published government returns estimate the annual taxation of the people of Canada, for Dominion purposes, to be \$3.53 per head. At the present time it must be a trifle more. Our annual revenue is now about \$15,000,000. If we divide this amount among four millions of inhabitants, the contribution required from each person would be \$3.75. This rate must be considered under rate. In Great Britain the revenue collected averages a little over \$11, in France a trifle over \$10, and in the United States — with which the comparison is more just — the average for each individual fell last year to within a fraction of \$9.50. This does not, however, include the State taxation of our neighbors, to which we have nothing analogous. In New York the State tax runs about \$1.60, which would make the yearly taxation of the people of that State \$11.10 as compared with \$3.75 in this country.

Among twenty-eight different nations, whose statistics have been examined, only Brazil, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, and Switzerland contributed less revenue per head than the people of the Dominion, and, when ability to pay is considered, our burdens may be said to be lighter than theirs. Under these circumstances this country can justly claim — and, it is to be hoped, will long continue — to be one of the most lightly taxed communities in the world.

Of the institutions of the Dominion — political, scholastic, and religious, there is no necessity to say much. Though doubtless capable of improvement, few countries possess better, or enjoy a larger measure of civil and religious liberty. Our system of government, founded mainly on the principles of the British constitution, combines the freedom of a republic with the stability of a monarchy, and affords, at once, the utmost security to life and property, and the fullest liberty to the subject. Our municipal and educational systems are working admirably. Of the latter, although not the same in all the provinces, there are good reasons to feel proud, for, at our common and grammar schools,

and provincial colleges, the child of the poorest citizen may receive, almost "without money and without price," an education second only to that of an English University. 'Tis thus the Dominion of Canada appears in its fourth year. What of the future? That depends on the wisdom and patriotism of its people. There are in British America the stones—the materials—lying ready to build up an imposing national edifice. It is second only to Russia in point of size. Its natural resources in lands, in forests, in mines, and in fisheries, are practically inexhaustible. Its past progress in wealth and population has been satisfactory. It possesses first-class canals, railways, and water communication; the volume of its annual commerce has swelled to \$130,000,000; its merchant marine occupies the fourth place among the navies of the world, and its institutions are in keeping with the intelligence of the age. When we add that it is one of the most lightly taxed and cheapest countries in the world to live in, no farther evidence is required to prove that we have, in the Dominion, not simply an invaluable heritage, but one which possesses all the natural resources necessary to enable us to build up a new and powerful nationality on the northern part of this continent.

12. The session of Parliament of 1870, which opened on the 15th of February and was prorogued on the 12th of May, found Sir John A. Macdonald still at the head of the ministry, with the following cabinet:—

The Hon. Sir JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD, K.C.B., Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.

The Hon. Sir GEO. ET. CARTIER, Bart., Minister of Militia and Defence.

The Hon. SAML. LEONARD TILLEY, C.B., Minister of Customs.

The Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, K.C.M.G., Minister of Finance.

The Hon. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN, C.B., Minister of Public Works.

The Hon. ALEXANDER MORRIS, Minister of Inland Revenue.

The Hon. JOSEPH HOWE, Secretary of State for the Provinces.

The Hon. CHARLES TUPPER, C.B., President of the Privy Council.

The Hon. PETER MITCHELL, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Hon. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Postmaster-General.

The Hon. CHRISTOPHER DUNKIN, Minister of Agriculture and Statistics.

The Hon. JAMES COX AIKINS, Secretary of State of Canada.

The Hon. JEAN CHARLES CHAPAIS, Receiver General.

The following members of the Privy Council were without office:—

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT, K.C.M.G.

Hon. Sir JOHN ROSE, K.C.M.G.

Hon. Sir EDWARD KENNY, Knt.

Hon. WILLIAM MCDUGALL, C.B.

Hon. WILLIAM PARK HOWLAND, C.B.

Hon. ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.

The session was an important one in point of legislation. The following is a brief summary of one of the most important acts.

13. MANITOBA. This act constituted a province of Manitoba out of that portion of Rupert's Land, etc., bounded by 96° west long., $50^{\circ} 30'$ north lat., 99° west long., and the boundary of the United States, to take effect from the day on which her majesty, by order in the council, should annex Rupert's Land and the North-west Territories to Canada. The provisions of the British North American Act, 1867, not applied to other separate provinces alone, were made applicable to Manitoba. It was to be represented in the senate of the Dominion by two members, till it had, by census, fifty thousand people, then by three; when it had seventy-five thousand, by four. In the House of Commons, by four members, until next census; after that, according to the fifty-fifth section of the British North American Act. There were to be a lieutenant-governor and an executive council, to consist of five persons; the seat of government, till otherwise determined, to be at Fort Garry, now Winnipeg. The Legislature consisted, besides the lieutenant-governor, of a legislative council and legislative assembly. The former to consist of seven members for four years; afterwards might be twelve, appointed by the lieutenant-governor in her majesty's name, he also appointing the speaker. Quorum, a majority. Speaker to have vote and casting-vote. The legislative assembly to consist of twenty-four members; the lieutenant-governor to organize the districts within six months. A *bona fide* householder for one year before election, twenty-one years of age, and a British subject, may vote. For the first election having been a householder at any time within the twelve months was sufficient. Must vote in division where he was resident at date of the writ. For first election the lieutenant-governor could issue the writs to whomsoever he thinks fit, and prescribe the forms, etc., of proceeding. Duration of Assembly, four years. The right to legislate respecting education could not affect any existing right respecting denominational schools. An appeal to the governor in council is granted to the minority. In case proper legislation was not enacted, or decision of governor in council is not executed, the Canadian Parliament might make remedial laws. The English and French languages were to be used in the Legislature and courts. Interest was to be allowed to the province on four hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars per annum, it having no debt, and a subsidy of thirty thousand dollars per annum and eighty cents per head, increasing till its population reaches four hundred thousand. The present customs duties then levi-

able in Rupert's Land were continued for three years. Such laws relating to customs or inland revenue, as the governor in council might declare, should be applied to the province. The ungranted lands were vested in the crown for Dominion purposes. One million four hundred thousand acres were appropriated for the resident half-breed families, the lieutenant-governor to set apart and apportion them under regulations to be made by the governor in council. Grants in freehold by the Hudson's Bay Company before the 8th of March, 1869, are confirmed; if in less than freehold, might be converted to that at desire of the owner. Titles by occupancy under the company, in parts where the Indian title has been extinguished, should, if required, be also converted by grant. Peaceable possession in such parts gave a right of preëmption. These rights were to be ascertained and adjusted by the lieutenant-governor, under regulations to be made by the governor in council, who should also settle mode or form of grants. The Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba was to be also lieutenant-governor of the unorganized portion of the north-west territories, etc., and the act of the previous session, except as herein altered, was extended to them. A vast amount of legislation was effected regarding Dominion notes, banks, and banking, discipline on Canadian vessels, and a census was to be taken in 1871, which was duly provided for.

14. This act of Parliament, erecting the province of Manitoba, demands in this place some brief mention of that province and its previous history. This section, now known as Manitoba and the north-west territories, was formerly called the Hudson Bay Territory. "The Hudson Bay (or Hudson Sea) is said to have been reached by Sebastian Cabot in 1517. In 1523-4 Verrazzani sailed up the coast as far as Davis Straits, which were reached by Davis in 1585. Various other English navigators sailed northward in quest of a north-west passage to India; but it was not until 1610 that Henry Hudson reached the straits and bay now bearing his name." Button, an English navigator, visited the bay in 1612, Bylot and Baffin in 1616, and Fox and James in 1631; Baffin and James bays were traced out and examined by these navigators. The early French fur-traders in New France maintained commercial relations with this region by way of the Saguenay river. The Treaty of St. Germain, in 1632, confirmed the whole region to France; and De Grozellier and Radisson, two French Canadians, visited it; but they failed to induce their own govern-

ment to assist them, and applied to Prince Rupert, of England, who entered warmly into their scheme, and despatched them to the bay on a trading voyage. Although England had relinquished her claim to the region, Charles II. was induced to grant a charter for the trade in peltries in Rupert's Land, which is the origin of the famous Hudson Bay Company charter of 1680. This charter produced French and English conflicts in the territory. In 1672 M. Albinet and St. Simon, with the consent of the Indians, erected the *fleur de lis* and the cross at several places in token, for the third time, of the sovereignty of France. Having secured the services of De Grozellier, the French pilot, the new English Hudson Bay Company despatched its first expedition to Port Nelson, on the bay, in 1673. De Grozellier, not having remained faithful to his engagement with the English, was dismissed, and returned to Europe. He was received with favor in France, and returned to Canada shortly after the French West India Company, which traded in Canada, was dissolved. In 1666 another Franco-Canadian Company was formed at Quebec, to promote trade at the north-west, and De Grozellier and Radisson were despatched by it to Hudson's Bay to open a traffic. In 1679 Louis Jolliet was despatched by the Quebec Company to Hudson's Bay, "in the public interest." The intrusion of the English in these territories was keenly felt during this time. In 1682 Radisson and De Grozellier were again despatched to Port Nelson, to counteract the trading designs of the English. In 1684 Radisson a second time deserted his fellow-colonists, and allied himself to the English. He went to London in 1684, and offered his services to the English Hudson Bay Company. They were accepted, and he was placed in command of an expedition, consisting of five vessels, which were despatched in that year to capture the French trading-posts at the bay. This he did without difficulty. The destruction of the French factories at Port Nelson by Radisson, in 1684, led to spirited reprisals on the part of the company at Quebec; and Chevalier de Troyes and D'Iberville were despatched with troops from Quebec, and, in 1686, succeeded in capturing the principal forts of the company. In 1689 the English sent an expedition to retake their captured forts, but M. D'Iberville defeated them and took their ships. In 1689 they again endeavored to accomplish their objects, but were again repulsed. D'Iberville returned to France in 1691; but in 1694 he was sent to the bay with three ships of war, and completed the conquest of the English forts at that

place. At the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, and even up to 1713, the English company had only Fort Albany left. At length the contest between the rival colonies in the Hudson Bay Territory virtually ceased. By the treaty of Ryswick, entered into by France and England in 1697, both parties agreed to restore whatever places at the bay they were possessed of before the war. Commissioners were appointed to determine this question; but they appear never to have met. At the time of the treaty, however, Fort Albany, on the river Albany, at the east side of James Bay, was the only place in the territory in possession of the English traders, and it continued in their possession undisturbed until the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. By this noted treaty France transferred to England the whole of her rights to the Hudson Bay Territory, and thus placed a bar on all the trading privileges of her Canadian subjects in that part of new France. The English Company has since remained in possession of the territory. In 1766, various traders, competitors of the company, engaged in the fur trade. Their head-quarters were in Montreal, and they followed the old French routes into the interior. In 1784 these traders united, and formed the North-west Company of Canada. This new company directed its trade chiefly to the north-west *via* Lake Superior, towards the Pacific Ocean and Columbia river. In 1793 Sir Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the North-west Company, made his famous journey from Canada, across the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific Ocean (the first ever made north of Mexico), and discovered Fraser river. He afterwards discovered and explored the Mackenzie river. In 1811 Mr. Thompson, the astronomer, discovered the northern or main branches of the Columbia river, and descended its stream to the Pacific Ocean. As we have already seen, in 1870, Manitoba (Red River) was set apart as a province of the Dominion of Canada. It was first settled by Lord Selkirk, in 1811. The North-west territories include nominally the following divisions: 1. Labrador; 2. Prince Rupert's Land; and 3. Swan River and Saskatchewan, which were granted in 1670, by the charter of Charles II., to the Hudson Bay Company; 4. Mackenzie river; and-5. The North-west Indian territories, leased by the company in 1821, and transferred to Canada in 1868, and Keewatin, formed in 1876 out of a part of the North-west territories.

15. In 1871 British Columbia was admitted to the Union under the provisions of the British North American Act of 1867,

which completed the territorial extent of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The discovery and early settlement of the British Pacific coast is full of interest. Sir Francis Drake is supposed to have gone as far north on the Pacific coast as the Juan de Fu-ca Strait in 1578; and Cavendish also made some discoveries in the North Pacific in 1587. In that year he captured a Spanish ship off the coast, but put the crew on shore. Juan de Fu-ca, a Greek sailor, and one of the crew, was subsequently despatched by the Viceroy of Mexico to make discoveries along the coast northwards. He is reported to have reached, in one of his expeditions, the strait which now bears his name. The Spaniards made various discoveries along the same coast in subsequent years; but it was not until 1778 that Captain Cook, by direction of the British government, explored the coast as far north as Nootka Sound. In that year some London merchants made a settlement at Nootka Sound for the purpose of establishing a depot for Chinese trade. In 1779 Capt. Meers, R.N., named, and, in part, explored, the Strait of Juan de Fu-ca. In 1792 Capt. Vancouver, R.N., was despatched from England to the Pacific to meet Señor Quadra, a Spanish commissioner, and to settle with him matters of difference, as to territory, which had arisen on the coast between England and Spain. Vancouver was also directed to explore the adjacent coast (with a view to determine the north-west passage), especially the strait itself and Admiralty Inlet. He afterwards, following the course of an American captain, threaded his way through the islands of the Gulf of Georgia (named by him after George III.), to Queen Charlotte's Sound. Out of compliment to the Spanish commissioner, Capt. Vancouver associated Quadra's name with his own in naming the island; but it now bears only the name of Vancouver, that of Quadra having fallen into disuse. In 1771 John Hearne, an employé of the Hudson Bay Company, was induced to explore "the far-off metal river" running northwards into the Arctic Ocean, and thus discovered the Coppermine river and Great Slave Lake. Another distinguished explorer, Sir Alex. Mackenzie, discovered, in his first expedition into the interior, the large river, since known as the Mackenzie river, which also falls into the Arctic Ocean. In 1792, while Vancouver was exploring the coast, Mackenzie, following up the course of the Peace river, crossed the Rocky Mountains into British Columbia. Here he reached the Tatouche Tesse, which he supposed to be the Columbia river, but which afterwards was known as the Fraser river.

From this river he crossed the country towards the Pacific Ocean, which he reached by way of the Salmon river. In 1806 Simon Fraser, the employé of the North-west Fur Company of Canada, explored the country from Fort Chippewayan (Lake Athabaska), crossing the Rocky Mountains, formed a trading-post at Fraser Lake, on a tributary of the river to which we have referred, and which was also named after him. In 1843 Vancouver Island was first occupied by the Hudson Bay Company, and Victoria, the capital, founded. This capital was selected by James Douglas, Esq., the governor, on behalf of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1844 the boundary line between the United States and what is now known as British Columbia was determined. In 1849 Vancouver Island was conditionally granted by the queen to the company, for the purpose of settlement. Subsequently a dispute arose between the British and American governments as to the construction of the boundary treaty, both parties claiming the island of San Juan, which is situated in the Haro Archipelago, as within their territory. In 1856 a joint commission was appointed to settle the dispute, but failed to effect a settlement. In 1872 the Emperor of Germany, to whom the matter had been referred, decided that the boundary line should pass through the Haro channel, thus giving the island of San Juan to the United States. In 1859 gold was first publicly known to exist in the valley of the Fraser river, and thousands immediately flocked thither. Mining regulations were issued by the governor, and routes projected into the interior, where gold was chiefly found. The existence of gold in these regions was previously known to a few, and especially to the Indians. In 1862 it was discovered in Queen's Charlotte's Island. In the year 1859 the occupation of Vancouver Island was resumed by the queen; and it, together with British Columbia (now so noted for its gold mines), was erected into two British crown colonies, with separate boundaries, but under one government. James Douglas, Esq., the resident Hudson Bay Company's agent, or local governor, was invested with the same authority by her majesty, with jurisdiction over both colonies. Laws were first made by the governor and his executive council and promulgated by royal proclamation, after which they were submitted to the queen and both houses of Parliament. In 1863 separate governors were appointed for each of the two colonies; and the name New Westminster was given to the capital of British Columbia by the queen, at the

request of the inhabitants. The site of New Westminster was selected by Colonel Moody, in preference to Fort Langley, which is on the American side of the Fraser river. In 1866 the two colonies were united under one governor and Legislature. In 1871 British Columbia and Vancouver Island (as one province) joined the Dominion. Such a union of all the colonies of British North America would, it was thought, promote the construction of the great Pacific Railway, so long projected, through British territory.

16. The Parliament of Canada opened in 1871, with Sir John A. Macdonald still at the head of the government, and with the same cabinet last quoted, except that the Hon. J. H. Pope had taken the place of Hon. Christopher Dunkin as minister of agriculture and statistics. The governor-general, in his speech, alluded to the Fenian raid; militia expenditure consequent on it; the peaceful settlement of the Red-river troubles; the address from British Columbia asking for admission into the confederation; the Pacific Railway; the settlement of the north-west country and opening means of communication; the joint high commission; the assimilation of the currency; the census; insurance companies; savings-banks; weights and measures, etc., as subjects which required the attention of Parliament. The revenue for the previous year was stated to be in a flourishing condition, with a prospect of diminution of taxation.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DOMINION OF CANADA—(continued).

FROM 1873 TO 1878—GOVERNMENT OF LORD DUFFERIN.

1. IN 1872 Lord Lisgar was succeeded by Lord Dufferin, the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin, Viscount and Baron Clandeboye, etc., etc., one of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, and Knight Commander of the Most Honorable of the Bath. The new governor-general was received with great enthusiasm. The Parliament of 1872 did not open until the 11th of April. A noticeable feature was the presence for the first time of members from British Columbia. The governor-general's speech adverted first to the Prince of

Wales' recovery and the appointment of a Thanksgiving Day ; stated that the late meeting of Parliament had been at the instance of the imperial government ; mentioned the Fenian attempt on Manitoba, and invited the attention of the Legislature to the Washington Treaty, Pacific Railway, immigration, canals, and several other measures ; announced the flourishing state of the Dominion finances ; asked for supplies, and congratulated the house on the general prosperity of the country. Sir John A. Macdonald was still at the head of the government, and with nearly the same ministry, as follows, — but the great statesman was destined soon to suffer defeat through what has come to be known, in history, as the " Pacific Scandal " : —



The Right Hon. Sir JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD, K.C.B., Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.
 The Hon. Sir Geo. ET. CARTIER, Bart., Minister of Militia and Defence.
 The Hon. SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY, C.B., Minister of Customs.
 The Hon. PETER MITCHELL, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
 The Hon. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Postmaster-General.
 The Hon. JEAN CHARLES CHAPAIS, Receiver-General.
 The Hon. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN, C.B., Minister of Public Works.
 The Hon. JOSEPH HOWE, Secretary of State for the Provinces.
 The Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, K.C.M.G., Minister of Finance.
 The Hon. JAMES COX AIKINS, Secretary of State of Canada.
 The Hon. CHARLES TUPPER, C.B., Minister of Inland Revenue.
 The Hon. JOHN HENRY POPE, Minister of Agriculture and Statistics.
 The Hon. JOHN O'CONNOR, President of the Privy Council.

The following were the members of the Privy Council without office : —

Hon. Sir ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT, K.C.M.G.
 Hon. WILLIAM McDUGALL, C.B.
 Hon. WILLIAM PEARCE HOWLAND, C.B.
 Hon. ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD.
 Hon. Sir EDWARD KENNY, Knt.
 Hon. Sir JOHN ROSE, K.C.M.G.
 Hon. CHRISTOPHER DUNKIN.
 Hon. ALEXANDER MORRIS.

2. A census of the Dominion of Canada was taken in 1871, which gives a vast amount of important information. In 1665 the population of Canada was 3,251. Between this time and the close of the century the census was taken ten times; and, in 1698, in consequence chiefly of immigration from France, the population had increased to 13,815 persons, and again, in 1754, to 55,000. And, assuming the general ratio of increase for the preceding half century, there were probably 60,000 persons in 1760, when the province was ceded to England. The last French census was taken in 1759, and gave 82,000 (Montcalm); but all these could not have been ordinary residents in the country, since that would imply an addition to the population, during the five intervening years, of more than 5,000 annually; whereas the several censuses show that the average annual increase for several years preceding 1754 was but little more than 800. Many of these, then, must have belonged to the army, augmented at that time in the struggle with England, and they probably soon after returned to France. Any addition to the population from immigration was probably after this period from Great Britain. In 1770 the number had increased to 91,078, and to 127,845 in 1780. By an act of the British Parliament, in 1791, the old Province of Quebec was divided into Lower and Upper Canada, the entire population at that time being (as far as can be determined) between 150,000 and 160,000, of whom about 10,000 lived in the latter province. These were chiefly United Empire Loyalists, who came from the United States during and after the Revolutionary War. A well-known authority, Joseph Bouchette, places the population of Quebec in 1806 at 250,000, and again, in 1825, at 450,000, the number having been nearly doubled in the preceding nineteen years. By interpolation between these two dates, the population was about 397,600, in 1821—that is, just fifty years before the late census of 1871. The population for the several decennial years, beginning with 1821, and their respective ratios of increase, are as follows:—

YEARS.	NUMBERS.	RATIOS.
1821	379,600	
1831	548,254	37.8 per cent.
By Interpolation. 1841	661,380	20.4 “
do. 1851	863,860	30.6 “
1861	1,111,566	28.6 “
1871	1,191,575	7.2, or 22 per cent. as shown below.

This remarkable decrease in the ratio given by the late census will be fully accounted for, when it is stated that there are pretty satisfactory data from which it can be shown that probably not less than 150,000 of the people of Lower Canada emigrated to the United States between the years 1861 and 1871. These, with a moderate ratio of increase, added to the number given by the late census, would show a population for the province of Quebec of 156,000, being an actual increase of 245,000 during the last decennial, and giving a decennial ratio of increase of 22 per cent., instead of 7.2, as it now stands. This figure would accord very fairly with the ratios given in the table for the preceding four decennials, and prove that the French people of Lower Canada are not less prolific now than in former periods of their history. The same authority, Bouchette, gives to Upper Canada 77,000 souls in 1811, and 151,097 in 1824; and interpolating the population would be about 129,100 in 1821, that is also fifty years before the late census. The numbers for 1828 and 1832 are given, and interpolating the population for 1831 was 239,690. Again the numbers are given for 1848 and 1852, and by interpolation we have 888,840 as the population in 1851. The population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, prior to 1850, are not at hand. The numbers, taken from the census records are, for

YEARS.	NUMBERS.	RATIOS.
1851	276,117	
1861	349,857	19.82 per cent.
1871	377,804	17.21 "

And similarly for New Brunswick the figures are, for

YEARS.	NUMBERS.	RATIOS.
1851	193,800	
1861	255,047	30.65 per cent.
1871	285,777	13.38 "

British Columbia was made a part of the Dominion of Canada by proclamation of her majesty, on the 20th day of July, 1871 ;

and the population of the settled districts, including whites, colored, Chinese, and natives, on the 2d day of April, 1871, was 19,252. The total Indian population is estimated at about 50,000. The census of the province of Manitoba was taken for electoral purposes, in December, 1870; and the number of persons, of British and French extraction, was found to be 11,945.

3. Had there been no immigration from our shores, the population in all the British provinces in 1871, as deducted from a patient inquiry into the various elements affecting the whole question, would have been nearly four and a half millions, instead of 3,726,319 (240,558 of this number must be counted for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island in 1871), and the ratio of our increase would have been greater than that of the United States, notwithstanding the ceaseless flow of immigration to that country. Including the number of our people living there in 1870 (as shown in their late census), and their natural increase since 1814, the British provinces have lost more than six hundred thousand persons, altogether! But confederation, with its accompanying influences, has completely changed the entire face of things in the dominion of Canada. It has infused a wonderful degree of energy, enterprise, and self-reliance into our people, just the very elements wanting while the several provinces were isolated, with separate and sometimes antagonistic interests. In proof of this it is found that never before was there such a demand for labor of all kinds, and never were there such cheerful contentedness and hope in the minds of our people. They possess half a continent of their own now, the stream of emigration is steadily turning towards our shores, and emigration from Canada has nearly, if not altogether, ceased. And not only is this a fact, but the very opposite is a fact also; for hundreds of Canadian families, who had settled in the United States years ago, are now returning to Manitoba and the surrounding regions, having found that country not to have answered the glowing descriptions given of it by its friends. If our people now desire to leave the older provinces, they have a great north-west of their own to move to, with millions of square miles of the most fertile lands, abundantly watered by streams, rivers, and lakes, and whose mineral resources are literally inexhaustible, immense beds of coal being found on the wide plains, and gold, silver, iron, etc., among the Rocky Mountains. The climate also is found not to be surpassed in salubrity anywhere in America. Only let that great iron band that is to connect the Pacific with the

Atlantic coast be once constructed, let our statesmen show the wisdom and energy needful for the great occasion, and the Dominion of Canada will soon become not merely the "brightest gem" in the crown of our sovereign, but a "diadem of beauty," surpassing all earthly diadems.

4. On the 5th of November, 1873, Sir John A. Macdonald's government was defeated, and forced to resign. Hon. Alexander Mackenzie succeeded him with the following cabinet, which was formed on the 7th of November, two days after:—

The Hon. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, Premier, and Minister of Public Works.

The Hon. ANTOINE AIME DORION, Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.

The Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, Minister without Portfolio.

The Hon. ALBERT J. SMITH, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Hon. LOUIS LETTELLIER DE ST. JUST, Minister of Agriculture and Statistics.

The Hon. RICHARD J. CARTRIGHT, Minister of Finance.

The Hon. DAVID LAIRD, Minister of the Interior.

The Hon. DAVID CHRISTIE, Secretary of State.

The Hon. ISAAC BURFEE, Minister of Customs.

The Hon. DONALD A. MACDONALD, Postmaster-General.

The Hon. THOMAS COFFIN, Receiver-General.

The Hon. TELESPIRE FOURNIER, Minister of Inland Revenue.

The Hon. WILLIAM ROSS, Minister of Militia.

The Hon. RICHARD W. SCOTT, Minister without Portfolio.

This change in the political composition of the government left the following list of privy-councillors without office:—

The Right Hon. Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, P.C., K.C.B., etc.

The Hon. SAMUEL L. TILLEY, C.B.

The Hon. Sir ALEXANDER T. GALT, K.C.M.G.

The Hon. WILLIAM MCDUGALL, C.B.

The Hon. WILLIAM P. HOWLAND, C.B.

The Hon. ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD, G.M.C.

The Hon. PETER MITCHELL.

The Hon. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

The Hon. JEAN CHARLES CHAPAIS.

The Hon. HECTOR LOUIS LANGEVIN, B.C.

The Hon. Sir EDWARD KENNY.

The Hon. Sir JOHN ROSE, K.C.M.G.

The Hon. CHRISTOPHER DUNKIN.

The Hon. ALEXANDER MORRIS.

The Hon. Sir FRANCIS HINCKS, C.B., K.C.M.G.

The Hon. JAMES COX AIKINS.

The Hon. CHARLES TUPPER, C.B.

The Hon. JOHN HENRY POPE.

The Hon. JOHN O'CONNOR.

The Hon. THOMAS N. GIBBS.

The Hon. THEODORE ROBITAILLE.

The Hon. HUGH MACDONALD.

It is now nearly four years since Hon. Mr. Mackenzie assumed the position of prime minister of Canada, during which time he has administered the affairs of the government in a very satisfactory manner. There have been many changes in his cabinet, but it still retains some of the original chiefs. It was also in 1873 that Prince Edward Island entered the union as one of the provinces of the Dominion.

CHAPTER XL.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA — (*continued*).

A GENERAL SUMMARY — THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE DOMINION — A SKETCH FROM THE BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1. IN the three preceding chapters I have traced the most important events and political measures, in their order, from 1867 to 1873, since which time nothing of sufficient importance has occurred to demand great attention. Before proceeding to note the affairs which have made the administration of Lord Dufferin one of the most prosperous in the annals of British North America, we may review the subject since confederation, from the stand-point of an able contributor to the "British Quarterly Review." The writer evinces a good knowledge of his subject, but impresses one that his politics have too much influence over his pen, and therefore his criticisms on the late ministry of the Right Honorable Sir John A. Macdonald must not be read without some allowance. I have interspersed a number of portraits of leading public men in the Dominion, in this sketch, to whom no reference is made therein. They have all been mentioned in previous chapters, or will be on succeeding pages, and their insertion in this place is to accommodate a wish to distribute them as nearly equally as possible throughout the work. The article referred to constitutes the whole of the following portion of this chapter.

2. On the 1st of July last the Dominion of Canada entered on the second decade of its existence. A natural opportunity is thus presented for reviewing its brief history, and the success of its effort to solve the political problems to the pressure of which it owed its origin. Such a review will be found to be not without interest to the student of political science, especially

in England, for Canada exhibits the British constitution under a peculiar set of circumstances, by which its operation is modified in a way that is at once interesting and important. Even before the formation of the Dominion, the Canadian colonies had excited interest among British statesmen by successfully grappling with some problems, like that of a State Church, which formed a burden rather than an advantage of the inheritance received from the mother country; but since the confederation of the colonies, ten years ago, their political transactions have risen in imperial significance. The neighborhood of Canada to the United States, and the intimate commercial and social relations which that neighborhood entails, have already brought, and must continue to bring, the affairs of the Dominion before the imperial government in a way that is sometimes more important than pleasant; while, among themselves, the Canadians are now facing the storm and stress of conflicts which, even in the varied political history of England, have not been completely fought out, and may therefore be forced upon her yet.

3. It may not be unnecessary to remind some readers that, previously to 1867, the British American provinces stood to each other practically in the relation of foreign countries. Governed by wholly independent Legislatures, separated by dissimilar tariffs, they were united only by the unobtrusive bond of a common dependence on the imperial government of Great Britain. Political thinkers, who were liberal enough to be influenced by other considerations than the party questions of the hour, saw that such relations were indisputably hostile to the interest of all the provinces concerned, which could hope for a position of importance on the American continent only by such unrestricted commercial and social intercourse as might ultimately weld them into one people.

It was evidently also in the interest of the imperial government that the colonial minister in London, instead of being obliged to deal with a number of petty States, should be able to correspond with a single government representative of them



HON. EDWARD BOWEN.

all. But the circumstances which led immediately to the confederation of the British American provinces cannot be understood without a brief reference to the previous history of Canada.

4. When Canada was ceded to Great Britain it was all embraced under one province, extending somewhat indefinitely into the west, and known by the name of the Province of Quebec. In 1791, the western section of the province, which had meanwhile been populated by English settlers, was separated into an independent province, with British institutions, while the eastern section continued to retain its original French character. These two provinces, of Upper Canada or Canada West, and Lower Canada or Canada East, remained separate till 1840, when they were united into one province, styled the Province of Canada, in the hope of allaying the political discontent which had culminated in the rebellion of 1837. In this province, down till the period of confederation, ten years ago, politicians had been divided into two parties, one of which was distinguished by the name of *Conservatives*, while their opponents were known as *Liberals* or *Reformers*, though commonly dubbed, in more familiar style, *Clear Grits*, in Upper Canada, and *Rouges*, among the French of the lower province. The history of the struggle between these parties may be read still



SIR JOHN MICHEL.

with a little more than ordinary human perseverance, but by no human intelligence can it be comprehended. Its incomprehensibility does not indeed arise from the absence of any question sufficient to call the political combatants to arms, for at times there was a measure of solid importance flaunted by one of the parties as a standard round which its forces rallied. But even in such cases it is impossible to see why the measure should have been taken under

protection by its advocates rather than by its opponents. The student of the period, whose imagination cannot now be fired by the heat of its burnt-out passions, fails, even after patient investigation, to discover any general principle which uniformly inspired either party, and breathed a soul into the particular

measures for which it fought. The rapidly changing administrations of those years show, at this distance, a scene not unlike a well-known juvenile sport, in which boys divide themselves into two sets, for the mere enjoyment of a tug against each other's strength, and, after one set is victorious, divide themselves again and again till they get worn out. Unfortunately, in contests of this kind, bloodless though they be, mere mortals, unlike the ghostly heroes of Walhalla, do at last become exhausted. This exhaustion came all the more naturally upon the combatants in the political arena of old Canada, owing to the circumstance that for some time neither party was cheered by any decisive victory. In truth, their struggles assumed a serio-comic aspect at times, as one administration after another attempted to carry on the business of the country by a majority which occasionally reduced itself to a unit, and was likely to become a vanishing fraction, or a minus quantity, whenever a test question was pressed to a decision. Can we wonder that in these circumstances both parties at last laid down their arms in despair, and sought a peaceful settlement of their quarrels?

5. Looking from our passionless distance at those old conflicts, one may reasonably question whether the political system of the province was not less to blame for their fruitless perpetuation than the incompetence of the polemical politicians by whom they were carried on. But, however this may be, the fault of the dead-lock between the two parties was charged by the politicians, not on themselves, but on the political arrangement by which the two Canadas were united. As a result of this a coalition was formed for the purpose of breaking up the union of the two Canadas, and merging them separately in a larger confederation of the British American provinces. After a considerable amount of preliminary negotiation, matters were sufficiently advanced in 1866 to admit of delegates being appointed from the different provinces to confer on the terms of confederation. The delegates met in London, and the result of their deliberations was the British North American Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament, 29th March, 1867. On the 1st of July in that year, a proclamation of the queen ushered the young confederacy into existence; and the waste of gunpowder, the destruction of maple branches, the display of dry goods in bunting and fashionable attire, showed it to be a festival on which the Canadians kept high holiday. Since that time the 1st of July — Dominion Day, as it is called — has

formed, among the Canadians, a rival to the great holiday of the Fourth among their American neighbors. Whether the day will hold its place or not, who can tell? The explosion of tons of gunpowder in pyrotechnic exhibitions, and *feux de joie*, and salvos of artillery, will not make the baptism of fire by which a people announces that it has been born into the family of nations.

6. At the formation of the confederacy it embraced only four provinces, — Upper Canada, under the new name of *Ontario*; Lower Canada, under that of *Quebec*; Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, under their old names. Since then the provinces of Prince Edward Island in the east, and of British Columbia in the west, have joined the Dominion; while the "Great Lone Land" in the north-west has been acquired by buying up the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and already a portion of it set apart as the Province of Manitoba. The whole of British North America is thus included in the Dominion, with the exception of Newfoundland which thus, literally and figuratively, remains out in the cold. The political constitution of the Dominion, as well as of the seven provinces which now compose it, is in all essential respects a reproduction of the British constitution. The only exception is in the case of Ontario and Manitoba, the former having from the first contented itself with one legislative chamber, while the latter, for economy's sake, has since followed her example. Recently a proposal has been revived to unite under one provincial government the three maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. It is to be hoped that this proposal may be carried. Neither of these provinces by itself holds the position which its people should be ambitious of attaining in the Dominion; while they entail upon themselves an enormous useless expenditure by supporting three governments, each with a paid lieutenant-governor, a paid cabinet, and two legislative bodies whose members are paid. As one province, they might cope with Quebec or Ontario; with a single government they would have a large surplus revenue to expend in developing their natural resources; while their legislative chamber or chambers would attain a dignity which is hopeless while they attempt to invest the petty politics of a narrow sphere with the pomp of imperial ceremonies.

7. Such were the political arrangements with which the Canadians entered on the new attempt to solve the problems of their national life. The political outlook was certainly cheering.

The old factions had forgotten their interminable struggles for office, and there seemed to be opened to them the noble destiny of working together, and along with their new fellow-countrymen from the other provinces, in building up a great nation along the north of the American continent. This was evidently the interpretation of the position formed by the majority of thinking men throughout Canada, and it was the interpretation on which the government of the new Dominion began to be formed.

8. In the selection of a prime minister the governor-general was guided by an equally obvious and just consideration. At the conference of colonial delegates in London, by whom the details of the Confederation Act were arranged, the chair had been occupied by Sir John A. Macdonald, who had long been leader of the conservative party in the old Province of Canada. The position to which he had thus been raised by his fellow-delegates was a fair indication of the position which he held among the public men of Canada, and the governor-general therefore naturally called upon him to assume the duties of the first premier, and to form the first government of the new Dominion. In the performance of this task Sir John Macdonald acted on the understanding that the coalition out of which the confederation arose would be continued still, in order to overcome any difficulties which might arise in getting the new ship of state fairly off the stocks. Accordingly he invited prominent reformers as well as conservatives to accept office in his cabinet, his intention being that, as far as the provinces of Quebec and Ontario were concerned, his government should represent equally both of the old parties. His invitation was accepted by several of the leading men among his old opponents, and there seemed a fair prospect that one great object of the confederation was to be accomplished, that the bells which rung in the first Dominion Day would ring out the "ancient forms of party strife."

10. But the spirit of the old factions died hard. The calm which preceded the birth of the new constitution was but the prelude to a stormful party fight. Some time before, indeed, an incident had occurred of ill-omen for the success of the coalition, which was seeking to merge the political differences of the past in a larger sphere of future work. While the coalition was maturing its plans, one of its members, the Hon. George Brown, suddenly resigned his portfolio, without any definite indication of the reason which led him to abandon his

colleagues. Mr. Brown had long been a recognized leader of the reform party, and, therefore, one of the chief opponents of the new premier, Sir John Macdonald. His action necessarily



SIR HUGH ALLAN.

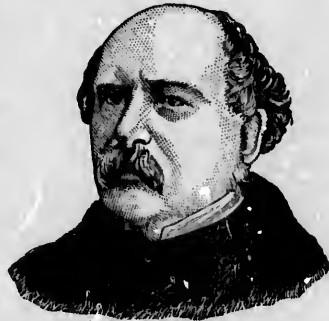
excited a feeling of uneasiness at the time, and seemed to receive its explanation afterwards, when the writs for the first general election were issued, and Mr. Brown explicitly declared the policy he intended to adopt under the altered circumstances of the country.

11. Sir John Macdonald had succeeded in forming a cabinet fairly representing the parties of the old Province of Canada, as well as the other provinces of the Dominion. To Mr. Brown it was a sufficient objection to the ministry that its head was his old political foe. His friends of the reform party, who had accepted office, became thereby, in his eyes, renegades from the cause of reform; and if any one urged that it was unfair to attack the new administration before its policy was known, the answer was ready, that the only safe government is by parties, and that it would be hazardous to the interests of the new Dominion if its government were unwatched and unchecked by a regularly organized opposition.

12. Mr. Brown has had the advantage, during the greater part of his public career, of possessing, as an exponent of his opinions, the most popular newspaper in Canada. About these opinions it is evident that he is thoroughly in earnest; he acts and speaks with the passion of intense conviction. Yet with every allowance for the earnestness of his intentions, and in view of all that his organ had to say in defence of his position at this crisis, we cannot but regard that position as involving a political blunder of the most serious nature. Even from his own point of view, was it legitimate to let the government of the country slip from the hands of his party, to fall under the control of politicians whose principles were worthy of being denounced in the passionate language which he uniformly employed? He had, at the time, not only a right to demand for his party an equal share with his opponents in the administration of public

affairs, but he had also an opportunity offered by the premier of asserting that right. To demand that his party should exercise no influence on the business of the country beyond that which proceeds from the opposition benches, when they had the right and power of controlling the treasury, seemed to many to involve a betrayal, not only of the interests of party, but of the more sacred interests of the whole people.

13. But the history of the formation of the Dominion was meaningless if Mr. Brown's position was justifiable. By common consent the new confederation was to drown in a flood of wider sympathies the arbitrary landmarks by which the old parties had been separated. Yet here was a proposal that the confederation should start on its young career by instituting a division of parties, which, as the nature of the case implied, was demanded, not by the inevitable antagonism of political measures, but simply for the sake of having a division; for the only justification of Mr. Brown's position lay in his plea of the absolute indispensability of parties in the good government of a country. Let us speak with the most generous acknowledgment of the benefits which have, necessarily or incidentally, resulted from party government, especially in the history of England and other free countries. Yet is it not an utterly extravagant estimate of these benefits to look upon the system of forming an essential element in all healthy political action, and to insist therefore on the moral obligation of retaining it under all political conditions? It is surely no universal and eternal law of human life that men can govern themselves only by splitting into hostile cliques, who shall create fictitious causes of quarrel if the natural course of events do not furnish them with real ones. Not once or twice only in the history of the world have all the rival sections of a people coalesced by the irresistible force of their enthusiasm in a common righteous cause; nor need we despair of such coalitions in the future, when they are demanded by the moral developments of the human race. In such supreme moments of national harmony is it a national duty to detail an unfortunate section of the community to do the work of an *advocatus diaboli*,



SIR W. F. WILLIAMS.

simply that their client may have his due, and the people be saved from violating the immutable obligation of government by parties? The truth is that government of men by keeping them at hostility with one another, so far from growing in favor with the progress of ethical and political knowledge, is falling into disrepute throughout all spheres of human life; and the only matter of surprise to the reflecting observer is that the system should have held its ground so long amid that western civilization which for fifteen hundred years has been based on the worship of a Being whose life and death are the perfect type of self-sacrifice for the good of others, and in the service of whom there was to be no longer any difference of Jew and Greek, of bond and free, of male and female; but all the separated sections of men were to become spiritually one. Still it is growing into more general recognition, in theory as well as in practice, that any number of men, whether the few who join in a commercial enterprise, or the millions who form a nation, or the hundreds of millions who compose the human race, can reach the highest welfare of their external as well as of their internal life by working in harmony rather than at discord with one another. The attempt to establish permanent international relations by means of war; the attempt to establish the gospel of glory to God, with peace on earth and good-will among men, by the mutual antipathies of religious sects; the attempt to develop the wealth of nations or of individuals by selfish competition; all such efforts are doomed to abandonment by the higher races, like slavery and other social phenomena of uncivilized life, as belonging to a ruder stage of human progress. It is, therefore, no idle dream of Utopian statesmen which would secure the general welfare of a nation by all parties coöperating as far as possible, and separating into hostile relations only as a last unwelcome necessity, when there is no common course on which they can possibly agree.

14. This was evidently the view which was taken by the vast majority of Canadians at the first general election for the Dominion Parliament. Mr. Brown practically demanded that their political life under the new confederation should be still an endless contest of the parties who had disturbed the old province of Canada, and the answer to his demand was decided enough. He was himself defeated in the constituency which he had long represented, and the government entered upon their duties backed by an enormous majority throughout the country as well as in Parliament.

15. The result in itself was one on which the Canadians were to be congratulated; it was one of the most crushing defeats which the spirit of faction ever received. Yet the policy of Mr. Brown had the effect at which he aimed; it practically divided the politicians of the country into two factions again. The government no longer represented the whole people, as it was the intention of the premier that it should; it represented once more a mere party, a party perhaps exasperated by an opposition which could vindicate its existence by no political reason, and certainly elated by their sweeping victory at the polls. It is not too much to say that the power and the temper of such a government were a peril to the best interests of the country. In any circumstances the power of the ministry would have been formidable in virtue of their patronage, which is uncontrolled by competitive examinations or any other check on the personal predilections of a minister or the exorbitant expectations of political supporters. But at the formation of the Dominion there were several peculiar circumstances which threw into the hands of the government an unusual power for obtaining corrupt support; and it was, in fact, the abuse of this power that led to a gradual reaction against them, and to their final overthrow in 1874.

16. This reaction appeared first in the Province of Ontario, where the tide of political feeling rises to a higher flow, and stretches into larger issues, than in other parts of the Dominion. Here an opposition arose in the provincial Legislature, which, though not identifying itself with the position taken by Mr. Brown at the elections, yet received the powerful support of his organ, the "Globe" newspaper of Toronto. The leader of this opposition was Mr. Edward Blake, Q.C., lately the president of the council in the Dominion government. Mr. Blake had entered political life only at the first general election for the Dominion. Appearing at first as an independent critic of the course pursued by the Ontario ministry, he conducted his criticisms with such ability that he was soon recognized by both sides of the house as the most formidable opponent with whom the government had to contend.

17. The prime minister of Ontario, on the other hand, was the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald, who had long been a prominent friend of Mr. Brown among the leaders of the old reform party. Mr. Macdonald had been selected by his namesake and former opponent, Sir John Macdonald, on the ground that the province of Ontario would be most fairly represented by an old

reformer, while one of the old conservatives became premier of Quebec, — a province which, under the dominant influence of the Catholic clergy, has generally been conservative. There is no doubt that Mr. Macdonald intended to guide himself by the principles of reform, and these principles continued, in fact, to direct his administration in many respects, especially in the economy by which it was generally characterized. But his intentions met with a serious obstacle in the inveterate hostility of that party among his old friends which had sided with Mr. Brown, and he was, therefore, driven to seek assistance from allies from whom it would have been to his advantage if he had held aloof. Accordingly the government of Ontario, though headed by an old liberal minister, and representing a decidedly liberal province, soon began to show tendencies towards a policy in distinct antagonism to the principles of all liberal government. It was thus in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario that the new issues of political warfare in Canada first assumed definite shape, and it was here that politicians began to range themselves into new parties.

18. Any one who watched with earnest eyes the contests in the Legislature of Ontario could scarcely fail to see, and to see more clearly from year to year, that here liberalism had met its old foe in new shapes, and was surely fighting a battle which



HON. S. L. TILLEY.

should not be without an interest to men. We take it that the struggle of liberal statesmanship in all ages has been to find an effective check by the people upon their executive government; and the foe of liberalism all along has been the endeavor of political adventurers — be they monarchs, hereditary oligarchies, or cabinets of ministers — to hold themselves above popular control. Under a constitution like that of Canada, and still more under one like the American, it is not difficult

to see how a cabinet, by unscrupulous artifices, might attain a position almost as free from responsibility to the people as that of the veriest hereditary despot, — a position from which they

could be dislodged only by an extraordinary outburst of popular indignation.

19. One source of enormous power which a government possesses for securing its position unjustly is to be found in the expenditure on public works. In a new country such expenditure must always be large, and in Canada ten years ago it was unusually increased, owing to works which had to be undertaken by the very terms of the confederation. It is not necessary to explain how favors can be shown to contractors which will call forth their energies when the existence of a government is imperilled, and open their purses when an electioneering fund is getting exhausted. The hordes of men also employed by large government contractors can easily be made to feel an interest in the party through whom they have obtained their immediate occupation. But an attempt at corruption of a somewhat novel character was made, especially in the Province of Ontario, by the bribery of entire localities. In the location of national institutions the government of this province gave it to be understood, by unmistakable actions, and even by unmistakable language, that they were guided not so much by a regard for the interests of the people at large as by the intention of rewarding those constituencies which had sent representatives to the right side of the house. This policy culminated in a measure which the government used its majority to carry in the Legislative Assembly on the eve of the second provincial election. By this measure one and a half million of dollars were placed absolutely at the disposal of the government, with the single restriction that it was to be distributed in bonuses to projected railways in different parts of the province.

20. On several occasions previously the government had, not without strenuous opposition, obtained smaller grants for various works, without any specifications, and therefore without any reliable estimates. In the case of the large railway grant, though the sum formed part of an accumulated surplus in the provincial treasury, the English reader ought to bear in mind that it represented nearly the whole annual revenue of the province at the time; and this sum was handed over to the government without any specification as to the particular projects which were to be assisted, and without the roughest estimate of the amount which each might require. In view of the principles by which the government had given it to be understood that they were guided in the expenditure of public money in different localities, and in view of the fact that nearly every

county had some pet railway project on hand at the time, it would not have been surprising if the government bait had caught every constituency in the province. It is to the credit of the political



SIR A. A. DORION.

sentiment of Ontario that the people refused the bait. The opposition had all along protested against the government asking for large sums, while they refused to give the house specific information as to the nature and locality and estimated cost of the works on which the sums were to be expended. It was on this point specially, and with more prominent reference to the large railway grant, that the opposition met the ministerial party at the polls in 1871. We believe that

the more dispassionately this crisis comes to be estimated, the more it will be recognized that the very principle of constitutional government was at stake in the election. No plea can be advanced in defence of the ministerial policy which would not equally have justified the ministry in asking for a vote of the entire revenue for each year in a lump sum, without laying any estimates before the house. It has long been a familiar commonplace in the politics of constitutional countries, that the legislative body, which represents the people, must be satisfied as to the necessity and expediency of all expenditure in the public service before voting the requisite grants, and that this principle forms the one effective check which the people hold over the men who control the machinery of government. Without this check, the forms of representative government might be relegated among the solemn farces which still impart the dignity of a hollow stateliness to many departments of human action. An administration, therefore, which acts on the principle of demanding enormous sums, while retaining to itself the unchecked control of their expenditure in detail, is on the fair way to meet the house some day with a preposterous speech from the throne: "Gentlemen, my ministers have formed careful estimates of the amounts which will be required for their respective departments, and from these estimates I find that the total amount demanded by the exigencies of the public service will be so many millions. It is evidently for the interests of

the country that the public service should not be interfered with by men who have not the special acquaintance that my ministers possess with its requirements. I shall, therefore, simply ask you to vote the total sum which I have named; and I have the gratification of knowing that you will thus be restored all the sooner to those important private occupations which, I feel assured, must suffer seriously by your prolonged attendance here. You will, of course, draw still the usual sessional allowance."

21. It was, therefore, no mere cry of a faction which the opposition raised, when they appealed to the electors of Ontario against the policy of the government, and their appeal was evidently sustained by the voice of the electors at the polls. Feeling confident in the result of the elections, the opposition determined to put the government on its trial at the very opening of the new Legislative Assembly. When the address was moved, they proposed an amendment condemning the policy of the ministry in reference to the railway grant, and the amendment was carried by a small majority. The ministry pretended to treat the vote as not implying want of confidence; but an additional vote, with an overwhelming majority, compelled them to abandon the treasury benches with some loss of dignity at last.

22. The course of political affairs in the Province of Ontario was but an inner circle of the wider course taken by the politics of the Dominion. Here the opposition was led by the present prime minister, the Hon. Alexander McKenzie. For the first two or three years its feebleness obliged it to content itself with aimless criticism of isolated measures; but by and by the ministry began to indicate a policy similar to that which had called forth a victorious opposition in Ontario. It has been observed above that the fundamental safeguard of all constitutional government is that the executive shall be held under as minute and incessant control as the public service will allow, and that the one foe of all constitutional government is the political adventurer who endeavors to hold himself above such control. Legislation may, of course, render the ambition of such adventurers more difficult, but every system of government is exposed to peril from the unscrupulousness of the men by whom it may be administered. The circumstances of Canada, as of all new countries, form a peculiar source of temptation to corruption in the administration of her government. From the very nature of the case, a new country

cannot possess that leisurely class of men from whom England has long derived her noblest statesmen; and from all that we have observed there seems no immediate prospect of this deficiency being made up in Canada; at least, not a few instances have been brought to notice in which the sons of wealthy Canadian merchants have been allowed to content themselves with a disgracefully meagre education, and have squandered, in frivolous idleness or in coarse sensuality, the fortunes which had been laboriously accumulated by industrious parents; while no instance has yet attracted attention in which the leisure derived from hereditary wealth has been devoted to the service of the public in political life. The result of all this is that the administration of public affairs necessarily falls very largely into the hands of professional politicians, — of men who enter politics as they would enter any other profession from which they seek to obtain a living. It is no discredit to Canadians in particular, but to human nature in general, to say that only the most incorruptible of men can utterly withstand the temptations of such a profession. At least the sympathy of every earnest political thinker must be repelled by any policy which would render it easier for the professional politician to yield to the temptations of his position.

23. It was, as we have said, a policy in this direction — a policy of encouragement to the mere political adventurer —



HON. A. G. ARCHIBALD.

that strengthened the opposition to the first government of the Dominion, and a brief reference to the main points of conflict between the government and their opponents will suffice to make this evident. One of the most serious dangers to constitutional government is the power which a cabinet possesses of manipulating the elections so as to put the opposition at a disadvantage throughout the country. This may be done, for example, by spreading the elections over some weeks, taking care to secure the large number of voters who go for the

winning side by obtaining at an early date the decision of those constituencies in which the ministry expect a favorable return. The same end is also attained by bringing to the polls the large army of civil servants throughout the country, by leaving the

law practically inoperative against bribery, and by the appointment of returning-officers unscrupulously obsequious to the interests of the party by whom they are appointed. Now, no one who watched impartially the elections for the second Parliament of the Dominion could avoid the conviction that the government had been using their power in all those ways to secure a verdict in their favor at the polls. The elections were brought on in an order which was wholly inexplicable except in the interest of the ministry. Votes were obtained from men whose employment in the service of the nation ought to keep them aloof from the service of a party. In more than one instance a returning-officer sent in a return so manifestly in opposition to the facts, that the government, out of self-respect, should have at once subjected the offender to criminal prosecution.

24. But it was mainly by their conduct in reference to the laws against bribery, and by the advantage which they took of the laxity of these laws, that the ministry brought upon themselves their defeat. It had been well enough known to every one in Canada for a long time that representative government was being rendered a laughing-stock by the extent to which bribery was being carried on by all parties. All the evidence on the subject shows that neither party throughout the country could boast of superior freedom from this corruption. Only this can be said of the leaders in the opposition at the time, that they demanded the legislation which has since been obtained, and which has proved a very formidable impediment to bribery and other dishonorable influences at elections. The government, however, by its overpowering majority in Parliament, crushed all attempts at legislation in this direction, and the result was that the second election for the Dominion House of Commons was disgraced by an extensive system of bribery, in which, according to their own confession, the leaders of the government were deeply involved.

25. The sources from which the government obtained funds for bribery were various; but after every allowance for disinterested subscriptions from conscientious supporters, there remain enormous sums, which no statesman should ever have allowed himself to touch, or, if tempted to use, could ever have spoken of afterwards without a feeling of shame. There was even a prevalent suspicion that the public money was being misdirected to electioneering purposes; and, though it may be admitted that the suspicion was founded on a mistake, it must

also be borne in mind that the premier himself was entirely to blame for giving currency to the suspicion. A motion had been introduced into the House of Commons at Ottawa for a confidential audit of the expenditure on the Secret Service Fund,



HON. ALEX. MACKENZIE.

and the motion was defended by a reference to British practice. The government, however, succeeded in defeating the motion, and Sir John Macdonald, in vindicating afterwards his opposition to the motion, not content with denying that the demand for a confidential audit was justified by British usage, made the astounding assertion that, if a cabinet in England went out of office with one hundred thousand pounds of secret service money to their credit, they could employ it in carrying the elections against their oppo-

nents. It is somewhat surprising that this statement did not attract attention or call forth any protest from the English press at the time, and that it was only after some years that Sir John Macdonald acknowledged his misapprehension about the practice of British statesmen in reference to the use of secret service funds.

26. But, however well or ill founded may have been the suspicion that the Dominion government were abusing the public money for party purposes, their own confession places beyond all controversy the notorious attempt to maintain their position by corrupt influences in connection with the projected Pacific Railway through Canadian territory. This scandal received such prominent notice in the English press at the time, and is still so recent, that it is unnecessary to revive its details at present. One or two points of special political importance are all that require to be remembered.

27. In the first place, the Pacific Railway Bill contained in an aggravated form those unconstitutional features which have been already pointed out in the earlier railway bill of the administration in Ontario. It handed over absolutely to the government, along with fifty million acres of land, the sum of thirty million dollars, — a sum fully equal to the public revenue of the whole Dominion for a year and a half; and the people

— the House of Commons — were thus left without a voice as to the route which the railway should take, or even the most general details of its construction. In the second place, members of the cabinet confessed to having accepted for electioneering purposes a sum — which in Canada must be accounted very large — from the gentleman who had been promised, or at least expected, the contract for the Pacific Railway, and who has declared that it was no political conviction, but simply the spirit of commercial speculation that induced him to advance so much money for the purpose of keeping the government in power. It was likewise a serious aspect of this political scandal that the government made an extremely questionable use of its prerogative, and showed a somewhat unseemly contempt of the privileges of Parliament, in order to prevent the House of Commons from itself carrying out the investigation on which it had determined.

28. It was no wonder, therefore, that, when at last the ministry met the house, they found the opposition vastly increased in strength, and, after a lengthened debate, resigned without waiting for a division. The new ministry, soon after its formation, dissolved the house; and the appeal to the electors showed that they were sustained by a very powerful element throughout the country. Whether they will retain that support for any length of time is a question on which, as on other social subjects, it is hazardous to form predictions; but it is a question which is of interest only in so far as the ministry realize the mission which they have undertaken, and to which they owe their position, — of fighting the battle of constitutional government in Canada. Certainly nothing has happened which should make the country forget the serious faults of the previous administration; but the temper of political discussion, both in the House of Commons at Ottawa and throughout the Dominion, gives too great reason to fear that politicians are settling again into two factions, separated by no principle except the common conviction of the desirability of being in office. However convenient this state of things may be for the professional politician, it is a result which can be contemplated only with the deepest concern by every earnest student of political affairs. Not only would such a result defeat one great end of the Canadian confederation, but it would give a new force to one of the great perils of popular government. Let us hope that the premier of the Dominion and his associates may prove themselves equal to their mission, and they may

find some safeguard for constitutional freedom against that despotism of party which has formed one of its most powerful foes at all times, and now forms its peculiar foe on the other side of the Atlantic.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA—(continued).

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

1. BEFORE resuming the narrative of political events in the Dominion, during the administration of Lord Dufferin, we may pause to glance at the educational developments of the provinces. We will begin with Ontario. Here education was first encouraged by private enterprise. In pioneer days nearly every garrison, either by its chaplain or military school-master, also contributed towards the general fund of knowledge. Dr. Hodgins, a reliable authority, informs us that the first school opened in Ontario was by the Rev. Dr. John Stuart, a Protestant Episcopal clergyman and a united empire loyalist, who had been chaplain to the provincial volunteers, coming with them as a refugee. In 1785 this gentleman opened a select classical school at Cataraqui, Kingston. Soon after, Mr. Donovan taught a garrison school there; but we shall not occupy our space with any list of first school-teachers, as we might do. Most of the few rural schools in the country in those early days were taught either by discharged soldiers or itinerant teachers from the United States. It is said that the latter used their own school-books, thereby tincturing their pupils with their own political views. This may account for the fact that the municipal institutions of Ontario are more nearly like those of the United States than those of any other British American province. However, the Legislature early took means to exclude the American school-master. A writer who visited Kingston in 1795, says: "In this district there are some schools, but they are few in number. The children are instructed in reading and writing, and pay each a dollar a month. One of the masters, superior to the rest in point of learning, taught Latin; but he has left without being succeeded by another instructor in the same language. In 1795 the government took some initiative

steps in an educational direction, growing out of a correspondence between Governor Simcoe and Bishop Mountain of Quebec. The matter was referred to the Legislature, which in 1797 memorialized King George III., soliciting a grant of land for the endowment of a grammar school in each district, and a university for the whole province. To this request the king gave his consent; and in 1798 the chief civil officers of Upper Canada recommended that five hundred thousand acres of land be set apart for the establishment of a grammar school in each district, and a central university for the whole province. They also recommended a grant for a plain but solid and substantial building for a grammar school in each district, containing a school-room capable of holding one hundred boys, without danger to their health from too many being crowded together, and also a set of apartments for the master, large enough for his family and from ten to twenty boarders." The salaries proposed to be

given were: one hundred pounds for the head-master, fifty pounds for the assistant master, and thirty pounds for repairs, etc. Kingston and Niagara were recommended as eligible sites for schools; after which, when the funds were sufficient, schools were to be established at Cornwall and Sandwich. Toronto was recommended as entitled to the university, and for the establishment and support of which a sum of at least equal to that granted to the four schools was named. The celebrated Rev. Dr. Chalmers was asked to take charge of the

schools; but, declining, the place was offered to the Right Rev. Dr. Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, then a school-master at Kettle, Scotland, who occupied it. But on his arrival at Kingston, in 1799, he found that Governor Simcoe had gone to England, and that the project of the college had been in the mean time abandoned. In the same year an orphan school had been opened near St. Catherine's. It was now discovered that as land sold for a shilling an acre, the grant which had been recommended would do but little towards endowing grammar schools,



HON. SIR EDWARD KENNY.

and the whole project was abandoned, and what little educational effort was put forth was due to private enterprise. Mr. Strachan opened a private school in Cornwall, in 1804, which was the only school of note in Upper Canada for many years, and in this, as also Mr. Strachan's school at Toronto, were educated many of those gentlemen who subsequently occupied important positions in the province. The early promoters of education in Ontario committed the mistake of first establishing grammar schools and a university, without making any provision whatever for public and elementary schools. This error was difficult to overcome for several years after. At length, however, in 1816, common schools were established in Ontario, but even then the attempt was made only as a doubtful experiment. But, in the face of whatever doubts may have existed, we find that the government was in real earnest, and determined to give the scheme a fair trial, as it granted twenty-four thousand dollars for its support. Unfortunately, however, in 1820 the grant was reduced to ten thousand dollars. In 1822-3 Sir Peregrine Maitland, the lieutenant-governor, submitted to the imperial government a plan for organizing a general system of education for the province, including elementary schools. One year later he received permission to establish a board of education for the supervision of this system, and for the management of the university and school lands throughout the province. Considerable effective work was accomplished by this board. In 1824 we find the government encouraging education by providing reading-books for the common and Sunday schools, as promoting moral and religious instruction. About the same time an effort was made to extend the advantages of education to the Indians, to establish a university for the province and an academy for the Wesleyans. The latter, under the name of the "Upper Canada Academy," was projected in 1830, and founded at Coburg two years after. It was opened in 1835, and a royal charter obtained for it in the same year by Rev. Dr. Ryerson. In 1841 this academy became the university of Victoria College. In 1827 the Legislature took more active steps to promote education, and grants were made to sustain both the grammar and common schools. In 1832 the provincial board of education was abolished, and the management of the schools transferred to the crown and the Legislature jointly. About this period, however, the schools of Upper Canada did not bear a very enviable reputation. Dr. Thos. Ralph, who travelled in the province in

1832-3, thus describes them: "It is really melancholy to traverse the province and go into many of the common schools. You find a herd of children instructed by some anti-British adventurer, instilling into the young, tender mind sentiments hostile to the parent state." In 1836 a female academy was established by Mrs. Cromb and her sister, Mrs. Bradshaw. Afterwards Rev. D. McMullan added a male department to it. In 1836 considerable effort was made to improve the common schools, but, during the rebellion which devastated the province soon after, little attention was given to the subject of education. However, in 1839 the sky brightened, and two hundred fifty thousand acres of land were set apart as a permanent endowment of the grammar schools, and the government was authorized to appoint five trustees to manage each of them. The sum of eight hundred dollars was granted as a bonus to those counties which should apply a like sum to erect a grammar school building, and permanently insure it. "In 1840-41," writes Dr. Hodgins, "Victoria College and Queen's College were incorporated as universities, and Congregational and United Presbyterian theological colleges were established. In 1841-42 the Friends (Quakers), at the instance of John Joseph Gurney, of England (who contributed five hundred pounds sterling to it), established a seminary at Bloomfield, near Picton; and a Church of England Theological college was established at Cobourg. Two years later Knox College, Toronto, went into operation. In 1846 Regiopolis College (Kingston) was established; and in 1848 St. Joseph's College (Ottawa). In 1840 the union of the two provinces took place; and in 1841 the first Parliament of United Canada passed an act definitely establishing a system of education for the whole Province of Canada, and fixing the annual grant for its support at the munificent sum of two hundred thousand dollars. This act first embodied the principle of separate schools. In 1843 the act was, however, repealed, so far as Upper Canada was concerned, and another act applicable to Upper Canada (still recognizing the principle of separate schools) was substituted in its place. In 1842 the long-projected university for Upper Canada was established at Toronto, under the name of King's College, and Bishop Strachan was appointed its first president. In 1844 Rev. Dr. Ryerson, having made an extensive tour in Europe and in the United States, submitted the result of his inquiries in an elaborate 'Report on a system of Public Elementary Education,' and accompanied it with a draft of a bill

which became law in 1846. In 1847 a system adapted to cities and towns was established. In the same year the provincial Normal School was opened at Toronto. For a



few years the school law underwent a good deal of unfriendly local criticism, which, in 1849, culminated in the hasty passage of a bill by the Legislature entirely repealing all former acts. This led to an educational crisis; and in 1850 the whole system of popular education underwent a thorough revision. A comprehensive draft of a bill on the subject was submitted to the Baldwin government by the chief superintendent, and approved. This bill was concurred in by the Legislature, and became law in June of that year.

It still forms the basis of the present common-school system of Ontario. The chair of divinity having, in 1849, been abolished, and other changes made in King's College, — the name of which was changed to that of the University of Toronto, — which were unacceptable to Bishop Strachan, and other members of the Church of England, the venerable prelate (although in his seventy-second year) vigorously set about the establishment of an exclusive Church of England University. In this he was eminently successful; and having, in 1850, secured an act of incorporation for it from the Canadian Legislature, he obtained, in 1851, a royal charter from the queen for the University of Trinity College, at Toronto. This institution was formally opened in 1852, and the Diocesan Theological School at Cobourg merged in it. In the same year (1852) St. Michael's College was established at Toronto, by some clergyman of the order of St. Basil, under the patronage of the Right Reverend Doctor de Charbonell, second Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese. In 1853 some valuable improvements were made in the details of the common-school system. After having been discussed at various county school conventions (which were held by the chief superintendent of education), these improvements were embodied in a supplementary school bill, and in that form received

the sanction of the Legislature." The grammar (now high) schools were much improved in 1853, and in 1857 the Methodist Episcopal Church established the Belleville Seminary, since called Albert University, and in the same year the Baptists established the Literary Institute at Woodstock. The school for the deaf and dumb was not in motion in 1858, and was subsequently merged into the present fine institution at Belleville. In 1861 the Wesleyan Female College was established at Hamilton; in 1865 Hellmuth College, for boys; and in 1869 a college for girls was established by Bishop Hellmuth at London. The Roman Catholic Church has also in operation several flourishing Ladies' Convent Schools, in the chief cities and towns; while a Church of England Ladies' (Bishop Strachan) School has been established at Toronto. There are also a large number of superior private schools, chiefly for girls, in various parts of the province. In 1800 several improvements were made in the public-school act. In 1865 the grammar-school act was further revised and improved; and in 1871 a still more important revision and improvement of the grammar and common schools laws were made. The designation of these schools was, in the act of 1871, changed to "High" and "Public" schools. Ontario now has one of the finest and most complete school systems in America, and, in many respects, the most complete and effective in the Dominion. Both in the elementary and higher branches of education there is constantly manifested a spirit of progress and improvement in full harmony with the spirit of the age.

2. PROVINCE OF QUEBEC. In the rural districts of the Province of Quebec education has made less progress than in any other part of the Dominion, yet within the past few years this condition has been considerably improved. Rev. Father DeJeune, of whom we speak particularly hereafter, was the first to begin the work of education in this province. In 1632 he commenced with two pupils, — a negro and an Indian boy. This first missionary work soon spread itself over a wide range of territory, but was devoted chiefly on behalf of the Indians, who were at that time about the only inhabitants of the province outside of Quebec. In 1647, the Theological Seminary of St. Sulpice was established in Montreal; and, in 1663, Mgr. Laval, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, set on foot the "Grande Séminaire de Québec," designed for the education of candidates for the priesthood. In 1668, at the suggestion of the celebrated Colbert, Bishop Laval

founded the "Petit Séminaire," which was chiefly designed to "francize" the Huron lads. The project failed, so far as the Indians were concerned; but in 1688 the number of French boys at the seminary had increased to sixty. The bishop also established an industrial school near Quebec, for the *habitants*. From it they were drafted either to the Grand or Minor Seminary.



The only elementary schools which existed at this time were those founded by Sister Bourgeois, of the Congregation of Notre Dame, and by the Recollets. The Jesuit College and several primary schools were also maintained. In 1728, the Jesuits projected a college at Montreal; and the Frères Charron, of the same city, proposed to establish elementary schools in the various parishes, as in France. In 1737 the Christian Brothers banded themselves together as teachers of these church schools, and adopted a distinctive garb as such. Things remained in

nearly the same state until after the conquest, — 1759. In 1773 the Sulpicians established the "Petit Séminaire," or "Collège de Montreal." In the following year the Jesuit order was suppressed in Canada (as they had, in 1762, been suppressed in France), and their revenues were afterwards diverted to educational purposes. The Jesuit estates were taken possession of by the government in 1800; and in 1831 they were devoted to education. In 1787 the Legislature first formally turned its attention to education, and a committee of the legislative council was appointed "to inquire into the best means of promoting education." Two years afterwards the committee reported, recommending that an elementary school be established in each parish, a model school in each county, and a provincial college at Quebec, and that they be endowed out of the Jesuit estates. The schools, etc., were to be open to Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, and were to be under the management of a united board of both: each church to provide for religious instruction, and the

visitation of the college to be in the crown. The Bishop (Hubert) of Quebec, and Pere De Glajion, the ex-superior of the Jesuits, objected to the plan, and the project failed. — [*Dr. Hodgins.*] In 1795-9, the Duke de Rochefoucault, during his stay at Quebec, thus wrote concerning the state of education at that time: "The Seminary of Quebec . . . forms the only resource for Canadian families who wish to give their children any degree of education . . . Upon the whole, the work of education in Lower Canada is greatly neglected. At Sorel and Trois Rivières are a few schools, kept by nuns; and in other places men and women instruct children; but the number of schools is, upon the whole, so very small, and the mode of instruction so defective, that a Canadian who can read is a bit of a phenomenon. The English government is charged with designedly keeping the people of Canada in ignorance; but if it were sincerely desirous of producing an advantageous change in this respect, it would have as great obstacles to surmount on this head as in regard to agricultural improvements." In 1793 the Legislature made an effort to have the forfeited Jesuit estates devoted to educational purposes, and in 1800 the matter was still farther pressed, on which occasion the governor replied, that "his majesty George III. has been graciously pleased to give directions (as he had done four years previously in Upper Canada) for the establishing of a competent number of free schools, for the instruction of children in the rudiments of useful learning, and in the English tongue; and also, as occasion may require, for foundations of a more comprehensive nature; and his majesty has been likewise pleased to signify his royal intention that a suitable proportion of the lands of the crown should be set apart and the revenue thereof applied to such purposes." Pursuant to these wishes of the king, a bill was passed establishing a "Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning." All schools and educational institutions were committed to the care of this one; but, owing to the fact that no grant of land was made, and to mismanagement, the project was a failure. This act was afterwards from time to time altered and amended, but never accomplished much for general education, and finally became the special guardian of McGill College, Montreal, which was founded by the will of the Hon. Peter McGill, in 1811; but, owing to a legal difficulty with the will, the royal charter was not granted until 1821. In 1824 a general report on educational matters revealed the fact, that "in many parishes not more than five or six of the

inhabitants could write ; that generally not above one fourth of the entire population could read ; and that not above one tenth of them could write, even imperfectly." To meet the demands of the Catholic, the *Fabrique* Act was passed in 1824, which provided for the establishment by the Fabriques, a corporate body, under the old French laws, of the curé and church-wardens, of one school in each Roman Catholic parish for every hundred families. In 1829 an act was passed substituting trustees for the Fabriques, which may be regarded as the first general elementary school act of Lower Canada, and the germ of the present system. It was amended soon after, so as to admit of the election of ministers, equally with laymen, as trustees, for half-yearly examination. An appropriation was also made in 1831 for a deaf and dumb institution. In the same year girls' schools were provided for, and prizes instituted. In 1836 a report to the Legislature revealed the incompetency of teachers, and a normal school was authorized for five years in Montreal and Quebec, and certain convents were authorized to train young ladies for teachers for a like period. "The school act of 1832, as amended, having expired, the Assembly passed a more comprehensive bill, which was rejected by the legislative council. This bill contained two important features: first, authority to establish model schools; and, second, permission to raise a school rate, with the consent of the inhabitants. The objections urged against this bill were: first, that while the aggregate expenditure for education during the preceding seven years only amounted to six hundred thousand dollars, yet this bill, by its unusually large appropriation (one hundred and sixty thousand dollars per annum), would have the effect of superseding rather than stimulating local effort; and, second, that the expenditure of the grant by members of the house was demoralizing. As in Upper, so in Lower Canada, the political troubles of 1837-8 paralyzed continued educational effort. On the union of the provinces, however, a comprehensive measure was passed providing for a uniform system of public education for Upper and Lower Canada, and appropriating two hundred thousand dollars a year for its maintenance. Dr. Mcilleur, an active educationist, was appointed to superintend the Lower Canada schools. In 1843 this law was amended, and in 1846 it was superseded by an improved measure, which first embodied a principle of compulsory taxation. This was, however, modified in 1849, so as to make it permissive. In 1851 an abortive effort was made to establish a

normal school. In 1855 Dr. Meilleur gave place to Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, LL.D., who infused new life and energy into the school system of Lower Canada."—[*Dr. Hodgins.*] Meanwhile the higher educational institutions of the province increased in number and efficiency. In 1804, the Seminary of Nicolet was established; in 1806, St. Raphael Seminary (which had been burned in 1803) was reopened as the College of Montreal; in 1811, the College of St. Hyacinthe; in 1824-25, the College of Ste. Thérèse de Blainville; in 1826, the Industrial College of Chambly; in 1827, the College of Ste. Anne la Pocatière; in 1827-8, McGill College; in 1828, La Providence Convent, at Montreal; in 1832, the McDonald Deaf and Dumb Asylum, at Quebec; in 1833, L'Assomption College; in 1842, the Christian Brothers' Schools, at Quebec; in 1843-45, Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and a classical high school, Quebec; in 1846, St. Michel College, Joliette College, Industrie; in 1847, Masson College, Terrebonne; in 1849, schools for deaf and dumb at Chambly and Longue Pointe; in 1849, the College de Ste. Marie, Montreal; in 1850, the College of Notre-Dame de Levis and Rigaud College; in 1852, McGill College and the Grand Seminary of Quebec, and in 1853 Bishop's College was chartered respectively as McGill, Laval, and Bishop's College Universities; in the same year (1853) the College of Ste. Marie de Monnoir and the normal and model schools of the Colonial and Continental Church and School Society at Montreal (subsequently transferred to McGill College); in 1854, the College of St. Germain de Rimouski, St. Francis (Richmond), Laval, near Montreal, Ste. Marie de la Beauce and Verchères; in 1855, Sherbrooke and Varennes Colleges; in 1856, La Chute College, Argenteuil; in 1858, the Reformatory School, Isle aux Noix; in 1859, the College of Trois-Rivières; in 1860, Longueuil College; and in 1862 Morrin College, Quebec. In 1872 the Wesleyan Methodists projected a college at Stanstead. Hon. Dr. Chauveau prepared



two important school acts, one to consolidate and improve the system of elementary schools, and the other that of superior education. He also projected the "Lower Canada Journal of Education," and "Le Journal de l'Instruction Publique," and promoted the establishment, in 1857, of Jacques-Cartier and McGill Normal Schools, Montreal, and of Laval Normal School, Quebec. Various modifications and improvements were made in the school system of Lower Canada, now Quebec, during the incumbency of Dr. Chauveau, who, in 1867, became Minister of Public Instruction, and retired in 1873.

3. NOVA SCOTIA. Although not one of those provinces which led the van in popular educational progress, Nova Scotia has, within a comparatively recent period, made great and rapid strides to place herself in line with the very foremost. If the people, considered in the mass, were late in evincing their appreciation of the benefits of general education, they, when thoroughly aroused, have exhibited a determined energy in compensating themselves for their previous seeming lethargy and comparative inaction. It must be admitted that at a period even yet (1877) within the recollection of middle-aged Nova Scotians, the "common-school system" — as it was complimentarily called — of that province presented a rather melancholy spectacle. The tourist through the rural districts could seldom mistake the "school-house," for it was the most unseemly, squalid, and dilapidated structure, with the most repulsive surroundings, to be seen in the neighborhood. The very aspect of the place was calculated to disgust a child, of any innate refinement of feeling, with the very name of *school*. So wretchedly inadequate was the remuneration provided for teachers, that few who were really capable of discharging the duties of that most honorable and responsible profession could prevail upon themselves to enter the calling of teachers. Thus too often men and women engaged themselves in that capacity because they found themselves unfit for anything else. In most cases, too, the teacher was under the necessity of making his engagement directly with the parents of the children he proposed to teach. He often had to make a vigorous canvass for the position, miserable as it was; and, when successful, he was subject to the caprice of his employers, and liable to be discharged at a moment's notice. An annual grant was made by the provincial Legislature in aid of common schools, to be apportioned upon certain conditions, one of which usually was the raising of a certain proportionate sum, in each instance, by the

people; but this condition was often shamefully evaded. Suitable school text-books, even for the primary branches of tuition, scarcely existed; and the forming of pupils into classes for instruction was all but impossible. Yet, under these disheartening circumstances, the real intellect of the country managed to get educated so far as to appreciate the importance of education, and each generation of them to make more strenuous efforts for improving the educational possibilities of their successors. The struggle upwards was a long and, in its earlier stages, a tedious one. Very frequent, but never very important or radical, changes were made in the provincial school law. This law merely amounted to a prescription of the conditions upon which teachers, or schools, might share in the annual legislative grant. County and district boards of school commissioners were appointed by the provincial government, the principal duties of which commissioners were the examination and licensing of teachers, and the fair distribution, among the schools under their jurisdiction, of the county or district portion of the annual grant. Some of their commissioners labored manfully in the way of their duty; but, as to examining candidates for teachers' licenses, many of them were plainly incompetent to do so; whilst others gave themselves little concern about the matter. Meanwhile the people in any "school district" might do as they pleased about having a school at all. Many of them pleased to save their means and dispense with a school altogether; and thus many thousands of children in the province were growing up in ignorance. The more advanced advocates of education were persistent in their efforts to have the whole schools of the country supported by a general property tax, and not to leave it optional with the people of any district to have or not to have a school. The Legislature exhibited much timidity in the matter. At length the law was so far modified as to *permit* the people of any "school district"—since designated "school section"—to tax themselves in accordance with certain formalities, for school purposes. This feeble measure produced no appreciable results. Wherever there was not universal spontaneity in the matter, even strong majorities were seldom disposed to persist in adopting a measure which could scarcely fail, when so adopted, to stir up bitterness and animosities among neighbors. Consequently few communities attempted any action in the matter; and of those few districts which adopted the taxation clause, nearly all, through the active factionism of non-

contents, soon lapsed back into the old way. At length a new and very perceptible impulse was given to the cause of common-school education by the establishment of a Normal School. This institution was founded by legislative act of 1854. The school itself was opened in Truro, in the autumn of 1855; and model schools in connection therewith were soon afterwards added. Probably no less beneficial was the influence upon that cause of the appointment of a provincial superintendent of education, J. W. Dawson, Esq., now more highly and widely distinguished as the Principal of McGill College, Montreal, who was the first to occupy that post in Nova Scotia; and the untiring energy, industry, and eloquence with which he strove, for years, and under many disheartening circumstances, to elevate the position and increase the usefulness of the teacher, and, at the same time, to impress upon the mass of the people a due sense of the benefits of education, amply entitle him to that gratitude which, we believe, is freely accorded by the true friends of education in Nova Scotia. The late Rev. Dr. Forrester, first principal of the Normal School, succeeded Dr. Dawson as superintendent of education, and in that capacity vigorously prosecuted the work which his predecessor had so ably commenced. It now soon became apparent that there was no scarcity of fairly competent teachers in the province. Every term of the Normal School added largely to their number. But competent teachers insisted upon something at least approaching to adequate remuneration for their professional services. The existing system afforded, at best, only the most precarious means of securing that end. It was, strictly speaking, no *system* at all. The more advanced advocates of education—now largely increased in numbers and influence—insisted that general assessment for the support of schools must be the basis, and could be the only durable basis, for an effective system of common-school education. They maintained that the country was now ripe for the introduction of such a system. Those still opposed to general assessment for the support of schools consisted, for the most part, of the most ignorant classes, and, strange to say, of the poorest in this world's goods, although as a rule the most abundantly provided with children to be educated. It was contended that, as the proposed tax would fall most lightly upon those disposed to resent its imposition, and as its beneficial results to the country at large would every day become more unmistakably obvious, no serious opposition to a really effective school law was to be apprehended; that, in short, any such

building, furnishing, or improvement of school-houses or grounds, and for all other purposes necessary for the due maintenance of the school. The machinery provided for duly administering the law are: the Council of Public Instruction, which is to consist of the provincial executive council; the superintendent of education, who must also be secretary of the Council of Public Instruction and inspector of schools for each county, and for the city of Halifax; county boards of school commissioners appointed by government to regulate the boundaries of sections, distribute the provincial and county moneys, receive returns, and generally to supervise the school affairs of their district, with the advice of the inspector, who is also secretary of the county board, or boards, of commissioners; lastly, the trustees, who are elected annually by the rate-payers in each school section, whose duties are to assess for and receive the school moneys, engage and pay teachers and manage school property, and generally to take care of the interests of the school within their section. Teachers are required to pass an examining board before they can obtain a license, and are graded according to their requirements. It is scarcely necessary



to enter into any other detail of the provisions of this law, which is similar in its general character to those in operation in the older provinces in the Dominion. It may here be observed — and, although only a passing remark, it is one which redounds much to the credit of Nova Scotia — that, owing to the mass of the people, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, having been allowed to cherish their natural, tolerant feelings towards each other, an education act has there been put in operation which makes no provision for “separate schools” of a denominational character; and yet all Christian denominations there work harmoniously together in promoting popular education. As was anticipated by those most capable of judging correctly, the school act of 1865 proved to be highly acceptable to the people as a whole. The

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country was indeed ripe for the measure, and set about carrying out its provisions with alacrity. Not but what there were clamors of discontent to be heard; but even these were rare, considering the sweeping nature of the changes demanded, and soon waxed faint, or became utterly suppressed, as the enlightened character of the new law became more obvious to every comprehension. Immediately on this law coming into operation, the improvement, in all that related to the common schools of the country, bounded forward with amazing celerity. Real school-houses — often notably tasteful in appearance, as well as commodious — sprang up in place of the unsightly, wretched dens which, in most parts of the province, had long been a reproach to the name of school-house. These were fitted up, too, with the modern improvements in the way of furniture, apparatus, and other conveniences; so that the pupil might study in comfort, instead of finding his school-hours a season of torture. The Council of Public Instruction took care to have the country amply supplied, and at the cheapest possible rate, with text-books, maps, and apparatus, according to a prescribed course; and the use of these was insisted on. The schools were, of course, free to all. This fact, coupled with the inevitable conviction that every rate-payer had to contribute to their support, whether he directly availed himself of their benefits or not, led to the schools being speedily filled — crowded; so that it was found oftentimes difficult to provide accommodation for pupils as rapidly as was required; and this, too, in districts where previously the greater number of the children were running at large and growing up in ignorance. The new school-law has now been ten years in operation. It is difficult to procure entirely reliable educational statistics of the province for, or just previous to, 1865, the last year of the old *regime*. We find that, in 1866, — the first year under the new law, — the number of pupils registered during the year in the common public free schools was seventy-one thousand and fifty-nine. It is certain that this was a large advance upon the number of pupils in attendance at common schools at any previous period; but just how much of an advance is not easily discoverable. We find that, in 1876, the registered attendance of pupils had increased to ninety-four thousand one hundred and sixty-two. In 1861 the proportion of pupils attending school was, to the whole population of the province, as one in seven. In 1876 the proportion was as one in four and one-tenth. This evidence of progress assumes much greater significance when we remember

the improved character of the schools to which the later attendance refers. We find a corresponding growth and expansion in all which relates to common-school education, during the decade in which the new law has been in force. During that period over one thousand school-houses have been erected, — edifices suited to the demands of the age. In 1876 the total expenditures for common sectional schools was \$619,015.62. Of this sum \$173,396.55 was voted by the provincial Legislature; \$106,780.75 was the contribution of the county funds; and the balance of \$338,838.32 was raised by direct assessment on the sections. It is not, however, through any mere dry statistics, however accurate, that we can duly estimate the benefits resulting from any such educational revolution as that which is being effected in Nova Scotia through the school act of 1865. It would be a superfluous task for us, in these pages, to undertake to inform the intelligent reader what such benefits must be. Already they manifest themselves in a thousand ways, and will continue to do so, let us hope, forever; the more certainly since those who are in charge of the education of the people's children, in that province, do not pretend that their system is yet perfect, and fully recognize the imperative demands of progress. For higher-class education Nova Scotia is provided with complete facilities; perhaps, within certain limits, almost too ample. In all counties which do not contain within their borders some collegiate institution, or "special academy," receiving provincial aid, there are county academies, in the nature of high schools, in which the rudiments of classics, the higher branches of mathematics, and usually some foreign modern language, are taught; and these county academies are largely supported by legislative aid. By recent act provision is made for the establishment of a high school in the city of Halifax. Among the "special academies" above referred to is included the Halifax Deaf and Dumb School, — a very efficient institution. Nova Scotia has no less than six colleges legally empowered to impart instruction and confer degrees, inclusive, that is, of Mount Allison, Sackville, just over the New Brunswick boundary, — a joint institution of the two provinces. As long ago as 1788 King's College was founded, at Windsor, in connection with the Church of England; and in this first-born of all the Protestant colleges of Canada many of the most eminent sons of the maritime provinces received their education. Early in the present century, and in consequence of being *at that time* precluded

from the honors of King's College, the dissenters, and notably the Presbyterians, ably championed by the late Rev. Thomas McCulloch, D.D., began to agitate for another college. The war which ensued upon this ground was protracted, and not very decisive in its results. Pictou Academy grew out of the struggle, and was the means of conferring a substantial education upon many youths, especially of the eastern part of the province. Soon, however, the Presbyterian interests rather converged upon Dalhousie College. The last-named institution was founded in 1820, at Halifax, by the advice and under the immediate direction of the Earl of Dalhousie, then governor of the province, in whose honor it was named. The appropriations for this purpose consisted in part of the "Castine Fund," so called,—the proceeds of the sacking of Fort Castine, in Maine, in "the war of 1812;" and in part of direct grants from the provincial Legislature. The early history of this institution was not a happy one. Several attempts were made, at long intervals, to carry out the projects for which the institution was founded; but they proved to be spasmodic, and, owing to different causes, soon came to collapse. On the first of these occasions, after a delay of nearly eighteen years from the date of its founding, Dalhousie College was fairly banished by the provincial government, but with a faculty of Presbyterian professors. Other religious denominations, and more especially the Baptists, stoutly remonstrated against the denominational complexion thus given to what, they contended, was to have been a broad provincial institution. The Baptists, deeply stirred by the inspiring appeals of Rev. E. A. Crawley, D.D., promptly resolved to raise to collegiate rank the academy which, for some years previously, they had been sustaining at Wolfville. Thus was founded Acadia College, Wolfville, an institution which has ever since continued to occupy a very conspicuous position among the educational phenomena of Nova Scotia. Almost immediately afterwards, in 1840, the Roman Catholics asked for and obtained a charter for their College of St. Mary's, at Halifax. Next, the Wesleyan Methodists of the maritime provinces conjointly set up their academy at Mount Allison, Sackville; although this institution did not really acquire the collegiate function of conferring degrees until 1862; lastly, in 1855, the Roman Catholics of the eastern section of the province obtained a charter for their college of St. François Xavier, at Antigonish. Each of these six colleges receives an annual money grant from the Legisla-

ture. Of Dalhousie College, whose fortune it was to be the immediate cause of this multiplicity of collegiate institutions, it must be said that, after repeated failures, it was again reorganized, in 1865, with an entirely new staff of professors; ever



since which time it has been in a highly flourishing condition. All of the other five colleges which we have named are avowedly "denominational" in their character; King's, Anglican; St. Mary's and St. François Xavier, Romanist; Acadia, Baptist; and Mount Allison, Methodist: although each of them is open to all denominations without any application of religious test. Dalhousie College is not in any sense a denominational institution; although there can scarcely be a doubt that the Presbyterians, by far the most

numerous Protestant body in the province, and having no college peculiarly their own, contribute to its classes more students than any other religious denomination, if not more than all others combined. For several years past Dalhousie has taken the lead in the annual average number of its students; closely following, Acadia has been next; the remaining colleges follow at varying, but more respectful, distances. During the year 1876 there were engaged in the work of tuition, in these six colleges, thirty professors and two tutors, giving instruction to two hundred and eleven regularly matriculated students, and to one hundred and twenty-nine taking partial courses. At the close of the same year, they are represented as together owning property in real estate and invested in funds to the amount of \$365,755.57. Their income for the year, from all sources, was \$34,921.28, of which sum \$10,800 was derived from provincial legislative grant. Their total expenditure amounted to \$34,374.99. We find that, in 1876, the total educational expenditure of Nova Scotia was as follows:—

For Public Free Schools, including County Academies, \$616,015.62, of which were paid by provincial grant \$173,396.55; Normal and Model Schools, \$8,714.97, of which were paid by

provincial grant, \$5,009.00; Special Academics, \$55,269.00, of which were paid by provincial grant, \$5,400.00; Colleges, \$34,394.99, of which were paid by provincial grant, \$10,800.00. Total, \$717,374.58, of which were paid by provincial grant, \$194,605.95.

The multiplication of colleges, at the rate of six chartered colleges to three hundred thousand souls, — which was about the population of the province when the last of them was fairly launched, — has been, from an early period, a matter of regret among many sincere friends of education; and latterly even many of those who had been zealous advocates of denominational colleges have begun to entertain misgivings as to whether this policy had not been carried to a needless, if not dangerous, excess in Nova Scotia. But since then it was believed that their usefulness would be extended and their standing elevated by making them all members of a single provincial university. It was doubtless with this object in view that an act was passed through the provincial Legislature, in the session of 1876, establishing the "University of Halifax," based upon the model of the University of London. The new university is to take no part in the work of instruction, its functions being mainly those of examining for and conferring degrees; but it is hoped that the other colleges will become affiliated with it, and that eventually *all* examinations will be made and degrees conferred by this new provincial institution. The medical and legal professions have already placed themselves in accord with the new university; and the senate has appointed examiners in law and medicine, as well as in arts. It may here be observed that almost simultaneously with, but a little in advance of, the founding of the university, a medical school was established in Halifax, which is fairly equipped, and seems entering upon a very vigorous career. The time appointed for holding the first examination by the University of Halifax has not yet



arrived, at the time of this writing; and it yet remains to be seen whether all of the six teaching colleges will become cordially affiliated with it, and whether any of them will affiliate at all. Under the university act it is entirely optional with them to do so, or not. Even their annual grants from the provincial treasury are not suspended in consequence of the founding of the university; nor is the continuance of them conditional upon their affiliation with it. It may readily be inferred, then, that the university must—and almost immediately—prove a very great success, or a signal failure, according to the feeling evinced at the outset between it and the colleges. Doubtless the design with which it was founded was an admirable one, especially under the circumstances under which it was founded; and if that design is judiciously carried out its success must be brilliant. However that may be, it will be seen, from what we have been enabled to state, that it is with no feeble will, or grudging spirit, that Nova Scotia is dealing with the momentous cause of education. A deaf and dumb institution has been established in Halifax since 1858. It has been highly successful, and is attended by about fifty pupils from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Its total cost is only about five thousand two hundred and fifty dollars per annum, part of which is granted by the Legislature of Nova Scotia, and part by that of New Brunswick, in proportion to the number of pupils attending the school from each province. In 1814 Capt. Bromby established an industrial school for the poor in Halifax, on the Lancasterian system. The school was subsequently aided by the Legislature, and Capt. Bromby received two hundred pounds in consideration of his labors and expense in establishing the school.

4. **NEW BRUNSWICK.** The early history of education in New Brunswick is pretty much the same as in the pioneer days for elementary education. Parish schools were encouraged by an act of the Legislature in 1823. In 1833 a general school act was passed, authorizing the rate-payers to appoint three trustees in each parish for the purpose of dividing it into school sections or districts, and to examine and employ teachers. Provided the inhabitants contributed twenty pounds for a male and ten pounds for a female teacher, with board, and the schools were kept open for at least six months in each year, the Legislature contributed an equal sum to aid in supporting schools. The average grant of each parish, which was not to exceed one hundred and sixty pounds, was one hundred and twenty pounds,

and the whole amount granted by the Legislature for schools in 1836 was twelve thousand pounds. In 1837 an act establishing a county board of examination was passed by the Legislature, and by this act the grant to each parish was raised to one hundred and eighty pounds. In 1840 another act was passed, raising the compensation to teachers; but in 1840, owing to the great depression of the finances of the province, only one thousand two hundred pounds were granted to aid parish schools; but the sum was subsequently raised to the usual amount. In 1845 a legislative committee brought in a report with a bill for the improvement of parish schools; but, on the suggestions of the committee, the bill was laid over. In 1847, however, a new act was passed, by which the county board were superseded by the provincial board, consisting of the governor and his executive council. Under this regime the salaries of teachers were fixed at eighteen pounds, twenty-two pounds, and thirty pounds, according to grade. Books and apparatus were also provided, and the grant to a parish was raised to six hundred and sixty pounds. In 1852 a new act was passed, creating a superintendent of public instruction, as also county superintendents. In 1853 St. John, N.B., had its training and model schools, and such was the progress of education in New Brunswick, that, in 1865, there were nine hundred schools in successful operation, besides twenty-five superior schools, and twenty denominational and Madras schools. In 1871 New Brunswick adopted an entirely new public-school system, similar to that of Ontario. This act gave rise to a serious digression in the province in regard to the power of the New Brunswick Legislature "to make such changes in the school law as deprived Roman Catholics of the privileges they enjoyed at the time of confederation (in 1867), in respect of religious education in the common schools." This matter was referred to the general government of the Dominion, when the competence of the local Legislature to deal with the question was confirmed. In 1874 the matter was referred to the privy council, but the appeal was dismissed with costs. Grammar schools have been established in nearly all the counties of the province, each of which receives one hundred pounds per annum from the Legislature, each being supported by fees and subscriptions in addition. The grammar schools of New Brunswick date back to 1805; and along with the history of their development we meet with the rise and growth of King's College. In 1873 there were eight hundred

ninety-four common schools in operation in the province, attended by forty thousand four hundred five pupils,—twenty-two thousand three hundred seven boys and eighteen thousand ninety-eight girls. The provincial grant in aid of these schools is about ninety thousand dollars per annum. The number of superior schools was forty-one, attended by two thousand nine hundred thirty pupils; and the number of grammar schools fourteen, attended by eight hundred eighty-one pupils. The Normal School has an attendance of about seventy-five students each term. King's College, at Frederickton, formerly known as the College of New Brunswick, has an annual income of about thirteen thousand five hundred dollars, and an attendance of about seventy students annually. In 1836 the Baptists of the province established a seminary for higher education in Frederickton, which receives an annual grant, from the Legislature, of one thousand dollars. In 1843 the Wesleyan Methodists, largely by the commendable liberality of C. F. Allison, Esq., erected the Allison Academy for higher education, at Sackville, and in 1854 the same denomination established a female academy at the same place. The institution receives an annual grant, from the Legislature of New Brunswick, of two thousand four hundred dollars, and from the Legislature of Nova Scotia one thousand dollars. The Presbyterians have established a college at Woodstock, and a flourishing academy at Chatham. The Roman Catholics have also an academy at Chatham, as well as St. Basil's Academy, which receives grants from the Legislature. There are also other educational institutions in the province of high merit; and in this particular New Brunswick is keeping pace with the foremost of the provinces. The total annual grant of the Legislature for the support of education in the province amounts to two hundred thousand dollars.

5. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND. The first steps towards encouraging education in the Province of Prince Edward Island was made in 1804. "In that year the English secretary of state, in a despatch, gave directions to appropriate the rent of the Warren Farm (government property) towards the support of a school in Charlottetown. But it was not until the year 1819 that a direct appropriation of these rents was made in the erection of a national school, which was opened in 1821. In 1808, the legislative grant for education in the island was three hundred and twenty-eight pounds; in 1829 it was only five hundred and two pounds; in 1832, five hundred and sixty-three pounds; in

1839, six hundred and five pounds; in 1841, including a grant to the academy, it was one thousand two hundred and seventy-two pounds; in 1845, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five pounds; in 1850, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five pounds; in 1854, after the passing of the free education act, the grant was raised to the munificent sum of nine thousand and thirty-eight pounds; in 1855, to eleven thousand nine hundred and nine pounds, and in 1856 to twelve thousand pounds. On the first distribution of the lands in the island, thirty acres were reserved in each township for a school-master. No public school was, however, opened until 1821, when the national school referred to was opened in Charlottetown. Some years afterwards a Board of Education was appointed for the island; and, in 1836, a central academy was also opened in Charlottetown. In the following year (1837) a visitor or superintendent of schools was appointed for the island. In 1848 a visitor was appointed for each county; and in 1852 the first act establishing free schools in a British colony was passed by the Legislature. It gave a great stimulus to education in the island. In 1853 a visitor for the whole island was again appointed. In 1856 a normal school was established at Charlottetown, and in 1857 an agitation arose as to the use of the Bible in the public schools. In 1861 the Legislature passed an act to consolidate the laws relating to education in the island, and to improve the condition of public schools, as well as to authorize the use of the Bible in them. It also passed an act to establish the Prince of Wales' College, in honor of his royal highness' visit to Prince Edward in that year. In 1863 the Legislature made other improvements in the school system, and provided for grammar schools instead of district schools. It prescribed that the grammar school-masters should hold a certificate of the highest class, and also "be qualified to teach the Latin, Greek, and French languages, in such proficiency as the provincial Board of Education shall deem requi-



site." In 1864 the school act was again amended, and also the act relating to the Prince of Wales' College. In 1868 the whole of the acts relating to education in the island were consolidated. The progress of education has been as follows : —

Year.	Schools.	Pupils.
In 1837 there were in the island	51	1,650
In 1841 " "	121	4,356
In 1848 " "	131	4,512
In 1852 " "	133	4,760
In 1855 " "	270	12,133
In 1861 " "	302	11,500
In 1863 " "	305	12,205
In 1868 " "	339	13,350
In 1869 " "	360	14,867
In 1871 " "	381	15,795
In 1871 " "	384	12,235
In 1872 " "	392 ¹	16,257

6. BRITISH COLUMBIA is the youngest province in the Dominion educationally, and yet she bids fair to excel in this particular. "The act of organizing her system of education was only passed on the 11th of April, 1872, and the first report on the condition of the schools was issued in September. John Jessup, Esq., the first superintendent of education for the province of British Columbia, appointed under the new act, was formerly a successful student in the normal school in Ontario. He has, as we see from his report, not failed to introduce into the British Columbia schools many features of the Ontario school system, and the law and most of the official regulations are almost verbatim transcripts (as far as they go) of those in force in that province. The text-books used, also, are chiefly the same as those authorized for use in Ontario. There is a provincial Board of Education, which is authorized to examine and give certificates to public-school teachers, and to prescribe general regulations for the schools, etc. The legislative educational grant, for all purposes, is forty thousand dollars a year. Of this sum, eight thousand three hundred and forty-six dollars were expended for school-house building and repairs. The trustees have no power to levy rates, but all the expenses of the schools are defrayed, upon the certificate of the superintendents, out of the forty-thousand-dollar grant. There were in British Columbia (and Vancouver Island) twenty-six school districts in 1873; in one half of them only schools were re-

¹ Including these are fifteen grammar schools, with nine hundred and five pupils, and one normal school, with seventy-two pupils.

ported, and these were attended by five hundred and seventy-three boys and four hundred and fifty-five girls; total, one thousand and twenty-eight. The school population reported is from eighteen hundred to two thousand. In 1833 Vancouver Island was first occupied by the Hudson Bay Company, and Victoria, the capital, founded. The capital was selected by James Douglas, Esq., the governor, on behalf of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1843 the boundary line between the United States and what is now known as British Columbia was determined. In 1849 Vancouver Island was conditionally granted by the queen to the company, for the purpose of settlement. In the year 1859 gold was first publicly known to exist in the valley of the Fraser river (British Columbia proper), and in that year the occupation of Vancouver Island was resumed by the queen. The island, with British Columbia, was then erected into two British crown colonies, with separate boundaries, but under one government. Though private efforts were made to establish schools as early as possible, nothing was done in that direction by the government until 1869, when a "Common School Ordinance" was passed by the governor in council. This ordinance was amended and its provisions were extended in 1870. In 1872 a comprehensive act was passed by the Legislature (to which we have referred), based upon the public-school act of Ontario. This act was slightly amended in 1873." — [Dr. Hodgins.] Since that date education in the Pacific provinces has been moving steadily forward with rapid pace.

7. The act upon which the present system of common-school education in Manitoba is based was passed during the first session of the first Parliament of that province, in 1871. Previous to the passing of this act there were one or more schools in each of the English-speaking parishes. These schools were under the direct control of the incumbent of the parish, and, with the exception of two, were all Church of England schools. Some of them were entirely supported by the Church Missionary Society. As to the rest, the teachers' salaries, as well as all expenses incurred in the erection, furnishing, and repairing of the school-houses, were defrayed by local collections and subscriptions, aided during the past few years by a grant from the diocesan fund. In several of the parishes, which are not connected with the Church Missionary Society, the schools have been carried on for the past few years under great difficulties. In these localities the support of the school devolved almost entirely upon the people residing in them;

and when it is borne in mind that these parishes, always small and by no means wealthy, suffered heavily from the ravage of



the grasshoppers, the difficulties of providing a reasonable salary for the teachers and keeping up the school-houses will be easily understood and appreciated. Indeed some of our schools have been frequently closed, for the simple reason that the teacher's salary could not be raised; and in more than one case the clergyman of the parish has undertaken the school duties himself, and devoted, free of charge, a few hours each day to the important duty of instructing the youthful members of his flock in the different branches

of a common-school education.

As already intimated, the Legislature established a system of education for the province in 1871, and placed it under the control of a provincial Board of Education and two superintendents, — one a Protestant and the other a Roman Catholic. It also gave to the board six thousand dollars to assist it in maintaining the schools. There are about twenty Protestant schools, attended by nearly eight hundred and fifty pupils, and the same number of Roman Catholic schools, attended by nearly seven hundred and fifty pupils.

8. In connection with our remark on the educational institutions of the Dominion we may appropriately add a few words concerning the newspaper press, which may be regarded as one of the most powerful educators in all countries.¹ The elaborate machinery, wide circulation, and extensive influence of the newspaper press in the present day, are so uniformly felt and generally acknowledged that reflection appears at once superfluous. On both continents has its presence become a power alike for the government and discipline, as well as a faultless index for the advancement and enlightenment, of the respective peoples. In the United States it is found in its perfect and

¹ Compiled from a sketch written by James V. Wright, Esq., of Montreal.

completest vigor, holding conspicuous place among the chief and multifarious mediums of popular education, for which that country maintains so distinguished a precedence. Nor do we find Europe in scarcely any material particular behind. England, with the rest of Great Britain, not to speak of Germany, France, and the neighboring free countries, has aroused herself within the century to the benefit of a sound and complete newspaper-literature, and pushed forward in the several departments with a marvellous — we had almost said magic — potency and speed. Closely following in the van is the new Dominion of Canada. Brilliant in native intellectual material for the purpose; fertile in subject-matter for whatever may legitimately occupy the pen of journalism; strong in sense of right and justice in all that pertains to her true liberties; rich in resources, and broad in acres, — she has already won for herself a name in the field of newspaper, and even less ephemeral, literature, to be emulated if not envied. These are facts needing only to be investigated to be apparent. Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, comprising in aggregate a population of four millions, with a total area of slightly over three hundred and seven thousand square miles, lead the way. Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia, — infant provinces, the two latter, but no less containing the nucleus of a powerful press, — follow anon in the wake. Newfoundland, *as yet* not a part of the Dominion, has from early time in her history had her press, and we shall, for the purposes now in hand, speak of her as one of the Dominion. In no part of the world has journalism attained to a tithe of the growth and influence that it has in the United States. Our republican friends have indeed acquainted themselves to the fullest extent with its capabilities for good or evil, and, with an energetic appreciation of its benefits at once characteristic, have in a manner made it their idol. We refer more especially to the metropolitan press. By an application of enormous capital and equivalent talent they have succeeded in elevating that section of journalism within their range, to a very first place, not only as a furnisher of news and disseminator of opinion, but in a far more important arena, *viz.*, the education of the masses. A no insignificant quota of the American people make the newspaper their chief means of general instruction, as well as transient information; these, too, are among their most intelligent citizens, holding often responsible offices of trust. Nor is this matter of wonder when we consider the fact that, in the average American city

daily, nearly every subject is intelligently dealt with. Science and art, social and political economy, together with the thousand other topics pertaining to a round of popular education, have each their writer in the editorial staff; each is handled by men of tried erudition and capacity; and each is presented to the less tutored reader in a plain matter-of-fact style and phase, devoid of technicalities, that might in vain be sought for in the ponderous volumes and learned disquisitions whence they are gleaned. And this is well. Life, in this age of rapid movement and fierce commercial combat generally, is too short for physical working humanity to sound all depths of



learning, whether it be of art, politics, or aught else. The daily paper furnishes the substance and the kernel, which is all that is required. We have touched thus long on a point that may seem irrelevant, not from any peculiar predilections for American journalism over our own, but that our own may imitate it in all that may be esteemed essential and deserving. To *educate*, as well as amuse and merely inform, should be the aim of our metropolitan newspapers especially; and with the growing thirst for knowledge among the masses, such, if not already, will soon be absolutely demanded. Journalism was never in a condition more prosperous throughout Canada and the Dominion at large than at present. Proportional to our population and extent of settled territory it has few or no compeers. The number and quality of the papers published, if records are an authority, are vastly in advance of those in the United States, at a time when the two populations were equal. No people appreciate a free press, as a whole, more completely than do the people of Canada; yet that appreciation, it may be said with truth, has ever been guided by an ear and eye to the morality of that press. Hence it has long been proverbial that no press stands higher when consulted by strangers abroad as an authority for facts.

9. Canadian journalism found its first foothold in Quebec

province, to which section, inasmuch as it was the first to feel the genial hand of civilization, we are indebted for the founding of nearly all our most valuable institutions. The condition of the press here, however, has always been peculiar. Differing widely in taste and sentiment from their Teutonic brethren, the French have stamped that difference in nothing more indelibly than in that of their newspapers. Few care to discuss the politics of the day, save such leading French dailies as are found in Montreal, Quebec, and a few leading towns. Polite in idea and manner, and enthusiastic in religion, the French Canadian vindicates these, his national characteristics, in the tone of his journal. Poetry, polite essays, and religious topics, form the "general make-up" of its columns. Among the English papers broader principles obtain. Politics are frequently handled with vigor and acumen by even the most backwoods weekly; while the Montreal and Quebec city dailies are written in a style, and discuss every topic of the day with an ability, unsurpassed anywhere in the world. The same may apply to the French papers of those cities. The divergency of races and language has operated not a little against the success of journalism in Quebec province, the circulation in either tongue being much retarded thereby, a fact by no means encouraging to the talented men generally to be found at their head. With the increase, however, of British settlement, matters will undoubtedly right themselves, as the increased influence and circulation of the English press of Montreal since confederation sufficiently proves. Next to Quebec the maritime provinces may claim credit for building up and perpetuating journalism. Nova Scotia had a paper in 1769, and New Brunswick and Newfoundland each possessed newspapers as far back as 1800. None of these, however, have survived to the present. The newspapers of St. John, Halifax, and Frederickton, have always been well edited, are at present numerous, and have substantial circulation. Their



press anterior to confederation, was conducted on no specially broad principles; trade, shipping, and agriculture, entirely occupying its columns. Confederation, however, has given the press of these provinces, in common with all other and kindred institutions, an impetus wholly unlooked for; important social and political discussions, and schemes of financial economy that may hasten our national perfecting and consolidation, now uniformly grace its pages; while the general make-up and style is quite equal to that of its confrères anywhere in the Dominion. Ontario is the journalist's harvest-field. There the newspaper is racy of the soil, and there the intelligent editor finds his surest reward. A freedom of social and political discussion, an elasticity in general sentiment, and a trenchancy of debate generally, quite unknown in the sister provinces, renders his task at least brilliant, if not directly agreeable; while the stronger tendencies of the people for newspaper literature stimulates his circulation and augments his coffers. The progress of the press in Ontario has been something unprecedented. Statistics have been published which show that the daily and weekly circulation of the papers in Toronto alone, in 1870, exceeded that of the entire United Kingdom of Great Britain in 1820, if we except the London "Times" in the enumeration. The rise of journalism in the "garden of Canada," as Ontario has been aptly termed, would fill a chapter beyond our limits. Thrift and industry are the watchwords of its people; and public schools being established on a basis of liberality known only in the United States and Prussia, education is everywhere spread broadcast, and the daily and weekly paper finds a welcome in every home; the people think for themselves, read for themselves, and, in all things essential, act for themselves, and a knowledge of the local and general politics of the country is known to every child from the cradle. The first newspaper in Canada, the Quebec "Gazette," was founded in 1764. It was in existence to within a short time, — the aged parent and acknowledged patriarch of the press of British America. The second was the Halifax Weekly "Recorder," started in 1769 by one Anthony Henry, and edited by Capt. Buckley. It has long ceased to exist. Next in order is the "Montreal Gazette," established by one Mesplets, from Philadelphia, in 1778, and originally printed in French and English. It may be curious here to note, as illustrative of the mutations incident to time and circumstance, that this paper, chiefly known through the greater portion of its career for an unbending advo-

acy of conservatism and monarchy in their most pronounced phases, is indebted for its origin and birth to an American revolutionist, an American annexation movement, and an American invasion of Canada. Mesplets, a practical printer, came into Montreal as an attaché of a deputation sent hither from the Philadelphia Congress, directed to follow in the wake of Montgomery's army, which occupied the city in 1775. The object of the deputation was to endeavor to estrange the Canadians from their allegiance, and, by specious overtures, lure them to a peaceful declaration for the government of the United States. Dr. Benjamin Franklin, one of the deputation, and than whom none knew better the uses of the press in such an emergency, suggested the bringing with them the complete plant of a printing-office, and, by manifestoes, circulars, and such-like, to spread broadcast among the inhabitants the objects of their mission and the beauties of annexation in particular. The experiment—Mesplets doing the mechanical work—was tried, and, it is needless to say, failed signally; the deputation returned home; the printer alluded to, however, remaining in Montreal, where he continued the office, located in what is now known as "Custom-House Square," and a short time subsequently put forth an eight-column weekly sheet called the "Gazette." It was long the only paper in the province, next to its namesake of Quebec. The history of these two papers, as may be easily inferred, is replete with interest, they having been pioneers in the field of provincial journalism, and surviving every vicissitude of fortune that falls inevitably to the lot of all that would mould and lead public opinion. Both journals have passed through many ownerships since establishment, and represented from time to time, especially the Quebec "Gazette," nearly every shade of political and social opinion. The "Gazette," of Montreal, under the late Robert Abraham, an accomplished writer, first came prominently into public favor. James Moir Ferres and others succeeded, but with varied success, until it passed into the management of the late firm of Lowe & Chamberlin. Under their control it became at once the acknowledged and energetic organ of the conservative party in Quebec province, and continues such, but with largely increased favor, to the present time. In 1870 the Messrs. T. & R. White, formerly of the Hamilton "Spectator," assumed possession, changing the shape, and improving the general make-up of the paper. Mr. Thomas White, Jr., is the editor-in-chief, and under him the "Gazette" has greatly advanced in circulation and influence; the vigor,

brilliance, and high tone of its editorials commending it to the respectable classes everywhere, while its prompt and accurate news reports render it of more than ordinary value in that connection generally. The "Gazette" is the oldest living paper in the Dominion. Following in the order of dates we turn for the moment to Ontario. In consulting the interesting volume by the Rev. H. Scadding, D.D., entitled "Toronto of Old," we find the "Niagara Constellation" existed in 1799, and was undoubtedly the next paper published in British America after the Montreal "Gazette." The "York Gazette" followed three years later. The "Constellation" continued several years, and was the only paper of general information in the then wilderness of the west, known as Upper Canada; it has long ceased to exist. The Halifax "Royal Gazette" came next, in 1801. It was the official organ of the government, and as such continues. The "Quebec Mercury" follows next in order, and was issued first in 1805, by the late Thomas Cary, father of the present proprietor. The "Mercury" had long extensive influence in the country previous to the union of Upper and Lower Canada, in 1840; it is still vigorous. In the early days mentioned it was a compendium of all that pertained to news, politics, and debate. Copies of the "Mercury," from the first number, bound in volume, are to be found in not a few of our public libraries; and so curious and valuable were the early numbers considered, that they have been deemed worthy a place in the British Museum, London, where they may now be seen. The Quebec "Le Canadien," founded in 1806, succeeded, and still circulates among the French portion of the ancient capital. The St. John's "Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser" was established in 1807, and, similar to its namesake of York (Toronto) and Halifax, was the government official organ. It still exists. Ushered into being in 1809, and next in order of establishment, we find the "Montreal Herald." This journal, founded by a wholesale merchant named Kay, subsequently, in 1824, lapsing into the hands of Mr. Archibald Ferguson, as the organ of the Presbyterian body, and the property still later of a well-known citizen named Wier, has, in common with the Montreal "Gazette," long wielded an important and wide influence, and may be said to have disputed, through a protracted career, the palm with the latter paper for public favor. The "Herald" was long edited by a gentleman of distinguished ability, named Kinnear; and to his ready and trenchant, but polished, pen may be attributed

the high position it attained to in his day, and which, with kindred qualities in its successors, it has never lost since. Mr. Adam Thom held the management some time previously to Mr. Kinnear, and his ability did conspicuous service to its columns. The paper has long since been the organ-in-chief in Quebec province of the English-speaking section of the extreme liberal party, the battles of whom it has fought through good and and evil report, with a consistency and firmness that may be said to have won the respect even of opponents. The "Herald" is owned by a publishing company. The Hon. E. Goff Peimy, now of the Dominion senate, and long a partner in the concern, is the chief editor. The "Herald" editorials are conspicuous for an easy, argumentative style, in which all shadow of the sensational or fine writing is rigorously eschewed. Commercial topics in particular receive from it a diligent oversight, which has rendered its columns in relation thereto a valuable desideratum among merchants. Its discussions, generally, are marked by caution, and a careful regard to the truth of statements before using them; an element in the paper, we need hardly say, which has had its due reward in an increased confidence among readers of all classes, and with it a proportionably increased circulation. Next in order of establishment we have the Kingston (Ont.) "Chronicle,"—to which has been added the title of "News"—dating 1810. This paper is the oldest that has *continued* to live in Ontario. It is also the seventh oldest in the Dominion. While its contemporaries one by one have dropped away, the "Chronicle and News" has stood its ground through all vicissitude, and is still fresh and vigorous. Mr. James Shannon is the present proprietor, and his paper has a substantial circulation. The "Halifax Acadian Recorder," founded in 1813, is the next oldest living journal. We might speak, to almost endless length, of papers founded at an early period, everywhere from Ontario to Newfoundland, but which ceased



almost with their birth. Such recapitulation is unnecessary. We have seen that the Niagara "Constellation" (1799) was the first after the Montreal "Gazette." A short-lived paper, the Canada "Guardian," edited by Joseph Wilcox, was published in Toronto in 1807. The Niagara "Spectator" followed in 1819. This was a stirring paper and lived some years. It was edited by one Robert Gourlay, a state prisoner incarcerated in Niagara jail. Gourlay aired with vehemence his political wrongs in the "Spectator," and was subsequently banished. The next paper was the "Colonial Advocate," established in Toronto, in 1824, by the political agitator, William Lyon Mackenzie. Mackenzie assailed the Tory government of the day with unsurpassed virulence, and for it his presses and types were thrown into Toronto Bay, in 1826. He subsequently founded the "Message," which dropped when shortly after he went into banishment, but resumed on his return.

10. Among other journals established, but not forgotten, were the "Examiner," "British Colonist," "Canadian Review," "Loyalist," etc., Toronto "Pilot," "Advertiser," "Telegraph," "Transcript," and others of even more early date. Montreal, Three Rivers, Quebec, and the maritime provinces, have all had, similarly, papers, from time to time, of note; but such live only in the past. After the Halifax "Acadian Recorder," the oldest living paper is the Halifax "Chronicle," and with it the Brockville (Ont.) "Recorder," each founded in 1820. The "Chronicle" is edited by a gentlemen well known in political circles, and a distinguished parliamentarian, — Hon. Charles Anand. The "Brockville Recorder" is the second oldest *weekly* paper in Ontario. It is edited now by Leaver & Southworth. (An evening edition of the "Recorder" is now in its third year.) The "St. Catherine's Journal" stands next, having been established in 1824; it has now a daily. "La Minerve," Montreal, follows in order, having been founded in 1826 by the late Hon. Louis M. Morin. It stands high as the leading organ of French conservatism in Quebec province. Its editorials are conspicuous for vigor and point. Mr. Duvernay, the editor, has long been known in the political warfare of parties in the province. Mr. Dausereau is also associated in the conduct of its columns. The Toronto "Christian Guardian" was established in 1829, and is the next; it is a weekly journal in the interest of the Wesleyan Methodist body, and was long conducted by the founder of the Ontario common-school system, the Rev. Dr. Edgerton Ryerson; the Rev. E. H. Dewart is present editor. The "Guar-

dian," after forty-seven years, still preserves its ancient vigor and usefulness. The Woodstock (N.B.) "Carleton Sentinel" and Pietou (Ont.) "Gazette," were the next, in 1830, succeeded by the Coburg (Ont.) "Star" in 1831; the Yarmouth (N.S.) "Herald," and St. Andrew's (N.B.) "Standard," followed in 1833; the Sherbrooke (Que.) "Gazette" was also established in this year. The "Gazette" is among our very best rural journals, being well edited, and having a wide influence in what is known as the "Eastern Townships;" Bradford Brothers are the publishers. The Kingston "British Whig," established in 1834, follows the "Gazette," and with it we couple the Belleville "Intelligencer," founded in the same year. The "Whig" claims notice as being *the first daily paper established in Ontario*; and as such has the high honor of being the father of that order of journalism in the West. Dr. Barker, one of the oldest settlers of Kingston, and well known in Canada political circles, was the editor and proprietor down to 1871; it is now conducted by his nephew, Mr. E. J. Barker Pense, and is the Kingston organ of the reform party. The "Whig" editorials are forcible, and the status of the journal first-class. The Belleville "Intelligencer," also 1834, was long owned by Mr. McKenzie Bowell, sometime grand master of the Ontario Orange Association; it has latterly become a daily, and is published by a joint-stock company; — 1834 appears to have been a period of newspaper founding, as the Prescott "Telegraph" and Perth "Courier" were also started in that year. Proceeding in order, we have the St. John (N.B.) "News," established in 1836, and the Halifax "Christian Messenger," in the same year. In bringing our review of journalism down thus far, we have preserved the dates of establishment in consecutive order as near as possible, link by link, from the first, in 1764, to the two last papers named. We will notice now, but perhaps in less order, the papers that remain, to which age, etc., would seem to attach any interest. The "Ottawa Citizen" was established in 1841, and was long known as "Bell's paper," having been conducted many years by the late Robert Bell, M.P.P. for Carleton County (Ont.), previous to confederation. The Toronto "Globe" appears next, and stands first, and preëminently the prince of newspapers in the Dominion. Established in 1844 by the late Peter Brown, in conjunction with his son, the present Hon. George Brown, as a tri-weekly, and shortly afterwards as a daily, it has gone on increasing in circulation and political power, until its name has become

a synonyme of whatever is strong in Canadian journalism. The "Globe," from its inception, has been in the interest of the reform party of the country ; and has been the



means of advancing not a few of that shade of politics to position and preferment, not the least conspicuous of whom may be named the proprietor himself. The name of the Hon. George Brown is so completely one with that of the "Globe," that to disassociate them would be to rend the fabric. It would be impossible in our space to give even an outline of the career and management of this newspaper ; suffice it, that it is immediately controlled by the "Globe Publishing Company," of which Mr. Brown is managing director

and principal shareholder. Mr. Gordon Brown, brother of the former, has been for many years one of its chief writers. The Hon. William McDougall, long conspicuous in Canadian politics, and sometime governor of Manitoba, was also for years a principal writer. The "Globe" is distinguished for keen and forcibly written editorials ; and what, perhaps, has more than anything else given its present position, — the promptness, fulness, and accuracy of its telegraphic news reports. No labor nor expense is spared when a piece of fresh news is to be obtained. It has its branch offices in all the principal cities, and telegraphic correspondence in all the towns of the Dominion, also in London, England, cable telegrams from which may almost always be seen in its columns. With such adjuncts it is not surprising that the "Globe" takes the lead of all contemporaries. With the reform party it is needless to say it has ever been the pronounced mouth-piece and oracle ; and to them it is indebted in largest measures for its success. The Montreal Weekly "Witness" commenced in 1846, passing successfully into tri-weekly in 1856 and daily in 1860, and, we scarcely need say, has attained a high place among our Dominion newspapers. The "Witness" is essentially a religious temperance daily, and the conspicuously moral tone of its columns, coupled with its

vigor from its inception in the cause of temperance, has in a large degree secured for it its present position. The Hamilton "Spectator," established in 1848 by the late Robert R. Smiley, was long the leading conservative paper in Ontario; it is still vigorous, and has a large circulation; it is owned by Lawson, McCulloch & Co. The Hamilton "Times," London "Advertiser," London "Herald," and London "Free Press," Toronto "Leader," Branford "Courier," and a long list of minor papers, daily and weekly, were established between 1848 and the succeeding decade. The papers named are first class in their kind, and comprise some of the best enterprise and talent to be found in the Dominion. We append a few words upon one or two daily papers of quite recent date, that have taken, both in influence and circulation, a leading stand in their respective localities, in common with their contemporaries already mentioned. The St. John, N.B., "Daily Telegraph," established in 1865, deserves special mention, not less for its sound political and commercial standing than for the high literary character it has maintained since its inception. Mr. William Elder, a gentleman of distinguished culture, has long been its chief editor and proprietor. The Montreal "Evening Star" was established in 1869, and claims attention for the independent stand it has taken since its establishment. On all matters, social or political, the "Star" has exhibited an energy of discussion and a freedom of opinion at once commendable. The paper was established by Messrs. Marshall & Co., but almost immediately after was purchased by Mr. Hugh Graham, a young man nearly connected with the late E. H. Parsons of the old "Evening Telegraph," a writer sufficiently known in his day. After long connection with the financial department of the "Telegraph," and subsequently of the "Gazette," Graham entered upon his enterprise of building up the "Star." How well he has succeeded, the paper to-day tells; for, after much struggle, small beginnings, and fiercest rivalry, it stands forth at once the equal of any evening journal in the Dominion. This is attested by its circulation, which has so largely increased within the past two years. The "Star" is printed on a "Prestonian" press, capable of turning off ten thousand copies per hour. The paper, from the first, has commended itself to the masses by the curt, matter-of-fact style of its editorials, and the vigor with which it advocates the interests of the workingman. In a word, the "Star" is one of a class of journals to be found in every large metropolis, and to the well-being of which its presence is sufficiently

essential. The Toronto "Mail," established in 1870, is the second most extensive journal in point of size, circulation, and influence in Ontario. Like its rival, the "Globe," it expends large sums in obtaining latest news. It has its agencies in Montreal, and some other principal cities; and the telegrams



and general reports found in its columns are marked by promptitude and accuracy. The "Mail" is the organ of the conservative party in Ontario; and perhaps on no journal can a greater amount of editorial talent be found. It has a substantial circulation throughout the Dominion, and its influence is daily and deservedly on the increase. It is printed by a company, of which T. C. Patterson is manager; this gentleman is also editor-in-chief. We close this sketch by briefly remarking on the strides assumed by journalism in Canada within the last

ten years. Statistical figures might be adduced to exhibit what those strides, at once so substantial in themselves, have actually been; such, however, we believe unnecessary; facts are patent enough to every observer. The increase in immigration, the opening up of railway communication, the extension and perfecting of telegraphy, and, more than all, the completeness and efficiency of the school systems throughout the Dominion, have worked changes not to be mistaken. Every city has its round of dailies; every village and hamlet, its one to three weeklies. These are the sure indices of national progress and enlightenment, the unerring registers that mark our advancement as a people now, and shall continue to do so in the future.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA — (*continued*).

GENERAL SUMMARY FROM 1537 TO 1878. — A REVIEW.

1. We have already sketched some of the more general affairs of the Dominion since confederation, and at this point, before passing on to notice the more recent events under the administration of Lord Dufferin, we may review the whole subject. The British North American Act of 1867 abrogated the constitutions of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and enacted that henceforward they should be federally united into one dominion under the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution similar to that of Great Britain; and although, as before observed, these provinces were so united at their own request, yet it is true that the scheme originated in the political necessities of the Province of Canada. The maritime provinces had desired a union apart from Canada, and had entered into negotiations with that end in view; and it is no overstatement of facts to say that the more influential province seized upon the opportunity to effect the broader union, and thus escape from local embarrassments, the nature of which has been fully described in previous chapters. It is still believed by many good and able men of the maritime provinces, that had this lesser union preceded the greater, the latter would have resulted with greater advantage to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The writer humbly shares in this opinion, but does not find an insurmountable difficulty in the scheme of a maritime union yet to be effected.

2. The Dominion of Canada, thus brought into existence, required skilful guidance. The "rights of the provinces" was a very probable question under the new *régime*. However, care had been taken to guard against this, and Sir John A. Macdonald, in referring to this matter in the light of the United States Constitution, said, "They declared by their constitution that each State was a sovereignty in itself, and that all the powers incident to a sovereignty belonged to each State, except those powers which by the constitution were conferred upon the general government and Congress." Then, speaking of the

Federal Union of British America, he says, "Here we have adopted a different system. We have strengthened the general government. We have given the general Legislature all the great subjects of legislation. We have conferred upon them, not only specifically and in detail all the powers incident upon sovereignty, but we have expressly declared that all subjects of general interest, not distinctly and exclusively conferred upon the local governments and local Legislatures, shall be conferred upon the general government and Legislature." Notwithstanding this precaution, discussion soon arose as to the relative powers of the local and general governments and Legislatures, friends of the former pretending to see in the acts of the latter a disposition to ignore the rights of the provinces. At one time Mr. Dunkin, a prominent member of the Quebec government, announced in his place in the Legislature in 1867, that "none of the functions of the province have a municipal character. They are not derived from the Dominion; they are not dependent on the Dominion; their authority is not subordinate to the Dominion. It has far more the character of coördination." But later on in the discussion Mr. Dunkin modified his views, and in another speech he affirmed that "he never entertained a thought of claiming any undue importance or jurisdiction for the local governments. The local governments had subordinate functions to the general government; but no one could deny that they had some coördinate powers, and that was all he claimed."

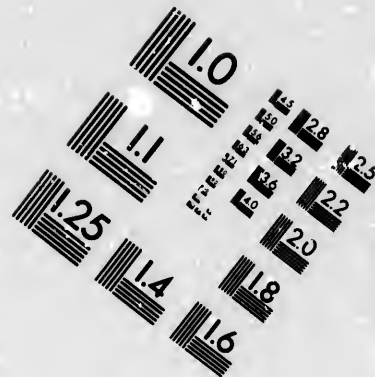
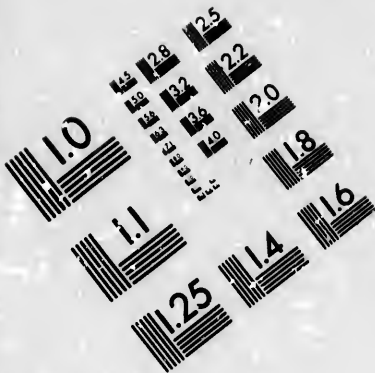
3. But trouble of a more serious character soon arose in another quarter. The people of Nova Scotia, a majority of whom from the beginning opposed some of the provisions of the union act, and protested in various forms, now denied the right of the local Parliament to sanction the annulling of their old constitution, holding the doctrine of Locke, that "the Legislature can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, or to place it in other hands." This opinion found an able advocate in the Hon. Joseph Howe, and completely controlled the elections in Nova Scotia for some time after the confederation. But an appeal to England was without effect, and, being unable to defeat confederation, Mr. Howe obtained such an extent of fiscal and other concessions for Nova Scotia as to warrant, in his own judgment, his acceptance of a place in the Dominion Cabinet. He says, "I did not take office, though it had been offered to me for eighteen months, till my country's fair claim to readjustment of the scheme was admitted, and un-

til Gladstone's cabinet, with John Bright in it, counselled peace and refused repeal."

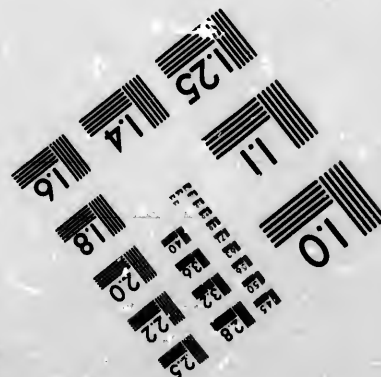
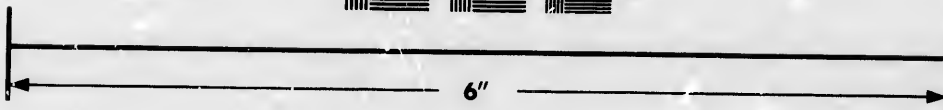
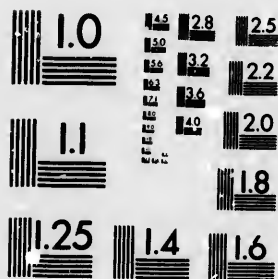
4. In 1868 Newfoundland signified her desire to become a member of the Dominion; but, up to the present, the terms satisfactory to her government and Legislature have not been agreed upon. British Columbia signified her willingness to join the union immediately upon the Hudson Bay Territory being purchased by the Dominion government. The Dominion Parliament of 1867 passed resolutions authorizing the acquisition of this territory, and two members of the general government — Cartier and McDougall — were despatched to England to promote the necessary negotiations. In 1868 the most important measure of legislation was that authorizing the Inter-colonial Railway, and the commencement of the great work. This road was the key-stone to confederation. Without it, of course, there could be no union, and without the union the British government would not guarantee the necessary three million pounds. The Imperial Act, authorizing this loan, provided that the "commissioners of her majesty's treasury shall not give any guaranty under this act unless and until an act of the Parliament of Canada has been passed, within two years after the union of Canada under the British North American Act of 1867, providing to the satisfaction of one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, as follows: "1st, for the construction of the railway; 2d, for the use of the railway at all times for her majesty's military and other service." "Nor unless and until the line in which the railway is to be constructed is approved by one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state." The object of this clause was to compel the Dominion government to adopt a line already surveyed by Major Robinson, running along the gulf shore as far north as possible from the American frontier. This line was adopted, and, of course, secured the approbation of the secretary of state, and the road has been built, connecting Halifax and Quebec.

5. In 1869 negotiations between the Hudson Bay Company and the Dominion had so far succeeded that the former agreed to surrender all its rights for the sum of one million two hundred thousand dollars; and it was arranged that this amount should be paid, and a legal transfer of the territory made on the 1st day of December, 1869. For some reasons the authorities of the Dominion decided that the lieutenant-governor of the new territory should be at the seat of his future government in advance of the date fixed upon for the transfer, and





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accordingly the Hon. William McDougall, C.B., the gentleman so appointed, took his departure from the capital of the Dominion early in November, accompanied by officials selected to aid him in the government. These persons were selected from Ontario and Quebec, and, like the governor, knew comparatively nothing of the country which they were to govern. The governor and his subordinates were met by a body of armed men, who took possession of a fort which he had entered, and obliged him to fall back into United States territory. These insurgents next seized Fort Garry, and finally established a provisional government, and Mr. McDougall was obliged to return to Ottawa; but these troubles were removed early in 1870 by prudent measures on the part of the Dominion government. Delegates were received at Ottawa, and on the 3d of May the governor-general, Sir John Young, was enabled to telegraph the imperial authorities that negotiations with them closed satisfactorily. On the 12th of the same month permanent effect was given to the arrangements thus arrived at by an act of the Dominion Parliament, which created out of "Rupert's Land, in the North-west Territory, a new province, containing eleven thousand square miles, named Manitoba, to be represented in the Senate of Canada, until its population shall have increased, by two members, and in the House of Commons by four members. It was also provided that there should be a local Legislature, to consist of a lieutenant-governor and two houses, styled respectively the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly, the former to consist of seven members, to be appointed by the lieutenant-governor in the queen's name, the latter of twenty-four, elected every four years; each male person in the province being entitled to vote, subject only to the condition of being twenty-one years of age, a subject of her majesty by birth or naturalization, and a *bona fide* householder.

6. The financial conditions upon which the new province was admitted into the union were fair and equitable. Allowance was made for the fact that Manitoba become liable for the general debt, and ample provision was guaranteed for the support of the government and Legislature of the provinces. The customs duties chargeable in Rupert's Land, previous to Manitoba being erected, were to continue without increase for three years, the proceeds to form part of the General Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada. The chief cause of the insurrectionary movement which greeted Hon. Mr. McDougall was an apprehension on the part of the half-breeds of the ter-

ritory, that not only would future grants of land be made with a view to their injury as a people, but that existing rights would not be sufficiently respected. Much care was therefore shown in the Dominion law to remove all ground for such alarm. It was expressly provided that one hundred thousand acres of land should be divided among the children of the half-breeds residing in the province at the time of the transfer to Canada, on such conditions as to settlement, and otherwise, as the governor-general, in council, may from time to time determine. The law also provided for the security, in the possession of their lands, of settlers there in the territory. Soon after these transactions the newly-appointed lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, the Hon. A. G. Archibald, proceeded to Fort Garry, where he engaged himself, with good success, in inaugurating the new and improved plan of government.

7. In 1870 the able finance minister, Sir Francis Hincks, introduced a new banking law, which, while it worked radical changes in the system, met the approval of the principal bankers and the public at large. Under the law no bank could be started without a paid-up capital of two hundred thousand dollars. In the same year the question of the adjustment or division of the assets of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec caused considerable agitation. The obituary list of the year contained some notable names. Archbishop Baillangeon, of Quebec, a prelate of saintly character, passed to his rest. Mr. A. S. Ritchie and Mr. Edward Hartley, men of science, one in connection with the Natural History Society, the other with the Geographical Survey of Canada, also ceased their labors. And Chancellor Blake, of Ontario, whose great services as a statesman and judge extended over a quarter of a century, succumbed to a disease which had its origin in increasing professional toil.

8. But the event which awakened most interest in Canada, throughout 1870-71, was the admission of British Columbia, — a colony of the Pacific coast, of small population, but of large resources, especially in fisheries and minerals, and so situated as to be adapted to command not only the trade of the western side of the continent, and the islands of the Pacific, but also that of the trans-Pacific countries. Previous to its administration to the Canadian union its isolated position rendered development to any large extent scarcely possible. For communication with England a sea voyage of one hundred and fifty days was necessary. The leading condition upon which

this colony entered the Dominion was an agreement on the part of the Dominion government to construct a railroad from Ontario to the Pacific coast, thereby affording British Columbia means of active communication with Canada, and with the world at large. It was at that time computed that this railroad would be at least two thousand five hundred miles long, extending from Lake Nipissing, north of Lake Superior, and two hundred miles from Toronto, to Victoria, the capital of British Columbia; and it was stipulated that it should be built in ten years, means to be provided by grants of land, of twenty miles' extent, on each side of the road, and by such subsidy as to the



Parliament of the Dominion might seem fit. The estimated cost of the road was one hundred million dollars. Hence it will be seen that the Dominion was already engaged in public works of a masterly character, and was fast rising into national magnificence and importance, even in 1870. Apart from this Pacific Railway scheme, the railways of the Dominion were increasing in numbers and value. Those then in operation exceeded three thousand miles in length, and there was in process of construction about one thousand miles more, and charters had been granted for an additional eight hundred miles. The principal line, — then not completed, — the Interecolonial, was rapidly advancing, under a force of one hundred and thirty-three thousand six hundred and ninety-four men, eleven thousand nine hundred and sixty boys, twenty-nine thousand four hundred and twenty-six horses, and three hundred and twenty-four oxen.

9. The 3d of May, 1872, will long be remembered in Canada as that upon which Sir John A. Macdonald, as first minister of the Dominion, introduced a bill to give effect to those clauses of the Treaty of Washington, negotiated between the United States and Great Britain in 1871, which affected the Dominion interests. Sir John's position, as well as that of his

Parliament of the Dominion might seem fit. The estimated cost of the road was one hundred million dollars. Hence it will be seen that the Dominion was already engaged in public works of a masterly character, and was fast rising into national magnificence and importance, even in 1870. Apart from this Pacific Railway scheme, the railways of the Dominion were increasing in numbers and value. Those then in operation exceeded three thousand miles in length, and there was in process of construction about one thousand miles more, and charters

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colleagues, was much exposed to attack in this all-important affair. The act of ceding fishery rights of almost incalculable value, together with the sovereignty of the St. Lawrence, without reciprocity of trade being secured, or even an acknowledgement by the United States commissioners of the wrong done by the Fenian invasion, was very distasteful throughout every province of the Dominion; so much so that, although Sir John had, as joint-high commissioner, been a party to the session, he ultimately united with his colleagues in council, at Ottawa, in an earnest protest against a policy at once so hurtful to the best interests of Canada. However, the timely guaranty, by the imperial government, of a Pacific Railway loan of two million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, equal to about twelve million dollars, had a pacific effect. So great was the personal influence of Sir John that he managed to carry the treaty resolutions in Parliament by a majority of sixty-six in an Assembly of one hundred and seventy-six members. The debate was marked by great ability. The speech of Sir John A. Macdonald has been pronounced an effort of incomparable skill; that of Hon. Ed. Blake, in opposition, was remarkable for cleverness and feeling. In June the fifth and last session of the first Dominion Parliament was brought to a close, and consequently general elections soon afterwards followed. The many contests throughout the several provinces partook of the character of a vital struggle. The aggregate vote was somewhat in favor of the ministry, but they had a minority in the Province of Ontario. In closing Parliament, the governor-general, Lord Lisgar, bade the country farewell. On the 22d of the same month, after attending a banquet at Montreal, in his honor, he sailed for England, bearing with him the reputation of a just and judicious ruler, and a man of blameless private life. Three days later, his successor, the Earl of Dufferin, also a peer of the realm, arrived at Quebec.



10. But the year 1873, before its close, witnessed the most exciting political crisis known in the Dominion of Canada, which resulted in the downfall of the ministry of Sir John A. Macdonald, and the formation of a new ministry, under the leader of the opposition, Hon. Alex. Mackenzie. The causes which



led to this result grew out of the charges made in the early part of the year against the Macdonald cabinet by Mr. Huntington, who declared that in the disposition of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract and franchises, the government had been actuated by unpatriotic and corrupt motives. It was alleged that the ministry had favored the Americans in this railway business, for which favors money had been received. It will be remembered that the conditions upon which British Columbia came into the Dominion in 1871 included an agreement on the part of the

Dominion government to complete the Canadian Pacific Railroad by the year 1881. In 1873 the company, in consequence of financial difficulties, were obliged to surrender their charter to the government. After the charges above alluded to had been made, a royal commission was appointed to take evidence and report upon what had now become known as the "Pacific Railway Scandal." On the 22d of October the second session of the second Parliament was opened at Ottawa, and in a speech from the throne Lord Dufferin announced the collapse of the Pacific Railway Company. Then followed that memorable battle on the floor of the Dominion Commons, in which Sir John A. Macdonald took the leading part in defence of the government; but on the 7th of November it was all over, and a new cabinet, under the able leadership of Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, was announced. Sir John had fallen.

11. Prince Edward Island, as already observed, came into the union in this year, with a population of over one hundred thousand. For some time the inhabitants of the island had been unwilling to join the confederation; but serious financial

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difficulties arose, and the public mind turned towards Ottawa for relief, and relief was found there. In addition to the benefits vouchsafed to the island on entering the Dominion it was provided that the railroad of two hundred miles in length, which the local government had undertaken to construct, at a cost of three million five hundred thousand dollars, should become the property of the Dominion; and further advantage was conferred in the form of aid to steamboat and telegraphic communication with the main land.

12. The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, in taking the reins of government, thus addressed his constituents in reference to the great railway difficulty: "We must meet the difficulty imposed on Canada by the reckless arrangements of the late government with reference to the Pacific Railway under which they pledged the honor and resources of this country to the commencement of that gigantic work, in July, 1873, and to its completion by July, 1881. That compact has already been broken. Over a million has now been spent in surveys, but no part of the line has yet been located, and the bargain is, as we always said it was, incapable of literal fulfilment. With a view to obtain a speedy means of communication across the continent, and to facilitate the construction of the railway itself, it will be our policy to



utilize the enormous stretches of magnificent water communication which lie between a point not far from the Rocky Mountains and Fort Garry, and between Lake Superior and French river on the Georgian Bay, thus avoiding, for the present, the construction of about one thousand three hundred miles of railway, estimated to cost from sixty million to eighty million dollars." The new ministry started out with the cry of retrenchment, and well have they, with one or two important exceptions, carried out the policy. The ministry of Mr. Mackenzie has thus far wisely administered the government.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA—(continued).

CANADA AT THE "CENTENNIAL"—THE HALIFAX FISHERY COMMISSION—THE AWARD—ST. JOHN FIRE, ETC.

1. THE administration of Lord Dufferin was made brilliant by the splendid display of Canadian exhibits at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, and through this method the Dominion of Canada was advantageously presented, through the achievements of her industries, to the nations of the world. Canada made a very large and comprehensive exhibit. Among the prominent classes of products shown were cotton and woollen clothe, hosiery, hardware, earthenware, marbles, and made-up garments. The models of ships and specimens of ores, petroleum, plumbago, and building-stones, were also exhibited. The display of firs was prominent and fine; the exhibit of agricultural products and machinery, snow-plows, and other novelties.



2. The administration of Lord Dufferin is also distinguished by the decision of the Halifax Fishery Commission, by which the sum of five million five hundred thousand dollars, in gold, was awarded to the government of the queen. Mr. C. H. Mackintosh, the able editor of the "Canadian Parliamentary Companion," fitly

remarks that "when the Halifax Fishery Commission concluded its labors and rendered its award, on the 23d Nov., 1877, one of the great modern international treaties became historical. The Treaty of Washington, of 1871, dealt with interests far greater and in a manner far more conformable to the higher principles of

the law of nations than its almost trivial discussion in the press of England and Canada would lead an impartial inquirer to suppose. Now that it is a portion of a chapter of history, the treaty will become at once more interesting and important." By no means the least important "question," the settlement of which was provided for in the Treaty of Washington, was the vexed question of the fisheries. No great dispute, involving territorial and commercial questions of the first importance, had ever been so little understood by the general public. It is equally safe to say that with no great public question were public men in Canada less acquainted. And yet the official correspondence was of enormous bulk and of constant occurrence; the blue books contained many summaries of the merits of the dispute; and for several years one of the most important departments of the public service (the Marine and Fisheries) had been almost fully occupied with the business of discussing, formulating, and protecting by armed force the claims of Canada over the fisheries. Perhaps no other official in the public service has had a longer and more intimate acquaintance with this question than Commissioner Whitcher, and certainly none has taken a more earnest and patriotic interest in it on behalf of Canada. The principal events connected with it have transpired during the ministry of the Hon. P. Mitchell and the Hon. A. J. Smith, and of course their official ability and power have given force and effect to the policy adopted and to all measures carried out in this behalf. Till the completion of the rebellion of the colonies by the recognition of their independence, there was of course no "question" at all with regard to the fisheries. British subjects on both sides of the St. Lawrence, and all over the northern continent, had perfect freedom of the fishing-grounds. The New England fishermen were the most active in following the avocation of fishermen, and they had embarked much capital and engaged many ships



and men in the business. When they had renounced their allegiance to the British crown, of course they forfeited their rights to share in the profits of the British fisheries. This they could not be got to understand, till it was brought home to them by armed vessels and shots across their bows, by confiscation and condemnation in the courts. This disagreeable state of things preceded the treaty of 1783, in which it was provided (Art. III.), —

It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also on the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have LIBERTY to take fish of every kind on such parts of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island), and also on the coasts, bays and creeks, of all other of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled, but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors or possessors of the ground.

32. The language of the treaty was guarded.¹ It gave a "right" to fish on the banks and in the sea. It conceded a "liberty" to fish on the shores and in the territorial waters. The difference between these two concessions will plainly be seen when we come to consider the next point in dispute. This arose out of the war of 1812. When this war had ended, the British and colonial authorities claimed that the war had put an end to the "liberty" given to the American fishermen in the treaty of 1783. The Treaty of Peace (1814) contained no mention of the fishery question. The British and colonial authorities proceeded to act on this view, that the "liberty" of 1783 had been abrogated by the war of 1812. The Americans claimed that the "liberty" thus conceded was as much an irrevocable gift as the concession or recognition of independence, and was not therefore abrogated by war. But the British view was maintained with strictness. It is supported by the strongest legal authority (see Wheaton, page 463; Kent, vol. 1, page 178; Upton's "Maritime Warfare," page 16; Woolsey's "International Law," page 257; and other authorities to which these

¹ Mackintosh's Canadian Parliamentary Companion.

refer). Things could not remain long in this condition. Twenty United States vessels had been seized for trespassing on the territorial waters. And in 1818 a convention was held, at which the following article was signed :—

ARTICLE I.—Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, and cure fish on certain coasts, bays, harbors and creeks of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America; it is agreed between the high contracting parties that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have forever in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Bay to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Bay to the Turpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belleisle; and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson Bay Company; and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty forever to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland here above-described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same or any portion thereof shall be settled it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portions so settled without previous agreement for such purposes with the inhabitants, proprietors or possessors of the ground. And the United States hereby RENOUNCE FOREVER any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof, to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbors of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America, not included in the above-mentioned limits; provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbors for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever; but they shall be under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them.

4. The language of this treaty, specific as it was, did not settle the question. The Americans proceeded to interpret it their own way. 1st. Thus having specially renounced the liberty of taking or curing fish within three miles of the British coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors, they proceeded to interpret that to mean three miles from the shore line throughout all its sinuosities, and not as, according to the well-defined law of nations, three miles from a line drawn from headland to headland. The dispute over this point is called the "Headland Question." The merits of it need not be set down here. The case is fully set out in the Annual Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1871; in a "Report on the Fishery Articles of Treaties between Great Britain and the

United States of America," by Mr. W. F. Whitcher, Commissioner of Fisheries, Ottawa; and in the elaborate speech of the Hon. Peter Mitchell, in the House of Commons, in the session of 1875.

5. 2d.¹ Having renounced the liberty of entering such bays or harbors, except for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages, of purchasing wood and of obtaining water, "and for



no other purpose whatever," the Americans proceeded to enter such bays and harbors for such purposes as were never contemplated; and between 1818 and 1854 their vessels were seized: 1st, for fishing within the prescribed limits; 2d, for anchoring within the limits, having on board sufficient supplies of wood and water; 3d, for packing and cleaning fish within the limits; 4th, for purchasing bait and preparing to fish within the limits; 5th, for selling "goods" and purchasing supplies; 6th, for landing and transshipping cargoes. All these acts were pro-

nounced illegal by our own courts, and were said in the "American Law Review" to be "plainly unlawful." The Treaty of Reciprocity, in 1854, put an end temporarily to all these disputes. But at the close of the treaty, in 1866, they of course were reopened. On the 20th of February, 1866, the governor-general formally announced to the Americans that their privileges had ceased. The Americans protested, of course, and, equally, of course, continued to poach on our waters. Yielding to the wishes of the imperial government, the minister of marine and fisheries (Hon. Peter Mitchell) tried from 1866 to 1869 a system of licenses. In 1866 there were four hundred and fifty-four licenses issued. In 1869 only twenty-five were taken out. This was clearly not a satisfactory arrangement; and in 1870 the minister of marine and fisheries organized a police for the protection of the fisheries. Its operations were

¹ Mackintosh's Canadian Parliamentary Companion.

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very much complicated by the existing dispute between Great Britain and the United States concerning the headland question. It was extremely difficult to enforce exclusion from undefined limits. Canada, therefore, urged a settlement of the disputed interpretation of the treaty of 1818 in respect of exclusive bays. In 1866 the American minister at London had suggested a mixed commission, to settle the controversy. Canada took up this suggestion, and the Hon. Mr. Cameron was sent as a delegate to England to impress on the British Government the necessity of removing this cause of difficulty, and to adopt more effectual measures; also to secure more active imperial coöperation. Mr. Cameron's mission resulted in the opening negotiations for an international commission. These negotiations resulted, at the suggestion of the United States, in a joint high commission, to include the Alabama claims and the San Juan boundary question; the upshot of which was the Washington Treaty of 1871. That treaty contained, among others, the following provisions: —

ARTICLE XXII. — Inasmuch as it is asserted by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, that the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under Article XVIII. of this treaty are of greater value than those accorded by Articles XIX. and XXI. of this treaty to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, and this assertion is not admitted by the Government of the United States, it is further agreed that commissioners shall be appointed to determine, having regard to the privileges accorded by the United States to the subjects of her Britannic Majesty, as stated in Articles XIX. and XXI. of this treaty, the amount of any compensation which, in their opinion, ought to be paid by the Government of the United States to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, in return for the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under Article XVIII. of this treaty; and that any sum of money which the said commissioners may so award shall be paid by the United States Government, in a gross sum, within twelve months after such award shall have been given.

ARTICLE XXII. — The commissioners referred to in the preceding articles shall be appointed in the following manner, that is to say: One commissioner shall be named by her Britannic Majesty, one by the President of the United States, and a third



by Her Britannic Majesty and the President of the United States conjointly; and in case the third commissioner shall not have been so named within a period of three months from the date when this article shall take effect, then the third commissioner shall be named by the representative at London of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of any commissioner, or in the event of any commissioner omitting or ceasing to act, the vacancy shall be filled in the manner hereinbefore provided for making the original appointment, the period of three months in the case of such substitution being calculated from the date of the happening of the vacancy.

The commissioners so named shall meet in the city of Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia, at the earliest convenient period after they have been respectively named, and shall, before proceeding to any business, make and subscribe a solemn declaration that they will impartially and carefully examine and decide the matters referred to them to the best of their judgment, and according to justice and equity; and such declaration shall be entered in the record of their proceedings.

Each of the high contracting parties shall also name one person to attend the commission as its agent, to represent it generally in all matters connected with the commission.

6. Owing to various causes, which need not be referred to here, the commission thus provided for did not meet till June,

1877. It consisted of the following persons: *For Great Britain*:— Sir Alexander T. Galt, K.C.M.G., Commissioner; Francis Flare Lord, Esq., Agent; H. G. Bergne, Esq., Assistant. *For the United States*:— Hon. Ensign H. Kellogg, Commissioner; Hon. D. Foster, Agent. *Neutral Commissioner*:— His Excellency Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister to Washington. *Canadian Counsel*:— Joseph Doutre, Esq., Q.C., Montreal; S. R. Thompson, Esq., Q.C., St. John; R. L. Weatherbee, Esq., Halifax; L. H. Davies,



Esq., M.P.F., Charlottetown. The proceedings were opened at Halifax in June, 1877; but were kept as private as possible. The British case was first presented. Then the American answer was handed in after a due delay, accompanied by a brief on the headland question. Then the British counter-reply was presented, also accompanied by a brief in answer,

maintaining the British and Canadian view of the headland question. These closed the documentary position of the proceedings. For months after, oral evidence was taken from a great number of witnesses, and documentary testimony filed on both sides. Every facility was afforded the Americans. The days when every foreigner was *hostis*, an enemy, have gone away forever, and so official documents were open to Americans, and Canadians freely testified orally and in writing on their behalf; they had the advice of Canadian counsel, the use of the provincial library at Halifax, the privilege of calling any witnesses they pleased, and every possible aid they could have wished for in their labors. Their personal and professional associations with the other side were of the most hospitable kind, and the social attentions they enjoyed were spontaneous and acceptable. No public or private influence and not a tinge of prejudice existed anywhere to interfere with their perfect freedom. This unstinted hospitality has had its good effects already, and will, perhaps, have more enduring effects in due time. The British case, drafted by Mr. Whit-cher and Mr. Ford, set out, with all necessary fulness of detail, all the particulars of the claims for compensation; the immense value to the Americans of the privileges of fishing in the territorial waters of Canada; the value of the privileges of purchasing bait, landing and transshipping cargoes, hiring men, buying supplies and so on, which were supposed to be incidental and even essential to the full enjoyment of the treaty; the great efforts Canada had made to improve the river fisheries, and which added very greatly to the value of the shore fisheries; the small value of the American fisheries to the Canadian fishermen; the limited benefit of the fine market for fish in the United States, and which resulted in giving the Americans cheaper fish, and was of no very essential or great benefit to the Canadian producer; and so on through all the Canadian courts of the claim for compensation.

7. The American answer¹ was a formidable document and very able. It claimed that nothing availed for compensation to Great Britain (*i.e.*, Canada) except the concessions made under Article XVIII of the Treaty; and these were: 1. The privileges of the shore fisheries; and, 2. The extended privileges of landing to dry and cure fish. It also claimed that the commission had no power to decide questions of international law. It set

¹ Mackintosh's Parliamentary Companion.

out also the great extent of the privileges practically enjoyed by the American fishermen previous to the treaty; the evident desire of the British government, as evinced by well-known despatches and telegrams, to prevent a too rigid enforcement of abstract claims on the part of Canada; and also that the free market for fish granted in the United States was a set-off for any compensation that might be demanded. It also set forth that, as *no right of traffic was granted by the treaty*, no compensation, therefore, could be demanded; and that the laws of the Dominion and the provinces prohibiting such traffic were still unrepealed. These statements were ably met in the British reply. Two of the points thus raised by the American counsel have been sustained, one by a unanimous decision of the commissioners, the other by no decision at all being given or required. The right to claim compensation for traffic was decided against by the commission as not being granted by the treaty. The headland question was ignored on the ground set forth by the American counsel, *namely*, that the commissioners could not decide questions of international law, and "must approach the settlement of the question on a comprehensive basis." Thus, Canada has left for future assertion and



settlement two of her most valuable claims: (1) the right to regulate the traffic of American fishermen in bait and supplies; and (2) the right to prohibit, at the expiration of the treaty, all fishing within the headland line. It is understood that Great Britain will support both of these claims to the fullest extent at the proper time. Both of these questions being ruled out, the claim for compensation became practically narrowed down to the points set forth as above in the American answer; and, whereas, fourteen million eight hun-

dred and eighty thousand dollars might have been no exaggerated demand for the fuller claims, five million five hundred thousand dollars was generally accepted as a fair estimate for

the narrower basis on which the commissioners founded their decision. The text of the award, as published in the papers, is as follows :—

The undersigned, commissioners appointed under Articles XXII. and XXIII. of the Treaty of Washington, of the 18th of May, 1871,—

Do DETERMINE, having regard to the privileges accorded by the United States to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, as stated in Articles XIX. and XXI. of said treaty, the amount of any compensation which in their opinion ought to be paid by the government of the United States to the government of Her Britannic Majesty in return for the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under Article XVIII. of the said treaty, having carefully and impartially examined the matters referred to them, according to justice and equity, in conformity with the solemn declaration made and subscribed by them on the 15th day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, do award the sum of five millions five hundred thousand dollars in gold, to be paid by the government of the United States to the government of Her Britannic Majesty, in accordance with the provisions of the said Treaty.

Signed at Halifax this 23d day of November, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

MAURICE DELFOSSE.
A. T. GALT.

8. The dissent of Senator Kellogg, on behalf of the United States, was expressed as follows :—

The United States commissioner is of opinion that the advantages accruing to Great Britain under the Treaty of Washington are greater than the advantages conferred upon the United States by said treaty, and he cannot, therefore, concur in the conclusions announced by his colleagues; and the American commissioner deems it his duty to state further that it is questionable whether it is competent for the board to make an award under the treaty, except with unanimous consent of its members.

[Signed],

E. H. KELLOGG.

9. And Hon. Dwight Foster, agent of the United States, made the following statement :—

I have no instructions from the government of the United States as to the course to be pursued in the contingency of such a result as has just been announced, but if I were to accept in silence the paper signed by two commissioners it might be claimed hereafter that as agent of the United States I have acquiesced in treating it as a valid award. Against such an inference it seems my duty to guard. I therefore make this statement, which I desire to have placed upon record.

This completes the history of this case so far as it has gone at the time of sending this volume to press. The general opinion of the United States, with some important exceptions, is favorable

to the payment of the claim, and against the propriety of taking advantage of any technicality in regard to the unanimity of the decision. The English press has taken the view that the United States will honorably satisfy the award. The Canadian press has taken the same position. And the merely *pro forma* temper of the protests of the United States commissioner and agent leads to the belief that no serious effort will be made to resist the decision of the majority. But, in any case, the commission has had most valuable results. It has brought together in one mass of available information all that has been or can be said on this great international subject. It has taught the public of Canada the value of the fisheries. It has taught the English government and people the same lesson. It has justified all the efforts that were made from 1866 to 1870 to protect the fishery grounds from the encroachments of the United States fishermen. And it leaves Canada in a tenfold stronger and more tenable position in any future negotiations or disputes regarding the subjects discussed and decided in the commission. The most peculiar feature is the evidence afforded to Great Britain that Canada can uphold her interests with moderation and success, to the common benefit of imperial and colonial diplomacy. It may also be seen by the United States that, notwithstanding a prevalent belief much commented upon in these proceedings, Great Britain *does* value Canadian fishery rights, and is resolved to maintain them. Sir Alexander Galt bears testimony to the "fidelity and ability" of the Canadians connected with this important inquiry. Mr. A. J. Smith, the minister of marine and fisheries, was present throughout in an advisory capacity, and manifested great interest in the progress of the suit. His assistance and advice are said to have been most valuable.

10. Lord Dufferin has now served out his allotted term of five years, with great acceptance to both the people and government of the Dominion, and the imperial authorities. His administration was clouded for a moment by the political crisis in which the great conservative leader, Sir John A. Macdonald, and his ministry were overthrown; but for a moment only, for the despatches from the colonial secretary's office in London, complimenting the earl on his able management of the turbulent elements, were not more complimentary than was the everywhere expressed satisfaction of the people of the Dominion, of all political parties. The Earl of Dufferin is a nobleman in more than one sense. He has a noble rank, — a peer of the

realm,—but his nobility of head and heart exceeds any titles which royalty can bestow. He is a scholar of no ordinary ability, an author of some fame, and a man of unimpeachable private character. He will return to her whom he has so nobly represented (the queen), and to his country (Ireland), with the most profound regard of every Canadian. He has won the admiration and respect of the American people, and will long be remembered throughout the continent of North America as the most acceptable governor-general ever sent to guide the affairs of the British American provinces. His noble wife, the Countess of Dufferin, has exalted the vice-regal court of the Dominion by her beauty, her brilliancy, and her deeds of public and private charity.



12. The destruction of a large portion of the city of Saint John, N.B., by fire, on the 20th of June, 1877, cast a gloom over the whole Dominion, and sent consternation throughout the length and breadth of the United States. The public buildings destroyed were the Post Office, Bank of New Brunswick, City Building, Custom House; Maritime Bank Building, in which are the bank, that of Montreal and Nova Scotia, office school trustees, etc.; Bank of Nova Scotia Building; Academy of Music, in which was the Knights of Pythias Hall; Victoria Hotel; Odd Fellows' Hall; No. 1 Engine-house; Orange Hall, King street; Temperance Hall, King street, east; Dramatic Lyceum; Victoria School-house; Temple of Honor, Wiggin's Building; Barnes Hotel; the Royal Hotel; Saint John Hotel; Acadia Hotel; the Brunswick House; Bay View Hotel; International Hotel; Wiggin's Orphan Asylum. The churches burnt are Trinity; Saint Andrew's Church, Germain street; Methodist, Germain street; Baptist Church, Germain street; Christian Church, Duke street; Saint James Church; Leinster-street Baptist; the Centenary; Cumarhen-street Mission (Methodist); Saint David's Church; Reformed Presbyterian

Church; Sheffield-street Mission House. Money, provisions, clothing, etc., were sent from all parts of the Dominion, and the people of the United States, who had been taught the



lesson of charity by the Chicago and Boston fires, sent freely of their means. But Saint John is rising from her ashes, and will soon be more magnificent than before.

13. I regret the want of space in this volume to give my readers a description of the public works in the Dominion, especially of the grand Intercolonial line of railroad, stretching from Halifax to Quebec, which has for some time been in successful operation; but I must refer all to the second volume of my larger work, for an extensive account of these things, as

also for fuller sketches of the civil government, militia system, laws and courts, principal cities, etc. Leaving the Dominion of Canada, with having thus imperfectly traced the general features of its history, let us now turn to glance at contemporary events in the United States, and then direct our attention to England, and thence to an account of the late Turko-Russian war, with which it is intended to close this volume.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE UNITED STATES FROM 1867 TO 1878.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL U. S. GRANT — INAUGURATION OF HAYES.

1. LINCOLN had fallen by the assassin, and the vice-president, Johnson, had taken his place. The new president had no claims upon the republic, except that he, being a life-long Democrat, had remained faithful to the Union, and it was not

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long before his imperious disposition had antagonized most of the Republican leaders. Two men more completely unlike than Johnson and his great predecessor could hardly be found. The new president assumed the duties of his office within a few hours of the death of Abraham Lincoln, and the work of the administration suffered changes, but no pause. Grant was already disbanding the army, having dismissed the Confederate soldiery upon their parol. The terms extended to Lee and the brave men who had fought under him would have been annulled by Johnson; but Grant came to the rescue, and the indictment for treason which impended was reluctantly abandoned. The president would fain carry Grant's approval with him in the devious courses which already promised an extension of rule, as the name of the successful general was a tower of strength all over the Union. Congress was eager to crown him with honors; private citizens, in their bounty and munificence, gave him wealth and possessions; he was the hero of society.

2. Reconstruction caused a quarrel between Congress and the president, who recognized State governments in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana, and appointed provisional officers in the other States which had seceded, claiming that the Union never had been broken, and that therefore they had never actually lost their rights by their abortive secession. Conventions met in the States provisionally officered, repudiated secession ordinances and the war debt incurred in the South, and ratified emancipation. The policy of Johnson was now to remove all legal disabilities, proclaim amnesty to secessionist offenders, except a specified class, on their subscribing the oath of allegiance, and, still later, full pardons at successive stages were given to all secessionists. Before that point was reached, the thirteenth amendment, ratified by the States, was engrossed in the constitution, December 28, 1865. The facility with which Johnson granted pardons upon personal applications was one cause of complaint against him.

3. Congress took issue against the presidential policy, as it was claimed the power to readmit belonged to that body. Proclamations and orders, while the land was at peace, could have no power in the eyes of Congress, and bills were passed over the veto providing for the continuance in office of civil servants until the Senate indorsed their removal; the protection of freedmen and destitute whites in the South, and for the security of the colored race in their newly-conferred civil rights. These acts, covering the Freedmen's Bureau, tenure

of office, and civil rights, constituted an open breach. Tennessee was restored to her position, having accepted the fourteenth amendment; but the other States, under Johnson's provisional appointees, refusing acquiescence, were placed under military rule March 2, 1867. Generals in charge of the contumacious districts conducted elections to remodel State constitutions, and after much bitterness there were governments established in the several States on such terms as satisfied the demands of Congress. One State will serve to illustrate the action everywhere, as the general features were the same, and local peculiarities are of little moment here. The State of Arkansas, controlled by Union troops in 1864, amended its constitution and reorganized its Legislature; but when the test was applied by Congress, the State, willing to accept readmission to its former rights, would not remove the disabilities of the Union party. Military rule succeeded for four years, and in 1868 all the demands of Congress having been conceded, the State was readmitted to the Union, over the veto of President Johnson. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and North and South Carolina, came in at the same time, June 24, 1868, under similar conditions. Thus stood the quarrel between the executive and legislative branches of the government for years, while the country pursued its course, slowly recovering its former tone. The revenues at the close of the war, from revenue stamps, taxes on incomes and manufactures, duties on imports, and other sources, reached the enormous aggregate of three hundred million dollars per year; but the interest on the war debt was one hundred and thirty million dollars; still the debt had been reduced by thirty-one million dollars in 1866, before the extra troops had been entirely disbanded.

4. The removal of Stanton, the secretary of war, by the president, in August, 1867, was submitted to under protest by Mr. Stanton, as contrary to the Tenure of Office Act, passed in March. Gen. Grant was appointed in his stead by the president, and Congress gave him such powers as subordinates seldom hold, so complete was their distrust of Johnson; but Congress would not confirm the removal of Stanton. For some time Grant was able to pursue his course, not conflicting with either side; but eventually, when it became necessary to break the law or break with Johnson, he cast his lot against the president. The popularity of Grant rose to a greater height than ever. Johnson had no popularity save among the men who had endeavored to break the Union.

5. Impeaching the president was the final stroke of Congress, the order being made by an immense majority on the 24th of February, 1868. The trial commenced on the 23d day of March, 1868, and resulted, on the 16th and 25th of May, in thirty-five votes against the president, to nineteen in his favor. One vote changed and he would have been convicted of high crimes and misdemeanors by the required two-thirds majority. The remainder of his term in office was comparatively peaceful, and after its expiring he retired to Tennessee, where, after two failures to secure election, he was sent to the United States Senate in 1875, and died in office, July 31, in the same year.

6. Gen. Sheridan was commissioned to suppress the Indian war in the south-west, which had grown to considerable dimensions in 1865-6; but the battle of Wacheta terminated the struggle in 1868, when Black Kettle and a large body of his braves were surprised and slain by Custer's cavalry.

7. EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. Louis Napoleon of France hoped for a Confederate success, and while the war was pending he assisted the imperialist faction in Mexico to a temporary ascendancy, during which the Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, was chosen emperor. The United States protested at the time against Napoleon's intervention; but while the civil war was pending nothing more could be accomplished. The "Monroe doctrine" came into operation as soon as the war was ended, and under the pressure the French troops were recalled, whereupon Maximilian was shot by the Mexican liberals. The conduct of Napoleon in receding from the support of Maximilian has been much blamed; but the astute Emperor of France saw that he must be defeated in a prolonged contest with the United States.

8. JOINING THE NATIONS. Cyrus W. Field conceived the idea, in 1853, of uniting this continent to Europe by an electric cable, but the work was encompassed by so many difficulties that two cables had been lost before 1856. Other attempts were made in 1857 and in 1858, the British government and that of the United States supplying the necessary ships; but the only result was a partial and temporary success in 1858. While the war lasted capital was not available to renew the enterprise, but in 1865 the penultimate effort came so near success that the cable was spliced and completed in 1866, after thirteen years' heroic effort. The triumph for humanity cannot be stated in words. William H. Seward, secretary of

state, conducted the purchase of Alaska from the Russian government in 1867, the price paid for the peninsula, three hundred and fifty miles long, by twenty-five miles average breadth, being seven million two hundred thousand dollars.

9. The conclusion of the Johnson term of office was near at hand. He had "swung round the circle" in vain, the nomination sought by him from the Democrats was not procured, and the Republicans nominated and elected Gen. Grant by a demonstrative majority, Schuyler Colfax being elected vice-president. The nomination of the Democrats was given to Horatio Seymour and Gen. Frank P. Blair. The enmity manifested by the late president had by no means impaired the popularity of the general, and his election was considered certain from the first. His administration during the first term was peculiarly propitious for the nation, as the strifes which arose out of the war largely ceased after his inauguration, on the 4th of March, 1869. The war-debt continued to be reduced, and the Alabama claims were, during his presidency, referred to the arbitration of the congress appointed by both powers, under the award of which Great Britain paid fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars for actual losses of ships' cargoes and interest, consequent upon that government having failed in due diligence in regard to the Alabama and the Florida privateers. The rules for international government suggested by the award of the tribunal at Geneva are even more valuable than the sum paid by England in pursuance of that decision. During the latter part of the first term many of the Republicans withdrew from the Republican party, and ran Horace Greeley for the presidency, in conjunction with the Democratic section of politicians; but the result proved that the general's popularity had not waned with the masses, as he received a larger vote on that occasion and a larger majority than any former president since the nomination of Gen. Washington.

10. The Union Pacific Railroad, afterwards disastrous to many reputations, and often referred to as an evidence of the corruption that almost invariably grows out of civil wars, was in its inception a grand work, and it has been found of such value for the facilities which it affords to commerce and passengers between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, that men are constrained to wonder how the business of the world was conducted before Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington were joined by the iron road to San Francisco, so that freight and travel can pass from one ocean to the other in the

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brief space of one week, and without the luxurious traveller losing one hour of his accustomed sleep.

11. The fifteenth amendment, guaranteeing to every man the right of suffrage without regard to "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," originated under the administration of President Grant, and, having been duly ratified, was announced as part of the constitution on the 30th of March, 1870. The negro is now under no disability in that country save such as that under which he labors by the law of nature.

12. GENERAL AMNESTY. The nation having, to a great extent, recovered from the effects of the war, and popular feelings having considerably softened as regards the South and its ill-starred effort, a general amnesty was proclaimed which covered all persons connected with the civil war; but the South cannot forget her own errors and sufferings so readily as the North, and in consequence the work of reconstruction within the law goes on much more slowly than the legislative action of Congress. It is not easy for men who have been from their birth accustomed to look upon colored persons as chattels and subordinates to submit to a reconstruction which raises the negro in an electoral and legal sense to their level; but, slowly or not, the work progresses, and the next generation will see the southern States far on the way toward the North in general prosperity. It is much to the credit of the North that a man of such strength of mind and power over human affections as Alexander Hamilton Stephens, vice-president of the Confederate States, is now a member of Congress, against whom no man cites his career in that office to his discredit; but it is often remembered by his personal friends, who are many, even among his political antagonists, that, on the night of November 14, 1860, in the Legislature that had already resolved upon secession, this man exerted all his eloquence to prevent the decision being arrived at, to which, once passed, he loyally adhered through peril and storm.

13. Horace Greeley's candidature and death illustrate the strong feeling which prevailed among certain classes against Gen. Grant's reelection. If there was a man in the Union for whom the South had a hatred, which was not relieved by personal regard, that man was the editor of the New York "Tribune"; yet all that animosity was smothered in the intense desire to defeat Grant; and after the Liberal convention, at Cincinnati, in May, 1872, had given Greeley their nomination, the Democratic convention, in Baltimore, in the following July, pre-

sented him to the Union as their candidate also for the office of president. There were then, as there are now and will be for many years to come, whether the party in charge of public affairs may be changed or not, awkward suspicions of jobbing and corruption among high officers in the State, and in consequence many who had been supporters of the Republican party were inclined to draw back from the organization at that time; besides which there was a belief that the men of the North and South would shake hands across the bloody chasm, under a president nominated by the South, in conjunction with the North; but all these circumstances combined, added to feelings of personal love which were inspired by Greeley among those who knew his sterling qualities, could not save him from a terrible defeat, which unsettled his mental and bodily health, and terminated his life on the 29th of November, 1872.

14. Schnyler Colfax, who was vice-president with Grant during the first term of office, came of good lineage, being a grandson of one of Washington's generals. From 1854 to 1869 he sat in Congress as one of the representatives of Indiana, and during six reelections his record was unimpeached. The conflict in Kansas called him to the front in Congress, in 1856, when he depicted in eloquent terms the sufferings and wrongs of the free settlers. From his general suavity and evident capacity Mr. Colfax was chosen speaker of the house in 1863, the like honor being conferred upon him again in 1865 and in 1867; and it was said of him that he proved himself the most popular speaker of the house since Henry Clay. When the nominations were made by the Republican party in May, 1868, his name was associated with that of Gen. Grant. It assisted him materially with the people that he had been during the civil war one of the steadiest and most trusted friends of Abraham Lincoln. The election in November, 1868, gave to the Republican ticket two hundred and fourteen electoral votes out of a total of two hundred and ninety-four. The name of Mr. Colfax became unpleasantly mixed up with the proceedings of "The Credit Mobilier of America," an organization chartered in Pennsylvania in 1859, and reorganized in 1864, to carry on the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. The breath of suspicion which then for the first time blurred the good repute of Mr. Colfax prevented his renomination, probably, in 1872; but it is only just to the ex-vice-president to say, that there was no evidence of corrupt action on his part, and that his entire innocence of the charges laid at his door is an article of faith

with millions of his countrymen. There was a large party in the country only too glad to bring down a man of such high standing in the ranks of the Republicans, because their chances must needs be improved by the defeat of their political opponents, and for that reason it was deemed advisable to substitute the name of Henry Wilson as vice-president in the second nomination of Gen. Grant.

15. Oakes Ames, son of a blacksmith in Easton, Mass., and himself brought up to the same trade, having become wealthy as a manufacturer of agricultural implements, was in great repute as a financier in Congress, where he sat for eleven years, from 1862 to 1873. When the Union Pacific Railroad was to be constructed, Mr. Ames was one of the manipulators of the Credit Mobilier, and when, later than this, there was a congressional investigation as to his proceedings among his fellow-members, he appears to have either wantonly, or by inadvertence, cast a stigma on Mr. Colfax, by exhibiting in his writing, upon a check for a considerable sum, the initials of "S. C.," which he construed to mean Schuyler Colfax. There was, however, no evidence that the money went into the hands of the vice-president, and there is positive evidence that the check never went through his account. Oakes Ames died May 8, 1873, while the public mind was still undecided as to his share in the transaction.

16. Henry Wilson, the successor of Schuyler Colfax, commenced life as a New Hampshire farm lad, with the barest rudiments of an education, to which he added all that lay in his power after arriving at man's estate. Not a great man himself, it was his good fortune to be born at an era when simple fortitude and honesty secured him associations with some of the foremost minds of his time, after he had made his way upward from the humble occupation in which he began life. Mr. Wilson was one of the fastest friends of Charles Sumner, and after the shameful assault upon that gentleman by Preston S. Brooks, his remarks in Congress had the effect of concentrating upon him the hatred of the pro-slavery party for a time. During his term of office he was distinguished by his kind and conciliatory tone towards every section of the community, and he died before his term of office had expired. He appears to have been one of the stockholders in the "Credit Mobilier" organization, but to have gone into the venture as a mere business speculation, without any knowledge of a current purpose being entertained by any of the parties. Unfortunately, so

many schemes of personal aggrandizement have been traced to Congress within the past few years, in the fearless investigations originated by the Republican party, irrespective of persons, place, or associations, that the public have become censorious and suspicious, and for that reason the record of Henry Wilson was very narrowly scanned by friends and foes, but no damaging fact could be discovered.

17. **GENERAL INCREASE.** There was a proposal that St. Domingo, forming part of the island of Hayti, should be annexed to the United States, and a committee of eminent men, nominated by the president to visit the island and report upon the proposition, was very favorably impressed in 1871; but Congress was not convinced by the report submitted, and the application was not acceded to. Nebraska came into the Union, thirty-seventh in the list of States, on the 1st of March, 1867, having been organized as a territory, under the same act as Kansas, in the year 1854. The first-named State had not the same charms for a slave-holding proprietary as Kansas, and therefore it grew more slowly than its neighbor, and was saved

from the terrible warfare that distracted Kansas for years. The State will advance by slow degrees to very considerable importance; but, for many reasons, does not seem likely to keep pace with Kansas, which has advantages as to soil, and a very considerable start in population. Colorado has also been admitted as a State.



PRESIDENT HAYES.

18. At the expiration of Gen. Grant's second term, the Republicans put in nomination Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio; and the Democrats Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. Mr. Wheeler, of New York, was the candidate for vice-president on the Republican ticket, and Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, filled the second place on the Democratic side. The election took place on the 7th of November, giving Mr. Tilden a popular majority of one hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and ninety-four. The votes of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, giving Hayes a majority, were disputed by the friends of Mr. Tilden. The Constitution of the United States makes it the duty of Congress to canvass the electoral votes and to declare the name of the person elected; but as the lower house of Congress was Democratic by a large

majority, and the senate Republican, and as the Democrats of the house denied the correctness of the returns from the three States mentioned, it became probable that the house would not agree in declaring the result; therefore neither candidate could hold the office of president as the result of the election. To avoid the uncertainties and excitement of the country in prospect, an arrangement was made, under the legislation of Congress, which resulted in uniting the two houses in declaring Rutherford B. Hayes as the successful candidate.

CHAPTER XLV.

ENGLAND FROM 1856 TO 1866.

THE REVOLT IN INDIA — AN ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION — DOMESTIC AFFAIRS
— THE FENIAN OUTBREAK.

1. IN the beginning of 1857 England had already nearly forgotten the great war in the East, in which Russia had been humbled, and time was afforded for the discussion of domestic questions. A fight was made to weaken the government, but it was without effect. The revolt in India, the great event of 1857-8, for a long while threatened the very existence of the queen's empire in the East. On the first report of the revolt in England, the people were slow to appreciate the great magnitude of the disaster. The first outbreak occurred in May, but July had commenced before the atrocities of Meerut and Delhi were understood. In India itself, although the alarm commenced at an earlier period, the catastrophe was no less sudden and unforeseen. After the lapse of several months, with the aid of unlimited discussion, those who were best informed confessed their inability to explain the causes of the revolt. It was probable that the conduct of the Sepoys was influenced by many motives, and that, like the great part of human actions, it was ultimately decided by circumstances. There were suspicions of princely intrigues, strong indications of Mussulman conspiracy, and abundant proofs of Hindoo fanaticism; but it was uncertain whether the mutiny was inevitable, and there was reason to believe that the plot exploded

prematurely. One of the most characteristic features of the outbreak consisted in the blind submission of the soldiery to any casual impulse. Many regiments wavered; some retained their allegiance for a time. In several instances the final defection was postponed until success had become virtually hopeless; but throughout the army, as soon as a few ringleaders had committed themselves to the cause of rebellion, their comrades followed their example like a flock of sheep after their leader. It seems that no familiarity can enable the European to understand all the windings of Asiatic character. Among the immediate causes of the mutiny it would be strange if no place could be assigned to the errors of those in power. Supineness, irresolution, and ill-timed severity were undoubtedly displayed on different occasions. The first agitation with reference to the greased cartridges occurred during the month of January in the immediate neighborhood of Calcutta. Early in February Gen. Harsey reported the existence of a plot in the ranks of the 34th regiment, stationed at Barrackpore; but the first open display of mutiny consisted in the refusal of the 19th, at Berhampore, to receive the suspected cartridges. The delinquent regiment was ordered for punishment to Barrackpore, where, before the sentence was executed, a Sepoy and a native officer of the 34th had been guilty of open violence. The scandalous backwardness of a commanding officer, more solicitous for the conversion of his men than for the discharge of his duty, would probably have led to an immediate outbreak but for the ready gallantry of Gen. Harsey. Two days afterwards the 19th and 34th regiments were publicly disbanded, and general orders were issued for the purpose of removing any genuine alarm which might have been felt as to the obnoxious cartridges. At a subsequent period the remainder of the native troops at Barrackpore were gradually disarmed without any actual disaster. The governor-general continued for many months to surround himself with his usual body-guard of Mahomedan cavalry, and the garrison of Dinapore, in defiance of repeated remonstrances, remained in possession of the means of offence. It must not be forgotten that at the last moment the disarmament of these troops could have been successfully effected if the commanding officer of the station had done his duty; but the government, which continued an incompetent general in command, was in some degree responsible for the mischief which resulted from the escape of the Dinapore mutineers.

2. The commander-in-chief, a holiday soldier, who had

never seen service either in peace or war, was in the mean time enjoying the pleasant climate of Simla. He approved the sentence of a court-martial by which eighty-five men of the Meerut garrison had been condemned to hard labor for ten years on account of a refusal to receive the cartridges. The prisoners had been fettered in the presence of their comrades, and they were confined in the common prison. This punishment was the immediate provocation to the decisive outbreak which occurred at Meerut on the 10th of May, 1857. If the crisis had been met with ordinary vigor and ability, the mutiny might have been crushed at its commencement. The Third Light Cavalry and the Eleventh and Twentieth Regiments of Infantry first began the series of murders and brutalities which rendered the Bengal Sepoy infamous throughout the world. All the officers within reach were cut down, the helpless population of the cantonment were outraged or massacred, while Gen. Hewitt, with fifteen hundred European troops, was unable either to protect the station or to impede the flight of the mutineers. The revolted regiments at once marched to Delhi, where a great arsenal had been entrusted to the exclusive care of native troops. The garrison instantly joined the mutineers; the atrocities of Meerut were repeated, and the descendant of the mogul was openly proclaimed as King or Emperor of India. The pensioned princes of the royal house took an active part in the unspeakable brutalities which were perpetrated upon English women in the streets of the capital; some of the miscreants suffered for their unpardonable crime.

3. On the 27th of May Gen. Anson died of cholera during his advance upon Delhi. Sir H. Barnard, who took the command of the besieging force, afterwards fell a victim to the same disease. Gen. Reed was forced by bad health to resign the command, and the honor of capturing the rebellious capital was reserved for Gen. Wilson. When the siege had scarcely commenced, the mutiny rapidly spread over the whole of Hindostan. By the end of June fifty thousand men had deserted their standards and turned their arms against the government. At many stations the crimes of Delhi were imitated, and in one fearful instance they were surpassed. Nana Sahib, an adopted son of the ex-peishwa of the Mahrattas, offered the services of his troops to protect the English treasury at Cawnpore, and then placed himself at the head of the mutineers. Soon afterwards, in violation of his plighted faith, he slaughtered the garrison of Cawnpore, and on the victorious advance of Have-

lock he murdered in cold blood the women and children who had been reserved from the original massacre. The treacherous Mahratta owes a reckoning for a thousand English lives deliberately sacrificed to his wanton barbarity. It seems that his crimes only strengthened his hold on the armed hordes who acknowledged his command.

4. Similar scenes were exhibited on a smaller scale wherever Sepoy rebels could surprise a defenceless station; but in this emergency the ruling race turned to bay with a desperate and irresistible courage which has scarcely a precedent in history. At Agra, at Arrah, at Azinghur, wherever a few soldiers and civilians had escaped the first massacre, the rebels were taught the inherent superiority of the English character. In many places a mutinous regiment was held in check by forces which, to the full knowledge of their officers, were themselves on the eve of revolt. At the worst, the rifle or the revolver secured preliminary vengeance before an Englishman succumbed to irresistible numbers; but the resolute skill with which all resources for defence were made available confers still higher honor on the English character. The effect of the same qualities, long before exhibited by the statesmen and administrators of the Eastern empire, was shown in the abstinence of the native princes and population from participation in the revolt. If a pretended peishwah had put himself at the head of the mutineers, the two chief Mahratta rajahs were faithful, notwithstanding the defection of their contingents. Still more important was the fidelity of the nizam under the influence of his able minister; Gholab Singh and Jung Bahadoor, of Nepaul, potentates from whom Sir C. Napier apprehended imminent danger to English dominions, behaved with exemplary good faith. Beyond the walls of the palace of Delhi and the limits of Oude no movement took place which can be described as a popular or dynastic rebellion.

5. The influence of wisdom, of justice, and of courage over men was most strikingly exhibited in the conquered Punjab. The key of the territory at Peshawur was in the hands of resolute soldiers, who knew that the greater part of their troops were on the eve of mutiny. Cotton, Edwards, and Nicholson were equal to the occasion. The forts were occupied with trustworthy troops, the suspected regiments were disarmed, criminals were blown from guns in the presence of thousands of their accomplices, guilty fugitives were seized by the neighboring tribes, and bodies of the highlanders, previously in arms

against the British power, were enrolled to take the place of the deserters. The chief authority in the Punjab was, happily, in the hands of a hero and a statesman. Sir John Lawrence not only saved his own province from revolt, but made it a military basis for the operations against Delhi. Sikhs and Europeans were directed towards the East, while the Bengal regiments were disarmed; convoys of provisions and stores retraced the march of previous conquest. The gallant Nicholson left the scene of his early fame to find a glorious death at the gates of the conquered city. The vigilance of the proconsul was afterwards indicated by the rapid recall of European troops as soon as they had performed the one indispensable service.

6. The capture of Delhi before the arrival of any reinforcement from England was a great military feat, and a solid advantage. The rebel garrison, exclusive of the inhabitants, always outnumbered the besieging army, and they had the command of an arsenal which, after several months' consumption, was still unexhausted. The general waited patiently until he was ready for the assault, and not a moment longer. Before the end of September the Mogul king had ended his three months' reign in a prison, while the carcasses of his hateful offspring were, as in old Hebrew story, exposed in the gates of the city.

7. The interest of the struggle became chiefly concentrated round Lucknow, where a few Europeans, encumbered with the care of women and children, maintained themselves in a hostile city of three hundred thousand inhabitants against a beleaguering force estimated at seventy thousand men. Sir Henry Lawrence suppressed the first mutiny in Oude, but the annexed kingdom furnished abundant reinforcements to the Sepoys, who were themselves for the most part natives of the adjacent districts. From the death of the noble soldier who governed the territory till the middle of November the garrison had been subject to an almost unbroken blockade. The march of Havelock to its relief gave occasion for the most brilliant series of exploits in the campaign, but the numbers of the enemy up to the time of Sir Colin Campbell's arrival were too overwhelming to admit of complete success. The year closed with the report of the final triumph, which had been so long and so anxiously expected. The commander-in-chief commenced operations on the 13th of November, and his advance from the Alumbagh to the Lucknow residency was uninterrupted by check or defeat. Such, however, were the strength of the defences and the resolution of the rebels, that it was only after five days of continuous

fighting that Sir C. Campbell was able to open communications with Sir J. Outram. Nevertheless, after the capture of Delhi and the arrival of Outram and Havelock at Lucknow, all men felt that the tide had turned. The government had maintained itself and reasserted its supremacy before the arrival of aid from England. The only reinforcements had been derived from Ceylon, from Mauritius, from the Cape, and from the China force, which was fortunately intercepted on its road.

8. The year 1857 closed in England with the tidings that Sir Colin Campbell, after relieving Lucknow, had temporarily evacuated the hostile capital and returned to inflict a signal blow on the Gwalior army at Cawnpore. The sufferings and exploits of the beleaguered garrison were fully recorded by Mr. Rees and Mr. Gubbins, and they were worthily commemorated by Gen. Inglis in his simple and eloquent despatch. No episode of the war had excited so feverish an interest in England, and the final rescue of the besieged was welcomed in every household as if it had been a relief from personal or domestic anxiety; but the common joy was tempered by universal regret for the death of Havelock. Above every other leader in the war he had been generally recognized as a hero of the true national type. His simple character, his religious enthusiasm, and the rare fortune which crowned with merited glory a long life of distinguished devotion to duty, all appealed to the deepest sympathies of the people; and, although no soldier could fall at a happier moment, there was a natural feeling of disappointment that he should have died before he knew how fully he was appreciated by his countrymen. Even foreigners of English descent recognized in Havelock the favorite characteristics of his race; and when his death was reported at New York the vessels in the harbor lowered their flags in token of mourning for the gallant old foreign general. A few weeks later the country suffered a loss not less painful in the death of Sir William Peel, who, at the head of his naval brigade, had performed the part of a brilliant artillery officer in Sir Colin Campbell's operations. No seaman of his time appeared to inherit in so large a proportion the intrepid daring and the felicitous enthusiasm which gave Nelson the instinct of victory. If his contempt of personal danger was excessive, he never overlooked the minutest detail which could tend to the safety or success of his undertakings, for the mechanical aptitude which belongs to a sailor formed a principal part of his character, and indicated his peculiar fitness for his profession.

9. Sir Colin Campbell's retreat from Lucknow with his vast

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and cumbrous convoy, though it was generally recognized as a masterly feat of arms, has been sometimes censured by military critics. It is said that the enemy was cowed by the capture of the city, and that the subsequent evacuation was regarded as a triumph of the insurgents. It is not surprising that the garrison should have quitted the scene of its heroism with regret, nor can it be doubted that General Inglis was justified in his assertion that he could hold the fortress against all opponents; but the commander-in-chief had to consider the whole plan of the campaign as well as the circumstances at Lucknow, and he was also compelled to take into consideration the political objects of the government. By the retrograde movement to Cawnpore Sir Colin Campbell relieved his army from the incumbrance of protecting women and children, and his timely arrival rescued his rear-guard and his communications from a serious danger. Certain of recovering Lucknow without difficulty at his own predetermined time, the commander-in-chief halted for two months at Cawnpore, while his reinforcements were coming forward, and his lieutenants and allies were advancing from different directions towards the centre of operations. In the mean time movable columns cleared the neighboring districts from insurrection, and after two months the advance on Lucknow was resumed with an irresistible artillery. While the main army was at Cawnpore General Franks was fighting his way from the east; Jung Bahadoor, with a large force of Ghoorkas, descended from Nepal, and it was hoped that Sir Hugh Rose would penetrate through Central India in time to take a decisive part in the operations. Sir James Outram, under the orders of Sir Colin Campbell, took Lucknow with little loss; but the Ghoorkas proved inefficient, Sir Hugh Rose was unavoidably detained, and the bulk of the garrison succeeded in escaping through the interstices of the investing army. Yet the capture of their guns and stores, as well as the capital itself, was justly esteemed a proof that the war on a large scale was at an end, although it was probable that a long series of detached conflicts would still test the vigor and endurance of the army. After the capture of Lucknow the commander-in-chief once more remained stationary for a time, when he made preparations for the gradual subjugation of Oude. All the conditions of the struggle had changed since the previous summer, and there was no longer any occasion for such haste as might be found inconsistent with any deliberate system of operations. The movements of the first campaign, terminating with the siege of Delhi, had for their

base the remote and insecure position of Lahore, and Sir John Lawrence might at any moment have been forced to reserve or to withdraw his reinforcements for the indispensable protection of the Punjab. In the second campaign Lord Clyde relied on his communications with Calcutta, and it has been justly observed that the true basis of his operations was London or Southampton. The unequalled resources of England were even more strikingly displayed during that contest than in the organization of the powerful army which was collected in the Crimea at the end of the Russian war. The European force in India was raised to one hundred thousand men, while an equal number remained in the United Kingdom as a reserve, and for the purposes of defence. The old prejudice that maritime greatness was incompatible with military strength was found by experience to be the reverse of the truth. It would be more accurate to assert that English armies had the means of acting wherever they could find an approachable sea-coast for the commencement of their operations. Towards the close of the cold season Lord Clyde marched into the north of Oude, dispersing with little difficulty the insurgent forces which attempted resistance under the begum, the nawab of Bareilly, and the moulvie. A successful expedition was saddened by the loss of many valuable lives, and especially that of Brigadier Adrian Hope, one of the most efficient and promising officers of the army. Early in June the commander-in-chief, in suspending active operations for the summer, was able to congratulate his troops on the suppression of all open opposition, and on the prospect of an early termination of the war. In the south a brilliant and arduous campaign was prolonged far into the summer. At the commencement of the year Sir Hugh Rose began his march from Indore, in the hope of taking a part in the investment of Lucknow; but the chiefs in Central India were in insurrection, there were many strong places to reduce, and the Gwalior contingent, after its repulse at Cawnpore, still held together and watched the passage of the Jumna at Calpee. At Saugor and at Kotah the superiority of the British troops was established, and at Jhansi the ranees, one of the remarkable heroines who were produced by the war, was defeated in a pitched battle, and the fortress was subsequently stormed. When the Calpee army, avoiding a collision, marched southwards upon Gwalior, Scindia's troops, with the exception of his body-guard, immediately joined the mutineers, so that the maharajah, driven from his capital, was compelled to take refuge in the English camp. Sir Hugh Rose,

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who was on the point of resigning his command, instantly collected all the forces within his reach, marched upon Gwalior, defeated the mutineers, and retook the fortress, which had been reputed impregnable. The restoration of the faithful Mahratta ruler former a worthy termination to the most daring and skilful among the subsidiary campaigns of the year. With the royal amnesty in one hand, and the means of instant punishment in the other, Lord Clyde succeeded in procuring the submission of many troublesome opponents; and the civil authorities, following in his track, were able, in a limited period, to complete the disarmament of the country. Beyond the limits of Oude the so-called army of the peishwa, confiding in the rapidity of its movements, almost alone maintained the rebellion, which once threatened to embrace the whole of India.

10. Thus, through the bravery and indefatigable efforts of British military officers, the Indian rebellion came to an end. In the same year, 1858, serious difficulties arose between England and China, but these were settled to the honor and profit of the former power. The grandest domestic event of the year, which excited intense interest, was the marriage of the princess royal. The internal history of England during the fifteen years next succeeding, presents little excitement or variety. The death of the prince consort, in the early part of 1862, shed a gloom over the kingdom, and his loss materially affected the brilliancy and prosperity of the great exhibition in South Kensington. Nevertheless, the enterprise attracted for six successive months an uninterrupted stream of visitors from the country and from the continent, as well as from London itself. The spectacle was less picturesque than the previous show in 1851; nor was it possible that it should suggest illusions of universal peace, to be founded on unlimited commercial intercourse. Yet the collection was richer and more complete than the previous exhibition, and competent judges were not dissatisfied with the intermediate progress of art and industry. The advance of commercial liberality was marked by the unrestricted admission of all manufactured articles from every part of the world. In 1851 it had been necessary to make special arrangements for the importation of dutiable commodities, which might otherwise have competed unfairly with the ordinary stocks of merchants and dealers.

11. The year 1865 was characterized by some important occurrences. These were the appearance of the cattle plague in Great Britain, and the Fenian conspiracy in Ireland. Down to

the middle of December, 1865, fifty thousand reported cases of cattle disease had in the great majority of cases ended fatally. Although the plague subsided in some parts of the country, while other districts were exempt from its ravages, the total number of attacks was increasing from week to week. A royal commission recommended a temporary prohibition of all movement of cattle, and local authorities, acting, with imperfect concert, under the general guidance of the Privy Council, in many places suspended cattle markets and fairs. The criminal folly of Fenianism was almost equally morbid and unaccountable. The design of establishing an Irish republic by American aid appears to have been formed two or three years previous, at a time when animosity to England was professed even more vociferously than usual by all parties in the United States. The plot, said the London "Times" of 1865, "exhibits in a concrete form American rhodomontade, and the more serious element of Irish disaffection. The Fenian agents were provided with considerable sums of money, arising from contributions by Irish settlers in America; they imported arms; they found numerous dupes ready to take oaths, and to drill in secrecy; and as the Federal armies were disbanded, a few officers came to take command in the expected insurrection. The Irish government had early become acquainted with the secret of the conspiracy, and when the time was ripe for action Lord Wodehouse and his subordinates struck the traitors with celerity and vigor. The principal ringleaders were arrested; and, with the exception of Stephens, the chief author of the plot, who unfortunately escaped from prison, they have been sentenced to severe, but not excessive, punishments, after conviction by juries in trials conducted with exemplary calmness and impartiality. Although the discontent of the Irish peasantry constitutes a grave political evil, it is in some degree satisfactory to find that the latest project of rebellion has not been countenanced by a single member of the upper classes, or by a single Roman Catholic priest. The conspiracy has now contracted into the dimensions of a club, which affects the style of an Irish government and Legislature in its lodging at New York. In conformity with national tradition, the president is said to have already quarrelled with the senate, and the entire organization is ridiculed by all sensible Americans. During the recent State elections the Democratic party bid for the Irish vote by professing Fenian sympathies; but in ordinary times the Fenians are not even respected as serious enemies of England."

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CHAPTER XLVI.

ENGLAND FROM 1866 TO 1873.

1. THE year 1866 was one of gloomy events in England. A long season of prosperous tranquillity was now interrupted by political and commercial disturbances, and by a consciousness of the relative inefficiency of the national armaments, and of a proportionately declining or suspended influence in the councils of the world. The sources of public wealth were happily untouched, for, in spite of monetary difficulties, the amount of imports and exports had not diminished, nor had manufacturing industry been extraordinarily depressed. The great financial collapse of the spring of 1866, though it produced wide-spread difficulty and distress, represented no diminution in the stock of useful commodities, or in the aggregate possession of the community. Except in a limited number of cases, in which capital had been withdrawn from profitable enterprises, losses and gains had, as on a settling-day after a race-meeting, been approximately balanced. The hundreds of millions by which the value of securities and fixed investments had been diminished, were added to the purchasing power of ready money. The stagnation of the stock exchange by the side of an overflowing money-market, although it reduced thousands of families to real and tangible poverty, was but a transfer of items from one page of a ledger to another. The social and moral evils of a financial crisis were out of all proportion to the collective loss. The sufferers often belonged to classes which could ill afford pecuniary sacrifices, and they found no consolation in the indirect advantages which followed from the bursting of commercial bubbles. The panic of 1866 recurred after the unusually short interval of eight years and a half, and there followed an unprecedented absence of elasticity in the revival of credit. During the early part of the year a high rate of interest indicated unusual pressure; but it was commonly asserted that trade was healthy, and the failure of one or two country banks was attributed to local causes. In April the greater part of the ordinary stock of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway was advertised for sale at an apparently ruinous discount, and it was known that several

railway contractors were unable to obtain a continuance of the advances on which their solvency depended. The first week of May was marked by increased disquiet and anxiety, and on the 10th of the month the stoppage of the great discount establishment of Overend & Gurney produced universal consternation. The business had been transferred only a year before by the partners of a well-known firm to a limited joint-stock company; and shareholders and customers had relied with equal confidence on the solvency and prosperity of the undertaking. At the time of the suspension the engagements of the company amounted to nineteen million pounds, and traders and speculators depended on its resources for a proportionate supply of accommodation. No single bankruptcy had ever caused so great a shock to credit. The following day produced the greatest agitation which had ever been known in London, and the government was compelled, as in 1847 and 1857, to authorize the Bank of England to issue notes beyond the legal limit. It was rumored that the strongest joint-stock banks were almost drained of their ready money, nor could it be doubted that a slight increase of distrust on the part of depositors might have produced mischievous results. Two or three banks, including the Agra and Easternman's Limited Company, failed within the week, and several of the new credit companies, framed on the French model, were summarily crushed. The rate of ten per cent. discount, imposed on the Bank of England by government as a condition of additional power of issue, lasted from the 11th of May to the 17th of August, and although the rate afterwards declined rapidly from eight per cent. to six, to five, and to four per cent., the price of the funds and of shares in railway and joint-stock companies had scarcely risen at the close of the year. For some months after the panic English credit fell into entire disrepute on the continent, and a circular from the Foreign Office, containing an accurate explanation of the distinction between scarcity of money and insolvency, appeared only to aggravate the prevailing "suspicion." At home one important class of securities was additionally discredited by the exposure of scandalous irregularities in the financial conduct of the London, Chatham, and Dover, and the North British Railways. The most prosperous and solvent companies suffered from the doubts which had been thrown by unscrupulous directors and managers on the reality of their profits, and more especially on the security of their debentures.

2. But a graver and more complicated danger menaced England in 1866, consisting in the combinations of workmen. Concerning these institutions, the London "Times" of that year remarked: "The Trades Unions, as their organization is perfected, become daily more formidable to their employers and to the community at large. As long as their success consists in the increase of wages at the expense of profits, the question concerns only masters and men; but arbitrary restrictions rapidly tend to raise prices, to discourage enterprise, and to deprive industry and skill of their natural rewards. Artificial contrivances for raising the price of labor beyond a certain level are as absurd in the presence of free trade as a plan of handicapping the horses from a single stable if they had to run in a race open to the world. Staffordshire or Yorkshire Unions may easily make iron dearer; but, unless they can close the Belgian furnaces, they must fail in their attempt to tax the consumer through the employer. The shallow economists of the workshop have already created an import trade in iron castings, and even in locomotive engines, and joiners' fittings are introduced from northern ports, while carpenters are striking for wages or for the dismissal of apprentices. A scandalous outrage, which was lately perpetrated at Sheffield, has been followed by a rapid diminution in the trade of the town, nor could the retribution cause a moment's regret if the loss fell exclusively on the abettors of tyranny and persecution. An attempt to murder a poor man, with his family, because he had held aloof from the Saw-Grinders' Union, produced from the secretary of that body only a mild and conventional censure of the crime, accompanied with an assertion, afterwards sanctioned by the Union, that the contumacy of the victim was only less culpable than the attempt of the assassin. The moral theories of Sheffield are probably not approved by the great body of English artisans, but the inquisitorial despotism of the Unions scarcely provokes among their members a murmur of opposition. Like the horse in the fable, like volunteers in a regiment, the workmen sacrifice individual freedom for the power, conferred by discipline, of coercing their employers, and in utter forgetfulness of the economic laws which overrule the domestic squabbles of capital and labor. While the docility and ready organization of the working-classes are exciting fears of a decline in commercial prosperity, our great agitator has conceived the project of applying industrial combinations to political purposes. The ready obedience of homogeneous multitudes to the command of self-appointed lead-

ers furnishes a suggestive temptation to ambitious demagogues. Mr. Bright has boasted of having been the first to discern the political capabilities of the Unions, and an unfortunate combination of circumstances has, after long disappointment, enabled him to make use of their organization. As late as Easter, his proposal that crowds should assemble in the streets to intimidate Parliament excited neither attention nor response; but when Mr. Gladstone's unskilful strategy and the divisions of the liberal majority had proved fatal to the ministerial reform bill, the artisans of London and the great manufacturing towns readily listened to assertions that their claims had been slighted; nor was reiterated misrepresentation wanting to persuade them that their order had been insulted. The Hyde Park meeting, with the partial disturbances which followed, showed the possibility of alarming the upper and middle classes; and in the course of the autumn vast bodies of men were collected at Birmingham, at Manchester, at Leeds, and at Glasgow, to demand universal suffrage at the bidding of their leaders with the same unanimity they had often displayed in obeying an order to 'strike' for wages. Simultaneous meetings were addressed by Mr. Bright, in a series of declamations which tended rather to excite the fury of his followers against his political opponents than to convince or conciliate wavering opinion. At Manchester, Mr. Bright wantonly referred to the possible contingency of a justifiable rebellion, and on a later occasion he threatened Parliament with the change of peaceable demonstrations into a display of force if resistance to his demands were continued at the opening of the ensuing session. In the midst of his fiercest invectives he never failed to display his characteristic intolerance of free parliamentary speech. An unguarded and misinterpreted phrase of Mr. Lowe's was denounced as an insult to the working-classes, who were at the same time listening to the fiercest and most calumnious invectives against the House of Commons. The great open-air meetings, including only a single class and one set of opinions, have, in the absence of opposition or interference, been peaceable and orderly. Grave apprehensions were aroused by a notice that all the organized working societies of London intended to march through the West End in procession on the 3d of December. Their leaders boastfully estimated their numbers at two hundred thousand; but the certainty of disturbance and the probability of riot were averted by the disappointment of their anticipations. The march of twenty-three thousand or twenty-five thousand artisans in military order was

accomplished with no other inconvenience than the interruption for a day of traffic and business. It will be well if the incompatibility of similar assemblages with the good order of a great capital is understood in London before it has been illustrated, as in Paris, by tragical experience. Large masses of men acting in obedience to the word of command may, perhaps, not always be instructed to abstain from violence. Some of the agitators of the Trades' Unions have already threatened to reproduce the procession of 1780 to the Houses of Parliament, if they can induce Mr. Bright, like Lord George Gordon, to receive their petition at the door of the House of Commons." It will not be forgotten that the statement of this journal, always conservative and always opposed to popular reform, must be discounted by the measure of Canadian freedom. Mr. Bright is admired on one side of the Atlantic, by even the best conservatives, for that which occasions the bitterest denunciations of his political enemies on the other.

3. In 1871 an illness from which the queen suffered, in the early part of the autumn, produced many sincere expressions of loyal feeling, and the great mass of the community, which had never wavered in its attachment to the crown and to the royal family, was astonished at its own profound emotion when it became known that the Prince of Wales was in imminent danger. An attack of fever, commencing in November, had from the first excited considerable anxiety, though the medical reports for three weeks were comparatively encouraging. At the end of the first week in December a relapse, which appeared to have rendered recovery hopeless, produced an outburst of sympathy and sorrow which could only be compared to the national grief on the death of the Princess Charlotte in 1817. In every town crowds waited anxiously for the issue of newspapers containing the latest news of the prince, and the government found it expedient to forward the medical bulletins to all the telegraph offices in the United Kingdom. Throughout India, in the colonies, and even in the United States, the daily progress of the disease was recorded and watched; and in England, in the churches of every religious communion, prayers were offered, though almost without hope, for the recovery of the prince. A natural association directed special attention to the accounts of the 14th of December, the day on which, ten years before, the prince's father had succumbed to the same disease. On that very day, or a few hours earlier, there were symptoms of

amendment, and before the end of the week the most dangerous complications had disappeared.

4. The year 1872 found Mr. Gladstone at the head of the ministry, which position he had held since 1868. His cabinet was slightly strengthened during the year. The recovery of the Prince of Wales from his severe illness, about the commencement of the year, was a substantial cause for rejoicing throughout the whole kingdom. Sir Charles W. Dilke moved, in his place in the House of Commons, an inquiry into the expenditures of the civil list, looking to an exposure of the alleged extravagance of the royal family. He defended his proposition in an able speech, but, after a reply by Mr. Gladstone, who eulogized the queen, and denied with great warmth the statements of Sir Charles, the proposition was utterly defeated by two hundred and seventy-six negative votes to two affirmative. The Parliament of 1872 was deeply concerned with the Alabama claims question pending the Geneva conference.

5. In 1873 an indirect vote of want of confidence in Mr. Gladstone's cabinet resulted in the defeat of the University Education bill (Ireland), a favorite measure with the premier. It was subsequently announced by Mr. Gladstone in the Commons and by Earl Granville in the House of Lords that the ministry had resigned, and that the queen had sent for Mr. Disraeli to form a conservative cabinet. Meanwhile the latter exerted himself to form a cabinet that would command the confidence of the Commons, but was unsuccessful, and was therefore compelled to inform her majesty of the circumstances. Her majesty thereupon sent for Mr. Gladstone and requested him to make certain changes in his cabinet and return to office, to which he assented. The reason why Mr. Disraeli did not accept office as first minister was because there were a majority of liberals in the house, and he was known to be a staunch conservative. He knew very well that with such material to be controlled a month would not pass before a vote of want of confidence would overturn his cabinet. However, after Mr. Gladstone's resumption of office in March, 1873, it was evident that he held his place by a very frail tenure. He was compelled to withdraw some government measures to prevent their defeat, and to make all the capital he could out of the Ashantee war, which was well managed. He may have lost some prestige in asking the additional grant for the Duke of Edinburgh (the second son of the queen), in view of his approaching marriage ;

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but this was managed with such skill as not to materially affect his strength. During the recess of 1873 he carefully studied the state of public feeling. He found his political enemies very formidable. The Roman Catholics, under the lead of their bishops, were all opposed to the Irish Educational bill. The aristocracy, and particularly the clerical portion of it, were suspicious of his disestablishment policy, fearing that England might share with Ireland in the measure. He could not rely upon the Irish home rulers, and the great body of the working-men had been turned against him on his refusal to grant an extension of suffrage. Altogether the outlook was not promising.

6. In the winter and autumn of 1873 Mr. Gladstone, the liberal premier, became satisfied that he could not command a working majority in the Commons at the next session, and, accordingly, on the 24th of January, 1874, the twentieth Parliament was dissolved and writs for a new election issued. The returns from these elections gave three hundred and fifty conservatives, two hundred and forty-two liberals, and sixty home rulers. The conservatives having thus a clear majority, Mr. Gladstone resigned, and the queen sent for Mr. Disraeli, the conservative leader, to form a new cabinet. This gave Mr. Disraeli a second term as first minister. On the 21st of February the new cabinet was announced. It was as follows:—

First Lord of the Treasury and Premier.—Right Hon. BENJ. DISRAELI.
Lord High Chancellor.—LORD CAIRNS, formerly Sir HUGH MCCALMONT CAIRNS.
Lord President of the Council.—CHARLES HENRY GORDON-LENNOX, Duke of Richmond.
Secretary of State for Home Department.—Right Hon. RICHARD ASSHETON CROSS.
Lord Privy Seal.—JAMES HOWARD HARRIS, Earl of Malmesbury.
Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Right Hon. Sir STAFFORD HENRY NORTH-COTE.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—Right Hon. EDWARD HENRY SMITH-STANLEY, Earl of Derby.
Secretary of State for the Colonies.—Right Hon. HENRY HOWARD M. HERBERT, Earl of Carnarvon.
First Lord of the Admiralty.—Right Hon. GEORGE WARD HUNT.
Secretary of State for India.—Right Hon. ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOIGNE-CECIL, Marquis of Salisbury.
Secretary of State for War.—Right Hon. GATHORNE HARDY.
Postmaster-General.—Right Hon. Lord JOHN JAMES ROBERT MANNERS.

7. With the foregoing cabinet the great leader, who is still, 1878, at the head of the government, began his administration

in 1874. The war with Ashantee, that had extended throughout the previous year, was carried forward under the vigorous leadership of Sir Garnet Wolseley, and was successfully terminated in February, 1874,—Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, being captured in that month, and burned, the king, Koffer, thereupon suing for peace. The marriage of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, second son of the queen, to the Grand-Duchess Marie of Russia, only daughter of the Czar Alexander II., was celebrated at St. Petersburg, Jan. 21, 1874, and the duke and duchess took up their residence in England in March. The remains of Dr. Livingstone, who had died in Central Africa, May 4, 1873, were brought from Africa, and buried with great ceremony in Westminster Abbey, April 18, 1874.

8. The opening of the Eastern question by the insurrection in European Turkey led to an earnest reconsideration of the position which England ought to occupy. While the confidence in the former policy of the government, to maintain under all circumstances the integrity of the Turkish Empire, was generally shaken, public opinion expressed itself strongly in favor of strengthening British influence in Egypt, for the purpose of securing the possession of India. While this subject was discussed by the English press, the whole world was surprised by the announcement that the British government had purchased from the Khedive nearly one-half of all the shares of the Suez Canal Company. Public opinion in England received this clear indication of the intention of the government in regard to the Eastern question. We will, however, reserve further comment on the Eastern question for succeeding chapters, which are devoted to that question, and to the war between Russia and Turkey which resulted. In 1876 a measure was carried in Parliament to enable her majesty to assume, in addition to her former titles, the style and title of "Empress of India." The royal family of England consists of the following members:—

1. HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.
2. PRINCESS VICTORIA (married to the crown Prince of Germany).
3. PRINCE ALBERT EDWARD, heir apparent. (Prince of Wales married daughter of King Christian IX. of Denmark. Issue, two sons and three daughters.)
4. PRINCESS ALICE (married to Prince Ludwig of Hesse).
5. PRINCE ALFRED, Duke of Edinburgh (married to Grand-Duchess Marie of Russia).

6. PRINCESS HELENA (married Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Londerburg-Augustenburg).
 7. PRINCESS LOUISE (married to Marquis of Lorne).
 8. PRINCE ARTHUR, Duke of Connaught.
 9. PRINCE LEOPOLD.
 10. PRINCESS BEATRICE.
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CHAPTER XLVII.

ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. We can but glance at a few of the important incidents in the general features of social and religious improvement in England during that part of the nineteenth century now passed. By all means the noblest religious work has been in connection with "The British and Foreign Bible Society," an enterprise mighty and eternal in its results, yet instigated by a little child. Mr. Berard thus tells the incident which led to the formation of this society: "A Welsh girl, tripping over her native hills, was met by the Rev. Mr. Charles, of Bala. He stopped the child, and asked if she could tell him the text on which he had preached the preceding Sunday. The little girl hung her head as she replied that she had not been able to get at the Bible that week. On inquiring the reason, the clergyman found that there was but one Bible within several miles, and that this child was in the habit of walking a long distance every week, over rugged mountain paths, for the privilege of reading the word of God. The fact that a large district of Great Britain was destitute of Bibles made a deep impression on the mind of Mr. Charles. He visited London, and spoke of it to others. Christian hearts were roused, nor was it long before the resolution was made to print and sell Bibles at such prices as would enable the poor to obtain them." Thus began, in 1804, with a subscription of only three thousand dollars, "The British and Foreign Bible Society," which has now a revenue of over eight hundred thousand dollars, and has circulated nearly forty millions of Bibles and Testaments.

2. The societies established in the previous century for the promotion of religious truth have been greatly extended during the past fifty years. In addition to this, new institutions for the same grand purpose have been established by the Church of England and the various dissenting bodies. By the good offices of these societies, and in connection with similar Christian

enterprises in America, the great blessings of Christian civilization have been extended to the remotest colonies of Great Britain, and to many heathen nations. Schools and churches of the Christian faith have been founded in China, India, Africa, and the isles of the Pacific Ocean. Sunday schools, first established by Robert Raikes, in 1780, have become almost universal, and there is scarcely a parish or religious society in England or the United States in which one or more Sunday school does not flourish. It would require a volume much larger than the present to record the wonderful triumphs of Christianity in the present century, and it is not too much to say that the centre of these victories has been in the United Kingdom. England has ever been the foremost Christian nation, and the great extension of her possessions in all parts of the world has been greeted with universal satisfaction, chiefly because these have been coextensive with religious and civil liberty. The world cannot easily measure the blessings which God has seen fit to bestow through the instrumentality of the English nation. It is a truth well-known to all languages that no people of the race have done so much for the whole human family as the English.

3. The Metropolitan Lunatic Asylum, at Hanwell, stands forth to mark a new era in the history of Christian charity in England. Here for the first time in the kingdom the barbarous system of coercing the insane gave place to that of judicious medical treatment. "Instead of being chained in cells, and left to idleness, a prey to the fancies of their own disordered intellects, employment has been furnished according to the abilities of the inmates: the men engaged in gardening and building; the women made happy by the industry of the needle."

4. English literature has made some of its most gigantic strides during the present century. "An interesting feature has been a new style of periodical review. The first which appeared was 'The Edinburgh Review,' established in 1802, by the Rev. Sydney Smith, Messrs., afterwards Lords, Jeffrey and Brougham, and other men of distinguished talent. The contributors to the columns of this periodical were Whigs, who advocated successively the great reform questions of the day. The boldness and ability of their writings gave no little support to the promoters of the abolition of slavery, the repeal of the corn-laws, etc. 'The Quarterly Review,' a Tory publication, was established in London, in the year 1809. It is distin-

guished for beauty of literary composition, and its columns have been enriched by the genius of Sir Walter Scott, Southey, and Lord Canning. 'Blackwood's Magazine,' designed to counteract the Whig influence of 'The Edinburgh Review,' was set up in 1817 by its able editor, Professor Wilson, so well known as 'Christopher North.'

5. The "Society for the Promotion and Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" was inaugurated in 1827, and mainly through the efforts of Mr. Brougham, Lord John Russell, and the Friend William Allen. Its object was to effect the publication, in cheap form, of elementary treatises on scientific subjects, such as would be within the means and uses of the working-men. "The Penny Magazine," "The Penny Cyclopædia," and "The Library of Entertaining Knowledge," and many other works of an entertaining and valuable nature, have been sent forth by this society, which, through the influence of Mr. Knight, have done a great work in the line of disseminating useful knowledge among the working-class.

6. The discoveries and improvements in the industrial and fine arts have worked a revolution in these departments in the last half-century. The breadth of these improvements is compared only by the distance from the simple lucifer match to the mighty steam-engine and electric telegraph. Each year seems to unfold some new triumph of genius over the world of matter, the latest of which is the telephone, which, be it said to the boast of that enterprising republic, is an American invention. The telegraph is also an American invention.

7. "To the Prince Consort of England," says Mr. Berard, "is due the praise of having originated the grand idea of an exhibition of the industry of all nations. To Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Paxton belongs the honor of having designed the marvellous structure of iron and glass, wherein might be exhibited fair samples of the world's art and industry. This, the largest compact building on the face of the earth, was erected in Hyde Park, London, in less than nine months, out of materials hitherto wholly untried in the great constructions of ancient or modern times.

'Like Arabia's matchless palace,
Child of Magic's strong decree,
One vast globe of living sapphire,
Floor, walls, columns, canopy.'

"Nor was the exhibition within unworthy of the beautiful structure. There, during the summer of 1851, was represented

all that was most excellent in use or beauty of the industry of all lands. Literally one hundred nations, from Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and the fifth continent, Australia, united in the celebration of this jubilee of art. From the 1st day of May, when the queen in person opened to her subjects and to the world the portals of this marvellous palace, so great was the throng of admiring visitors, from every rank and class in society, and almost from every quarter of the globe, that the great exhibition of 1851 was aptly named 'The World's Fair.' To the looker-on in London it might have seemed as if the world had indeed given itself a holiday, and gone thither to enjoy it. When the exhibition was over, many schemes were devised for the future disposition of the building. At length, in May of 1852, the Crystal Palace, in Hyde Park, was purchased by a private company of English gentlemen. They designed that this noble structure 'should rise again, greatly enhanced in grandeur and beauty; that it should form a palace for the multitude, where, to the inhabitants of London especially, should be afforded, in wholesome country air, amidst the beauties of nature, the elevating treasures of art, and the instructive marvels of science, an accessible and inexpensive substitute for the injuries and debasing amusements of a crowded metropolis.' The Crystal Palace, rising amid the natural beauties of Sydenham, in Kent, within a few miles of London, has amply fulfilled this noble design. The palace and its grounds occupy two hundred acres. To the lover of out-door beauty, parterres filled with the richest and gayest flowers, green terraces, fountains, parks, lakes, and every attraction of landscape-gardening, allure in this fascinating spot. To the lover of art there exists within a world of interest and delight. And yet so simple is the arrangement of the treasures within this mighty edifice that there is no confusion, — nothing inharmonious. In the fine arts and industrial courts and galleries, the visitor, whether a man of science or of literature, poet, painter, sculptor, artisan, or mechanic, may learn, as it were in epitome, of all that his fellow-man has accomplished, almost from the first dawn of civilization down to the present moment. In the great nave, sixteen hundred and eight feet in length, is beheld a glorious vista of fountains and foliage, flowers and statuary. On either side tiers of pendant baskets, filled with graceful vines and richest bloom, perfume the air with delicious fragrance. The ear is regaled with the singing of birds, the playing of the grand organ, or the music of the orchestra, or, if these are hushed,

with the refreshing sound of the fountains. Prominent in the foreground of the picture rises the transparent fountain of glass, which, glittering with all the colors of the rainbow, and towering from a solid base up to a point, pours its unceasing streams upon the crystal basin below. In this sheet of water float the gigantic leaves of the *Victoria Regia*. In the basins of other fountains are to be found rare and curious aquatic plants, water-lilies, gold-fish, and in some basins all the curiosities of the aquarium. Beds or borders ranging on either side of the nave, in front of the various courts, contain the rich botanical treasures of the palace. In these groves may be found the trees and shrubs and plants of almost every clime. Their waving foliage forms a pleasing background to the numerous specimens of statuary, which, singly or in sculptured groups, adorn the whole extent of this magnificent nave. And over all, heightening immeasurably the effect of this scene of beauty, stretches the arched roof, with its delicate aerial tint, spanning the whole as if it were with a vault of opal. Thus stands the Crystal Palace, an enduring monument of a new and wonderful architecture, a permanent palace of education and art for the use of mankind, and an ample fulfilment of the noblest designs of its foundation."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE TURKO-RUSSIAN WAR.

THE RELATIVE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE TWO POWERS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR—PROGRESS IN THE FIELD—THE CONTEST—FALL OF TURKEY.

1. It is no slight task to write or compile a consecutive history of the great Turko-Russian war of 1877-8. The sources of information are ample, but equally as conflicting, and much that has found its way into print is unreliable. We must content ourselves with tracing briefly the diplomatic struggles which preceded the war, or the causes producing the war, the war itself, and the diplomatic contest which followed the treaty of San Stefano. Thus we have our subject divided into three parts. First, then, let us glance at diplomatic measures previous to the war, and see if, in our observations, we may not happen on the immediate causes of the appeal to arms. This Eastern question is a very old one, and, although old as European nations, has not slept sufficiently long at any one time to have been forgotten by a single generation. The English, French, German, and Prussian statesmen have found their greatest abilities most heavily taxed when grappling with the designs of Russia. The attitude of this Eastern question is ever changing, and it is this constant changing which has rendered the problem so difficult and so much of a puzzle to the popular mind. What is of the greatest importance this week sinks into utter significance next, and thus the scene is ever changing and repeating. But it is these varying phases which have led to every crisis, and to every war in which the armies of Russia have fought; and it was this peculiar nature of the case which led to the desperate war of 1877-8, which has prostrated Turkey at the proud feet of Russia, and necessitated a reconstruction of those provinces of the Balkan peninsula recently in some measure dependent upon the Ottoman government. By glancing at the most prominent phases of the Eastern question, we may easily discern the ground of disputes between the two late contending powers, and understand what are the "English interests" touching the populations which inhabit the countries extending from the

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southern frontiers of Austria and Russia to the northern frontier of Greece.

2. The phase of the question which agitated the powers at the close of 1875 was to deal with the rebellion in Bosnia and



THE GRAND DUKE ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVITCH, HEIR-APPARENT TO THE THRONE OF RUSSIA

the Herzegovina. The troubles in the latter had their origin in the corrupt administration of the provinces. As we are well aware, the great powers of Europe dealt with it by merely giving advice, but carefully avoiding action. The rebellion, however, only increased, and received strong encouragement

from the Slave populations of Austria, Servia, and Montenegro. At last the governments of Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary decided that a bolder course of action was imperative, and in May, 1876, they drew up the Berlin memorandum, with the object, as the document declares, "to support their diplomatic action by the sanction of an agreement with a view to such efficacious measures as might be demanded, in the interests of general peace, to check the evil and prevent its development." On the 15th of May the governments of France and Italy signified their approval or acquiescence; but the government of Great Britain refused. At this time the foreign minister of Italy openly avowed his regret at the action of England, and stated that he considered "united action between all the powers was the surest means of securing peace; and that, in associating themselves with the policy of the three imperial cabinets in the present instance, the Western Powers would be in a better position to exercise an influence over subsequent proceedings should the measure now proposed fail to realize the hoped-for pacification. These were the motives which had determined the Italian government to accept the new proposals." Such was the gentle manner in which Italy remonstrated with England, while at the same time the foreign minister of France expressed to England's representative at Paris "his surprise and regret, and spoke at length, and in a peculiarly earnest language of the result which he dreaded if, by the non-consent of all the powers, an armistice became impossible, and thus the present struggle were kept up. He implored her majesty's government to reconsider their decision. He trusted that they would at least consent to recommend an armistice, however short, in order that an attempt might be made to find some ground for the establishment of a common concert between the six powers; and he declared that, for his part, he could but consider that, if England stood aloof at this momentous crisis, it would be a public calamity for Europe." But England yielded not, and for good reasons. But this was by no means all the pressure brought to bear against the government of England. Prince Bismarck said "he would willingly entertain modifications or improvements which the English government might propose; but he greatly regretted that her majesty's government had not been able to give a general support to the principle of the plan submitted by the northern powers, and agreed to by France and Italy, and had felt obliged to withdraw from the cordial understanding so happily established

between the six great powers in regard to the pacification of the Herzegovina." On the other hand, Prince Gortchakow, of Russia, "deeply regretted the resolution taken by the London cabinet;" and Count Andraszy, of Austria, offered to delay the presentation to the Porte of the Berlin propositions, in the hope that the English government might still be induced to give its coöperation. But still England remained firm, and thus broke up the concerted action of the powers.

3. The Porte was overjoyed at England's attitude, and

became more than ever determined to disregard the advice of the powers, no longer unanimous. John W. Probyn, in an able article on the Eastern Question, seems to find cause, though not in our estimation justifiable, for complaint against England. He says,¹ "A policy advocated by Austria, whose neighboring Slave populations necessarily and naturally sympathized with the Slaves of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, was assuredly one that should have commanded the assent of English statesmen. They would have done well to reflect that if Austrian statesmen (dreading that the continuation of the revolt against the Porte would lead Serbia and Montenegro to aid the insurgents) thought it time to supplement their diplomatic action by the



PRINCE CHARLES OF ROUMANIA.

¹ Compiled from sketch in "British Quarterly Review," and from articles in London "News" and "Times."

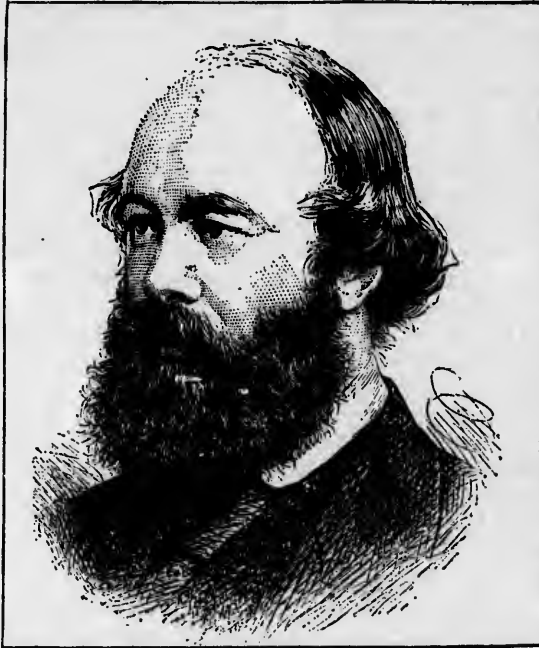
sanction of an agreement with a view to such *efficacious measures* as might be demanded in the interests of general peace to check the evil and prevent its development,' England would have done well to agree to those 'efficacious measures.' It is difficult to see what danger Great Britain could have run by assenting to a policy agreed to by Austria. It was by the adoption of 'efficacious measures,' and *not* by a refusal to join in them, that Lord Palmerston put an end to misrule, strife, and massacre in the Lebanon, in 1860. He did not hesitate to join France in coercing Turkey, and obliging her, by means of a French army and an English fleet, to punish her offending officers. Order thus being restored by the arms of the Western powers, they proceeded, in concert with the other powers and Turkey, to establish a government in the Lebanon which has since ruled fairly well its various races and creeds. But this remarkable precedent was of no account apparently in the counsels of Lord Beaconsfield's cabinet, not even when Austria herself had sanctioned an agreement with a view to 'efficacious measures.' Let those who desired the maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire, as settled by the treaty of 1856, ask themselves whether the results of England's agreeing to the 'efficacious measures' implied in the Berlin memorandum could possibly have been as disastrous to the Porte as have been the results of that policy of refusal to join in 'efficacious measures' so persistently pursued by the English cabinet. The enemies of Turkey may indeed congratulate themselves that no 'efficacious measures' were taken by the powers of Europe to put an end to misrule and rebellion in Bosnia and the Herzegovina; but the avowed friends and supporters of the Ottoman government have assuredly not the same cause for rejoicing in this year of grace 1878."

4. The rejection of the Berlin memorandum was soon followed by Servia and Montenegro declaring war against the Porte. Thus the conflagration spread, and the danger to the peace of Europe was thereby sensibly increased. The massacres in Bulgaria, which occurred in May, 1876, turned the tide of feeling throughout Europe strongly against Turkey. After Mr. Baring's carefully prepared official report upon these massacres, Lord Derby wrote in September, 1876, his famous despatch on the subject to the Porte. In it the foreign secretary of England directed her ambassador at Constantinople to demand a formal audience with the sultan, to communicate the result of Mr. Baring's inquiries into the Bulgarian atrocities, and,

in the name of the queen, call for reparation, justice, and the punishment of those who had perpetrated them, mentioning especially Chefket Pasha. He had previously made himself conspicuous by treacherously attacking and massacring a large body of refugees at Possovo, in the Herzegovina, who were returning to their homes, confiding in the promises of the Turkish government. His personal share in the massacres is described in Mr. Baring's report as "abominable, as there was not a semblance of revolt. The inhabitants were perfectly peaceable, and the attack on them was as cruel and wanton a deed as could well have been committed." The Porte was, of course, profuse in promises that justice should be done. This Turkish justice took the form of leaving Chefket Pasha unpunished, and ultimately giving him high command in Bulgaria. It is difficult to conceive a grosser insult than was thus offered by the Ottoman government to that of England. The latter demanded the punishment of this official criminal; the Porte replied by promoting him. Very different was the justice which Lord Palmerston, in 1860, compelled the Turkish government to mete out to its officials who had been concerned in the Lebanon massacres. *Those* criminals were duly shot.

5. Montenegro prosecuted successfully, in 1876, her war with Turkey. Serbia was, on the contrary, defeated, despite considerable aid given to her by Russian volunteers. This latter principality was saved from conquest by the Turks through the interposition of England, and the ultimatum addressed to the Porte by Russia. In the end of September Russia made a proposal to England that Bosnia should be occupied by Austrian troops, and Bulgaria by Russian, while the fleets of the combined powers of Europe took possession of the Bosphorus. Such a demonstration the cabinet of St. Petersburg believed would bring the Porte to terms, but the English government protested against the proposal. Russia then withdrew that portion of her scheme relating to the military occupation, and urged that the fleets of the powers should all go up to Constantinople, with a view of showing that Europe was in earnest. This proposal was backed up by Austria first, and then by the other powers. But this proposition also was negatived by the English government. Then followed the conference at Constantinople. Russia produced her programme. Exception was taken to it, upon which it was withdrawn, and England stated her plan. It, too, was reduced and modified, until an "irreducible minimum" was at length pressed upon the Turkish government. Lord Salis-

bury warned the Porte that the alternative was a war which would put in peril "the very existence of the Turkish Empire;" and he added, "The responsibility will rest solely with the sultan and his advisers." Heedless of such warnings, the Porte



THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, ENGLAND.

first put out a bran-new constitution (the hopelessness of which no one has exposed more vigorously than Lord Salisbury himself), and then, with an infatuation that has scarcely a parallel in recent times, rejected the proposals of the conference. Before the month of April, 1877, closed, the justice of Lord Salisbury's warnings were verified. Russia, unable to

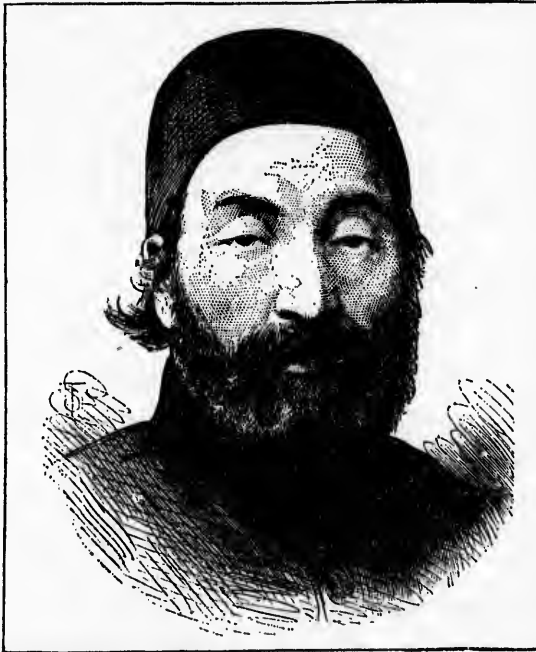
obtain anything by negotiations, appealed to arms. Turkey thus exposed herself to the tremendous risk of a single-handed contest with her formidable neighbor. After a few months of gallant fighting, she now finds, to her cost, that she has but put in peril "her very existence." Thus it was that the Eastern question entered in April, 1877, upon this new and critical phase of a war between Russia and Turkey alone. Throughout the preceding negotiations, extending from the autumn of 1875 to the spring of 1877, the cabinet of St. Petersburg had either agreed to, or proposed, various plans by which "efficacious measures" were to be taken by united Europe in order to compel Turkey to introduce substantial reforms, at

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first in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and afterwards in Bulgaria. To all such proposals the English government refused its consent. Turkey at the same time rejected, systematically, the suggestions of the European powers, both before the conference at Constantinople, and in the conference itself. It cannot be doubted that this blind resistance of the Porte was not a little due to the attitude taken up by the English cabinet. The Turkish government saw England differing on various occasions from the other powers, while always refusing to unite with them in taking "efficacious measures" against Ottoman misrule, such as Lord Palmerston's government so wisely joined in when disturbances and massacre desolated the Lebanon in 1860. Turkey, therefore, counted upon this disunion, and steadily refused the advice of Europe. The Porte was all the more obstinate in her resistance, because her avowed supporters in England applauded this infatuated policy, while their words, both spoken and written (if they had any meaning at all), led to the conclusion that Turkey might, at any rate in the last resort, count upon England's material support. Thus these self-constituted advisers of the Ottoman government lured it on to the destruction of its military power, and its utter prostration at the feet of Russia. To those who advocated the policy of united Europe, including England, actually taking "efficacious measures" against Turkish misrule in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and later on in Bulgaria, it may now indeed be said that the advocates of such a policy would thereby have preserved, at least to some extent, the continuation of Turkish rule. But surely the answer is obvious, that it would have been wiser by the concerted action of all Europe to have coerced Turkey, to have circumscribed her authority, and dictated a proper use of it, as in the case of the Lebanon, rather than to have left Russia *alone* to coerce Turkey. Every dictate of a wise and prudent policy was in favor of such coercion coming from united Europe, so that both its action and its results might have been directed by all the European powers. As it is, a drifting and uncertain policy has allowed Russia *alone* to assume the part of the chastiser of Turkey's misrule, and the champion of her oppressed subjects. The consequence is, that an inordinately preponderating influence has been acquired by Russia, while Turkey has been almost destroyed. But, since the conclusion of the war, England has so far counteracted the influence of Russia as to make it a question of grave uncertainty to-day

whether or not the latter will yield her claim in a large degree, or risk a war with the English.

6. But let us pause in our observations of diplomacy to glance at the field of battle; to record the principal military operations in the great war. The war itself may be conveniently divided into four periods. The first comprises the gathering together of the Russian armies in Europe and Asia, their advance to the Danube and into Armenia, the easy successes of the invaders in their operations until June and July, and the sudden reverses which befell their arms, on either theatre, at Zewin and Plevna. The second comprises the eventful time



SAVFET PASHA, TURKEY.

when the issue of the struggle, and all that it involved, hung in doubtful suspense for several weeks, and embraces the offensive movements of the Turks against the Shipka Pass, and on the Lom and the Jantra, and the great Russian defeat of the 11th of September. The third opens with the turn in affairs caused by the gigantic efforts of Russia and by the declining power of the Turks;

it contains the second campaign in Armenia, the decisive victory of Alajagh Dagh, the fall of Kars, and the march on Erzeroum; and it terminates with the crowning triumph of the surrender of Plevna and its brave defenders. The fourth period is little known as yet, but it abounds in stirring and dramatic scenes;

the advance of the Russians across the Balkans, despite the tempests and frosts of winter; the rising of Servia and the fall of Sophia; the last struggles of Suleiman Pasha; the sudden collapse of the defence of the Turks after their crushing defeat in the Shipka Pass; and, finally, the unresisted march of the conquerors from Adrianople to the shores of the Bosphorus, events which, whatever their other results, have probably effaced forever the rule of the Ottoman caste in Eastern Europe.

7. If we consider it in its broader aspects, the war forms one of those grand eras occasionally seen in the world's history. It marks another of the decisive triumphs of the race of Japheth over that of Shem; it is another act in the eventful drama in which the once terrible hordes of Asia have been gradually forced to yield their conquests, and to bow to the superior power of Europe. Henceforward, we trust the down-trodden Slave will know what freedom and peace mean, from the banks of the Danube to those of the Hebrus; and the time, we believe, is not far distant when the Greek will regain his lost heritage; when the Crescent will disappear forever from Byzantium and its renowned temples; when Greek life and progress will again animate the shores of the disenthralled Euxine. We cannot, however, dwell on these topics, for our purpose is to survey only the actual events and the course of the contest, and to give our readers a short account of it. From this point of view the struggle is, perhaps, of less exciting and profound interest than some of the great campaigns of this century, and is of less value to the military student. It contains, indeed, here and there, instances of brilliant daring and thoughtful generalship; and it is characterized throughout by the heroic courage, the endurance, and the tenacious energy which have often distinguished wars of the kind. But, viewed as a whole, it has not been signalized by master-strokes of the art of war; it can show no Austerlitz, Jena, or Sedan; and it abounds in examples of strategic failure, of great and striking military errors, and of combinations without skill or forethought. Yet, even if we regard it from this side only, the contest deserves attention and study, for military science can draw lessons as well from ill-directed and ill-conceived projects as from the operations of the greatest commanders; and, in addition, the campaign abounds in episodes of peculiar interest, and in passages of arms that we shall not easily forget.

8. It is unnecessary for us to dwell at length on the circumstances that preceded the war. If we recollect that for many

ages the Slavonic nations around the Danube were, in different degrees, under Turkish rule; that they have been advancing in power and wealth while their tyrants have been a declining caste; and, finally, that Russia necessarily is at once the protector of these communities and the natural foe of their Moslem oppressors,—it is impossible not to see that this state of things inevitably led to a tremendous conflict. It is more important for us to note the attitude with respect to the crisis of the two powers which, on this great occasion, might have shaped the destiny of this part of Europe. We cannot doubt that more or less ambition was intermingled with purer motives in the conduct of Russia in 1875-6, and she will be condemned by history if her present triumph is sullied by intrigue or the lust of conquest. On the other hand, it was, no doubt, difficult for England to recede on a sudden from what had been her traditional policy, and to abandon her support of the Turk; and she is perfectly within her rights to see that her interests shall receive no injury at the present juncture. But we must not the less express our regret that England and Russia did not cooperate in the great deliverance which seems now accomplished; and we are firmly convinced that this very alliance, negotiated wisely, and under just conditions, would not only perhaps have assured the freedom of European Turkey without war, but would have been the best means of maintaining the rights we seek to uphold in this part of the continent. As events have turned out, whatever her motives, Russia has become the liberator of the Slavonic race, from the Carpathians to the verge of the Bosphorus, while the government of England, we say it with shame, has done nothing to promote this object, nay, has crossed and opposed it in every way; the result being that England has had no share in one of the grandest of human achievements.

9. A few words must now be said on the resources and the military position of the belligerent powers when the contest began. The armies of Russia were, beyond question, incomparably superior to those of the Turks, in numbers, efficiency, and worth in the field; and, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, this was demonstrated in the course of the struggle. The czar disposed of probably six hundred thousand warriors; and though the organization of this powerful force was, in some respects, very far from perfect, it was infinitely better than that of their enemies, comparatively useless in the open field, from a deficiency in most of the requirements of war. On the other hand, the Turks had contrived to assemble more numerous and

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even better-appointed arrays than generally had been supposed in Europe. The collective strength of their armies perhaps was from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand men; and though these levies had in a great degree the character of the hordes of the East, they had one advantage over their disciplined foes, — a superiority in arms, — which, in defensive warfare, made them adversaries of the most formidable kind. There was less disparity, therefore, in the hostile forces than many observers believed beforehand, and the inferiority of the Turks was to some extent compensated by the conditions of the strife. As the Russians of course would assume the offensive, they would necessarily encounter many obstacles of a natural and artificial kind: in Asia the mountain chains of Armenia and the strong places that cover Erzeroum; in Europe, the Danube, the Bulgarian fortresses, the Balkans, and the immense distances between the Pruth and the plains of Roumelia; and these circumstances concurred to favor a belligerent on the defensive in the highest degree. Add to this that the Turks had the great advantage of the uncontrolled command of the sea, — that is, possessed the means of throwing their forces on almost every point of the theatre of war with comparative rapidity and with little risk, — and we shall understand how, for a few months at least, the contending powers were not wholly unmatched. For the rest, the Russian commanders were not, as a general rule, superior men; and though, with some exceptions, they were more versed in war than the nominees of the corrupt Nurgish court, many among them, when hostilities began, seem to have had a doubt as to what was to be done, and were either over-confident or timid in the extreme.

10. War was proclaimed by Russia in April of last year (1877), and Asia Minor became the first scene of the conflict. On this theatre the Grand Duke Michael had assembled an army which has been described as from eighty thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand strong, and which was certainly superior to the enemy in its front. This force, commanded by Loris Melikoff, marched rapidly across the Turkish frontier, and, dividing itself into three bodies, made on the right for Batoum, on the Black Sea, in the centre for the great fortress of Kars, and on the left for the line of the Aras. The column on the right, when it approached Batoum, received severe checks from the garrison of the place, and became isolated from the rest of the army; but on every other point of their broad advance the Russians at first were completely successful. Tur-

gkakassoff, to the left, passed the plains of Ararat, and, taking possession of Bayazid, reached the head-waters of the Eastern Euphrates; and Melikoff, with the main column, had in a few days forced the approaches to Kars, had surrounded the fortress with his light horsemen; and had even despatched some troops



THE GRAND DUKE MICHAEL, RUSSIAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN ASIA MINOR.

beyond it. The frontier of Armenia was thus occupied; and though the ranges and the defiles that impede the march of an enemy are difficult in the extreme, a daring offensive might, at this moment, have assured the Russians decisive success. The Turks, in fact, always slow and unready, had been completely

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taken by surprise, and, though orders had been given to defend the province, Armenia was really all but defenceless. It is now known that Mukhtar, the Turkish commander, had a force of only a few thousand levies when Melikoff first appeared before Kars; and had the Russian general pressed boldly forwards, he might probably have made his way to the capital, and finished the campaign almost at one blow. Melikoff, however, contented himself with beginning operations to invest Kars, and soon afterwards he directed a part of his forces to attack Ardahan, a secondary fortress at a distance on his right. This delay may have changed the course of events; at least it gave the Turks a favorable chance, which their leader knew how to make use of. Having hastily reinforced the garrison of Kars, Mukhtar fell back with his scanty force to the position of the Soganlook Pass, — a mountain defile that covers Erzeroum, — and once there he made great efforts to increase and to form his imperilled army. His exertions were seconded by the government at home, which sent him a large detachment by sea; recruits also flocked into his camp from the Moslem population of the surrounding country; and before long he was at the head of a force which, though of a motley kind, was not contemptible as regards mere numbers.

11. Simultaneously with the campaign in Asia, the Russians began to advance in Europe. For months before war had been declared, the hosts of the czar had been drawing together from the interior to the banks of the Pruth, and the Grand Duke Nicholas was now at the head of an army which had a numerical strength of fully three hundred thousand men. A large part of this force, however, was left in the rear to defend the coasts of Southern Russia from the Turkish fleets. Very great deductions, too, must be made from what were merely returns on paper, and probably not more than one hundred and eighty thousand men crossed the frontier of the empire in the first instance. A variety of circumstances caused the march of the invaders to be extremely slow: bad weather injured the Roumanian highways; large tracts of the country were turned into swamps impracticable but at a few places; the railway communication was very defective; and the affluents of the Danube, largely swollen with floods, were difficult barriers for troops to get over. Complaints, too, were made that the Russian arrangements were cumbrous, and showed a want of system; and though we ought not to lay too much stress on them there can be little doubt that the Russian advance was not, like that of a

modern German army, marked by that care of administrative detail which is a secret of celerity in war. In addition to these there was another cause that made the operations of the Russians tardy. It was necessary that they should cross the Dau-



GENERAL LOUIS-MELIKOFF.

ube, a water-way of immense breadth, in places guarded by powerful fortresses, and occupied by a hostile flotilla; and time was required to overcome these obstacles, and to make the passage of the river possible. The Russian commanders devoted weeks to making preparations for this great object, to con-

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structing pontoons, throwing up batteries, and gathering together boats and small craft; and though events showed that they were too circumspect we can scarcely blame them for excess of caution. At the same time there is no denying that the slowness of the invaders' advance gave the Turks an occasion they might have made use of. More than eight weeks passed from the declaration of war before the Russian army was upon the Danube; and during this interval an active enemy might have seriously impeded the columns on their march, by making raids into the Roumanian plains and by multiplying obstacles to the passage of troops. If the Turks, too, could not have accomplished this, they might at least have largely increased the flotilla with which they held the line of the Danube; they might have greatly strengthened the Bulgarian strongholds; and, above all, they could have removed to the north of the Balkans a part of the numerous forces which they had in Albania and Montenegro. The Turks, however, did none of these things, or did them in an imperfect fashion. The march of the Russians was not molested; the Ottoman flotilla received no additions, and, was, indeed, paralyzed by the fear of torpedoes; and though something was done to improve the works of Rustchuk, Silistria, and other places, scarcely a Turkish soldier was despatched to the aid of the army formed in the Bulgarian plains.

12. We dwell on these points, for, in our judgment, sufficient attention has not been given to them. If, as professional experts say, the strategy of the Russians in this part of the war was halting, timid, and wasteful of time, that of the Turks was far more characterized by sluggishness, feebleness, and want of purpose. By the middle of June the preparations to cross the Danube seem to have been nearly complete, but, as the river was still big with flood, a further delay of some days was needed. At this time the invading army was in occupation of the Roumanian bank of the river for nearly two hundred miles; but it was formed for the most part into two masses, — one to the left, holding the country between Galatz, Bucharest, and Kalarash, the other holding the tracts extending from Giurgevo to the banks of the Vede, — and it was already evident that it had become impossible for the Turks seriously to dispute the passage. The first crossing took place at Galatz, and was executed not without skill and judgment. A feint was made to bridge the stream near Ibraila, by bringing materials for pontoons together, and this seems to have de-

ceived the Turks, who sent a detachment near the spot, at Matchin. On the morning, however, of the 22d of June, a few hundred Russians put off in boats from the shore at Galatz upon the Danube, and, successive reinforcements coming to their aid, a footing was made at last on the Bulgarian bank, notwithstanding a fierce and gallant resistance. Bridges were thrown across at Galatz and Ibraila, and in a few days a whole Russian corps was in full march through the Dobrudseha waste, leaving the Danube completely in its power in the rear. The second crossing was effected on the 27th of June, at a point much higher up the river, and it presented features of a similar kind, though it was on a larger scale, and more sternly contested. As in the preceding instance, preparations were feigned to pass near Nicopolis and other points, but Simmitza was the real place selected; and a Russian detachment issuing from this spot was launched in rafts and barges across the river. The movement was sustained by a heavy fire of batteries from the Roumanian bank, and by the embarkation of troops in succession, but it was perceived at once by a Turkish detachment, and it was encountered with the most determined courage. At last, however, after several hundreds of the assailants had been drowned and had fallen, the Russians succeeded in forcing the passage, and Sistova, on the Bulgarian shore, was occupied. The Danube was afterwards easily bridged, the defenders having given way at all points, and before a week was over the invading army was spreading on all sides into Bulgarian territory.

13. This passage of the Danube, so rapid and easy, was ominous of the fate of the Ottoman power, and was the cause of excitement and wonder in Europe. It was certainly a brilliant military feat, designed with care and carried out ably; but it was executed under conditions of a kind which lessen our surprise at its complete success. As we have seen, the Turks made scarcely an attempt to prevent or retard the march of the enemy, or even to interfere with his preparations to cross; the flotilla, from which they had hoped so much, did simply nothing to check the Russians; and, though their fortresses barred some points of passage, they were made all but useless, not being supported by armies in the field to manœuvre between them. The Turks, in fact, had contented themselves with stationing detachments on the Bulgarian shore at the places where they expected the crossing; and as the invader approached the Danube they drew the mass of their movable

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forces — not less, perhaps, than one hundred and forty thousand men — into their strongholds, where they remained cooped up. In these circumstances the Russians were able to effect the passage almost as they pleased; the weak cordons of troops



EDHEM PASHA, GRAND VIZIER OF TURKEY.

that lay in their front were swept away at the first real pressure, and it was a matter of certainty that the Bulgarian bank would be readily mastered, and with little loss. In a military point of view the line of the Danube was, in short, given up by the Turks at once; their show of defending it was worse than idle;

and though the elaborate arrangements of the Russian commanders to secure the crossing show forethought and sense, the enterprise itself was not wonderful. As for their enemy, the inability of the Turks to avail themselves of this great barrier, by the manœuvres usual in instances of the kind, proves how ignorant they were of the art of war, and how incapable were their troops in the field.

14. The Russian army had scarcely obtained a hold on the southern bank of the Danube when intelligence arrived that successive disasters had befallen the cause of the czar in Asia. Ardahan having fallen after the middle of May, Loris Melikoff had proceeded with the siege of Kars, had opened fire on the north-eastern part of the fortress, and had made an attempt to invest it closely. The strength and the extent of the place, however, were too great for the force of the enemy, and the works of the siege, it has been asserted, were ill designed, and by no means efficient. After delaying for several weeks on the spot the Russian commander resolved to turn the siege into a mere blockade; and, leaving some troops to observe the garrison, made ready to march, with the rest of his army, against Mukhtar Pasha, for some time safe, as we have seen, in the Soganlook defiles. By this time the corps of Turgakassoff had advanced far on the way to Erzeroum; it was drawing near the valley of the Aras, and it would soon be in a position to threaten the flank of Mukhtar, and perhaps even to turn it. Melikoff, accordingly, seems to have planned a combined attack on the Turkish army by his own and Turgakassoff's forces; and if, as he supposed, success was certain, he anticipated that the Soganlook would be forced, that he would advance rapidly with the united columns, and that he would be ere long at the gates of the capital. The project was bold, and even ingenious; but it was ill-adapted to existing facts, and it was executed without skill or judgment.

15. By this time Mukhtar had collected and entrenched in the Soganlook Passes an army at least thirty thousand strong, and formidable in a defensive position. The two Russian generals, though nearing each other, were separated by mountain chains and defiles, and therefore Melikoff, to ensure success, ought to have had a force sufficient to defeat Mukhtar and ought to have made his junction with his colleague certain. That general, however, broke up from Kars with forces which, it is said, were not more than twenty thousand men, and he was never able really to combine his movements with those of

his lieutenant on the left. The result was a series of Russian defeats, and bad generalship was made worse by faulty tactics. Turgakassoff, advancing into the Aras valley, defeated Mukhtar in an affair of outposts, but was defeated in turn on the 22d of June; and three days afterwards Melikoff assailed the main Turkish army in the Soganlook defiles, but was utterly routed with enormous loss, his enemies being superior in numbers, and his attack on their entrenched position being reckless and wild in the highest degree. This battle, called, from the place, Zewin, completely baffled the Russian projects. The question now was not of attacking Erzeroum, but of retreating as fast as possible; and, in fact, the campaign was for the time ended. The Russian army fell back on all points; the siege of Kars was raised by the middle of July; Turgakassoff scarcely effected his escape, and by the first of August the repelled invaders had retired almost to their own frontier.

16. In spite, however, of this reverse in Asia, the Russians continued to advance in Europe. During the week that followed the 27th of June new bridges were thrown across the Danube, and by the first days of July not less probably than one hundred and thirty thousand Russians were on their way towards the line of the Balkans. Two causes seem to have induced their leaders to press forward with energy and speed, and to have given their movement a different character from that which marked their operations at first. One class of generals in the Grand Duke's camp is said to have been convinced that the Turks would not venture to make a serious resistance; that the campaign would be a mere showy march; and these counsellors, who now appeared in the right, urged their chief to advance at any risk, and to carry the war beyond the Balkans, with little regard to military rule. Then, again, the attitude of the Turks themselves seemed to encourage a dashing and bold offensive, and even to make it the wisest strategy. As we have seen, even before the Danube was crossed, the Ottoman chiefs had withdrawn the mass of the forces into the Bulgarian fortresses; they had scarcely attempted to dispute the passage; they remained stationary, although their enemy was now encamped on Bulgarian soil. Was it not possible, therefore, nay, true generalship, to advance into the heart of the empire, merely holding in check the hostile levies which seemed unable to leave their strongholds? The Russians accordingly, at this juncture, precipitated the invasion with almost reckless energy, and neglected precautions of the simplest kind very

seldom to be neglected in war. Their general design was to hasten onwards, and to penetrate into the Roumelian lowlands, hoping doubtless to finish the war at once, yet not wholly omitting, however, to protect their base and flank from possible attack. With these objects a considerable force was sent to seize Tirnova and Selvi, and open a way to the Balkan range; and, these places having been easily occupied, a division under a gallant chief, Gourko, was despatched over the mountain-barrier, with orders to hold one principal pass and to clear Roumelia for an invading army. The march of this small but well-led force forms one of the most attractive episodes of the war, but our space forbids us to dwell upon it. Suffice it to say, that, after great exertions, it traversed the Balkans by almost unknown paths, and, advancing up the valley of the Tundja, not only carried the Shipka Pass, the main issue in this part of the range, but spread terror up to Adrianople. The operations of the invaders in the rear were also marked by no little vigor. On their left large detachments were sent to observe the fortresses of Rustchuk and the course of the Lom, and, extending themselves towards Rasgrad and Shumla, to cover the flank of the Russian advance. On the right, Nicopolis was besieged and stormed, in order to secure the invaders' base and to strengthen their hold upon the Danube; and a division, not of large force however, was directed to make its way to Plevna, and to cover on that side the Muscovite line.

17. These operations were completed between the first and the third weeks of July. The effect of them was to place the Russian army in a line from the Danube to the Maritza; to give it a footing beyond the Balkans, with the command of the chief pass from Tirnova; and to secure it a hold on the tract of country between the Jantra and Osma, and thence to the Tundja. The military position seemed brilliant in the extreme; the invaders, with scarcely the loss of a man, had made their way into the heart of Roumelia; the second great line of the defence of the Turks, the difficult Balkans, had been overcome; a part of Bulgaria had been overrun and was held by the invading host; and from Nicopolis to Sistova the Danube had become a safe avenue for the Muscovite troops. As ominous a sign, too, as any other perhaps, the Russians had been everywhere welcomed as liberators of the Bulgarian race; and the Bulgarian peasantry had, in many places, sought and obtained arms for a war of revenge. No wonder, then, that even in the eyes of experienced statesmen and trained soldiers the Ottoman power

seemed wholly broken, especially as, up to this moment, the Turks had scarcely given a sign of life, and still for the most part kept their armies in the fortresses where they had taken refuge. Yet events were to show that the situation of the invaders was very far from safe, nay, that a single mischance might make it critical. The Russians were not in sufficient force to occupy firmly the great extent of territory they had spread themselves over; it is probable that they had, at this moment, not more than one hundred and twenty thousand men between the Danube and their farthest advance; and these numbers were not large enough to guard several points that invited attack. In addition to this, the left Russian flank, that from Rutschuck to Shumla, was well protected; but the right flank had scarcely any protection on a line from Nicopolis to the Balkans, and a successful effort by the enemy on that side might at once paralyze the invading forces, and even place them in serious peril. In short, daring and brilliant as it seemed, the strategy of the Russians had been incautious; it assumed that the Turks could do scarcely anything, and thus, so to speak, "took liberties" with them; and, in this state of things, any well-planned attack of their despised foe might have grave consequences. Though the Turks, too, as yet had been motionless, there were indications that they were about to move on either side of the Russian advance; and in that event, should they be once able to break in on the invader's flank, or even to establish a force near it, the Muscovite army, thrown far forward on a narrow front and with a cramped base, from the Danube to the Maritza valley, not to speak of a mountain range between, would be in a position of no little difficulty.

18. Events were, in a few days, to show how perilous the situation of the invaders was, and what risks they had run from extreme confidence. A short time after the fall of Nicopolis, Osman Pasha, the Turkish commandant at Widdin, had set off from his camp round the fortress with an army perhaps thirty-five thousand strong, his object being, it is believed, either to take part in a general movement of the Ottoman forces against the Russians, or to make a demonstration to relieve Nicopolis, of the surrender of which he had not been apprised. His outposts had just occupied the banks of the Vede and taken possession of the town of Plevna, a position of remarkable natural strength, lying on the right flank of the Russian advance, when Krudener, one of the chief Russian generals, who, as we have seen, had received orders to take the place, as a strategic point

from which the invaders' line on that side would be covered, arrived on the spot to fulfil his mission. The Russian officers, however, elated with success, and ignorant that a large Turkish force was actually within a few hundred yards, marched their



OSMAN PASHA.

troops incautiously into the streets of Plevna, without reconnoitring the approaches to it; and the result was that the men were assailed by a well-directed fire from the mosques and the house-tops, and that hundreds were slain in a few moments. Krudener seems to have returned to the attack next day, but he

was unable to drive from his points of vantage an enemy already conscious of strength, and his divisions fell back defeated and baffled. The importance of the position of Plevna, commanding one flank of the entire invasion, being now evident in the Russian camp, the Grand Duke Nicholas hastily directed a part of one of his corps to leave the Lom and to join hands with and support Krudener; and he added peremptory orders that the united force should attack and storm Plevna, whatever the cost. This movement, however, required some days; and in the mean time the Turkish commander, evidently also aware of the immense advantage to the Turkish cause of retaining Plevna, had addressed himself with remarkable energy to fortifying and entrenching the place, and making it a formidable point of defence. The natural features of Plevna, we have said, mark it out as a very strong position; but Osman's efforts, short as was the time, added greatly to its defensive power. The town lies behind a range of uplands, not easily approachable at several points, but everywhere commanding the adjoining country from Oponetz on the north to Kirshine southwards, and to the east these form a kind of salient overlooking Gravitza and Radichevo, and resembling the angle of a gigantic fortress. Availing himself of these characteristics of the ground, Osman strengthened the heights at every place where they were most accessible to a hostile movement with ranges of ably-constructed earthworks; he threw up redoubts along the face of the angle, especially one of large size near Gravitza; and he drew up his army within these lines thus formed, concealing it as much as possible from sight.

19. These preparations were completed between the 20th and 31st of July, and they reflect the highest credit on the Turkish leader. By the last-named day the position of Plevna had assumed the aspect of a great entrenched camp, defying an assault at several points, affording a front of most destructive fire at every spot where an attack was possible, and especially along the kind of bastion from the Gravitza to the Radichevo redoubts, and holding in its recesses and under cover a well-armed and confident force. The Russian commanders, it is said, remonstrated, when they had become aware of the task before them, at the notion of endeavoring to storm the place; and it is indeed certain that even their combined forces were less numerous than those of Osman, a circumstance which condemned an attempt of the kind. The Grand Duke, however, would brook no delay, — it is now believed that he had no con-

ception of the real numbers of Osman's army, — and, after an ineffectual protest, Krudener, with Shaffosky, the chief of a Lom corps, made arrangements to carry out their orders. The attempt took place on the 31st of July, and even from the first it was ill-planned and executed. From some unknown reason the Russian commanders selected the formidable eastern front, that of the great Gravitzza and the Radichevo redoubts, as the scene of their most determined efforts, and for several hours they persistently tried to storm the entrenched camp where it was almost impregnable. The attacks, too, were not well conducted. Krudener, it is said, and Shaffosky disliked each other, and did not cordially act together; and it has even been asserted that the attacks were made in the dense formation of the close column, — an almost inconceivable mistake in tactics. Under these conditions the defeat of the Russians almost followed as a matter of course, and the success of the defence was well-nigh assured. The Russians, advancing with devoted courage, more than once entered the Turkish lines, and even carried some outlying works; but their movements were desultory and ill-combined, and their serried masses dissolved in fragments under the plunging fire of the hostile redoubts, especially of the Gravitzza work, and the withering volleys of the Turkish infantry, almost hidden from sight in their well-laid trenches. After three or four bloody repulses like these, Krudener and Shaffosky gave up the attempt, and their troops were withdrawn from the scene of carnage. On one point, however, of Osman's lines a young Russian chief, Skobeloff, made a real impression; he conducted his attack with remarkable skill, and a few of his men even entered Pleva. But this was only a feigned attack, and Skobeloff's force was, of course, involved in the disaster that had befallen his seniors. By nightfall on the 31st the defeated army had fallen back to its camps of the morning, not, strange to say, pursued by the victors.

20. The losses of the Russians in this fruitless effort were from six thousand to seven thousand men. The forces, in fact, which they had brought into action were, for the present, completely shattered, and it was fortunate for them that Osman Pasha did not press them as they fell back from his lines. To the military observer the Turkish chief seems now to have had a great occasion to strike a heavy blow at his beaten enemy. He had probably thirty-three thousand men, while the Russians had not, we believe, twenty thousand; these, too, suffering from a heavy reverse; and by the rules of war he ought to have had

a good chance of breaking to pieces the defeated army had he followed up his success by pursuit. It must, however, be borne in mind — and this is one of the cardinal facts of the war — that the forces of the Turks were so badly organized that on



GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE, ADMIRAL OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET.

offensive they were weak and sluggish. Those of Osman resembled in this their comrades; and possibly the Ottoman chief, though victorious, felt himself unequal to the daring movement, and deemed it more prudent to remain at Plevna. What he had achieved on the 31st of July was, in truth, of the highest

value to the cause of the Porte, and had brought a marvellous change in the position of affairs. A Turkish army, that could be easily increased by reinforcements from the western provinces, had now firmly established itself on the right side of the whole line of invasion, and paralyzed, so to speak, the Russian operations. So long as Osman held his ground at Plevna the far-extended communications of his foes were liable to be intercepted at many points; their position even on the Danube was unsafe; and on military principles their far-spread advance into Roumelia, upon a contracted front, was a situation of no common danger. This, too, would be more especially the case, if we recollect that the force on the Lom had been lessened to aid in the attack on Plevna, and that the whole strength of the Russian army between the Danube and Roumelia was not sufficient to guard and defend the large extent of territory it had hastily overrun. Strategically, in fact, the Muscovite host had one of its flanks seized by a victorious foe, and drawn out as it was in a long thin line, with a great river behind it, and between hostile fortresses, and in too small numbers to hold the ground it occupied, it was singularly exposed to a serious attack. At this crisis, too, it had become manifest that an effort of the kind was about to be made, and that the Turks were about to assume the offensive. The miserable generalship of the commanders who had left the Danube without defence, and had permitted the enemy to cross the Balkans without making any serious resistance, had excited the wrath of the Ottoman caste; and a revolution having suddenly taken place in the highest grades of the Turkish armies, a new set of leaders was now at their head. The chief of these was a German renegade, Mehemet Ali, — a good professional soldier, — and by his directions a combined movement was being made against the invader's forces. For this purpose the Turkish reserves, disseminated before in distant provinces, were being gathered together by the Turkish fleets, and placed in the hands of Suleiman Pasha; and they had received orders to enter Roumelia, to expel Gourko's division from it, and, if practicable, to get over the Balkans. Mehemet Ali, at the head of the main Turkish army, was at the same time to advance from Shumla and to assail the Russian corps on the Lom; and the force of Osman, there can be scarcely a doubt, was expected to cooperate from the other side. In truth it seems likely, as we have said before, that the march of that chief from Widdin was the first step in what was meant to be a general scheme of attack.

21. If, then, we glance at what really was the military position of the belligerents for a short time after the 31st of July, we shall see that the situation for the Russians was grave, and that the Turks had a prospect of success. The left wing of the Russian armies, that which had crossed the Danube at Galatz, was still in the Dobrudscha plains, unable to assist the main body, and, indeed, hundreds of miles distant. The principal army, which had crossed at Simnizza, was probably not more than one hundred and ten thousand strong after the calamitous defeat it had suffered at Plovna, and it was spread over a very long line from the Danube to the Maritza plains. One of its flanks was actually grasped by an enemy flushed with unexpected and brilliant success; another was in a great measure exposed; on every side it was liable to be assailed, and, if defeated, to be in real peril; and it was too weak to defend at all points the number of positions it had first seized. On the other hand, in a military point of view, the affairs of the Turks seemed full of promise, and success was perhaps really within their power. Sulaiman Pasha was moving from Adrianople in



SULAIMAN PASHA,
GENERAL OF THE TURKISH ARMY IN THE BALKANS.

greatly superior force to Gourko; Mehemet Ali was preparing to advance from Shumla, with an army certainly of considerable size, and gaining great strength from the support of the

fortresses; Osman stood at Plevna, with his victorious troops, threatening a defeated enemy from his base on the Danube to Tirnova, Gabrova, and the Shipka Pass. In this state of things were there not the elements of Turkish victory and of Russian disaster? Was it not at least probable that a well-combined effort of the Turkish commanders might break at some points the weak and extended line of the Russian invasion? and, if so, was not the result possible that the Russian armies should be forced from the Balkans, from the Lom, and from Bulgaria itself; nay, would find it difficult to recross the Danube? The situation, in fact, had become very critical, and this was perfectly understood in the grand duke's camp. Yet, at this difficult juncture steady resolve was not wanting in the Muscovite chiefs; and, though their military measures were very questionable, their energy and tenacity deserve high praise. They still persisted in maintaining their hold on the territory they had already won, and so they left their forces in their present positions; — false strategy, no doubt, in a military point of view, yet not so wholly unwise perhaps as it has been represented by mere soldier critics. But, on the other hand, the true state of affairs was at last understood; and it was frankly acknowledged that the Russian army in Bulgaria was too weak for its task. Orders were, therefore, sent for vast reinforcements; the Imperial Guard and Todleben himself were summoned to the European theatre of war; and it is said that more than one hundred and fifty thousand men were directed to march across the Danube.

22. It was, nevertheless, a momentous question, — one on which the issue of the campaign hung, — whether the Russians would be able to resist their foes until the arrival of the expected succors. Their military position, we have seen; was a bad one; they were vulnerable at a variety of points; and for some weeks they would be very inferior to the force of the Turks in numerical strength. This last-named fact seems to us certain, though it is impossible to form, with any degree of accuracy, an arithmetical estimate of the contending armies. As we have said, after the 31st of July the forces of the Russians in Bulgaria probably did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand men; those of the Turks, before the Danube was crossed, were, perhaps, one hundred and forty thousand strong; and, as large accessions were being made to them, we are disposed to think that, by the first days of August, the Porte had one hundred and seventy thousand men between Roumelia, the

Balkans, and the Bulgarian fortresses. This large force, led, as we have seen, south of the Balkans by Suleiman Pasha, by Mehemet Ali from Rustchuk to Shumla, and by Osman Pasha in the camp of Plevna, was, no doubt, divided by great dis-



SERDAR MAHOMET ALI PASHA, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE TURKISH ARMY.

tances ; was spread on an arc, of which its adversaries held, as a general rule, the chord ; and was certainly far inferior to the Russian army as a military instrument, and in aggressive power. But it had great opportunities to strike with effect ; it was elated with recent success and with hope ; and numerically it

so greatly exceeded the forces at present arrayed against it, that, we repeat, it was extremely doubtful whether they would be able to hold their own against it.

23. The Turks, in fact, had a great game to play, if their operations were conducted with skill. Their collected force south of the Balkan range was probably more than fifty thousand strong, if we add to the troops which had advanced with Suleiman those which previously had been in Roumelia. The army commanded by Mehemet Ali must have numbered, if we consider it as a whole, from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand men; for those who have reckoned it as much weaker than this omit, we believe, thirty thousand or forty thousand men under the direction of the lieutenants of that chief, and his position was of remarkable strength, and, besides, threatened the left flank of the enemy. In these circumstances, what ought to have been the strategy of the Turks appears self-evident. Their first object should, of course, have been the expulsion of Gourko from Roumelia, and as Suleiman had four times the force of that leader this was a matter of easy achievement. When this was accomplished, the next, and perhaps the decisive, operation, was not less obvious. The concentration of force, it is needless to say, is an elementary rule of the art of war when a weighty blow is to be dealt on an enemy; and incoherent and separate efforts are, in this state of things, defective generalship. Accordingly, when he had got rid of Gourko, it was the plain duty of Suleiman Pasha to cross the Balkans by the eastern passes, and to effect his junction with Mehemet Ali; and had this been accomplished the two Ottoman leaders would have been at the head of a force probably twice as numerous as any that could have opposed it. This in itself would have been a great strategic gain; but there were special reasons why, in the present instance, Suleiman should have resolved to join his colleague. By operating in this way the Turkish armies, besides that they would be very large in numbers, would be assembled, covered by a chain of fortresses, on the left side of the entire invasion; and from this formidable position they would have the means of threatening the communications of the Russians, and even their line of retreat. If this concentrated force could now break or defeat the comparatively small Russian army on the Lom, it would be able to advance to the Jantra; it was but a distance of a few marches from this point to the bridges on the Danube; and if these were broken down by a successful enemy, and Osman Pasha made at the same time a

combined and decisive attack from Plevna, the Russians would be in real peril. Every consideration made it imperative that Suleiman should unite with his chief; and no military student, we venture to say, had a doubt but that he would adopt this course.

24. Even at the risk of repeating ourselves, we have taken pains to lay before the reader the military situation at this crisis. We proceed briefly to describe the efforts of the Turks in their offensive movement. The initiative was taken by Suleiman Pasha, and for some days he gave good promise that he would prove a valiant and skilful leader. Having assembled perhaps thirty-five thousand men at Adrianople by the end of July, he set off from that place by the first week of August, his purpose being to join hands with a body of troops under Raouf Pasha, who had vainly endeavored to defend Roumelia against the impetuous march of Gourko. That general, after opening the Shipka Pass, had, we have seen, descended the Tundja valley, and even approached Adrianople itself, his light horsemen swarming on the plains that surrounded the course of the famous Meritza. The arrival, however, of Suleiman on the scene had compelled him hastily to retrace his steps, and by the beginning of August he was near Yeni Sagra, a Russian column with the Prince of Leuchtenburg being at Eski Sagra, at a distance to his left. Suleiman, meanwhile, had come up with Raouf; and, advancing with the combined force, he succeeded in thrusting a hostile detachment between the divided Russian bodies, and bringing them to bay not far from Karabunar. The battle was a very fierce skirmish; the small division of Gourko was almost surrounded by the Turks in greatly superior numbers; and, though it was extricated by a diversion made by Leuchtenburg, it was seriously beaten and compelled to take flight. Had Gourko or his troops been weak soldiers this defeat might have been utter ruin; but he rallied his column with laudable energy, and, sending word to his colleague to retreat, he made good his escape across the Balkans. The first object of the Turks had been attained, the invaders had been driven out of Roumelia, and, though Suleiman had not succeeded in overwhelming his nimble enemy; he had taught the Russians a severe lesson. Suleiman, leaving his colleague to guard Roumelia, — a measure of at least a questionable kind, — had marched victoriously to Eski Sagra; but when he reached this place he made a pause of some days, to make his troops ready for fresh efforts. He has been much censured for this

delay; and undoubtedly, were it in his power to make a long march across the Balkans at once, he ought not to have delayed for an instant. His army, however, though in part composed of some of the choicest troops of the Porte, was, like all Turkish armies, in want of transport and other appliances. Time was doubtless needed to supply these wants, and we are not disposed to be hard on its leader for a halt which probably he could not avoid.

25. Suleiman seems to have stopped at Eski Sagra until the 16th or 17th of August. He employed this time in getting his army ready, and he seems to have reconnoitred with care three



RAOUF PASHA,
COMMANDER OF THE TURKISH ARMY OF THE BALKANS.

or even four of the Balkan passes. By the 18th he was in motion again, his army being it is thought not less than from thirty thousand to thirty-five thousand men; and eye-witnesses have said that when it broke up it was well provided, and had a fine appearance. As we have pointed out, the object of its chief should have been at once to reach Mehemet Ali, and thus to concentrate

east of the Lom, on the well-defended line from Rustchuk to Shumla; and the means to do this were easy and simple. A few marches only from Eski Sagra was the well-known Kasan and Selivno Pass, one of the best avenues across the Balkans. There were secondary passes, too, on each side, and by taking

these routes the force of Suleiman might have crossed the range without meeting a foe, and effected its junction with Mehemet Ali in a week, or eight or nine days at most. Nor can there be a doubt that the commander-in-chief expected his colleague in that direction; for, after Gourko had repassed the Balkans, a considerable part of the main Turkish army had been pushed forward towards Osman Bazar, and had driven back the Russians from that place, — a movement explicable on the supposition alone that Mehemet was on the look-out for the columns of his lieutenant through the Selivno Pass. In an unfortunate moment, however, for the Porte, Suleiman moved to the left instead of the right, and, drawing away from the Selivno Pass, made for the Shipka, a long way to the westward, his intention being to force the passage of the Balkans by the last-named avenue. It is difficult to conceive a strategic movement so incomprehensible and injurious to the Turks. In the first place, he must have known that the Shipka Pass was held by the enemy, unlike the Selivno, which had remained open; and, if so, he could only expect to succeed in passing after a fierce struggle, which it ought to have been his aim to avoid. In the second place, though the Shipka Pass is not a position of peculiar strength, it affords the means of making a stern defence; accordingly, it was not at all improbable that the Turks would not be able to force it; so, if this happened, the great offensive movement of the Ottoman leaders was almost hopeless. And, in the third place, — most important of all, — the advance of Suleiman to the Shipka Pass diverted his force from Mehemet Ali, made his junction with him very unlikely, even if Suleiman should gain success, and thus tended to frustrate the one strategic project which gave the Turks a fair chance of defeating their foe.

26. Having occupied Kezanlik, and seized the village of Shipka, not far from the foot of the pass, Suleiman began his attack on the 21st of August. The position formed by the pass was held by a small detachment of three thousand Russians, and Suleiman made prodigious efforts to ensure success by sheer dint of numbers. The Turks, breaking into swarms of skirmishers, endeavored to ascend the steep incline that leads to the summit of the ridge of the hills, and made good use of the wooded cover which, on either side, clothed the slopes of the pass. The attack was made by, perhaps, eight thousand men; and more than once the determined assailants reached the entrenchments where the small Russian band awaited their

furious and repeated onset. The superiority of the Turks in numbers, however, did not avail them much in the narrow space in which they necessarily were contracted; the attack, in fact, was not well directed, being merely against the enemy's front; and, after a succession of most gallant efforts, the troops of the pasha were compelled to retreat. The next day was employed by Suleiman in reconnoitring the scene of operations, and in marshalling his men for a second attempt, and on the 23d he renewed the attack, more skilfully and under better conditions. On either side of the Shipka Pass there are small valleys, through which bodies of troops may penetrate into the mountain barrier, and even turn the position in the rear; and, if they should succeed in this, the line of retreat of a detachment holding the pass would be lost, and the defenders be in extreme danger. Having made himself aware of this, the pasha launched two columns, on either of his flanks, through these small passages, combining the movement with a grand attack in front, and probably from sixteen thousand to twenty thousand men were engaged in this well-designed effort. The defenders of the pass had, in the mean time, been reinforced to perhaps six thousand men; but, though the resistance they made was heroic, they were on the point of being hemmed in, when a large body of succors arrived from Tirnova. The crisis of the struggle had now come; it raged with intensity for several hours; and, after a number of fierce assaults, the Russians, who in turn had assumed the offensive, to some extent threw back the attacks on their flanks, and cleared their hard-pressed and imperilled front. Nevertheless, Suleiman still struck for victory, and, during the next three days, he once more directed his dauntless soldiery against the position. The Turks gained a kind of partial success; they planted redoubts on points in the hills overlooking the rear of the defenders' line; and the fire of their batteries in places reached the road that leads from the pass to Tirnova. But the Russians erected works in turn; they closed the entrances of the lateral defiles with troops, and they stubbornly maintained and increased the strength of the main position in the Shipka Pass. The 1st of September saw the Turkish army still at the foot of the blood-stained barrier which had proved the rampart of a most noble defence.

27. One of the best and bravest of the armies of the Porte had been shattered to pieces in this desperate contest. The losses of Suleiman were not less than from eight thousand to

nine thousand men, more, probably, than a fourth of his troops, and the disorganization of his forces was complete. There was now little chance of storming the pass, and the prospect of joining Mehemet Ali, and of concentrating the collective armies on the Lom, — the one valid chance of success for the Turks, — had, it may be said, altogether disappeared. The cause of the Porte had, in truth, been shipwrecked, and the isolation and defeat of Suleiman's army had necessarily paralyzed and stopped Mehemet. We turn to notice the movements of that chief, which, as we have said, might have become eventful had he been seconded as he had reason to expect. The army of Mehemet was formed of three bodies: one under his own command, then the Egyptian division, and another commanded by Eyoub Pasha; and, taken together, we believe, as we have said, it was from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand strong. Opposed to it, along the line of the Lom, was the army of the heir-apparent of the czar, from fifty thousand to sixty thousand men; but though it was so very inferior in force, it was a much better army than that of Mehemet, which was crowded with young and foreign levies. It is evident, therefore, that to secure for the Turks a chance of success for an offensive movement depended on Suleiman and his good troops, and from that it followed that, without his support, much could not be hoped for from the commander-in-chief. This consideration is the real key to the timid and weak operations of Mehemet, though other causes, no doubt, concurred. As we have seen, that general had advanced a part of his forces as far as Osman Bazar, in the hope that Suleiman would march and join it; but when this hope vanished he fell back by degrees, and, for a time, rested within the line of his fortresses. He moved forward, however, in a few days again, and had a successful combat with a Russian division placed about midway on the course of the Lom; this being succeeded by two or three other actions, in which he also obtained the advantage. Upon this, Mehemet made a demonstration against the northern end of the enemy's lines, and he even attained a position near Rustchuk which menaced Sistova and the main bridge on the Danube. The czarowitch now fell back to the Jantra, and for some days, it is now known, there was considerable alarm in the invaders' camp for the communications, which appeared imperilled. But Mehemet was, as usual, halting and slow, and he remained on the Lom, probably unequal to strike a bold blow at this important moment.

28. These demonstrations of Mehemet on the Lom — they scarcely deserve a more serious name — were followed by a sortie from Plevna, made by a division of Osman's forces. This attack, however, had little result, and we mention it only as an indication of a general plan on the part of the Turks at this juncture to assume the defensive. By the first days of September the prospects of the Turks, which had been promising three weeks before, had once more become overclouded; their scheme of attack had altogether failed; and, as reinforcements were approaching their enemy, the balance of fortune, which at one moment might possibly have been turned in their favor, was evidently inclining once more against them. In considering the causes of this failure two or three circumstances are very apparent. It is evident, in the first place, how imperfect and weak were the Turkish armies when they endeavored to attack, and how utterly inferior to their antagonists. Brave and excellent as the soldiery were, they were, to a great extent, without the means of making rapid marches and effective manœuvres; their transport service and commissariat were bad, and their officers had little skill and instruction. The backwardness, in a word, of the Ottoman race revealed itself in its organization for war; and, however well the troops could defend positions, they could not equal the Russians when on the offensive. Nevertheless, as we have endeavored to show, the Turks really had a fair chance of success from the 31st of July to the third week of August, had their operations been ably conducted, so great had been the results of the defeat at Plevna, and so comparatively small the number of their foes. In examining the reasons why they did not succeed, the principal blame attaches to the chief who, from first to last, had in this contest a baleful influence on the Ottoman cause. As we have, we think, demonstrated, Suleiman Pasha ought to have joined Mehemet, and was expected to do so, and this junction might have changed the position of affairs. He chose, however, to diverge to the Shipka Pass, and from this moment the one strategic movement that might have had results became all but hopeless. In addition, the pasha ruined an army in his frantic efforts to force a passage; and, though he gave some proof of tactical skill, this reckless persistency was almost criminal. As for Mehemet Ali, he certainly displayed no energy in his operations on the Lom; but it must be borne in mind that, without his colleague, he had not the means of decisive action; he was like a bird that tries to fly though deprived of a wing. Besides, he was viewed

with dislike and distrust, as a renegade, by his Moslem lieutenants, and it is certain that more than once they refused, even when in the field, to obey his orders.

29. During these weeks, full of intense interest, the Russian



ABD-UL-KERIM PASHA, TURKISH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

commanders retained the positions in Bulgaria which they had previously held, and stood on the defensive only. Gourko having retreated behind the Balkans, they still continued on an extended line from the Shipka Pass to the banks of the Danube, one flank being spread out on the Lom, another being detained

round Plevna, and their base and front being very narrow. This was certainly a bad military position; it exposed their corps to defeat in detail, and a single reverse might have been disastrous. On the hypothesis that they would be on the defensive only until the arrival of their supports, they would have done better, in a military point of view, had they fallen behind the Balkan passes, and concentrated in united strength on a point extending from Plevna to the Lom, their communications with the Danube being, at the same time, covered. In a position like this they might probably have defied the Turks, though twofold in numbers; whereas they certainly ran a great risk, and allowed themselves to incur real danger. Their dispositions, besides, were defective, even in the arrangements they actually made. The Shipka Pass was too weakly held, and the czarowitch made the great mistake of endeavoring to cover the whole line of the Lom, instead of guarding only its most important passages, — a mistake that might have been well punished. Moreover, as it is true defensive strategy, especially against a slow-moving enemy, to attack whenever there is a good occasion, the Russian leaders, according to rule, ought not to have been contented with a mere passive defence, but should have endeavored, if possible, to strike sometimes, which, in their situation, was not at all impossible. Holding as they did a central position between sluggish armies at great distances, they might have dealt heavy blows at their divided enemies, and by these means might have obtained victory instead of merely averting defeat. In spite, however, of these shortcomings, we are not disposed altogether to agree in the censure which has been lavished upon them. Their system of passive defence was successful; they seem to have fairly measured the capacity of their foes, and they at least avoided any serious reverse. Bulgaria, moreover, it must be borne in mind, is not adapted to rapid manœuvres; the Russian troops, too, had suffered a great deal, and it might have been hazardous to attempt the very operations which, in theory, would appear promising. As for the concentration of the Russian armies in better positions than those they held, this would have been surrendering a large part of Bulgaria to the horrors of Turkish crime and outrage; and mere military considerations were probably postponed to the requirements of a policy which could not permit such a desertion as this in a war of the kind.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

DIPLOMACY BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR—THE DEAD-LOCK IN EUROPE—
ENGLAND AND RUSSIA ON THE VERGE OF WAR—PREPARATIONS FOR A CON-
TEST—THE DIFFERENT PHASES OF THE SITUATION.

1. SOON after the declaration of war by the czar, Count Schouvaloff, the Russian ambassador in London, had a confidential communication with Lord Derby upon the subject of his government's intentions in making war upon Turkey.¹ This conversation took place on the 8th of June, 1877. It was published for the first time in a memorandum contained in the Parliament Paper No. 15, on the 18th of February, 1878. It is a document of the highest importance, not only because it enables the world to compare Russia's statements at the commencement of the war with her proposals at its close, but also because it proves how fully the Russian government laid its inventions before the English cabinet. At the end of July, 1877, that is, about six weeks later, this conversation of Count Schouvaloff's was further confirmed by what the Emperor Alexander himself said to Colonel Wellesley, who communicated the imperial statement to Lord Derby, in August, 1877.

2. Count Schouvaloff observed that, "With regard to Constantinople, our assurances can only refer to taking possession of the town or occupying it permanently. It would be singular and without precedent if, at the outset of a war, one of the belligerents undertook beforehand not to pursue its military operations up to the walls of the capital. It is not impossible that the obstinacy of the Turks, especially if they knew themselves to be guaranteed against such an eventuality, may prolong the war, instead of bringing it to a speedy termination. When once the English ministry is fully assured that we shall in no circumstances remain at Constantinople, it will depend on England and the other powers to relieve us of the necessity of even approaching the town." The count admits that as regards the Straits, that is "a question which can only be resettled

¹ Compiled from a sketch in "British Quarterly Review," written by John W. Probyn, also from the London "Times" and "News."

by a general agreement." He afterwards states that "what is absolutely necessary to Russia is that she should put an end to the continual crisis in the East, firstly, by establishing the superiority of her arms so thoroughly that in future the Turks



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SKOBELEFF, OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

will not be tempted to defy her lightly ; and, secondly, by placing the Christians, especially those of Bulgaria, in a position which would effectually guarantee them against the abuses of Turkish administration." The count will not admit any restrictions on the operations of war, because they must remain subordinated

to military requirements. "But," he adds, "the consequences of this war can be confined beforehand within certain limits agreed upon. We could give at the present moment (8th of June, 1877) the assurance that, if the neutrality of the powers be maintained, and the Porte sues for peace before our armies cross the Balkans, the emperor would agree not to cross that line. In this case peace might be concluded on the following terms: Bulgaria, up to the Balkans, to be made an autonomous vassal province under the guaranty of Europe. The Turkish troops and officials to be removed from it, and the fortresses disarmed and razed. Self-government to be established in it, with the support of a national militia, to be organized as soon as possible. The powers to agree to assure to that part of Bulgaria which is to the south of the Balkans, as well as to the other Christian provinces of Turkey, the best possible guaranty for a regular administration." A few days later the Russian government notified to Lord Derby its change of opinions as regarded that part of Bulgaria to the south of the Balkans, saying that the separation of Bulgaria into two provinces would be impracticable. "Local information proved that Bulgaria must remain a single province, otherwise the most laborious and intelligent of the Bulgarian population, and notably that which had suffered from Turkish maladministration, would remain excluded from autonomous institutions." As to Montenegro and Servia, they were —

To receive an increase of territory, to be determined by common agreement. Bosnia and Herzegovina to be provided with such institutions as may by common consent be judged compatible with their internal state, and calculated to guarantee them a good indigenous administration. These provinces being situated conterminously with Austro-Hungary gives the latter a right to a preponderating voice in their future organization. Servia, like Bulgaria, to remain under the suzerainty of the sultan, the relations of the suzerain and the vassals to be defined in a manner to prevent disputes. As regards Roumania, which has just proclaimed its independence, the emperor is of opinion that this is a question which cannot be settled except by a general understanding. If these conditions are accepted the different cabinets would be able to exercise a collective pressure on the Porte, warning it that if it refused it would be left to take the consequences of the war. If the Porte sues for peace and accepts the terms enumerated above before our armies have crossed the line of the Balkans, Russia would agree to make peace, but reserves to herself the right of stipulating for certain special advantages as compensation for the costs of the war. These advantages would not exceed the portion of Bessarabia ceded in 1856 as far as the northern branch of the Danube (that is to say, the delta formed by the mouths of that river remains excluded), and the cession of Batoum with adjacent territory. In this case Roumania could be compensated by a common agreement, either by the proclamation of its independence, or, if it re-

mained a vassal state, by a portion of the Dobrudscha. If Austro-Hungary, on her side, demanded compensation, either for the extension acquired by Russia, or as a security against the new arrangements above mentioned for the benefit of the Christian principalities in Balkan peninsula, Russia would not oppose her seeking such compensation in Bosnia and partly in Herzegovina. Such are the bases to which his majesty the emperor would give his consent, with a view of establishing an understanding with England and with Europe, and of arriving at a speedy peace. Count Schouvaloff is authorized to sound Lord Derby (*pressentir l'opinion*) on the subject of these conditions of peace, without concealing from him the value which the imperial cabinet attaches to a good understanding with the cabinet of London. To resume, if the Porte sues for peace, and accepts the above terms before the Russian armies have crossed the Balkans, the emperor would consent not to press the operations of war any farther. If the Turkish government refuses, Russia would be obliged to pursue the war until the Porte was forced to agree to peace. In this case the terms of the imperial cabinet might be altered. In thus indicating with perfect openness the object which the emperor has in view, and which he will not exceed so long as the war is confined to this side of the Balkans, his majesty offers a means of localizing the war and preventing the dissolution of the Turkish Empire; but it is important for the emperor to know if, within the limits indicated, he can count upon the neutrality indicated, — a neutrality which would exclude even a temporary occupation of Constantinople and the Straits by the latter power. Lord Derby said that Count Schouvaloff could not expect to receive from him an answer to proposals so important as the above, and that he would confer on the subject with his colleagues.

3. Mr. Layard, the English ambassador at Constantinople, on being consulted by Lord Derby as to these terms of peace, to which Russia would agree if they were carried out *before* she crossed the Balkans, replied in effect that such terms were inadmissible. Mr. Layard deprecated the idea of England being the medium of communicating them to the Porte. He virtually argued in favor of forcible intervention on behalf of Turkey, for he wrote: "It is vital to our gravest interests, to interests the importance of which no words can adequately describe, much less exaggerate, that we should be ready to interpose to save the Turkish Empire from complete dissolution." Somewhat later, on the 2d of August, 1877, Mr. Layard states that the sultan "could not, under present circumstances, either propose or listen to any conditions of peace." This is founded on the recent successes of the Turkish arms at Plevna, Eski Sagra, and in Asia. The Turks "feel confident that the enemy will be ultimately repulsed and driven out of Bulgaria, as he has been out of Armenia."

4. It was about the 20th of July, 1877, that Col. Wellesley made the following very important communication to Lord Derby: "On taking leave of the Emperor of Russia at Biela (Bulgaria) on the 30th ult., his majesty was pleased to make

certain remarks to me respecting the present political situation, with a view to their being communicated to her majesty's government. After my interview I made a short memorandum of his majesty's observations, which I have now the honor to submit to your lordship. I submitted the enclosed memorandum to the emperor before my departure, and his majesty informed me that it was correct. At the emperor's request I had the honor to furnish him with a copy of it.

“MEMORANDUM.

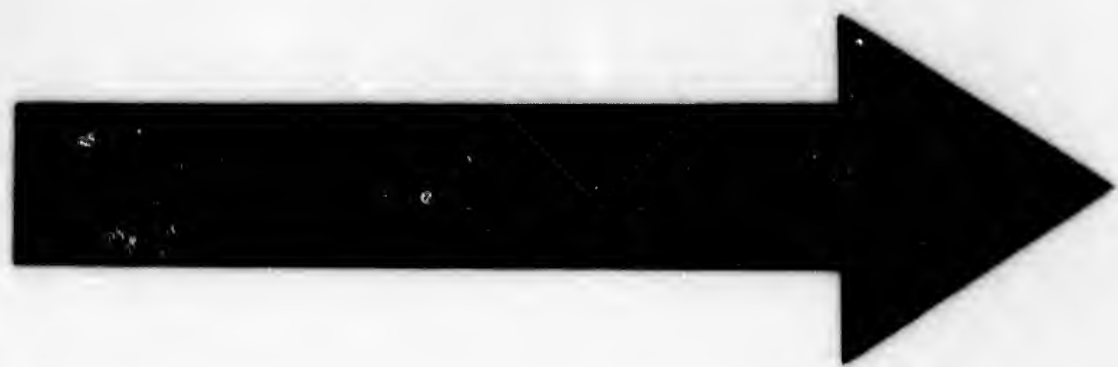
“BIELA, BULGARIA, July 17-29, 1877.

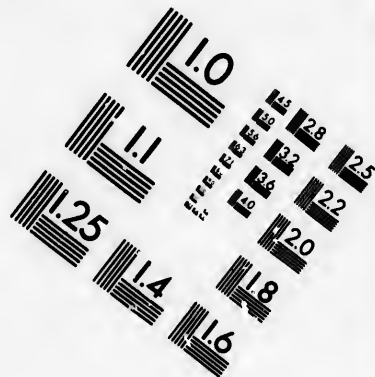
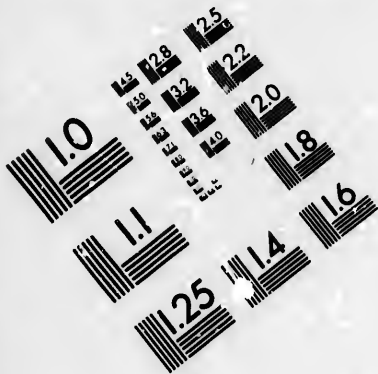
“His majesty the emperor, in consequence of the false reports current in England respecting alleged Russian atrocities, thought it might be useful for me to report personally to her majesty's government the true state of affairs. In an interview which I had before my departure his majesty was pleased to make the following remarks to me, and at the same time authorized me to communicate them to my government. His majesty repeated what he had already said to Lord A. Loftus at Livadia and to myself at Simnitza. The object of the present war was solely the amelioration of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey. The conditions of peace required by the emperor are those lately communicated to Lord Derby by Count Schouvaloff, and will remain the same as long as England maintains her position of neutrality. If, however, England abandons that position, matters will have entered on a new phase. His majesty has no ideas of annexation beyond that perhaps of the territory Russia lost in 1856, and perhaps that of a certain portion of Asia Minor. The emperor will not occupy Constantinople for the sake of military honor, but only if such a step is rendered necessary by the march of events. His majesty is ready to enter into negotiations for peace if suitable propositions are made by the sultan, but mediation in favor of Turkey could not be entertained. Europe will be invited to a conference for the final settlement of the conditions of peace. The emperor has not the slightest wish or intention in any way to menace the interests of England, either with regard to Constantinople, Egypt, the Suez Canal, or India. With respect to India his majesty not only considers it impossible to do so, but an act of folly if practicable. His majesty assured me that the Triple Alliance was formed for the preservation of peace, and without any idea of aggression, or of offence to England, with which country his majesty has every desire to remain on friendly terms. A temporary occupation of Bulgaria will be necessary. His majesty has never entertained hostile feelings towards England, nor has he desired to give her offence; but if one is determined to *chercher midi à quatorze heures*, it is easy to take offence at anything. The emperor fears that the present policy of England only tends to encourage the Turks, and consequently to prolong the war; and considers that if English influence were brought to bear on the Porte, the sultan would be ready to come to terms, and thus a war, regretted and felt by all Europe, would be brought to a speedy conclusion.”

“MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL WELLESLEY.

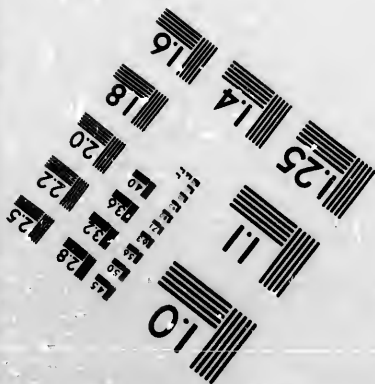
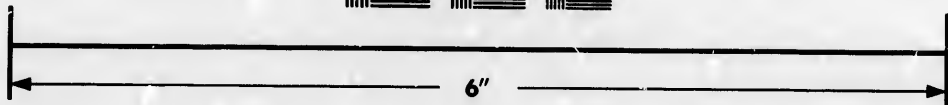
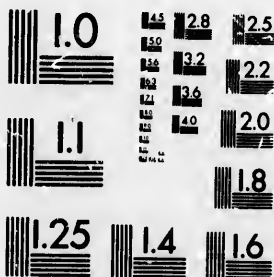
“August 14, 1877.

“Her majesty's government have considered the communication brought by Colonel Wellesley from the Emperor of Russia with all the attention





**IMAGE EVALUATION
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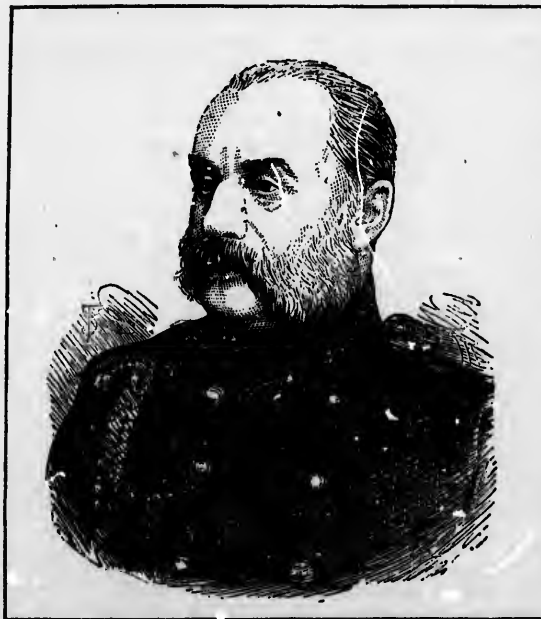
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which its importance deserves. They have received with satisfaction the statement made by his majesty as to the object of the war in which he is engaged, his disclaimer of any extensive ideas of annexation, and his readiness to enter into negotiations for peace. They are grateful for the assurance which he had given of his intention to respect the interests of England. It is the earnest desire of her majesty's government to contribute to the re-establishment of peace, and in the meanwhile they have no intention of departing from that attitude of strict, though conditional, neutrality which they have hitherto observed."

The English government goes on to express its intention to do what it can in the interests of peace, and declares that the policy of England does not tend to encourage the Turks, and so prolong the war.

5. From these important documents, dated June and July, 1877, it appears that the Russian terms, provided peace



GENERAL NEPOKOITSCHITSKY, CHIEF OF THE STAFF OF
THE RUSSIAN ARMY ON THE DANUBE.

made *before* the imperial armies crossed the Balkans, were that Russia would make no annexations except that, perhaps, of the territory Russia lost in 1856 in Bessarabia, and a certain portion of Asia Minor; that the amelioration of the condition of the Christian populations of Turkey was to be attained by means of an autonomous Bulgarian province north and south of the Balkans;

by Bosnia and Herzegovina being provided with institutions judged compatible with their internal condition, and calculated to guarantee them a good indigenous administration. Austro-

Hungary was to have a preponderating voice in this question. Montenegro and Servia were to have an increase of territory. Servia, like Bulgaria, was to be under the suzerainty of the Porte. The independence of Roumania was to be settled by general agreement. A pledge was given by Russia that she would not hold Constantinople permanently; but both Count Schouvaloff, in his conversation with Lord Derby, and the Emperor Alexander, in his interview with Colonel Wellesley, distinctly said that circumstances might lead Russia to occupy the city as a temporary measure. Col. Wellesley's words are: "The emperor will not occupy Constantinople for the sake of military honor, but only if such a step is rendered necessary by the march of events." The question of the Straits and the opening of the Black Sea was only to be "resettled by general agreement." The emperor declared he had no intention of menacing England's interests either with regard to Constantinople, Egypt, or the Suez Canal. A temporary occupation of Bulgaria would be necessary. Europe would be invited to a conference for the final settlement of the conditions of peace.

6. To these remarkably outspoken and plain avowals of Russia's demands, if peace were made *before* her armies crossed the Balkans, the English cabinet replied: her majesty's government, "has received with satisfaction the statement made by his majesty as to the object of the war in which he is engaged, his disclaimer of any extensive ideas of annexation, and his readiness to enter into negotiations for peace."

7. These proposals of Russia, which in some respects at least gave "satisfaction" to the English government, were not laid before the Porte; Mr. Layard's views, and the successes of Turkey at Plevna and in Armenia, being the chief causes which prevented negotiations being undertaken on any such basis in the summer of 1877. Thus the war was allowed to proceed without an effectual effort being made to stay its course. After some four or five months of terrible fighting, and yet more terrible sufferings, Turkey utterly succumbed to her adversary. Then it was that the Eastern question entered upon a new phase, — the phase of Russia making peace, upon her own terms, with the Ottoman power, as it lay prostrate at her feet. The exact terms of the preliminaries of peace concluded between Russia and Turkey at San Stefano, on the 3d of March, have now been communicated to Europe. Their substance may be stated as follows: —

The opening articles of the treaty relate to Montenegro, Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria. The indemnity to be paid by Turkey is fixed at one billion four hundred and ten million roubles, one billion one hundred million of which are represented by cessions of territory. No guaranty is stipulated, and no mention is made of the Egyptian and Bulgarian tributes, or of a cession of the Turkish fleet. The treaty states that the Russian and Turkish governments shall come to an understanding, subsequently upon the mode of payment of the remaining three hundred and ten million roubles. Servia and Montenegro are to be completely independent, and receive increase of territory. All the Bulgarian fortresses are to be demolished, and no Turkish garrisons will remain in Bulgaria. A military road is to be established for the Turkish posts and telegraphs, and the passage of Turkish regular troops, who will not, however, be allowed to make any stay in the country while passing through. Mussulmans may return to Bulgaria. If within two years hence they shall not have settled all affairs connected with their property, the latter will be sold for the benefit of the widows' and orphans' fund. The arrears of taxes in Bosnia and Herzegovina are not to be claimed. The revenue until 1880 is to be applied to indemnify the sufferers by the insurrection, and to provide for local needs. In case of disputed claims, Austrian and Russian commissioners will act as arbitrators. The navigation of the Straits is declared free for merchant vessels both in time of peace and war. Fifty thousand Russian troops, consisting of six divisions of infantry and two of cavalry, will occupy Bulgaria for about two years, until the formation of a Bulgarian militia, the strength of which is to be fixed later between Turkey and Russia. The Russian army of occupation will preserve its communications with Russia, both by way of Roumania and by the Black Sea ports of Varna and Bourgas, and the necessary depots will be established. The Russian troops during their stay will be maintained at the expense of the country. The war material in the Bulgarian fortresses, including Shumla and Varna, remains the property of the Porte. Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, and Bayazid, with the territories comprised, are ceded to Russia. A treaty is to be concluded between Turkey and Roumania. The latter is to become quite independent and is authorized to make her demand for indemnity direct to the Porte. No indemnity for Montenegro or Servia is stipulated. Servians and Montenegrins travelling or established in Turkey will be subject to the Ottoman laws in so far as the latter are not contrary to international law. Russian, Turkish, and Bulgarian commissioners will determine the amount of the Bulgarian tribute according to the average actual revenue.

The reforms stipulated at the first sitting of the conference will be applied in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. Thessaly and Epirus will have an organization similar to that of Crete in 1868. The privileges of the monks of Russian origin at Mount Athos are maintained. No mention is made of the occupation of Erzeroum or Trebizond, but the Russian troops have the right to embark at Trebizond on returning to Russia. The period fixed for the Russian evacuation of Turkish territory in Asia is six months. The evacuation of Turkish territory will commence immediately, and be completed within three months. The European commission for the navigation of the Danube preserves its rights intact. The Porte engages to reestablish the navigation at its own expense, and to indemnify private persons who have suffered loss by the war. This double charge, which will not amount to less than fifty thousand francs, will be deducted from the sums due from the commission to the Porte. Pending this conclusion of a new treaty of commerce between Russia and Turkey, the present tariffs remain as before the war. Turkey undertakes to settle in a conciliatory spirit all actions

between Russia and Turkish subjects, and to execute immediately all legal judgments already delivered. The treaty declares that Russia, not wishing to annex territory, receives the Dobrudscha, in order to cede it to Roumania in exchange for the Roumanian portion of Bessarabia. Bulgaria is to be constituted an autonomous tributary principality, with a Christian governor freely elected by the population, confirmed by the Porte with the assent of the powers. The province is to have a national militia. Where Bulgarians are mixed with Turks, Greeks, and others, account is to be taken of the rights and interests of all these latter peoples in the elections and in the preparations of the organic laws.

8. There is much that is good in these preliminaries of peace, but they by no means do enough for Greece. Happily England has proposed to admit a representative of Greece to the Congress. The English government is much to be commended for taking that step; it should also bear in mind the question of Armenia. To this province should be given a system of local self-government, to be enjoyed alike by the Armenian Christians and by the industrious and orderly Turkish village populations. They should all be united together to defend themselves against the inroads of those lawless savages, the Koords and Circassians, from whom the Porte is either unable or unwilling to defend its Armenian subjects. But whatever defects there may be in the Russo-Turkish preliminaries of peace, it is not clear that they do not infringe in any way the statement made, in June last, by Count Schouvaloff to Lord Derby, and they attack those English interests which the latter declared his government could not allow to be assailed. No doubt these San Stefano terms go beyond the demands made last summer by the Russian ambassador, but he specially intimated that those demands depended upon his government not having to prosecute the war beyond the Balkan ranges. The Russian armies having had to force their way across those mountains after desperate fighting, with severe losses, it is natural that the preliminaries of peace, exacted by the victor, should be all the more onerous. It does not, however, follow that Russia alone is to settle the Eastern question; indeed, she has herself admitted that important portions of it must necessarily be submitted to assembled Europe. Nor will Europe consent simply to register the proposals of Russia. On the contrary, they must be carefully considered by all the great powers. If they would do so with the hope of laying something like a good foundation for the future peace of Europe, and the gradual, though perhaps not immediate, solution of the many intricate questions touching the welfare of the various creeds and races

of what was European Turkey, that hope can only be realized by bringing to the task such a spirit of justice as will make the welfare of those populations and their civil and religious liberties paramount to all other considerations.

9. It is much to be hoped, in the interests of all Europe, that another phase of this Eastern question will soon be reached by the meeting of a European Congress, to settle the new status of the peoples inhabiting the Balkan peninsula. This is the great problem to which the chancellor of the exchequer referred, in the House of Commons, on the 9th of February, 1878, when he said, "We recognize that questions have now to be settled the discussion of which will amount to a reconstruction of the whole system of south-eastern Europe." In such a question England must and ought to have a voice: that voice, too, must be on the side of humanity, freedom, and progress, if it is to be in harmony with both her interests and her duty. She must ally herself to the living forces of the future, instead of crippling herself by hopeless efforts to uphold the effete systems of the past. As the chancellor truly said, "England is the foremost representative of the spirit of freedom." She ought, therefore, in the assembly of the European powers to prove herself worthy of this high vocation. It is for the government of that great and free country to see to it that she declares, with no uncertain sound, for the cause of liberty and right. That this may be so is to be hoped from the chancellor's words: "I wish to repudiate with all the energy I can command . . . that there is any desire on our part to cripple or fetter the extension of free and good government to the Christian populations in Turkey." That is a wise resolve, for thus only can be obtained the end which Sir Stafford desires, viz., "such a settlement as will offer reasonable promise of a durable peace; an arrangement of such a character as will leave as few points as possible of contact and difficulty for the admission of intrigue and future struggle." If England's government enter upon the work of the "reconstruction" of the whole system of what was European Turkey in such a spirit, and remain true to it throughout, England may hope to see that freedom, of which she is "the foremost representative," dawn upon those fair provinces of Europe hitherto blighted by the misrule of venal and tyrannical pashas. But the work must be done faithfully and thoroughly, not marred in the doing of it, as in the case of the Greek kingdom some fifty years ago.

10. What, then, are the chief questions which Europe is now

called upon to decide or ratify? First comes the case of Roumania, which it is proposed to erect into an independent State. This will receive general assent, but it should be done without calling upon Roumania to cede that portion of territory which lies just to the north of the mouths of the Danube. The gallant fight and national sacrifices made by the Roumanians for their complete independence ought to protect them from any diminution whatever of their country's territory. At the same time it would conduce more to the freedom of the navigation of



HOBART PASHA.

the Danube (which is a European, and especially an Austro-German, interest), if the mouths of that great river were in the hands of Roumania rather than Russia. The possession of them by the former can be no real detriment to the latter, for Russia has ample power to protect her own interests. If, however, she insists upon taking this strip of territory, she will but produce feelings of distrust and dislike towards herself on the part of the Roumanians; while England, by advocating the opposite policy, will gain their good-will and confidence.

11. An increase of territory, and complete independence bestowed upon Serbia and Montenegro, should also receive the hearty support of England and of Europe: No worse policy can be pursued than that of a niggardly attempt to restrict such

an increase. It would be a far wiser policy on the part of such powers as Austria and England to demand a larger, rather than a smaller, addition of territory for these Servians and Montenegrins. The only effect of any attempt to diminish what it is proposed now to give them would be to throw them wholly into the arms of Russia. If the latter power be as bad as her enemies paint her, what folly can be greater than that of so dealing with these rising nationalities as thus to force them to look to Russia as their only friend? If the professed opponents of the czar are blind enough still to continue this stupid policy, they will have but themselves to thank that Russia's influence and power are increased, as they surely will be. This augmentation of the territory of Servia and Montenegro affects Austria more than any other country. She should therefore be specially consulted in the matter. This Count Schouvaloff very properly admitted in his conversation with Lord Derby in June, 1877. It has been suggested that a portion, at any rate, of Bosnia, should be given to Austria. This is all the more just and reasonable because it appears that the people themselves are by no means unwilling to agree to such a transfer. It may well be so, both from geographical and commercial reasons, and also because the inhabitants are Slaves, like their neighbors of the Austrian border provinces. Austro-Hungary cannot do better for its own interests, at any rate since the great changes effected by the late war, than befriend to the utmost Servia, Montenegro, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece. These countries will thereby become reconciled to Austria, and cease to look upon her with aversion as their more or less avowed adversary. She should aim at making them as free and strong as possible, and so win them to her instead of driving them from her. The opposite policy will only play into the hands of Russia by repelling these nationalities from the Austro-Hungarian State, and so actually obliging them (often much against their will) to gravitate towards the great northern power. A more short-sighted policy than this it is difficult to imagine. It descends to an infatuated blindness when advocated by those who call themselves the enemies of Russia. Enemies! If such they be, Russian statesmen have assuredly far more reason to bless them than to curse them. The Slave populations in the Balkan peninsula must and will become free. They have as much right to throw off a hated yoke as Italians or Hungarians. If Austria and the Western powers be wise, they will aid the Slave in so doing, by demanding for him real and complete emancipa-

tion. That is the best, indeed the only, way of defeating whatever of sinister or selfish there may be in the designs of Russian politicians or diplomatists. Those who think the worst of the government of St. Petersburg should be foremost in demanding the largest possible increase of the liberties of Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece, with due regard to the claims of each. These countries desire freedom; they do not desire subjection to the czar in the place of subjection to the sultan. English and Austrian interests are therefore clearly in harmony with the independence of these countries. Once contented with their lot, the intrigues of Pan-Slavist or other societies will be rendered hopeless. If England and France, Austria and Italy, adopt this policy of effectually assisting these rising nationalities, they will feel that their liberties have the friendly support of those governments, at least as much as that of St. Petersburg. If this latter should harbor selfish designs, she will find them baffled by the fact of real independence and national self-government having spread contentment among Slave and Greek populations, hitherto kept in a perpetual ferment of discontent by the misrule of alien, tyrannical, and venal pashas. Yet it was in aid of this same Porte that some Englishmen, in their blindness, would have had English blood and treasure wasted not seeing (what the last twenty-two years have abundantly proved), that the Turkish government is rotten; that to seek to maintain it is not only to strive after the impossible, but also to alienate the peoples who hate the Porte's perverse supremacy, and thereby throw them into the arms of Russia.

12. Hungarians seem especially inclined to adopt the short-sighted policy of upholding Turkish rule. They have some excuse for their blindness, for they cannot forget the brutality with which the autocrat Nicholas put down their liberties. Now there is no lover of freedom who does not rejoice that that monstrous wrong has been righted, and Hungary's ancient rights restored, so that she is to-day the free member of a free State. But Hungarians must be reminded that they are not the only people who have a right to freedom. The Slave and the Greek have just as much right to get rid of the tyranny of the sultan as ever the Hungarians had to get rid of the past tyranny of the Hapsburg or the czar. Now no Slave, till lately governed by Turkey, has any wish to be governed from St. Petersburg, but from Bucharest, Belgrade, Cettinge, or Tirnova, as the case may be. If forced, indeed, to choose between czar or sultan,

he will no doubt choose the former; but if he obtain the opportunity of becoming really free from both, and of being governed by rulers of his own choice, he will avail himself of such an occasion as readily as Italians seized upon the good fortune of freeing themselves from French interference and from Austrian rule.

13. It is also proposed to create a semi-independent Bulgaria, stretching from the Danube to the south of the Balkans. The more nearly independent this province is, the better hope there will be for a settlement which will prove lasting. To free it altogether from the Porte, with the exception of paying a fixed annual tribute, would be the best arrangement. To deliver it wholly from Turkish soldiers and Turkish police, would be to deliver it from the chances of future disturbance, and would, therefore, be good alike for Bulgaria and for Europe. That there must be a temporary occupation of the province by Russian troops during the process of forming a local administration and police, is a necessary consequence of the circumstances under which its freedom has been effected. It would, indeed, have been better if that freedom had been the work of united Europe, instead of being left to the strong arm of Russia alone; but this latter instrumentality having been allowed to operate singly, at the cost of immense sacrifices, Russia naturally claims to be the sole guardian. Happily it is for her interest to exercise her guardianship with moderation and without a needless prolongation of it; for were she to act otherwise she would but set Bulgarians against her, and alienate those whom it is her interest to conciliate. The question of the southern boundary of this province is one of no slight difficulty, for in that direction the Greek and Bulgarian populations meet and intermingle. To bring Bulgaria down to to Salonica would be manifestly unjust to the Greek, and to include Adrianople, unfair to the Turk, if, indeed (as seems for the present likely), the Turks and their sultan are still to rule over Constantinople and an adjoining territory of limited extent. But the boundaries should be so adjusted as not only to allow of the formation of the new Bulgarian province, but also of a greatly enlarged Greece. This latter kingdom ought to be increased by at least the whole of Thessaly, and a large portion of Albania and Macedonia. An addition of this description, together with the island of Crete, should fall to the lot of Greece. Without some such arrangement the claims of the Greeks will remain unsatisfied, and thereby the durability

of the new order of things will be imperilled. If English interests are to be considered in the matter, they clearly point to England's supporting such a policy. By all means let the Slaves be delivered from Turkish misrule, but no less deliverance should be given to the Greeks. If the former have found a friend in Russia, the latter should find one in England. But to leave Greece confined to her present miserable limits would be equally unwise and unjust. To do so would merely be laying up a cause of certain discontent and difficulty for the future. The exact limits of those territorial changes must be left to the care of a European congress. Difficult though the task may be, it does not offer any insuperable obstacles. It requires chiefly to be directed by a spirit of justice, an honest determination to reconstruct south-eastern Europe with a special view to the well-being and contentment of its various creeds and races.

14. The regulations concerning the Straits of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus are of European importance. It is satisfactory to know that they are admitted to be so on all hands, and must therefore be determined by general agreement. It may be desirable to maintain these regulations as they now stand; but not a little is to be said in favor of allowing the vessels of all nations — ships of war or merchantmen — to pass through the Straits as freely as they pass in and out of the Baltic.

15. There is a point of great importance to which all the powers, and none more than England, should direct their earnest attention; and that is the establishment and future maintenance of civil and religious liberty throughout these countries of the Balkan Peninsula. Every effort should be made to secure this great boon for all, whether Mahomedan or Christian, Bulgarian or Greek, Jew or Slave. What with oppression by Turkish rulers, and their refusal to admit judicial equality as between believers and unbelievers; what with the feuds and jealousies between different denominations of Christians; what with the ill-treatment of Jews by Roumanians and Servians, — the great principles of civil and religious liberty have been shamefully trampled under foot. If England be, as the chancellor of the exchequer justly said she was, "the foremost representative of the spirit of freedom," there is a field in which her great influence may work to the good of these various peoples so long misgoverned, as well as to her own honor. How great is the necessity for undertaking

such a work is known to all acquainted with the state of things in south-eastern Europe. But, as much has been said, and very justly said, of Mahomedan oppression, it is only right to add that Turks are not the only sinners against the principle of toleration.



GENERAL IGNATIEFF, RUSSIAN.

It is only too true that the Divine command, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," has been habitually set at nought by Christian rulers in Church and State throughout the world, from the days of Constantine to the present hour. The following statement, made by a Bulgarian Protestant,

proves how real is the need for seeing that all creeds and races have religious liberty guaranteed to them in the future. Francho Tourgoroff, pastor of the first Bulgarian Protestant Church at Bansko, Samokov Macedonia, thus writes at the beginning of this year, 1878:—

1. The sufferings of the Protestant people in Bulgaria at the hands of the Greek Church authorities have been very great for years past, and now are, and no confidence should on any account be placed in the promises of the said Church; but a clause should be inserted in the treaty with the European powers to secure full liberty of worship to Protestants and dissenters from the Greek Church.

2. The spirit of cruelty, oppression, and superstition of the Greek Church

in Bulgaria is as great as that of the Romish Church at the time of the Reformation in England.

3. I was myself more than once imprisoned at the instigation of the Greek Church authorities; and last year my life would have been taken had it not been for the active interference of Mr. Blunt, the English consul at Salonica.

4. The Mahomedan government officers, when uninfluenced, allow us free religious liberty, and permitted us to have the quiet use of the Lord's day; and in some cases have even suspended collecting taxes, being told we transacted no secular business on that day.

5. Much of the suffering of the poor Bulgarians has been from the rich members of the Greek Church, together with the Turkish tax-gatherers and governors, who, for their own unjust profit, unite together and plunder the people.

6. Before the war began the Protestants were threatened by the members of the Greek Church that as soon as Russia comes they will be skinned alive, and letters of last week inform us that persecutions by the Greek Church have begun already.

7. The Protestant ministers and people in Bulgaria dreaded the approach of the Russian authority, joined as it is to the dark, cruel, and superstitious Greek Church; and at the approach of the Bashi-Bazouks, some of the men dared not flee with the Russians for safety, but remained, and were massacred by the Bashi-Bazouks, in their place of worship.

8. Lastly, I am prepared to make a statutory declaration of the correctness and truthfulness of the above statements.

(Signed)

FRANCHO TOURGOROFF,

Pastor of the Church at Bansko.

16. Such a picture shows how deeply rooted is the abomination of religious persecution. Now is the time to attack and overthrow it. More especially is it necessary to protect the smaller religious bodies from such injustice, inasmuch as the larger ones are better able to take care of themselves. The Mahomedans, too, who are left to dwell under the newly-formed governments, merit peculiar care, because from the very fact of the past tyranny of the Turkish officials, the Mussulmans who remain run the risk of becoming the victims of retaliatory vengeance. The consuls of the Christian powers, and foremost those of England, should carefully watch, and faithfully report to their governments, every instance of religious oppression, and so expose the perpetrators of this great evil, to whatever race or creed they may belong.

17. In this matter the kingdom of Greece deserves special praise for the complete civil and religious liberty which its constitution gives to all its subjects alike. Only quite lately M. Gennadius, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires, in a public speech pointing out the material progress Greece has made during a

single generation, added: "We have instituted a wide-spread educational organization, free of charge, unsectarian, and doing the work of the Greeks, not of the kingdom only, but of all the East. There is no branch of science or learning in which we cannot show men fully equal to the European average; and the Jews, who during the protection of the Ionian Islands enjoyed no citizen rights, were admitted to an equal position with any Greek citizen, not by any special enactment, but by the simple fact of the union, for there never existed with us any disabilities; and King George counts no more faithful and contented subjects than our Israelite brethren of Corfu, as they themselves declared about a year ago by their spontaneous notifications to the English press, and by the expressions of gratification conveyed to me personally by some of their co-religionists in this country. And I may add that there exists no Mussulman community, except perhaps in India, more contented and free than our Mussulman fellow-citizens at Chalcis, to whom all public posts are as widely open as to any Greek at Athens." This is as it should be. Such an example is well worth the imitation of the new government of Bulgaria; it is specially to be commended to Roumania and Servia, to the members of every race and creed throughout the Balkan Peninsula. The fact of the complete civil and religious liberty thus given by the constitution of the Greek kingdom is a strong argument for increasing that kingdom to the utmost possible extent which circumstances permit. England can adopt no better and wiser course than to further such extension; it is both right and expedient, from whatever point of view it is looked at by English statesmen. The influence of such a kingdom extending over as wide an area as possible would do incalculable good. It could not fail to promote the great cause of freedom among all the other races of south-eastern Europe. They would inevitably have to follow such a lead, even if they were otherwise disposed. As it is, the people of Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, though grateful (as indeed they should be) for the assistance afforded to them by Russia, show no inclination to be governed from St. Petersburg. They would be also stimulated to obtain complete freedom and the largest liberties, both civil and religious, if they saw the southern portion of the Balkan Peninsula in the full enjoyment of a constitution free as that of England herself. Thus liberty and contentment would become the normal condition of the peoples

once misruled by the incapable, venal, and oppressive government of the Porte. Not only would such a change render foreign intrigues helpless, and secret societies useless, but it would exercise the happiest influence upon Russia herself. It is impossible that the Slave and Greek nationalities on her south-western frontier could be in the enjoyment of such a free system without creating among the Russian people a desire to possess a like freedom themselves. It might very possibly not take just the same outward forms, but in one shape or another it would assuredly make its way into the land of the czars. Russia can no more escape the influences of liberty and progress than France, Italy, and Austria have escaped them. The Bonapartes, the Hapsburgs; and all the former rulers of Italy, have had either to accept free institutions, or else have been overthrown by them. The Romanoffs equally will have to adapt their rule to the liberal movement which has overflowed the whole continent of Europe, or share the fate of those who offer to it a blind and unavailing resistance. The more completely Russia is surrounded by free nations the more certain is she herself to swell their numbers. Nor are the signs wanting that she is capable of wise and timely reform. The abolition of serfdom, the enlargement of communal and municipal liberties, the reform of civil and criminal procedure, the institution of juries, the furtherance of national education, the more equitable system of taxation and of conscription, the lessening of press restrictions, are all proofs, — given within the last twenty years, — not only that Russia has to submit to the great law of progress, but that she is capable of adapting herself to it. The formation on her southern frontier of new nationalities, freely governed and contented, in place of a system at once corrupt and tyrannical, based upon polygamy (the degradation of woman) and slavery (the degradation of humanity), cannot but be productive of good. Such a change furthers the cause not only of liberty, but of order; it is the victory alike of justice and of progress. As such it harmonizes with the interests of all Europe, and, from the latest advices, it would seem that the fearful results of a war between England and Russia would be happily averted, and all that we have been picturing as desirable for the populations of the disputed territories would be secured to them through nothing so much as the good offices of the British government, — a government which has maintained a firm and determined policy in this whole Eastern diffi-

culty, sometimes against the will and protest of all the great powers ; but we predict that when the war and its results shall have been calmly reviewed in the light of the near future, the government of Beaconsfield will receive the praise and admiration of the whole world !

THE END.



