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ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE DOMINION

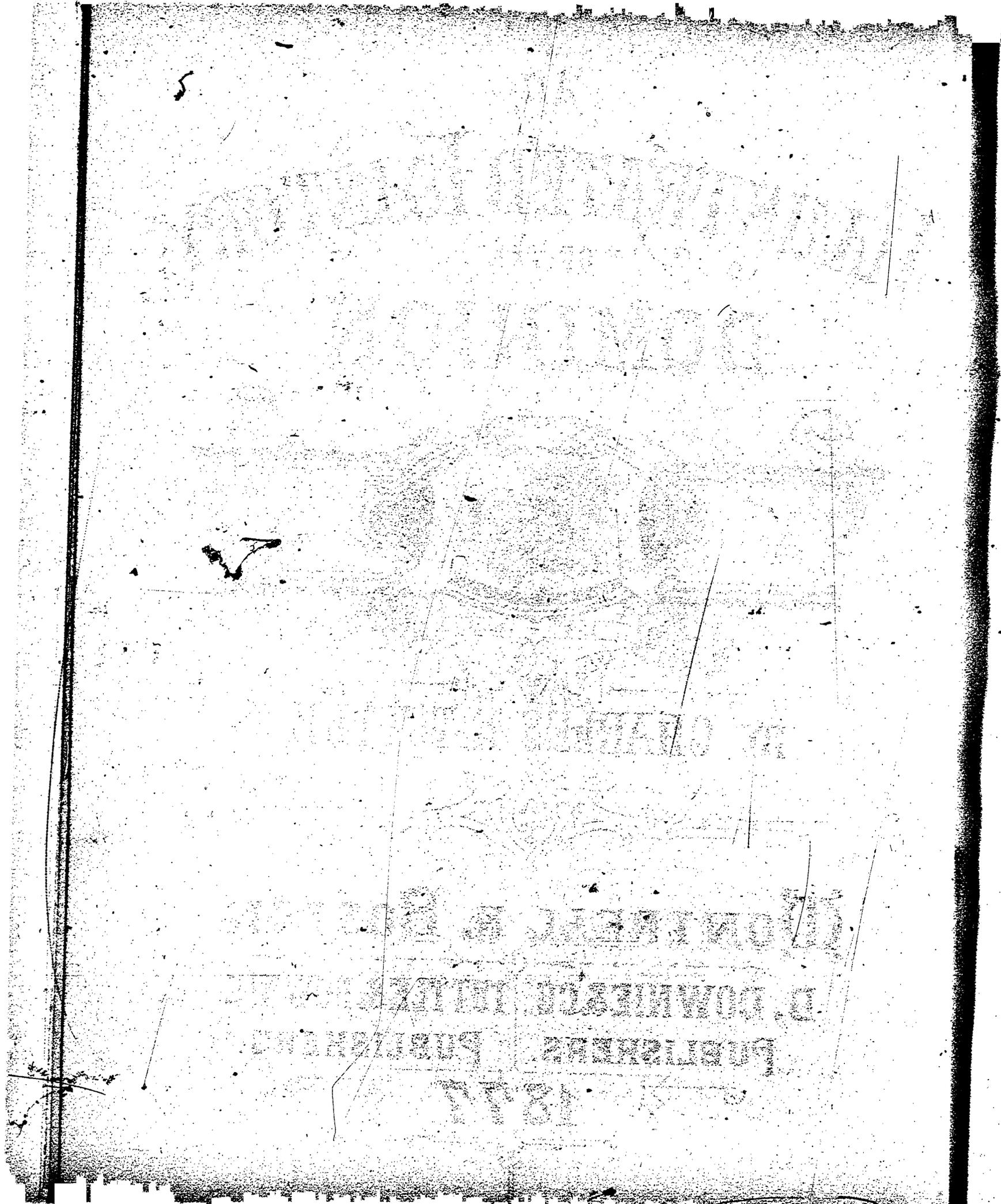


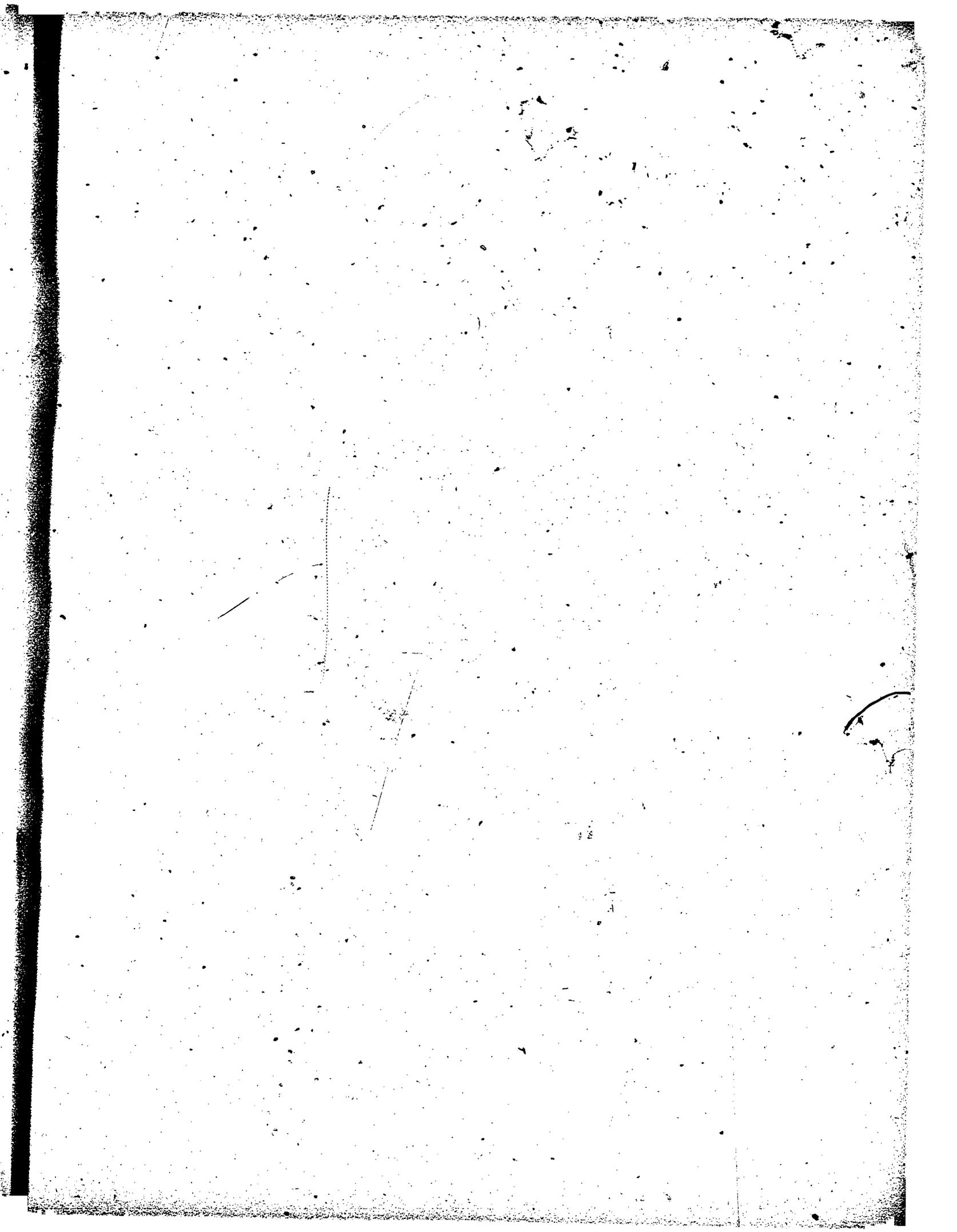
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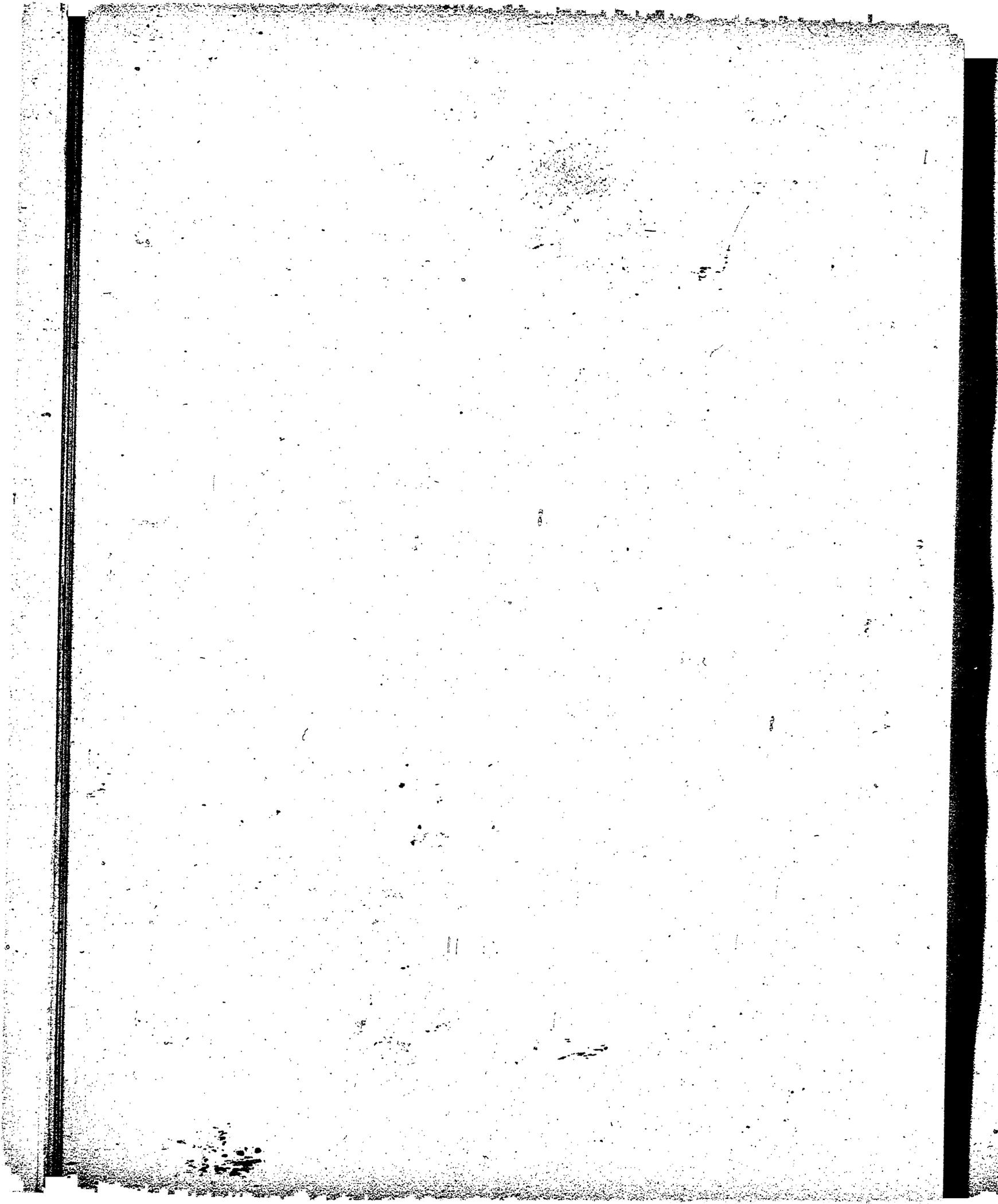


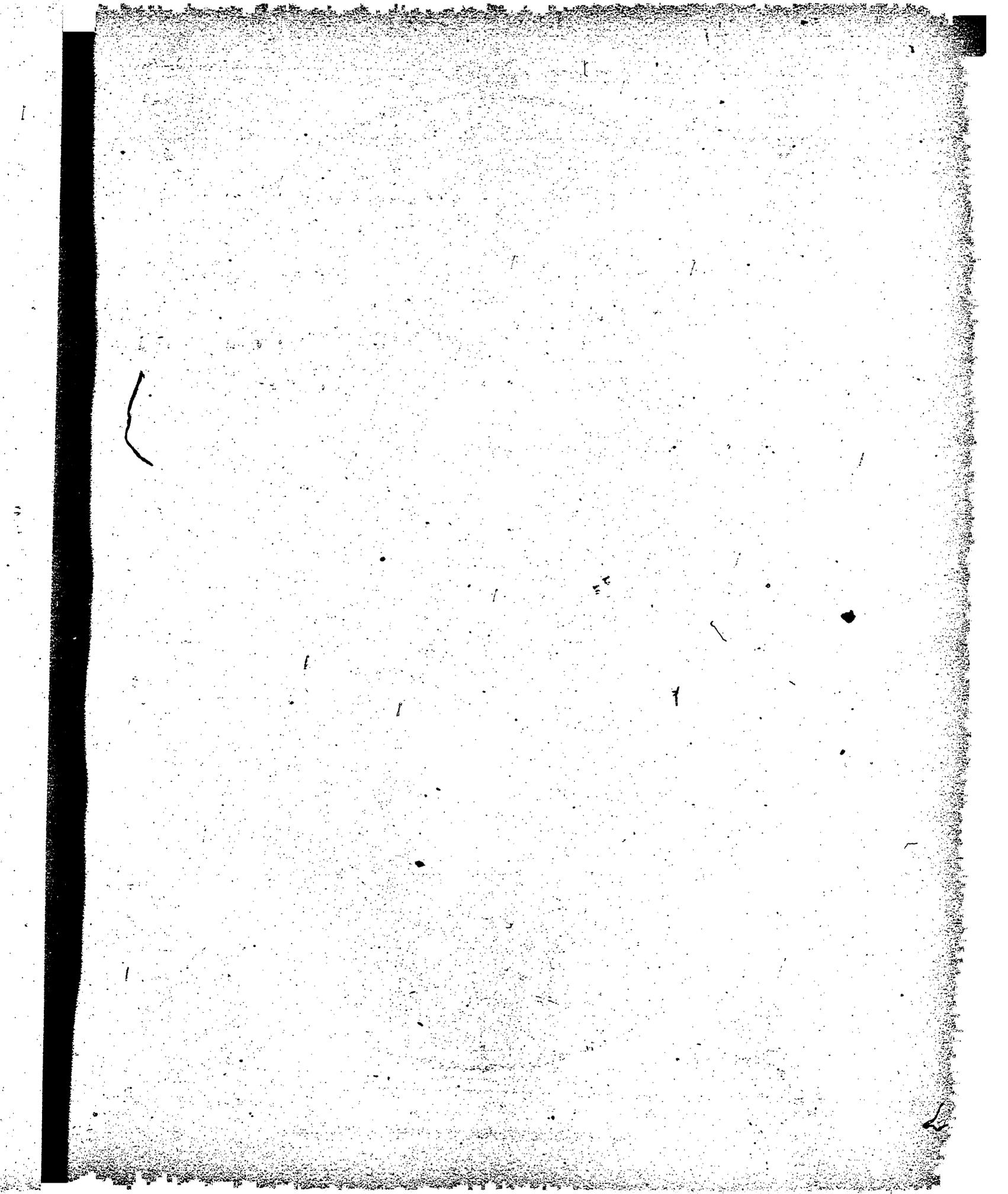


QUEEN VICTORIA.

SHE
HAS EXALTED THE
CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN
BY HER VIRTUES, AND SET UP HER
THRONE IN THE HEARTS OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE.
UNDER HER BENEFICENT REIGN, BRITISH AMERICA HAS BECOME
A BRITISH NATION; AND, BY THE WISDOM OF HER
COUNCILS, THE GREAT EMPIRE-KINGDOM
OF WHICH SHE IS QUEEN AND
EMPRESS MAINTAINS
HER PROUD
POSITION AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

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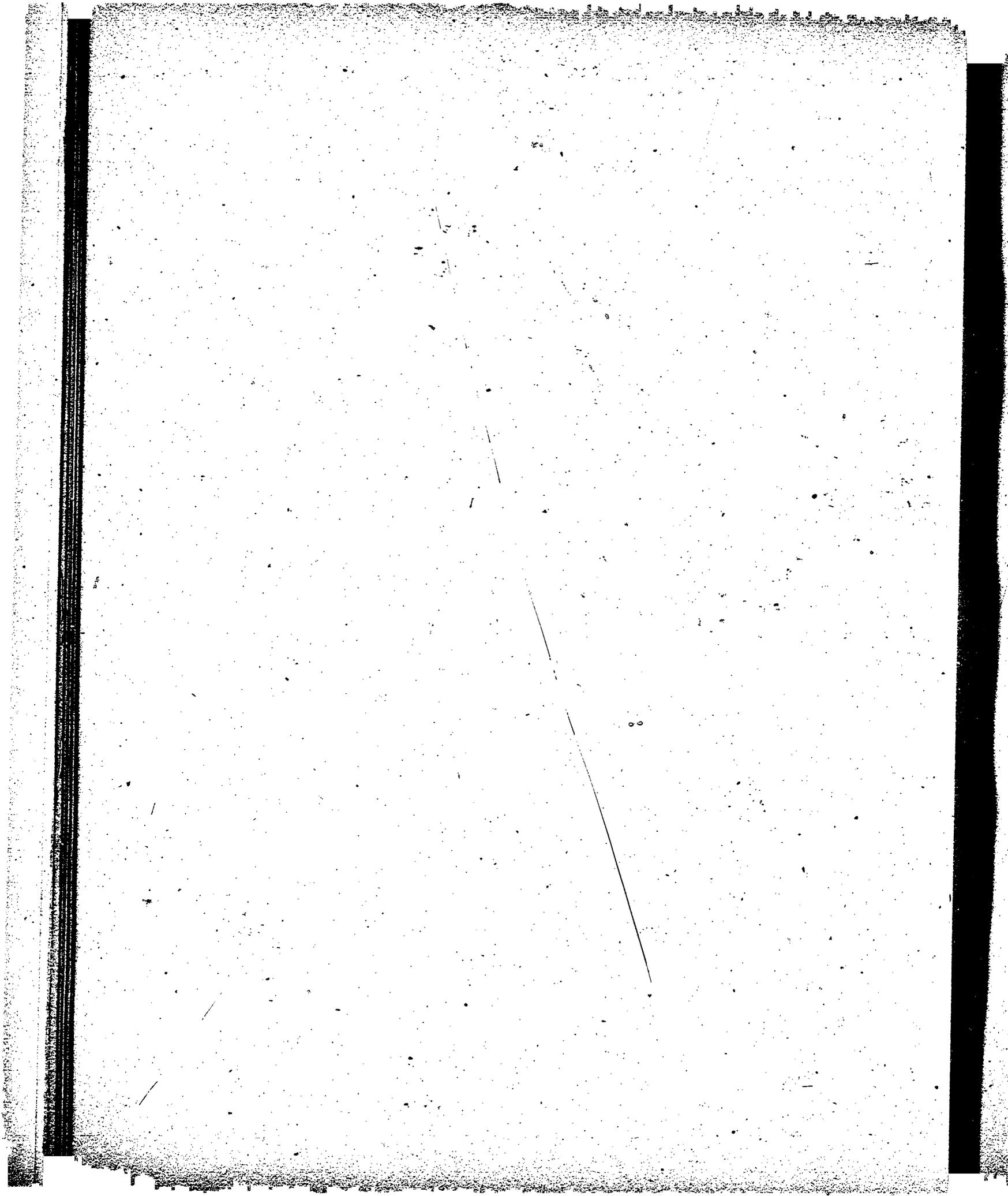
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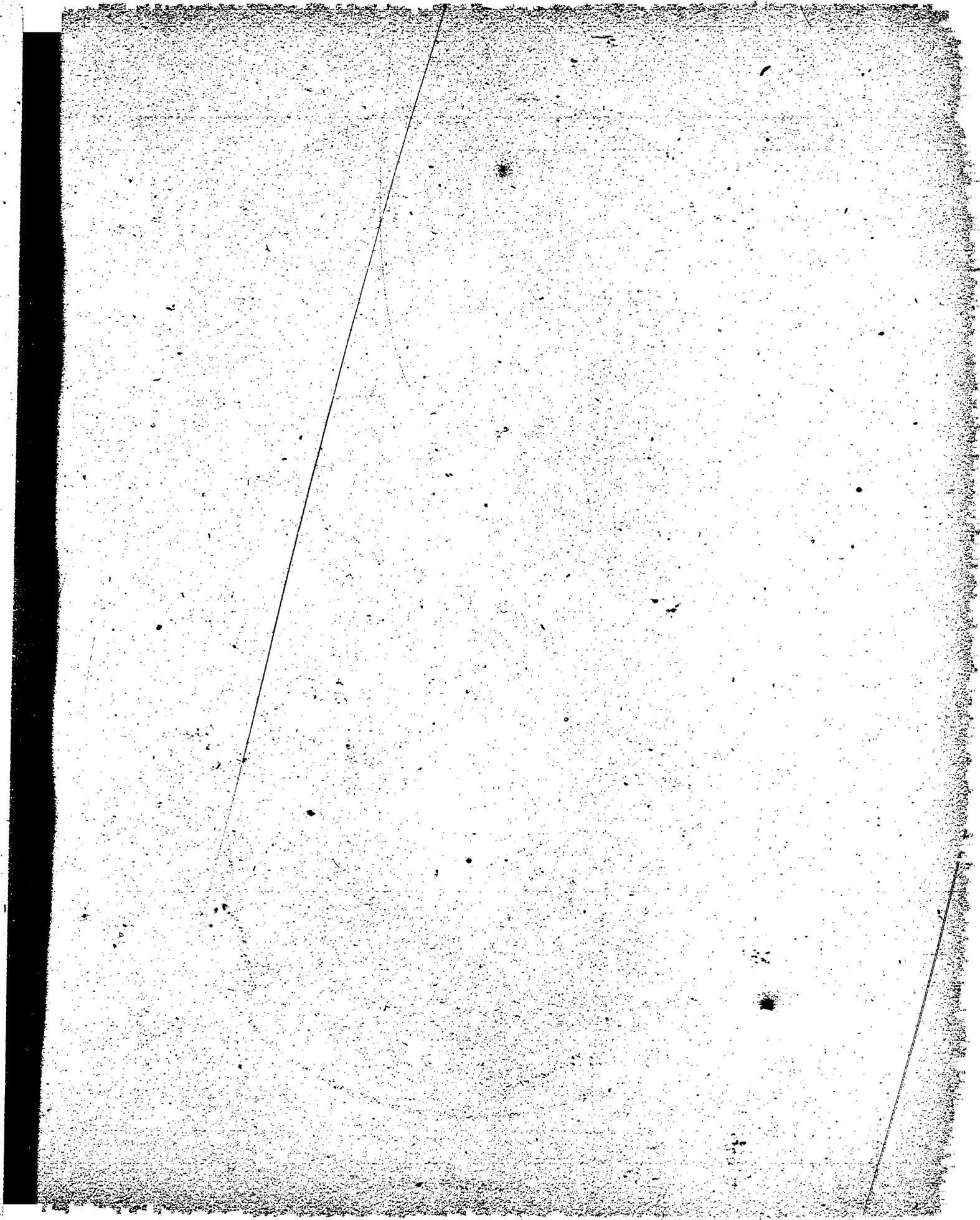
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THE HONORABLE CHARLES TUPPER, C.B., M.P., M.D., L.R.C.S.

HE HAS
DEMONSTRATED
BY HIS OWN ACHIEVEMENTS THE GREAT POSSIBILITIES OF HUMAN LIFE. WITHOUT THE AID OF FORTUNE, HE HAS BY HIS OWN UNAIDED INDUSTRY OBTAINED A CLASSICAL EDUCATION, AND DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF BY HIS SCHOLARSHIP AND PRACTICE IN THE SCIENCE OF MEDICINE. ENTERING POLITICS EARLY IN LIFE, HE SOON BECAME LEADER OF HIS PARTY IN HIS NATIVE PROVINCE, AND WAS FOR MANY YEARS, PREVIOUS TO CONFEDERATION, PRIME-MINISTER OF NOVA SCOTIA. HIS STATESMANSHIP IS DISTINGUISHED BY THE FREE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM OF NOVA SCOTIA, OF WHICH HE IS AUTHOR; BY HIS WONDERFUL ADVOCACY OF CONFEDERATION, WHICH TRIUMPHED IN THE FACE OF A DEADLY OPPOSITION; AND BY HIS UNPARALLELED ABILITY AS A DEBATER IN THE DOMINION HOUSE OF COMMONS. HIS WONDERFUL TALENTS AND SOUND STATESMANSHIP HAVE MADE HIM ONE OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THE NATION.

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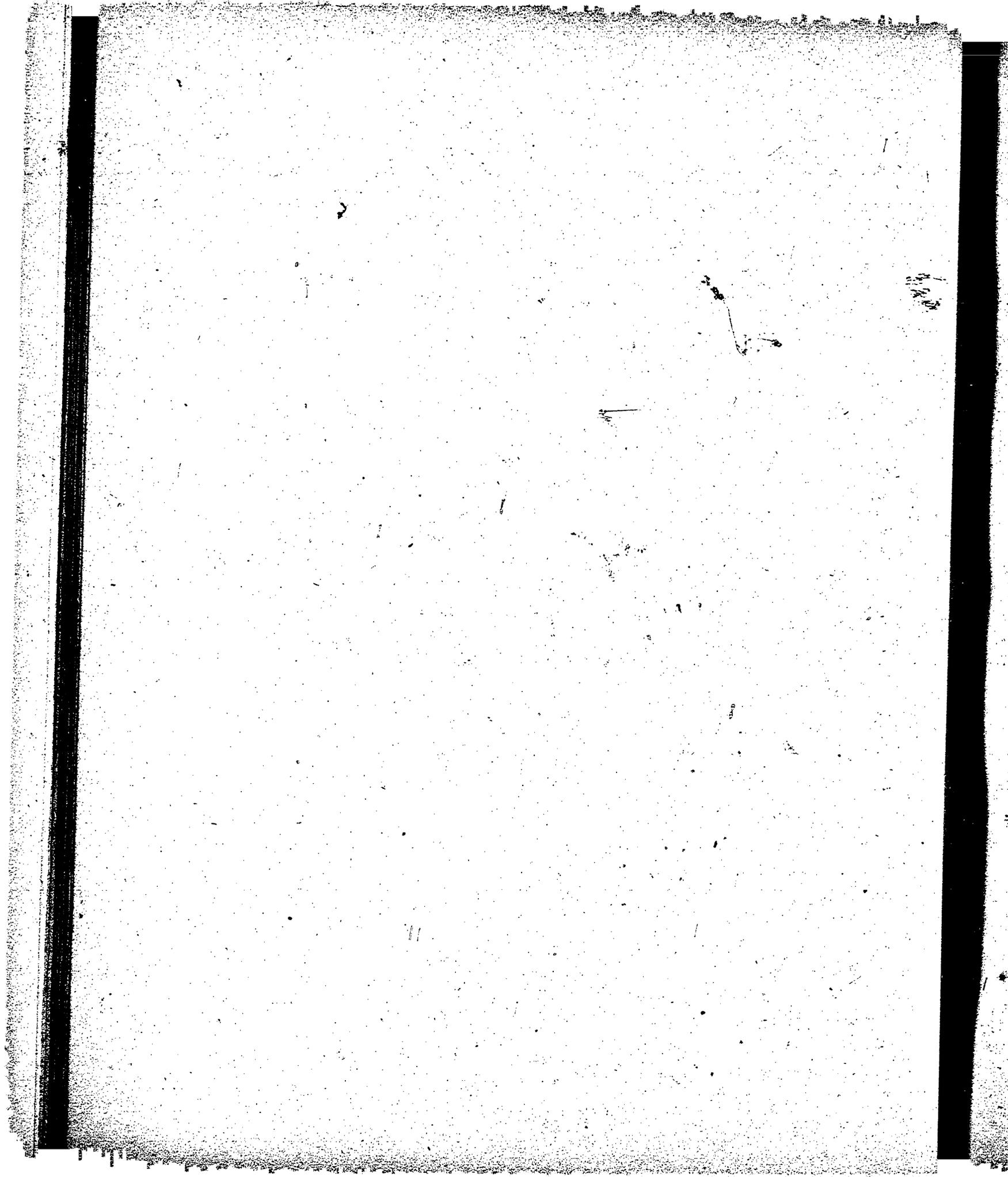
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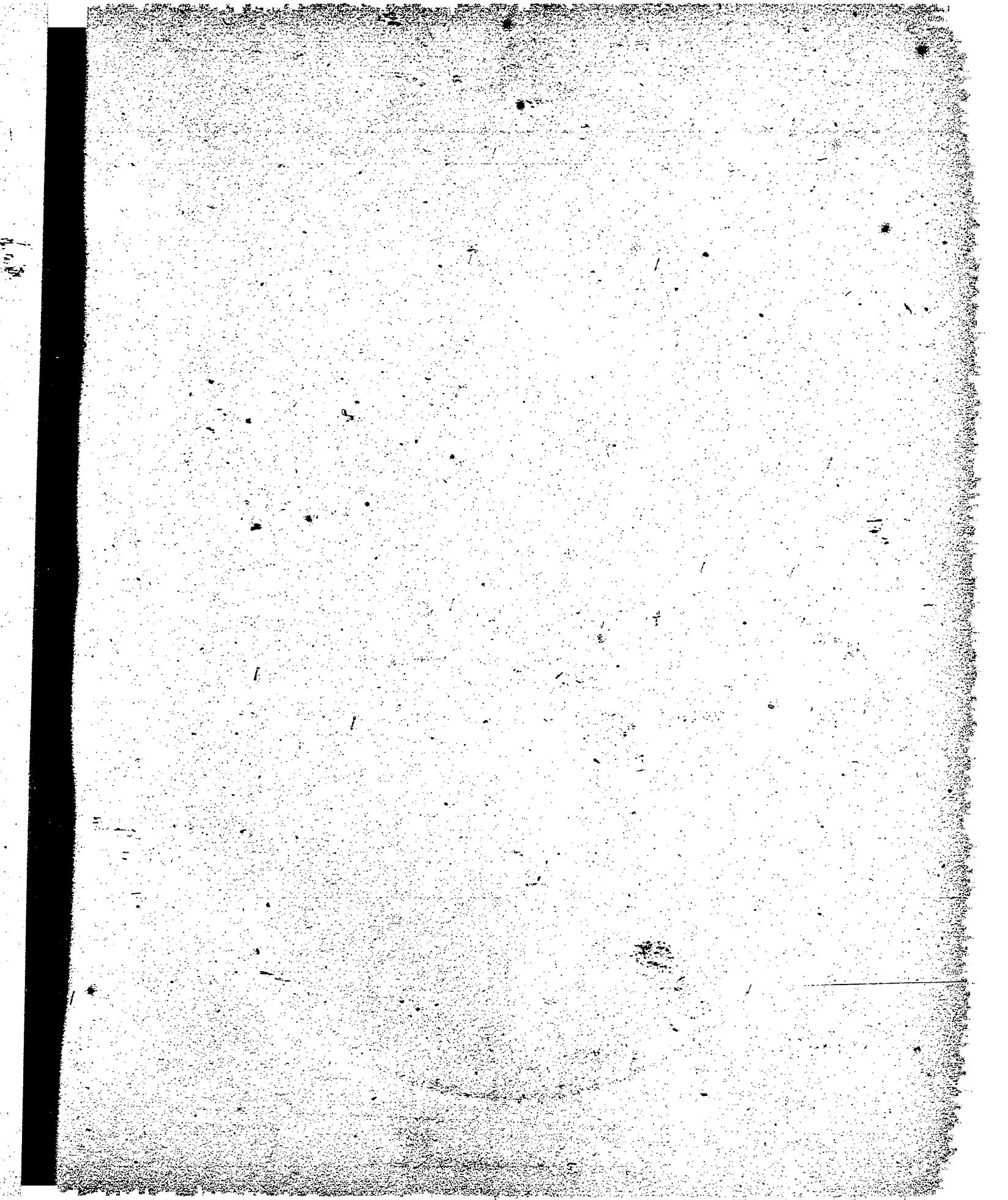
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THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

HE
HAS RISEN .
FROM THE MOST
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HIS WONDERFUL TALENTS, HIS
UNALTERABLE FIDELITY TO TRUTH, HONESTY,
AND PATRIOTISM, TO THE EXALTED POSITION OF PRIME
MINISTER OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA. WITHOUT A CLASSICAL
EDUCATION, YET WITH A MIND AS MARVELLOUSLY DIS-
TINGUISHED FOR ITS GREAT STORE OF VALUA-
BLE INFORMATION AS FOR ITS WONDERFUL
GENIUS, HE IS THE UNDISPUTED
LEADER OF THE GREAT
LIBERAL PARTY OF
CANADA.

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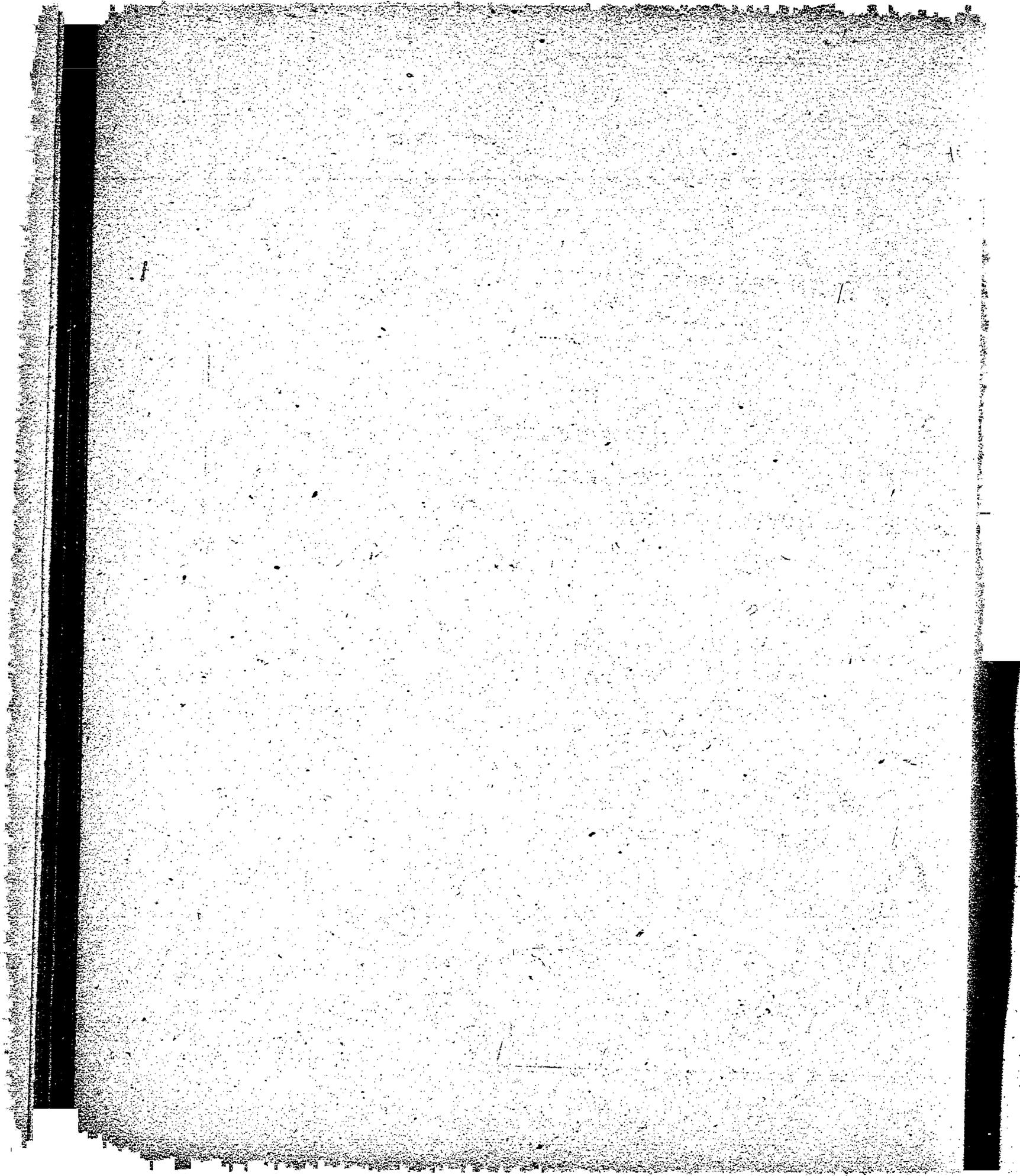
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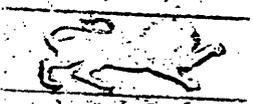
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JOHN WILLIAM DAWSON, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.

HE
HAS ACHIEVED
INTERNATIONAL FAME BY
HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE, AND
DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF AS CANADA'S BENEFACTOR
BY HIS DEVOTION TO HER EDUCA-
TIONAL INTERESTS, IN
WHICH HE IS
LEADER.

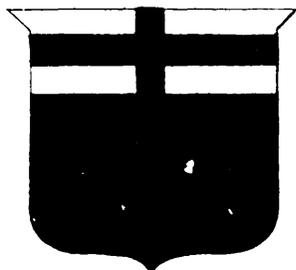
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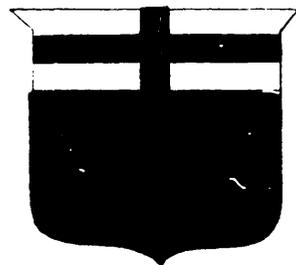




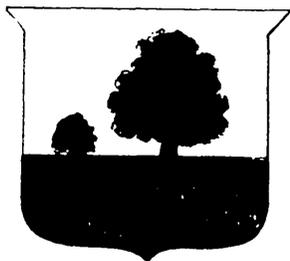
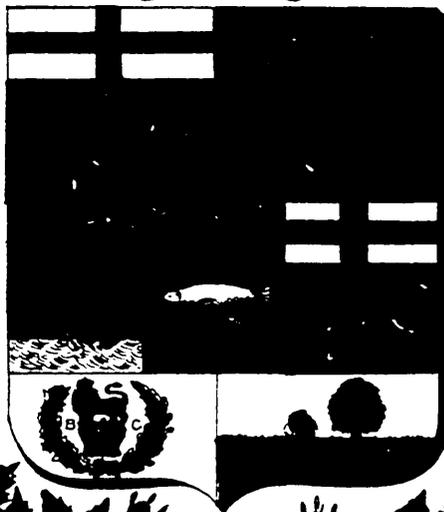
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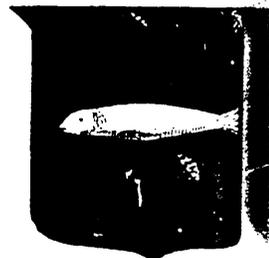
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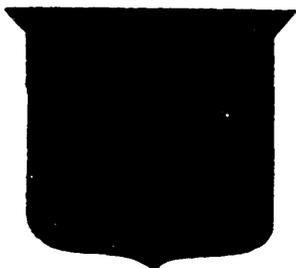
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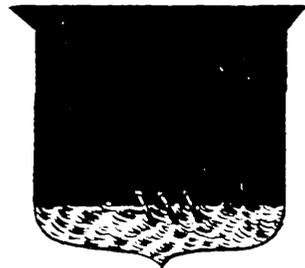
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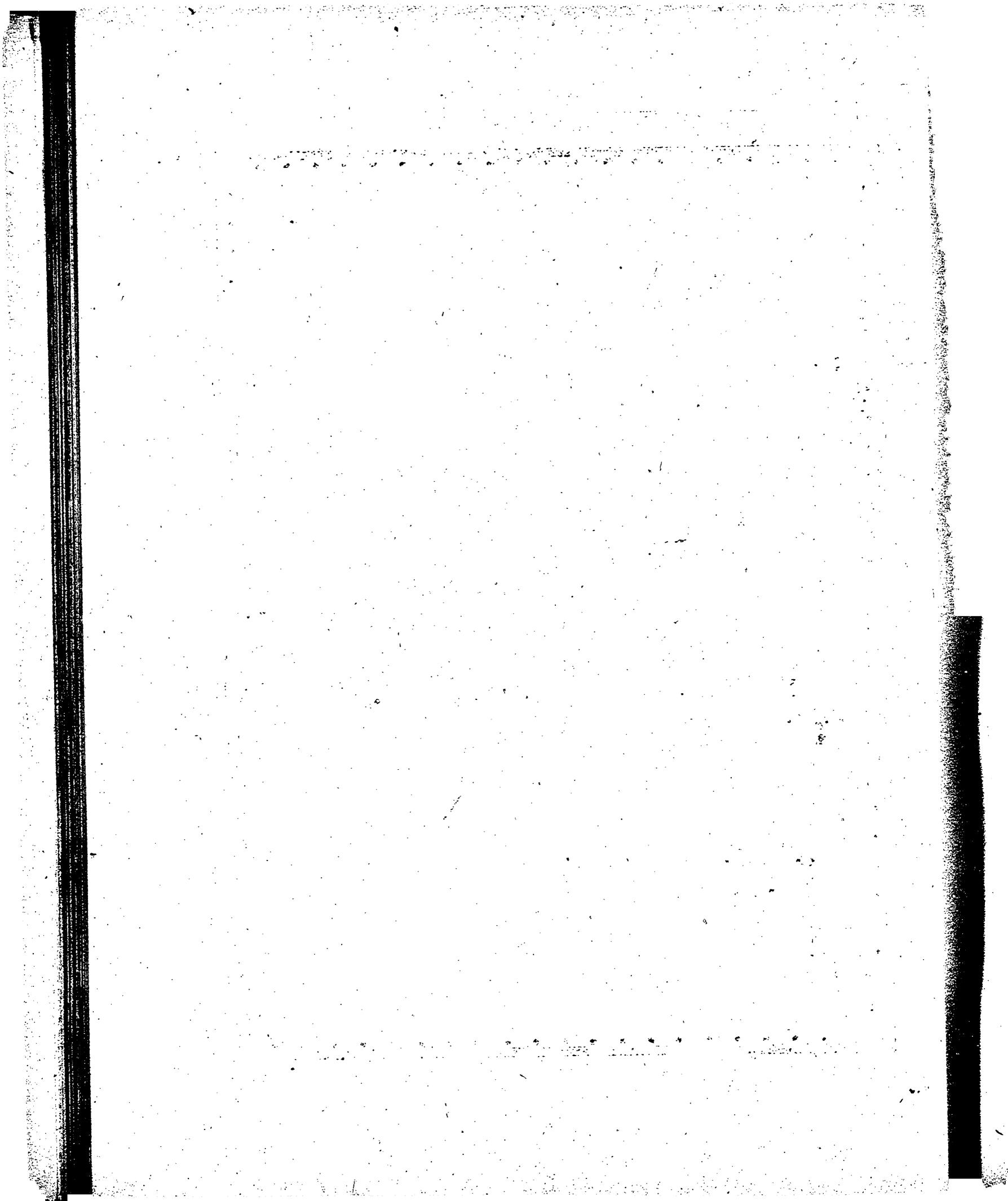
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NEW BRUNSWICK.

To the People
of the Dominion of
Canada who hate Annex-
ation, 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 respect-
fully Dedicated by
the Author.

DTIA



TUTTLE'S
POPULAR HISTORY
OF THE
DOMINION OF CANADA,
WITH
ART ILLUSTRATIONS.

FROM THE
EARLIEST SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH-AMERICAN COLONIES TO THE PRESENT TIME;
TOGETHER WITH
PORTRAIT ENGRAVINGS AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED
MEN OF THE NATION.

By CHARLES R. TUTTLE,

AUTHOR OF "DOMINION ENCYCLOPEDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY;" "HISTORY OF THE COUNTRIES OF AMERICA;"
"HISTORY OF BORDER WARS OF TWO CENTURIES;" HISTORIES OF THE STATES OF
MICHIGAN, INDIANA, WISCONSIN, IOWA, ETC., ETC.

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE

THE Dominion of Canada, with her great inland seas and mighty rivers; her vast natural resources of the soil, the mine and the sea; her extensive merchant marine; her intelligent and rapidly increasing population; her wisely adjusted Federal Government; her beneficent educational and charitable institutions; her well established financial and commercial credit; her favorable climate, and lastly, her inseparable connection with the United Kingdom, is full of promise of future greatness and power. The Federal Union of 1867, constituted British North America a British nation, with a constitution and government founded in 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.

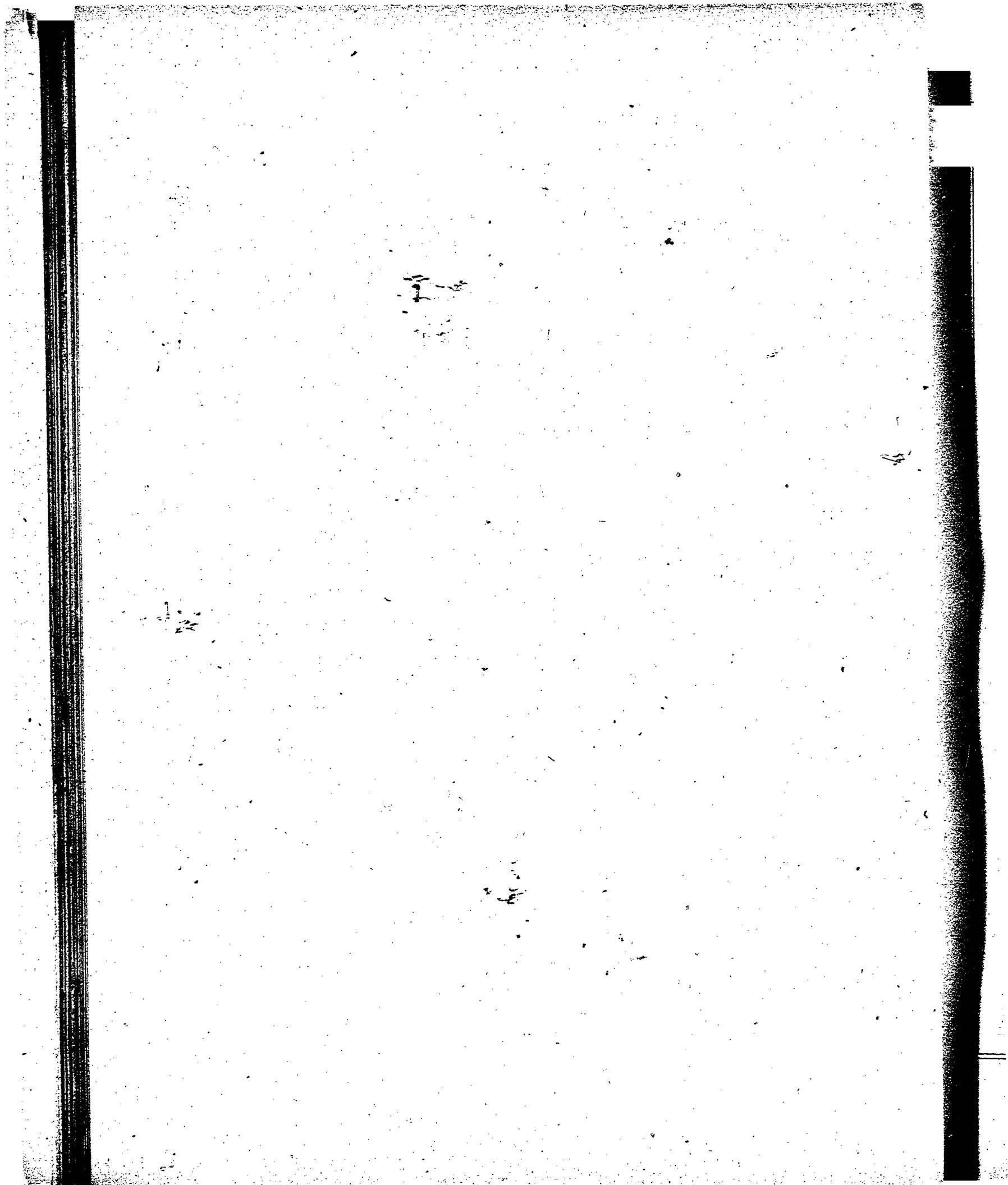
In 1866, in an address delivered at Aylmer, P. Q., Henry J. Morgan, of the New York Historical Society, observed that, with a single exception in favor of M. Garneau, the writers of Canadian history in general, had no reason to plume themselves on the elaborate nature of their productions, and added, "the historian of Canada, or British America has yet to come." Mr. Morgan was undoubtedly correct in this judgment rendered more than ten years ago, and the editor of this work is of the opinion that the statement will apply to the situation of to-day with equal force; nor will the publication of this volume, elaborate though it be, extinguish this unpleasant fact. Indeed, it is desired that there shall be, in the outset, a full understanding between editor and reader. I lay no claim to the title of *historian* in its true meaning. Having sought only to gather and arrange in convenient form the products of previous research, I am content in the belief that this volume embraces a more complete history of the Dominion of Canada than has hitherto been placed within reach of the general reader, and take this opportunity to state that whatever of perfection may be found in these pages is in some degree traceable to the well directed labors of those who, while they displayed, in many instances, greater ability as historians, manifested less tact in organizing skill and capital with which to carry their publications successfully through the press. But the people of the Dominion are not likely to misapply their appreciation.

There are a good many things which might be said concerning the difficulties to be met with in compiling and publishing a history of the Dominion of Canada which would constitute a sufficient reason for most of the defects of this work, but it is believed that upon the whole its general merits will have sufficient weight to render the volume valuable to English reading people everywhere.

Additions to the lists of portrait engravings and other illustrations, as well as to the general history, will be made from year to year so as to keep this volume, in its several editions, a complete record of Canadian history down to the latest possible day.

CHARLES R. TUTTLE.

MONTREAL, SEPT. 1877.



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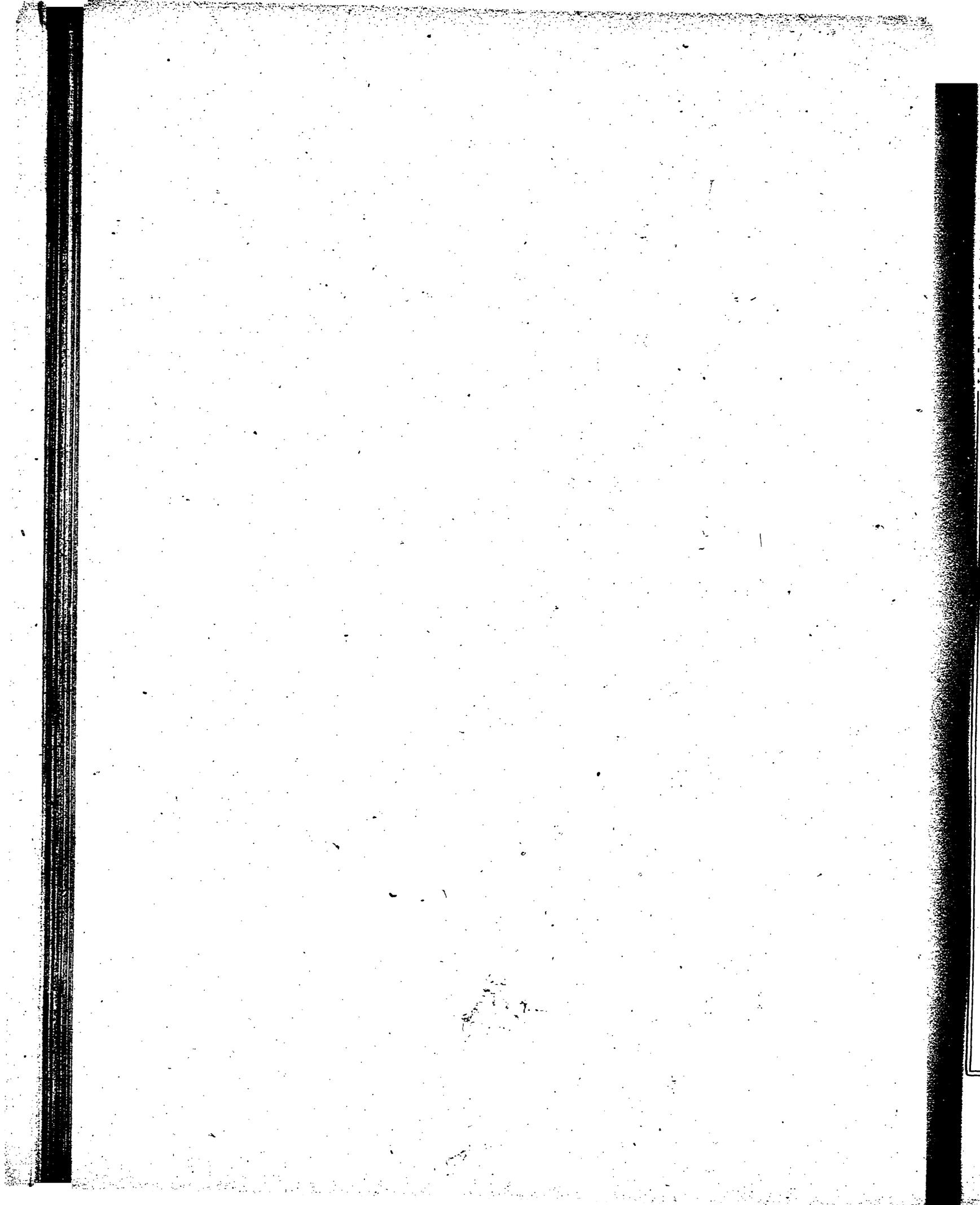
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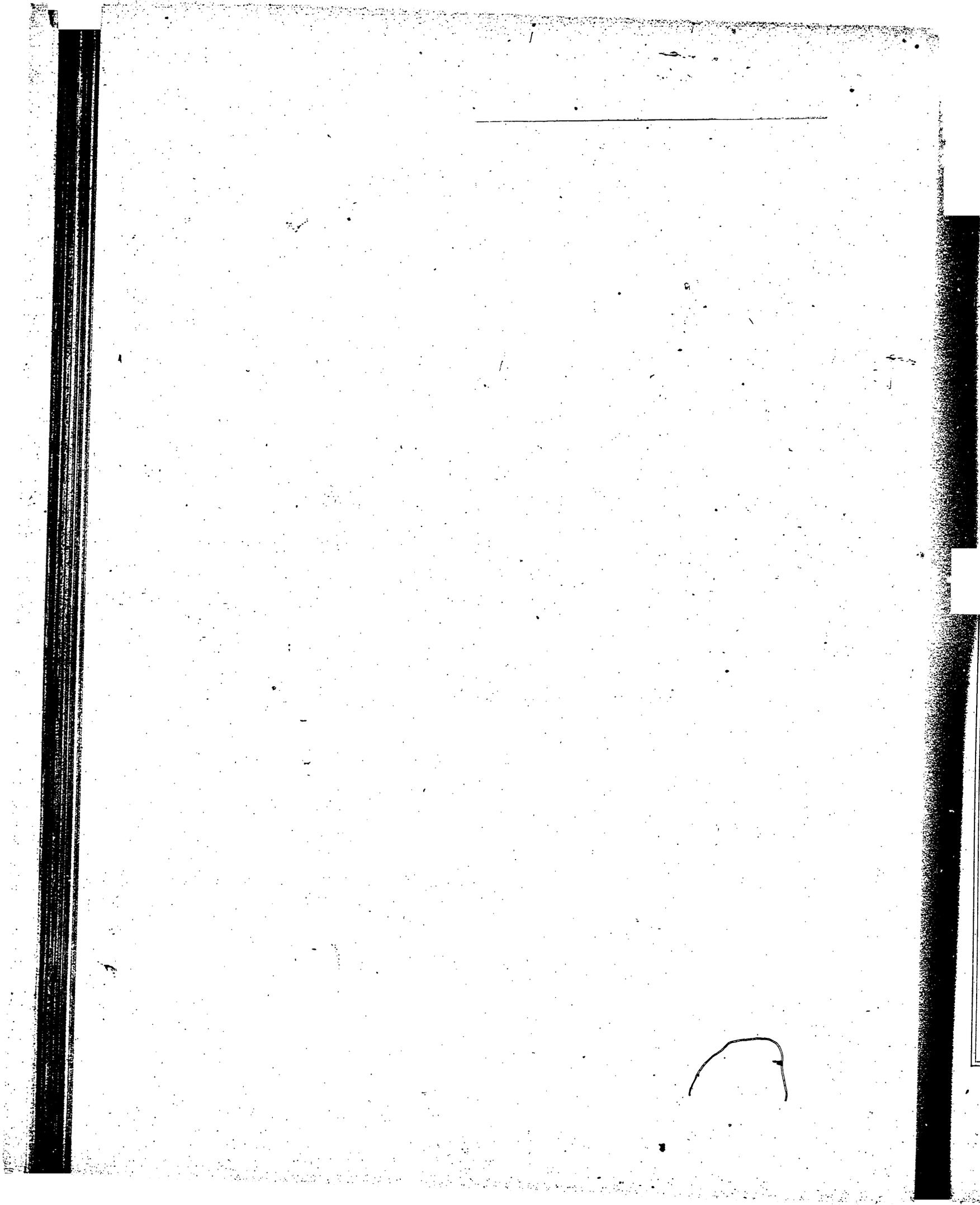
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INTRODUCTION.

1.—Before entering upon an account of the events in the history of the provinces embraced within the boundaries of the present Dominion of Canada, which will carry us back to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, let us take a somewhat general view of the institutions and industries of the country;—a course which it seems to the writer is rendered necessary from the fact that this history will fall into the hands of many readers in both the United States and Great Britain, who know comparatively nothing of Canada, and who will but faintly appreciate a record of military and political events, however interesting, unless in some measure acquainted with its true significance.

2.—Until 1867 British America consisted of a number of provinces, each dependent upon the British crown, but comparatively independent of each other.

The British American Colonies a Nation. At that date, four of these, Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were constituted a Federal Union, under the name of the Dominion of Canada. Three other provinces, viz. Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and the recently erected Province of Manitoba, have since been added to the Confederation. In this Canadian Confederacy, which loyally maintained a close political connection with Great Britain,—as to some extent in the neighboring Republic—while each province preserves a certain portion of its autonomy, whatever is of common interest to all is entrusted to the action of the Central Government. 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 develop-

ment, 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 Causes leading to Confederation. from within. Of these, that growing out of the peculiar attitude of the United States, at the 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 both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were, in a considerable degree, bitterly opposed to the scheme which finally triumphed.

4.—We can refer to the quality of the race of people that inhabit the Dominion with peculiar pride; and who will not admit, with William Norris, Esq., in his pamphlet, that one of the most natural elements of the greatness of a country is the quality of the race of people who make up its population. Indeed its progress and well-being are wholly dependent upon their character. That character, when the people are native born, is formed by the institutions, the soil and the climate. Strangers are not so much affected by these causes, inasmuch as their character was formed before coming to the place of their residence. Institutions of a civil kind, however, affect the foreigner and the native alike; but the latter much more than the former; but religious institutions taking hold of man as soon as reason commences, and at that time creating impressions which never can be totally effaced, affect all men, no matter where they may reside, or in whatever circumstances they may be placed. These institutions, then, affect the people of Canada; and, as the different sects in the country are numerous and various, a short attempt to describe the character formed by the most prominent becomes necessary, and in this attempt the temporal effects only of the teaching of the different denominations will be spoken of. As to the truth or falsity of such teaching a secular writer has nothing to do, as that part exclusively belongs to the province of the ecclesiastic.

5.—The prominent denominations of Christians in Canada are the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Protestant Episcopal and the Methodist. The character formed by Roman Catholic teaching has thus been described by an intelligent Canadian writer: "The great fault seems to be the absence of self-reliance. It cultivates the heart at the expense of the brain, and brings out more feeling than thought. The people, taught to rely on the Church for all religious instruction, come at last to consult it on their secular affairs, and hence they lack that spirit of enterprise which is the product of personal independence. This Church forms amiable characteristics, but few forcible traits. Among its members are to be found, however, men of power and force, but such are not strict communicants. The tenets of the Church, at least those which are taught to the laity, are much more adapted to form female character in perfection than strong men. It educates the senses by its majestic music, its gorgeous ceremonies, and its mysterious rites; and it aims at subduing

Quality of inhabitants, elements of national greatness.

Effect of Romanism on Canadian character.

men through every avenue save the reason. The true votaries of this Church are apt to be soft, amiable, good and contemplative. It is not, consequently, surprising, that so many of its members should prefer total solitude, as many did in the earlier ages. It is not a system that makes temporal heroes: if ever one of that faith appears, it is more than likely that he is animated by fanaticism. Indeed it has never formed any great governing states. It may be said that France, under the first Empire, was Catholic, but it was only in name. A century of philosophy, and the first revolution, had left little Catholicism in the French armies that conquered Europe. Spain, also, at one time, may seem an objection; but the conquests of that power were chiefly over nations of the same faith, or the half-civilized people of America. The Catholic, then, is amiable, good, ordinarily active and truthful. These qualities are predicated of the general educated laity only. As to the priests, and those strong exceptional characters which no system can keep down, they may be included among this people, but, through force of character and position they stand apart. The general body of the people may be, and to a certain extent are, influenced by the latter class; but the infusions from which the Catholic laity derive the most benefit are received from the surrounding Protestants. Their push, force and assiduity tell, and make the Catholic of the Province of Ontario quite a different man from his co-religionist of Quebec. If, however, the possession of the moral virtues be any set-off to the lack of those temporal qualities which secure justice and power in this world, the Catholic indeed has the advantage." There are in the Dominion 1,492,029 persons who belong to this denomination.

6.—The effects of Presbyterianism are most salutary. The teaching of the system develops the reasoning powers and suppresses the emotions, and it has been truly said that in Canada the Presbyterian examines religious matters with the same exactitude as secular affairs. The system as carried out in this country makes strong, rugged, resolute, independent men, fit to do battle with and conquer all obstacles in their way to wealth and power. "It is difficult," says the writer last quoted, "to find any refinement of feeling as the result of it, simply because the senses are entirely ignored as a means of obtaining religious impressions. The comfort and prosperity, however, which are the usual attendants of Presbyterianism, make up to its members the loss of those pleasures derivable from cultivated feelings, which, never having been known, are not missed. The ruling traits developed by this system of teaching are practicability and worldly mindedness. Protestantism of all kinds gives this advantage over

Effects of Presbyterianism on Canadian character.

Catholicism. The great doctrine that faith alone is sufficient for salvation, relieves the Protestant from those expiatory works which are incumbent upon Catholics; and leaves his hand and his mind at liberty to secure those worldly advantages which are to be obtained by men who bend all their energies to the task." The Presbyterian character is no doubt one of the best for new countries. The resolute courage which usually accompany it, soon changes forests into fields. Some of the most wonderful changes of modern times have resulted directly from its teachings; above all, it furnishes man with those qualities which give him command of his fellows and secure his own worldly prosperity, and in a strictly temporal view, seems best adapted to raise the lower classes to comfort by the inculcation of industry, frugality and piety. The number of persons belonging to this denomination in the Dominion is about 443,650.

7.—The Protestant Episcopal Church may be said to occupy a middle place between the two just described.

The character formed by its teaching is more equable and refined than that of the Presbyterian, and more resolute than the Catholic. In short, the church has been called, half rightly, the asylum for the indifferent. All those who aspire to social position commence their progress by joining it, and forming their manners after the model of its members. "It makes a good class of citizens, of native Canadians, although the same cannot be said of its effects upon its foreign members. Its great lack is vitality. It partakes too much of the inertness which distinguishes its great prototype, the Roman Catholic Church, and it never can be the Church of Canada, owing to this defect. On the whole, it creates a character stable and respectable." It has 494,049 members in the Dominion.

8.—There can be little doubt that the future great Church of Canada is the Methodist Church. It is continually aggressive, and seizes on all kinds of material and by force of its discipline forms a character more uniform and steady than all other denominations. No such extremes are to be found within its ranks as those which the Roman Church presents in the educated French and the uneducated native, or which the Protestant Episcopal presents in the English gentleman and the Irish Protestant. There may not be any very extraordinary amount of material activity among its members; but the Church is continually adapting itself to the growing intellectual wants of the people, and its marked success may be seen in the fact that the Episcopal Church is adopting its rules and proselytizing discipline. The emotional temperament may be in the ascendant, but it is never allowed to run into fanaticism. The intellectual power might be cultivated more, and the

Effects of Episcopal Church on Canadian character.

Effect of Methodism on the Canadian character.

literal meaning of the Scriptures followed less, but notwithstanding these defects, the Methodist character, by its uniformity and respectability, its enterprise without recklessness, its piety without fanaticism, its weight without obstinacy, and its decent hilarity without descending to vulgar debauchery and levity, on the one hand, or puritanic asceticism on the other, is most likely to be the national one in Canada; and to eventually become in this country, what it is in the United States, the governing element of the nation. The efforts of this Church lately to inculcate a national sentiment and to cultivate a spirit of independence, are turning large numbers towards it. It has already given promise of its future career in Canada, by severing all connection with the English conference, and endeavoring to unite its scattered branches. It had, in 1871, when the census was taken, 367,091 members. The increase in the members of this church during the last ten years is greater than that of any other. During that time they increased 27 per cent, while the Presbyterians increased 19 per cent, the Roman Catholics 8.7, and the Church of England only 6.2.

9.—But aside from the character arising from the teachings of the most prominent denominations, the government and municipal institutions of the country have a considerable effect in forming the character of its inhabitants. To these may also be added the material modifications which take place by association and political combinations. One thing is certain, that every year the animosity which formerly existed among the sects is growing less. Tolerance of each other's opinions and doctrines is observed, more probably arising from the common-school system of the country, which educates all sects alike, with the exception of the Catholics. Indeed all the harsher features of character peculiar to Canada in earlier days, are being smoothed and rounded off by the beneficent effects of common-school education. This school system is so perfect in Canada that no fear can be felt for the capability of the present generation of Canadians to obtain any developments of future progress that may come upon the country.

10.—We shall not overlook the fact that the different nationalities which are represented in the Dominion have much to do in forming the new and peculiar nationality which is rapidly springing up in Canada. About 1,082,948 of the people are of French origin, and of the different races which inhabit the country they are the least fitted for self-government. "The contentment which desires no change is theirs. They are entirely different from the present race of French in France. They never derived any benefit from the numerous revolutions which have created the political

Local institutions effect a peculiar character of the inhabitants.

Different nationalities in the Dominion.

activity of France; and are a century behind their countrymen in the Old World. Secure in the silence and tranquillity of their summer woods and winter snows, they scarcely heard the thunder of the mighty conflicts, physical and mental, which convulsed Europe during the latter end of the eighteenth century; and it is astonishing to learn that it is only a few years ago that feudal tenure of land was abolished among them. Although, however, the rural French Canadian is backward, the French inhabitants of the cities are farther advanced in politics and general intelligence than the English-speaking people of the country districts. They have no old country to claim a divided allegiance, and as a consequence everything is due to Canada. The rural population also every year is advancing steadily in political knowledge. Large numbers of these go to the United States every summer, bringing back and imparting to those who remain, American ideas. About 706,369 are of English origin, and form a valuable part of the population." The national characteristics of the Englishman are too well known to require any description. Those of Irish origin number about 846,141, and those of Scotch origin 550,000. There are also about 232,613 Germans. The most encouraging fact brought out by the last census is that 83 in every 100 of the population are native-born Canadians, and probably ten more in every 100 were brought to Canada so young as to regard it as their native land.

11.—The political institutions of every country follow, to a certain extent, the prevailing religion. In this way, and in no other, can it be said that the State derives any power from the Church. If the Church and State are united, politics and religion are more akin. These were separated, however, in Upper Canada at an early day, and the political institutions of Ontario are, in consequence, more liberal, and approximate more to those of the United States than those of any other part of the country. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are also advanced in this respect. The effect of those institutions is evidenced every day in the case of the immigrants who come to Canada. They come from the monarchical countries of Europe, ignorant, rude, and unmannerly, depending on their priests and ministers for religious instruction, and on their landlords and the manufacturers for the means of a precarious livelihood; they are servile, dependent, weak and irresolute. A few years' use to the strengthening influence of Canadian institutions, and they become completely changed. On their first arrival, with hat in hand and stammering speech, they ask for leave to toil as was their wont; but having learned what it is to own a farm of their own, subject to the will and caprice of no one; having learned their importance as members of a free

community, they hold a high head, and call no man master. Where there was nothing but humility and servility, we find a legitimate pride, and a simple, manly independence. Where there was almost childish helplessness, we find a vigorous, self-reliant spirit, and the mind that formerly bent the knee to the meretricious advantages of rank, sees nothing worthy of its respect but the majesty of law and the nobility of liberty and freedom. Owing to this effect of Canadian institutions, there are very few of the peasant class to be found in Canada. Some of the inhabitants may be poor, but this circumstance has little influence on their independence. A fearless enunciation of opinion, and a dread, in many instances a contempt, for the influence of wealth, are the common characteristics, even of the poorest. The sense of the value of integrity, knowledge, honesty, and all those other attributes which ennoble man, no matter in what condition of life he may be, tend to sustain the Canadian in his personal respect, no matter what privation she may be called upon to endure.

12.—The character of the surface of the country also, no doubt, has an elevating influence on the people. There is an education in broad rivers, boundless prairies, high mountains, and pathless woods, unknown to the dwellers in towns and cities. The mind that revels in the wilds of nature can never be actuated by the meanness of civilization, be it ever so illiterate. There is an expanding influence in great things that cannot long be withstood. Little minds cannot exist in vastness; they must either increase or become imbecile, terrified by the weight of their sensations. Solitude also begets gravity and thought—thought forcing examination of surroundings, whether of earth, air or water. Hence the instinctive sagacity of the backwoodsman. He may never have seen a letter or a compass; he may never have seen the inside of a school house; but the accuracy of his senses is wonderful, and his mental deductions from sensations no less so. The climate of a country, no less than its soil and the configuration of its surface, also affect strongly the character of its inhabitants. In tropical countries, where the bounties of nature are so plentiful, no exertion to support life is necessary—or rather the slightest exertion obtains all the necessaries. The intense heat of the sun also debilitates the human frame, and renders man prone to inaction; while nature, as if to provide for its own defects, scatters in wild profusion food which supports life without the effort of cultivation or thought. The prevailing characteristics of the inhabitants of tropical climates are indolence. On the whole, the climate of Canada, which is nearly the same over the entire country, is better fitted to generate those qualities which sustain nations than warmer latitudes, and to produce inhabitants superior in mind and body.

Effects of Political
institutions on
Canadian character.

Influence of soil
and climate on
Canadian character.

13.—The population of the Dominion is about four millions. We have seen of what this population is composed, what races make it up, and the effects which institutions, soil and climate have on its character. It only remains to be said, that this population occupy a territory as large as all Europe, with inexhaustible resources; that it carries on a trade, in proportion to its numbers, larger than England or the United States, and that it is the fourth maritime power in the world. However, since we have claimed so much for the Canadian people, we will pause here to give a few glances at the distinguished record which they have won in history. In truth British Americans have great reason to be proud of the men they have sent forth into the world, as well as of those who have distinguished themselves at home. And it is not strange that having gained so much distinction for Canada, which its people have raised from barbarism to civilization, they should also have made an enviable record abroad. The man who is not proud and jealous of the fame and greatness of his distinguished countrymen is an alien in feeling and purpose, is moved by no patriotic love, and is an object unfit to live. It was truthfully said by Mr. McGee that Canada ought to be as jealous of the reputation of her great men as either Scotland, Scandinavia, Switzerland or New England; and he mentioned as a reason why the name of Canada stands for nothing, represents no definite idea, typifies no interest, awakens no associations in the Spanish, Italian, German or French mind, is because hatred to Canada has made no effort to preserve from oblivion the memories of men who have wrought for the common need of the province, or of others who have acquired reputation for themselves abroad, either in the naval or military service, or in the walks of literature, science or art.

14.—Indomitable energy and perseverance are characteristics of the Canadian people, and history contains the record of many deeds which distinguish their names. New Orleans was founded by the Sieur de Bienville; Milwaukee by Solomon Juneau; Galveston by Michel Menard; J. B. Faribault founded the settlement in Minnesota which bears his name; Gabriel Franchère was one of the founders of Astoria, and crossed the Rocky Mountains long before Fremont or Palliser; whilst Colonel Head, of Nova Scotia, demonstrated the practicability of an overland route to India. Go where we will throughout the world, we will find a representative of these provinces holding some important position or performing some useful profession or function. Towards the end of the last century a French Canadian artist was flourishing in Russia. In India we still hear the name of a prominent journalist, J. R. Wilby, Esq., now no more,

Distinguished
Canadians.

spoken of in high praise and affectionate regard, whilst in one of her Universities at Calcutta we meet Prof. Stevenson of Canada. "If fortune should take us as far as Peking," said Henry J. Morgan in 1866, "we will see an 'Upper Canada college boy' who carried off the prize for the best English poem at Oxford, Owen Alexander Vidal, son of the late Admiral Vidal of Sarnia, appointed by Lord Palmerston, a few years since, the attaché to the Embassy to Peking. At Florence, Chevalier Falardeau, a Canadian artist, will meet us brush in hand. At Gibraltar we can claim a chief-justice, Sir James Cockrane, born at Halifax. The recollection of the lofty and moving eloquence of Du Plessis, in the French pulpit, who was born at Quebec in 1693, is still fresh in the religious circles of Paris; and in the prayers of the Abbé de Beaujeu, a Canadian, the unfortunate Louis XVI. found that religious and spiritual consolation which he so much needed. Granatt de St. Sauveur, a Canadian, occupied the honorable position of French consul in Hungary. In Mexico we have at the present time (1866) more than one of our native sons holding important positions in the imperial service. In Edinburgh, a few years ago, there died a prelate of the Church of Rome, the Right Rev. James Gillies, D.D., Bishop of Limyra, born in Canada in 1802, who was always proud to acknowledge the land of his birth. In London we will find a peer of the realm, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, born at Montreal in 1849, the head of one of the proudest and most honorable houses of the nobility of the United Kingdom; a learned queen's counsel, Henry Bliss, of Nova Scotia, an active medical practitioner and scientific writer, Sir George Duncan Gibb, M.D., and a young, promising poet, Isidore G. Ascher, B.C.L., all of whom take pleasure in pointing to Canada as their native land. The honor rolls of English universities tell of prizes and degrees carried off by Canadians against the world."

15.—Turning back for a moment to the period of French supremacy, we find that New France gave birth to two remarkable men, whose careers deserve more than passing notice. The first, ^{Distinguished early French Canadians.} Lemoine D'Iberville, reputed to be the most skilful naval officer in the service of France, was born at Montreal in 1661. He was one of seven brothers, who all played important parts in the affairs of Canada, in the seventeenth century. At an early age he went to sea as a marine guard in the imperial service, and as a volunteer in the midnight attack on Schenectady, his bravery and skill were so conspicuous that he was immediately afterwards appointed an ensign. Gradually rising in his profession, we find him, in 1686, the commander of the expedition which recovered Fort Nelson from the British, and with it the control of the Indian commerce on the

Nelson River. He invaded Newfoundland, overrunning the whole island, taking forts, and even attacking St. John's itself; and subsequently achieved some considerable victories over the English in Hudson's Bay, where he was afterwards shipwrecked. In 1698 he was commissioned by the French government to explore the mouth of the Mississippi, which had never yet been entered from the sea, and to erect a fort on its banks. With two frigates, two smaller vessels, a company of marines and about two hundred settlers, he sailed from Rochefort. Touching at St. Domingo, he passed over to Pensacola, which he found occupied by Spaniards, and reached Monaca Island near Mobile in February, 1669. Accompanied by his brother De Bienville, who had been a companion of La Salle, and forty-eight men, he entered the Mississippi on the 2d of March and ascended it to some considerable distance. Erecting a fort as a proof of French jurisdiction, the command of which he entrusted to his brother, D'Iberville sailed for France, but returned when the authority of his country on the river was endangered by British aggression. In the following year he again ascended the Mississippi as far as the country of the Natchez, while his brother explored western Louisiana, crossed the Red River and approached New Mexico. Abandoning the settlements which he had founded, through the havoc which disease had made among the people, he planted one on the western bank of the Mobile River, it being the first European settlement in Alabama. He also constructed fortifications on Massacre Island, which became, as it were, the centre of the colony. At this time he was attacked with yellow fever and only escaped with his health considerably impaired. In 1699 he had been created a Chevalier of the order of St. Louis, and soon after the events described he was called to Europe and made commandant at Rochefort. In 1706 he was placed in command of a large fleet to effect the conquest of the English West Indies. He captured the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher, and failing that of Jamaica, he was on the point of attacking Carolina, when his career was suddenly cut short by his death, which occurred on board his flag-ship on the open sea. The other individual to whom we have referred was Lieutenant-General Viscount DeLery, one of the first French military engineers of his time. Born at Quebec in 1754, he was the son of a French officer who had been a pupil of the great Vauban, and who, having a passionate love for the profession of arms, naturally desired to see his son also follow it. When only eight years of age, young DeLery commenced his studies in Paris, and at fifteen was admitted into the School of Engineers. In 1773 he received his lieutenancy and served in several naval expeditions during the American Revolutionary war, and subsequently took part in the bat-

tle between the Count de Guichen and Admiral Kempenfeldt, and assisted to place the islands of Guadaloupe and Tobago in a state of defence. In 1790 he was decorated with the Cross of St. Louis. The hostilities which were commenced in 1792, and which were maintained for a considerable period, offered frequent opportunities for making rapid progress in the glorious career he had adopted. He allowed none of the numerous campaigns in which he was engaged to pass without associating his name with the glories of Kleber, Jourdan and Bernadotte. In 1804 he became chief of brigade; in 1805 general of division, and a year later director of fortifications. Rising still higher as his genius and talent manifested themselves, in 1808 the first Consul named him inspector of fortifications and commandant of engineers in Holland. Under the distinguished officers just named, he planned the works and agreed to all the measures of attack and defence which facilitated the different passages of the Rhine at Dusseldorf and Vandaugen, and secured the retreat of the army. General DeLery was on the Danube, and accompanied Marshal McDonald through the difficult campaigns of the Grison, and was present with the grand army at Ulm and Austerlitz. He commanded at the sieges of Biberach and Phillipsburg, conducted the blockades of Cassel and Cadiz, and fortified Mayence. Recalled from the peninsula, he was entrusted with the command of the engineers in the great Russian campaign, and was one of the few who escaped the fearful disasters which overtook the French army on that memorable occasion. For his great services he had been created a Baron of the Empire in 1811, with a domain in Westphalia. Shortly before Napoleon's downfall, Viscount DeLery was intrusted with the construction of the works for the defence of Lyons. Louis XVIII. promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-general. This eminent man attained the great age of threescore and ten. He was one of the engineer officers who had most thoroughly studied the connection between fortification and the art of war; he had the rare power of making command agreeable; he knew how to excite and direct the zeal of his officers; gave effect to their exertions, foresaw their wants and could minister to them so as to add the bonds of gratitude to those of duty. He took a lively interest in the welfare of those subordinate to him, and manifested his generosity to so great an extent that he went out of the world leaving literally nothing behind him, except the record of a well-spent and useful life, glowing with noble examples which should never be lost on the country he served so well, or the land of his birth, which he loved so dearly. In addition to these two, New France also produced many other men who afterwards greatly distinguished themselves in the military and naval services of the Empire and Republic.

Admirals Bedout and Martin, and Captains DeL'Echelle and Peloquin, in the former branch, and the Repentignys, DeVaudreuils, Hertels and Lacornes, in the latter, fill no unimportant place in the historical annals of the Old and New World.

16.—In the British service there has not been a battle or engagement of any consequence for the last hundred years in which some British American has not taken part. We have Dunn in the campaign in Italy in 1805, in the expedition to Egypt in 1806, in the whole Peninsular campaign in 1810-11, and in the American war of 1812. We have Beckwith at the Neville, at the Nile, and at Waterloo. We have Admiral Watt, the hero of a hundred fights; we have George Westphal at Trafalgar, wounded in that memorable fight, his blood mingled with the immortal Nelson, in the cockpit of the *Victory*. We have Wilshire in the West Indies, at Vimiera, at Corunna, at Walcheran, at Salamanca, at Victoria, at St. Sebastian, at the Nive, in Kaffraria, in the East Indies, and in Afghanistan. We have England at Flushing, in Sicily, and as commander of the third division at Alma and Inkerman. We have DeSalaberry as the hero of Chateauguay, we have Wallis as the captor of the *Chesapeake*.

The history of the noble defence made by Williams at Kars, and the heroic fortitude and strength with which he bore up under the trying and almost overwhelming difficulties which beset him; as well as that which records the great Inglis's glorious achievement at Lucknow, will live as long as the language in which it is written. In the Victoria cross gallery the portraits of two Canadians—Dunn and Read—will be shown as evidence of dauntless bravery and manly devotion. Lieut.-Col. A. R. Dunn, a native of Toronto, took part in the celebrated charge of the Six Hundred at Balaklava, and was one of those who

“Stormed it with shot and shell,
While horse and hero fell,
They that had fought so well
Came thro' the jaws of death
Back from the mouth of hell.”

In India and the Crimea the tombs of a number of Canadians who sacrificed their lives for England's glory speak eloquently for Canadian bravery. In the Crimea, Parker, of Nova Scotia, fell in the midst of the fight, and Welsford, of the same province, bathed the rampart of the Redan with his devoted blood. In the more peaceful pursuits of life, we can claim Donald McKay, the eminent shipbuilder and inventor, and Sir Samuel Cunard, who might properly be called the father of steam navigation on the Atlantic; Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, whom Captain Marryatt declared to be the “first surveying officer in the world,” and who has distinguished himself as a circum-

navigator of the globe, and commanded an expedition in search of Sir John Franklin; Sir Charles Darling, Governor of Victoria, Australia, and the late Sir William Winniett, Governor of the Gold Coast, are also British Americans. If we turn to the Fine Arts, we have the late Gilbert Stewart Newton, R. A., the famous painter; the friend of Leslie and of Washington Irving; whose works the latter said had “a coloring almost unrivalled, and a liveliness of fancy and a quickness of conception, and a facility and grace of execution, that spread a magic charm over them.” The same indomitable spirit of energy and perseverance which has characterized all our countrymen is traced in the life of the Chevalier Falardeau. Originally a poor boy in Quebec, without means and very little education, he conceived a great passion for painting; and at the termination of his day's labor he would devote himself constantly and assiduously to the cultivation of the art, and soon evinced decided marks of ability. His cherished desire was to proceed to Europe, to study in the great schools on the Continent. His poverty for a long time prevented the consummation of his design; but at length, through hard scraping and with the assistance of some friends who perceived his growing talents, he succeeded in getting together sufficient to pay his passage across the Atlantic. He took up his residence in Italy, and by dint of severe study and practice, in course of time attained a high position in his profession, and has since had conferred upon him, by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the title which he bore. In addition to these, we possess five other painters, of considerable ability, in Kane, Bourassa, Plamondon, Hamel and Legaré.

In science we are especially proud of our Logan, Dawson, Genser, Billings and Bell, who occupy a place with the first men of the day, and who have rendered important services, which can never adequately be repaid by their fellow-countrymen of British America. In Literature Canada has produced a Grasset de Saint Sauveur, a Thomas Chandler Haliburton, a John Foster, Kirk, a John Richardson, a “Cousin May Carleton,” a Pierre Chauveau, Charles Sangster, the popular Canadian poet, a François Garneau, a Rosanna Leprohon, an Octave Cremazie, and a Louisa Murray. We have poets in Howe, Fiset, Ascher, Frechette, Vadeboncoeur, Lemay, Gray, Reeves, Vining, Katzmman and Jennings; novelists in Bourassa, DeBoucherville, and Lajoie; historians in Christie, Furland, Murdoch and Bibaud, and a long list of miscellaneous writers, such as Royal, Sewell, Taché, Casgrain, Scadding, DeGaspé, Lemoine, Hodgins, Marshall, Dessaulles, Harrison, DeBellefeuille, Perley, Griffin, Hart, Raymond, Soulard and many others. These, with Neilson, Howe, Morin, Young, Parent, McDougall, Cauchon, Pope and McCully, as journalists, present a galaxy

of native talent sufficient to speak for itself. Canada has been fortunate in the general class of public men (native and others) who from time to time guided the destinies of our great country. Many of them have evinced the possession of a very considerable share of those large intellectual qualities of reason and capacity which go to make up the statesman and the diplomatist *par excellence*. Indeed there are several of them who, if their lot had been cast in the English arena, would do credit to the House of Commons. In public spirit and enterprise, and in being equal to grapple with difficulties in times of great emergency, there are one or two of our statesmen who could stand in the same place with the leading men in the adjoining Republic or in Europe.

We have had in many of our politicians a race of "giants." If we recall the names of the Sewells, DeLotbinières, Stuarts, Papineaus, Nelsons, Robinsons, Youngs, DeBartzchs, Uniaches, Sullivans, Valliers, Baldwins, Doyles, Lafontaines, Archibalds, Hincks, Morins, and Johnsons of the past, what a grand and powerful class of men do we not bring before us? Of the present we can name a McDonald, a Blake and a Tupper, a Galt, a McKenzie and many more which have contributed to our country's greatness and splendor—these are the men who have helped to build up what in future years will be a great monarchical nation, vying in power and repute with the vast and growing republic across our borders.

17—Having dwelt at considerable length upon the character of the inhabitants of the Dominion, we may now turn to observe some of their accomplishments, achieved for their own country. And first of all, let us look at the educational system and scholastic advantages 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 schoolmaster 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 Uni-

ted States than those of any other British American province. However, the Legislature early took means to exclude the American schoolmaster. 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 500,000 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 100 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: £100 for the head master, £50 for the assistant master, and £30 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 schoolmaster 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 meantime abandoned. In the same year an orphan school had been opened near St. Catherines. 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, 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 \$24,000 for its support. Unfortunately, however, in 1820 the grant was reduced to \$10,000. 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, but little attention was given to the subject of education. However, in 1839, the sky brightened, and

250,000 acres of land were set apart as a permanent endowment of the grammar schools, and the government were authorized to appoint five trustees to manage each of them. The sum of \$800 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 1840-1," writes Dr. Hodgins, "Victoria College and Queen's College were incorporated as universities, and Congregational and United Presbyterian Theological colleges were established. In 1841-2 the Friends (Quakers), at the instance of John Joseph Gurney, of England (who contributed £500 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 \$200,000. 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 72d 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 1860 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.

18.—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

Educational facilities of the Province of Quebec.

been considerably improved. Rev. Father DeJeune, of whom we speak particularly further on, 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 "Grand 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 Recollet. 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, &c., 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 Père De Glapion, the ex-Superior of

the Jesuits, objected to the plan and the project failed.—*Dr. Hoagins*. 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 further 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 further 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 Catholics 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 churchwardens, 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: 1st, Authority to establish model schools; and 2d, permission to raise a school rate with the consent of the inhabitants. The objections urged against the bill were: 1st, That while the aggregate expenditure for education during the preceding seven years only amounted to \$600,000, yet this bill, by its unusually large appropriation (\$160,000 per annum), would have the effect of superseding rather than stimulating local effort; and 2d, 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 all further 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 \$200,000 a year for its maintenance. Dr. Meilleur, 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 Collège of Montreal; in 1811, the Collège of St. Hyacinthe; in 1824–25, the Collège of Ste. Thérèse de Blainville; in 1826, the Industrial Collège of Chambly; in 1827, the Collège of Ste. Anne la Pocatière; in 1827–28, McGill College; in 1828, La Providence Convent at Montreal; in 1832, the McDonald Deaf and Dumb

Asylum, 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 the 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, were 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 *L. C. 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.

19.—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

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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 also 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 opposition would prove to be merely a temporary outburst or petulance, confined to a small and not in any way potent class. The sequel showed that this view was quite correct. The year 1865 marks the commencement of a new era in the history of popular education in Nova Scotia; for in that year was enacted the law which, with some slight modifications, is still in force in that province, and which has completely revolutionized the country in an educational point of view. To Hon. Charles Tupper, C. B., at that time head of the Nova Scotian administration, is due the merit of having carried this important measure through the Provincial Legislature. The provision made by the new law for the support of schools was derivable from three sources. First,—the direct provincial grant voted annually by the Legislature. This grant commenced with one hundred and seventeen thousand dollars, besides six thousand six hundred dollars towards the support of country academies, and it has slowly increased until, in 1876, it amounted to one hundred and seventy-three thousand three hundred and ninety-six dollars and fifty-five cents. This provincial common-school grant has to be distributed between the several counties of the province according to the grand total number of days' attendance made by the pupils in the public common schools throughout the province. Secondly,—each county shall, for the support of common schools within its own borders, assess upon itself annually a sum which shall net thirty cents for every inhabitant of the county, according to the last preceding census, each school in the county being entitled to participate in this fund "according to the average number of pupils in attendance and the length of time in operation." Thirdly,—the rate-payers of the school sections themselves are required, at their annual meeting, to decide upon and to assess upon themselves the amount that shall be raised by the section to supplement the sums provided by the province and county; and also such further sums as may be requisite for the purchase, 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 acquirements. It is scarcely necessary to enter into any further detail of the provisions of this law, which is similar in its general character to those in operation in the other older provinces of the Dominion. It may here be observed, however,—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 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 ineluctable 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 71,059. 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 94,162. In 1861, the proportion of pupils attending school was, to the whole population of the province, as 1 in 7. In 1876, the proportion was as 1 in 4.1. 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 Mainé, 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 objects 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 Legislature. 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 it varying, but more respectful, distances. During the year 1876, there were engaged in the work of tuition, in these six colleges, 30 professors and two tutors, giving instruction to 211 regularly matriculated students, and to 129 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 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 Academies, \$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, they were, 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 bril-

liant. 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 \$5,250 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 £200 in consideration of his labors and expense in establishing the school.

20.—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 £20 for a male and £10 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 £160, was £120, and the whole amount granted by the Legislature for schools in 1836, was £12,000. 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 £180. In 1840 another act was passed raising the compensation to teachers; but in 1840, owing to the great depressions of the finances of the province, only £1,200 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 £18, £22, and £30, according to grade. Books and apparatuses were also provided, and a grant to a parish was raised to £260. In 1852 a new act was passed creating a superintendent of public instruction, as also county superintendants. 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

Educational institutions in the Province of New Brunswick.

there were 900 common 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 £100 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 894 common schools in operation in the province, attended by 40,405 pupils,—22,307 boys, and 18,098 girls. The provincial grant in aid of these schools is about \$90,000 per annum. The number of superior schools was 41, attended by 2,930 pupils, and the number of grammar schools, 14, attended by 881 pupils. The normal school has an attendance of about 75 students each term. King's College, at Fredericton, formerly known as the College of New Brunswick, has an annual income of about \$13,500, and an attendance of about seventy students annually. In 1836 the Baptists of the province established a seminary for higher education, in Fredericton, which receives an annual grant from the Legislature of \$1,000. 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 \$2,400, and from the Legislature of Nova Scotia \$1,000. 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 \$200,000.

21.—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 dispatch, 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 £328; in 1829 it was only £502; in 1832, £563; in 1839, £605; in 1841, including a grant to the Academy, it was £1,272; in 1845, £1,725; in 1850, £1,825; in 1854, after the passing of the Free Education Act, the grant was raised to the munificent sum of £9,038; in 1855, to £11,909, and in 1856, to £12,000. On the first distribution of the lands in the island, thirty acres were reserved in each township for a schoolmaster. 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 1836 the Legislature made further improvements in the school system, and provided for grammar schools instead of districts schools. It prescribed that grammar schoolmasters 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 requisite." 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 attended by	1,650
In 1841	121	4,356
In 1848	131	4,512

Education in Prince Edward Island.

Year.	Schools.	Pupils.
In 1852 there were in the island	133 attended by	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*	16,257

22.—British Columbia is the youngest province in the Dominion educationally, and yet she bids fair to excel in this particular. "The act 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 Jessop, 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 \$40,000 a year. Of this sum, \$8,346 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 \$40,000 grant. There were in British Columbia (and Vancouver Island) 26 school districts in 1873; in one-half of them only schools were reported, and these were attended by 573 boys and 455 girls—total 1,028. The school population reported is from 1,800 to 2,000. In 1843 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 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. In the year 1859 gold was first publicly known to exist in the valley of the Fraser River (British Columbia property) and in that year the occupation of Vancouver Island

* Including these are fifteen grammar schools with 905 pupils, and one normal school with 72 pupils.

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.

23.—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 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 of 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 \$6,000 to assist it in maintaining the schools. There are about 20 Protestant schools, attended by nearly 850 pupils, and

the same number of Roman Catholic schools attended by nearly 750 pupils.

24.—In connection with our remark on the educational institutions of the Dominion we may appropriately add

The newspaper press in the Dominion. a few words concerning the newspaper press, which may be regarded as one of

the most powerful educators in all countries.*

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 of the advancement and enlightenment of the respective peoples.

In the United States it is found in its perfect and 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 marvelous—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 title 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 such as 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,

25.—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

History of the newspaper press in the Dominion.

* Compiled from a sketch written by James V. Wright, Esq., of Montreal.

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 population 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 liter-

ature, 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 advocacy 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 who 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, brilliancy, 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 that 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 previously to the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1840: it is still vigorous. In the early day 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 his successors, it has never since lost. 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 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 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 Penny, 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 circu-

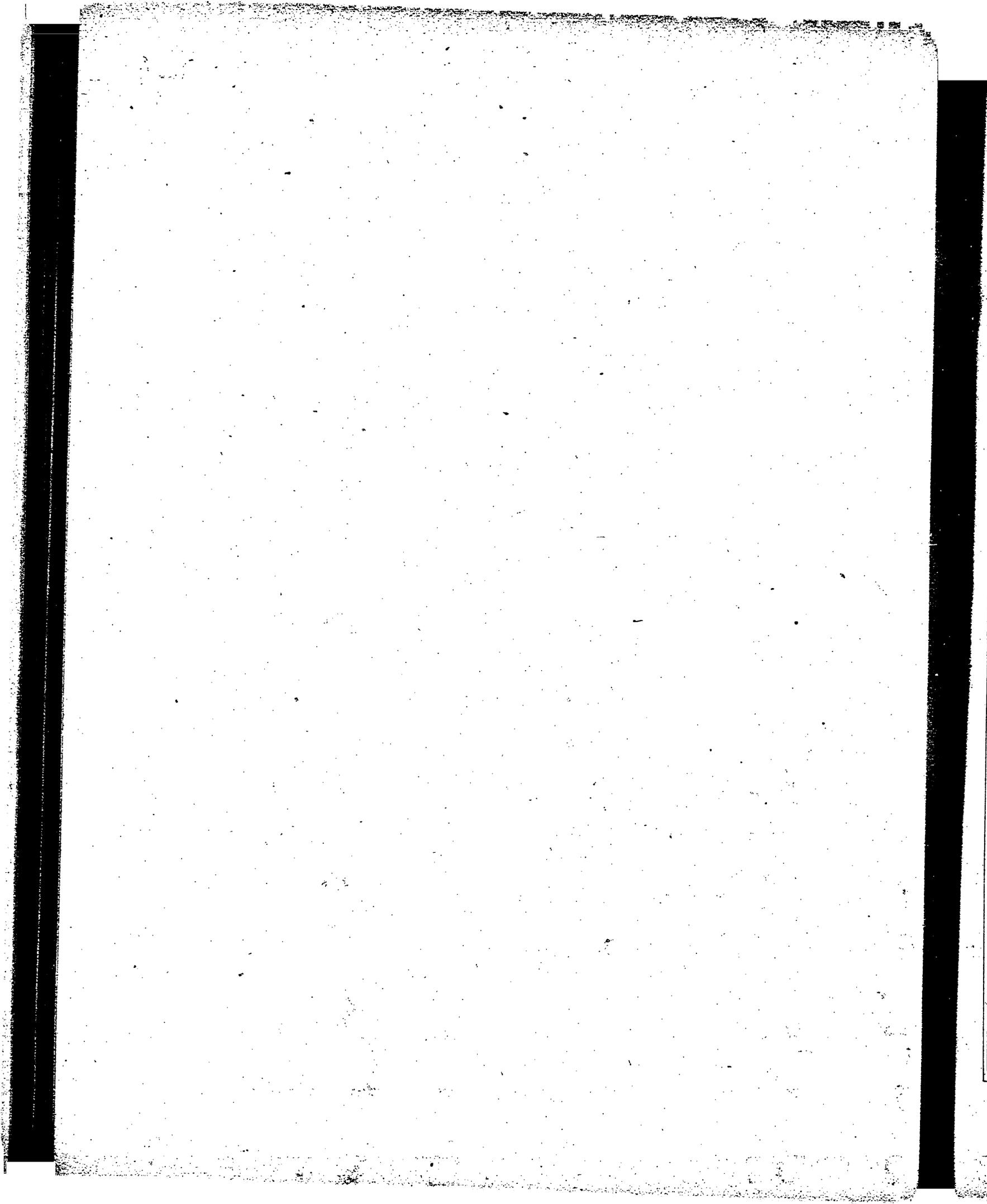
lation. The *Halifax Acadian Recorder*, founded in 1813, is the next oldest living journal. We might speak to almost endless length of papers founded at an early period, everywhere from Ontario to Newfoundland, but which ceased almost with their birth. Such recapitulation is unnecessary. We have seen 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.

Among other journals established but now forgotten, were the *Examiner*, *British Colonist*, *Canadian Review*, *Loyalist*, &c., 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*, founded each in 1820. The *Chronicle* is edited by a gentleman well known in political circles and a distinguished parliamentarian—the Hon. Charles Annand. The *Brockville Recorder* is the second oldest weekly paper in Ontario. It is edited now by Leaver and Southworth. (An evening edition of the *Recorder* is now in its third year.) The *St. Catharines 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. Dansereau 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 *Guardian*, after forty-seven years, still preserves its ancient vigor and

usefulness. The Woodstock (N.B.) *Carleton Sentinel* and Picton (Ont.) *Gazette*, were the next, in 1830, succeeded by the *Coburg (Ont.) Star* in 1831; the Yarmouth (N.S.) *Herald*, and the 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, &c., 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. for Carleton County (Ont.) previous to confederation. The *Toronto Globe* appears next, and stands first, and pre-eminently 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 after as a daily, it has gone on increasing in circulation and political power, until its name has become a synonym 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, fullness, 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 measure 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 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 in-

dependent 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 working-man. 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 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.



TUTTLE'S HISTORY

OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

1. ANTIQUITY OF AMERICA.—2. EUROPEANS INSTRUMENTAL OR INTERESTED IN THE EARLIEST DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.—3. NORSE LITERATURE AND ANTIQUITIES.—4. WHO WERE THE NORSEMEN?—5. DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF ICELAND.—6. DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF GREENLAND.—7. SHIPS OF THE NORSEMEN.—8. BJARNE BEHOLDS THE SHORES OF AMERICA.—9. DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY LEIF ERIKSON.

1.—Before the primeval waters rolled back from the plains of Europe, says the learned Louis Agassiz, the continents of America rose above the watery wastes that encircled the whole globe. Hence, by a single stroke, the great scholar changes, in the minds of his readers, the Old World to the New, and the New to the Old, establishing the transformation by indisputable evidence. But, alas, even Agassiz has been unable, with any certainty, to conjecture at what period America became the abode of man. Behind the curtain which falls on the close of the tenth century, its written history is scarce and unreliable. Traces of a civilization indicative of a high antiquity are visible in its mounds, monuments and inscriptions; but these refuse to utter the great truths which they represent, and defy the genius of even Chronas himself. They stand as the great unsolved problem of the age. Nor can all the learning of the schools divine their origin. The great scarcity of traditions has rendered the best results of able research nothing more than timid inferences that age after age, nations and

Antiquity of America.

tribes have continued to rise into greatness, and then fall and decline, and that barbarism and a rude culture have held alternate sway. But in another place we shall speak at greater length on the subject of prehistoric civilization.

2.—The subject to which the reader's attention is now invited, the discovery of America, is of surpassing interest, not only to Americans, but to every nation of Europe. It introduces us at once to the bold Norsemen, who dwell among the snow-capped hills of old Norway, and who were the first pale-faced men who planted their feet on the soil of America. We shall also meet the Germans, as it will be shown in the course of this narrative that a German, who accompanied the Norsemen on their first expedition to America, is identified with the first name of the United States; and it has been authoritatively declared that a German, through his writings about the Norsemen, was the means of bringing valuable information about America to Columbus. The Welsh, also, have an interest in this subject, for it has been held, and supported by good reasoning, that the Welshmen, under the leadership of Madoc, made a settlement in America about the year 1170; hence it will be seen, that although they were one hundred and seventy years later than the Norsemen in reaching the New World, they were, nevertheless, about three hundred and twenty-two years ahead of Columbus. Nor is our theme without a vein of interest to Irishmen, for in the year 1029 a Norse navigator, named Gudleif Gudlaugson, made a voyage to Dublin, and on leaving Ireland he intended to sail to Iceland, but he encountered adverse winds and was driven far to the south and west. It was already late in the summer, and the navigator,

Peoples instrument-
al in the discovery
of America.

laying the foundation of the Russian Empire, "Swinging their two-edged battle-axes in the streets of Constantinople, where they served as the leaders of the Greek Emperor's body-guard, and the main support of his tottering throne." It was the old Norse Vikings who sailed up the Rhine, the Scheldt, the Seine and Loire, conquering Cologne and Aachen, where they turned the Emperor's palace into a stable, sending terror and dismay into the heart of the great Charlemagne. The rulers of England are descendants of the Norsemen. Ganger Rolf, the Rollo of English history, invaded France in the year 912, and possessed Normandy, and in 1066, at the battle of Hastings, William the Conqueror, a great-grandson of Ganger Rolf, conquered England, in which even the glory of England took its origin. It is also true that the most stubborn opposition which confronted William the Conqueror, was from colonists of his own race who had settled in Northumbria.

5.—But the enterprising voyages of the bold Norsemen were by no means confined to Europe. In the year 860 they discovered and possessed Iceland, and soon after established on this island a Republic which flourished about four hundred years. Large numbers of the Norsemen emigrated to this island from a cause which represents their independent spirit. Harald Haarfager had sworn that he would make himself the ruler of all Norway. This bold attempt had its origin in the demands of the fair and proud Ragna Adilsdatter, whom he loved and courted. He demanded her hand, but she declared the man she married would be the King of all Norway. The conditions were accepted, with a pledge that he would neither cut nor comb his hair until he had subjugated the country. The bold Harald fought for twelve years, and finally, in 872, at the battle of Hafsfjord, the thirty-one small Republics of Norway were merged into one kingdom. The bold conqueror had subdued or slain his opponents, and caused a law to be passed abolishing all freehold tenure of property usurping it for the crown. This right was returned to the people by King Hakon, the Good, less than a century after. To this tyranny the proud Norsemen would not submit. Refusing to yield themselves up as mere subjects, they resolved to leave the homes which had thus been, in part, wrested from them, and set out with

their families for a new dwelling place. Some went to the Hebrides, others to the Orkney Isles, some to the Shetland and Faroe Isles; many went as vikings to England, Scotland and France, but the greater number went to the more distant shores of Iceland, where a greater share of security from oppression seemed to offer itself. Iceland had been discovered by the celebrated Norse viking, Naddodd, in 860, and by him named Snowland; four years later it was re-discovered by Gardar, of Swedish extraction, after whom it was called "Gardar's Holm." It was again visited by two Norsemen, Ingolfr and Leif, in 870, by whom it was called Iceland. This emigration from Norway to Iceland began in 874, more than a thousand years ago, and it was not long before the island contained a population of 50,000, and this little, cold, out-of-the-way island is, as we shall see, the hinge upon which the door swings which opened America to Europe.

This island had been visited by Pythias, 340 years before Christ; and according to the Irish monk Dicuilus, who wrote a geography in the year 825, it had been visited by some Irish priests in the year 755. It was the settlement of Iceland by the Norsemen, and the constant voyages between this island and Norway, that led to the discovery, first of Greenland and then of America.

6.—But the Norsemen did not confine themselves to Iceland, but, actuated by an adventurous spirit, they soon poured westward to Greenland, which they peopled in spite of its wretched climate. It has been well said that the discovery of Greenland was a legitimate consequence of the settlement of Iceland, just as the discovery of America was a legitimate result of the settlement of Greenland. Between the western limits of Iceland and the eastern borders of Greenland there is a distance of only about forty-five miles. From this it will readily be seen how some of the ships that sailed from Norway to Iceland, could, in case of a violent east wind, scarcely avoid approaching the coasts of Greenland sufficiently to catch a glimpse of its rugged shores. It is said that Gunnbjorn saw land lying in the ocean west of Iceland when, in the year 876, he was driven in that direction by a storm. Similar reports were sounded from time to time, until about a century afterwards a certain man, named Erik the Red, had fled from Norway, on account of manslaughter, and had settled in the western part of Iceland. Here he was also outlawed by the public assembly for the same

crime and condemned to banishment. He therefore fitted out his ship and set out in search of this land which had been seen in the west. This was in 984. He found the land as expected, gave it the name of Greenland, and returned to Iceland after an absence of two years. He gave it its name in the hope that by this means he might attract settlers, which seems to have had the desired result, for many Icelanders and Norsemen emigrated to Greenland, and a flourishing colony was established, with Gardar as the chief capital. In 1261 this colony became subject to the crown of Norway, with which it maintained a relation of dependence for four hundred years.

7.—We may divert, for a moment, with profit, to notice the early facilities for Norse navigation.

Ships of the Norsemen. These bold voyagers must have been able to build substantial crafts, as well as known how to navigate them, in order to overcome the dangers of the Atlantic. But we find that they had good sea-going vessels, some of which were of large size. In Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, we have an account of one that was, in many respects, remarkable. That part of the keel which rested on the ground was 140 feet long, and none but the choicest materials were used in its construction. It contained thirty-four rowing benches, and its stem and stern were overlaid with gold. "Their vessels," says a reliable authority, "would compare favorably with those of other nations, which have been used in later times in expeditions round the world, and were in every way adapted for an ocean voyage." It is quite certain that these ships were as well fitted to cross the Atlantic as those which Columbus used, four centuries after. From the Sagas we learn also, that the Norsemen were fully alive to the study of navigation. They knew how to calculate the course of the sun and moon, and how to measure time by the stars; in short, they must have had a high degree of nautical knowledge, to have executed their voyages to England, France, Spain, Sicily, Greece, Iceland and Greenland.

8.—Let us now glance at the chain, link after link, in the discovery of America by the Norsemen.

Bjarne beholds the shore of America, A. D. 986. In the year 986, the same year that the Red moved from Iceland to Greenland. He was accompanied by numerous friends, among whom was an Icelander, named

Herjulf. The latter had a son named Bjarne, a man of considerable enterprise, the owner of a merchant ship, and a considerable 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.

9.—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 Discovery of America by Lief Erikson, A. D. 1000. description which he was enabled to give seemed to arouse the mind of Lief Erikson, who determined to make further 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 a 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.

An incident occurred which caused Lief Erikson to name the country Vinland, which shows that a German was in the company of explorers. His name was Tyrker. He was a prisoner of war, but had become Lief's special favorite. One day after the main party returned from an exploring expedition, Tyrker was missing and the Norsemen became very anxious lest he might be killed by the Indians or wild beasts. Erikson set out in person, with a few men to search for him. Towards evening he was met on his way to camp in a very excited state of mind. He came running, holding up in each hand a large quantity of fruit, and shouting at the top of his voice, "Weintrauben! Weintrauben!!" The sight and taste of this fruit to which he had been accustomed in his own native Germany, had excited him to such an extent that he seemed to forget for the time his position. For a long while he would do nothing but laugh, devour grapes and talk German, which language the Norsemen could not understand, at last he spoke Norse, that he, to his great joy had found vines and grapes in great abundance. From this circumstance, America was called Vinland, and history received the important fact that a German was in the party.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

1. THORWALD ERIKSON'S DISCOVERIES.—2. UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF THORSTEIN ERIKSON.—3. EXPEDITION OF THORFINN AND GUDRID.—4. DESCRIPTION OF THE EXPEDITION.—5. OTHER EXPEDITIONS BY THE NORSEMEN.—6. CONNECTING LINKS BETWEEN THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORSEMEN AND BY COLUMBUS.

1.—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 expedi-

Thorwald Erikson's discoveries in America, A. D. 1002.

tion 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:

"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 following is one of the stanzas:

"Three weeks we westward bore,
And when the storm was o'er
Cloudlike we saw the shore
Stretching to leeward;
There for my lady's bower
Built I the lofty tower,
Which to this very hour
Stands looking seaward."

The tower referred to in the above is the famous Newport tower, in Rhode Island, which was undoubtedly built by the Norsemen. This celebrated poem closes with these two stanzas:

"Still grew my bosom then
Still as a stagnant fen,
Hateful to me were men
The sunlight hateful!
In the vast forest here,
Clad in my warlike gear,
Fell I upon my spear,
Oh, death was grateful!

"Thus seamed with many scars,
Bursting these prison bars,
Up to its native stars
My soul ascended,
There from the flowing bowl
Deep drinks the warrior's soul:
Skool to the Northland. Skool!
Thus the tale ended."

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.

2.—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.

3.—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

Unsuccessful expedition of Thorstein Erikson, A. D. 1005.

Expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne A. D. 1007.

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."

4.—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. Karlsefne 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.

5.—The Sagas give elaborate accounts of other expeditions by the Norsemen to Vinland. There is one by Freydis, in 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 Ireland (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

Description of Thorfinn and Gudrid's expedition.

Other expeditions by the Norsemen.

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.

6.—We may now trace the chain of circumstances which connect 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 trans-Atlantic 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 Norse-

men. 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.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

1. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND HIS PLAN OF DISCOVERY.—2. FIRST VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS.—3. COLUMBUS DISCOVERS SAN SALVADOR.—4. THE LANDING ON SAN SALVADOR.—5. COLUMBUS DISCOVERS CUBA, HAYTI, ETC.

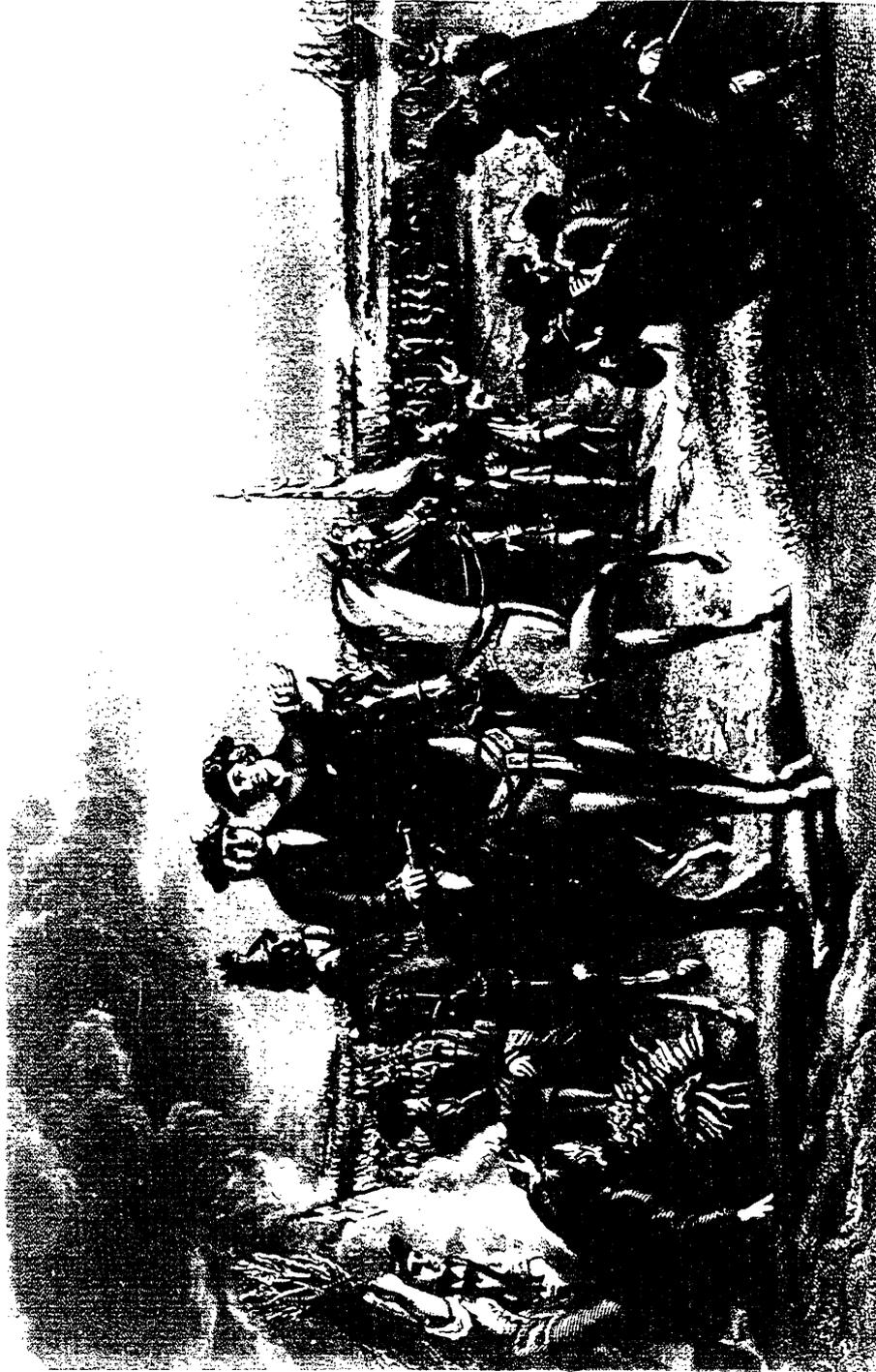
1.—Christopher Columbus, whose discoveries were the immediate cause of directing the attention of the great powers of Europe to the Western world, was born in ^{Christopher Columbus and his plan of discovery.} Genoa, a seaport town in Northern Italy, about A.D. 1441. He early located in Lisbon, where he devoted himself to making maps, globes, and the study of the higher branches of geography and navigation. He is said to have been the first to adopt rules for the calculation of latitude and longitude at sea, in attesting the accuracy of which, he made several voyages along the coast of Africa, thereby becoming acquainted with the Atlantic

Ocean. The progress of geographical knowledge was now exciting great curiosity in the minds of the learned men of Europe. Already it had been well ascertained that a vast ocean lay to the east of Asia. A knowledge of the wonderful discoveries by the Norsemen, far to the West, reached the minds of at least a few of the most noted Portuguese navigators, among whom Columbus was pursuing his studies. Surprised and delighted with the news, the bold man, in 1477, made a voyage to Iceland, where he gained valuable information concerning Vinland. Soon after he was possessed with a project of discovery, the exact character of which is generally misunderstood, and will probably never be fully known. It is generally held that he conceived the idea of reaching India by a direct course to the West, basing his conclusions on a refutation of the Ptolemean system, then in universal credit, regarding the shape of the earth, and holding the Cosmographic theory. But as the light of historical knowledge sheds its rays upon this theory, it fades as do the stars before the coming of the morning sun. It is pretty clearly ascertained that Columbus expected to find land that was by no means identical with India, fully as soon as he did. Be this as it may, it is not our province to speculate on a theory that seems to have had a full definition only in the soul of the truly great navigator.

2.—Columbus imparted so much of his plan as seemed necessary under the circumstances, to John II., King of Portugal, praying, First voyage of discovery by Columbus, A.D. 1492. but in vain, for a few vessels to prosecute his contemplated enterprize. Having failed in this attempt he turned towards Spain, making a journey to Madrid, with his son, Diego, in 1484, where he laid before Ferdinand and Isabella proposals similar to those which John had bluntly rejected. They were disposed also to treat his plans with but little consideration, but the great man would not be overcome, and for eight years he pressed his case upon the attention of the conjoint monarchs, with constantly increasing enthusiasm. Who shall tell us the story of these indefatigable efforts? When the undaunted Columbus met the Spanish theologians in solemn deliberation, where, in vain, it was attempted to refute or establish his bold theories by Holy Writ. But while Columbus was pressing his cause in Spain, his brother was laying the same plan before

the contemporary rulers of England and France, with remarkable success. But Spain yielded to his arguments, and placed at his disposal a flotilla of three small vessels, called caravels, only one of which, the "Santa Maria," was decked. The seaport of Palos, situated on the south-west coast of Spain was selected as the place of embarkation. Here two brothers, named Pinzon, expended their fortunes in supplying the vessels for the voyage. Stores were procured sufficient to last the crew, which consisted of one hundred and twenty men, for one year. After many sore disappointments and vexatious delays, the little fleet was ready for sea, and on the 3rd of August, 1492, Columbus set sail on his first voyage to the Western World. He reached one of the Canary Islands on the 9th of the same month, where he remained, making repairs until the 6th of September, when he set sail, directing his course out over the vast Atlantic. The ships sped rapidly onward for several days, before the steady trade winds, and the anxious crew were soon far away from land. And now their breasts were filled with anxiety and alarm. The unvarying course of the wind, the great length of the voyage, and a dozen other occurrences became subjects of animated discussion by the alarmed voyagers. The demands upon Columbus by his crew to return became more imperative daily. At last they openly threatened to throw him into the sea, and take the management of the ships into their own hands. But in the midst of all these dangers Columbus was firm in his purpose to go forward. How eagerly the eyes of the great navigator scanned the Western horizon, but only the deceptive cloud-bank appeared to mock the weary watcher. The empty days and nights wore on, and Columbus was forced to conclude a treaty with his rebellious crew, stipulating that if land was not discovered within three days, he would abandon the voyage. At length the day arrived, and the great heart of Columbus beat with deep emotion.

3.—As the dove announced the appearance of land to the great navigator of Mosaic history, so was it the sight of land-birds that Columbus discovers San Salvador. first sent the waves of emotion coursing through the great soul of Columbus. These feathered messengers proclaimed his near approach to land by the silent eloquence of their inspiring presence. Then came the sight of



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

4.—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.

5. 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,

The landing on San Salvador.

Columbus discovers Cuba, Hayti, etc.

and obtaining all 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.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

1. DISCOVERIES BY AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.—2. VOYAGES BY THE CABOTS.—3. CARTEREAU'S VOYAGES.—4. VARIOUS OTHER VOYAGES.—5. VERAZZANI'S VOYAGES.—6. FIRST VOYAGE OF JACQUES CARTIER.—7. CARTIER'S SECOND VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.—8. CARTIER AT STADACONA.—9. CARTIER'S VOYAGE FROM QUEBEC TO HOCHELAGA.—10. CARTIER AT HOCHELAGA.—11. HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.

1. Americus Vespuccius, a distinguished Florentine navigator, followed Columbus in the work of Western discoveries, making four voyages to America. He claimed, in an elaborate work on his discoveries, to have been the first European who set foot upon the mainland in the western world. This was stealing Columbus's honors; but through his influence the Western world took his name, and began to be called America.

Discoveries by Americus Vespuccius.

2. The news of the great discoveries in the West now reached England, which was then only an inferior power. However, in 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian merchant residing at Bristol, being filled with a desire to visit America, obtained a commission

Voyages by the Cabots, A.D. 1497-8.

from Henry VII. for that purpose. Accordingly, in June, 1497, Cabot, with his son Sebastian, sailed from Bristol on a voyage of discovery. After a successful voyage he reached the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. He is said to have named the latter Prima Vista. On St. John's day he discovered Prince Edward Island, which he called St. John. In 1498, Sebastian Cabot made a second voyage to America, reaching Hudson's Bay, in an attempt to find a passage to China. Being frustrated in this design, he turned his course southward, and sailed as far as Florida, touching Newfoundland in his voyage.

3.—Gaspard Cartereal was sent out from Lisbon, in 1500, by the King of Portugal. He discovered Labrador and Greenland. He made a second voyage in 1501, but perished at sea. On his return from the first voyage he carried with him fifty Indians, which he sold as slaves. It is said that his brother Michael perished in 1502, in a voyage to rescue his brother.

4. 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.

5.—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.

The next voyage was one intended to reach the North Pole. It was conducted by Robert Thorne, of Bristol, under the patronage of Henry VIII. The expedition, consisting of two ships, left the Thames in May, 1527. In July they were overtaken by a violent hurricane, when one of the ships, the Sampson, was lost with all on board. The other encountered impenetrable fields of ice, and was compelled to turn her course southward.

6.—Nine years elapsed after the last expedition by Verazzani before the French took further

active steps to prosecute discoveries in America. Such was the sad effects of his supposed fate.

First voyage of Jacques Cartier, A.D. 1534.

However, in 1534, Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, urged the king, Francis I., to establish a colony in America. He pictured the successes of Spain and Portugal in the new world as a means of exciting the monarch's jealousy. The admiral also recommended Jacques Cartier, a distinguished navigator of St. Malo, as a suitable person to command the expedition. Accordingly, on the 20th of April, in the same year, Cartier left St. Malo with two ships, and in twenty days reached a cape on the coast of Newfoundland, to which he gave the name of Bona Vista. Passing through the Straits of Belle Isle, he reached the coast of New Brunswick, where on the 9th of July he entered a bay, which on account of the intense heat which he experienced, he named "Baie des Chaleurs." On the 24th of July he passed to the North out of the bay, and rounding the headland of Gaspé, he landed and took possession of the country in the name of the King of France. He erected a cross thirty feet high, on which he placed a shield bearing the fleur de lis, and an inscription emblematic of the sovereignty of France in America.

7.—On his return to France, Cartier took with him two Indians, from whom he gained considerable information concerning the river St. Lawrence. The navigator felt anxious to explore so noble a river as the natives described it to be, and in the following year, May 19th, 1535, he again left St. Malo, commanding three ships. After a tempestuous voyage he arrived at Newfoundland on the 7th of July. He then proceeded to explore the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he had visited the year before. On the 10th of August he entered a bay, at the mouth of a river now called St. John, to which he gave the name of St. Lawrence, from having entered it on the festival of that saint, a usual custom. This name has since been applied to the gulf and river which Cartier was the first to discover and explore. On the 15th he reached Anticosti, and on the first of September he passed the mouth of the Saguenay, reaching the Isle of Orleans on the 7th. Cartier found this island covered with wild grapes, and named it Bacchus. Here he sent his two Gaspé Indians ashore to ne-

Cartier's second voyage and discovery of the St. Lawrence.

Cartereal's voyages in A.D. 1501-2.

Various voyages from A.D. 1506 to 1518.

Verazzani's voyages, A.D. 1521-5.

gotiate a favorable reception among the savages of that region. On the following day he was kindly received by Donacona, an Algonquin chief.

8.—He proceeded a short distance up the St. Lawrence, and established his vessels for the winter in a basin formed by the junction of the St. Charles with the St. Lawrence. Here stood the Indian village of Stadacona, to which Cartier had been made welcome by the chief already mentioned. Cartier admired the scenery of the country, and was greatly struck with the majestic appearance of the bold cape or headland which rose quite perpendicularly along the northern bank of the grand river, to which, at its narrowest point, the Indians had given the name of Képec, or Quebec.

9.—After thoroughly refreshing and resting his men, Cartier, having heard of a large Indian village, or Kannata, located some seven days' journey up the river, he resolved to visit it. With a view of impressing the Indians with the power of the Europeans, he caused, before starting, several of his cannon to be discharged. This performance filled the savages with awe and astonishment. As the thunders of the artillery rang out over the water, the wondering natives shrank with alarm. Taking one of his ships, and two boats, Cartier set out on the 19th of September. He frequently met small parties of the natives, who greeted him kindly. "Bold, and loving adventure for its own sake, and at the same time strongly imbued with religious enthusiasm, Cartier watched the shifting landscape hour after hour, as he ascended the river, with feelings of the deepest gratification, which were heightened by the reflection that he was the pioneer of civilization and Christianity in that unknown clime. Nature presented itself in all its primitive grandeur to his view. The noble river, on whose broad bosom he floated onward day after day, disturbing vast flocks of water-fowl; the primeval forests of the North, which here and there presented, amid the luxuriance of their foliage, the parasitical vine, loaded with ripe clusters of luscious grapes, and from whence the strange notes of the whippoorwill, and other birds of varied tone and plumage, such as he had never before seen, were heard at intervals; the bright sunshine of a Canadian autumn, the unclouded moonlight of its calm and peaceful nights, with

Cartier at Stadacona, A.D. 1535.

Cartier's voyage from Quebec to Hochelaga, Sept., A.D. 1535.

the other accessories of the occasion, made a sublime and profound impression upon the mind of the adventurer."—*MacMullen*. On the second of October he reached Hochelaga, an Indian village situated on a large and fertile Island near the site of the present city of Montreal.

10.—The adventurer was kindly received at Hochelaga, by over one thousand Indians; supplies of fish and maize were received from the natives in exchange for knives and beads. However, Cartier and his followers thought it prudent to remain on board their ships during the night, but on the following morning, dressed in full uniform, the Frenchmen made a ceremonial visit to the inhabitants of the town. Agohana, an aged and feeble chief of the Hurons, regarded Cartier as a superior being, and implored him to renew his youth, and to heal the sick of the village. Indeed, many of the sick were brought to the discoverer, over whom he appropriately read portions of St. John's gospel, and prayed making at the same time the sign of the cross. This village, Cartier informs us, was wisely laid out and strongly fortified. Patches of corn were located near the town. The town itself consisted of some fifty wooden dwellings, each fifty paces long, and from twelve to fifteen broad. The houses were roofed with strips of bark sewn together, and the whole village was surrounded by a stout palisade. "There existed in several places, toward the upper end of this enclosure, raised passageways, with ladders placed for ascending; and heaps of stones lay near by, to serve for defensive missiles. In the centre of the village was a large area, or public square. Thither were Cartier and his followers conducted at first. The accustomed salutations, native and French, being concluded, the Indian women laid mats upon the grass for the strangers to sit upon. Forthwith there appeared the *agouhanna*, borne by twelve men, who seated him in a bearskin they spread for him upon the ground. This personage was about fifty years of age, and decrepit in every limb. A cap of red fur encircled his temples. After saluting his visitors, he made signs to express his pleasure on seeing them all; and, as an ailing man, held up his legs and reached out his arms toward Cartier, as if he desired him to touch them. This the latter at once did, rubbing the shrunken members with both hands. Thereupon the grateful

Cartier at Hochelaga, Oct., A.D. 1535.

patient took his head-tire and presented it to Cartier; at the same time a number of persons lame or infirm pressed around the latter, seeking to be touched; believing, doubtless, that he was a being of rare endowments."—*Garneau*.

11.—After the ceremonies of Cartier's reception were over, he repaired to the lofty hill, near the village, with a deputation of the natives, and from its commanding summit he took a view of the grand prospect around him. From the Indians he learned that the St. Lawrence was a three months' journey long, and that its course lay through several vast inland seas; and that beyond these there was still another mighty river flowing to the south. Cartier called the place Mount Royal, and early in October, returned to Quebec, or to the site where Quebec was afterwards founded. The Indians expressed their regret at the shortness of his visit, accompanied him to his boats, and followed them some distance on the bank of the river, making their curious signs of farewell. But the natives were not all so friendly. One night while Cartier and his company were in their tents on the bank of the river, they narrowly escaped all being massacred. The commander himself only escaped by a hurried retreat to his boats. Fearing hostilities he made a strong enclosure near his ships at Stadacona, and placed cannon in position to defend it. Here the Frenchmen spent the winter of 1535-6, where they were treated with great kindness by the natives. The winter was intensely cold, and the crews suffered indescribably. December had not passed when the scurvy, in a violent degree, began its ravages among the sailors. Very soon every man in the three ships was attacked with the disease, which, in conjunction with a disorder contracted by a licentious intercourse with the natives, carried off twenty-five of their number before spring arrived. Too weak to open graves for their comrades, the survivors, only able to crawl, deposited the dead bodies under the snow. It is probable that nearly all the men would have fallen victims to this terrible disease had not the Indians prepared the medicine from the bark of the spruce-fir which restored them. When the long winter had ended, and the ice had disappeared from the river, Cartier prepared to return home. On the third of May he erected a cross with the arms of France upon it, in token of having taken

Cartier winters in
Canada, A.D.
1535-6, and re-
turns to France.

possession of the country in behalf 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 8th of July, 1536. The Indians thus taken to Europe against their inclinations all died soon after reaching France.

CHAPTER V.

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE DOMINION.

1. EXPEDITION OF CARTIER AND ROBERVAL.—2. TEMPORARY ABANDONMENT OF CANADA.—3. LA ROCHE'S PREPARATION FOR AN EXPEDITION.—4. LA ROCHE'S ROYAL COMMISSION.—5. FAILURE OF LA ROCHE'S EXPEDITION.—6. FRENCH CONVICTS ON SABLE ISLAND.

1.—Cartier on his return to France found his country engaged in war, hence but little attention was paid to his projects for the colonization of Canada until 1540. In the latter year an expedition was organized under the direction of the Sieur de Roberval, a rich nobleman of Picardy. As a remuneration for bearing the expenses of the expedition, and effecting a permanent settlement in the new country, Roberval was created a lieutenant-general, and appointed viceroy of all the territories claimed by the French in America. Cartier was named second in command. Roberval having been detained, he placed Cartier in command of the expedition, consisting of five ships, who sailed in May, 1541. Reaching the St. Lawrence, he cast anchor in the neighborhood of Stadacona. Here some of the colonists landed and began clearing spots of land for a settlement. They were kindly received by the Indians, who expected that he had brought back their chief, Donacona, and the other chiefs and warriors whom the French had taken away. On hearing of the death of these, they refused to hold any further intercourse with the colonists, and strongly remonstrated against their making any settlement in the country. Cartier, fearing the hostilities of the Indians, on account of his treachery to their chief, removed up the river to

Expeditions of
Cartier and Rob-
erval, A.D.
1541-53.

Cape Rouge. Here a little settlement was effected, fortified by two forts or stockades, which was named Charlesbourg Royal. Placing Beaupré in command, the explorer sailed up the river to Hochelaga and made an attempt to pass the Sault St. Louis—Lachine Rapids—but being thwarted in his endeavor he returned to Cape Rouge where he spent the winter. In the following year, 1542, the Indians were still more hostile and Cartier returned to France. At Newfoundland, he was met by Roberval, who originally designed accompanying the expedition. The viceroy ordered Cartier to return to Canada, which the latter avoided by weighing anchor in the night, and continuing his voyage. Soon after arriving in France he died. Roberval continued his voyage to the place where Cartier had spent the winter of 1542-3, and in the following summer he explored the country of the Saguenay, and is said to have failed in attempting to conduct an expedition to the west. After suffering many hardships he returned to France in the autumn of this year.

We are somewhat unable to properly authenticate all the statements in the above paragraph, yet they coincide with the best authorities. MacMullen, whose compilation is careful in its selection of facts, gives a somewhat different account of these voyages. He says that the Indians, on learning that their brethren were not returned, were very hostile, and that Cartier, finding his position at Stadacona becoming more and more unpleasant, moved higher up the river to Cape Rouge, where he laid up three of his vessels, and sent the other two back to France, with letters to the King and Roberval, stating the success of his voyage and asking for supplies. His next proceeding was to erect a fort, which he called Charlesbourg. Here, after an unsuccessful attempt to navigate the rapids above Hochelaga, he passed a most uncomfortable winter. During the ensuing summer he occupied himself in examining the country in every direction, and in searching for gold, but of which he only procured a few trifling specimens in the beds of some dried rivulets. A few small diamonds were discovered in a headland near Stadacona, which was therefore called Cape Diamond, a name which it still retains. The promised supplies not having arrived, another severe winter completely disheartened Cartier, and he accordingly resolved to return home. Putting into the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, he encountered Roberval, who was now on his way to Canada, with a new company of adventurers and an abundance of stores and provisions. The viceroy endeavored to persuade Cartier to return with him but without effect. He and his companions were alike disheartened with the extreme cold and prolonged duration of a Canadian winter, and this circumstance in connection with the other hardships to which they had been exposed, caused them to long earnestly to return to their own sunny France. To avoid further importunity, a possible quarrel, and forcible detention, Cartier caused his sailors to weigh anchor during the night. After a tolerably quick passage he arrived safely in his native country, where he died shortly after his return, having like many others sacrificed health and fortune to a passion for discovery, and a desire to acquire gold. Roberval sailed up the St. Lawrence to Charlesbourg, which he strengthened by additional fortifications, and where he passed the ensuing winter. Leaving a garrison of thirty men behind, he returned in the following spring to France, where he was detained by his sovereign to assist in the war against Charles V. The Peace of Cressy eventually termi-

nated hostilities. Meanwhile Roberval had not forgotten Canada. In company with his brother Achille and a numerous train of adventurers, he again proceeded to this country with several ships. This fleet was never heard of after it put to sea, and was supposed to have foundered, to the regret of the people of France, who greatly admired the Brothers Roberval for the gallant manner in which they had borne themselves in the war. Their loss completely discouraged Henry II., now King of France, who made no further attempts to effect a settlement in Canada.

2.—During the next fifty years Canada was almost entirely abandoned. The French during this period attempted to establish colonies in Brazil and Florida, but without success. The partial failure of Roberval and the fury of a religious war in France, caused Canada to be in a measure forgotten, in the minds of the French rulers and noblemen; but this did not extend to the French people. "The Normans, the Basques, and the Bretons continued to fish for the cod, and join in pursuit of the whales which frequented the embouchure of the St. Lawrence and its neighboring waters; ever industriously plying these callings as if their native land enjoyed unbroken peace. Year by year, these hardy mariners widened the circle of their navigation. In 1578, a hundred and fifty French vessels repaired to Newfoundland alone. Another species of industry, almost as profitable as the deep-sea fishings, namely, a regular traffic in peltry with the natives of the surrounding or contiguous sea-board, was established during the same space of time. French traffickers in furs, &c., in their searches for sellers of these commodities, might be found widely spread over parts of the maritime regions of the continent, and along the banks of such of its rivers as fall into the ocean. They even ascended the St. Lawrence to places higher up than Quebec, and coasted the islands of the gulf and its environage. Noël and Châton, nephews and heirs of Cartier, were engaged in the peltry traffic, and were so successful in their dealings as to excite the jealousy of rival traders."—*Garneau*.

3.—Thus it became known that a profitable connection with Canada could be maintained. Henry the IV., had ascended to the throne, and France was once more tranquil. The way was now opened for new expeditions to America, and the attention of the French Government was turned to the task of founding a colony in the Western World. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had, in 1583, visited Newfoundland, and taken possession of the harbor and

La Roche's preparations for an expedition, A. D., 1589.

part of St. Johns, by an imposing ceremony, on behalf of the English. It was indeed time that France renewed her connection with America, and in 1598 the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, having obtained a commission from the French King, equipped a large expedition, which convicts were permitted to join, since it was quite impossible to obtain a sufficient number of volunteers, owing to the influence of previous disasters to expeditions.

4.—La Roche obtained a royal commission creating him Lieutenant-General of Canada, Acadia, and lands adjoining. He was also empowered to prevent the fishing and fur trade then carried on by the merchants of St. Malo, with these parts of America. He was authorized to impress, in every port of France, all ships, with all hands on board, needful for his expedition, and not only that, but having reached America, he was authorized to bring troops, to declare war or peace, to build towns, establish colonies, within the limits of his viceroyalty, to frame laws and execute them, to grant lands and to regulate commerce. Thus was he prepared to control for his own personal ends, and for the glory of his king, all the interests of this new country, but, alas! he was destined to exercise but a feeble play of these powers.

5.—The Marquis sailed for America in 1589, having on board about fifty French convicts. These he landed on Sable Island, until he should find a suitable place to found a colony. Immediately after La Roche encountered a violent storm, peculiar to that dangerous region, and was driven far to the eastward. Discouraged and dispirited he returned to France, leaving the unhappy convicts on the island. Owing to the failure of this expedition, and his efforts to furnish a second being overthrown at Court, La Roche became despondent, took sick, and died soon after his return to France.

6.—The miserable convicts left on Sable Island were completely forgotten for several years. Collecting some drift wood they erected a rude shelter before the severity of winter overtook them; but their clothes were soon worn out, and their provisions exhausted. They covered their nakedness as best they could with the skins of the sea wolf, and subsisted upon the scanty supplies of fish which they were enabled to obtain. Famine and cold

La Roche's Royal commission.

Failure of La Roche's expedition.

French convicts on Sable Island, A.D. 1598.

gradually reduced their number to twelve. After a residence on the island for twelve years the survivors were found in a most wretched condition, by a vessel sent out by the Parliament of Rouen, to rescue them. On their return to France the King pardoned their crimes in consideration of the hardships which they had endured.

Mr. Duncan Campbell, in his work, gives us this brief sketch of Sable Island: It is shaped like a bow, is about twenty-six miles long, and no where much over a mile wide, having in its centre a shallow lake about thirteen miles in length. Its surface consists entirely of sand, which has been formed into hills and ridges by force of wind and wave, and which in summer are partially covered with verdure. Along the beach may be seen fragments of vessels, half buried in the sand, which tell of death to many a hardy mariner. There are no trees on the island, the vegetation consisting mainly of long rank grass. The beach, being exposed on all sides to the billows of the Atlantic, presents a scene of almost uninterrupted commotion. When a storm is approaching, the billows, even in the absence of wind, rise high and break with a peculiar moan on the beach. At night, when the elements are fast mustering for strife, the ocean seems in a blaze of phosphoretic light, and when the wind blows more violently, increasing every moment, the waves take a wider sweep, and crested with foam, partially driven in spray before the blast, crash on the beach with terrific force.

CHAPTER VI.

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE DOMINION.

1. EARLY FRENCH TRADERS IN AMERICA.—2. VOYAGES AND OBSERVATIONS OF DUPONT GRAVE, A.D. 1603.—3. EARLY PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN COLONIES IN AMERICA.—4. DE MONTS RECEIVES ROYAL COMMISSION TO VISIT AND TRADE IN AMERICA.—5. NOBLEMEN ACCOMPANIED EARLY FRENCH EXPEDITIONS.—6. DE MONTS' EXPEDITION TO NOVA SCOTIA, A.D. 1604.—7. THE EXPEDITION IN ANNAPOLIS BASIN.—8. DE MONTS AT ST. CROIX.—9. DUPONT GRAVE, AT PORT ROYAL.—10. POUTRINCOURT AND LESCARBOT AT PORT ROYAL.

1.—But while the Government of France was prosecuting discoveries and endeavoring to plant colonies in America, the French ^{Early French traders in America.} merchants were also full of zeal in conducting the fishing and fur trade in Canada, which afforded them large profits. Not only did French fishermen coast along the shores of Newfoundland, but, supported by his King, Dupont Gravé, a wealthy merchant of St. Malo, and

Chauvin, a distinguished navigator of Rouen, made several voyages to Tadousac, procuring valuable cargoes of furs. It is authoritatively stated that a stone storehouse was erected there, which was the first ever erected in Canada. The fur trade at this point was very profitable for some time. At length De Chaste, Governor of Dieppe, formed an extensive company of merchants of Rouen and other places, by whom the fur trade was enlarged and conducted with still greater profits.

2.—For the purpose of conducting an expedition to Canada De Chaste, in 1603, secured the services of Samuel Champlain, who had just returned to France, from a voyage to the West Indies, and to whom the founding of the first permanent settlement in Canada was entrusted. This adventurer already held a captaincy in the French navy, and had distinguished himself in the service. Accompanied by Dupont Gravé who had been associated with Chauvin, Champlain set sail, with three small barks, in the same year. Reaching the St. Lawrence, he stopped for a short time at Three Rivers, to examine its fitness for a trading port, and then pushed forward to Hochelaga, which he found deserted, except by a few scattering Algonquins. With some of these Indians as guides, he attempted to pass the Lachine Rapids in boats, but found the current much too strong. From the Indians he obtained considerable information, regarding the country to the West, and by their aid made rude maps on pieces of bark, descriptive of the St. Lawrence valley above the rapids. After taking observations of the country from the top of Mount Royal, Champlain and Dupont Gravé returned to France.

3.—More than one hundred years had now elapsed, since Columbus discovered America, yet in no part of the present Dominion of Canada had any permanent settlement been effected. But this cannot be said of other portions of America. Cortez in 1519 landed in Mexico, and before two years had passed away, that vast country was brought under the King of Spain. In short, Spain and Portugal had already divided much of the Southern portion of North America between them, under Papal approval; England had established settlements in Florida; Holland had founded the New Netherlands, afterwards called New York. In short, all

Voyage and observations of Champlain and Dupont Gravé, A. D. 1603.

Early progress of European colonies in America.

the nations around France seemed to be gaining greater headway in America than the French themselves. This was partly due to the wars with which that nation had been harassed, and mainly to the fact that most of the French expeditions, sent to this country, absorbed their energies for personal aggrandizement. There was either too much religion or too much fur in the earlier French attempts at American Colonization, for great success; and, indeed, these aspects run through the whole history of New France, without ever becoming fully reconciled to each other, or to the common weal.

4.—The Sieur de Monts, Governor of Paris, is the next French explorer who conducted an expedition to America, to whom King Henry accorded a monopoly of the fur trade, in all parts of North America, lying between Cape de Raze, in Newfoundland, and the 50th degree of North latitude. He further decreed that all French Protestants were to enjoy in America, as they then did in France, full freedom for their public worship, while the charge of converting the Indians was reserved exclusively for Catholics. De Monts was a man of more than ordinary ability, distinguished for his intense loyalty. As the successor of De Chaste at the head of the fur traffic, he seemed equal to his laborious task. He increased and fully revived the association or fur company, by inducing some of the principal merchants of Rochelle, and other cities to come forward with their means. Four ships were manned and provisioned; two of these were designed for the fur trade at Tadousac, whence they were to search the entry coast, and seize all vessels found encroaching upon the monopoly, in violation of the royal commission; the two other vessels were assigned to the work of bearing the colonists to suitable places, for establishing settlements. There were in these vessels, not only skilful artisans, but gentlemen of position as well as soldiers.

5.—It should be observed that frequently young men of distinguished families accompanied these expeditions. Such were to be found in all the voyages of Cartier and Roberval. "The restless and adventurous spirit which had largely manifested itself among French scions of nobility in the middle ages, during which time it originated warlike ex-

De Monts receives Royal commission to visit and trade in America.

Noblemen accompanied early French expeditions.

plotts in battle fields extending from the foggy coasts of England to the arid rocks about the river Jordan,—the adventurous spirit, we say, of the young nobles of olden France in the time, of the crusades seemed to revive in such of their successors as sought, in America, a new and wider field for its exercise. But there were other influences at work, in some cases, which impelled men of the gentle blood to self-expatriation at this time. Numbers of nobles and gentry had been ruined during recent civil wars in France or by the vicissitudes of the time; while other nobles again, whose fortunes remained to them, desired to profit by the chance now presented, of escaping from the heavy pressure now laid upon their exorbitant caste, through a constant increase of the royal power, for the abridgment of its privileges and suppression of its disorders. To the latter class we may assign baron Jean de Poutrincourt, who embarked with Champlain, intending to settle in America with his family.”—*Garneau*.

6.—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. After crossing the Atlantic De Monts entered the harbor of Liverpool, Nova Scotia, where he found one Rossignol engaged in the fur traffic. In virtue of his royal authority De Monts confiscated the vessel, calling the port by the name of his unhappy victim. Proceeding southward, the explorers entered the bay of St. Mary. At this point a large number of the colonists landed and began to make observations of the country. Among them was a priest named Aubry, who, having separated from his friends, was lost, but after wandering for seventeen days and subsisting on wild fruit, he was rescued. Re-embarking, De Monts sailed up the Bay of Fundy, and entered the Strait of Digby.

De Monts' expedition to Nova Scotia, A. D. 1604.

7.—Passing through this Strait into Annapolis Basin, the voyagers were charmed with the magnificent scenery on either hand. “We can imagine the day one of unclouded splendor, the heat of summer being tempered by the cooling sea breeze. Fleecy clouds may have occasionally floated across the sun's disc, causing a temporary shadow on wind and water. Alternate glimpses of shade and sunshine producing by contrast a pleasing variety in the variegated colors of the primeval forest. Or we can fancy the vessel wafted in the evening through the Strait by a gentle breeze, and when fairly within the basin, the wind to have died away, leaving the sails hanging loosely and the surface of the water resplendent in the distance, with the reflected rays of the declining sun. Towards the east, islands repose on the bosom of the deep, their forms being vividly mirrored on its placid surface, and from which canoes may have been seen darting towards the mainland, with their paddles fitfully flashing in the sunlight. * * In silent admiration the voyagers gaze on the enchanting picture, and particularly Poutrincourt, on whom the impression is such that he resolves to make the place his home.”—*Campbell*. Poutrincourt made an extensive examination of the land in the neighborhood, and being convinced of its good quality he resolved to make a settlement, and obtained a grant from De Monts for that purpose. This grant afterwards received royal confirmation.

The expedition in Annapolis Basin.

8.—De Monts, turning from Annapolis Basin, sailed in the direction of Horton, thence crossing the bay, he entered the river St. John. He ascended this river a considerable distance, being charmed with the scenery and delighted with the abundance of fish which swarmed its waters. Sailing to the southwest some twenty leagues, De Monts entered the Bay of Passamaquoddy, where he came upon an island which he called St. Croix, upon which he landed, and commenced the erection of a fort, preparatory to spending the winter, which he accomplished through great suffering from the intense cold, from the Indians, from the great scarcity of wood and water, and from the scurvy which carried off thirty-six of his men. The return of spring was hailed with joy by these sufferers, and De Monts, as soon as the ice had broken up, started in search of a more favorable location for a settlement. Being

De Monts at St. Croix, A.D. 1604.



JACQUES CARTIER.



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.



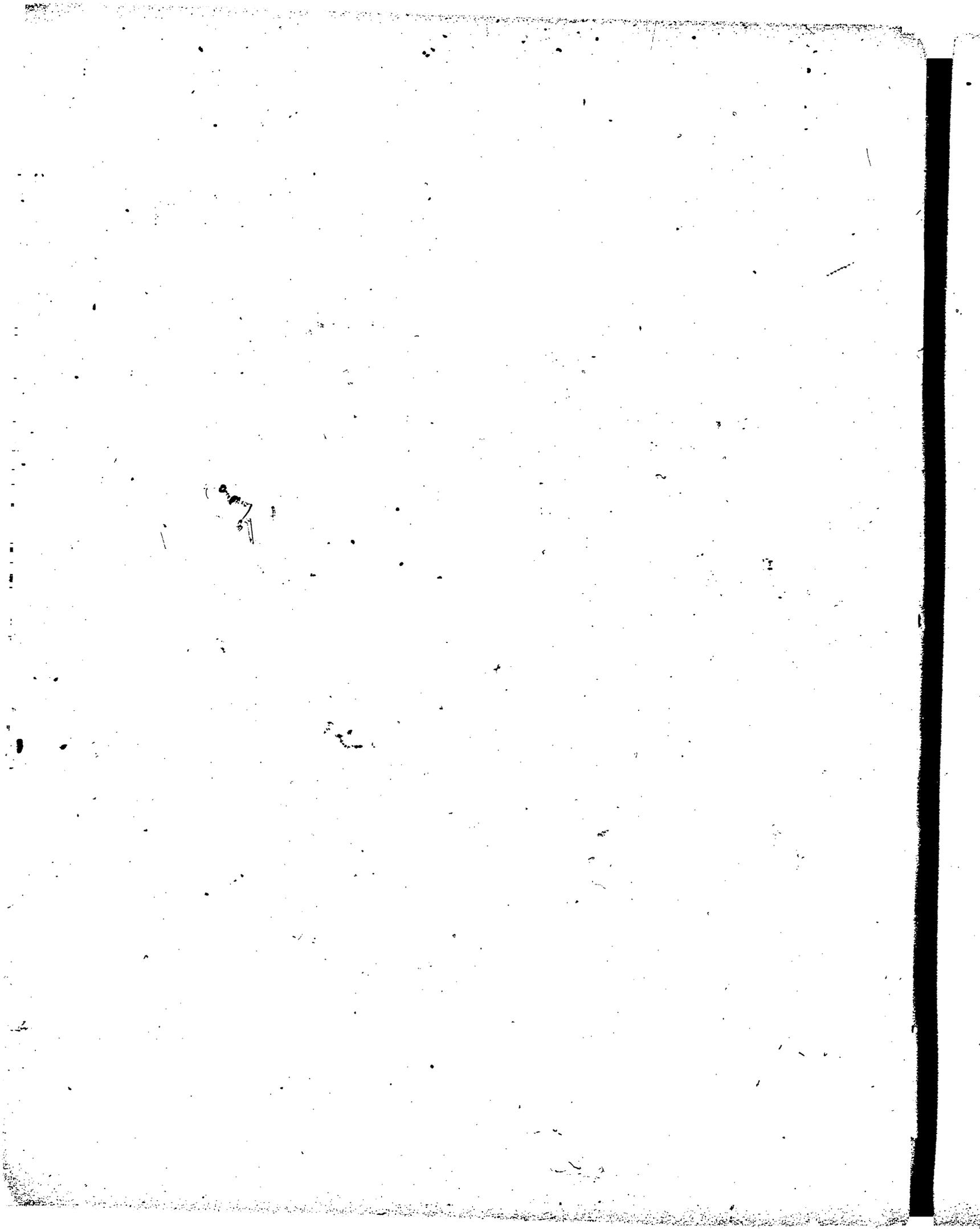
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.



GENERAL WOLFE.



MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.



unsuccessful he returned to St. Croix, where his heart was gladdened by meeting Dupont Gravé, who had arrived in a ship from France, with forty men and extensive supplies. The whole party at once returned to Annapolis, which they called Port Royal, where Dupont Gravé was left in charge of the colony, and Champlain instructed to make further exploration, while De Monts himself sailed for France.

9.—The colonists spent the winter of 1605-6 at Port Royal rather pleasantly, suffering but little from the cold or the want of the necessaries of life. They opened a successful traffic with the natives, and began to be quite attached to their new home, and its surroundings. Nevertheless, spring had no sooner opened than Dupont Gravé set out to look for a more pleasant location. Encountering severe storms, being twice driven back, he, however, soon abandoned this enterprise. Meanwhile De Monts and Poutrincourt, with Marc Lescarbot, sailed from Rochelle, May 13th, 1606, reaching Port Royal on the 26th of July, during the absence of Dupont Gravé, and finding but two men, who had been left in charge of the settlement by the latter. At Casa, Dupont Gravé heard of the return of De Monts, and hurriedly retraced his course to Port Royal, when these adventurers held a sort of re-union. Lescarbot informs us that Poutrincourt opened a hogshead of wine, and that they all made merry for several weeks. The two latter at once set themselves at work cultivating the soil, and were, ere long, gratified by seeing the seed springing up vigorously.

10.—In August, De Monts and Dupont Gravé sailed for France, leaving Poutrincourt and Lescarbot to promote the interests of the little colony. The latter was entrusted with the important work of Christianizing the natives. Soon after Poutrincourt made a short exploring voyage along the coast, touching Cape Cod and other points. He was several times attacked by the natives, at one time losing three or four of his men. The colonists found the second winter comparatively mild, and as soon as the spring was sufficiently advanced they busied themselves sowing the seed. Having put in a small crop, they next erected a rude water-mill, to the great delight of the Indians, who detested the old-fashioned hand mills.

Dupont Gravé at Port Royal, A.D. 1606.

Poutrincourt and Lescarbot at Port Royal.

While the colonists were actively pursuing every industry calculated to promote the interests of the colony, news reached them that the charter of De Monts' had been revoked, and that the association, under which the colony had been sent out, refused to be at any further expense. But one thing now remained to be done; that was to abandon the colony. None were more grieved at this sad affair than the Micmacs of Nova Scotia. One of their principal chiefs, Memberton, is said to have wept when he received information that his European friends were going to leave. Distributing a quantity of provisions among these Indians, the colonists left the country, sailing for France in 1607. We shall return to events in Nova Scotia again, after carrying forward our record of what was transpiring in the valley of the St. Lawrence to a corresponding date.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE DOMINION.

1. CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGE TO CANADA, A.D. 1608.—
2. CHAMPLAIN FOUNDING QUEBEC, A.D. 1608.—
3. CONDITION OF THE ABORIGINES OF THE LOWER ST. LAWRENCE, A.D. 1608.—
4. THE WINTER AT QUEBEC, A.D. 1608.—
5. CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS, A.D. 1609.—
6. CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST BATTLE WITH THE INDIANS, A.D. 1609.—
7. CHAMPLAIN'S DESPOTIC POWER AS GOVERNOR.

1.—Leaving Nova Scotia for a short time, let us again turn our attention to the St. Lawrence Valley, to which De Monts, having in 1607 abandoned Nova Scotia, now directed his efforts. Obtaining a renewal of his charter for one year from the king, he was influenced, by Champlain's representations of Canada, to undertake a settlement on the St. Lawrence. Fitting out two vessels he placed them under the command of the latter, associating with this experienced navigator Dupont Gravé as lieutenant. One of the vessels was designed for the traffic at Tadousac, the other to carry the colonists to their destination. 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 natives, while Champlain proceeded up the St. Lawrence, carefully observing its banks, and looking for a suitable place to plant the colony which he had been sent out to establish. He arrived at the site of the Indian village of Stadacona on the 3d of July. Here, after a careful scrutiny, his choice

Champlain's voyage to Canada, A.D. 1608.

fell upon a bold promontory, covered by a luxuriant growth of vines, and shaded by large 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.

2.—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 a 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 headquarters 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 the fortifications were built.

The founding of Quebec is remarkable in history, since it was the first permanent settlement established, with the exception of Jamestown in Virginia, in the territories now embraced within the boundaries of the Dominion of Canada and the United States. An incident is related by *Gerneau*, connected with the early history of Quebec, based on the authority of Champlain and Lescarbot; the latter was one of the most reliable chroniclers of the early events in New France. Hardly had the French gained a foot-hold on a part of the Canadian soil, and made beginnings to clear it, than a plot was got up which menaced the settlement with ruin. The severe discipline maintained by their chief served for a pretext to Jean Duval, a Norman locksmith, to cut him off. This man, who was both violent and courageous, and had distinguished himself in war against the savages of Acadia, drew in several colonists to take part in the proposed murder of their governor. The conspirators proposed, when he was thus disposed of either by cord or bullet, to pillage the stores and take refuge in Spain with the booty. Some days before the prescribed time for putting in act what had been proposed, one of the party, stung with remorse, confessed everything, and named his accomplices, as indeed, upon the trial, all the others did, yet were they severally sentenced to death; but Duval only was executed: the rest were sent as felons to France, where the king pardoned them. The example thus made, however, sufficed to keep down a spirit of mutiny among the colonists.

3.—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 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 Algonquins 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 sure to fall 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 whom 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.

4.—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

Condition of the
Aborigines of the
Lower St. Lawrence,
A. D. 1638.

Champlain found-
ing Quebec, A. D.
1608.

The winter at
Quebec, A. D.
1608-9.

within their power in exploring the country of the west.

MacMullen tells of the famine among the Indians during the winter, saying, that about the middle of February, a scarcity of food began to prevail among them. Some of these people on the opposite side of the river were reduced to great extremities, and resolved to cross it at all hazards, in the expectation of receiving assistance at the fort. Death stared them in the face on either hand, and they had only to choose the mildest alternative. The huge floes of ice that crashed against each other, as they drove hither and thither with the tide, threatened instant destruction to their frail canoes, which, nevertheless, were boldly launched in succession, death by drowning being preferable to that of lingering starvation. Presently mid-channel is gained. Vasts fields of ice encircle the canoes which are speedily crushed to pieces. The Indians seek to save themselves by jumping on the ice, which fortunately floats to the shore. But Champlain could only spare them a very scanty supply of food, and the unfortunate people were obliged to subsist for a time on the putrid carcasses found in the neighborhood.

5.—As soon as the spring, which was unusually early, had been sufficiently advanced, Champlain set out on an exploring expedition to the west, intending to pass beyond the Lachine Rapids, and examine the

Champlain's first expedition against the Iroquois, A.D. 1609.

nature of the country in that region. He had proceeded not more than twenty-five miles westward when he came in contact with a large body of Algonquins, who were resolved upon marching against the Iroquois, in which they urgently solicited the Frenchmen to join them. Yielding to their urgent demands, Champlain returned to Quebec, and even to Tadousac, where he met Dupont Gravé, who had just arrived from France with two ships, and a large number of men for the colony. Here he received reinforcements, and made the necessary arrangements for the expedition. On the 28th of May, with a small force of French, and a respectable number of Indian allies, he retraced his course up the St. Lawrence, and turning into the Richelieu River, his progress was brought into confusion by the rapids in that stream. Finding it impossible to cut a road through the woods, he resolved to resort to the canoes of the natives, and pursue the journey in Indian style. But this bold stroke was too much for the courage of his white followers, only two of whom could be induced to undertake the risk of such a procedure. The others were permitted to return. The light bark canoes of the Indians were soon carried beyond the rapids, and Champlain and his bold comrades were soon gliding on the surface of that beautiful lake which still bears his name. On entering Lake George the enemy was discovered. Here, on the shores of this lake,

Champlain fought his first battle with the natives, effecting an easy victory by the superior advantages of firearms, killing several Indians, and taking some twelve prisoners, all of whom were put to death by their Algonquin conquerors with the usual tortures.

6.—Pretty good authority places this battle on the 29th of July. It was in the year 1609. The fight is said not to have taken place until the day following the discovery of the enemy by the French. Champlain's first battle with the Indians, A.D. 1609. Meanwhile both sides prepared for action. During the night the Indians, in the opposite camps, indulged in the performance of the war dance in all its excesses, making the night hideous with their wild howling. At the dawn of day the bold Iroquois were the first to advance for action. They came in force about two hundred strong, headed by three chiefs, who showed their confidence of success by a steady step. Champlain formed his allies, placing himself at their head, and waited to receive his foes. When within thirty paces of this force the Iroquois halted in astonishment at beholding the pale-faces among their enemies. But, nothing daunted, they discharged a flight of arrows and received a deadly volley from the French firearms in return. Two of the chiefs fell dead, another was mortally wounded, and the entire force fled in wild confusion. Many others were killed and taken prisoners in the retreat, while only fifteen or sixteen of Champlain's allies were wounded, none of them fatally. After destroying the camp of the Iroquois, the French and their allies returned to Québec. Here Champlain received unfavorable news from France. De Monts' charter had been once more revoked, and the founder of Quebec was forced to return to his king in the autumn of the same year.

7.—The powers with which Champlain had been invested, as Governor of the colony embraced unlimited executive, legislative and judicial sway, constituting a real Champlain's despotic power as Governor. despotism. But few restraints were appended to his instructions, and these soon became inoperative from the force of custom. All these powers were transferred to his successors. The curb or restraint sought to be exercised over the governors by the council was of little value. Its members were nominated by the governor; and still more, when these nominations were confirmed, the governors

were by no means expected to obey or even respect the opinions of this council. At these early stages in French American colonization it was necessary thus to invest the chief ruler with despotic powers, but as the settlements progressed, the colonists, who were, for the most part, lovers of freedom, threw off this yoke by degrees, until the governing power was nearly equally divided between themselves and their king.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE DOMINION.

1.—DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN DE MONTS AND HIS KING; OVERTHROWING ACADIAN COLONIZATION.—2. POUTRINCOURT OBTAINS A ROYAL CONFIRMATION OF HIS GRANT TO PORT ROYAL.—3. POUTRINCOURT RE-ESTABLISHES PORT ROYAL, A.D. 1610.—4. POUTRINCOURT ENDEAVORS, BUT IN VAIN, TO AVOID THE JESUITS.—5. HURTFUL INFLUENCES OF JESUITS AT PORT ROYAL.—6. CAPT. ARGALL INVADES NOVA SCOTIA, A.D. 1613.—7. PORT ROYAL BURNED BY ARGALL, A. D. 1613.

1.—We will now return to Nova Scotia, and trace the events that transpired in that quarter from its abandonment by the French in 1607, to its first conquest by the English in 1613. It was on the 3d of September, 1607, that Poutrin-court, Lescarbot, and the colonists under them, sailed for France. This, as we have already observed, was in consequence of difficulties existing between De Monts and the King of France, which resulted in the withdrawal of the former's commission. The seat of this difficulty was with the merchants of St. Malo, who, jealous of the association having a monopoly of the peltry trade, under the superintendency of De Monts, and by virtue of his charter, sought occasion against the valuable interests thus vested in a few, to the exclusion of others, and succeeded in having them withdrawn. Besides this, the little colony at Port Royal suffered another embarrassment. While the colonists, in the spring and summer of

Difficulties between De Monts and the King overthrow Acadian Colonization.

1607, were busily engaged putting in their crops and improving their condition, thereby laying, as they hoped, the foundations of a permanent settlement, a sad misfortune occurred to them on their own side of the Atlantic. A party of Dutchmen, said to have been conducted to the storehouses of the colony by a vagabond emigrant, seized the accumulated furs of a whole year, and carried them off in mean triumph.

2.—Reaching Paris, Poutrin-court, who may be regarded as the one most interested in the settlement at Port Royal, hastened to present himself to the King, at whose command he exhibited in the royal presence samples of his transatlantic

Poutrin-court obtains a royal confirmation of his grant to Port Royal.

crop of wheat, rye, barley and oats, which he had carefully carried with him. The King was much pleased with those evidences of the fertility of the soil in his American possessions, and was easily induced to renew the charter of De Monts for one year. De Monts was instructed to establish colonies in New France, which comprehended both Canada and Acadia. As we have already seen, the royal command was faithfully carried out in the founding of Quebec. The reason for De Monts now changing his preference from Acadia to Canada no doubt has its origin in the representations and arguments of Champlain. But if De Monts had lost sight of Nova Scotia, Poutrin-court was becoming more and more filled with a desire to renew the colony so unfortunately withdrawn from that peninsula. For the accomplishment of this, he resolved to be himself the chief instrument. He petitioned the King for a confirmation of the grant of land made to him by De Monts, which was promptly approved by His Majesty, with the appended stipulation that he was to be accompanied by Jesuit missionaries. This qualification did not please De Monts, for although he was a staunch Roman Catholic, he was also a bitter enemy to this particular order.

3.—Early in 1610, Poutrin-court, through the patronage of two wealthy merchants of Dieppe, named Dujardin and Duquène, was enabled to equip a respectable expedition. All being ready, he sailed for Acadia, taking with him a goodly number of colonists, including competent artizans. He also took with him a Catholic priest named Flèche, avoiding the Jesuits, with a determination of

Poutrin-court re-establishes Port Royal, A.D. 1610.

proving to his King that they were not needed. To this end he took aggressive measures to Christianize the natives. Arriving at Port Royal he not only found the Indians, with the aged chief Memberton at their head, waiting to greet him with a hearty welcome, but was rejoiced to find the fort and every other building, with all that they had contained, just as he had left them three years before. This old chief and his family were the first who were baptized, the ceremony being performed in the presence of all the colonists, and many of the natives. This served as a favorable inauguration of the Christian religion among the Indians, for there was little difficulty in persuading the Micmacs to follow the example so timely set by their worthy chief.

But unhappily Henry the Fourth was assassinated soon after Poutrincourt sailed for Port Royal, in consequence of which, a blight spread over the whole of France. Despotism and intrigue were the chief characteristics of the administration of the Queen-dowager and her minister Concini. As soon as the latter was raised to the chief power, through his intrigue the Jesuits were forced upon Poutrincourt, as we shall see, which, had not the colony been overthrown by the English, must soon have caused its ruin. Thus the overthrow of Port Royal having been secured, as well by the misrule of France as by the invasion of an enemy, its ruin was soon accomplished.

4.—Port Royal now stood in need of supplies, to obtain which Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt, was dispatched to France. He was also entrusted with a record of the baptisms which had taken place among the Indians, with instructions that they should be laid before the King. By this means Poutrincourt hoped to prove to His Majesty that the spiritual needs of the colony would not be more effectually provided for by sending out Jesuits. But, as we have seen, Henry the Fourth had fallen, and through the influence of the Marchioness Guercheville, a firm Jesuit, the objects sought to be attained by these records were frustrated. It was thereupon resolved to send two Jesuit fathers, Pierre Baird and Enemonde Masse, to Port Royal in company with Biencourt. The latter set sail for Nova Scotia with these too truly unwelcome passengers, on the 26th of January, A.D. 1611, arriving at Port Royal on the 22nd of June. Some of the merchants, patrons of the association under which Poutrincourt's colony was sent out, strongly objected to the embarkation of the two Jesuits, but the Marchioness, who had now proclaimed herself the patroness of the American missions, furnished the money requisite to

indemnify these merchants to the extent of their investments in the enterprise, and thus secured the passage of the Jesuits. When Biencourt reached Port Royal with the Jesuit priests, Poutrincourt was disgusted, and this found expression in bitter denunciations when he learned that these fathers were to receive a certain portion of the profits of the peltry trade for their sustenance. Already the little colony was under the tax of this enthusiastic sect of the Church of Rome. In July Poutrincourt sailed for France, leaving his son Biencourt in command of the colony.

5.—Two Jesuits would have been enough to overthrow Port Royal had no other calamity visited it, for with their arrival came dissensions, and in the tracks of these quickly followed measures of hostility. "The Jesuits, in the name of their potent patroness, seizing Poutrincourt's trading vessels, and originating imprisonings and lawsuits which effected his ruin. This reduced the people of Port Royal, to whom he could not send supplies of provisions, to starve through the whole winter upon acorns, beech-nuts, and such wild roots as they could grub up. After having thus crippled Poutrincourt, the Marchioness ceased to be a partner in his association, and withdrew with her Jesuits to other localities, leaving Port Royal desolate. Champlain did all he could to avert this catastrophe, by advising the lady to join with M. de Monts in carrying out the enterprise she thus abandoned; but this she refused to do, because the latter was a Calvinist. Besides the obstacles thus assigned, the members of the Society of Jesuits were bent upon forming in Acadia an establishment similar to that they had in Paraguay, in order that the French colony should be entirely at their devotion likewise, but this attempt of theirs had the most unfortunate results, as the sequel proves."—*Garneau*. Biencourt who had been left at Port Royal got on poorly with the Jesuits, and after repeated quarrels, the latter withdrew to Penobscot, where a new settlement had been made by their patroness, the Marchioness de Guercheville.

We are informed by the authority last quoted that, in the meantime, the Marchioness de Guercheville, the patroness of the Jesuits in Nova Scotia, caused to be fitted out at Harfleur an armed vessel, and gave the command of it to La Saussaye, one of her favorites. He sailed for Port Royal with a view of removing the Jesuits. But he proceeded in the first place towards the river Penobscot, the valley of which

Hurtful influence
of the Jesuits at
Port Royal, A.D.
1611.

Poutrincourt endeavors, but in vain, to avoid the Jesuits.

stream Father Biart had explored the year before. His course being impeded by misty weather he was compelled to disembark his people at the island of Monts-Deserts, where he commenced a settlement which he named St. Sauveur. At first this settlement thrived beyond his expectations, but it was overthrown by the English with Port Royal.

6.—Meanwhile the English settlement in Virginia was growing in strength and importance, and from it the French colonists in Nova Scotia were soon to receive the first blow of a long series of intermitting contests between the English and the French colonists, which may be said to have ended with the fall of Quebec, a century and a half afterwards.

In 1613, the settlement referred to contained over seven hundred inhabitants. In the summer of the latter year, Capt. Argall sailed North from Virginia, with an armed vessel of fourteen guns, and a fleet of fishing vessels. It should be observed at this point, that England claimed the whole of the territory of North-Eastern America, from its Southern Sea-board North to the 45° of latitude, including, of course, a portion of Acadia. France, on the other hand, claimed that her American possessions were limited on the southerly by the 40th parallel of north latitude. In accordance with the claims of England, Captain Argall, having reached the settlements in Nova Scotia, proceeded to expel the French from their possessions. He first attacked La Saussaye's settlement. After capturing a French vessel off the coast, he landed in the settlement, where a slight show of resistance was made, whereupon he assaulted and sacked the place without mercy. Father Gilbert-du-Thet was killed in this attack. He made the members of the colony prisoners, some of whom were taken to Jamestown, and others allowed to retire in a sloop, to search for a vessel in which they might take passage to France. The latter found a vessel of St. Malo, at La Heve, and were thus rescued. Those who accompanied Argall to Jamestown, however, did not fare so well. They were cast into prison and treated as pirates, and finally condemned to die.

7.—The Governor of Virginia now resolved to drive all the French colonists, in Nova Scotia, beyond the 45th parallel of north latitude. Accordingly three armed vessels were fitted out, and set sail for Acadia for that purpose; the prisoners, whose sentence of death had been annulled through the influence of

Capt. Argall invades Nova Scotia, A.D. 1613.

Argall, being sent back in one of the vessels. Argall first landed at St. Croix, when he demolished every vestige of civilization. Then proceeding to Port Royal, there a similar scene was enacted. He refused all conditions to Biencourt, who, rather than yield himself into the merciless hands of his adversary, fled to the forest and lived with the Indians, where, it is said, he died in 1624. When Argall arrived at Port Royal, the inhabitants were mostly engaged laboring in their grounds, some five miles distant. He set fire to the town and the fort, and in less than two hours the whole was in ruins. The French, observing the flames, hastened to the scene of disaster before the work of destruction was complete. Thus was Port Royal destroyed again, and this time it was completely wiped out. Many of its inhabitants took refuge with the Indians, others found their way to Quebec. In the following year Poutrincourt arrived at Port Royal, which he found a scene of desolation, whereupon he resolved to leave Acadia for ever, which he did. He fell, fighting bravely in the service of his country at the siege of Mery-sur-Seine, in the month of December, 1615.

CHAPTER IX.

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE DOMINION.

1. CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION TO AMERICA, A.D., 1610.—2. CHAMPLAIN'S BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS, 1611.—3. CHAMPLAIN PREPARES THE SITE FOR MONTREAL, A.D., 1611.—4. CHAMPLAIN SECURES A SUCCESSOR TO DE MONTS.—5. HIS FUTILE EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH.—6. CHAMPLAIN IN CANADA, 1615-16-17.

1.—Although, on his return to France, Champlain was received with great favor by the reigning sovereign, yet De Monts was unable to procure a renewal of the monopoly of the perry traffic. The interests of commerce and religion were largely against him at Court. Royal patronage being thus cut off, he could now only rely upon the pecuniary resources of the fur trade, which were bound to suffer a

Champlain's expedition to Canada, A.D., 1610.



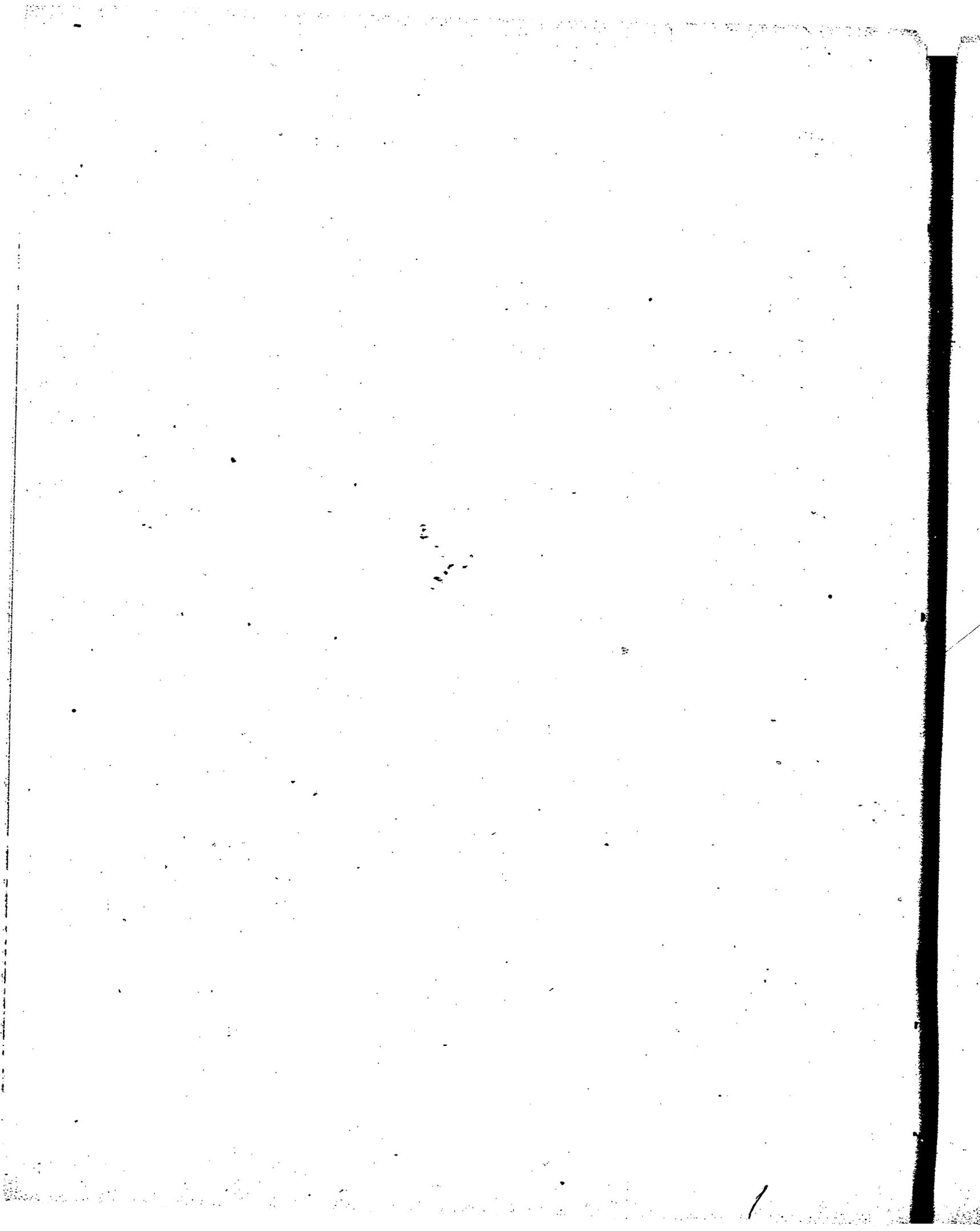
Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

THORWALD ERIKSON'S BATTLE WITH THE INDIANS, ABOUT A.D. 1003. (Page 53.)



Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

LANDING OF COLUMBUS, A.D. 1492. (Page 57.)



reduction under the competition which was sure to follow the abrogation of his commission. De Monts seems to have been more enthusiastic for the welfare of the colony than for the profits which might accrue from a prosecution of the fur trade; hence he was enabled to complete arrangements with certain merchants of Rochelle, who were by no means actuated by the same motives, by which they were to have the use of his store-houses at Tadousac, for purposes of trade, in return for which he received pecuniary aid for the infant colony of Quebec. He was thus enabled, in 1610, to equip two vessels, which he despatched to Canada, under the command of Champlain. The latter was accompanied by Dupont Gravé. After a delightful voyage of eighteen days, this expedition reached Tadousac, where they came in contact with rival fur traders. This was not counter to their expectations, as the monopoly had been overthrown, and the right of traffic was free to all. But Champlain did not long remain here. Caring more for the exploration of the upper St. Lawrence, he pushed on to Quebec. Meanwhile the natives were becoming exceedingly anxious for his return. Once living in mortal dread of the Iroquois, they had followed Champlain in a victorious attack upon these enemies, and were now longing to repeat this invasion of the country of the Five Nations. And now, upon the arrival of their great chief, as they fully recognized him, they at once urged the necessity of the expedition. Champlain too readily complied with their request, and set out at the head of a body of Algonquins to attack a large band of Iroquois who were known to be encamped near the embouchure of the Richelieu river.

2.—Upon his arrival near the camp of the enemy Champlain learned that his foes were strongly entrenched and well prepared for a better contest. Having experienced the deadly effects of fire-arms the year before, they were now in a measure sheltered from their deadly action. "An Indian brought the intelligence that one hundred of the enemy were so strongly entrenched in the neighborhood, that without the aid of the French it would be impossible to dislodge them. The Algonquins imprudently advancing to the attack unsupported had been repulsed with loss, and compelled to fall back and await the assistance of their less impetuous allies. As soon as Champlain came up he proceeded to

Champlain's battle
with the Iroquois,
A.D. 1611.

reconnoitre the Iroquois' position. He found it very strong, and formed of large trees placed close together in a circle. Thus protected, the enemy continued to pour forth showers of arrows, one of which wounded him in the neck. His ammunition soon began to fail, and he urged the Algonquins to greater exertions in forcing a way into the barricade. He made them fasten ropes round the trunks of single trees, and apply all their strength to drag them out, while he undertook to protect them with his fire. Fortunately at this crisis a party of French traders, instigated by martial ardor, made their appearance. Under cover of their fire the Algonquins pulled so stoutly, that a sufficient opening was soon effected, when they leaped in and completely routed the enemy, most of whom were either killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. Of the assailants three were killed and fifty wounded. Champlain, before taking leave of his allies, who were too well pleased to refuse his request, readily prevailed on them to allow one of his people to remain among their tribe to learn their language; while he, at their request, took a native youth with him to France, whither he went soon after."—*MacMullen*.

3.—Champlain returned to New France in the spring of 1611, bringing the young Algonquin with him, and on the 28th of May he proceeded to search for his allies. Not finding them according to their agreement, he began looking for a site for a new settlement further up the river than Quebec, with a view of having a more easy access to the Ottawa and neighboring tribes. After a careful survey he fixed upon an eligible spot at the base of Mount Royal. Having cleared away a considerable space of ground he fenced it in by a kind of earthen ditch, planting grain in the enclosure. He called the new settlement *Place Royale*. At length on the 13th of June, long after the time agreed on, the Indians made their appearance. They were much pleased at meeting their countryman safely returned from France, who gave them a favorable report of his reception in Europe, and after making Champlain a liberal present, they explained the reason of their delay. "They stated that it was altogether owing to a prisoner, who had escaped the previous year, spreading a report that the French, having resolved to espouse the cause of the Iroquois, were coming in great

Champlain pre-
pares the site for
Montreal, A.D.
1611.

force to destroy their nation. Champlain complained of their having paid attention to such an idle rumor, the truth of which all his actions belied. They protested that it had never been credited by themselves, and was believed only by those only of their tribe who never had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the French. Having now received solemn protestations of friendship, and being satisfied with Champlain's sincerity, they declared their firm determination of adhering to his alliance; and of promoting, to the best of their ability, his projects of penetrating into the interior. As an evidence of their good will they imparted much valuable information respecting the geography of this continent, with which they seemed to be tolerably well acquainted as far south as the Gulf of Mexico. They readily agreed to his proposal to return shortly with forty or fifty of his people to prosecute discoveries, and form settlements in their country if he thought proper. They even made a request that a French youth should accompany them, and make observations upon their territory and tribe."—*MacMullen*.

4.—The tragic death of King Henry now threw the colony into confusion. News of this event reached Champlain, which caused Champlain secures a successor to De Monts. him to hasten to France, where he might attend to the interests of the colony, which were likely to be neglected in the midst of national vicissitudes of such moment. Arriving in France, Champlain found De Monts fully disheartened. The fur trade was no longer profitable since it had been thrown open to the widest competition, and both he and his associates had decided to abandon further enterprise in that direction. Thus the Lieutenant-General of New France relinquished his honors. Seeing no hope in his old patron, Champlain at once endeavored to form a new company. His plan embraced the idea of putting Canada under the protection of some high personage capable of securing the favor of the Court. He was probably led to this conclusion by the demonstrated influence of the Marchioness De Guercheville in the affairs of Acadia, which we have already briefly noticed. Among those most likely to suit his purpose he chose Charles De Bourbon, Count De Soissons. On application that nobleman consented, and by letters patent, dated October, 1612, he succeeded M.

De Monts, as Lieutenant-General of New France. But Champlain's troubles were not over. No sooner had this business been effected than the count died. However, Champlain was not long in suspense. The Prince De Condé was prevailed upon to accept the function which had fallen from the dying De Soissons. These privileges he conferred upon Champlain. They included a monopoly of the fur trade, but this gave great dissatisfaction to the merchants. Their objections, however, were effectually removed by Champlain, by permitting as many of them as chose to accompany him to the New World, and engage in the peltry trade. This liberal offer not only had a salutary effect upon the discontented, but resulted in inducing a number of merchants to accompany him. Three from Normandy, one from Rochelle, and one from St. Malo came out with Champlain, on the condition that for the privileges of the fur trade they were to contribute six men each for purposes of discovery and exploration, to give one-twentieth of their profits towards defraying the expenses of the colony.

5.—In the beginning of March, 1613, the expedition sailed from Harfleur, and on the 7th of May arrived at Quebec. Champlain now entered upon an expedition to the North on a rather wild project of discovery. Champlain's futile expedition to the North, A.D. 1614. A person named Vignau, who had spent a winter among the Indians, reported that the river of the Algonquins—the Ottawa—took its rise in a lake connected with the Arctic Ocean; that he had visited the shores of this ocean, and there seen the wreck of an English vessel. The crew, he said, eighty in number, had reached the shore, where they had all been slain by the natives, except a boy, whom they were now willing to give up. Desiring to have this wonderful report as well authenticated as possible, Champlain caused Vignau to commit his statement to writing, and to attest it with an oath, warning him, at the same time, that in case his statement were false he would be exposed to capital punishment. But Vignau was to all appearances unmoved in his persistent declarations, and finding that some English vessels had really been wrecked on the coast of Labrador, Champlain began to think the report worthy of credence, and resolved to spend the season in exploring the northern regions. Setting out at once, he arrived at the La Chine rapids on



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the 21st of May. From this point, with two canoes containing four of his countrymen and one Indian, he proceeded on his voyage up the Ottawa. In this journey he experienced numberless hardships and encountered many difficulties. They met, of course, with a series of cataracts and rapids, which could be overcome only by carrying their canoes and stores overland. In some instances, however, this could not be done owing to the great density of the woods, in which cases the party were compelled to drag their canoes through the agitated current, exposing themselves to the danger of being carried down in the dashing foam. But this was not their only danger. Scattering bands of hostile Iroquois were wandering in the region. These fierce natives were now settled enemies to the French, and longed to make them captives and subjects of such tortures as were measured to their Algonquin prisoners. As they ascended the river the difficulties of navigation were increased, and they resolved to leave their provisions behind, and trust only to their guns and nets for the necessaries of life. Reaching the abode of a friendly Indian chief named Tessonant, whose village was eight days journey from that of the Nipissings, where the shipwreck was said to have occurred, Champlain was well received, and favored with a solemn council on the subject of his projected explorations. He requested the chief to grant him four canoes as an escort into the country of the Nipissings. The Indians were unwilling to grant this request, but the chief complied after the most earnest entreaty. When the council had broken up Champlain discovered that his plans were still regarded unfavorably by the Indians, and upon investigating the matter he found it quite impossible to get any of them to accompany him. Demanding another council he reproached his supposed deceivers with a breach of faith. A circumstance now occurred which induced Champlain to call in his informer, Vignau, who after being examined and confronted by the Indians, was compelled to confess his deception. Champlain had not only suffered much to no purpose, but had spent the season in vain. Leaving Vignau with the Indians as a punishment, Champlain returned to Quebec, and thence to St. Malo, in August.

6.—In France Champlain found the affairs of the colony in a favorable condition. The Prince

de Condé was still powerful at Court, and the founder of New France had little difficulty in preparing for another expedition. A small fleet was equipped in 1614-15 to carry out settlers and supplies from Rouen and St. Malo. On board the ships of this fleet three priests of the Recollet order came to New France, in 1615, as missionaries to the Indians. These were the first Catholic priests who came to Canada. Their names were Fathers d'Olbeau, le Caron and du Plessis. The first mass ever celebrated in Canada was performed by d'Olbeau and le Caron at the river du Prairies, in June, 1615. Champlain arrived at Tadousac with this expedition in May, whence he pushed forward to Quebec, and not long after to *Place Royale*, where he found his Indian allies. Four chiefs waited upon him at once, filled with projects of war against their old enemies, whom they proposed to attack among the lakes of the west with a force of two thousand fighting men. "Always desirous to embark in any enterprise which promised to make him better acquainted with the country, Champlain laid down a plan of operations which he offered to aid the Algonquins in carrying out, and at which they expressed the utmost satisfaction. He accompanied them in a long march, first up the Ottawa, and afterwards over small lakes and portages, leading to lake Nipissing. The Nipissings, about 700 or 800 in number, who inhabited the shores of this lake, received the party in a friendly manner. Having remained with them two days, the Algonquins resumed their journey along the course of French River to Georgian Bay, which they crossed near the Great Manitoulin Island, and entered Lake Huron, which Champlain describes in his travels as a fresh water sea, 300 leagues in length by 50 in breadth. After coasting this lake for several leagues, they turned a point near its extremity, and struck into the interior with a view of reaching Cahiguaga, where they were to be reinforced by a detachment of the Algonquins, and some other friendly Indians. On arrival at this place a large body were found collected, who gave them a joyful welcome, and stated that they expected 500 additional warriors of other tribes, who also considered the Iroquois their enemies, to join them. While awaiting the arrival of these warriors, several days were spent in dancing and festivity, the usual prelude to Indian expeditions.

Champlain's expedition to, and operations in, Canada, A.D. 1615-16.

These over, and the allies not arriving, they again set out, and occasionally employed themselves in hunting, until they came to Lake St. Clair, near the present city of Detroit, where they at length descried the Iroquois fort, which, in expectation of an attack, had been rendered unusually strong. It was defended by four rows of wooden palisades, with strong parapets at top, and enclosed a pond, whence water was conducted to the different quarters, to extinguish any fires which might occur. The Iroquois advanced from this fort and skirmished successfully against their assailants for some time, and until the fire-arms were discharged, when they retreated precipitately."—*MacMullen*. The Iroquois, true to their history in war, fought persistently behind their defences, pouring forth thick showers of arrows and stones, which forced the Algonquins, notwithstanding the reproaches of Champlain, to retire beyond their reach. Coming to their relief, Champlain taught them how to construct a cavalier, a sort of enclosure of planks, by which they could command the enemy's fortification. It was calculated that the discharges from this contrivance would drive the Iroquois from their parapets, and enable the allies of the French to set fire to their defences. The Indians worked actively in constructing this fort, and when done two hundred of the strongest warriors moved it close to the palisade of the enemy. From this the allies were enabled to drive the Iroquois to the interior of their stronghold, but this by no means prevented them from discharging missiles of various kinds. The fort might now have been set on fire, but Champlain found it impossible to control his native allies. They would not obey his orders, but furiously discharged their arrows against the strong defence. At length they began to throw pieces of burning wood, but this they did so carelessly as to have but little effect. Meanwhile the Iroquois drew water from their reservoir so copiously that the fires were put out as fast as started. Several of the allies were killed in the contest, and Champlain was himself twice wounded. Finally the Algonquins resolved to retire and await an expected reinforcement, but the attack was not vigorously renewed. The enemy, in consequence of this lack of energy on the part of the invaders, taunted them with the charge of cowardice. At length, the Indians persisting in inactivity and pressing Champlain to retire, a

retreat was effected with some difficulty, the Iroquois following and harassing them for a considerable distance. Champlain suffered much in this brief campaign, having to be carried for over thirty leagues in a basket, being unable to walk from wounds received in the attack. On reaching the country of the Hurons, he found the natives unwilling to accompany him to Quebec, and consequently he was compelled to spend the winter with his now treacherous allies, entering with them upon the chase, and indulging in many of their forest pastimes. Early in the Spring of 1616, Champlain, in company with a few friendly Hurons, secretly started for Quebec, where he arrived early in July, and soon after sailed to France.

CHAPTER X.

FRANCO-AMERICAN COLONIZATION.—1627.

1. DISCOURAGEMENTS AND ZEAL OF CHAMPLAIN.
- 2. ECCLESIASTICAL OPERATIONS AT QUEBEC.—3. RELIGIOUS ZEAL OVERCOMES COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE.—4. CHAMPLAIN AND THE INDIANS.—5. DISCOURAGEMENT TO THE COLONY.—6. CHAMPLAIN OVERCOMING DIFFICULTIES. — 7. VENTADOUR'S COLONIAL POLICY.—8. CHAMPLAIN'S FUTILE ATTEMPT TO TREAT WITH THE IROQUOIS.—9. INDIAN HOSTILITIES—CONDITION OF CANADA, 1627.

1.—On his arrival in France, Champlain found the interests of the colony tottering to the fall.

The merchants of many of the principal cities were clamoring loudly for a revocation of the peltry monopoly, and the company, who now enjoyed the rights granted in De Condé's charter, were so materially weakened by the disgrace into which that prince had fallen in his connection with the seditions of the French Nobles, that they would have abandoned the enterprise altogether had not the persuasive zeal of Champlain restrained them. The opposition which they encountered aggravated the discontent felt at the poor returns accruing from the fur trade, and the founder of Quebec was forced to appeal to considerations of personal interest, patriotism, and honor. It should be remembered that while Champlain's patrons were

Discouragements
and zeal of Cham-
plain.

careful only to secure the profits arising from the peltry traffic, he was blind to this interest, caring only for the greater interests of colonization. Hence we may easily understand how it came that while Champlain was preparing to return to Canada, the leading members of the association under whose patronage he was acting, were arranging to deprive him of the Governorship of New France, in order that they might entrust it to a man who would enter more completely into their selfish interests. It was proposed to Champlain that he should be engaged to prosecute a grand scheme of exploration and discovery in the New World, in which case he could hardly afford to tax himself with the perplexing details of the colony; and Dupont Gravé was mentioned as his successor—a man who cared nothing for colonization, and whose ambition touching enterprises in America arose only to the peltry traffic. This proposed change soon became the subject of a heated discussion, and for awhile the chances of the Governor seemed to decline, but the affair having come to the notice of the King's Council, a royal decree was confirmed, continuing Champlain as acting Governor of New France. But even this confirmation did not enable Champlain to return to Canada at once. The Prince de Condé was yet in prison, and to the clear mind of the Governor it was plain that some other influential protector was necessary to enable him to prosecute his plans. After some difficulty he induced the Marquis de Themines to accept the office of Lieutenant-General of New France until the Prince should be released, upon the condition that he was to share in the profits of the peltry traffic. This was in 1618, when the arrangement was no sooner completed than a terrible opposition broke out against the new organization from the merchants who were desirous to share in this traffic. Negotiations continued for over two years, during which the merchants became steadily more opposed to the Marquis, and the affairs of the colony continued to decline. Champlain became convinced that his hopes could not longer rest in Themines, and seeking another and more powerful patron, he secured the protection of the Duke de Montmorency, High Admiral of France, who purchased De Condé's vicereignty for 11,000 crowns. In 1619, after this arrangement had been completed, we find the merchants, who were interested in the expeditions to

be sent out, industriously seeking Champlain's removal from the governorship, and it was only through the powerful influence of the new Viceroy that he was enabled to triumph over his opponents. Champlain was confirmed in all his former functions, and M. Dalu, a chief officer in the Chancery of France, was appointed home agent for the colony. M. de Montmorency now took a lively interest in the affairs of the colony.

2.—After a difficult voyage Champlain reached Quebec in July, 1620, where he found the colonists suffering woefully from his long absence. The colony now numbered Ecclesiastical operations at Quebec, A.D. 1620-21. but sixty souls. He at once laid the foundations of a Government house, afterwards known as the Castle of St. Louis, located on the summit of the bold promontory. This building became celebrated as the residence of the successive Governors of Canada, standing for over two centuries, being destroyed by fire in 1834. Notwithstanding the smallness of the colony, the Recollet Friars, who had come as missionaries to the natives, as we have already seen, were now engaged, by royal permission, erecting a convent on the banks of the river St. Charles. "But such was the devotional spirit of the time that different monastic orders were enabled, through the liberality of the pious in France, to found, amid the Canadian wilds, vast establishments of education and beneficence, which are still the boast of French Canadians." The foundations of a Recollet convent chapel was laid in 1620. Garneau, whose compilation we are disposed to trust in matters pertaining to French records in Canada, except where his native enthusiasm leads him into unfair criticisms, informs us that six years before, as we have already noted, Recollets of the Province of Paris had been invited to Canada. The four who came in 1615, as noted in a previous chapter, he says, visited the Hurons in company with Champlain; and one of them went, in 1616, among the neutral Indians. In 1618 Pope Paul IV. accorded, at the earnest solicitation of the French Ambassador, the charge of missions in New France to the Recollets of Paris. Several of those zealous Catholics lived, labored, and died among the natives. Father Nicholas Viel was drowned by the Hurons. "These Friars," says the authority last mentioned, "were only missionaries in the colony till 1624. In that year Father Trencus Le Piat

gave an invitation thither to a few Jesuits. At first the associated merchants opposed the proceeding; but, notwithstanding, these fathers set out for Canada, but when they arrived at Quebec the Recollets would not permit them to land until they had themselves found an asylum in the infant city. In the sequel the Recollets sold their convent, to which they had given the qualification of Notre Dame des Anges. It became an hospital. Louis XIV. gave them, in 1681, the locality where was previously the Seneschalsea of Quebec, facing the Castle of St-Louis, for the site of a building. As the Recollets were the earliest missionaries known to Canada, so were they the first to disappear from it." Thus we see the infant Quebec already an ecclesiastical town. The first building of importance in the colony was the home of a conventual institution. How different from the Anglo-American colonies. Here the first great undertakings were not ecclesiastical, but industrial, a characteristic difference not as much of the two races, as the two great branches of Christians. Protestantism is ever characterized by an advance movement in commerce and popular education; Catholicism by conventual enterprise and commercial inactivity. While the early settlers of Canada were earnestly at work erecting monasteries, and securely chaining the future commercial and political interests of the country to the papal power, the provinces of New England were pressing forward in pursuit of agriculture, and building ships by which they were to establish commercial relations with every nation on the globe.

3.—In 1621, the inhabitants and chief officers and clergy of the town made a formal application to France for aid, stipulating for the instruction and guidance of the home colonial office, certain plans for colonization and for the conversion of the natives. Father George Lebaillif was commissioned to carry this document to France. Following upon these deliberations Champlain issued a proclamation, in which he promulgated ordinances for the maintenance of order and the government of the colony. This first code ever given to Canada was probably never printed, and has been lost to history. The French, while careful of their important records, must be blamed for their neglect of literary enterprise; it cannot be spoken except to their discredit, that the art of printing was

Religious zeal
overcomes com-
mercial enterprise.

never introduced in Canada during the whole period of French rule. A few of the colonists had turned their attention to agriculture, and by this time several were supporting their families from the products of their own farms. The early records present the names of the Couillards and the Héberts as among the earliest farmers of Quebec. Louis Hébert brought his family to Canada in 1617. He was an apothecary by profession, and first settled in Nova Scotia, but afterwards removed to Quebec, where he cleared and cultivated a portion of the land on which Upper Quebec now stands. Until 1628, however, the cultivation of the soil was carried on exclusively by hand. At that time the use of oxen was introduced, but still there was only a slight attention paid to agriculture. The most enlightened and enterprising portion of the colonists were too much absorbed with projects of religion to enter into sympathy with commercial or agricultural industry, except to control it for the uses of their creed; and the few with whom these pursuits were entrusted were so carried away with the peltry traffic as not to become deeply interested in agriculture. At this time the four principal fur factories were at Tadousac, Quebec, Three Rivers, and the Sault St. Louis. These places, aside from Quebec, could hardly, at this time, be regarded as settlements, yet they were rallying points from which the fur trade was controlled.

4.—In 1621, the Iroquois made a descent upon Quebec, causing much alarm, but accomplishing no great evil to the colony. After a brief contest they were repulsed, and soon after they retired from the neighborhood. This was the first of many attacks which the French suffered at the hands of the Iroquois, whose country Champlain had more than once invaded without a sufficient cause, and for which he was caused to pay dear in blood and treasure for many years after. However, before these fierce foes were to renew their work of vengeance the French were destined to enjoy a season of peace. The Indians had had their fill of war. For many, many years the Algonquins and Hurons on the one hand and the Iroquois on the other, had waged an incessant and destructive war, in which the former tribes had been humbled and oppressed, but the appearance of the French seemed rather as a deliverance for this despondent na-

Champlain and
the Indians, A.D.
1621-2.

tion, and now that the Iroquois were quite unable to overcome them or their European allies, they agreed, in 1622, to a solemn treaty of peace.

5.—But while Champlain was securing peace among the natives of Canada, a war was raging among the directors and shareholders of the association of merchants, under whose patronage the colony was supported, and by whose direction the peltry traffic was carried on. Rival companies were pressing their claims to the American trade. Early in 1620, a company controlled by Thomas Porée, composed chiefly of citizens of Rouen and St. Malo, invested with chartered privileges, which expired in 1624, were pleading in the courts against the exclusive rights of the Marquis de Montmorency, and several prominent members of the association. A difficulty preventing an immediate decision, the King permitted the members of the contesting company to carry on the fur trade conjointly with the Admiral's association. But in 1622, a royal edict ruled that Montmorency's company should have an uninterrupted monopoly of the fur traffic, on the conditions that all the King's trading subjects who chose could join it within a year. This decree also provided that an indemnity of 10,000 livres should be paid to Porée's company for this abridgement of its chartered time and also to compensate for expense incurred. Upon this adjustment Porée and his principal associates took "ten-twelfths" of the Montmorency company. This very reasonable adjustment of the difficulties and the timely union of the rival companies promised to dispel the clouds that darkened the sky of Canada. Previous to this, however, in 1621, owing to Champlain's representations that the company, in their eagerness after the gains of the fur trade, was neglecting the wants of the colony, the associated merchants were, for the time being, deprived of all their privileges, and the superintendence of the colony was entrusted to William and Emeric De Caen, uncle and nephew, both Huguenots. William De Caen proceeded to Canada in 1621, where his proceedings were of a most arbitrary nature. He seized the vessels of the associated merchants, then in the St. Lawrence River, which had a very injurious influence upon the colony. Several left it in disgust, and at the close of 1621 there were not more than forty-eight Europeans in all Canada.

6.—It would seem that all these difficulties must have shaken the courage and persistence of even Champlain; but not so. Providence ^{Champlain over-coming difficulties.} had called the right man to a difficult task. In much patience, bravery and endurance he stood firmly by the colony. "Patient, self-denying, hopeful and courageous; desirous of founding a colony, and conscious that he possessed the qualities necessary to accomplish the arduous task, he did not permit himself to be turned aside from his object for a moment. No sooner had the difficulties produced by the indiscretion of De Caen been partially arranged than he gave his attention to settlement and discovery in the interior." The energy of Champlain revived the colony, and in 1623, a few additional colonists arrived at Quebec. He now availed himself of the opportunity, during the brief peace among the Indians, to make his position more secure. In the year last mentioned he commenced the erection of a stone fort, but the distressed condition of the colony soon obliged him to abandon the enterprise, and return to France for supplies. Meanwhile, as we have seen, difficulties among the rival companies in France were operating against his chances of success, for the difficulties were not all overcome in the consolidation of Porée's association with the Montmorency company. The admiral had now become thoroughly wearied out by the trouble and vexations to which his lieutenant-generalship exposed him; he transferred his functions to his nephew, the Duke de Ventadour, for a moderate pecuniary consideration.

7.—This was indeed a blow to the colony of a character to which it afterwards became only too well accustomed. The new viceroy ^{Ventadour's colonial policy and operations.} had long since retired from the noise and bustle of life, to the retreat of a monkish order, intending to pass the rest of his days in religious exercise. A fit subject indeed to superintend the affairs of a colony already suffering from too much ecclesiastical regulation, and pining for the redress that could come only with commercial enterprise. The duke was not slow to declare himself more interested in the spiritual than the temporal interests of New France. This announcement filled the French protestants with disgust. Many of the oppressed of this class already looked forward to the colony as a near refuge from unbearable persecution. But the duke was

true only to this plan, which was to provide Canada with additional missionaries. "During the first year of his gubernatorial sway, he sent out to Quebec, at his own cost, five Jesuits; among whom were fathers Lallemand, Brebœuf, and Masse.—Champlain, meanwhile, attentive to his secular duties, watched over the colony as a protecting angel; and if he was not able to secure for it progressive ability, he at least saved it from falling into a decline. Becoming impatient, however, at the habitual indifference for its material interests manifested by the members of the society, he entered a formal accusation against them, addressed to the new lieutenant-general, depicting in lively colors, their neglect of a country which only wanted a very moderate amount of aid to become a flourishing possession. His complaints, regarded or not by him to whom they were addressed, reached the ear of the Cardinal-duke de Richelieu, lately (1624) become master of the destinies of France."—*Garneau*. But let us glance at the operations of this duke, as we shall have to become familiar with the mad plans of Catholic zealots throughout our narrative. In answer to his invitations for emigrants for Canada, most of the responses were from those who had renounced their blind allegiance to the Roman Catholic faith, but after much searching he found officers of his own creed to command his ships, but he was unable to prevent the fact, lamentable to his Romish loyalty, that two-thirds of the crews were staunch Protestants. This monkish lieutenant-governor could not permit these mixed crews to leave France without throwing restraints agreeable to his mind upon those whom he was pleased to term heretics. They were not to be allowed a free exercise of their religion, and particularly "they were not to sing psalms on the St. Lawrence," which had no doubt been, by proxy, consecrated by his holiness, the pope. These mariners betook themselves to psalm singing while on the ocean, knowing that when they entered the French waters of Canada, they would have to resort to some more inoffensive part of their ritual.

8.—The conversion of the natives was the heart and soul of the duke's policy. It had already engaged his pious mind for years, and now that he was armed with ample powers, and provided with necessary facilities, it remained only to put

Champlain's futile attempt to treat with the Iroquois.

into practice, the ideas which had been fostered so long in his bosom. Like many others of the French nobility at this era, the Jesuits had acquired undisputed control of him. Having provided him with a confessor, they were, in consequence, fully acquainted with his plans, with which they were in hearty co-operation. Having confidence in Champlain's loyalty to the Romish faith, as well as in his ability to look after the temporal interests of the colony, the duke continued him in all his functions as governor of New France. When Champlain returned to Quebec, in 1626, he found the fort at Quebec still unfinished, and the population of the colony dwindled down to about fifty-five souls, of whom not more than twenty-four were fit for labor. The Indians were also becoming hostile, and a war was preparing between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Champlain did all he could to preserve peace. The Algonquins held several Iroquois captives, whom he advised should be returned to their nation, with presents to compensate them for the losses they had already suffered. Accordingly one of the captives was sent back, accompanied by a chief and a Frenchman named Mognan. However, this course ended disastrously for the colony. "An Algonquin who sought to produce a war, in which he expected that his nation, aided by the French, would be completely victorious, persuaded the Iroquois that this mission, though professedly friendly, was devised with the most treacherous intent. Regarding the strangers accordingly as spies, the latter prepared to take the most horrible revenge. The unfortunate men found a cauldron boiling, as if to prepare a repast for them, and were courteously invited to seat themselves. The chief was asked, if after so long a journey he did not feel hungry? He replied in the affirmative, when his assassins rushed on him, and cut slices from his limbs, which they flung into the pot and soon after presented to him half cooked. They afterwards cut pieces from other parts of his body, and continued their torture until he expired in the greatest agony. The Frenchman was also tortured to death in the usual manner. Another Indian, more fortunate, while attempting to escape was shot dead on the spot; a third was made prisoner."—*MacMullen*.

9.—When the news of this outrage reached the allies, they rose with one accord fully bent on

Indian hostilities—
condition of Canada, A.D. 1627.

war. The Iroquois captives held among them were put to death with all possible cruelty. Champlain thought himself also forced to resent this tragedy. Since a Frenchman had been deprived of his life, the French colony could no longer hold a place in the respect of the natives unless his death were properly avenged. But his hands were, in a great measure, tied and helpless. The colony was too weak for any attempt at war, with a population of less than sixty souls, housed in miserable dwellings, without supplies, dispirited, and unaccustomed to the hardships to which they were every day exposed, they were in no condition to undertake an enterprise in which their circumstances would be certain to become more aggravated. The little settlements at Montreal, Tadousac, the Three Rivers, and two or three other points along the St. Lawrence were in a still more wretched condition. And now, besides the war into which this act of their enemies had forced them, they were themselves suffering from internal dissensions between the Catholic and Huguenots. But another foe was soon to advance from another quarter and of another character. Champlain was soon to receive a summons to surrender his colony to the British.

CHAPTER XI.

FRANCO-AMERICAN COLONIZATION, 1629 TO 1635.

1. RICHELIEU AND HIS PLAN OF COLONIZATION. —2. SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1629.—3. FALL AND RESTORATION OF CANADA.—4. CHAMPLAIN IN QUEBEC, 1635—HIS DEATH.

1.—Cardinal Richelieu, now Minister of France, was quite ready to heed the patriotic representations of Champlain. He had by this time firmly established his influence with his king. The Duke urged upon him the religious interests of the colony more than its temporal wants, and as the appeals of Champlain found the ear of Richelieu only through the lips of the Duke, we may suppose these to have largely lost their original force in transit, since Champlain was, though a staunch Catholic,

Richelieu and his
plan of coloniza-
tion.

by no means blinded to the fact that his efforts were already becoming a boon of religious contention. But even aside from the persuasions of the Duke, Richelieu had a burning desire to crush the Huguenots who were now, under the leadership of the De Caens, exercising considerable influence in the colony. The Cardinal, revoking all existing charters, set at work upon a new organization by which both the colony and the peltry traffic were to be governed. His plan aimed at the organization of a new company composed of men of influence and wealth, and in this he was successful. To this company a charter was granted by which it was given the title of "The Company of One Hundred Associates." To this company the King, Louis XIII., conveyed the fort and settlement at Quebec, and all the territory of New France, including Florida. Thus in 1627-8 a company was organized for the government and colonization of New France, "with power to appoint judges, build fortresses, cast cannon, confer titles, and take what steps they might think proper for the protection of the colony and the fostering of commerce." One of the most important features of the organization was a monopoly of the fur trade. This the King granted to this powerful company, together with all other exclusive privileges connected with the country, reserving to himself and his heirs supremacy in matters of faith, fealty, and homage as sovereign of the colony, and stipulating that a crown of gold was to be presented at every new accession to the throne by the colony. The King also reserved the cod and whale fisheries for the benefit of his subjects. No one will deny that the privileges of this extensive company were ample, but they were to make some return for these valuable concessions. They were to supply all settlers with lodging, food, clothing and farm implements for three years; "after which they would allow them sufficient land to support themselves, cleared to a certain extent, with the grain necessary for sowing it; secondly, that the emigrants should be native Frenchmen and Roman Catholics, and that no stranger or heretic should be introduced into the country; and, thirdly, they agreed to settle three priests in each settlement, whom they were bound to provide with every article necessary for their personal comfort, and to defray the expenses of their ministerial labor for fifteen years, after which cleared lands were to be granted by the

company to the clergy for maintaining the Roman Catholic Church in New France." This plan of Richelieu was bold and broad, and, considering the great enmity existing at the time between the Catholics and Protestants, the religious intolerance manifested is rather to be expected. It might have been more rigid and still found enthusiastic support. However, it was, even thus liberal, destined to meet with difficulties well calculated to overthrow its highest aims.

2.—Sad indeed is it that for so many years, nay, even to the present day, Canada was destined to rise and fall with the changing battles of Romanism. "The imprudent zeal of the Catholic attendants of the queen of Charles I., in connection with Richelieu's persecution of the Huguenots, had aroused the hostility of the English people; and the Duke of Buckingham, to gratify a private pique against the Cardinal, involved them in a war with France. The conquest of Canada was at once resolved upon at the English Court, and Charles granted a commission for that purpose to Sir David Kirk, one of the numerous Huguenot refugees then in England. Aided by his two brothers, Lewis and Thomas, and the younger De Caen, who vowed vengeance against his native country for the loss of his exclusive privilege, he speedily equipped a squadron, and sailed for the St. Lawrence. On arrival at Tadousac he sent a formal summons to Quebec, demanding its surrender. Champlain immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants to consult what was best to be done. On learning their determination to support him, he returned so spirited an answer, that Kirk, ignorant of the weak state of the defences, gave up his intention of capturing the town, and contented himself with seizing a convoy on its way thither with settlers and stores of all kinds. But Champlain and his companions gained only a brief respite of a few months by their courage. The following summer, in the month of July, the English fleet again ascended the St. Lawrence. A portion of it under the Admiral remained at Tadousac, while the vessels commanded by his brothers sailed up to Quebec to demand its surrender. Champlain distressed by famine, owing to the capture of his supplies, and the settlement being severely harassed by the hostile incursions of the Iroquois, at once resolved to comply with the summons of the Kirks, and accord-

Siege of Quebec,
1628.

ingly surrendered the town and fort on the next day. The terms granted him were of the most honorable character. The inhabitants were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and were to be conveyed to France if they desired it; but, owing to the kind treatment they experienced from the English, very few of them left the country. Leaving his brother Lewis in command of Quebec, Sir David Kirk, accompanied by Champlain, sailed for England in September; and arrived safely at Plymouth on the 20th of October."—*MacMullen*. We have seen by this authority just quoted how when Kirk first arrived in Canada, failing to effect the capture of Quebec, he seized an extensive convoy of provisions and settlers on its way to Quebec. This convoy was the first movement in behalf of Quebec under the patronage of the new company. Several vessels had been equipped, extra provisioned and put under the command of Boquemont, one of the associators. A large number of families and artizans took passage for Canada in these vessels, which set forth from France in 1628, but, as we have seen, were fated never to accomplish the object of their mission.

Garnean in his work gives us some particulars concerning the relations existing between England and France at this time, which we consider worth reproducing here. As we have already seen, after Argall destroyed Port Royal the English left Acadia. "In 1621, Sir William Alexander (afterwards better known as Earl of Stirling) obtained a grant of the province from James I., King of England, intending there to found a settlement of Scots colonists. The terms and the documents of concession defined Alexander's lordship as including all the territories east of a line drawn from the river St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, in the direction of the north. This region received the name of 'Nova Scotia,' or New Scotland. But what amount of territory the appellation was meant to cover was never properly ascertained during the following times: the English afterwards contending that Nova Scotia and Acadia were one; the French maintaining that Acadia was a separate part of the peninsula, with distinct limits, forming a portion of New France. Meantime (1622) Alexander embarked a body of emigrants to begin a settlement with; but they arrived so late in the year, that they were obliged to winter in Newfoundland. In spring, 1623, they set sail again, touched at Cape Breton, coasted Acadia, visiting some of its havens, and at length reached Cape Sable. There finding the French in full possession of the place, they turned helm and sailed back to Britain; on their arrival, giving a glowing account of the beauty and fertility of the entire country. Neither this year nor the next was any further attempt made. James I. dying in 1625, Alexander applied to his successor, Charles I., for a confirmation of his rights, which was granted. The late King, who had, in 1611, established a minor order of British nobility called *baronets*, designed, towards the close of his life, to confer that title on as many persons as could purchase it and form estates in the new colony of Nova Scotia. After the return of the emigrants in 1623, nothing was done in the matter till Charles ascended the throne. When that King, in 1628, granted to Alexander a charter of 'the lordship of Canada,' he granted certain tracts of land in Acadia to various persons, who were to be called 'Noblesse,' to distinguish them from English and Irish members of the pre-existing baronets of Nova Scotia." In the foregoing note we have given

Bell's translation of Garneau, in which are several valuable corrections of the original, for which the translator is entitled to due credit. Bell's Garneau further states that at this time, "intestine war between Catholics and Huguenots was raging in France. La Rochelle, the last bulwark of the latter, being closely besieged, an English fleet, commanded by the presumptuous yet incapable Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was sent for their intended relief. The ill-managed attempt utterly failed: Cardinal Richelieu took La Rochelle, and the position of Protestantism in France became one of abjection. Stung by his defeat, rather than moved by patriotic feelings or by regard for the cause of religious freedom, Buckingham persuaded his master to declare war against Louis XIII. Hostilities between their subjects, forthwith begun in Europe, soon extended to those of America. A fleet of war vessels was equipped in England to invade the settlements of New France, and in particular to attack Quebec. One of the ships was commanded by David Kirk, a master mariner of Dieppe, and another by Captain Mitchell, both being French Protestants. In mid-summer, 1628, the English ships reached the gulf of St. Lawrence, where they captured several French vessels, engaged in the fisheries and peltry traffic. Kirk, arriving at Tadousac, wrote a very civil letter, dated July 8, to Champlain, admonishing him, that as a famine reigned in Quebec, and no supplies could reach it by sea, the entry of the St. Lawrence being blockaded by the English fleet, it were best for all parties that the place should be yielded on favorable terms being accorded.

"Champlain, judging from the distance between him and Kirk that the latter was not so ready to put his threats in execution as he announced, sent a defiant reply to the summons; although, had Kirk acted at once, rather than lost time in parley, he might have attained his object easily, for the garrison of Quebec was then in helpless extremity. In order to disguise the nakedness of the land, the wily governor ostentatiously feasted the impressed Basques whom Kirk sent to deliver his minatory missive: although the inhabitants then had no resources whatever, and lived upon seven ounces of bread per head daily, served from the government stores, the latter containing, at this time, not more than 50 lbs. of gunpowder. When the messengers returned to Kirk with Champlain's letter, and answered the questions that were probably put to them, that officer, distrusting the reports he had previously received of the state of Quebec, destroyed all the vessels he had at Tadousac, and returned to the lower Laurentian waters.

"Shortly afterwards, Roquemont arrived in the gulf, and was erroneously informed, as he entered it, by natives whom he met, that Quebec had been taken by the English. Doubting the evil news, however, peace having been re-established when he left, he despatched eleven of his men, in a light vessel, to Quebec for more reliable information. Scarcely had this bark set out, than the people in her sighted six vessels bearing English colors; and next day they heard a brisk cannonade. It proceeded from the guns of Kirk's and Roquemont's ships, then in close action. The latter had been chased, and were easily captured after a short opposition; they were, in fact, almost unmanageable in fight, being loaded to the gunwale with supplies, and necessarily crowded with unwarlike passengers. It appeared that Roquemont rather sought than avoided this irreparable calamity, for such it proved, as being the real mediate cause of the surrender of Quebec, although that untoward event did not take place till next year.

"The governor having had his mind prepared for the intelligence brought him of the capture of Roquemont's ships by what he already knew, bore the shock with his accustomed equanimity, and set about making the means of subsistence still left go as far as possible. Unfortunately, the year's return from the small patches of land under cultivation proved unwontedly scanty. He despatched agents to buy as much provisions from the natives as they were willing to part with; and sent a number of others to winter with the Indians, so that there would be fewer mouths to consume the almost exhausted government stores. After every precaution taken, however, the suffering from privation by the inhabitants of Quebec, during the following five or six months, must have been very great; for it is recorded that no sooner had the snow disappeared from the ground, than numbers of those whom want had not quite prostrated, went forth to the contig-

uous wilderness, to search for roots, &c., to keep life in their own bodies or in those of their families.

"In the midst of this distress, Champlain seemed to rise superior to evil fate. Personally, he set the example of patience under extreme privation, while he gave encouraging assurances, which he could hardly have put trust in himself, that plenty would soon return; as doubtless vessels, freighted with abundant supplies would soon arrive from France. But days, weeks, months glided on, and they came not. The season of starvation continued through part of the spring, with nearly as much suffering as in the previous winter, and was now being prolonged during the first months of summer. Every wood, for many leagues round the city, having been thoroughly ransacked for petty edibles the sufferers had become utterly despondent, when all were roused into glad expectation on hearing that three inward bound vessels were near and had been signalled behind Pointe Lévi. The joy of their presence was short-lived. They were English ships of war, commanded by Louis and Thomas Kirk, sent on by the Admiral, their brother, who sailed from England with a second expedition, but had tarried at Tadousac with a larger number of vessels. No thought was entertained now in the mind of any one, but to give up the city, on the most favorable conditions that its foes would be persuaded to make. They entered its gates and took possession on the 29th of July, 1629. Louis Kirk, who installed himself as the English governor, treated the citizens with kindness, and it may be presumed supplied the more pressing bodily wants of the people whose ruler he had become. However this may be, it is certain that a majority of the colonists concluded to remain in the country."

3.—Thus was the first fall of Quebec effected in 1629. France had been striving for a century to establish a colony in America, and now in a single year the results of ^{Fall and restoration of Canada.} all their efforts had passed into the hands of their enemies. But the fort and settlement captured by Kirk was soon to be restored to the French, that it might be retaken with greater glory to the British Crown in a century and a quarter afterwards, when, on the Plains of Abraham, the great Wolfe, was to consecrate with his blood a victory for his country and Protestantism. Kirk, accompanied by Champlain, proceeded to Tadousac, there intending to take passage to Europe, which he did. In descending the St. Lawrence they met De Caen, sailing toward Quebec with a ship well loaded with provisions. After an obstinate resistance Thomas Kirk captured this ship also. Champlain was conducted to England, where he at once held a conference with the French ambassador at London on the affairs of New France. He urged upon the ambassador the necessity of demanding the restitution of Quebec, since it had been captured more than two months after the close of the brief war between the two nations. "The ambassador, like a numerous party in France, had no very exalted opinion of Canada; and seemed to regard its restoration, as one of the conditions of the proposed peace, as a very unimportant matter. Champlain's representations, however, prevailed at the French

Court. He clearly proved the vast national importance of the fur trade and the fisheries; and that the latter formed an admirable nursery for seamen. These facts, backed by his strong solicitations, induced Richelieu to negotiate for the restoration of Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton, which, by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, again became appendages of the French crown. The establishment of peace placed the company of One Hundred Associates in possession of all their former privileges. They promptly reinstated Champlain as governor of Canada, and commenced extensive preparations for a fresh expedition."—*MacMullen*. These were completed, and in the spring of 1633, Champlain once more landed in Quebec with supplies and new settlers.

4.—In 1633, when Champlain arrived at Quebec he found the little colony in the same dejected condition in which he had left it, unimproved in numbers and comforts. He busied himself improving its affairs, and negotiating friendly relations with the savages with considerable success. He afterwards turned his attention to the establishment of a college, or seminary for the education of the youth of the colony. This project found its origin in a scheme of the Jesuits, and one of them gave six thousand crowns to aid in carrying it out. The erection of this institution was commenced in the autumn of 1635, and was the means of inspiring the inhabitants with new hopes and new energies. Champlain, however, was not to see its completion. He died in the following December, his loss being deeply mourned by the colonists and by his many friends in France. We refer the reader to the biographical department at the close of this work for a sketch of this truly great man.

Champlain at Quebec, 1635.—His death.

CHAPTER XII.

ACADIAN COLONIZATION.—1613 TO 1668.

1. OPERATIONS OF THE DE LA TOURS.—2. DISPOSAL OF ACADIA BY TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN.—3. CIVIL WAR IN NOVA SCOTIA.—4. LA TOUR'S BOSTON REINFORCEMENT.—5. BRAVERY OF MADAME DE LA TOUR.—6. LA TOUR MARRIES THE WIDOW OF HIS

ENEMY.—7. ENGLISH ASCENDENCY IN ACADIA.—8. ENGLISH OCCUPANCY AND RESTITUTION OF ACADIA.

1.—Turning our attention once more to the shores of Acadia, let us observe the events that were transpiring in that quarter. After the English had defeated the French, and destroyed Port Royal, in 1613, they retired from the country, taking no steps to colonize it until 1621, when King James the First, of England, made a grant, which included Acadia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, and part of Lower Canada, to Sir William Alexander, a native of Scotland, a poet and dramatist of considerable reputation. In 1622 Sir William chartered a vessel, in which a number of emigrants embarked, for the purpose of settling in Nova Scotia. The vessel sailed in August, and approached the Island of Cape Breton about the middle of September. Here he encountered a violent storm, and was driven to Newfoundland, where he landed, and decided to spend the winter, sending the ship back to England for supplies. The vessel set out on her return trip in the following spring, but did not reach Newfoundland until the middle of June, before which time most of the emigrants left on the Island, despairing of her return, engaged themselves to the fishermen. While these things were taking place, Charles the First ascended the throne, from whom Sir William Alexander not only received a confirmation of his grant obtained from King James, but an additional extent of territory, which led to the formation of a company called "The Merchant Adventurers of Canada." The celebrated Sir David Kirk, of whose operations at Quebec we have already spoken, was one of this company, and in those transactions was supported by this company. It seems that in one of the vessels captured by Kirk, in the convoy previously spoken of, was Claude de la Tour, a French Protestant, who had previously obtained a grant of land on the river St. John. This man was taken to England with Champlain. Meanwhile, Charles, a son of this De la Tour, commanded a French fort at Cape Sable. While in England the father had married a lady of rank, and having been created, in 1629, a Baronet of Nova Scotia, entered into an arrangement by which he hoped to seduce his son

from his loyalty to the king of France. In accordance with his plans two men-of-war were fitted out, and with La Tour on board, sailed for Cape Sable. When he arrived he had an interview with his son, to whom he set forth in bright colors the advantages he would derive from surrendering the fort to the English, and identifying himself with interests loyal to the British. His son's reply did credit to his loyalty. He said that to comply with his father's wishes would be treason to his king, rather than which he proposed to defend the fort to the utmost, and even to sacrifice his life. "Finding his son resolute De la Tour ordered an attack on the fort, which was continued for two days, and which resulted in the defeat of the attacking force. De la Tour now found himself in an awkward position. To return to France was death, and to England disgrace. He therefore requested his son to permit him to settle quietly with his wife in the neighborhood, to which the young man consented, on the condition that his father was never to enter the fort. De la Tour and his wife with two valets and two female servants, accordingly landed, and the two men-of-war returned to England. Haliburton says that in the following year De la Tour joined a party of emigrants who landed at Port Royal, and built a fort at Granville, the remains of which were visible when he wrote, being known by the traditionary name of the Scotch fort. According to Denys, as related by Murdoch, he was found at Cape Sable in 1635; but Ferland's account seems to explain the matter satisfactorily by representing De la Tour as having gone to Port Royal with the Scotch colonists, and returning by invitation, on his son Charles being appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Acadia, in 1631. A number of the emigrants having died during the first winter at Granville, and the extensive colonial speculations, in which Sir William Alexander was engaged, not proving profitable, induced him in the year 1630 to transfer all Nova Scotia, except Port Royal, to his friend Claude De la Tour."—*Campbell*.

2.—In 1632, however, peace was concluded between England and France, which was the first public treaty which settled the title to Canada and Acadia, notwithstanding that Sir David Kirk, in conjunction with Sir William Alexander and others, had forced the French from the Valley of the St. Law-

Disposal of Acadia after the Treaty of St. Germain's.

rence, and taken Quebec, Port Royal, St. Croix, and Pentagoet,—all the possessions France then had in America. Yet, by an article of the Treaty of St. Germain's, all these places were restored to the Crown of France. Thus the English returned to the French what they had, at much expense, taken from them; and this wholesale transfer of American possessions gives us a very good idea of their value as then estimated by the advisers of the English Crown. When the Prime Minister of France stipulated in the Treaty of St. Germain's that Acadia was to be restored to the French, it is not likely that he had any serious thoughts of colonizing it. It was, says Garneau, tacitly understood that it should remain at the disposal of the individuals who already held it by grant. These persons left to their own discretion in its wilderness, where they swayed a despotic power over traders and natives, took up arms against each other, much in the same style of the battling feudality of the middle ages.

3.—Acadia was apportioned into three provinces, and put into the possession of as many proprietary governors. These were Civil war in Nova Scotia, 1636-7. Knight-Commander Isaac de Razilli, Cavalier De la Tour, and M. Denis. Razilli was given the command of Port Royal, with all the territory to the south west, as far as New England, which of course included New Brunswick. La Tour had the whole country from Port Royal to Canso, and Denis had the rest of Acadia from Canso to Gaspé. Razilli was appointed Governor-in-Chief of all these colonies. "La Tour applied for and obtained royal letters patent in France, recognizing the validity of a concession of lands on the river St. John, granted to his father in 1627, by King Charles I. King of England; and in 1634 he obtained, besides the Isle de Sable, ten square leagues of seaboard territory at La Héve, and ten other square leagues at Port Royal, along with islands adjacent. But Commander Razilli was so taken with the natural beauties of La Héve, so struck with its fitness for a harbor, with its capacity for admitting a thousand sail of vessels, that he engaged La Tour to cede it to himself. He there fixed his residence, after taking possession, by royal order, of the country beyond, as far as the Kennebec river. A frigate which he had sent on took possession of a petty fort at Penobscot, which the New England colonists of Plymouth

had erected, and therein deposited their peltries as a place of safety. The French placed a garrison in it."—*Garneau*. In 1635 Razilli died, whereupon his brothers succeeded him, one of whom, Charles de Menon, Chevalier de Charnizay, was named chief governor of all Acadia, in 1647. The first act of the latter worthy of notice was the abandonment of La Héve, where Razilli had formed a prosperous settlement. Charnizay moved its inhabitants to Port Royal. Soon a difficulty grew up between him and La Tour, probably from their rivalry in the peltry traffic, or the uncertain limits of their several territories. These haughty spirits could settle their dispute short of nothing but a resort to arms.

4.—Louis XIII., King of France, undertook to reconcile these, his American subjects, but in vain.

He defined the boundaries of their several governments, fixing the limits of Charnizay's at the New England frontiers on the one side, and at a line drawn from the Bay of Fundy to Canso on the other; the country west of said line being assigned to La Tour, excepting La Héve and Port Royal, which the former was to possess in exchange for the fort at St. John's river, held by the latter. But these efforts of the King did not pacify the rival commandants. Charnizay succeeded in conquering his enemy at Court, where he received orders to arrest La Tour and send him to France a prisoner. But this was not so easy to accomplish. First of all Fort St. John was to be taken, which Charnizay proceeded to invest. In this extremity La Tour appealed to his Boston neighbors for aid. At that time England and France were at peace, and Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts could not openly aid the applicant; nevertheless the Massachusetts colonists were eager to protract a war that would be sure to weaken Acadia, and the Governor was induced to permit La Tour to raise and equip a small force in his province. With eighty men thus raised in Massachusetts, together with one hundred and forty French Protestants, La Tour not only raised the siege of Fort St. Johns, but closely pursued the retreating Charnizay to his fortifications. Charnizay protested against the aggression committed by the English in time of peace, in which he was heartily joined by a numerous body of the people of Massachusetts, but Governor Winthrop observed, in justification of his action, "that the

doubt with us in the matter was this, whether it were more safe, just and honorable to neglect a Providence which put it in our power to succor an unfortunate neighbor, at the same time weakening a dangerous enemy, than to allow that enemy to work out his purpose. We have preferred the former alternative." The English Governor followed this justification by proposing to Charnizay a treaty of amity and trade between Acadia and New England, an offer which was promptly accepted, as Charnizay hoped thereby to obtain advantage over La Tour. The treaty was signed, October 8, 1646, at Boston, and was subsequently ratified by commissioners of the confederated colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth.

5.—La Tour's Massachusetts forces had now been sent home and Charnizay, learning that he was absent from his fort, enjoyed the belief that he could take it by surprise; "but Madame de la Tour, an heroic woman, took charge of its defence and played her husband's part so well, that the besiegers were fain to retire, after having lost 33 of their number. The garrison was also stronger than Charnizay expected, for the Bostonians still extended succor, underhand, to his antagonist. The former, chagrined at the repulse he had received, imputed it entirely to the above-noted practical violation of the treaty lately entered into. Disdaining to remonstrate, he threatened severe reprisals, and began by seizing a New England vessel. This act had the desired effect. All further aid to La Tour was withheld by the Bostonians. Charnizay re-invested Fort St. John, and plied the siege briskly; but Madame de La Tour, with a mere handful of men, repelled his assaults three several times. He began to despair of success, when a traitor in the garrison let him into the body of the place at an unguarded entrance on Easter-day. Madame de la Tour had time to take refuge in one isolated part of the works, and stood so stoutly on her defence, that Charnizay was fain to subscribe to the terms of surrender which she demanded. When Charnizay saw the smallness of the number to whom he had capitulated, he regretted the concession he had made; and pretending that he had been deceived or misunderstood, he had the ineffable baseness to hang every man of the faithful band; obliging the heroine who had been their leader to be present at the execution,

La Tour's Boston reinforcement.

Bravery of Madame De la Tour.

with a halter round her neck."—*Garneau*. This unfortunate lady was so much affected by the excitement of the contest and the subsequent executions that she fell into a decline from which she never recovered.

6.—Shortly after La Tour became an exile, being escorted to Quebec in 1646, where he was received with military honors, and entertained at the Castle of St. Louis. He remained some time in Canada, entering extensively into the fur traffic in the Hudson's Bay territory. But in 1651, he learned of the death of his old enemy Charnizay, whereupon he at once set out for Acadia, and where, strange though it may seem, he married the widow of his own wife's persecutor, entering upon full possession of all the estates of the latter, with the consent of the heirs. This gave a new lease to the troubles in Acadia. France had now learned to doubt La Tour's loyalty, probably from his connection with the New Englanders. One Le Borgne, a creditor of Charnizay, was empowered to attach certain property left by his deceased debtor in Acadia, and to use, if necessary, force to obtain possession of it. Le Borgne, putting a new and wider meaning to his commission, at once determined to possess himself of the whole province. He began his operations by attacking M. Denis unawares, mastered his establishment at Cape Breton, and sent him a prisoner, manacled, to Port Royal. He then burnt the settlement at La Héve, not so much as sparing the chapel, and was preparing to attack La Tour at St. John, when a more powerful expedition, sent out by Cromwell, put a stop to his progress. Cromwell, in 1654, sent out an expedition to repress Acadia. His forces expelled those of La Tour from St. John, and drove Le Borgne from Port Royal, taking the latter prisoner. At the same time the Massachusetts colonists attacked La Héve, then under the command of Le Borgne's son, and one Guilbault, a merchant. After a desperate conflict, in which the invading party lost their leader, the little fort was capitulated, the garrison receiving honorable terms. After accomplishing the ruin of Acadia, the English retired from the country, and its possessors, a loose, roving set, were pretty much left to themselves, with but little rule, sometimes recognizing the King of France, sometimes the King of England, and sometimes both.

7.—After the war had ended M. Denis returned to Chedabouctou, where he maintained friendly relations with the English. This excited the envy of his neighbors, and he was attacked a second time. "A person named de La Giraudière had obtained, under false pretences, as was said, the concession of Canso. He proceeded to capture Denis' ships, took possession of his factory at Cape Breton, and beleaguered the fort there. The damage resulting from these aggressions, the cost of law-process thence arising, and the conflagration of his establishment, conjoined to effect his ruin. He had to leave the country soon afterwards, where his presence had been really beneficial. Being a public-spirited man, he had established fisheries, factories for the peltry traffic; and depots for lumber, which he largely exported to Europe. La Tour finally throve best. Being a Huguenot, he all the more readily put himself under the protection of the English, when they succeeded in bringing the country under their sway. In 1656, Cromwell granted to La Tour, Sir Thomas Temple, and William Crown, conjointly and severally, territorial rights over all Acadia. La Tour afterwards ceded his part in the same to Temple, who spent more than £16,000 sterling merely for putting the forts in order. The recorded annals of Acadia, from this time till it was re-transferred to France in terms of the treaty of Breda (signed June 29, 1667), are of little significance. Despite the constant representations and humble requests made to the authorities in the mother country by the inhabitants, the colony had been neglected at all times, for reasons we have elsewhere detailed, but which may be again briefly expressed here. Mistress, as France was, of immense forest territories, her rulers feared to encourage colonization therein, lest the kingdom itself should become emasculated; again, whatever numbers of people it was thought the old country could afford to part with, were in the first place directed to Canada, as having the best claim to be served. The intention of colonizing Acadia, indeed, was never abandoned; but constant postponement became virtually the same through its malign influence upon the affairs of the few resident French subjects. It must be allowed, however, that the inferior soil, and the exposure of Acadia to alien intrusion, made it less attractive

to private settlers than Canada; but the geographical position of the country, with its range of seaboard and magnificent havens, made its acquisition and retention of great importance as the bulwark to such a potent colonial empire as that projected by the more lofty-minded among its founders and protectors from occidental France. The enormous selfishness of individuals, as well as national supineness, worked in an adverse direction to that of progress for Acadia. Thus those ingrates who obtain concessions of immense tracts, as territorial seigniors paramount and as lordly traders, desired to have no communities of sturdy colonists in their way as 'runners of the woods.' Hence every effort made for extensive land-cultivation was systematically thwarted by the successive patentees, both French and English. Hence, it was, too, that the truculent Charnizay, from motives such as we have just stated, forbade any one to come within his bounds except by his license. Worse still, he kept colonists, whom he arbitrarily removed from La Hève to Port Royal, in a state of slavish compression; besides discouraging all efforts, whether made by them or others, to ameliorate the physical condition of the country. No wonder was it, all things taken into account, that Acadia was so late in taking its due rank in public estimation, as an important province of New France. So far from founding settlements of any importance within its borders, or promoting industry on its lands or in its waters, successive Ministers of State in Old France scarcely used means effectual enough to vindicate the nominal sovereignty of their masters over the neglected Acadian territory."—*Garneau*. Thus through the negligence of the ruling spirits of France, the conflicts of religious intolerance, and the selfish ambition of the commandants, Acadia was doomed to receive but little attention from the nation whose authority held nominal sway over it.

8.—England maintained nominal possession of Acadia from the period of Cromwell's expedition in 1654 to 1670. When peace was concluded between France and England, at the treaty of Westminster, Cromwell carefully evaded the claims of France to the restoration of Acadia. He proposed to refer the matter to the consideration of commissioners, but purposely neglected to do this, and the

question was not again debated until 1662, when M. d'Estrades, then ambassador in London from the French Court, renewed, on behalf of his King, the demand for restitution. At this time commissioners were appointed by King Charles the second, and the rights of the two Crowns to the province were fully discussed in the king's presence. However no decisive measure of State followed. New England had already been aroused to the importance of securing Acadia to the British Crown, and, on hearing the demand of the French, they immediately transmitted a petition to the English King and parliament praying that Nova Scotia might not again be restored to the French. This, together with other matters, had the effect of delaying the action of the Governments. However, in 1667, by the treaty of Breda, Nova Scotia and all Acadia were restored to the French. This act was somewhat in violation of the rights conferred upon Sir Thomas Temple and his associates, who had been to large expense in placing the forts in a defensible condition. This encroachment was the cause of renewed troubles in Nova Scotia. M. Nourillon du Bourg was commissioned under the great seal of France, in October, 1668, to receive Acadia from Sir Thomas Temple, then Governor of the province. Du Bourg landed and presented the Governor with his commission and a letter from the King of England, dated December 31, 1667, under his signet, containing his order for the surrender of the territory. But Sir Thomas refused to give up the province, giving, in justification of this act, the reason that there was too much ambiguity as to the boundaries of the territory to be ceded. Du Bourg now reached the ear of the English King through the French ambassador, and so shrewdly represented his case that Sir Thomas received a decisive order to evacuate all the forts held by him. Being thus overthrown by his own King, the English commandant surrendered Acadia to the Cavalier Grand Fontaine, who had been appointed French governor of the province. Thus once more this maritime country passed into the hands of a people who were but poorly qualified to establish commercial or agricultural colonies in America.

CHAPTER XIII.

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF
QUEBEC, 1634.

1. CIVIL AFFAIRS AT QUEBEC, 1632-35.—2. HUSBANDRY, STOCK RAISING, ETC.—3. DESCRIPTION OF QUEBEC, 1634.—4. LE JEUNE, SUPERIOR OF THE MISSION AT QUEBEC.

1.—Returning to Quebec, let us glance at its general condition, together with that of Canada, at the death of Champlain. From Civil affairs at Quebec, 1632-35. taking this survey one will be the better prepared to enter upon the administration of his successor. Champlain's wife resided at Quebec, but she was the first, and, at the time, the only lady resident of the colony. At this time the colony could hardly have been regarded as established with sufficient strength and growth to ensure its permanent success. In 1633 there were probably from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty actual residents at Quebec, or in its vicinity. Most of these were workmen employed in the fort, or at the factories of the fur traders. Besides there were the company's agents at Tadousac and Three Rivers. At the latter place there had been erected some rude buildings, defended by two small pieces of artillery. In the summer season this number was considerably increased by traders belonging to the vessels of French merchants, but these generally retired from the country in the autumn, and could not therefore be called residents. There were also a number of rangers and half-breeds among the natives, who are not counted in this enumeration. In 1639, four years after Champlain's death, the population of Quebec was only two hundred and fifty. In the surrounding country there wandered some hundreds of savages, Algonquins, established at Sillery by Lalemant, and governed by the Jesuits. Fish was very abundant, but the products of the soil were scarce, and there were not, in fact, colonists of sufficient numbers, or sufficiently settled on the land to raise the food required even for their own support. From 1632 to 1635, while Champlain lived, the company of One Hundred Associates were quite active in promoting the interests of the colony, though, however, more from the urgent appeals of the governor than from their own inclinations. They es-

tablished and maintained, under the style of *Residences*, four or five establishments in New France. These were at Cape Breton, Miscou, Quebec, Three Rivers and Shonatira, among the Hurons. Besides these the company maintained forts, trading marts, and dwellings for the accommodation of the colonists in various places. Le Jeune, of whom we shall speak at length presently, gives a very clear account of the colony at this time, and expresses much joy at the continued increase of numbers, specifying two families in particular, which alone comprehended forty-five persons. He piously remarks, "what a subject for thankfulness it is to see, in these countries, delicate bodies of children of tender age, landing from their wooden prisons like the bright day issuing from the darkness of night, and after all enjoying such excellent health, notwithstanding all the inconveniences of these floating habitations, just as if they had pursued their route comfortably in a chariot." Le Jeune probably overdraws this matter of the comfort of emigration, but he was too much interested in the progress of the colony not to encourage his countrymen to undertake the voyage. Le Jeune had many questions to answer concerning the condition and resources of the colony from his superiors in France, in all of which he took good care to make the most encouraging statements consistent with the truth. About the time of Champlain's death this zealous ecclesiastic sums up the recommendations of the colony in four divisions, viz.: the excellence of its soil, its fortified posts, the number of its inhabitants, and what he not inappropriately terms "*its civil and ecclesiastical police*." In 1634, Le Jeune thus writes of the colony in the three aspects first mentioned: "As to the inhabitants of New France, they have increased beyond expectation. When I came first there was only one family; now, every season we witness the arrival of a goodly number of highly honorable persons, who come to throw themselves into our vast forests as into a peaceful retreat for piety and liberty. The sounds of palaces, and the thunders of sergeants-at-law, pleaders, and solicitors, could only reach us here from the distance of a thousand leagues; and it is only once a year that the papers and gazettes, which some bring from Old France, apprise us of the existence in the world of *exactions, frauds, robberies, murders, and enormities*. Of course we are not without our maladies,

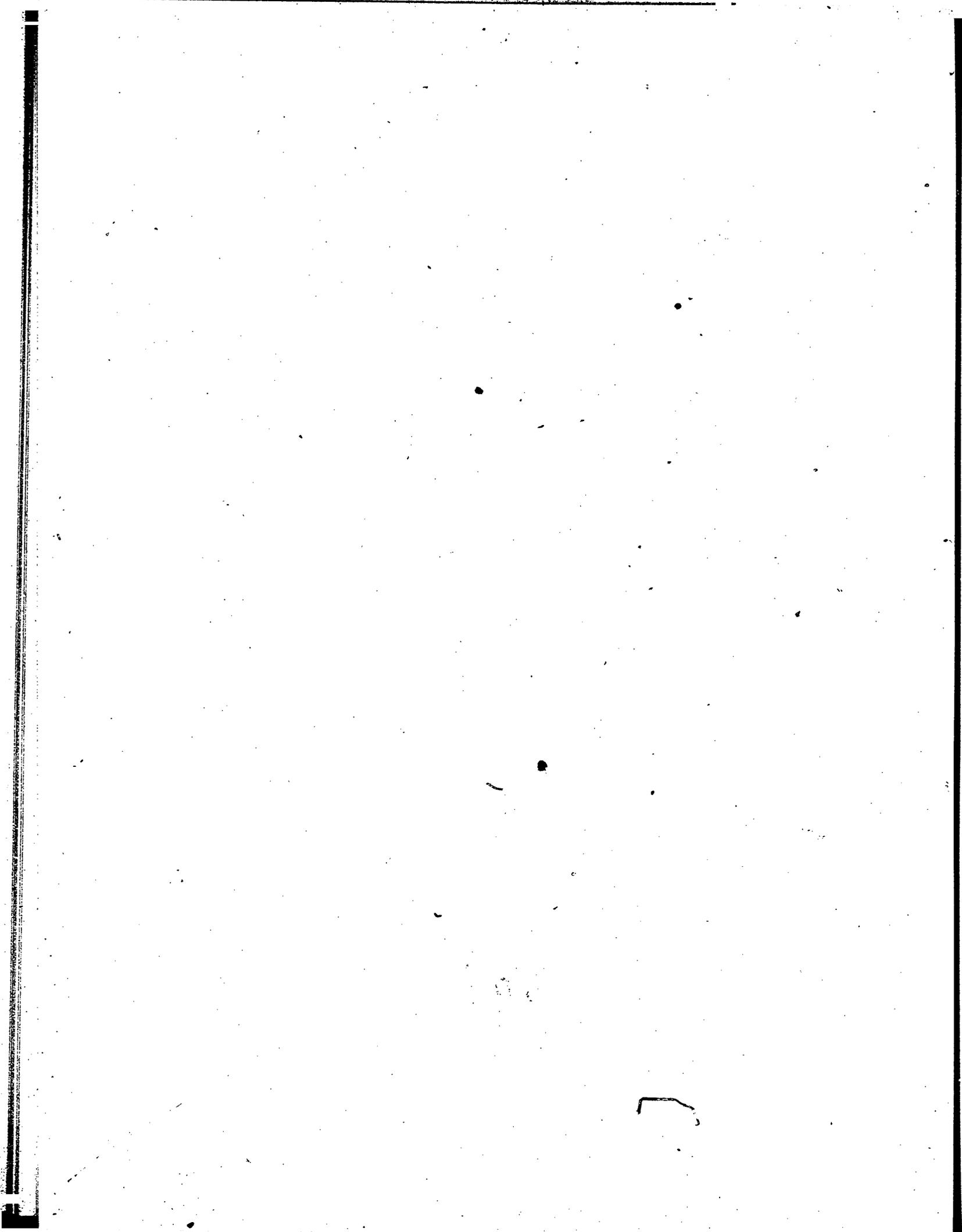
but they are of easy cure and inexpensive. Thank God, the amiable souls in this country can experience the sweetness of a life far remote from thousands of superfluous compliments, from the tyranny of legal processes and the ravages of war. . . . Here we have honorable gentlemen and soldiers, whom it is a pleasure to behold going through warlike exercises in the midst of peace, and to hear the reports of musketry and cannon only on occasions of rejoicing re-echoed from our grand forests and mountains. The other inhabitants consist of a mass of various artisans and a number of honorable families, notably increased of late. Even our savages are astonished to see so many of what they call 'captains and young captains.' When they tell us at Quebec that there is a number of persons at Tadousac, and that nothing is to be seen below but men, women, and little children coming to increase our colony, and that amongst them are young ladies and young children as bright as the day, I leave you to judge how joy and surprise take possession of our hearts. Who cares now for the difficulty of crossing the ocean, when such young children, and girls, and women, naturally timid, make nothing of the long sea-voyage? As to our civil and ecclesiastical police, I have already intimated we have no practice here for cavillers. All our disagreements hitherto have quickly disappeared; every one is his own advocate, and the first person one meets is a judge of last resort without appeal. But if there be any case which deserves to come before the Governor, he disposes of it in two words. It is not that we cannot have here any judicial process, but as there are no great occasions of dispute, so there cannot be great lawsuits, and consequently in that respect all is mild and agreeable. Of course in all societies there are some discontented spirits to whom the very mildest form of restraint seems odious. All such are provided for here; for, on the 29th December, 1635, notices and prohibitions were affixed to a pillar in front of the church specifying the penalties for blasphemy, intemperance, neglect of mass or of divine service on fête-days. Also a pillory was attached to the same, which was had recourse to on the 16th of January to punish a drunkard and blasphemer; and on the 22d one of our people was condemned to pay a fine of fifty livres for having supplied intoxicating liquors to the savages. As to ecclesiastical juri-

diction, this is only exercised as yet in the hearts and consciences. At first when we came to this country we had only a wretched little hovel in which to celebrate divine service, and which now would make us ashamed; then we had an apartment in a house; next we built a chapel, and now we aim at converting this into a church. The first services held in this large chapel or little church were so attended that the place was filled from one end to the other. . . . I have forgotten to say that the establishment of a College serves much to benefit the country, and a number of honorable people have intimated to me that they never would have crossed the ocean to New France, but that they knew there were here already persons able to guide their consciences and care for their salvation, as well as to instruct their children in virtue and learning."

2.—Some animals—cows, sheep, swine, etc.—had been imported to Canada as early as 1608; and in 1623, it is recorded that two thousand bundles of fodder were ^{Husbandry, stock raising, etc.} brought from the pasture grounds at *Cap Tourment* to Quebec for winter use. The company of associates were bound by their charter to bring to Canada two or three hundred settlers every year. In order to carry on the work of establishing settlers on the land, several subordinate companies or associations were formed in France. Among the many leaders in these subordinate enterprises was M. Giffard, a physician, who is said to have spent over thirty years of his life in earnest service for the colony. In return for this service he received an extensive grant of land at Beauport, near Quebec. Here he employed a number of men clearing the land and erecting a dwelling for his family, which caused a settlement to grow up at that place.

3.—The general appearance of Quebec at this time has had many curious descriptions. "One who, in the summer of the year 1634, stood on the margin of Point Levi ^{Description of Quebec, 1634.} and looked northward across the St. Lawrence, would have seen, at the distance of a mile or more, a range of lofty cliffs, rising on the left into the bald heights of Cape Diamond, and on the right, sinking abruptly to the bed of the tributary river St. Charles. Beneath these cliffs, at the brink of the St. Lawrence, he would have descried a cluster of warehouses, sheds and wooden





tenements. Immediately above, along the verge of a precipice, he could have traced the outlines of a fortified work, with a flag-staff, and a few small cannon to command the river, while at the only point where Nature had made the heights accessible, a zigzag path connected the warehouses and the fort."—*Parkman*. Here, ascending and descending this height, might have been seen the rather odd looking inhabitants of the town. These might have been divided into four classes, each distinguished by a peculiar kind of dress. There were the officers and soldiers of the fort; the plain French inhabitants of the town, the rangers or *coureurs de bois*, and the priests. Among the latter Father Le Jeune, Superior of Québec, was of course the most prominent figure. Around him centres considerable interest, and the more so, since he largely controlled the destinies of the colony. "And now that we may the better know the aspect and condition of the infant colony and incipient mission, we will follow the priest on his way. Mounting the steep path, he reached the top of the cliff, some two hundred feet above the river and the warehouses. On the left lay the fort built by Champlain, covering a part of the ground now forming Durham Terrace and the Place d'Armes. Its ramparts were logs and earth, and within was a turreted building of stone, used as a barrack, as officers' quarters, and for other purposes. Near the fort stood a small chapel, newly built. The surrounding country was cleared and partially cultivated; yet only one dwelling-house worthy the name appeared. It was a substantial cottage, where lived Madame Hébert, widow of the first settler of Canada, with her daughter, her son-in-law Couillard, and their children, good Catholics all, who, two years before, when Quebec was evacuated by the English, wept for joy at beholding Le Jeune, and his brother Jesuit, De Noué, crossing their threshold to offer beneath their roof the long-forbidden sacrifice of the Mass. There were enclosures with cattle near at hand; and the house, with its surroundings, betokened industry and thrift.

"Thence Le Jeune walked on, across the site of the modern market-place, and still onward, near the line of the cliffs which sank abruptly on his right. Beneath lay the mouth of the St. Charles; and, beyond, the wilderness shore of Beauport swept in a wide curve eastward, to where, far in

the distance, the Gulf of Montmorenci yawned on the great river. The priest soon passed the clearings, and entered the woods which covered the site of the present suburb of St. John. Thence he descended to a lower plateau, where now lies the suburb of St. Roch, and, still advancing, reached a pleasant spot at the extremity of the Pointeaux-Lièvres, a tract of meadow land nearly inclosed by a sudden bend of the St. Charles. Here lay a canoe or skiff; and, paddling across the narrow stream, Le Jeune saw on the meadow, two hundred yards from the bank, a square inclosure formed of palisades, like a modern picket fort of the Indian frontier. Within this enclosure were two buildings, one of which had been half burned by the English, and was not yet repaired. It served as storehouse, stable, workshop, and bakery. Opposite stood the principal building, a structure of planks, plastered with mud, and thatched with long grass from the meadows. It consisted of one story, a garret, and a cellar, and contained four principal rooms, of which one served as chapel, another as refectory, another as kitchen, and the fourth as a lodging for workmen. The furniture of all was plain in the extreme. Until the preceding year, the chapel had had no other ornament than a sheet on which were glued two coarse engravings; but the priests had now decorated their altar with an image of a dove representing the Holy Ghost, an image of Loyola, another of Xavier, and three images of the Virgin. Four cells opened from the refectory, the largest of which was eight feet square. In these lodged six priests, while two lay brothers found shelter in the garret. The house had been hastily built, eight years before, and now leaked in all parts. Such was the Residence of Notre-Dame des Anges. Here was nourished the germ of a vast enterprise, and this was the cradle of the great mission of New France.

"Of the six Jesuits gathered in the refectory for the evening meal, one was conspicuous among the rest,—a tall, strong man, with features that seemed carved by Nature for a soldier, but which the mental habits of years had stamped with the visible impress of the priesthood. This was Jean de Brebeuf, descendant of a noble family of Normandy, and one of the ablest and most devoted zealots whose names stand on the missionary rolls of his Order. His companions were Masse, Daniel,

Davoust, De Noué and the Father Superior, Le Jeune. Masse was the same priest who had been the companion of Father Biard in the abortive mission of Acadia. By reason of his useful qualities, Le Jeune nicknamed him "le Père Utile." At present, his special function was the care of the pigs and cows, which he kept in the enclosure around the buildings, lest they should ravage the neighboring fields of rye, barley, wheat, and maize! De Noué had charge of the eight or ten workmen employed by the mission, who gave him at times no little trouble by their repinings and complaints. They were forced to hear mass every morning and prayers every evening, besides an exhortation on Sunday. Some of them were for returning home, while two or three, of a different complexion, wished to be Jesuits themselves. The Fathers, in their intervals of leisure, worked with their men, spade in hand. For the rest, they were busied in preaching, singing vespers, saying mass and hearing confessions at the fort of Quebec, catechizing a few Indians, and striving to master the enormous difficulties of the Huron and Algonquin languages.

"Well might Father Le Jeune write to his Superior, 'The harvest is plentiful, and the laborers few.' These men aimed at the conversion of a continent. From their hovel on the St. Charles, they surveyed a field of labor whose vastness might tire the wings of thought itself; a scene repellent and appalling, darkened with omens of peril and woe. They were an advance-guard of the great army of Loyola, strong in a discipline that controlled not alone the body and the will, but the intellect, the heart, the soul, and the inmost consciousness. The lives of these early Canadian Jesuits attest the earnestness of their faith and the intensity of their zeal; but, it was a zeal bridled, curbed, and ruled by a guiding hand. Their marvellous training in equal measure kindled enthusiasm and controlled it, roused into action a mighty power, and made it as subservient as those great material forces which modern science has learned to awaken and to govern. They were drilled to a factitious humility, prone to find utterance in expressions of self-depreciation and self-scorn, which one may often judge unwisely, when he condemns them as insincere. They were devoted believers, not only in the fundamental dogmas of Rome, but in those lesser matters of faith which heresy despises as idle and puerile supersti-

tions. One great aim engrossed their lives. 'For the greater glory of God'—*ad majorem Dei gloriam*—they would act or wait, dare, suffer, or die, yet all in unquestioning subjection to the authority of the Superiors, in whom they recognized the agents of Divine authority itself."—*Parkman*.

4.—But we have promised to say something of Le Jeune. In 1632, when New France had been restored to the French, this devout priest embarked for Canada. He was ^{Le Jeune, Superior of the Mission at Quebec.} joined at Rouen by De Noué, with a layman named Gilbert, and the three sailed together in April. He first met with the natives at Tadousac, where about a dozen highly painted warriors invaded the ship's cabin to get a glimpse at the new comers. Here the good priest learned that on that same evening these Indians were going to burn a number of Iroquois prisoners. He used his best influence to stay their wretched work of death, but to no purpose. Le Jeune and his companions reached Quebec on the 5th of July. Here he said mass in the house of Madame Hébert, and then repaired to the two shanties built by their predecessors on the St. Charles, which had been well nigh wrecked at the hands of the English. "The beginning of Le Jeune's missionary labors was neither imposing nor promising. He describes himself seated with a small Indian boy on one side and a small negro on the other, the latter of whom had been left by the English as a gift to Madame Hébert. As neither of the three understood the language of the other, the pupils made little progress in spiritual knowledge. The missionaries, it was clear, must learn Algonquin at any cost; and, to this end, Le Jeune resolved to visit the Indian encampments. Hearing that a band of Montagnais were fishing for eels on the St. Lawrence, between Cape Diamond and the cove which now bears the name of Wolfe, he set forth for the spot on a morning in October. As with toil and trepidation he scrambled around the foot of the cape,—whose precipices, with a chaos of loose rocks, thrust themselves at that day into the deep tide-water,—he dragged down upon himself the trunk of a fallen tree, which, in its descent, well nigh swept him into the river. The peril past, he presently reached his destination. Here, among the lodges of bark, were stretched innumerable strings of hide, from which hung to dry an incredible multitude of eels. A boy invited him into the lodge

of a withered squaw, his grandmother, who hastened to offer him four smoked eels on a piece of birch bark, while other squaws of the household instructed him how to roast them on a forked stick over the embers. All shared the feast together, his entertainers using as napkins their own hair or that of their dogs; while Le Jeune, intent on increasing his knowledge of Algonquin, maintained an active discourse of broken words and pantomime."—*Parkman*. But this mode of acquiring a knowledge of the Indian language was altogether too laborious. There were a number of French already in the country, who spoke the Algonquin tongue fluently, but these were mostly Protestants, and haters of the Jesuits, and would therefore render them no assistance. But Le Jeune had one resort. There was an Indian at the fort called Pierre, whom the Recollets had taken to France and educated. He spoke both French and Indian, and would be of incalculable value to the mission. But he having been baptized, and once reckoned a good Christian, had fallen away from his first love. In this way he had taken a strong dislike to the priests, and unless this could be overcome, Le Jeune could hope for but little. The good priest invoked the aid of the saints, and the effect of his prayers was to bring them to his rescue speedily. Pierre had quarrelled with the French commandant, who now closed the doors of the fort against him. He next paid his addresses to a young squaw whom he loved, and met with a decided rebuff from her. Thus thrown upon the world, unfitted by his French education for the chase, he directed his steps towards the mission house. Le Jeune accepted him, of course, as a direct answer to his prayers, and at once installed him as his teacher. Seated on wooden stools by a rude table, the priest and the Indian pursued their studies.

The winter of 1632-3, at Quebec, was intensely cold, and the settlers suffered much. The rude mission house, already described, was well nigh buried in the vast drifts of snow. The priests gathered closely around the old-fashioned chimney fireplace, and looked eagerly into the burning log fire, while the frost was cracking furiously in the trees without. But in the midst of these pinching circumstances, with frozen ink, Le Jeune succeeded in translating the Pater Noster, etc., into poor Algonquin. By day the priests often practised on snow-shoes, which, as with all beginners, resulted in amusement for the natives. An Indian made Le Jeune a present of two small children. He was much delighted at this, and at once set to work teaching his adopted children to pray in Latin. When a large party of natives, for purposes of trade, or from other causes, encamped near the mission house, which frequently occurred, Le Jeune would ring a large bell, at a certain hour every day. This drew the children around him, to whom he expounded the doctrines of the Gospel in

his rude schoolroom, teaching them the sign of the cross, and causing them to repeat a prayer, in their own language, which had been translated into Algonquin by the joint scholarship of Le Jeune and Pierre. Then followed the catechism, the exercises closing with singing the Pater Noster, which this priest had translated into a kind of Indian rhyme. At the close of these daily sessions, Le Jeune, by way of securing the reappearance of his audience on the following day, distributed to each a porringer of peas. Thus the winter passed away, and when the end of May, 1633, had come all within the fort and town were gladdened by the arrival of Champlain. He brought with him four more Jesuit priests, among whom was Brebeuf, who went as missionary among the Hurons. "Le Jeune, from the first turned his eyes towards the distant land of the Hurons—a field of labor full of peril, but rich in hope and promise; but his duties as Superior restrained him from wanderings so remote. His apostleship must be limited, for a time, to the vagabond hordes of Algonquins, who roamed the forests of the lower St. Lawrence, and of whose language he had been so sedulous a student. His difficulties had of late been increased by the absence of Pierre, who had run off as Lent drew near, standing in dread of that season of fasting. Masse brought tidings of him from Tadoussac, whither he had gone, and where a party of English had given him liquor, destroying the last trace of Le Jeune's exhortations. 'God forgive those,' writes the Father, 'who introduced heresy into this country! If this savage, corrupted as he is by these miserable heretics, had any wit, he would be a great hindrance to the spread of the Faith. It is plain that he was given us, not for the good of his soul, but only that we might extract from him the principles of his language.' Pierre had two brothers. One, well known as a hunter, was named Mestigoit; the other was the most noted 'medicine-man,' or, as the Jesuits called him, sorcerer, in the tribe of the Montagnais. Like the rest of their people, they were accustomed to set out for their winter hunt in the autumn, after the close of their eel-fishery. Le Jeune, despite the experience of De Noué, had long had a mind to accompany one of these roving bands, partly in the hope that, in some hour of distress, he might touch their hearts, or, by a timely drop of baptismal water, dismiss some dying child to Paradise, but chiefly with the object of mastering their language. Pierre had rejoined his brothers; and, as the hunting season drew near, they all begged the missionary to make one of their party,—not, as he thought, out of any love for him, but solely with a view to the provisions with which they doubted not he would be well supplied. Le Jeune, distrustful of the sorcerer, demurred, but at length resolved to go."—*Parkman*. Le Jeune spent the winter with the Indians, suffering much, enjoying little, and gaining only a small degree of knowledge for his pains and endurance. While Le Jeune was toiling among the Algonquins, attention was being turned towards the more distant Hurons, who dwelt in numerous and fixed populations along the shores of the lake that still bears their name. It was believed, by the Fathers, that if the Hurons could be converted to the faith, their nation would become a great rallying point from which the Gospel could be carried to all the neighboring tribes in the West.

CHAPTER XIV.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE INDIANS.

- 1.—INDIAN TRIBES.—2. INDIAN NATIONS, AND TERRITORIES.—3. THE HURONS.—4. SKILL OF THE HURONS.—5. THE HURON-IROQUOIS.
- 6.—THE IROQUOIS.—7. THE IROQUOIS, OR FIVE NATIONS.

1.—We have now brought forward our narra-

tive to a point where we may enter upon something besides mere expeditions across the Atlantic, or into the wilderness. Indian tribes. The colony has taken a permanent aspect; and, with its growing industries, its enlarged political existence, its expanding ecclesiastical interests, and its rising destinies, we are introduced to the more legitimate subjects of the history of Canada. But before we introduce the reader to Champlain's successor, or follow the Jesuits in their zealous adventures among the natives, we must pause to take a brief glance at the Indian tribes of Canada and Acadia,—to notice their national and tribal divisions, and to look in upon some of their odd customs and curious traditions. This done, we shall revert to the labors of the missionaries, and, interweaving these with events of exploration, politics, and social life, carry forward the general history of the country. Our notice of the Indians must be brief. Francis Parkman, one of the best authorities concerning matters of Indian history, tells us that, when America first became known to Europeans, it was, and had long previously been, the stage of a raging and wide-spread revolution, North and South; tribe was giving place to tribe, language to language. In the northern section of the continent, this war of tribes was especially effective. The Indian population which Cartier found at Québec, in 1535, was wiped out soon after by hostile invasions; and in less than a century its place was occupied by a race entirely different, in both language and customs. At this time an Indian combination was rising in the territory now included within the limits of the State of New York, which, had it not been checked by the Europeans, must have brought under its merciless subjection every other tribe east of the Mississippi river.

2.—The vast country extending between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, and from the Carolinas Indian Nations and territories. to Hudson Bay, was divided between two great nations. That portion of the United States, included within these boundaries, together with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Lower Canada, was occupied by various tribes of the Algonquin nation, speaking various languages and dialects, yet all of the one great family. These Indians also extended along the upper lakes, and into the vast country around them. In the midst of this great nation, like an island in the

sea, lay the Iroquois, or Five Nations, occupying the central portion of the State of New York. To the south roamed the Andastes, along the Susquehanna; westward the Eries, along the southern shore of Lake Erie, and the Neutral Nation, along its northern shore from Niagara to Detroit; while the towns of the Hurons lay near to the lake, to which they have left their name. The Algonquins had their densest settlements in New England; were the Mohicans, Pequots, Narragansetts, Wampanoags, Massachusetts, Pennacooks, etc., dwelt in prosperous villages. They were the best specimens of the Algonquin nation. Having cultivated habits of industry, and especially that of agriculture, they were saved from the oppression and pinching want, which were the sure wages of the chase. They also derived great advantage from their nearness to the sea. Fish were plenty, their crops prosperous, and happiness abounded. But these Indians, with all their prosperity, were under the Iroquois yoke. They had been subdued, and were paying tribute to their conquerors. A single Mohawk war-cry was sufficient to send terror into a whole village. But it is needless to speak further of these Indians. They do not figure in the annals of Canada. Leaving these tribes, passing to the north-east, and crossing the Penobscot, a gradual descent in the scale of humanity was visible. Eastern Maine and the whole of New Brunswick were occupied by an Algonquin race, called Etchemins. These savages knew nothing of agriculture, but their maritime position lightened the sufferings usually endured by such, since they enjoyed an abundance of fish. The Micmacs of Nova Scotia were much the same in habits and condition as the Etchemins. From Nova Scotia to the St. Lawrence, there was no fixed population, the territory for the most part being the scene of wandering bands of depressed Algonquins. The same was true of all the territory, on the south of the river St. Lawrence from the Gulf of that name to Lake Ontario. To the north, from the Gulf to Hudson's Bay, were settled the Algonquin tribes of Papinachois, Bersiamites, and others included into the general appellation of Montagnais. "When in the spring the French trading ships arrived and anchored in the port of Tadoussac, they gathered from far and near, toiling painfully through the desolation of forests, mustering by hundreds at the point of traffic, and setting up

their bark wigwams along the strand of that wild harbor. They were of the lowest Algonquin type. Their ordinary sustenance was derived from the chase, though, often goaded by deadly famine, they would subsist on roots, the bark and buds of trees, or the foulest offal, and, in extremity, even cannibalism was not rare among them." From Tadousac to Quebec the traveller would meet only now and then a desultory band of these scattered Algonquins, while at the latter point they were generally hovering round the fort and settlement in large numbers. At Three Rivers, a noted place of trade above Quebec, one would also meet considerable numbers of a tribe called Atticamegues. At Montreal, during the early summer, the savages of this scattered and broken nation were in the habit of congregating from the interior populations, where, for purposes of trade, they pitched their tents. "To-day there were dances, songs and feasting; to-morrow all again was solitude, and the Ottawa was covered with the canoes of the returning warriors." Everywhere among these natives there was the appearance of decline. "Along the Ottawa, a main route of traffic, the silence of the wilderness was broken by the splash of the passing paddle. To the north of the river there was indeed a small Algonquin band, called *La Petite Nation*, together with one or two other feeble communities; but they dwelt far from the banks, through fear of the ubiquitous Iroquois. It was nearly three hundred miles, by the windings of the stream, before one reached that Algonquin tribe, *La Nation de l'Isle*, who occupied the great island of the Allumettes. Then, after many a day of lonely travel, the voyager found a savage welcome among the Nipissings, on the lake which bears their name; and then circling west and south for a hundred and fifty miles of solitude, he reached for the first time a people speaking a dialect of the Iroquois tongue. Here all was changed. Populous towns, rude fortifications, and an extensive, though barbarous tillage, indicated a people far in advance of the famished wanderers of the Saguenay, or their less abject kindred of New England. These were the Hurons, of whom the modern Wyandots are a remnant. Both in themselves and as a type of their generic stock they demand more than a passing notice."—*Parkman*.

3.—The Hurons, once a prosperous and warlike

people, inhabited the small district embraced within the peninsula formed by the Nottawassaga and Matchedash Bays of Lake Huron, the River Severn and Lake Simcoe, in Ontario. They were a populous tribe, and, in 1639, when they were enumerated by the Jesuits, they had thirty-two villages and hamlets, with seven hundred dwellings, about four thousand families, and a total population of over twenty thousand. Their country consisted of meadows and dense forests; dotted here and there, at frequent intervals, with their curious villages, a few only of which were fortified. These villages were of curious construction, covering a space of from two to ten acres. The buildings were huddled together without any orderly arrangement, being about thirty feet in length, breadth and height each. Some were much larger, and a few were of surprising length, being from two to three hundred feet long.

The following description of the Huron villages is from the pen of Francis Parkman: "In shape their dwellings were much like an arbor over-arching a garden-walk. Their frame was of tall and strong saplings, planted in a double row to form the two sides of the house, bent till they met, and lashed together at the top. To these other poles were bound transversely, and the whole was covered with large sheets of bark of the oak, elm, spruce, or white cedar, overlapping like the shingles of a roof, upon which, for their better security, split poles were made fast with cords of linden bark. At the crown of the arch, along the entire length of the house, an opening a foot wide was left for the admission of light and the escape of smoke. At each end was a close porch of similar construction; and here were stowed casks of bark, filled with smoked fish, Indian corn, and other stores not liable to injury from frost. Within, on both sides, were wide scaffolds, four feet from the floor, and extending the entire length of the house, like the seats of a colossal omnibus. These were formed of thick sheets of bark, supported by posts and transverse poles, and covered with mats and skins. Here, in summer, was the sleeping-place of the inmates, and the space beneath served for storage of their firewood. The fires were on the ground, in a line down the middle of the house. Each sufficed for two families, who in winter slept closely packed around them. Above, just under the vaulted roof, were a great number of poles, like the perches of a hen-roost, and here were suspended weapons, clothing, skins and ornaments. Here, too, in harvest time, the squaws hung the ears of unshelled corn, till the rude abode, through all its length, seemed decked with a golden tapestry. In general, however, its only lining was a thick coating of soot from the smoke of fires with neither draught, chimney, nor window. So pungent was the smoke, that it produced inflammation of the eyes, attended in old age with frequent blindness. Another annoyance was the fleas; and a third, the unbridled and unruly children. Privacy there was none. The house was one chamber, sometimes lodging more than twenty families. He who entered on a winter night beheld a strange spectacle: the vista of fires lighting the smoky concave; the bronzed group encircling each,—cooking, eating, gambling, or amusing themselves with idle badinage; shrivelled squaws, hideous with threescore years of hardship; grisly old warriors, scarred with Iroquois war-clubs; young aspirants, whose honors were yet to be won; damsels gay with ochre and wampum; restless children pellmell with restless dogs. Now a tongue of resinous flame painted each wild feature in vivid light; now the fitful gleam expired, and the group vanished from sight, as their nation has vanished from history. The fortified towns of the Hurons were all on the

side exposed to Iroquois incursions. The fortifications of all this family of tribes were, like their dwellings, in essential points alike. A situation was chosen favorable to defence,—the bank of a lake, the crown of a difficult hill, or a high point of land in the fork of confluent rivers. A ditch, several feet deep, was dug around the village, and the earth thrown up on the inside. Trees were then felled by an alternate process of burning and hacking the burnt part with stone hatchets, and by similar means were cut into lengths to form palisades. These were planted on the embankment, in one, two, three, or four concentric rows,—those of each row inclining towards those of the other rows until they intersected. The whole was lined within, to the height of a man, with heavy sheets of bark; and at the top, where the palisades crossed, was a gallery of timber for the defenders, together with wooden gutters, by which streams of water could be poured down on fires kindled by the enemy. Magazines of stones, and rude ladders for mounting the rampart, completed the provision for defence. The forts of the Iroquois were stronger and more elaborate than those of the Hurons; and to this day large districts in New York are marked with frequent remains of their ditches and embankments.

4.—In some respects the Hurons were very skillful. They spun twine from hemp by the primitive process of rolling it on their thighs, and from this twine they made nets.

Skill of the Hurons. From fish they extracted oil, as also from the seeds of the sunflower. The latter was used copiously for purposes of the toilet. In their breast-plates, pipes, and in the contrivance used for grinding their corn, no small degree of ingenuity was exhibited; their dress was chiefly of skins, usually very plain. In the summer they wore little or nothing, and in winter the severity of the weather made the warmest furs necessary. Female life among the Hurons, according to the records of the Jesuits, was a curious combination of license and oppression. Marriage existed, and polygamy was tolerated only among the higher ranks. However, with much ease and informality a Huron savage divorced his wife, which he accomplished at will. They also had a custom of experimental or temporary marriage, lasting a day, or a week. "The seal of the compact was merely the acceptance of a gift of wampum made by the suitor to the object of his desire or his whim. These gifts were never returned on the dissolution of the connection; and as an attractive and enterprising damsel might, and often did, make twenty such marriages before her final establishment, she thus collected a wealth of wampum with which to adorn herself for the village dances." This provisional marriage, though often abused, was not attended with any damage to the reputation of either party. In fact, it was greatly to the advantage, in one sense, of the Huron lady to prolong this series of trial or experimental marriages; for, once wedded

with a reasonable degree of permanency, she became a drudge. The Hurons were, in no small degree, a commercial nation; exchanging wampum, fishing-nets, and corn for fish and furs with the Algonquins of the Ottawa and Lake Nipissing, and extending their commerce to the tribes of the upper lakes, and even as far south as the Illinois, they became, in a distinguished degree, a commercial people.

5.—So much has already been said, and so much still remains to be said, concerning the Iroquois in their conflicts with the French, that it is quite necessary to speak of The Huron-Iroquois. them in this brief notice of the natives of Canada and the adjoining territory. In this very remarkable family of tribes occur the fullest developments of Indian character, and the most conspicuous examples of Indian intelligence. In the broad wooded valleys of the Blue Mountains, south of Nottawassaga Bay of Lake Huron, and about two days' journey south of the frontier Huron villages, stood the nine villages of the Tobacco Nation, or Tionnontates. These people, in both language and customs, closely resembled the Hurons. They had, in earlier days, been the foes of the Hurons, but were now on friendly terms with them, and in 1640 entered into a confederacy with them. In their original seats, among the Blue Mountains, they offered an example extremely rare among Indians, of a tribe raising a crop for the market; for they traded in tobacco largely with other tribes. Their Huron confederates, keen traders, would not suffer them to pass through their country to traffic with the French, preferring to secure for themselves the advantage of bartering with them in French goods, at an enormous profit. Journeying southward five days from the Tionnontate towns, the forest traveller reached the border villages of the Attiwandarons, or Neutral Nation. As early as 1626, they were visited by the Franciscan friar, La Roche Dallion, who reports a numerous population in twenty-eight towns, besides many small hamlets. Their country, about forty leagues in extent, embraced wide and fertile districts on the north shore of Lake Erie, and their frontier extended eastward across the Niagara, where they had three or four outlying towns. Their name of Neutrals was due to their neutrality in the war between the Hurons and the Iroquois proper. The hostile warriors, meeting in a

Neutral cabin, were forced to keep the peace, though, once in the open air, the truce was at an end. Yet this people were abundantly ferocious, and, while holding a pacific attitude betwixt their warring kindred, waged deadly strife with the Mascoutins, an Algonquin horde beyond Lake Michigan. Indeed, it was but recently that they had been at blows with seventeen Algonquin tribes. They burned female prisoners,—a practice unknown to the Hurons. Their country was full of game, and they were bold and active hunters. In form and stature they surpassed even the Hurons, whom they resembled in their mode of life, and from whose language their own, though radically similar, was dialectically distinct. Their licentiousness was even more open and shameless; and they stood alone in the extravagance of some of their usages. They kept their dead in their houses till they became insupportable; then scraped the flesh from the bones, and displayed them in rows along the walls, there to remain till the periodical Feast of the Dead, or general burial. In summer the men wore no clothing whatever, but were usually tattooed from head to foot with powdered charcoal. The sagacious Hurons refused them a passage through their country to the French; and the Neutrals had not sense or reflection enough to take the easy and direct route of Lake Ontario, which was probably open to them, though closed against the Hurons by Iroquois enmity. Thus the former made excellent profit by exchanging French goods at high rates for the valuable furs of the Neutrals.

6.—In Central New York, stretching from the Hudson to the Genesee, dwelt those natives who have lent their name to the tribal family of the Iroquois, and stamped it indelibly on the early pages of American history. Among all the barbarous nations of the continent, the Iroquois of New York stand paramount. Elements which among other tribes were crude, confused, and embryotic, were among them systematized and concentered into an established polity. The Iroquois was the Indian of Indians. A thorough savage, yet a finished and developed savage, he is perhaps an example of the highest elevation which a man can reach without emerging from the primitive condition of the hunter. A geographical position, commanding on the one hand the portal of the Great Lakes, and on the

other the sources of the streams flowing both to the Atlantic and the Mississippi, gave the ambitious and aggressive confederates advantages which they perfectly understood, and by which they profited to the utmost. Patient and politic as they were ferocious, they were not only conquerors of their own race, but the powerful allies and the dreaded foes of the French and English colonies,—flattered and caressed by both, yet too sagacious to give themselves without reserve to either. Their organization and their history evince their intrinsic superiority. Even their traditionary lore, amid its wild puerilities, shows at times the stamp of an energy and force in striking contrast with the flimsy creations of Algonquin fancy. That the Iroquois, left under their institutions to work out their destiny undisturbed, would ever have developed a civilization of their own, cannot be believed. These institutions, however, are sufficiently characteristic and curious to merit notice here.

Our sketch of the Iroquois, as also that of the Indians in general, is compiled from the reliable works of Francis Parkman, from whose writings we have selected and grouped together those features bearing on the subject.

7.—The Iroquois, or Five Nations, consisted of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Their traditions indicate that they were once an undivided people, but that through internal revolutions they became separated into five distinct nations. "There was discord among them: wars followed, and they lived in mutual fear, each ensconced in its palisaded villages. At length, says tradition, a celestial being, incarnate on earth, counseled them to compose their strife, and unite in a league of defence and aggression. Another personage, wholly mortal, yet wonderfully endowed, a renowned warrior and a mighty magician, stands, with his hair of writhing snakes, grotesquely conspicuous through the dim light of tradition at this birth of Iroquois nationality. This was Atotarho, a chief of the Onondagas; and from this honored source has sprung a long line of chieftains, heirs not to the blood alone, but to the name of their great predecessor. A few years since there lived in Onondaga Hollow, a handsome Indian boy, on whom the dwindled remnant of the nation looked with pride as their destined Atotarho. With earthly and celestial aid the league was consum-

mated; and through all the land the forests trembled at the name of the Iroquois. The Iroquois people was divided into eight clans. When the original stock was sundered into five parts, each of these clans was also sundered into five parts; and as, by the principle already indicated, the clans were intimately mingled in every village, hamlet, and cabin, each one of the five nations had its portion of each of the eight clans. When the league was formed each portion readily resumed their ancient tie of fraternity. Thus, of the Turtle clan, all the members became brothers again, nominal members of one family, whether Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, or Senecas; and so, too, of the remaining clans. All the Iroquois, irrespective of nationality, were therefore divided into eight families, each tracing its descent to a common mother, and each designated by its distinctive emblem, or *totem*. This connection of clan or family was exceedingly strong, and by it the five nations of the league were linked together as by an eightfold chain. The clans were by no means equal in numbers, influence, or honor. So marked were the distinctions among them, that some of the early writers recognize only the three most conspicuous,—those of the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. To some of the clans, in each nation, belonged the right of giving a chief to the nation and to the league. Others had the right of giving three, or, in one case, four chiefs; while others could give none. As Indian clanship was but an extension of the family relation, these chiefs were, in a certain sense, hereditary; but the law of inheritance, though binding, was extremely elastic, and capable of stretching to the farthest limits of the clan. The chief was almost invariably succeeded by a near relative, always through the female, as a brother by the same mother, or a nephew by the sister's side. But if these were manifestly unfit, they were passed over, and a chief was chosen at a council of the clan from among remoter kindred. In these cases, the successor is said to have been nominated by the matron of the late chief's household. Be this as it may, the choice was never adverse to the popular inclination." The new chief was solemnly installed, or inaugurated by a formal council of the sachems of the league. On entering upon his office he dropped his own name, and was known by that which, since the formation of the

league, had belonged to the chieftainship. We might carry our remarks on the Iroquois to almost any length, as this people affords us a rich theme. Their government was founded in no small degree of intelligence, and their observance of fixed rule was highly commendable to their character.

We here give the reader an account of these people, compiled from the writings of Francis Parkman, which are not less remarkable for their interest in portraits of this curious savage nation than for the ability and splendor with which language is made to portray them. The number of these sachems, or principal chiefs, varied in the several nations from eight to fourteen. The sachems of the Five Nations, fifty in all, assembled in council, formed the government of the Confederacy. All met as equals; but a peculiar dignity was ever attached to the Atotarho of the Onondagas. There was a class of subordinate chiefs, in no sense hereditary, but rising to office by address, ability, or valor. Yet the rank was clearly defined, and the new chief installed at a formal council. This class embodied, as might be supposed, the best talent of the nation, and the most prominent of the warriors and orators of the Iroquois have belonged to it. In its character and functions, however, it was purely civil. Like the sachems, these chiefs held their councils, and exercised an influence proportionate to their number and abilities.

There was another council, between which and that of the subordinate chiefs the line of demarcation seems not to have been very definite. The Jesuit Lafitau calls it "the senate." Familiar with the Iroquois at the height of their prosperity, he describes it as the central and controlling power, so far, at least, as the separate nations were concerned. In its character it was essentially popular, but popular in the best sense, and one which can find its application only in a small community. Any man took part in it whose age and experience qualified him to do so. It was merely the gathered wisdom of the nation. Lafitau compares it to the Roman Senate, in the early and rude age of the Republic, and affirms that it loses nothing by the comparison. He thus describes it: "It is a greasy assemblage, sitting *sur leur derrière*, crouched like apes, their knees as high as their ears, or lying, some on their bellies, some on their backs, each with a pipe in his mouth, discussing affairs of State with as much coolness and gravity as the Spanish Junta or the Grand Council of Venice." The young warriors had also their councils; so, too, had the women; and the opinions and wishes of each were represented by means of deputies before "the senate," or council of the old men, as well as before the grand Confederate Council of the sachems.

The government of this unique republic resided wholly in councils. By councils all questions were settled, all regulations established,—social, political, military, and religious. The war-path, the chase, the council-fire,—in these was the life of the Iroquois; and it is hard to say to which of the three he was most devoted. The Great Council of the fifty sachems formed, as we have seen, the government of the League. Whenever a subject arose before any of the nations, of importance enough to demand its assembling, the sachems of that nation might summon their colleagues by means of runners, bearing messages and belts of wampum. The usual place of meeting was the valley of Onondaga, the political as well as geographical centre of the Confederacy. Thither, if the matter were one of deep and general interest, not the sachems alone, but the greater part of the population, gathered from east and west, swarming in the hospitable lodges of the town, or bivouacked by thousands in the surrounding fields and forests. While the sachems deliberated in the council-house, the chiefs and old men, the warriors, and often the women, were holding their respective councils apart; and their opinions, laid by their deputies before the council of sachems, were never without influence on its decisions.

The utmost order and deliberation reigned in the council, with rigorous adherence to the Indian notions of parliamentary propriety. The conference opened with an address to the spirits, or the chief of all the spirits. There was no heat in debate. No speaker interrupted another. Each gave his opinion in turn, supporting it with what reason or rhetoric he could command,—but not until he had stated



HON. D. A. MACDONALD,
Lieutenant Governor of Ontario



HON. R. F. CARON,
Lieutenant Governor of Quebec



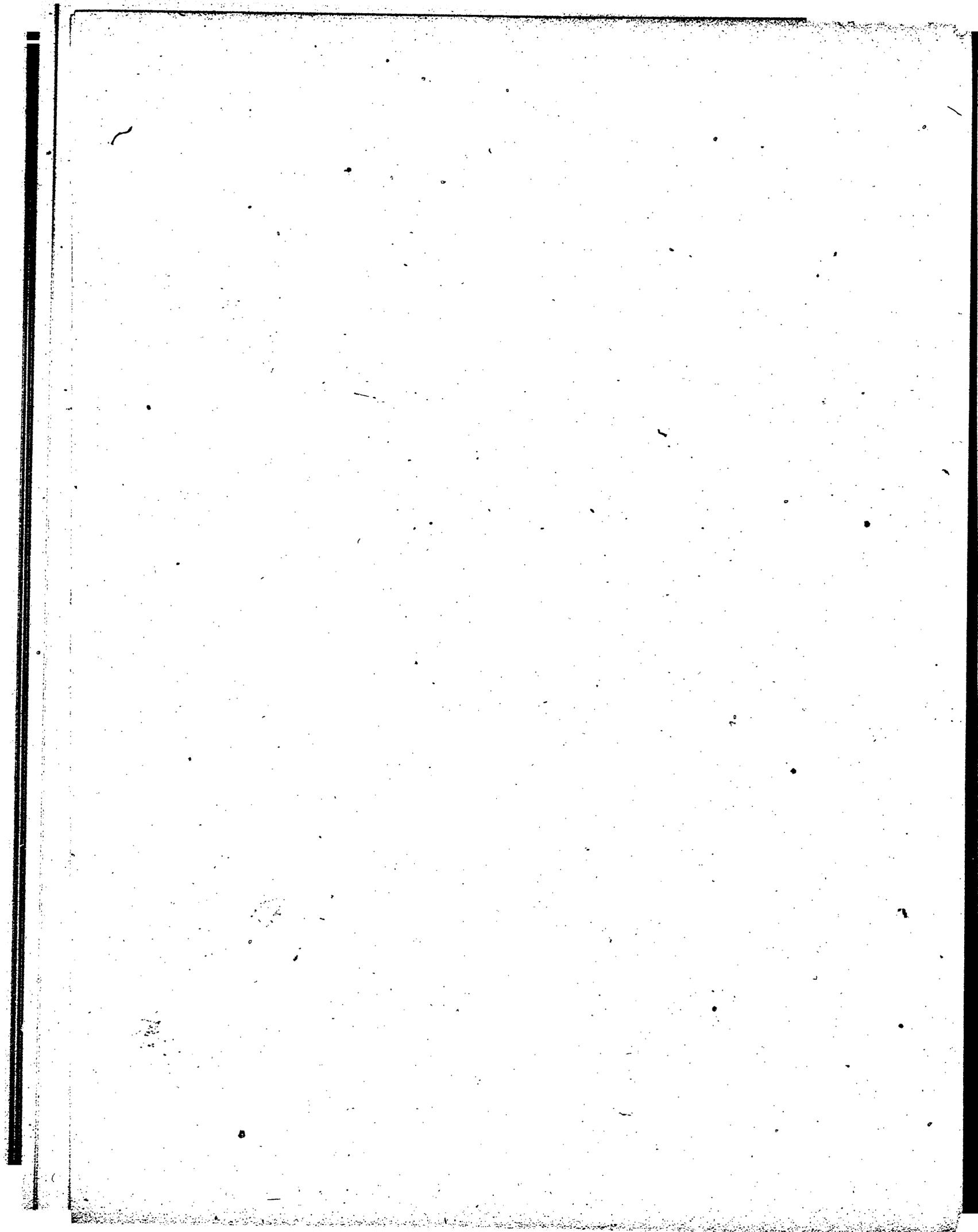
THE EARL OF DUFFERIN,
Governor General of the Dominion



HON. S. L. TILLEY,
Lieut. Governor of N. Brunswick



HON. A. G. ARCHIBALD,
Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia



the subject of discussion in full, to prove that he understood it, repeating also the arguments, *pro* and *con*, of previous speakers. Thus their debates were excessively prolix; and the consumption of tobacco was immoderate. The result, however, was a thorough sifting of the matter in hand; while the practised astuteness of these savage politicians was a marvel to their civilized contemporaries. "It is by a most subtle policy," says Lafitau, "that they have taken the ascendant over the other nations, divided and overcome the most warlike, made themselves a terror to the most remote, and now hold a peaceful neutrality between the French and English, courted and feared by both."

Unlike the Hurons, they required an entire unanimity in their decisions. The ease and frequency with which a requisition seemingly so difficult was fulfilled afford a striking illustration of Indian nature,—on one side, so stubborn, tenacious, and impracticable; on the other, so pliant and acquiescent. An explanation of this harmony is to be found also in an intense spirit of nationality; for never, since the days of Sparta, were individual life and national life more completely fused into one.

The sachems of the league were likewise, as we have seen, sachems of their respective nations; yet they rarely spoke in the councils of the subordinate chiefs and old men, except to present subjects of discussion. Their influence in these councils was, however, great, and even paramount; for they commonly succeeded in securing to their interests some of the most dexterous and influential of the conclave, through whom, while they themselves remained in the background, they managed the debates.

There was a class of men among the Iroquois always put forward on public occasions to speak the mind of the nation or defend its interests. Nearly all of them were of the number of the subordinate chiefs. Nature and training had fitted them for public speaking, and they were deeply versed in the history and traditions of the League. They were in fact professed orators, high in honor and influence among the people. To a huge stock of conventional metaphors, the use of which required nothing but practice, they often added an astute intellect, an astonishing memory, and an eloquence which deserved the name.

In one particular, the training of these savage politicians was never surpassed. They had no art of writing to record events, or preserve the stipulations of treaties. Memory, therefore, was tasked to the utmost, and developed to an extraordinary degree. They had various devices for aiding it, such as bundles of sticks, and that system of signs, emblems, and rude pictures, which they shared with other tribes. Their famous wampum-belts were so many mnemonic signs, each standing for some act, speech, treaty, or clause of a treaty. These represented the public archives, and were divided among various custodians, each charged with the memory and interpretation of those assigned to him. The meaning of the belts was from time to time expounded in their councils. In conferences with them, nothing more astonished the French, Dutch, and English officials than the precision with which, before replying to their addresses, the Indian orators repeated them point by point.

It was only in rare cases that crime among the Iroquois or Hurons was punished by public authority. Murder, the most heinous offence, except witchcraft, recognized among them, was rare. If the slayer and the slain were of the same household or clan, the affair was regarded as a family quarrel, to be settled by the immediate kin on both sides. This, under the pressure of public opinion, was commonly effected without bloodshed, by presents given in atonement. But if the murderer and his victim were of different clans or different nations, still more, if the slain was a foreigner, the whole community became interested to prevent the discord or the war which might arise. All directed their efforts, not to bring the murderer to punishment, but to satisfy the injured parties by a vicarious atonement. To this end, contributions were made and presents collected. Their number and value were determined by established usage. Among the Hurons, thirty presents of very considerable value was the price of a man's life. That of a woman's was fixed at forty, by reason of her weakness, and because on her depended the continuance and increase of the population. This was when the slain belonged to the nation. If of a foreign tribe, his death demanded a higher compensation, since it

involved the danger of war. These presents were offered in solemn council, with prescribed formalities. The relatives of the slain might refuse them, if they choose, and in this case the murderer was given them as a slave; but they might by no means kill him, since, in so doing, they would incur public censure, and be compelled in their turn to make atonement. Besides the principal gifts, there was a great number of less value, all symbolical, and each delivered with a set form of words: as, "By this we wash out the blood of the slain: By this we cleanse his wound: By this we clothe his corpse with a new shirt: By this we place food on his grave;" and so, in endless prolixity, through particulars without number.

The Hurons were notorious thieves; and perhaps the Iroquois were not much better, though the contrary has been asserted. Among both, the robbed was permitted not only to retake his property by force, if he could, but to strip the robber of all he had. This apparently acted as a restraint in favor only of the strong, leaving the weak a prey to the plunderer; but here the tie of family and clan intervened to aid him. Relatives and clansmen espoused the quarrel of him who could not right himself.

Witches, with whom the Hurons and Iroquois were grievously infested, were objects of utter abomination to both, and any one might kill them at any time. If any person was guilty of treason, or by his character and conduct made himself dangerous or obnoxious to the public, the council of chiefs and old men held a secret session on his case, condemned him to death, and appointed some young man to kill him. The executioner, watching his opportunity, brained or stabbed him unawares, usually in the dark porch of one of the houses. Acting by authority, he could not be held answerable; and the relatives of the slain had no redress, even if they desired it. The council, however, commonly obviated all difficulty in advance, by charging the culprit with witchcraft, thus alienating his best friends.

The military organization of the Iroquois was exceedingly imperfect, and derived all its efficiency from their civil union and their personal prowess. There were two hereditary war-chiefs, both belonging to the Senecas; but, except on occasions of unusual importance, it does not appear that they took a very active part in the conduct of wars. The Iroquois lived in a state of chronic warfare with nearly all the surrounding tribes, except a few from whom they exacted tribute. Any man of sufficient personal credit might raise a war-party when he choose. He proclaimed his purpose through the village, sang his war-songs, struck his hatchet into the war-post, and danced the war-dance. Any who chose joined him; and the party usually took up their march at once, with a little parched corn-meal and maple sugar as their sole provision. On great occasions, there was a concert of action,—the various parties meeting at a rendezvous, and pursuing the march together. The leaders of war-parties, like the orators, belonged, in nearly all cases, to the class of subordinate chiefs. The Iroquois had a discipline suited to the dark and tangled forests where they fought. Here they were a terrible foe; in an open country, against a trained European force, they were, despite their ferocious valor, far less formidable.

In observing this singular organization, one is struck by the incongruity of its spirit and its form. A body of hereditary oligarchs was the head of the nation, yet the nation was essentially democratic. Not that the Iroquois were levellers. None were more prompt to acknowledge superiority and defer to it, whether established by usage and prescription, or the result of personal endowment. Yet each man, whether of high or low degree, had a voice in the conduct of affairs, and was never for a moment divorced from his wild spirit of independence. Where there was no property worthy the name, authority had no fulcrum and no hold. The constant aim of sachems and chiefs was to exercise it without seeming to do so. They had no insignia of office. They were not richer than others; indeed, they were often poorer, spending their substance in largesses and bribes to strengthen their influence. They hunted and fished for subsistence; they were as foul, greasy, and unsavory as the rest; yet in them, withal, was often seen a native dignity of bearing, which ochre and bear's grease could not hide, and which comported well with their strong, symmetrical, and sometimes majestic proportions.

To the institutions, traditions, rites, usages, and festivals of the league the Iroquois were inseparably wedded. He clung to them

with Indian tenacity, and he clings to them still. His political fabric was one of ancient ideas and practices, crystallized into regular and enduring forms. In its component parts it has nothing peculiar to itself. All its elements are found in other tribes: most of them belong to the whole Indian race. Undoubtedly there was a distinct and definite effort of legislation; but Iroquois legislation invented nothing. Like all sound legislation, it is built of materials already prepared. It organized the chaotic past, and gave concrete forms to Indian nature itself. The people have dwindled and decayed; but, banded by its ties of clan and kin, the league, in feeble miniature, still subsists, and the degenerate Iroquois looks back with a mournful pride to the glory of the past.

Would the Iroquois, left undisturbed to work out their own destiny, ever have emerged from the savage state? Advanced as they were beyond most other American tribes, there is no indication whatever of a tendency to overpass the confines of a wild hunter and warrior life. They were inveterately attached to it, impracticable conservatists of barbarism, and in ferocity and cruelty they matched the worst of their race. Nor did the power of expansion apparently belonging to their system ever produce much result. Between the years 1712 and 1715, the Tuscaroras, a kindred people, were admitted into the League as a sixth nation; but they were never admitted on equal terms. Long after, in the period of their decline, several other tribes were announced as new members of the League; but these admissions never took effect. The Iroquois were always reluctant to receive other tribes, or parts of tribes, collectively, into the precincts of the "Long House." Yet they constantly practiced a system of adoptions, from which, though cruel and savage, they drew great advantages. Their prisoners of war, when they had burned and butchered as many of them as would serve to sate their own ire and that of their women, were divided, man by man, woman by woman, and child by child, adopted into different families and clans, and thus incorporated into the nation. It was by this means, and this alone, that they could offset the losses of their incessant wars. Early in the eighteenth century, and even long before, a vast proportion of their population consisted of adopted prisoners.

CHAPTER XV.

THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES AND THE INDIANS.

1. M. DE MONTMAGNY.—THE HURON-IROQUOIS.
- 2. JESUIT MEASURES FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE HURONS.—3. JOURNEY OF BREBEUF AND HIS COMPANIONS TO THE HURON COUNTRY.—4. RECEPTION OF THE FATHERS AMONG THE HURONS, A.D. 1634.—5. BREBEUF AND THE HURON MISSION, A.D. 1634—5-6.—6. CURIOSITIES OF THE HURON MISSION.—7. PROMINENT JESUITS.—GARNIER.—8. CHAUMONOT, CHABANEL—JOGUES, ETC.

1.—We have seen how, on Christmas Day, 1635, after a heroic career in the service of his country, Samuel Champlain, who had governed Canada from the establishment of Quebec in 1608 to that date, a period of twenty-seven years, came to his death.

M. de Montmagny.
—The Huron-Iroquois war.

He was succeeded in the gubernatorial chair by M. de Montmagny, but during the interim between Champlain's death and Montmagny's arrival the affairs of the colony were controlled by M. Chateaufort. Le Chevalier Charles Huault de Montmagny was a Knight of Malta. He arrived in Canada in May, 1636, when De Chateaufort was placed at the head of local affairs at Three Rivers, which had now become a permanent settlement. The new governor found the colony in a very unsatisfactory condition. The company of One Hundred Associates had become careless of the true interests of colonization. In their selfish efforts to monopolize the gains of the peltry traffic, they had become indifferent towards the higher interests of the Government whence they derived their charter. The necessary troops and stores for the defence and sustenance of the colony were no longer brought out, in consequence of which the temporal interests of Canada suffered considerable decline. But trouble was also springing up in another department. The Indians, in the early days of Canada, were ever a fruitful source of annoyance to the colony. The Algonquins and Hurons, no longer led by Champlain and supported by their French allies, were fast sinking beneath Iroquois oppression. The latter, from their intercourse with the Dutch and English, were fast acquiring proficiency in the use of fire-arms, and in consequence were making the northern tribes feel their power in measures of fearful extermination. They had already completely overcome the Algonquins, who had now lost what little prestige they had gained through the wise or unwise generalship of their French Father, and were quite settled down into the wretched dependence which characterized them when Champlain first ascended the St. Lawrence. Nor did the Five Nations stop here, but ever seeking for new fields in which to display their power, they were sorely pressing the Hurons, rendering the voyages of the latter up and down the St. Lawrence dangerous and unprofitable, frequently capturing their canoes laden with furs. Nor, indeed, were their acts of war confined to the Upper St. Lawrence. They hovered around Three Rivers in hostile clouds and even approached, in an attitude calculated to excite suspicion, under the very guns of the fort. The colony was weak from the causes already mentioned. Hence the Governor was not only

unable to quell the disturbances among the natives, but he feared lest the forces at his command would not be sufficient to overcome an Iroquois invasion which was now quite imminent. Meanwhile a savage warfare continued with all its fearful consequences; which were felt in unstinted measure by the colonists. The Iroquois, ever more subtle than their native enemies, employed a series of stratagems by which they sought to annihilate the Hurons, or break up their power as an independent nation. One of the steps in this treacherous policy was a hollow peace which they concluded with their enemies only that they might invade their settlements the more unexpectedly. This treachery became apparent only when the onslaught of a terrible war burst like a thunderstorm upon the astounded sense of the Huron nation. The scattered tribes of the latter were wholly unprepared to meet this terrible invasion. Their leaders were disconcerted, and a fearful slaughter prevailed in the merciless course of the Iroquois through the Huron country. It was now plain to the colonists that the company of One Hundred Associates, which had promised to do so much to maintain the peace and promote the prosperity of New France, was both incompetent and indisposed to do either, and everywhere, both in Canada and in France, where the people interested themselves in colonial affairs, denunciations of the policy or failures of the Association were spoken without hesitation. It was in 1636 when the Iroquois first invaded the country of the Hurons with the destructive consequences briefly mentioned. Four years after the Five Nations renewed the war with even greater vigor, but the Hurons, who had become experienced through their defeats, were found to be better prepared for the contest than the invaders supposed. They fought with a courage and presumption true to the Huron character, and although they were sorely pressed, they gained some signal victories. "Somewhat disconcerted by the spirited resistance of the Hurons, which they had not anticipated, the wily Iroquois set about separating the former from their French auxiliaries, so as to have only one body of enemies to encounter at a time. They detached 300 warriors, divided into several bands, who were directed to take prisoner as many of the Hurons as they could lay hands on. They were, at the same time, to capture a number of the

French; the latter to be kindly treated, the former to be cruelly used; the design of this marked contrast in treatment being to make the Hurons become jealous of their French allies! This poor invention, born of savage subtlety, having failed, its devisers feigned an intention of attacking the post of Three Rivers, commanded by M. de Champfleurs; then suddenly seeming to relent they sued for peace and gave up the French prisoners they had taken. M. de Montmagny in person came to Three Rivers to meet the Iroquois envoys: but the Governor penetrated their design and broke off the negotiations; for though he could not deal these Indians, when hostilely disposed, any heavy blow, he always sought to present a bold front towards them. His situation, nevertheless, was really very disquieting. With his scanty garrison, he could only be a passive witness of the struggles of the savages, not always escaping insults from both of the contending parties. The French flag they had ceased to respect, daringly advancing to the mouths of the cannon mounted on the works. The forlorn state in which the government left this important post was a subject of astonishment to all."—*Garneau*. At the conference spoken of by *Garneau*, the Iroquois demanded as one of the conditions of peace, that the French should abandon the Algonquins and Hurons to their mercy, which illustrates the boldness of those savages, as well as the difficulties which confronted the French governor in his efforts to accomplish a peace among the native tribes surrounding the settlements over which he presided.

2.—But notwithstanding all this depression it must not be supposed that the spiritual interests either of the colony or of the natives were neglected. The "One Hun-^{Jesuit measures for the conversion of the Hurons.}dred," in their mad chase after peltries, might overlook the higher interests of colonization if they would, but it was not for the Jesuits to falter in their zeal. Theirs was a holy calling. Nor did they fail to bring their religious enthusiasm to bear upon the fur-trade, but ever keeping in view temporal ends to be accomplished, they permitted their unparalleled devotion to break forth into heroic actions. Le Jeune, Superior of the Algonquin Mission, of whom we have already given our readers a considerable sketch, was earnestly combatting the difficulties at his

field of labor at Quebec. But another, Jean Brebeuf, whose life of devotion and adventure was to add new lustre to the glory of his Order, had already turned his course toward the distant Hurons. "The way was pathless and long, by rock, and torrent, and the gloom of savage forests. The goal was more dreary yet. Toil, hardship, famine, filth, sickness, solitude, insult,—all that is most revolting to men nurtured among arts and letters, all that is most terrific to monastic credulity; such were the promise and the reality of the Huron mission." In the estimation of the Jesuits the Huron country was the very centre of Satan's stronghold, but this by no means restrained their zeal. Bold to carry the Cross in the midst of merciless foes, they never faltered. Their lives were a noble example of Christian heroism and self-sacrifice. We may write them down credulous, superstitious, enthusiastic, but who shall dare to lay the charge of hypocrisy or unholy ambition against them. "Doubtless, in their propagandism, they were acting in concurrence with a mundane policy; but, for the present at least, this policy was rational and humane. They were promoting the ends of commerce and national expansion. The foundations of French dominion were to be laid deep in the heart and conscience of the savage. His stubborn neck was to be subdued to the 'yoke of the Faith.' The power of the priest established, that of the temporal ruler was secure. These sanguinary hordes, weaned from intestine strife, were to unite in a common allegiance to God and the King. Mingled with French traders and French settlers, softened by French manners, guided by French priests, ruled by French officers, their now divided bands would become the constituents of a vast wilderness empire, which in time might span the continent. Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."—*Parkman*.

3.—Iroquois invasion had left open but one path from Quebec to the Huron country; this was the long and tedious out-of-the-way route first explored by the indomitable Champlain eighteen years before—up the Ottawa River, across Lake Nipissing, down French River, and along the shores of the great Georgian Bay of

Lake Huron. At every turn in this wilderness way dangers crowded thick and fast. But the dangers of the journey to the Huron country were by no means the only barriers to Jesuit enthusiasm. Nearly two years passed after the brave Brebeuf resigned his life into the perils of the Huron Mission work before these savages would consent to his residence among them. Having already bled beneath the Iroquois tomahawk, they feared to provoke the consequences that would surely follow from admitting these Frenchmen to their country. For these and other reasons they stoutly refused to permit the Jesuits to accompany them in their return trip from Quebec, in 1633. In 1634, when a large delegation of the Hurons were at Three Rivers for purposes of trade, they again refused to escort the priests to their western homes. On this occasion Du Plessis Bochart, commander of the French fleet, called them to a great council and to a great feast, made them a grand speech and many valuable presents, but all to no purpose. Still they would not receive the Jesuits. Finally, in private, some of them consented, but soon after changed their decisions. At length they again consented, and when the hour of embarking arrived, they once more declined to receive them. In this extremity Brebeuf resorted to his last source—a vow to St. Joseph. Immediately, he says, the Indians consented, and the three fathers, Brebeuf, Daniel, and Davost, embarked, and amid salvos of cannon from the ships, set out for the wild stage of their labors. "They reckoned the distance at nine hundred miles; but distance was the least repellent feature of this most arduous journey. Barefoot, lest their shoes should injure the frail vessel, each crouched in his canoe, toiling with unpractised hands to propel it. Before him, week after week, he saw the same lank, unkempt hair, the same tawny shoulders, and long, naked arms ceaselessly plying the paddle. The canoes were soon separated; and for more than a month the Frenchmen rarely or never met. Brebeuf spoke a little Huron, and could converse with his escort; but Daniel and Davost were doomed to a silence unbroken save by the occasional unintelligible complaints and menaces of the Indians, of whom many were sick with the epidemic, and all were terrified, desponding, and sullen. Their only food was a pittance of Indian corn, crushed

Journey of Brebeuf and his companions to the Huron country, A.D. 1634.

between two stones and mixed with water. The toil was extreme. Brebeuf counted thirty-five portages, where the canoes were lifted from the water, and carried on the shoulders of the voyagers around rapids or cataracts. More than fifty times, besides, they were forced to wade in the raging currents, pushing up their empty barks, or dragging them with ropes. Brebeuf tried to do his part, but the boulders and sharp rocks wounded his naked feet, and compelled him to desist. He and his companions bore their share of the baggage across the portages, sometimes a distance of several miles. Four trips, at the least, were required to convey the whole. The way was through the dense forest, incumbered with rocks and logs, tangled with roots and underbrush, damp with perpetual shade." The Indians were often exhausted from the hardships of the journey. All of the Jesuits, as also the Frenchmen who accompanied them, suffered from the insolence of their Indian companions. Davost's Indian robbed him of the most valuable part of his baggage, threw another part into the river, including most of the books and writing materials of the three priests; and, as if this were not enough, left him behind, among the Algonquins of Allumette Island. But he found it possible to pursue his journey, and, after many bitter oppressions, reached the Huron towns, completely exhausted. Daniel was also deserted, but falling in with another party he was assisted in the completion of his journey. Several of the Frenchmen who went with the missionaries were either robbed or left behind in some way-side Indian town.

4.—Although we do not intend to carry the reader to any great extent into the experiences of these Jesuits among the Hurons, yet we must glance at the manner in which they were received, and note some of the difficulties of their labor of love. When Brebeuf's companions landed him in their country they threw his baggage on the ground and left him to his own resources, and departed to their respective villages. The good father did not feel overcome even by this base treatment, but kneeling in prayer, instead of imploring help he devoutly thanked the Providence which had thus far spared his life. He then rose to his feet and pondered as to what he should do to establish himself among the Indians.

Reception of Fathers Brebeuf, Daniel, and Davost among the Hurons. A.D. 1634.

He was well acquainted with the spot. It was on the borders of Thunder Bay. In the neighboring Huron town he had lived three years, preaching and baptizing. He hid his baggage in the woods, including the vessels for the mass, and started out in search of the town. He passed the scene of his former labors, the ruins of a town called Toanche, where he saw the charred poles that had constituted the frame of his little chapel. Evening was fast approaching when he came in sight of the town of Thonatrira. A crowd ran out to meet him exclaiming, "Echom has come again! Echom has come again!" They of course readily recognized the stately figure robed in black. He was enthusiastically led to the town, where the whole population swarmed about him. Procuring his baggage Brebeuf was received into the house of a native called Awandoay, a rich and hospitable Huron, where he anxiously awaited the arrival of his companions. One by one they came in, each with about the same tale of hardship and famine and suffering to unfold. But now that the journey was over they soon forgot its sufferings and busied themselves in preparing for the work which had called them hither.

5.—We must tarry in these wilds of the West a little longer, to notice the Huron mission-house, its inmates, its furniture, its guests; to look at the Jesuit as a teacher, as an engineer; to note the baptisms, and to wonder at Huron village life, all of which, though it be partially a digression, since we have decided to content ourselves with a mere reference to the natives in this work, rather than to give any lengthy treatment of their curious customs, cannot fail to be entertaining. The first question for the fathers to settle was where they should make their abode. For some time it seemed to be that the choice was to fall on a place called by the French *Rochelle*, the largest and most important town of the Huron Confederacy, but Brebeuf thought otherwise, and resolved to remain at Thonatrira, where he was himself well known, and where he trusted some seeds of the faith had already been planted which only needed proper care to bring forth glorious fruit. The next thing to be accomplished was the erection of a mission-house. This was not so difficult a thing among the Hurons, where the whole population of the village joined in building one, when such was found to be an imperative necessity to

Brebeuf on the Huron Mission, A.D. 1634-5.

any one among their number. And now, that this want had fallen to the lot of no less a personage than Father Brebeuf, not only all the inhabitants of Thonataria, but those of the neighboring town of Werrit also took an active part in the work. The only compensation they expected was such presents as the priests were able to bestow. Before the end of September the task was fully accomplished. The following description of this curious structure is taken from Parkman: The house was constructed after the Huron model. It was thirty-six feet long and about twenty feet wide, framed with strong sapling poles planted in the earth to form the sides, with the ends bent into an arch for the roof, the whole lashed firmly together, braced with cross-poles, and closely covered with overlapping sheets of bark. Without the structure was strictly Indian; but within, the priests, with the aid of their tools, made innovations which were the astonishment of all the country. They divided their dwelling by transverse partitions into three apartments, each with its wooden door,—a wondrous novelty in the eyes of their visitors. The first served as a hall, an ante-room, and a place of storage for corn, beans, and dried fish. The second—the largest of the three—was at once kitchen, workshop, dining-room, drawing-room, school-room, and bed-chamber. The third was the chapel. Here they made their altar, and here were their images, pictures, and sacred vessels. Their fire was on the ground, in the middle of the second apartment, the smoke escaping by a hole in the roof. At the sides were placed two wide platforms, after the Huron fashion, four feet from the earthen floor. On these were chests in which they kept their clothing and vestments, and beneath them they slept, reclining on sheets of bark, and covered with skins and the garments they wore by day. Rude stools, a handmill, a large Indian mortar of wood for crushing corn, and a clock, completed the furniture of the room.

6.—Now, since the house of the priests contained many things that were indeed marvellous to the natives, there was, of course, no lack of guests. The fame of the place became sounded throughout the length and breadth of the Huron nation, and the curious—and what Indian is not—flocked from every village to behold the things wonderful. None among the latter astonished the Indians so much as the

Curiosities of the
Huron Mission.

clock. They would often sit for hours in profound silence to hear it strike. They really believed it to be alive, and inquired what it ate, and the priests by no means disabused their superstitious minds by commanding it to stop when the last stroke of the bell sounded, thereby using, in this case, their intelligence to make the ignorance of the natives more profound. The mill was another wonder, so also was the magnifying-glass, wherein a flea was made to appear a monster, and a multiplying lens, which presented the same object eleven times repeated. Brebeuf tells us that, "all this serves to gain their affection, and make them more docile in respect to the admirable and incomprehensible mysteries of our faith; for the opinion they have of our genius and capacity makes them believe whatever we tell them." Brebeuf betrays, all insensibly, a sad truth in this brief passage above quoted. How true it is, not only with reference to their operations among the natives, but among all nationalities and in all countries, that the success of priest-craft is made most thorough and lasting when the implements of its success are most deeply shrouded in mystery. The three missionaries labored hard in the Huron field throughout the years of 1635-6-7, but with no great results, their baptisms were for the most part confined to the children, the dying, the healthy adult population not yielding to the claims of the Gospel.

7.—As it will be impossible to avoid noticing the operations of the Jesuits, which constitute no small part of the early history of
Prominent Jesuits
—Garnier. Canada, we may as well pause here, to look at some of the distinctive characteristics of some of the chief Canadian Jesuits, who were the principal actors on the religious stage in these early days. We will first notice those belonging to the Huron Mission. We have just been speaking of Brebeuf, whom Parkman styles the "Masculine Apostle of the Faith—the Ajax of the mission," and adds that "Nature had given him all the passions of a vigorous manhood, and religion had crushed them, curbed them, or tamed them to do her work—like a dammed-up torrent sluiced and guided to grind and saw and weave for the good of man." Charles Garnier, the co-laborer of Brebeuf, was like him only in that they were both of noble birth. He had ever manifested a delicate and sensitive nature, a tender conscience, and an

inclination to religious emotion. His life both in France among scenes of wealth and refinement, and in Canada, among the wilds of mission life, bore constant testimony of his piety and tender-heartedness. He has left behind him twenty-four letters, written in Canada, to his father and brothers who were in France. These manuscripts breathe forth a spirit of intense Catholic piety. His whole life was one grand demonstration of the fact that he had renounced all that the world calls dear, and that he lived only for Heaven. His affections, robbed of earthly objects upon which to pour their ardor, were taken up with an intense adoration of the Virgin Mary. He had no qualifications for that endurance so needful in the mission field, yet he entered the self-sacrificing labor with none the less readiness, and throughout all his career his lack of physical strength was more than counterbalanced by the *dévotement* of his spirit. He was looked upon as the saint of the mission, and was, no doubt, in his way, and in some respects in deed and in truth, a pious priest. He was one of those peculiar characters, seen only in the mysterious arena of Romanism, who, while his life was a writhing martyrdom, could vainly boast that he baptized and sent more souls to heaven than the other Jesuits.

8.—Joseph Marie Chaumonot is also a prominent name in the list of Canadian Jesuits cotemporary with Brebeuf. He was of humble origin, and after an eventful boyhood he was admitted to the Jesuit novitiate. At its close he came into possession of a small volume of Brebeuf's *Relations* of the Canadian mission, which determined immediately his course of action. Asking to be sent to Canada, his request was granted. "Before embarking," says a reliable author, "he set out with the Jesuit Pencet, who was also destined for Canada, on a pilgrimage from Rome to the shrine of our Lady of Loretto. They journeyed on foot, begging alms by the way. Chaumonot was soon seized with a pain in the knee so violent that it seemed impossible to proceed. At San Severino, where they lodged with the Barnabites, he bethought him of asking the intercessions of a certain poor woman of that place, who had died some time before with the reputation of sanctity. Accordingly he addressed to her his prayer, promising to publish her fame on every possible occasion if she would obtain his cure from God. The intercession

was accepted, the offending limb became sound again, and the two pilgrims pursued their journey; they reached Loretto, and kneeling before the Queen of Heaven implored her favor and aid; while Chaumonot, overflowing with devotion to this celestial mistress of his heart, conceived the purpose of building in Canada a chapel to her honor after the exact model of the Holy House of Loretto. These two Jesuits arrived among the Hurons early in the autumn of 1639. Noel Chabanel did not reach the mission till 1643. He did not reconcile himself to the Indian life, and was sorely tempted to return to France, but bound himself by a solemn vow to remain in Canada to the day of his death. He spent five years in faithfully endeavoring to learn the Huron language but without any success, and was in no particular a successful missionary. Isaac Jogues was not very unlike Garnier. The other priests of the missions were of ordinary type.

There are some things in the lives of these Jesuits, professed, but real or imagined, as to which the reader will readily decide for himself, which we give as worthy to be preserved in history. There was no faith of abstractions and generalities. For them heaven was very near to earth, touching and mingling with it at many points. On high, God the Father sat enthroned; and nearer to human sympathies, Divinity incarnate in the Son, with the benign form of His immaculate mother, and her spouse, St. Joseph, the chosen patron of new France. Interceding saints and departed friends bore to the throne of grace the petitions of those yet lingering in mortal bondage, and formed an ascending chain from earth to heaven. These priests lived in an atmosphere of supernaturalism. Every day had its miracle. Divine power declared itself in action immediate and direct, controlling, guiding, or reversing the laws of Nature. The missionaries did not reject the ordinary cures for disease or wounds; but they relied far more on a prayer to the Virgin, a vow to St. Joseph, or the promise of a *neuvaine*, or nine days' devotion, to some other celestial personage; while the touch of a fragment of a tooth or bone of some departed saint was of sovereign efficacy to cure sickness, solace pain, or relieve a suffering squaw in the throes of childbirth. Once, Chaumonot, having a headache, remembered to have heard of a sick man who regained his health by commending his case to St. Ignatius, and at the same time putting a medal stamped with his image into his mouth. Accordingly he tried a similar experiment, putting into his mouth a medal bearing a representation of the Holy Family, which was the object of his especial devotion. The next morning found him cured.

The relation between this world and the next was sometimes of a nature curiously intimate. Thus, when Chaumonot heard of Garnier's death he immediately addressed his departed colleague and promised him the benefit of all the good works which he, Chaumonot, might perform during the next week, provided the defunct missionary would make him heir to his knowledge of the Huron tongue. And he ascribed to the deceased Garnier's influence the mastery of that language which he afterwards acquired.

The efforts of the missionaries for the conversion of the sav-

ages were powerfully seconded from the other world, and the refractory subject who was deaf to human persuasions softened before the superhuman agencies which the priest invoked to his aid.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that signs and voices from another world, visitations from Hell and visions from Heaven, were incidents of no rare occurrence in the lives of these ardent apostles. To Brebeuf, whose deep nature, like a furnace white hot, glowed with the still intensity of his enthusiasm, they were especially frequent. Demons in troops appeared before him, sometimes in the guise of men, sometimes as bears, wolves, or wild cats. He called on God, and the apparitions vanished. Death, like a skeleton, sometimes menaced him, and once, as he faced it with an unquailing eye, it fell powerless at his feet. A demon, in the form of a woman, assailed him with the temptation which beset St. Benedict among the rocks of Subiaco; but Brebeuf signed the cross, and the infernal siren melted into air. He saw the vision of a vast and gorgeous palace; and a miraculous voice assured him that such was to be the reward of those who dwelt in savage hovels for the cause of God. Angels appeared to him, and more than once, St. Joseph and the Virgin were visibly present before his sight. In these enthusiasts we shall find striking examples of one of the morbid forces of human nature; yet in candor let us do honor to what was genuine in them,—that principle of self-abnegation which is the life of true religion, and which is vital no less to the highest forms of heroism.—*Parkman.*

CHAPTER XVI.

MONTMAGNY'S ADMINISTRATION.—QUEBEC. —MONTREAL.

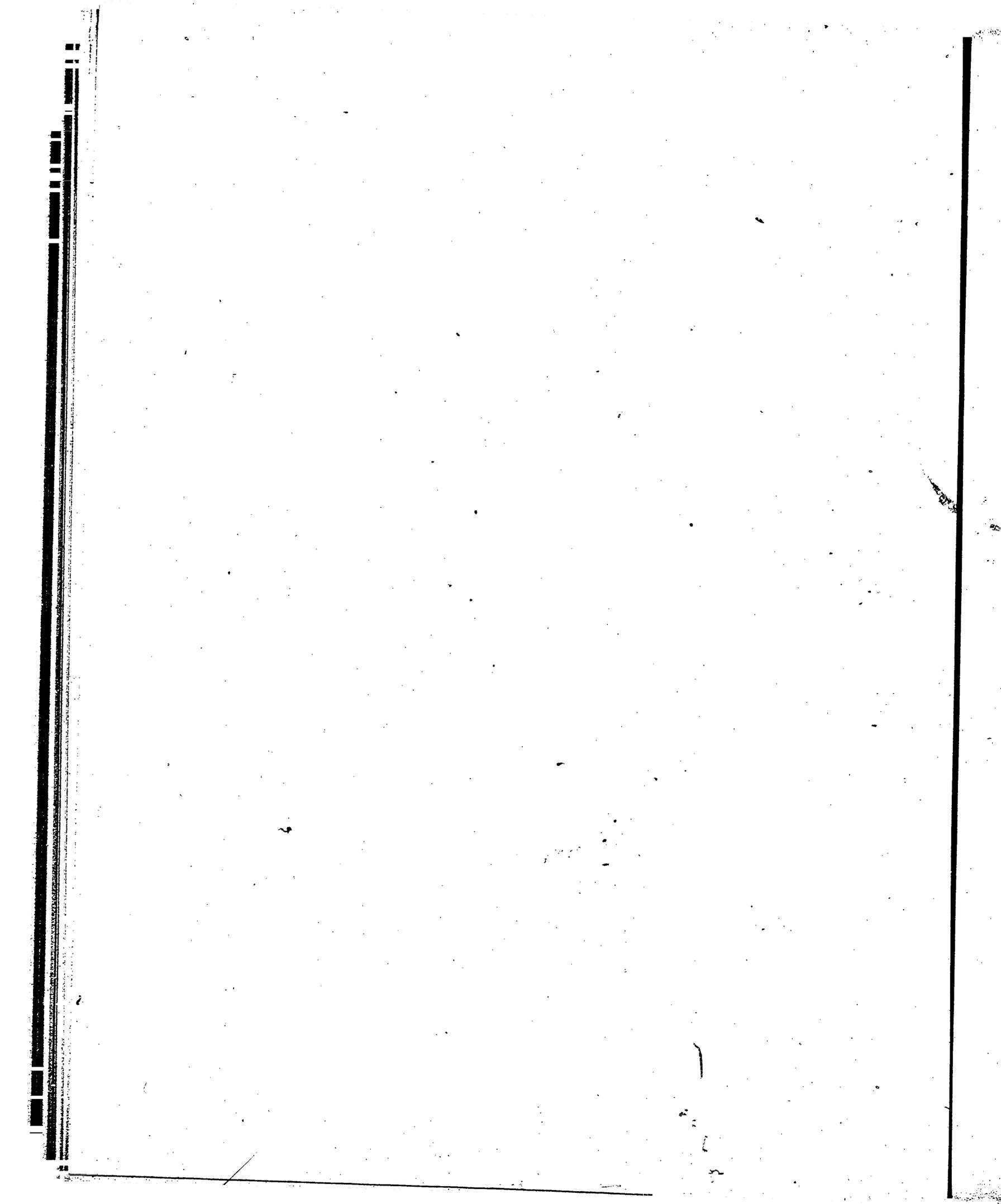
1. MONTMAGNY DEMONSTRATES HIS ROMANISM.
- 2. RISE OF CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS IN CANADA, A. D. 1639-40.—3. MONTREAL FOUNDED BY M. DE MAISONNEUVE, A. D. 1642.—4. VILLE MARIE—MONTREAL, A. D. 1643-4.—5. MONTMAGNY'S POLICY FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE COLONY.—6. TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS, A. D. 1641.—7. THE COMPANY OF ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES—LIFE AT QUEBEC, A. D. 1640.—8. M. DE MONTMAGNY'S ADMINISTRATION—ITS CLOSE, A. D. 1647.

1.—After Champlain's death, and before the arrival of Montmagny, Le Jeune, Superior of the mission at Quebec, was much exercised from a fear that the man who was to be sent out to rule Canada might in some way curb or interfere with his religious plans. But these fears were happily destined to be overthrown. It was in June, 1636, when the ship conveying the new governor to

Montmagny demonstrates his Romanism.

Canada anchored in the basin below Quebec. Le Jeune hastened to the landing-place with his companions, and was there met by the governor with a train of officers and gentlemen. As they all climbed the steep path together, Montmagny chanced to see a crucifix near the way and instantly fell on his knees before it; the nobles, soldiers, sailors and priests imitated his example. Thus it is seen that no sooner had the new governor placed his foot upon the soil of Canada than he gave evidence of his devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. The Jesuits pleased with this demonstration, sang *Te Deum* at the church, while the cannon roared from the adjacent fort. But they were not likely to rest contented with this mere reverence for the cross. Montmagny had scarcely been installed as governor when an enthusiastic Jesuit rushed in and requested him to be god-father to an Indian about to be baptized. He willingly consented, and at once repaired to the hut of the convert, with a company of gentlemen in full court dress, where he bestowed upon the dying savage the name of Joseph, the patron of New France. But the Jesuits were to try him still further with, if possible, still greater success. Three days after he was informed that a dead Christian Indian was to be buried, whereupon he left the lines of the new fortification which he was tracing, lighted a torch, his example being followed by De Lisle, his lieutenant, Repentigny and St. Jean, gentlemen of his suite, and with a band of soldiers, followed the corpse, borne by two priests, to the place of burial. The Jesuits were now at rest, they had already seen him bow before their timely erected cross, made him a god-father to a dying Indian convert, and induced him to parade with his suite and guards at a funeral. This was enough, and they said from the bottom of their catholic hearts that M. de Montmagny was just the man to rule Catholic Canada. And why not? Both the governor and his lieutenant De Lisle were half churchmen, for both were *Knights of Malta*, therefore, the sword was almost in priestly hands. In a word, the Jesuits ruled New France, though at this time there was but little to rule except unruly hordes of thankless savages. Authority completely absolute and without appeal "was vested in a council composed of the governor, Le Jeune, and the syndic, an official supposed to represent the interests of the inhabitants.





There was no tribunal of justice, and the governor pronounced summarily on all complaints. The church adjoined the fort; and before it was planted a stake bearing a placard with a prohibition against blasphemy, drunkenness, or neglect of mass and other religious rites. To the stake was also attached a chain and iron collar; and hard by was a wooden horse, whereon a culprit was now and then mounted by way of example and warning. In a community so absolutely priest-governed, overt offences were, however, rare; and, except on the annual arrival of the ships from France, when the rock swarmed with godless sailors, Quebec was a model of decorum, and wore, as its chroniclers tell us, an aspect unspeakably edifying."—*Parkman*. New France now needed only to grow and develop in population and resources to give the pope a new possession, and we have lived to see the results of that growth and development.

2.—We have already spoken of the general prospects of the colony when Montmagny arrived, and of the indifference and neglect of the "Company of One Hundred Associates" into whose management the care of the colony had been entrusted by royal charter. It was this condition of affairs that induced the governor the more readily to accept and encourage a plan for the settlement of the Island of Montreal, since he hoped that such a course would be the means of putting a check on Iroquois invasions from that direction. This plan, however, did not originate with the "Associates," who were content with any condition of the colony that would most conduce to the promotion of the fur traffic; and, indeed, whatever progress Canada was making generally, at this time, we must place to the credit of its private members, or individuals not in office. Thus by one of the latter, the commander de Sillery, at the request of the Jesuits,—for nothing was originated and carried forward without their sanction or solicitation, the "habitation" which took his name was founded on the banks of the St. Lawrence four miles from Quebec, in the year 1637. The Jesuit College, endowed by René Rohault, was established at Quebec in the previous year. This place, Sillery, still bears the commander's name. De Sillery was one of the "Associates," but he had been induced to become a member of this body from

Rise of Catholic
Institutions in
Canada, A. D.
1639-40.

religious motives rather than mercenary ambition. Hence his activity could not be accredited to the Company. In the Sillery institution only savage converts, or those asking to become such, were received. They were placed under the charge of father Le Jeune, who represented M. de Sillery in America. The latter transmitted considerable sums of money with which the buildings of the institution were constructed. The Hotel Dieu for the sick, and the Ursulines' Convent for training young girls, were also standing proofs, says Garneau, of that inexhaustible generosity to which Canada owes almost all the great establishments of education that she possesses. The former institution was founded at Quebec in 1639 by the Duchess d'Aiguillon. It was in the same year that the young widow of high rank, Madame de Lapeltrie, commenced the erection of the convent of Ursulines, into which when finished she retired for the rest of her life. "The *religieuses* who were to inhabit the new foundations, arrived at Quebec from France in one vessel and landed on the same day. The occasion was observed as a holiday by all the people of the city; labor was suspended and the shops were closed. The governor with an armed escort received the *heroines* of the day on the quay; they left the ship while the cannoneers of the fort were firing a salute. The first compliments paid, M. de Montmagny led them to the High Church, amidst the acclamations of the people, and *Te Deum* was chanted in thanksgiving for the two-fold benefit which heaven had now conferred upon Canada." Garneau informs us that the Hospital was at first placed at Sillery; but from fear of the Iroquois it was refounded at Quebec, in 1644.

3.—In 1640, a society under the name of *La Compagnie de Montréal* was formed in Paris having for its object the promotion of religion in Canada. The company consisted of over thirty persons of wealth and influence. They at once entered into a plan for establishing a permanent settlement on the Island of Montreal. The Company of "One Hundred Associates" had ceded the Island, several years before, to Jacques Girard, seigneur of La Chaussée, who ceded it to Jean de Lauzon, intendant in Dauphiny, soon after. The Missionaries had repeatedly urged the Associated partners to occupy the Island, for protection

Montreal founded
by M. de Maisonneuve, A. D. 1642.

against the hostile Iroquois, and for a central point from whence to extend missionary operations. However, the island was deeded to the new Company in 1640, and one of its members in the same year arrived at Quebec from France with several immigrating families, some soldiers, and an armament valued at 25,000 piastres which had been equipped at La Rochelle and Dieppe. The important work of planting a branch of New France on this island was intrusted to a gentleman well qualified for the task, M. de Maisonneuve. Notwithstanding the fact that Governor Montmagny had encouraged the project of the settlement of the Island of Montreal, when Maisonneuve arrived in Quebec with his colonists and soldiers he tried to persuade him to make the settlement on the Isle d'Orleans, a locality then quite out of the reach of the hostile Iroquois, but the commander, nothing daunted, pushed forward to the fulfilment of his mission; and in 1642 he laid the foundation for the settlement of Montreal. Erecting such buildings as were necessary to the immediate wants of the settlement, he named the infant city *Ville Marie*, which was solemnly consecrated by the Jesuits on the seventeenth of May of that year. The site of this little settlement was near the slope of Mount Royal which had been named by Jacques Cartier one hundred and seven years before. Such were the beginnings of the present metropolis of the Dominion, the City of Montreal. The founder of the settlement, M. de Maisonneuve, demands a place in history. "He was a man of unquestioned courage, experience, and piety, besides being possessed of considerable wealth. When applied to, he offered his services without any regard to self-interest, declaring his desire to devote his sword, his purse, and his life, to the work for the glory of God."—*Miles*. At the same time that he was selected, the Montreal Company sought the services of a woman of character who would resign herself to the fortunes of Canada and take charge of the hospital arrangements of the new settlement. Several noble ladies of France interested themselves in the affairs of the New Company, and finally Mademoiselle Mance was selected, who came to Canada under their auspices, and who became the foundress of the Hotel Dieu of Montreal. Shortly after the first colonists arrived, a reinforcement came out, led by M. d'Ailleboust, who was accom-

panied by his wife and sister. He was also a man of rank and wealth, and soon after became the governor of New France.

4.—We may as well linger at this point for a few moments to notice the early struggles for existence of the new settlement of *Ville Marie-Montreal* A. D. 1643-4. *Ville Marie*, which from this time will afford us another central point for watching the events as they occur in the early history of Canada. For the first two or three years the little settlement barely contrived to maintain an existence. M. d'Ailleboust, who was acquainted with the arts of war by reason of his previous military experience, was charged with the duty of preparing the necessary defenses against the invasions that the settlement would be sure to meet with from the Iroquois, who were prowling the country, in hostile bands, for many miles round in almost every direction. It was a fortunate circumstance for the French that their presence was not discovered on the island until the spring of 1643, by which time the colonists had forsaken their temporary bark cabins, and taken possession of buildings of a somewhat permanent character. No sooner, however, did the Iroquois become aware of their presence than they besieged them. Forming in small bands, they lurked in every hiding place about the little settlement, picking off stragglers and making occasional captives. In short the colonists were in a state of siege during 1643-4. Maisonneuve remained on the defensive, until at length, when charged with downright cowardice, he marched out at the head of thirty men, but was quickly repulsed by over two hundred savages. The commander was the last to retire from the field; with a pistol in each hand he covered the retreat of his frightened band until safely within the palisades of the settlement. "A number of the French were killed and wounded in this encounter. During the years 1643-4 the losses of the French, through the vigilant hostility of their enemies and their crafty modes of attack, were such that, notwithstanding considerable reinforcements from France, the total number of colonists on the island decreased, while it was found impossible to provide adequate accommodations for the sick and wounded."—*Miles*. Thus was Montreal founded; thus it entered upon its career of trouble, fightings without and fears within. Its solemn consecration could not prevent this. However, on the 17th of

May, 1642, when the Superior Vimond commended the colony to the protection of Heaven, likening it to a grain of mustard-seed whence would spring a tree which would grow until its branches overspread the earth, his thoughts were not astray, although it does not appear that these grand results were hastened by the performance in the evening of that day, when numbers of fireflies were caught and strung into a glistening festoon which was hung upon the altar. As we have noticed, Mdlle. Mance came out with the colony. She was accompanied from Quebec by Madame Peltrie. The latter eventually returned to Quebec.

5.—But we must see what M. de Montmagny was doing for the good of New France at his headquarters in Quebec, before we turn to the deeds of his successor. In June, 1636, he landed in Quebec and took charge of the affairs of the colony. His first care was to look after the defenses of the settlement. "Champlain, before closing his eventful career, had ordered the reconstruction of the palisade which formed the outworks of the Fort, and had also erected a battery of guns in the lower town, opposite the warehouses, to command this part of the river. De Montmagny resolved to go much further; a plan of a new fort to be built of stone was prepared, and his artificers, with pick and shovel, might have been seen actively engaged in hewing stone out of the quarry—burning lime—baking bricks. The irregularity of the streets, at first narrow foot-paths, where the forest had stood, next claimed his earnest attention. To ensure regularity in the highways, a new plan of the city was ordered. De Montmagny's example and ideas of progress were not lost on his followers. Private dwellings, as well as public edifices, underwent rapid transformations, to such a degree that the old residents marvelled at the pleasing appearance of the city generally."—*Le Moine*. But we shall see that Montmagny had his share of trouble with the Indians.

6.—When Montmagny first arrived in New France, the Iroquois were comparatively pacific; but in 1641 they commenced to carry terror throughout the length and breadth of the colony, waging a war of extermination against the tribes allied with the French. Their great fear of French firearms no longer held them back. Armed with

Montmagny's policy for the progress of the colony.

Troubles with the Indians, A.D. 1641-1647.

deadly carbines which they had received from the Dutch in exchange for peltries, the Mohawk war parties penetrated to Lakes Sacrament and Champlain and the Richelieu river, or spread themselves in ambush on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and in the isles of Lake St. Peter. They even descended to Three Rivers and Quebec, while others hovered about the isles of Lake St. Louis, waiting to capture the Hurons on their way down the Ottawa in their canoes, laden with furs for the annual trade. The other nations of the Iroquois confederacy, the Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Senecas, crossed the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario and invested the Huron country by way of Lake Simcoe; and ascending the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron to French River on Lake Nipissing, they carried havoc and desolation throughout the whole region of the Upper Ottawa. While this condition of things lasted not only the French settlements were in danger, but the Jesuit Fathers were exposed to every sort of indignity, and sometimes to capture, and with it the worst types of torture. One Father perished in a snow drift. Father Jogues was captured by a band of Mohawks, and carried to their village, where he was treated with great cruelty. However, by the aid of a Dutch officer he escaped and made his way to France. This suffering did not cool his ardor; again he came to Canada and cast his lot with his brother missionaries. Father Bressani was also captured by the Iroquois, at whose hands he suffered all but death. M. de Montmagny's embarrassments from the Indians were now increasing. The colony was still very weak. The settlers did not begin to sow wheat until 1644; very little was done to promote any department of agricultural industry, and they did not reap enough of any product to support themselves throughout the year. Hence the government, weak and uncertain though it was, had to partially subsist as well as protect its citizens. We ought not to condemn the French too harshly for their lack of agricultural industry in these early days, since the colonists, insecure as they were amidst thousands of prowling Indians, had but few opportunities for sowing or planting. "The Iroquois habitually made intrusions even to the environs of Quebec, and spread alarm among the French residents on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The audacity of these savages ever increasing, it be-

came necessary at last to resort to energetic measures for putting a stop to their encroachments; and as a preliminary measure, the foundations of a fort were laid at the mouth of the river Richelieu, in view of debarring their descents to the lower waters. Discerning the intent of this, an armed band of them, 700 strong, suddenly attacked the builders unawares, by whom the treacherous assailants, however, were repulsed."—*Garneau*. Defeated in this effort, the Iroquois turned upon the Hurons with increased fury. By this time the latter were reduced to great extremity. They saw the extent of their territory narrowing each day, and their frontiers mercilessly pillaged. Having thus humbled their native enemies, the Iroquois in 1644 laid a plan, on a greater scale than ever before, to overwhelm the French colony by means of strategy. They divided their forces into ten armies, and subdivided these into small bands which were posted at certain distances from each other, extending in a wide circuit entirely around the colony. At a certain time in the following spring they made an assault at all points simultaneously. Two bands were located at the portage of Les Chaudières, a third at the foot of the Long-Sault, and a fourth took post above Montreal. Five other bands were distributed on the Island of Montreal, the region about Rivière-des-Prairies and Lake St. Peter and in the neighborhood of Three Rivers and Fort Richelieu. A solid force was also stationed at a point where destruction could be the soonest carried into the Huron country as soon as the actions should begin. The Indians posted around Montreal were discovered and routed by the garrison with some loss, a few of their warriors being captured by the Algonquins and burned. Those near Lake St. Peter captured Father Bressani, who was afterwards rescued. Several of his companions were killed or tortured. Struggles were progressing in other points, and in nearly every part of New France the Iroquois were felt either in terror or bloodshed. The Richelieu Fort was attacked but the garrison was able to repulse the assailants, though it was for a long time sorely besieged. At length, through the good offices of the Governor of Fort Richelieu, a treaty of peace was concluded at Three Rivers between the French and the Iroquois, but it was soon broken.

7.—While battling as best he could with these

affairs, M. de Montmagny, the Governor of Canada, found some time to give his attention to other matters. He caused an accurate account of the condition of the colony to be drawn up and sent to France. Of course this could not fail to show how sadly these Iroquois incursions were interfering with the affairs of the One Hundred Associates. The company had suffered immense losses, having expended over 1,200,000 livres, besides spending the revenue of the colony. They now seized upon the first opportunity which this temporary peace with the Indians presented, to divide their chartered rights with the inhabitants of New France. The company conceded their privileges, which was confirmed by royal sanction for a yearly rent of one million beaver skins. The company was not only dissatisfied with their investment but the colonists were sorely discontented with their lack of energy on behalf of the colony. The company was bound by its charter to bring to Canada four thousand colonists before the year 1643. At the same time it lacked both the means and the inclination to perform this task. Many of the members were willing, and did make great sacrifices on behalf of the religious welfare of the settlements, while others thought only of the fur trade and lost all their interests in Canada when the profits from this traffic were no longer forthcoming. The latter class ruled the affairs of the Associates, and diligently sought to evade the fulfilment of every obligation that was calculated to ruin their financial success. "Instead of sending out colonists, they granted lands with the condition that the grantees should furnish a certain number of settlers to clear and till them, and these were to be credited to the company." The grantees took the land, but rarely fulfilled the conditions. Some of these grants were corrupt and iniquitous. Thus, a son of Lauzon, president of the company, received, in the name of a third person, a tract of land on the south side of the St. Lawrence of sixty leagues front. To this were added all the islands in that river, excepting those of Montreal and Orleans, together with the exclusive right of fishing in it through its whole extent. Lauzon sent out not a single colonist to these vast concessions. There was no real motive for emigration. No persecution expelled the colonist from his home; for none but

The company of One Hundred Associates — Life at Quebec, A.D. 1640.

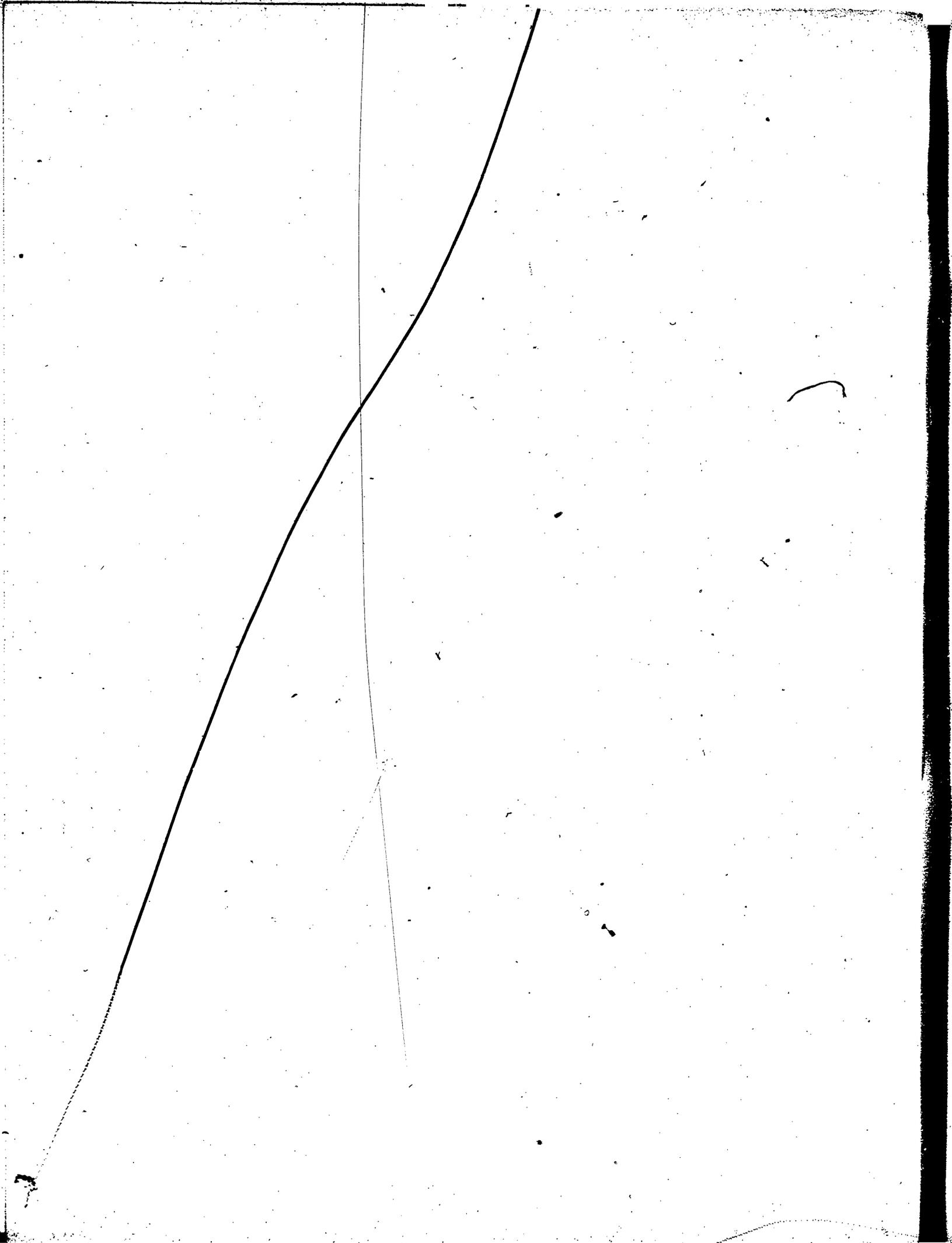


Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST BATTLE WITH THE INDIANS, A.D. 1609. (Page 67.)



Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.



good Catholics were tolerated in New France. The settler could not trade with the Indians, except on condition of selling again to the company at a fixed price. He might hunt, but he could not fish; and he was forced to beg or buy food for years before he could obtain it from that rude soil in sufficient quantity for the wants of his family. The company imported provisions every year for those in its employ; and of these supplies a portion was needed for the relief of starving settlers. Giffard and his seven men on his seigniory of Beauport were for some time the only settlers—excepting, perhaps, the Hébert family—who could support themselves throughout the year. The rigor of the climate repelled the emigrant; nor were the attractions which Father Le Jeune held forth—“piety, freedom, and independence”—of a nature to entice him across the sea, when it is remembered that this freedom consisted in subjection to the arbitrary will of a priest and a soldier, and in the liability, should he forget to go to mass, of being made fast to a post with a collar and chain, like a dog. Aside from the fur trade of the Company, the whole life of the colony was in missions, convents, religious schools, and hospitals. Here on the rock of Quebec were the appendages, useful and otherwise, of an old-established civilization. While as yet there were no inhabitants, and no immediate hope of any, there were institutions for the care of children, the sick, and the decrepit. All these were supported by a charity in most cases precarious. The Jesuits relied chiefly on the company, who, by the terms of their patent, were obliged to maintain religious worship. Quebec wore an aspect half military, half monastic. At sunrise and sunset, a squad of soldiers in the pay of the company paraded in the fort; and, as in Champlain's time, the bells of the church rang morning, noon and night. Confessions, masses, and penances were punctiliously observed; and, from the governor to the meanest laborer, the Jesuit watched and guided all. The social atmosphere of New England itself was not more suffocating. By day and night, at home, at church, or at his daily work, the colonist lived under the eyes of busy and over-zealous priests. At times the denizens of Quebec grew restless. In 1639, deputies were covertly sent to beg relief in France, and “to represent the hell in which the consciences of the colony were kept by the union

of the temporal and spiritual authority in the same hands.”—*Parkman*.

8.—M. de Montmagny administered the affairs of the colony with singular ability, winning the respect of both the Indians and the colonists, and the praise of the French court. His administration was signalized by many important events. A settlement had been founded at Montreal. The great Huron nation had been partly broken; had fairly entered upon its decline; the Jesuits had extended their explorations far into the north and west, and made calculations on much more. One Father Raimbault formed the design of penetrating as far as China, Christianizing all nations by the way, and thus completing a circle of Romish mission stations around the globe. In 1647 Montmagny was succeeded by M. d'Ailleboust. The cause for the change lay not in the former's unfitness but in the orders of the French King, limiting the administration of all colonial governors to a certain period, which in Montmagny's case had expired.

CHAPTER XVII.

GOVERNMENT OF M. D'AILLEBOUST—THE IROQUOIS WARS.

1. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF QUEBEC IN 1647.—2. THE RANGERS—3. HORRORS OF THE IROQUOIS WAR.—4. THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES—PROPOSED TREATY—5. PERILS OF THE COLONISTS.—6. USE AND ABUSE OF LIQUORS.—7. M. DE LAUZON. SUFFERINGS OF THE COLONISTS.

1.—As we have already observed, M. d'Ailleboust succeeded M. de Montmagny as Governor of Canada in 1647. He was a man of considerable ability, well acquainted with the wants of the colony, having already resided in Canada for several years, during which time he commanded the fort at Three Rivers. He found the settlements in a condition of comparative peace, and enjoying a small measure of prosperity. If, however, the prosperity of the colony was to be measured by its religious devotion, then it was indeed prosperous. Every other in-

M. de Montmagny's Administration—its close, A. D. 1647.

Social and religious condition of Quebec, A. D. 1647.

terest vanished before this one. At Quebec the Jesuits regarded the atmosphere as celestial. The pious fathers would note down in their long, tedious journals, that, "in the climate of new France one learns perfectly to seek only God, to have no desire but God, no purpose but for God." We believe this to have been true of one class, but of another we must needs change the word "God" to "Fur." Parkman tells us that the very amusements of this pious community were acts of religion. Here is a demonstration of the truthfulness of this statement. On May-Day, in 1637, M. de Montmagny, who was then governor of the colony, planted a May-pole before the church, surmounted by a triple crown, beneath which were three symbolical circles, decorated with wreaths, and bearing respectively the names, *Jesus, Maria, Joseph*; the soldiers marched up in line before it in full dress, and saluted it by a volley of musketry. We might fill volumes with descriptions of these semi-religious performances by which it was sought to ingratiate the Catholic system with the savages. It is the wonderful pen of Francis Parkman which gives us this glimpse of the scene in the church of Notre Dame de la Reconnaissance, after vespers: "It is full to the very porch; officers in slouched hats and plumes, musketeers, pikemen, mechanics and laborers. Here is Montmagny himself; Repentigny and Poterie, gentlemen of good birth; damsels of nurture ill fitted to the Canadian woods; and, mingled with these, the motionless Indians, wrapped to the throat in embroidered moose-hides. Le Jeune, not in priestly vestments, but in the common black dress of his Order, is before the altar; and on either side is a row of small red-skinned children listening with exemplary decorum, while, with a cheerful, smiling face, he teaches them to kneel, clasp their hands, and sign the cross. All the principal members of this zealous community are present, at once amused and edified at the grave deportment, and the prompt, shrill replies of the infant catechumens; while their parents in the crowd grin delight at the gifts of beads and trinkets with which Le Jeune rewards his most proficient pupils."

2.—There was a class of men among the pioneers of Canada who refused to live in this state of temporal and spiritual vassalage. These knew no other home but the forest, and no companions except the Indians. They followed or

led them in their roving; lived with and like them; became familiar with their language; took wives from among their women, and sometimes became distinguished as influential leaders among the native tribes. Among the most distinguished of these were Jean Nicollet, Jacques Hertell, François Marguerie, and Nicholas Marsalet. "Nicollet and others were at times settled as interpreters at Three Rivers and Quebec. Several of them were men of great intelligence and invincible courage. From hatred of restraint, and love of a wild and adventurous independence, they encountered privations and dangers scarcely less than those to which the Jesuit exposed himself from motives widely different,—he from religious zeal, charity, and the hope of Paradise; they simply because they liked it. Some of the best families of Canada claim descent from this vigorous and hardy stock."—*Parkman.*

3.—It was not long before D'Ailleboust found himself surrounded by the difficulties of an Indian war. The Iroquois had recommenced their war of extermination Horrors of the Iroquois war. against the Hurons with increased fury. They had now formed a scheme for their utter extinction. The fourth of July, 1648, witnessed the first outbreak in this great chapter of horrors. On that memorable day they fell like an avalanche upon the defenceless settlement of St. Joseph, destroying the whole population, numbering seven hundred. Every hut was burned. They set the church on fire, and as a special mark of their revenge against the French for protecting their enemies, they threw the mangled and bleeding body of Father Daniel, the missionary of that settlement, into the midst of the flames. They then suddenly withdrew, leaving the surrounding native villages, during the rest of the year, to suffer the intense alarm consequent upon the hourly expectation of another Iroquois invasion. The places where the French priests had mission stations were in a state of continual panic from fear. Nor were the alarms groundless. Early in the following March a strong band of Iroquois warriors burst like a thunder storm upon the settlements of St. Ignace and St. Louis, both Huron settlements near the eastern shore of Lake Huron, and put over four hundred natives to a horrible death. "At St. Louis the veteran Brébeuf and the gentle Lalemand (who for twenty years had subjected them-

selves to every kind of hardship as Jesuit missionaries) were put to death with excruciating tortures. Each successive settlement was visited in like manner, and with a like result. Soon, in self-defence, the hunted Hurons stood at bay; and for a time alternate success and defeat followed each other with fatal rapidity, inflicting on them terrible losses. At length, in a final struggle for their very existence and for the possession of their homes and hunting-grounds, they were defeated by the unsparing Iroquois. Utterly routed, the unhappy Hurons, accompanied by some of their missionaries, fled to the upper lakes, and at length found a resting-place on the island of St. Joseph. Here, during the winter, disease and want of food rapidly reduced their already thinned ranks. Some of them fled to the shores of Lake Superior, and sought the powerful protection of the Ojibwas. Here a decisive battle took place on a spot which, from this circumstance, was named Point Iroquois, or Place of the Iroquois bones; and for a short time the Hurons were sheltered. Others also sought the protection of the Ottawa Indians, but were, even with them, again pursued and dispersed. Many of the survivors were, after the old Roman custom, incorporated into the Iroquois tribes, while others fled to Montreal and Quebec by the circuitous route of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa, and for years remained encamped within the walls of Quebec, or were elsewhere placed under French protection."—*Hodgins*. Thus were the Hurons, once a prosperous and powerful nation, broken and dispersed by the invincible Iroquois.

4.—About this time, 1648, the New England Colonies sent greetings to Canada with proposals for an alliance. Considerable settlements had grown up in that quarter.

Since the landing of the celebrated Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth in December, 1620, and since the second band of pilgrims had founded Salem in 1628, several other colonies had taken rise in their neighborhood. These colonists had suffered much, both from the Indians without and from dissensions within. The Puritan Fathers had fled from England to America to enjoy civil and religious freedom, yet they drove from their midst with almost unparalleled persecution those of their brethren who attempted to exercise liberty of conscience. The natural product of this perse-

cution was the establishment of the colony of Providence in 1636. Time passed on, the several colonies of New England, despite all opposition, increased in the number of their inhabitants and the importance of their improvements until, in 1643, in order that they might be the better protected against the Indians and the French colonists of Acadia, they formed a union called "The United Colonies of New England." This union embraced the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay (including Maine and New Hampshire) and Plymouth, New Haven and Connecticut. And now in 1648, these colonies proposed to the Governor-General of Canada, a general alliance whereby there should be free trade and perpetual amity between them and Canada, even in the event of England and France being at war. M. d'Ailleboust was much pleased with the proposal, and took the necessary steps to effect a treaty with his English neighbors. He sent a delegate to Boston, and negotiations began. They were several times interrupted and finally broken off altogether. This unhappy termination of the affair was caused by the demand of D'Ailleboust, that the French and English should join in a war to humble the Iroquois. The English declined to betray the trust of their allies, and preferred separation from the French rather than the anger and revenge of the Iroquois. When information of this affair reached the camp of the latter, they resolved to slay the allies of the French, and we have seen, in the preceding paragraph, how completely they carried out this resolve.

5.—Although the fury of the Iroquois was not aimed directly at the French, yet they felt its deadly power in sufferings and famine and in the general decline of nearly every industry. The hostile Indians usually invaded the country in bands. Every rock, tree, or bush, each hillock or ditch, became a lurking-place from whence the deadly aim was taken at the unprotected colonist when engaged in tillage or planting. "Some of their scouts," says Garneau, "found place for espial in tops of trees around the houses, ready to give the signal to their followers when best to attack the settlement they were lying in wait to surprise; and if no propitious moment supervened, they would remain there posted for days together." Prowling bands of these venturesome Indians threaded the forest paths even below Quebec. They killed the Gov-

New England Colonies—Proposed treaty.

Perils of the colonists.

ernor of Three Rivers, M. Duplessis-Bochard, in an attack which that officer made upon them, and repeatedly attacked the colonists in their fields, murdered isolated individuals, and sent the horrors of a desultory warfare throughout the whole colony. They pursued this system of hostilities with untiring persistence, until it was no longer safe for the colonists to go about their business without carrying fire-arms for self-protection. Frequently the inhabitants had to intrench themselves in their dwellings, or leave them altogether. Nearly every source of prosperity had become dry. The beavers were allowed to build their dams in peace. The Hurons no longer descended from their country with loads of furs for trading, and still worse, the population of the colony was perceptibly diminishing, through the number of individuals who were taken unawares and killed or carried away into a horrid captivity. Hand to hand conflicts between small parties of the colonists and bands of Indians were of daily occurrence.

6.—The administration of M. d'Ailleboust is Use and abuse of marked by the appearance of intoxicating liquors among the Indians. "The French traders had already discovered the fondness of the Red Man for fermented liquors, and now introduced it as an article of commerce among the Montagnez, a small tribe occupying the neighborhood of Tadousac, and the other Indians who frequented that post. Drunkenness, and the malignant passions in its train, apart from the diseases it originated, soon produced the greatest disorders among the impulsive natives. The chase was forgotten for the time; they had other excitement. The lodge of the Indian drunkard was soon visited by poverty and want, as well as the house of the white inebriate. Society was disquieted, rude as were the restraints it imposed among the aborigines of the St. Lawrence, and the Montagnez chiefs solicited the Governor to erect a prison to restrain the disorderly and criminal. Much to their credit the clerical order steadily set their faces against the introduction of liquor among the Indians; but the traffic soon became too lucrative to be seriously interrupted by their endeavors. For the present, however, they saved Three Rivers from the evil, and the converts there for a brief space longer were spared the blighting influence of intoxicating drink."—*MacMullen*. We are inclined to think that no great amount of

credit is due to any order, clerical or otherwise, for its persistent opposition to the introduction of strong drink among the natives. It came by degrees, but none the less certainly. The priests may, in a few instances, have opposed its use as an article of merchandise, but this opposition cannot be reckoned very highly when we remember the manner in which they countenanced and encouraged its private use among themselves and the colonists.

7.—M. de Lauzon succeeded D'Ailleboust as Governor of New France. He arrived and took possession of his office in 1651. He, M. de Lauzon. Sufferings of the colonists. as one of the chief members of the company of One Hundred Associates, had exercised the greatest influence in the management of its affairs in France, and was a man of integrity, with an extensive acquaintance with the wants of the colony; yet, with all these qualities he was unsuccessful. He found the situation of Canada worse than he expected. Distress and famine prevailed in every quarter, and every settlement had entered upon a decline which was difficult to arrest. The Iroquois were alike the terror of Indians and French. "In the open field the sudden bolt of death sometimes struck the laborer, and with a loud yell of triumph, the Iroquois warrior fled into ambush with the trophy of his savage onslaught. In those days of trial, the strength of the people of Canada lay in their religious fervor. Annalists say that they displayed an integrity that contrasted brightly with their conduct in later days. There were no courts of justice in the province: there was no need of them. Fraud and dishonesty were unknown, and it seemed as if all things were in common. A number of Jesuit missionaries, whose field of labor had been narrowed by the destruction of the Huron Mission, now left Canada. But there still remained not a few, who, braving every danger and hardship, won their way among the tribes of the far west and of the frozen regions of Hudson Bay. Their mission was religious and secular. They made known to the heathen the name of Christ; they extended the empire of France over distant nations; they promoted commerce by inducing their savage neophytes to carry their peltry to the magazines of Tadousac, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal."—*Archer*. Further still, these pious Jesuits penetrated even to the thickest

dangers of the Iroquois country and strove to gain a foothold in that quarter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PERILS OF INDIAN WARFARE.—ARGENSON.—LAVAL.

1. THE PERILS OF AN INDIAN WAR.—2. FAILURE OF THE MISSION AMONG THE IROQUOIS.—INDIAN WARFARE.—3. VICTORIES OF THE IROQUOIS.—4. D'ARGENSON—THE INDIANS, 1658.—5. MONTREAL, 1668.—6. THE FIRST CANADIAN BISHOP.—7. THE FRENCH IN CONSTANT TERROR OF THE IROQUOIS.—8. BURNING OF THE WOLF, 1660.—9. DAULAC'S HEROIC EXPEDITION, 1660.—10. DAULAC'S INDIAN REINFORCEMENT.—11. DAULAC AND HIS COMRADES SELL THEIR LIVES BRAVELY.

1.—We have already hinted that the colonists under Lauzon's government suffered many reverses. We shall now run through the chain of events which constitutes this chapter of trial in the early history of Canada. As we must rely chiefly upon the journals of the Jesuits for the *data* required, we are compelled to give our record a somewhat religious tone. No doubt the reader will many times wish to break away from these records of priestly sanctity, and missionary adventure, into the realities of colonial history narrated from a purely political standpoint, but it is difficult to find this kind of history where religion is the politics of the government and the chief occupation of the people. However we may hope to pass into a more agreeable atmosphere by and by; not at present. In the summer of 1658, Parkman tells us that all Canada turned to fasting and penance, processions, vows and supplications. Prayer to the Saints and the Virgin went up in one long and continuous strain; the colonists were sick from starvation, tired of restraint, and weak from constant fear. At Montreal, then the western outpost of the settlements, which was held by about fifty half famished Frenchmen, who were said to exist by the intervention of the Saints, dangers were ever gathering thick and fast. About twenty-six Frenchmen were attacked by over two

hundred Iroquois. There seemed to be no chance for their lives, but, says a Jesuit historian, the Queen of Heaven came to their succor, and the Iroquois suffered a bloody defeat. At Three Rivers, which was not so much exposed as Montreal, the danger was not less imminent; the hostile invaders defeated and tomahawked the commandant, and beleaguered the fort for many months thereafter. Even at Quebec which was less exposed than the other two settlements of the colony, there was no safety. In the neighborhood of this place, it is stated, individuals were either captured or shot down by the lurking savages. Meanwhile the Mother of God was achieving new victories at Montreal. The pious chronicler tells us that in June 1658, a party of sixty of the Onondaga Iroquois visited that place, declaring that they came on a mission of peace. Guns, scalping knives, tomahawks were laid aside, and a deputation of chiefs, with a confidence that was heroic, walked into the fort. The French were tempted to seize and punish them for past offences, but they refrained, believing that this strange conduct was an evidence of saintly intervention. To the practical mind, however, this was easily explained. The Iroquois had become involved in a war with the Eries, and one enemy at the time was sufficient. Their policy was to make friends with the French for the time being. A peace was concluded and the chiefs departed. An Oneida deputation soon followed with like results; at length, after suffering many defeats, the Mohawks, who had been leading in the war against the French, sued for peace also. A grand council was held at Quebec, the customary speeches were made and the usual wampum belts exchanged. "The Iroquois left some of their chief men as pledges of sincerity, and two young soldiers offered themselves as reciprocal pledges on the part of the French. The war was over; at least Canada had found a moment to take breath for the next struggle. The fur trade was restored again, with promise of plenty; for the beaver, profiting by the quarrels of their human foes, had of late greatly multiplied. It was a change from death to life; for Canada lived on the beaver, and, robbed of this, her only sustenance, had been dying slowly since the strife began." Something had been achieved and the Jesuits did not fail to credit heaven with that something. "Yesterday," writes one of the Fathers,

"all was dejection and gloom; to-day, all is smiles and gayety. On Wednesday, massacre, burning, and pillage; on Thursday, gifts and visits, as among friends. If the Iroquois have their hidden designs, so, too, has God." On the day of the Visitation of the Holy Virgin, the chief, Aontarisati, so regretted by the Iroquois, was taken prisoner by our Indians, instructed by our fathers, and baptized; and, on the same day, being put to death, he ascended to heaven. I doubt not that he thanked the Virgin for his misfortune and the blessing that followed, and that he prayed to God for his countrymen. "The people of Montreal made a solemn vow to celebrate publicly the *fête* of this mother of all blessings; whereupon the Iroquois came to ask for peace. It was on the day of the Assumption of this Queen of angels and of men that the Hurons took at Montreal that other famous Iroquois chief, whose capture caused the Mohawks to seek our alliance. On the day when the Church honors the Nativity of the Holy Virgin, the Iroquois granted Father Poncet his life; and he, or rather the Holy Virgin and the holy angels, labored so well in the work of peace, that on St. Michael's Day it was resolved in a council of the elders that the father should be conducted to Quebec, and a lasting treaty made with the French." We have no space to devote to Father Poncet's interesting adventures among the Iroquois.

2.—In 1654, at the earnest solicitation of the Onondagas, and after Father le Moyne had made a trip full of dangers to their country the Governor General entered into a plan with the Jesuits for establishing a mission in their settlements. To carry this plan into effect Fathers Mercier, Fremin, Mesnard and Dabbon, with a guard of fifty soldiers, were sent forward. This expedition was attacked by the Mohawks, but the enemy was overcome with the loss only of a few canoes. Shortly after, however, this Mohawk band were repayed for their misfortunes by falling on to a number of Huron men, women and children, who were engaged at work on the Isle of Orleans; they killed six outright and took the rest captive. While passing Quebec with these, they caused their prisoners to sing aloud and challenged the Governor-General to despoil them if he could. M. de Lauzon was compelled to permit this insult, as also many others,

Failure of the mission among the Mohawks—Indian warfare, 1654-5.

to pass unpunished. The Onondaga mission had scarcely been founded when it was discovered to be in a very critical condition. M. Dupuys, the commandant of the post, being informed that there was a conspiracy on foot to destroy it, ordered several light *bateaux* to be constructed. As soon as this task was accomplished he made a great feast, at which he dealt out liquor to the savages so freely that they all became drunken. When they were all fast asleep, the French, in the dim light of the morning, made their escape by way of the Chonagen River. The Hurons on the Isle of Orleans, alarmed at the capture of their brethren, and considering themselves no longer safe, took shelter within the enclosure of Quebec. Here the French openly confessed their inability to protect them. The Hurons, despairing of any longer maintaining a separate nation, now sent secret messengers to the Mohawks and offered to unite with them, and become one people; to this proposition the latter readily agreed, but soon after the Hurons repented of their bargain, whereupon the Mohawks took measures to enforce compliance. Scouting parties spread themselves around Quebec in every point where the slightest shelter could be found, picking off every Huron who came out of the fort; and when they had accomplished all that could be done in this way they sent deputies to the Governor-General demanding the immediate surrender of such as still took refuge within the fort. These deputies were impudent in the extreme. Demanding to be heard in an assembly of the French and Hurons, to which M. de Lauzon consented, the chief spokesman in opening the council, said: "Lift up thy arm, Ononthilo, and allow thy children whom thou holdest pressed to thy bosom to depart; for, if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reason to dread, lest in coming to chastise them, my blows may fall on thy head. I know," continued he, after presenting a belt of wampum, "that the Huron is fond of prayers; that he confesses and adores the Author of all things, to whom in his distress he has recourse for succor. It is my desire to do the same. Permit the missionary therefore who quitted me to return with the Hurons; and as I have not a sufficient number of canoes to carry so large a number of people, do me the favor to lend me thine." The council broke up without reaching any result as to the fate of the Hurons. One band, however, de-

cided to abide by their contract and departed with Father le Moynes to the Mohawk country. The Governor-General was severely criticised for his want of courage. The Iroquois, engaged as they were in a war with the Eries, would have been utterly unable to withstand the French and their allies. Hence finding himself sorely censured by the colonists, and being himself thoroughly sick of the position, and, no doubt, conscious of his want of ability to meet the exigencies of the office, he left his post without waiting to be recalled; returning to France in disgust, and leaving M. de Ailleboust in temporary charge of the colony.

3.—Meanwhile the Iroquois were extending their conquests in every direction. They had pushed the war against the Eries with great vigor, capturing town after town until they

Victories of the Iroquois. reached the principal stronghold of the country. This they stormed with a force of seven hundred of their warriors against a force of over fifteen hundred, with complete success, which was the grand annihilating stroke against the Eries. Those who were not killed, or taken with the Iroquois tribes, fled westward and northward. Their nation was forever broken up; nothing remaining to remind one of their existence, except the lake which bears their name and washes the shores of their country with its waters. "The Iroquois about this period likewise turned their arms against the Ottawas, a branch of the great Algonquin race, whose hunting-grounds lay along the Ottawa, from Ottawa City upwards. This tribe did not make the slightest resistance, and sought shelter amid the marshes along their river, or fled to the islands of Lake Huron, whence a portion of them subsequently penetrated to the south-west, where they joined the Sioux. A great part of Lower, and all Upper Canada, were now completely in the possession of the Five Nations." They had become the terror of all the Indian tribes of the north, and even in New England a single Mohawk war-cry sent terror and alarm throughout all of the English colonies.

4.—The Viscount d'Argenson, who had been appointed Governor-General of Canada to succeed M. de Lauzon, arrived at Quebec in July, 1658. The morning after his arrival he was thoroughly initiated into the dangers of his office by the cry "to arms!" which was given in consequence of the approach of a band of

Iroquois under the very cannon of the fort, where they boldly murdered some Algonquins. The new governor started in pursuit with two hundred soldiers but his movements were too slow to overtake the enemy. "Shortly after this occurrence a strong force of the Mohawks approached Three Rivers, designing to surprise that post if possible. Under pretence of holding a conference with the commandant, they sent eight men to ascertain the condition of the garrison; but these, instead of being treated as legitimate deputies, were promptly placed in prison. Disappointed in their object they retreated from the colony, which for a brief space enjoyed repose. Of this the missionaries promptly availed themselves to prosecute their labors among the northern tribes, and now discovered several routes to Hudson's Bay."

5.—In the same year in which the new Governor-General came out, the Island of Montreal and settlement of Ville-Marie,

Montreal, 1658.

to the great satisfaction of the colony was transferred to the superiors of the Seminary of St. Sulpicius, a society of great repute and power. Under their auspices, L'Abbé de Quélus founded the institution, and under the superintendence of Marguérita Bourgeois, the institution of the Filles de la Congrégation was opened to give religious and superior secular training to the young girls of the colony, in the same year.

6.—In 1659, certain abuses having appeared, it was deemed prudent to make certain changes in the government of the church. M. François de Laval, L'Abbé de Montigny, Vicar Apostolic and titular Bishop of Petrea, was appointed Ecclesiastical Superior. Several persons in orders accompanied him to Canada. On their arrival a regular parish priesthood, entitled to one-thirteenth of all the natural and artificial products of the country as tithes, was established. However, on account of the poverty of the country, the tithes were afterwards reduced to one twenty-sixth, on condition that they should be paid in grain, and not in the sheaf. The king supplemented these by an annual grant of 7,600 livres from the royal treasury. The annual allowance of the curés was fixed at 400 livres. Eleven years after, the church of Rome in Canada was erected into a bishopric, in dependence on the Papal See, and M. de Laval became the first bishop.

The first Canadian Bishop, A. D. 1659.

7. Canada had now suffered for many years under the scourge of an Iroquois war. During the greater portion of this period the French population of the colony was less than three thousand. Nothing saved the settlements from destruction but the fact that they were grouped around the fortified post of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, which in the hour of danger gave a sufficient shelter to the inhabitants who were fortunate enough to escape within the palisades. But even these circumstances would have been overcome, and the entire French population annihilated, had it not been for the distracting wars with the neighboring tribes in which the Iroquois were constantly engaged. This fact directed their attention from an earnest attempt to destroy the French; and then again the French were indispensable to them. From Canada they obtained their supplies. They would taunt, harass, torture the colony, but not destroy it. A son of Governor Lauson, was surprised and killed on the Isle of Orleans, with seven companions. Soon after a similar fate befel the son of Godefroy, one of the chief inhabitants of Quebec; in short there was no safety beyond the reach of the guns of the fort. The people everywhere were seized with alarm. "A comet appeared above Quebec, and they saw in it a herald of destruction. Their excited imaginations turned natural phenomena into portents and prodigies. A blazing canoe sailed across the sky; confused cries and lamentations were heard in the air; and a voice of thunder sounded from mid-heaven"—*Parkman*. In the midst of these portensions the Jesuits despaired of their flocks. Their superior writes: "Everywhere we see infants to be saved for Heaven, sick and dying to be baptized, adults to be instructed; but everywhere we see the Iroquois. They haunt us like persecuting goblins; they kill our new-made Christians in our arms. If they meet us on the river, they kill us. If they find us in the huts of our Indians, they burn us and them together." And this Father urgently appeals for troops to destroy these enemies as a work needful for the glory of God. Canada was not only still a mission, but its inhabitants trusted quite as much in religious usages for their preservation, as in material defences. The war was regarded as one between the children of God and the hosts of Satan. The settlers' cabins along the shores of the St. Lawrence above and below Que-

The French in constant terror of the Iroquois, 1660.

bec were, in many instances, supplied with a small iron cannon, made by the blacksmiths in the colony. Beside these they had protectors that were supposed to shield them when cannon could not; one of these was an image of the Virgin; the inmates were not safe without this. Every morning the pious settler knelt before it to implore the protection of a celestial hand. There are many curious and interesting memorials of these early times still extant, among these we give two letters written by François Hertel, a youth of eighteen, who was captured at Three Rivers, and carried to the Mohawk town, in 1661. He belonged to a distinguished family of the colony and was the most beloved child of his mother. It was to her that he addressed one of these letters. The other is to the Jesuit Le Moynes, who had visited Onondaga that year to effect, if possible, the release of French prisoners, in accordance with a truce. Both letters were written on birch bark, the current paper of the forest of that day:

MY REVEREND FATHER:—The very day when you left Three Rivers I was captured, at about three in the afternoon, by four Iroquois of the Mohawk tribe. I would not have been taken alive, if, to my sorrow, I had not feared that I was not in a fit state to die. If you came here, my Father, I could have the happiness of confessing to you; and I do not think they would do you any harm; and I think that I could return home with you. I pray you to pity my poor mother, who is in great trouble. You know, my Father, how fond she is of me. I have heard from a Frenchman, who was taken at Three Rivers on the 1st of August, that she is well, and comforts herself with the hope that I shall see you. There are three of us Frenchmen alive here. I commend myself to your good prayers, and particularly to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. I pray you, my Father, to say a mass for me. I pray you give my dutiful love to my poor mother, and console her, if it pleases you.

My Father, I beg your blessing on the hand that writes to you, which has one finger burned in the bowl of an Indian pipe, to satisfy the Majesty of God which I have offended. The thumb of the other hand is cut off; but do not tell my mother of it.

My Father, I pray you to honor me with a word from your hand in reply, and tell me if you shall come here before winter.

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

FRANÇOIS HERTEL.

The letter to his mother, sent very likely with the other to the care of LeMoynes, was as follows:

MY MOST DEAR AND HONORED MOTHER:—I know very well that my capture must have distressed you very much. I ask you to forgive my disobedience. It is my sins that have placed me where I am. I owe my life to your prayers, and those of M. de Saint-Quentin, and of my sisters. I hope to see you again before winter. I pray you to tell the good brethren of Notre-Dame to pray to God and the Holy Virgin for me, my dear mother, as for you and all my sisters.

Your poor

FANÇON.

"Fanchon" was no doubt the name by which his mother familiarly addressed him when a boy. This is the same Hartel, who, twenty-nine years after, led a band of French and Indians in an attack against Salmon Falls, in New England, and who, when the retiring victors were sorely pressed by an overwhelming force, sword in hand, held the pursuers in check at the bridge of Wooster River, and protected the retreat of his men. He died at the age of eighty, the founder of a very distinguished Canadian family,

8.—In May, 1660, a party of French Algonquins captured a Wolf Indian who had been naturalized among the Iroquois, carried him to Quebec and burned him there with the usual tortures. Perhaps the Jesuits could not have saved this Indian. A recent Catholic writer makes this claim, but no one acquainted with the history of that period will receive the statement as truthful. A protest from the Bishop would more than likely have put a stop to this proceeding. The truth is they did not care to prevent the tortures of prisoners of war, not because they took any pleasure in such revenge, but wholly, perhaps, from religious motives. Torture was to them a blessing in disguise. They believed it to be the salvation of many a soul. One of them writes: "we have very rarely seen the burning of an Iroquois without feeling sure that he was on the path to Paradise; and we never knew one of them to be surely on the path to Paradise without seeing him pass through this fiery punishment." From some such motive as this, after the proper instruction and baptism, they consented to let the Wolf die the death of the stake. "Is it not," adds the writer last quoted, "a marvel to see a wolf changed at one stroke into a lamb, and enter the fold of Christ, which he came to ravage." This Indian before his death disclosed a plan undertaken by the Iroquois to capture the three French settlements and massacre the inhabitants, stating that a large force were already hovering around Montreal, waiting an opportunity to execute these bold designs. This news threw the whole settlement into intense excitement and alarm. The inhabitants betook themselves within the palisades of the fort, and day after day waited anxiously for the enemy, but the Iroquois did not present themselves. They were prevented as we shall see by a bold detachment sent out from Montreal.

9.—In April, 1660, a young officer named Daulac, commandant of the garrison of Montreal requested ^{Daulac's heroic expedition, 1660.} Maisonneuve, the Governor of that place, to give him permission to lead a party of volunteers against the hostile Iroquois, suspected as being ambuscaded at no distant point. "His plan was bold to desperation. It was known that Iroquois warriors in great numbers had wintered among the forests of the Ottawa. Daulac proposed to waylay them on their descent of the river, and fight them without regard to disparity of force. The settlers of Montreal had hitherto acted solely on the defensive, for their numbers had been too small for aggressive war. Of late their strength had been somewhat increased, and Maisonneuve, judging that a display of enterprise and boldness might act as a check on the audacity of the enemy, at length gave his consent." Sixteen of the young men of Montreal had struck hands with Daulac, and bound themselves by oath to accompany him on the bold venture and to ask no quarter. Being now in readiness to leave the fort, they made their wills, confessed, and received the sacrament. As they knelt before the altar in the little chapel of the Hotel Dieu, they were regarded with a kind of envy. Some of the chief men of Montreal, among whom was Charles LeMoyne, urged them to wait till the following spring, that they might join this band, but Daulac, knowing that if LeMoyne accompanied them he would not have the command, stoutly refused. He was alike jealous of the glory and the danger. "The names, ages, and occupations of the seventeen young men may still be read on the ancient register of the parish of Montreal; and the notarial acts of that year, preserved in the records of the city, contain minute accounts of such property as each of them possessed. The three eldest were of twenty-eight, thirty, and thirty-one years respectively. The age of the rest varied from twenty-one to twenty-seven. They were of various callings,—soldiers, armorers, locksmiths, lime-burners, or settlers without trade. The greater number had come to the colony as part of the reinforcement brought by Maisonneuve in 1653. After a solemn farewell they embarked in several canoes well supplied with arms and ammunition. They were very indifferent canoe-men; and it is said that they lost a week in vain attempts to pass the swift current of St. Anne, at

the head of the island of Montreal. At length they were more successful, and entering the mouth of the Ottawa, crossed the Lake of Two Mountains, and slowly advanced against the current."

—*Parkman*. We must now pause to notice an Indian reinforcement which joined Daulac.

10.—Five warriors of the Huron nation who still lingered at Quebec set out on a war expedition, led by the brave Chief Aunabataka. At Three Rivers they were joined by chief Mitunemeg with a small band. Reaching Montreal they were informed of Daulac's departure, and at once solicited Maisonneuve's permission to follow and overtake them. The chief desired a letter of introduction to Daulac. The governor, not placing a very high estimate on Huron valor, at first declined, but afterwards consented. He gave the chief a letter introducing him to Daulac, but leaving the latter to his own judgment on the question of accepting or rejecting the proffered assistance. The Indians started out in high spirits, and after a tedious journey came upon Daulac and his party at the foot of the Long Sault, about the first of May. Here just below the rapid, where the forests sloped gently to the shore, among the bushes and stumps of the rough clearing made in constructing it, stood a palisade fort, the work of an Algonquin war party in the past autumn. It was a mere enclosure of trunks of small trees planted in a circle, and was already ruinous. Such as it was, the Frenchmen took possession of it. Their first care, one would think, should have been to repair and strengthen it; but this they seem not to have done; possibly, in the exaltation of their minds, they scorned such precaution. They made their fires, and slung their kettles on the neighboring shore; and here they were soon joined by the Hurons and Algonquins. Daulac, it seems, made no objection to their company, and they all bivouacked together. Morning and noon and night they prayed in three different tongues; and when at sunset the long reach of forests on the farther shore basked peacefully in the level rays, the rapids joined their hoarse music to the notes of their evening hymn.

11.—Not many days passed before the scouts came in with the intelligence that two Iroquois canoes were coming down the Sault. Daulac planted a small detachment at a point where he expected they

Daulac and his comrades sell their lives bravely. 1660

would land. The Iroquois made the shore at the calculated place and met a volley which cut them all off except one, who made his escape and reported the disaster to their main body, over two hundred strong, on the river above. Not long after a fleet of canoes were seen approaching down the rapids, filled with warriors eager for revenge. Daulac hastened to the fort. The Iroquois landed and made an attack, but were quickly repulsed. Failing to accomplish anything by a parley, they set themselves to building a rude fort not far distant. This gave the French an opportunity for strengthening their fort which they improved. They planted a row of stakes to form a double defense and filled the intervening space with earth and stones to the height of six feet, leaving some twenty loopholes, at each of which three marksmen were stationed. They had this work scarcely finished when the Iroquois were again upon them. They had broken up the canoes of the French and their allies, and, kindling the bark, rushed off to set fire to the fort, but they were met by a fire both steady and brisk, and were compelled to recoil. They made a second attempt with a worse result to themselves, for the principal chief of the Senecas fell dead. Some of the French went out under cover of the guns of the fort, and cut off his head and stuck it on the palisade, which caused the Iroquois to howl with rage. They made another attack, and were a third time repulsed. They now sent a canoe to call to their aid five hundred of their warriors who were mustered near the Richelieu. These were the Indians whom they were on their way to join when interrupted by the French, and with whom they were to have made a grand onslaught against Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers. For five days they continued to besiege the little fort, while they were waiting for reinforcements. Hunger, thirst, and want of sleep wrought fatally on the strength of the French and their allies, who, pent up together in their narrow prison, fought and prayed by turns. Deprived as they were of water, they could not swallow the crushed Indian corn, or "hominy," which was their only food. Some of them, under cover of a brisk fire, ran down to the river and filled such small vessels as they had; but this pittance only tantalized their thirst. They dug a hole in the fort, were rewarded at last by a little muddy water oozing through the clay. There were a number of Hurons among the Iroquois who had been

adopted by them, and were now fighting on their side. These shouted to their countrymen within the fort that a large force was approaching and their only possible chance of escape lay in their joining the Iroquois, who would even now accept them. Aunabataka's followers, half dead with thirst and famine, answered to these calls, scaling the palisade in twos and threes until nearly all had deserted, but their chief stood firm, and even discharged his pistol at his nephew, La Monche, while he was climbing out of the fort. The Algonquins who could hope for nothing from the Iroquois stood fast. They could do nothing else. On the fifth day seven hundred additional Iroquois appeared. Being told of the weakness of the French by the Huron deserters, they expected an easy victory and marched boldly to the attack. The French were at their posts, and every loop-hole sent forth its message of sudden death thick and fast. Besides muskets they had heavy musketoons, which, scattering scraps of lead and iron among the enemy, did fearful execution. The Iroquois at length fell back filled with wonder at the persistence of the French. Three days more wore away, during which time the Iroquois were quarrelling among themselves as to what course they should pursue; some were for giving up the siege, others would not think of a course so inglorious. They were too proud of the name they had already won in many a well contested battle. During all this time Daulac and his men, reeling with exhaustion, fought and prayed by turns as before, feeling sure of death as their reward. At length the Iroquois agreed to make a general assault, and volunteers were called for the lead. "After the custom on such occasions, bundles of small sticks were thrown upon the ground, and those picked them up who dared, thus accepting the gage of battle, and enrolling themselves in the forlorn hope. No precaution was neglected. Large and heavy shields four or five feet high were made by lashing together three split logs with the aid of cross-bars. Covering themselves with these mantelets, the chosen band advanced, followed by the motley throng of warriors. In spite of a brisk fire, they reached the palisade, and, crouching below the range of shot, hewed furiously with their hatchets to cut their way through. The rest followed close, and swarmed like angry hornets around the little fort, hacking and tearing to get

in. Daulac had crammed a large musketoon with powder, and plugged up the muzzle. Lighting the fuse inserted in it, he tried to throw it over the barrier, to burst like a grenade among the crowd of savages without; but it struck the ragged top of one of the palisades, fell back among the French men and exploded, killing and wounding several of them, and nearly blinding others. In the confusion that followed, the Iroquois got possession of the loopholes, and, thrusting in their guns, fired on those within. In a moment more they had torn a breach in the palisade; but nerved with the energy of desperation, Daulac and his followers sprang to defend it. Another breach was made, and then another. Daulac was struck dead, but the survivors kept up the fight. With a sword or a hatchet in one hand and a knife in the other they threw themselves against the throng of enemies, striking and stabbing with the fury of madmen; till the Iroquois, despairing of taking them alive fired volley after volley and shot them down. All was over, and a burst of triumphant yells proclaimed the dear-bought victory. Searching the pile of corpses, the victors found four Frenchmen still breathing. Three had scarcely a spark of life, and, as no time was to be lost, they burned them on the spot. The fourth, less fortunate, seemed likely to survive, and they reserved him for future torments. As for the Huron deserters, their cowardice profited them little. The Iroquois, regardless of their promises, fell upon them, burned some at once, and carried the rest to their villages for a similar fate. Five of the number had the good fortune to escape, and it was from them, aided by admissions made long afterwards by the Iroquois themselves, that the French of Canada derived all their knowledge of this glorious disaster." *Parkman*. The sacrifice of this brave band proved the salvation of the colony. The Iroquois were quite content with their war experience for the present. If this handful of French and Indians could keep them in check so long in such a weak fortification what might they expect from the more substantial forts? With feelings of humiliation they returned to their homes to plan new evils for the French.

CHAPTER XIX.

GOVERNMENT OF D'AVAUGOUR.—CON-
DITION OF THE COUNTRY.1. GOVERNOR D'AVAUGOUR.—PARTIAL PEACE
WITH THE IROQUOIS, 1661.—2. PROGRESS OF
CANADA—RELIGIO-POLITICAL QUARRELS.—3.
ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS—LAVAL.—4. THE
GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF CANADA, 1608 TO
1663.—BURNING OF THE HOUSE OF THE URSU-
LINES AT QUEBEC, 1650.—WONDERFUL PHE-
NOMENA.

1. In 1661, two years before the establishment of the Royal Government, d'Argenson was succeeded in the government by Baron d'Avaugour. He occupied the first few weeks after his arrival in Canada in visiting the several posts, and making himself acquainted with the affairs of the colony. After he had finished his explorations, and acquainted himself with the condition of the colony, he expressed great astonishment that his predecessor should have been able to bear up so long under such discouraging circumstances. The desolation that pervaded the country was almost complete. Many of the French colonists were undergoing cruel sufferings in captivity in the Iroquois country. The fortifications were weak, and the resources for a war, even of defense, were by no means reliable. The colony, in fact, was on the brink of ruin. In the midst of these discouraging affairs the prospect was suddenly brightened by the unexpected appearance, at Quebec, of deputies from two of the Iroquois nations—the Onondagas and Cayugas. They presented themselves with four French prisoners, and bearing a flag of truce, requested to be admitted. Their object was, in the first place, to procure the release of eight of their people who were held in captivity by the French. The chief of the embassy, who was a former friend of the French missionaries, declared his wish of having one of the priests accompany him back to his country, and there open negotiations for a general peace. He also desired a mission founded among them. The Governor assembled the inhabitants and laid these proposals before them. The Jesuits had never yet been prevented from carrying the gospel into Indian

Governor D'Avaugour.—Partial peace with the Iroquois, 1661-2.

strongholds from prospects of persecution, and in the present case, compliance with the Iroquois' demand was simply exposure to certain danger. But in the face of all this the deputies gave them clearly to understand, that unless their proposals should be accepted there would be no peace, and the lives of the French captives already in their villages would be taken, with the usual tortures, should they return with an unfavorable answer. Here was truly a difficult question; but one that the French were compelled to decide. They were reluctant in placing any of their countrymen among these savages, who had already more than a hundred times broken their engagements in bold treachery; yet such was the extremely critical state of their condition, that they decided upon releasing the eight captives held at the fort, and sending a missionary to the settlements of the Iroquois. "Simon le Moyne had the honor to be called upon to expose his life" in the Iroquois country, to which he eagerly responded. This brave Jesuit had visited their settlements on four former occasions, each time at the risk of his life. He was well known to several of their chiefs, who were his personal friends. After the preliminaries were concluded, chief Earakonthis, the leader of the deputation, with Le Moyne, and his band started out for the Indian settlements. Le Moyne, after a perilous journey among these savages, returned to Quebec in 1662 with several released captives.

2.—During LeMoyne's absence among the Indians the colony enjoyed a partial respite from savage incursions, during which they considerably improved their condition. Other events also occurred in 1662 which greatly revived the hopes of the colonists. "On the arrival, in 1662, of a company of regular soldiers from France, who were despatched by the King as an earnest of his good intentions, the inhabitants had deputed M. Boucher, commandant of Three Rivers, to follow up the appeal through Le Jeune, and afterwards by D'Argenson, on his return to France, and to implore His Majesty to furnish immediate assistance. The King promised, at the same time, to send out a whole regiment the following year, for the purpose of attacking the Iroquois in their own quarters. The troops, despatched in advance, were embarked in two vessels of war, and were placed

Progress of Canada—Religio-Political quarrels, 1662.





under the command of M. Dumont, who received directions to investigate and report on the state of the colony. On board the same ships upwards of two hundred colonists sailed for Canada, in charge of M. Boucher. The arrival of the troops and of this considerable body of emigrants inspired the inhabitants with great joy. Another source of encouragement was the diminished activity of the warfare within the territory of the colony. The Mohawks and Oneidas continued, on a smaller scale, to harass them with hostilities; for the negotiations which had been carried on with the Onondagas and Cayugas had not bound the other cantons to a state of peace. At this time, however, the majority of the Iroquois warriors were engaged in making war upon other tribes situated in the south and west." This draft upon Iroquois forces prevented them from waging a successful war against the French, and, not only so, but they had been, in not a few instances, humbled by defeats in these wars. It would have been a good event for the colony could the governor have crowned this favorable circumstance with a signal defeat of the enemies of his country, but he lacked the resources to accomplish this. He was a man of great energy, with an obstinate will; and when the promised reinforcements and supplies failed to arrive from France, his disappointment, together with other difficulties within the colony, so far affected his temper as to render him quite unfit to discharge the duties of his now difficult position. Dissensions of a grave nature now sprung up between the governor and the ecclesiastical authorities. This was the beginning of a conflict between civil and religious authority in Canada which is still unsettled, and which will be wiped out only when the civil government of Quebec is delivered from the papal grasp. One of the difficulties of the time in question was regarding the sale of intoxicating liquors. The disagreement between the governor and M. Laval on this and many other questions, induced the latter to visit France in 1662 and lay his complaints at the foot of the throne. Influenced by his representations, King Louis recalled the governor and appointed M. de Mezy in his stead. D'Avaugour retired without discredit and returned to France.

3.—Let us now pause to glance at the progress we have made in the history of Canada, to note the condition of the colony, and review some of

the events which we have been narrating, and then pass on to affairs as ^{Ecclesiastical affairs.} _{—Laval.} we shall find them under the Royal Government which was established in 1663. First as to the religious side of our narrative. We have already recorded that the first teachers of religion who came out to the colony were of the Franciscan Order of Recollets. In 1655 Jesuit missionaries joined them. The Company of One Hundred Associates, and afterwards the inhabitants, were bound to maintain the clergy in consideration of being allowed the advantages of the fur trade. In 1658 a head was appointed in the person of M. Laval, under the title of VICAR APOSTOLIC. He was not *formally* installed as Bishop of Quebec until 1674, but from his first arrival in Canada he exercised episcopal functions. Before Laval's appointment M. de Queylus, the founder of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Montreal, had been empowered by the Bishop of Rouen to exercise the functions of chief ecclesiastic in Canada. On Laval's arrival he refused to recognize his authority, but was eventually interdicted and ordered home to France. Under Laval the Jesuit missionary system as an independent institution in Canada was abolished, and the settled portions of the country divided into parishes. In 1632, when the country was restored to France after the first English conquest, the Recollets were excluded from the country, and the Jesuit Order alone was given the charge of the religious affairs of the colony; many years elapsed before the former society obtained a footing in the country. Laval, as chief ecclesiastic, promulgated a system in virtue of which all the offices of religion were performed by the secular priesthood under his own supervision. When he visited France in 1662 he secured authority to found at Quebec an institution called the "Seminary," destined for the preparation of young men for holy orders, and to furnish a supply of curés or priests to the parishes. For the maintenance of the seminary, as well as for the support of the priests the inhabitants were taxed. The amount of tax, which was imposed under the name of *tithes*, was at first *one-thirteenth* of all the revenue derived from labor and from the natural products of the soil, forest, and waters. There was subsequently a reduction in the amount to *one-twenty-sixth*, as already noticed. Another matter necessary to be mentioned here

was the commerce in intoxicating liquors, or, as it has been styled, the *liquor traffic*. This was, perhaps, the most fruitful of all sources of dissension between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the province. Champlain himself had witnessed some of the evil consequences which the introduction of brandy and other ardent spirits amongst the savages was calculated to produce; and, with his characteristic benevolence, and deep sense of virtue and religion, adopted measures of prevention. But, in course of time, especially during the occupation of Quebec by the English under Kirk, the Indians became familiar with the use of "eau-de-vie." In the times of D'Argenson and D'Avaugour, the evil attained to a great height, so that excessive drunkenness was permanently added to the other intemperate habits of the savages throughout Canada and New England. Laws were made prohibiting the sale of liquors, which those Governors found difficult to enforce. Laval and his clergy exerted themselves strenuously in favor of the laws, both as respected the French colonists and the Indians, but were not always cordially supported by the civil authorities. Dissensions on the subject grew up, and D'Argenson's principal motive for retiring from the governorship was, doubtless, founded on this cause. D'Avaugour came to an open rupture with Laval respecting the liquor traffic.

4.—By way of recapitulation we may take a glance at the Governor Generals of New France from 1608 to 1663. They were men of great courage and ability, presiding over the affairs of the colony, during a period which has been appropriately styled the heroic age of Canada. Following are the names of the Governors and the dates of their administrations:—

Champlain	1608—1635
Chateaufort <i>temporary</i>	1635—1636
Montmagny	1636—1648
D'Ailleboust	1648—1651
DeLauzon	1651—1656
DeLauzon (son) <i>temporary</i>	1656—1657
D'Ailleboust <i>temporary</i>	1657—1658
D'Argenson	1658—1661
D'Avaugour	1661—1663

Of Champlain too much praise cannot be spoken. He was the founder of the colony, and its faithful Governor for twenty-seven years. His only mistake proved as great as his want of the necessary information to prevent it was pardonable, viz: his assault upon the Iroquois. This led to all the vexatious

incursions by that fierce people of which we have given only a brief account. Champlain was succeeded by Montmagny, whose character is summed up rightfully as a man who "left behind him an eternal memory of his prudence and sagacity." He was remarkable for his religious devotement, as well as for his courage and dignified demeanor. He built Fort Richelieu in 1642, in order to check the incursions of the Iroquois. He administered the affairs of New France for twelve years, in speaking of which the Jesuit Le Mercier wrote: "All the principal persons in our colony honor religion, and virtue here holds her head high. Is it not a highly commendable sight to behold soldiers and artisans, Frenchmen and savages, dwelling together peaceably, and enjoying the good-will of each other? This sort of miracle has been brought about by the prudence and sagacity of M. Montmagny, our Governor; and, in saying this, I believe I express the sentiments of all under his government. We owe very great obligations to our great King, to the Cardinal, and to the members of the Company, for having given us a man so valiant and so conversant with all kinds of knowledge, so fitted for command, and above all, so greatly interested for the glory of God. His example draws all after him. Justice reigns here, insolence is banished, and impudence dare not raise her head. But when this our Governor leaves us, we know not who may succeed him; so, may God preserve him for us a long time, as it is extremely important to introduce good laws and virtuous customs in these early beginnings, and those who are to come after us will easily follow in our footsteps the examples we afford them, whether of good or evil." Montmagny was succeeded by D'Ailleboust. He was first connected with Canada as a member of the Company of Montreal. He brought out a small body of colonists in 1645 and settled on the island. He was Governor General from 1648 to 1651, but afterwards, between 1657 and 1658 he discharged the functions of Lieut-Governor until the arrival of D'Argenson. He was an excellent military officer. He made an unsuccessful effort to establish a treaty between Canada and the New England colonies. In 1651 he was succeeded by M. de Lauzon, when he retired to the Island of Montreal, where, during the absence of the commandant, he acted in that capacity. Some years later he was

again called upon to act as Lieut.-Governor of Canada, at the close of M. de Lauzon's administration, or after Lauzon's son had retired from the country. M. de Lauzon was an influential member of the company of One Hundred Associates. "His appointment as Governor was made at his own request, for he supposed that by proceeding to Canada in person he could restore the fortunes of the colony. On his arrival in October 1651, he found its affairs in a much worse condition than he had supposed. The audacity of the Iroquois, and their active hostility against the French, had reached their highest pitch, and at all the principal posts the distressed colonists could save their lives only by remaining in a state of siege." We have already given an account of these difficulties. D'Argenson succeeded to the government in 1657, and arrived in Canada in 1658. "The affairs of the colony, as has been already stated, were, during the interval, administered by D'Ailleboust. He was a young man of thirty-two or thirty-three years of age at the time of his arrival. His reputation for courage, address, and sagacity, was high. Sustained by an adequate military force, he might have secured to the province peace and permanent prosperity. But France neglected to furnish soldiers, the Iroquois overran the country, and the new Governor soon discovered that he was powerless to protect the lives and property of the colonists. Among the events of moment which occurred during the administration of D'Argenson were the coming out of *M. Laval*, and the arrival of very considerable supplies and inhabitants for the Island of Montreal, in the year 1659. About this time, also, the Iroquois were making their preparations for a final and decisive assault upon the enfeebled colony, which, as has been already narrated, was indebted for its salvation from ruin to the heroism and devotion of Dollard, and the small force under his command."—*Miles*. His successor D'Avagour, arrived in 1661; of his administration we have already spoken.

5.—On December 30, 1650, the house of the Ursulines at Quebec was destroyed by fire. The event threw a gloom over the whole colony. The fire broke out after all had retired to rest, and "by its suddenness and violence," says Dr. Miles, "compelled the inmates to escape as they best could in their night clothes. Yet no lives were lost. The

Burning of the house
of the Ursulines at
Quebec, 1650.

weather was very cold and the ground covered with snow. By this fire the Ursulines lost all they had, but they were afterwards enabled to rebuild. The other religious bodies, as also the governor, assisted them to do this with loans of money and their credit. The Governor himself and Madame d'Ailleboust furnished the designs or plans; and the former, as temporal father of the community, did all he could towards the restoration of their useful establishment. One of the most touching incidents connected with the disaster of the Ursulines occurred a short time after the fire, when they were temporarily lodged in the Hotel Dieu, where the *Hospitalières* received them with the utmost kindness and charity. Proofs of sympathy had reached them from every quarter—all classes of the French and the Indians combining to manifest the concern so universally entertained. But the poor Hurons, who then occupied at least 400 cabins in the neighbourhood of the hospital, excelled others in this respect. They held a council, and finding that their utmost wealth consisted in the possession of two *porcelain collars*, each composed of 1200 grains or rings, they resolved to go in a body to the Hotel Dieu, and offer these as a present, along with their condolences. Their chief, *Taicronk*, made an oration, commencing: "You behold in us poor creatures the relics of a flourishing nation now no more. In our Huron country, we have been devoured and gnawed to the very bones of war and famine; nor could these carcasses of ours stand upright but for the support we have derived from you. You have learned from others, and now you see with your own eyes, the extremity of misery to which we have been reduced. Look well at us, and judge if in our own case we have not much to lament, and to cause us, without ceasing, to shed torrents of tears. But, alas! this deplorable accident which has befallen you is a renewal of our afflictions. To see that beautiful habitation burnt,—to see that house of charity reduced to cinders,—to see the flames raging there without respect to your sacred persons—this reminds us of that universal conflagration which destroyed our dwellings, our villages, and our whole country! Must fire, then, follow us thus everywhere? . . . But courage, sacred beings! our first present of 1200 grains of porcelain is to confirm your resolution to continue your affection and heavenly charity towards us poor savages, and

to attach your feet to the soil of this country, so that no regard for your own friends and native land will be strong enough to tear you away. Our second present is to designate the laying anew of the foundations of an edifice which shall again be a house of God and of prayers, and in which you can again hold your classes for the instruction of our little Huron girls.' The fire is known as the first fire of the house of the Ursulines of Quebec, for the second edifice, erected on the same foundations as the former one, was subsequently burnt down in the year 1672."—*Miles*.

6.—The Jesuits give us accounts of singular occurrences in 1663. They inform us that heaven appeared visibly to display its anger against the sins of the times. "At Montreal a globe of fire was seen to detach itself from the moon, burst in mid-air with a report like that of a cannon, and disappear in blazing fragments behind the mountain. In the month of January, a strange mist rose from the river, and three suns stood parallel with the horizon, each encircled by an iris which momentarily changed its varied hues. Twice was this strange appearance seen. These portents were the precursors of a fearful earthquake. On the 11th of February, a mighty rushing noise was heard throughout Canada, and the people rushed in terror from their houses to see the walls cracking, the chimneys swaying to and fro, the roofs falling in, and to hear the bells of the churches ring out. They were attacked by a strange giddiness and qualmishness: when they essayed to walk, the earth seemed to rise and strike the soles of their feet. The accounts given (mainly on the authority of the "habitans" and Indians) of the convulsion of the land are very extraordinary. A huge mountain, they said, was torn from its place and cast into the river, where it took root and became an island; a forest slid from the banks into the St. Lawrence; fearful chasms of unknown depth disclosed themselves; several rivers disappeared, others changed their beds; gentle streams were changed into falls and rapids, and falls and rapids in to gentle streams. The Jesuit Fathers, who give an account of these too strange incidents in their letters, state that not a single soul perished during the terrible convulsion; and they dwell with satisfaction on the salutary effects of the terror it created in calming dissension and reclaiming many from their

evil courses."—*Archer*. These accounts may be considerably exaggerated, nevertheless, wonderful and singular phenomena presented themselves.

CHAPTER XX.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

1.—THE QUARREL OF QUEBEC—RACE FOR BISHOPRIC—2. QUEYLUS' VICTORY AND DEFEAT—3. DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN LAVAL AND THE GOVERNOR—4. LAVAL AND HIS OPPONENT APPEAL TO THE COURT OF FRANCE—5. CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL POWERS—6. THE TRIUMPH OF LAVAL—ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

1.—Having reached a point in our narrative where the chartered company of "The One Hundred Associates" was superseded by the Royal Government, we may pause not only to review some of the events which we have hurriedly recorded, but to look into the religious, political and domestic life of New France during the six years preceding 1663. It would naturally be supposed that the colony, suffering from the merciless ravages of an Iroquois war, would have but little time or opportunity for internal conflicts; not so, for while the war cloud gathered blackness without, to burst with thunders upon a half defenceless people, domestic quarrels were raging with intense fury within. The conflict between Montreal and Quebec was a standing discord; the one was jealous of the other, and that jealousy found modes of expression by no means creditable to the opposing parties. Then there were the quarrels of the priests, one with the other. These were numerous and always bitter, the greater the piety of a Jesuit priest, the smaller would be his forbearance. Then again there were the quarrels of the priests with the Governor-General, and after the establishment of the Royal Government, of the Governor-General with the Intendant. These were only the prominent quarrels, which stand out in the foreground; behind them the student of Canadian history will see ceaseless wranglings of rival fur traders and merchants. Parkman gives us an account of one of these quarrels which to

this day has left a root of bitterness behind it. "The association of pious enthusiasts who had founded Montreal was reduced in 1657 to a remnant of five or six persons, whose ebbing zeal and overtaxed purses were no longer equal to the devout but arduous enterprise. They begged the priests of the Seminary of St. Sulpice to take it off their hands. The priests consented; and, though the conveyance of the island of Montreal to these its new proprietors did not take effect till some years later, four of the Sulpitian fathers, Queylus, Souart, Galinée, and Allet, came out to the colony and took it in charge. Thus far Canada had had no bishop, and the Sulpitians now aspired to give it one from their own brotherhood. Many years before, when the Recollets had a foothold in the colony, they too, or at least some of them, had cherished the hope of giving Canada a bishop of their own. As for the Jesuits, who for nearly thirty years had of themselves constituted the Canadian church, they had been content thus far to dispense with a bishop; for, having no rivals in the field, they had felt no need of episcopal support." The Sulpitians now put forward Queylus as their candidate for the new bishopric. The Jesuits saw in this action an infringement of their rights. The right to nominate the new bishop clearly belonged to them; they had borne the heat and burden of the day, the toils, privations and martyrdoms; while, as yet the Sulpitians had done nothing and suffered nothing. Not only this, but they had the power to do this as well as the right, they were strong at court, and Cardinal Mazarin consented that the Jesuits should name a bishop after their own choice.

2.—As we have seen, ships bound for Canada had usually sailed from ports within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen, and the embarking missionaries had of course received their ecclesiastical powers from him. From this practice he had been brought into close contact with the Canadian mission, until he had learned to regard Canada as an outpost of his own diocese. He now made Queylus his Vicar-General for all Canada, thereby clothing him with episcopal powers, and placing him in authority over the Jesuits. Queylus now left Montreal in the spiritual charge of Souart, went down to Quebec, announced his authority, and was permitted to assume the curacy of the parish. The Jesuits

received him with a good grace, knowing that one more to their liking would soon take his place. Queylus was a man of many virtues and devoted to good works according to his understanding, and possessed of considerable wealth, but he lacked prudence. He preached two sermons against the Jesuits, in which he presented himself as Jesus Christ and they as the Pharisees. "Who," he supposed them to say, "is this Jesus, so beloved of the people, who comes to cast discredit on us, who for thirty years have governed church and state here, with none to dispute us?" In short he succeeded in setting the Jesuits thoroughly against him, and persisted in abusing them until, on being shown certain papers which indicated the probable loss of his position, he subsided. At length the Governor persuaded him to return to Montreal. Meanwhile Father Le Jeune, who was now in France, was invited to name a bishop for Canada. It was not an easy task. No Jesuit was eligible, for the policy of that society disqualified its members for that position. The signs of the times portended trouble for the Canadian church, and there was need of a bishop who would assert her claims and fight her battles. It was desirable that the man should be in full sympathy with the Jesuits so that his progress might not be hindered by conflicts with the priests of that order. They made a wise choice, Le Jeune presented the name of Francois Xavier de Laval, Montmorency, Abbé de Montigny. When Laval received this appointment, two great parties divided the Catholics of France, the Gallican, or national party, and the Ultramontane, or papal party. The first held that to the King, the Lord's anointed, belonged the temporal, and to the church the spiritual power. It held also that the laws and customs of the church of France could not be broken at the bidding of the Pope. The papal party, on the contrary, maintained that the Pope, Christ's Vicegerent on earth was supreme over earthly rulers, and should of right exercise jurisdiction over the clergy of all the world, with full powers of appointment and removal." Hence they claimed for him the right of nominating bishops in France. This had anciently been exercised by assemblies of the French clergy, but in the reign of Francis I. the King and the Pope had combined to wrest it from them by the Concordat of Bologna. Under this compact, which was still in force, the Pope ap-

Queylus' Victory
and defeat.

pointed French bishops on the nomination of the king, a plan which displeased the Gallicans, and did not satisfy the ultramontanes. The Jesuits, then as now, were the most forcible exponents of ultramontane principles. The church to rule the world; the Pope to rule the church; the Jesuits to rule the Pope: such was and is the simple programme of the Order of Jesus, and to it they have held fast, except on a few rare occasions of misunderstanding with the Vicegerent of Christ. In the question of papal supremacy, as in most things else, Laval was of one mind with them. Those versed in such histories will not be surprised to learn that, when he received the royal nomination, humility would not permit him to accept it; nor that, being urged, he at length bowed in resignation, still protesting his unworthiness. Nevertheless the royal nomination did not take effect. The Ultramontanes outflanked both the King and the Gallicans, and by adroit strategy made the new prelate completely a creature of the papacy. Instead of appointing him Bishop of Quebec, in accordance with the royal initiative, the Pope made him his Vicar Apostolic for Canada, thus evading the king's nomination, and affirming that Canada, a country of infidel savages, was excluded from the concordat, and under his, the Pope's jurisdiction, pure and simple. The Gallicans were enraged. The Archbishop of Rouen vainly opposed, and the parliaments of Rouen and of Paris vainly protested. The papal party prevailed. The king, or rather Mazarin, gave his consent, subject to certain conditions, the chief of which was an oath of allegiance; and Laval, grand Vicar Apostolic, decorated with the title of Bishop of Petraea, sailed for his wilderness diocese in the spring of 1659. He was but thirty-six years of age, but even when a boy he could scarcely have seemed young. Queylus, for a time, seemed to accept the situation, and tacitly admit the claim of Laval as his ecclesiastical superior; but, stimulated by a letter from the Archbishop of Rouen, he soon threw himself into an attitude of opposition, in which the popularity which his generosity to the poor had won for him gave him an advantage ever annoying to his adversary. The quarrel, it will be seen, was three-sided, —Gallican against Ultramontane, Sulpitian against Jesuit, Montreal against Quebec. To Montreal the recalcitrant Abbé, after a brief visit to Quebec, had again retired; but even here, girt with his

Sulpitian brethren and compassed with partisans, the arm of the vicar apostolic was long enough to reach him. By temperament and conviction Laval hated a divided authority, and the very shadow of a schism was an abomination in his sight. The young king, who, though abundantly jealous of his royal power, was forced to conciliate the papal party, had sent instructions to D'Argenson, the governor, to support Laval, and prevent divisions in the Canadian church. These instructions served as the pretext of a procedure sufficiently summary. A squad of soldiers, commanded, it is said, by the Governor himself, went up to Montreal, brought the indignant Queylus to Quebec, and shipped him thence for France. By these means, writes Father Lalemant, order reigned for a season in the church. It was but for a season. Queylus was not a man to bide his defeat in tranquillity, nor were his brother Sulpitians disposed to silent acquiescence. Laval, on his part, was not a man of half measures. He had an agent in France, and partisans strong at court. Fearing, to borrow the words of a Catholic writer, that the return of Queylus to Canada would prove "injurious to the glory of God," he bestirred himself to prevent it. The young king, then at Aix, on his famous journey to the frontiers of Spain to marry the Infanta, was induced to write to Queylus, ordering him to remain in France. Queylus, however, repaired to Rome; but even against this movement provision had been made: accusations of Jansenism had gone before him, and he met a cold welcome. Nevertheless, as he had powerful friends near the Pope, he succeeded in removing these adverse impressions, and even in obtaining certain bulls relating to the establishment of the parish of Montreal, and favorable to the Sulpitians. Provided with these, he set at nought the king's letter, embarked under an assumed name and sailed to Quebec, where he made his appearance on the 3rd of August, 1661, to the extreme wrath of Laval. A ferment ensued. Laval's partisans charged the Sulpitians with Jansenism and opposition to the will of the Pope. A preacher more zealous than the rest denounced them as priests of Antichrist; and as to the bulls in their favor, it was affirmed that Queylus had obtained them by fraud from the Holy Father. Laval at once issued a mandate forbidding him to proceed to Montreal till ships should arrive with instructions from the King. At the same time he

demanding of the governor that he should interpose the civil power to prevent Queylus from leaving Quebec. As D'Argenson, who wished to act as peacemaker between the belligerent fathers, did not at once take the sharp measures required of him, Laval renewed his demand on the next day, calling on him, in the name of God and the king, to compel Queylus to yield the obedience due to him, the vicar apostolic. At the same time he sent another to the offending Abbé, threatening to suspend him from priestly functions if he persisted in his rebellion. The incorrigible Queylus, who seems to have lived for some months in a simmer of continual indignation, set at nought the vicar apostolic as he had set at nought the king, took a boat that very night and set out for Montreal under cover of darkness. Great was the ire of Laval when he heard the news in the morning. He despatched a letter after him, declaring him suspended *ipso facto*, if he did not instantly return and make his submission. This letter, like the rest, failed of the desired effect; but the governor, who had received a second mandate from the king to support Laval and prevent a schism, now reluctantly interposed the secular arm, and Queylus was again compelled to return to France. Queylus' removal was, in fact, a defeat of the Sulpitians. Laval had a short time previous, taken steps to crush what he regarded as a step towards independence at Montreal. He had named for the function of curé the one least disobedient among them, and it was in relation to this very curacy that Queylus had obtained the bulls from Rome. This, in no small degree, disturbed the mind of the vicar apostolic and he wrote to the Pope in regard thereto as follows: "I pray your holiness to let me know your will concerning the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen. M. l'Abbé de Queylus, who has come out this year as vicar of this archbishop, has tried to deceive us by surreptitious letters, and has obeyed neither our prayers nor our repeated commands to desist. But he has received orders from the king to return immediately to France, to render an account of his disobedience, and he has been compelled by the governor to conform to the will of his Majesty. What I now fear is that, on his return to France, by using every kind of means, employing new artifices, and falsely representing our affairs, he may obtain from the court of Rome powers which may disturb the

peace of our church; for the priests whom he brought with him from France, and who live in Montreal, are animated with the same spirit of disobedience and division; and I fear, with good reason, that all belonging to the seminary of St. Sulpice, who may come hereafter to join them, will be of the same disposition. If what is said is true, that by means of fraudulent letters the right of patronage of the pretended parish of Montreal has been granted to the superior of this seminary, and the right of appointment to the Archbishop of Rouen, then is altar reared against altar in our Church of Canada; for the clergy of Montreal will always stand in opposition to me, the vicar apostolic, and to my successors."—*Parkman*. Happily, however, the obnoxious bulls were annulled, and the Archbishop of Rouen renounced his claims, where upon Queylus found himself without support. Some time after, when Laval was on a visit to France, he and Queylus were reconciled to each other, and the latter returned to Canada as a missionary. Thus the victory of Laval and the Jesuits was complete.

3.—But no sooner had the difficulty between Laval and Queylus been settled, and even before that happy event took place, a more serious trouble, perhaps, was springing up between the former and the Governor. Much has been written for and against this Vicar Apostolic, but we must at least give him credit for sincerity. He firmly believed that the princes and rulers of this world ought to be subject to the Pope. But he himself was the Pope's Vicar, and, so far as Canada was concerned, he was, to all intents and purposes, the Vicar of Jesus Christ. He deemed it his duty to bring all the powers of the colony under subjugation to his will. He was of a domineering disposition, which caused him many a sore conflict. The colony was now rapidly approaching a change. Hitherto priestly influence had swayed all before it. The Jesuits had ruled the colony not only spiritually but temporarily as well. The governors were but little more than executive officers under direction of the priests. But Canada was now rapidly throwing off the garb of a missionary or trading station, and taking on the dress and functions of a colony. Civil government was fast asserting itself on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and soon the power of the priest was to suffer a decline.

Difficulties between Laval and the Governor.

Laval saw the approaching storm, and he summoned all his strength to meet the tempest. His opponent was none other than the statesman Colbert, who, although in France, was beginning to make himself felt in Canada. As we have already seen, D'Argenson was governor when Laval arrived. The former was an earnest Catholic, but he owed some duties to his king as well as to the priest; and in exercising these, as well as in asserting his self-respect, he elicited the bitterest antagonism of the Vicar Apostolic. They first fell into an open quarrel touching the relative positions of their seats in church—a question which caused much trouble between Laval and several of the successive governors. This time the case was referred to the ex-Governor, D'Ailleboust, by whose arbitration a temporary settlement took place. "A few weeks after, on the fete of Saint Francis Xavier, when the Jesuits were accustomed to ask the dignitaries of the colony to dine in their refectory after mass, a fresh difficulty arose—should the governor or the bishop have the higher seat at table? The question defied solution; so the fathers invited neither of them. Again, on Christmas, at the midnight mass, the deacon offered incense to the bishop, and then, in obedience to an order from him, sent a subordinate to offer it to the governor, instead of offering it himself. Laval further insisted that the priests of the choir should receive incense before the governor received it." D'Argenson resisted, and, of course, fresh grounds for quarrel were afforded. Up to this time it was customary for the Governor to hold the office of church warden *ex-officio*, which was considered an addition to his honors. Now, Laval declared that D'Argenson should hold the position no longer. Soon after, the Governor attended a meeting of the wardens, and being informed that he had been dismissed, he resisted the power of the bishop, and another quarrel followed, in which the vicar apostolic is represented as having lost his temper. On the occasion of "solemn catechism," the bishop insisted that he should be saluted before the Governor. D'Argenson, being informed of this ecclesiastical order, refused to attend, whereupon a compromise was had in the contrivance that, when the rival dignitaries entered, the children should be so deeply engaged in some exercise as not to notice either. However, a couple of boys, probably set on by their parents, saluted the Governor first. On the

following day they were whipped for this breach of orders. But there were other troubles still. Laval pronounced a sentence against a heretic to which the Governor took exception, and a dead lock was the consequence; therefore, when Palm Sunday came, there could be no procession and no distribution of branches, because the governor and the bishop were disagreed concerning their relative positions. "On the day of the Fete Dieu, however, there was a grand procession, which stopped from time to time at temporary altars, or *repositoires*, placed at intervals along its course. One of these was in the fort, where the soldiers were drawn up, waiting the arrival of the procession. Laval demanded that they should take off their hats. D'Argenson assented, and the soldiers stood uncovered. Laval now insisted that they should kneel. The Governor replied that it was their duty as soldiers to stand; whereupon the bishop refused to stop at the altar, and ordered the procession to move on."—*Parkman*. Such disputes as these continued, and although they may appear to some as trivial, they were by no means so; for the question as to whether the bishop or the governor should take the highest seat on any occasion was simply a political quarrel, for it presented the position of church and state in their relations to government.

4.—In the midst of these difficulties, both of the aggrieved parties had recourse to the sovereign power in France for redress. D'Argenson drew up a memorial, addressing the Council of State, asking for instructions when and how a governor,—the representative of a king,—ought to receive holy incense, holy water and consecrated bread; whether the said bread should be offered him accompanied by the sound of drum and fife; what should be the position of his seat at church, and what place he should occupy in various religious ceremonies; whether in feasts, assemblies, ceremonies, and councils, of a *purely civil character*, he or the bishop was to hold the first place; and, finally, if the bishop could excommunicate the inhabitants or others for acts of a civil and political character, when the said acts were pronounced lawful by the governor. A reply to this memorial denied the bishop the power of excommunication in civil matters; assigned to him the second place in meetings and ceremonies of a civil character, but is silent on all

Laval and his opponent appeal to the Court of France.



HON. ALEX. MACKENZIE



HON. JOSEPH HOWE



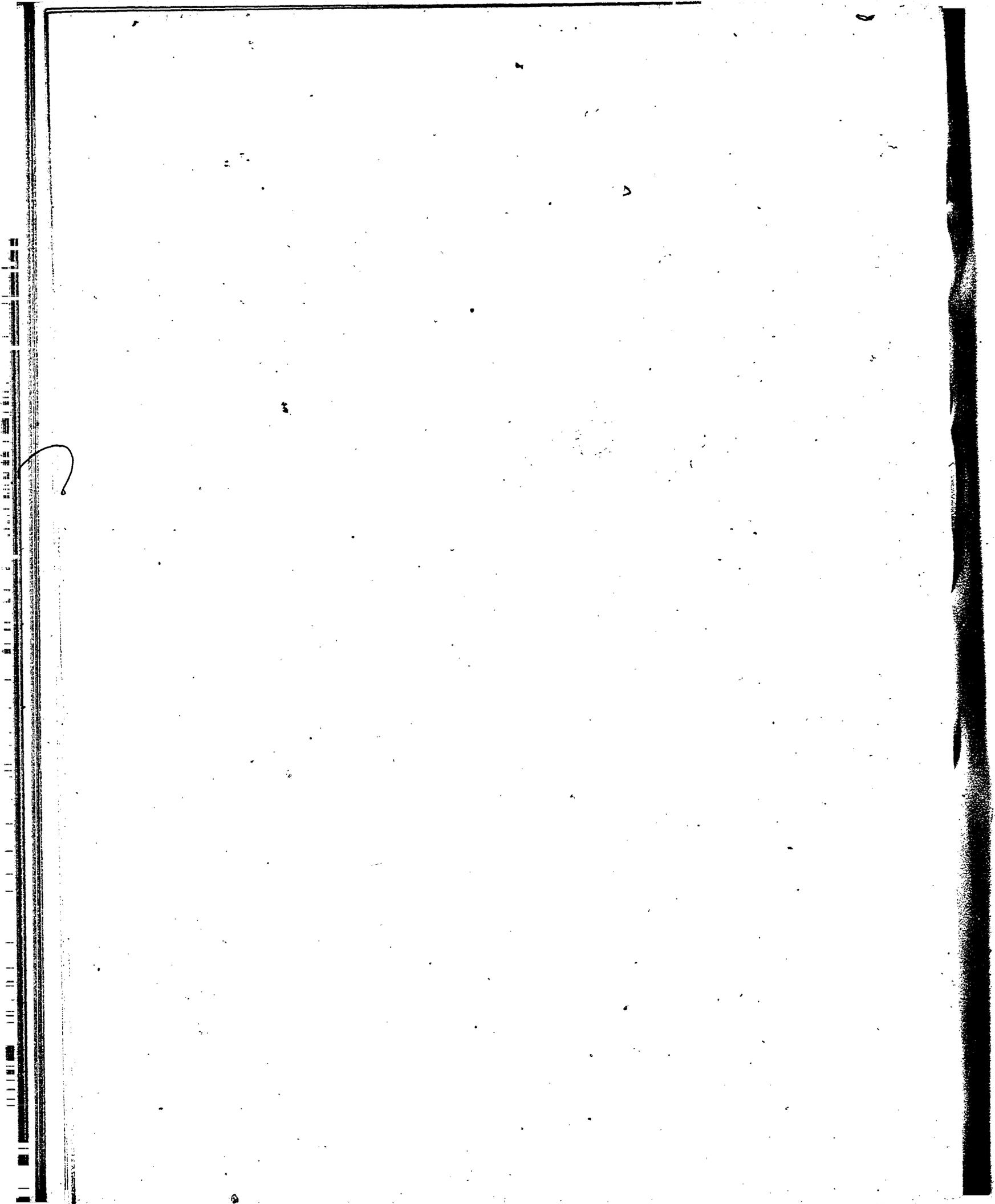
LORD LISGAR



SIR FRANCIS HINCKS



HON. DR. CHAS. TUPPER



other points. Meanwhile, the bishop appealed to the authorities also. He wrote to the governor's brother, a counsellor of state and a firm friend of the Jesuits—"Your brother," he says, "received me on my arrival with extraordinary kindness;" but he proceeded to state that the governor had entertained a groundless distrust of the Jesuits, and that he had given him, in private, a candid warning, which ought to have done good, but which the governor had taken amiss." The governor himself wrote to the same brother at the same time in this manner: "The Bishop of Petræa is so stiff in opinion, and so often transported by his zeal beyond the rights of his position, that he makes no difficulty in encroaching on the functions of others; and this with so much heat that he will listen to nobody. A few days ago he carried off a servant girl of one of the inhabitants here, and placed her, by his own authority, in the Ursuline convent, on the sole pretext that he wanted to have her instructed; thus depriving her master of her services, though he had been at great expense in bringing her from France. This inhabitant is M. Denis, who, not knowing who had carried her off, came to me with a petition to get her out of the convent. I kept the petition three days without answering it, to prevent the affair from being noised abroad. The reverend Father Lalemant, with whom I communicated on the subject, and who greatly blamed the Bishop of Petræa, did all in his power to have the girl given up quietly, but without the least success, so that I was forced to answer the petition, and permit M. Denis to take his servant wherever he should find her; and, if I had not used means to bring about an accommodation, and if M. Denis, on the refusal which was made him to give her up, had brought the matter into court, I should have been compelled to take measures which would have caused great scandal; and all from the self-will of the Bishop of Petræa, who says that a bishop can do what he likes, and threatens nothing but excommunication." We might continue our narrative of special differences between Laval and D'Argenson to almost any length, but it will be necessary to draw this matter to a close.

5.—This life of conflict between the religious and civil authority, so characteristic of his administration, was in sorry contrast to his reception by the

pious fathers on his arrival to take charge of the affairs of the government. On that occasion the Jesuits asked him to dine; then followed vespers, after which they conducted him into a hall, where the boys of their school, dressed up, one as the Genius of New France, one as the Genius of the forest, and others as Indians, made him speeches by turn in prose or verse. These performances were not without interest. "First, Pierre du Quet, who played the Genius of New France, presenting his Indian retinue to the Governor, in a complimentary harangue. Then four other boys, personating French colonists, made him four flattering addresses, in French verse. Charles Denis, dressed as a Huron, followed, bewailing the ruin of his people, and appealing to D'Argenson for aid. Jean Francois Bourdon, in the character of an Algonquin, next advanced on the platform, boasted his courage, and declared that he was ashamed to cry like the Huron. The Genius of the Forest now appeared, with a retinue of wild Indians from the interior, who, being unable to speak French, addressed the Governor in their native tongues, which the Genius proceeded to interpret. Two other boys, in the character of prisoners just escaped from the Iroquois, then came forward, imploring aid in piteous accents; and, in conclusion, the whole troop of Indians, from far and near, laid their bows and arrows at the feet of D'Argenson, and hailed him as their chief." But this ovation was not an appropriate introduction to the discord that followed. Aside from his troubles with Laval, the independent spirit of Montreal gave him great uneasiness. In speaking of this difficulty he said: "Besides wanting to be independent, the Montrealists want to monopolize the fur trade, which he said, if the King did not interfere, would cause civil war." Surrounded with so many troubles it is no wonder that he wrote, "I am resolved to stay here no longer, but to go home next year. My horror of dissension, and the manifest certainty of becoming involved in disputes with certain persons with whom I am unwilling to quarrel, oblige me to anticipate these troubles, and seek some way of living in peace. These excessive fatigues are far too much for my strength. I am writing to Monsieur the President, and to the gentlemen of the Company of New France, to choose some other man for this government." And again, "If you take any interest in

this country, see that the person chosen to command here has, besides the true piety necessary to a Christian in every condition of life, great firmness of character and strong bodily health." When the Governor was relieved, both he and Laval felt easier. But the latter was to have new battles to fight with the new Governor. D'Avaugour had a dislike for the Vicar from the first, nevertheless he wished to be on good terms with the Jesuits, and placed some of them on the council, but in his attempt to make a breach between Laval and the priests, he failed utterly. He dissolved the council and appointed a new one. The trouble was fairly inaugurated. Church and State were once more clamoring for supremacy one over the other in Canada. The question at issue on this occasion was one among the many difficulties between Argenson and the Vicar, and it continued for many years after, as we shall see, to disturb the peace of the colony. It was the temperance question, and particularly with reference to the Indians. Their appetite for brandy had already caused many disorders. "They drank expressly to get drunk, and when drunk they were like wild beasts. Crime and violence of all sorts ensued; the priests saw their teachings despised and their flocks ruined. On the other hand, the sale of brandy was a chief source of profit, direct or indirect, to all those interested in the fur trade, including the principal persons of the colony. In D'Argenson's time, Laval launched an excommunication against those engaged in the abhorred traffic; for nothing less than total prohibition would content the clerical party, and besides the spiritual penalty, they demanded the punishment of death against the contumacious offender. Death, in fact, was decreed. Such was the posture of affairs when D'Avaugour arrived; and, willing as he was to conciliate the Jesuits, he permitted the decree to take effect, although, it seems, with great repugnance. A few weeks after his arrival, two men were shot and one whipped for selling brandy to Indians. An extreme though partially suppressed excitement shook the entire settlement, for most of the colonists were, in one degree or another, implicated in the offence thus punished. An explosion soon followed; and the occasion of it was the humanity or good nature of the Jesuit Lalemant."—*Parkman*. Soon after a woman had been sentenced to imprisonment for

the same offence, and one of the priests visited the Governor and solicited her pardon. The Governor became wroth, and answered the father, "You and your brethren were the first to cry out against the trade, and now you want to save the traders from punishment. I will no longer be the sport of your contradictions. Since it is not a crime for this woman it shall not be a crime for anybody." D'Avaugour stood firmly by this declaration, and from henceforth there was full license to sell liquor. This soon produced a sorrowful condition of society. The ungodly drank to spite the priests, and the Indians who had given some evidences of Christianity were soon victims to their passion for strong drink. Laval was distracted with grief and anger. He poured forth his fiery indignation from the pulpit, and launched excommunications against the offenders, but such was the popular feeling that he was compelled to revoke them. The Vicar could bear it no longer, and sailed to France, to urge the removal of the Governor. It was during Laval's absence that the earthquake and other wonderful phenomena is said by the priests to have occurred, as a manifestation of the wrath of God against the guilty people. The Vicar was successful in his mission, not only in so far as the Governor's recall made it a success—as D'Avaugour was summoned home—but in a wider sense, as we shall see.

6.—Some time previous to Laval's departure for France the Company of One Hundred Associates, having failed to receive the annual stipulated number of bear skins from the inhabitants which had been promised when the peltry traffic was yielded to them, sent out to the colony an agent—Péronne Dumesnil—invested with powers of Controller-General, Intendant, and Supreme Judge, to enquire into the state of affairs, and to enforce compliance with the contract between the colony and the Associates. His operations created great disturbance, which gave the Vicar another cause for grief, and it was a part of Laval's mission at court to restore the tranquillity which Dumesnil's actions had disturbed. His success was complete. Not only did he procure the removal of D'Avaugour, but he was asked to name his successor. Nor was this all, for he succeeded in working a complete change in the government of the colony. The Associates were called upon to resign their claims; and by a

The triumph of Laval—Royal government.

royal edict, dated April, 1663, all power, legislative, judicial and executive, was vested in a council, composed of the Governor, whom Laval had chosen, of Laval himself, and of five Councillors, an Attorney-General, and a secretary, to be chosen by Laval and the Governor jointly. Bringing with them blank commissions to be filled with the names of the new functionaries, Laval and his Governor sailed for Canada, where they landed at Quebec on the 15th of September, 1663.

CHAPTER XXI.

MEZY'S GOVERNMENT.—CHURCH AND STATE.

1.—ESTABLISHMENT OF A ROYAL GOVERNMENT.

—2. PROVISIONS OF THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT.—3. ERECTION OF THE COUNCIL.—4. DISGRACEFUL AFFAIR BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND DUMESNIL.—5. PERSECUTION OF DUMESNIL.—HIS ESCAPE.—6. ADMINISTRATION OF MEZY.—7. MEZY VS. LAVAL.

1.—The king of France having been besieged from all quarters with petitions, memorials, remonstrances, etc., concerning the unhappy condition of Canada, and being prompted thereto by the urgent policy of the Vicar Apostolic, resolved to revoke the charter of the One Hundred Associates entirely, and take the colony into immediate connexion with the crown. This meant nothing less than the establishment in Canada of a royal government, under the control of a supreme council, similar to the parliament of Paris. Hitherto, with the exception of a tribunal having jurisdiction only over trivial cases, no court of law or equity existed in Canada, and the governors exercised authority in all matters according to their pleasure; but provision was now to be made for the regular administration of justice, in accordance with the laws of France, and a sovereign council, or court of appeal, created. The demands made upon the Associates by the king were readily assented to, since the fur trade no longer presented sufficient attractions to hold them to Canada; besides, they had failed to perform more than half their obligations to the crown in behalf of the

Establishment of a Royal Government, A. D. 1663.

colony. As soon as the transfer was completed, and the necessary arrangements for the establishment of the new order of things completed, a new governor, of the vicar's choosing, was appointed. This was M. de Mézy, ex-major of the citadel of Caen, in Normandy. His responsibilities were unlike his predecessor's. Hitherto the Governor, although, in his military capacity, a king's officer, was virtually the head agent of the Associates in the colony, and appointed by the king on their nomination. The indomitable Laval, having now fully accomplished his project at the French court, set out on his return to Canada, accompanied by the governor of his choice, together with M. de Gaudais, who came out as the king's commissioner to take possession of the colony, and to report on its general condition. The Governor also brought with him four hundred troops and one hundred families of emigrants, with cattle, horses and every description of agricultural implements. As the Governor was indebted to the bishop for his post, the Jesuits supposed that he would be pretty fully under their control, and that they would virtually govern the colony; but, as we shall see, they soon discovered their mistake.

2.—No sooner had the Vicar² Apostolic and his host arrived at Quebec in September, 1663, than he commenced, jointly with the Governor, the work of organizing the government, which included the following provisions: (1) a sovereign (supreme) council, consisting, in the first place, of the governor, bishop and royal intendant, with five councillors, attorney-general and secretary. (2) The governor, representing the king, to have absolute control of the military force; to have special charge of the external relations of the colony, and to be the recognized organ of communication between the colony and the parent state. (3) The bishop, as head of the Church, to govern in all matters spiritual and ecclesiastical. (4) The royal intendant to be charged with the regulation and conduct of affairs appertaining to finance, police and justice. (5) The five councillors, to be chosen annually, or to be continued in office as might seem best to the governor and bishop, to see that the ordinances of the supreme council were duly executed, and to act as judges in petty causes. (6) The supreme council, in its collective capacity, to have control over all affairs and persons

The provisions of the royal government.

in the colony, and especially to be the highest law tribunal and a court of appeal; but the execution of its decisions and measures to rest with the officers to whose departments they might refer. The supreme council had the disposal of the revenue of the colony. "It is remarkable that while the council was invested with sovereign authority in many respects, yet, in regard to the important matter of taxation, it had no power to levy imposts except by the express permission of the king, who reserved this privilege in his own hands. Nor did the new arrangements comprise any provision enabling the people to exercise a direct influence over the proceedings of the council or of its three chief officials. In all its enactments relative to the administration of justice, the council was bound to keep in view the laws, customs and procedure established in the kingdom of France, and, as heretofore, no persons professing opinions hostile to the established religion of the kingdom were to be tolerated in the colony. The supreme council, constituted as has been described, was virtually a triumvirate of the chief functionaries—for all real power was lodged in the hands of the governor, bishop and intendant. It will be seen that these three officials figured conspicuously in the annals of Canada during a century up to the period when it ceased to be a French colony. M. de Mézy and M. Laval, when the council was first established, filled two of those high offices, but the first Royal Intendant never made his appearance at Quebec."—*Miles*. We shall see that the relations of the Governor, Bishop and Intendant were not so clearly defined as to prevent misunderstandings of a grave nature.

3.—The new government was initiated with due solemnity. M. Gaudais, the Royal Commissioner, took formal possession of the country in the king's name, administered the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants, and established the procedure of courts of judicature; after which he returned to France to report the condition of the colony. In the construction of the government, the Bishop had every advantage over the Governor. The latter knew no one in the colony, and was by this completely under Laval's influence. The nominations were therefore virtually the work of Laval, in whose hands, rather than in those of the Governor, the blank commissions had been placed. Thus the vicar had

reached, for the time being, the point he had worked so hard to gain: the complete control of the government,—and now the Church was mistress of the State in Canada. But this was not to continue without conflicts. Laval formed the new Council as follows:—Jean Bourdon, for attorney-general; Juchereau de la Ferte, Ruelle d'Auteuil, Le Gardeur de Tilly, and Matthieu Damours, for councillors; and Peuvret de Mesnu, for secretary. Meanwhile, Dumesnil, the agent of the now defunct Company of Associates, already referred to as creating disturbances in the colony before Laval's visit to France, was no idle spectator to these movements. He laid his statements before the Royal Commissioner, but that functionary promptly rejected them.

4.—The councillors appointed by Laval were unlearned men. The Royal Commissioner before referred to, in defending them from grave charges, declares that they were "unlettered, of little experience, and nearly all unable to deal with affairs of importance." This condition of the council could scarcely have been avoided under the circumstances, as, aside from the priests, education was unknown in the colony. But graver charges than mere incompetency were justly laid at the doors of these officials, who were the tools of the Vicar, who, although excusable for calling unlearned men into the government, must be censured for making men charged with crime prosecutors and judges of their own offences. Dumesnil charges the Vicar, and not without some foundation, with making the council expressly to shield the accused. The two persons under the heaviest charges preferred by Dumesnil, received the two most important appointments: Bourdon, attorney-general, and Villeray, keeper of the seals. Parkman writes of Laval's council and their disgraceful difficulties with Dumesnil, as follows:—"La Ferte was also one of the accused. Of Villeray, the Governor, D'Argenson, had written in 1659: 'Some of his qualities are good enough, but confidence cannot be placed in him, on account of his instability.' In the same year he had been ordered to France, 'to purge himself of sundry crimes wherewith he stands charged.' He was not yet free of suspicion, having returned to Canada under an order to make up and render his accounts, which he had not yet done. Dumesnil says that he first came to the colony in 1651, as valet of the gover-

Erection of the
Royal Government.
—Laval's Council.
—1663.

nor, Lauzon, who had taken him from the jail at Rochelle, where he was imprisoned for a debt of seventy-one francs, 'as appears by the record of the jail, of date July eleventh in that year.' From this modest beginning he became in time the richest man in Canada. He was strong in orthodoxy, and an ardent supporter of the Bishop and the Jesuits. He is alternately praised and blamed, according to the partisan leanings of the writer. Bourdon, though of humble origin, was perhaps the most intelligent man in the council. He was chiefly known as an engineer, but he had also been a baker, a painter, a syndic of the inhabitants, chief gunner at the fort, and collector of customs for the company. Whether guilty of embezzlement or not, he was a zealous devotee, and would probably have died for his creed. Like Villeray, he was one of Laval's staunchest supporters, while the rest of the council were also sound in doctrine and sure in allegiance. In virtue of their new dignity, the accused now claimed exemption from accountability; but this was not all. The abandonment of Canada by the company, in leaving Dumesnil without support, and depriving him of official character, had made his charges far less dangerous. Nevertheless it was thought best to suppress them altogether, and the first act of the new government was to this end. On the twentieth of September, the second day after the establishment of the council, Bourdon, in his character of attorney-general, rose and demanded that the papers of Jean Peronne Dumesnil should be seized and sequestered. The council consented, and, to complete the scandal, Villeray was commissioned to make the seizure in the presence of Bourdon. To color the proceeding, it was alleged that Dumesnil had obtained certain papers unlawfully from the *greffe* or record office. 'As he was thought,' says Gaudais, 'to be a violent man,' Bourdon and Villeray took with them ten soldiers, well armed, together with a locksmith and the secretary of the council. Thus prepared for every contingency, they set out on their errand, and appeared suddenly at Dumesnil's house between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. 'The aforesaid Sieur Dumesnil,' further says Gaudais, 'did not refute the opinion entertained of his violence; for he made a great noise, shouted *robbers!* and tried to rouse the neighborhood, outrageously abusing the aforesaid Sieur de Villeray and the attorney-gen-

eral, in great contempt of the authority of the council, which he even refused to recognize.' They tried to silence him by threats, but without effect; upon which they seized him and held him fast in a chair; 'me,' writes the wrathful Dumesnil, 'who had lately been their judge.' The soldiers stood over him and stopped his mouth, while the others broke open and ransacked his cabinet, drawers, and chest, from which they took all his papers, refusing to give him an inventory, or permit any witness to enter the house. Some of these papers were private; among the rest were, he says, the charges and specifications, nearly finished, for the trial of Bourdon and Villeray, together with the proofs of their 'peculations, extortions, and malversations.' The papers were enclosed under seal and deposited in a neighboring house, whence they were afterwards removed to the council chamber, and Dumesnil never saw them again. It may well be believed that this, the inaugural act of the new council, was not allowed to appear on its records."

5.—Immediately after Villeray made a full report of the seizure to his colleagues, upon which, owing to the resistance ^{Persecutions of Dumesnil — His escape.} of Dumesnil, he was ordered to be put under arrest. This operation was prevented by the Royal Commissioner Gaudais. However, the persecuted Dumesnil continued the war. Though unsupported and alone, he demanded his papers, and openly threatened to arraign the guilty Councillors before the King. At this they again decreed his arrest and imprisonment, but resolved to keep the decree secret until the last of the returning ships, in which it was known that Dumesnil was to embark, was ready to sail. Then they proposed to arrest him unexpectedly at the hour of embarkation, that he might have no opportunity to prepare and dispatch a memorial to the French Court. Thus a whole year would elapse before his complaint could reach France. But as fortune would have it, Dumesnil received a timely warning of this foul design, and went on board another ship which was then to sail immediately. The Council caused the six guns of the battery in the Lower Town to be pointed at her, and threatened to sink her if she left the harbor, but she disregarded the cowardly threats, and sailed out unmolested. On his return Dumesnil laid his complaint before the Minister Colbert, but

accomplished nothing more than the institution of inquiries which came to naught. Meanwhile new troubles appeared at Quebec, and amid the excitement of these, the war with the old Company's agent was forgotten.

6.—Mèzy, the first Governor under the new Administration of government, although selected by Mèzy. Laval, as we have seen, turned out a very different man from what the Vicar had hoped. He applied himself vigorously in the discharge of his duties according to his own view of the powers delegated to him by the King. He re-appointed Maisonneuve local Governor over the Island of Montreal, and established M. Boucher commandant at Three Rivers. With the deputies of the Iroquois who came to Quebec to sue for peace he assumed a defiant tone, affirming an utter want of confidence in their promises, and his intention of establishing a lasting peace with them by chastising them severely for past offences. He had brought out a reinforcement of troops from France and expected more, and therefore felt able to prosecute an offensive warfare against them with good results. The Jesuits saw in these firm declarations of the Governor a spirit that was not likely to bow to their over-bearing policy, and already the Vicar began to fear. He soon had cause for more than fear. The Governor had become dissatisfied with the conduct of Bourdon, Villeray and Auteuil, Councillors who saw nothing except through Laval's eyes. In February, 1664, he determined to rid himself of these obnoxious persons, and accordingly sent his friend Augoville, major of the fort, to the Bishop, with a written declaration stating that he had ordered them to discontinue their attendance upon the Council. He declared that advantage had been taken of the facility of his disposition and his ignorance of the country to surprise him into assenting to their nomination. He asked the Bishop to assent to their expulsion, and join him in calling an assembly of the people to choose others in their place. The Vicar stoutly refused, at which the Governor caused the declaration to be placarded about the town and proclaimed by sound of drum. The Governor's desire of appealing to the people for choice of Councillors was fatal to his cause, and gave Laval very much the advantage in the contest. The idea was wholly contrary to the government of France, and at variance with the edict establishing the new gov-

ernment in Canada. Mèzy was now dealing with an enemy who could ply more weapons than himself. A threat soon reached the Governor's ears of closing the church against him, and refusing him the sacraments. This threw him into great excitement and increased his difficulty. Yet he would not re-instate the objectionable Councillors. The people began to clamor at the interruption of justice, for which they blamed Laval, whom a recent imposition of tithes had made unpopular. Mèzy thereupon issued a proclamation, in which, after mentioning his opponents as the most subtle and artful persons in Canada, he declares that, in consequence of petitions sent him from Quebec and the neighboring settlements, he had called the people to the council chamber, and by their advice had appointed the Sieur de Chartier as attorney-general in place of Bourdon. Bourdon replied with a bold remonstrance, whereupon the governor declared him suspended from all public duties until the king's pleasure should be known. Thus the conflict between church and state continued.

7.—Another source of trouble came in the election of a Mayor for Quebec, which at the first session of the council was erected into a city, although its inhabitants at the time did not exceed one thousand. Repentigny was chosen mayor, and Madny and Charion aldermen. This choice was not agreeable to the vicar, and they, influenced by the priests, refused to serve. A resolution now passed the council that a mayor was needless and the people were directed to choose a syndic in his stead. After some delay an election took place with the choice of Charion, and now the question arose as to whether the new syndic belonged to the vicar or to the governor. It soon appeared that he was on the governor's side, and the bishop insisted that the people were dissatisfied, and a new election was ordered, but the voters did not attend. The governor now sent messengers to such as he knew to be in his interests and succeeded in electing a syndic to his liking. Laval protested but in vain. The councillors held office for a year, and the year had now expired. The governor and the bishop, it will be remembered, had a joint power of appointment; but agreement between them was impossible. Laval was for replacing his partisans, Bourdon, Villeray, Auteuil, and La Fertè. Mèzy refused; and on the eighteenth of September he reconstructed the

council by his sole authority, retaining of the old councillors only Amours and Tilly, and replacing the rest by Denis, La Tesserie, and Péronne de Mézy, the surviving son of Dumesnil. Again Laval protested; but Mézy proclaimed his choice by sound of drum, and caused placards to be posted, full, according to Father Lalemant, of abuse against the bishop. On this he was excluded from confession and absolution.—*Parkman.*

On the following Sunday the pulpits resounded with denunciations. But the governor became bolder still, and still more indiscreet. He banished Bourdon and Villeray and ordered them home to France. These persons took with them letters from the Vicar to the French Court, praying for Mézy's recall. Again Laval triumphed. The governor was peremptorily superseded. The Vicar Apostolic had now made one governor and dismissed two, and was of course the foremost power in Canada. He had great power at Court, and the permanency of his position in the colony gave him a double advantage. The governors were named for three years, and could be recalled at any time; but the Vicar Apostolic owed his appointment to the Pope, and the Pope alone could revoke it. Thus he was beyond reach of the royal authority, and the court was in a certain sense obliged to conciliate him. As for Mézy, a man of no rank or influence, he could expect no mercy. Yet, though irritable and violent, he seems to have tried conscientiously to reconcile conflicting duties, or what he regarded as such. The governors and intendants, his successors, received during many years secret instructions from the court to watch Laval, and cautiously prevent him from assuming powers which did not belong to him. It is likely that similar instructions had been given to Mézy, and that the attempt to fulfil them had aided to embroil him with one who was probably the last man on earth with whom he would willingly have quarrelled.—*Parkman.*

M. de Courcelles was appointed to succeed Mézy, and a commission was named, probably at the solicitation of Laval, to inquire into the conduct of the latter; but he died before the arrival of his successor, and was therefore spared the mortification to which he would otherwise have been subjected.

CHAPTER XXII.

GOVERNMENT OF COURCELLES.

1. CANADA AND COLBERT.—2. THE COMPANY'S SOURCES OF REVENUE.—3. ROYAL NOMINATION OF COURCELLES.—4. ARRIVAL OF DETRACY AT QUEBEC.—5. DETRACY'S RECEPTION AT QUEBEC.—6. ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR DECOURCELLES AND TALON.—7. MEASURES AGAINST THE IROQUOIS.—8. EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MOHAWKS AND ONEIDAS.—9. FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION.—10. GOOD RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.—11. SECOND EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MOHAWKS.—12. DEFEAT OF THE MOHAWKS.—13. DETRACY'S OPERATIONS AND POLICY.—14. DECOURCELLES AND TALON, 1668—9.—15. IMPARTIAL CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR.—16. SMALL-POX AMONGST THE INDIANS.—17. SALUTARY LABORS OF THE MISSIONARIES.—18. A TRADING-POST ESTABLISHED AT CATARAQUI.—19. DECOURCELLES' RESIGNATION. DE FRONTENAC SUCCEEDS HIM.

1.—Scarcely had the royal government been established, when Canada again fell into the hands of a monopoly. With the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV., Canada and Colbert. France entered upon a series of gigantic commercial operations which largely affected Canada. Jean Baptiste Colbert, the great French statesman of this period, was the originator of these projects; and it is in his commercial, industrial and colonial policy that the great defects of his system are principally shown. Actuated by the desire to promote the welfare of France and the public good, he took the most arrogant and imperious means, in some instances, of attaining his ends. His policy merged individual prosperity into that of national prosperity; and in that it resembled the laws of Lycurgus, the Spartan, whose object was the subservience of the citizens to the welfare of the state, forgetting that national prosperity is only an organization of individual prosperity. He wished to make France a great commercial nation; but fearing that the individual enterprise of her merchants would not accomplish this,—or, at least, not fast enough to suit him,—he created vast monopolies in the shape of trading corporations, who were to found new colonies, improve old ones, and to whom the greatest pos-

sible power, both civil and military, was given. One of the most prominent of these corporations was the Company of the West Indies (*Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*), the royal edict for which was signed May 24th, 1664. This company was granted extraordinary privileges, and had control of an extent of territory which made the parent country look insignificant in comparison with it. The whole of New France was bestowed on it, from Hudson's Bay to Virginia and Florida, as well as Western Africa from Cape Verd to the Cape of Good Hope, Cayenne, the West India Islands and all of South America between the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers. The edict set forth that the chief object of the company was the glory of God, and therefore it was required to furnish its possessions with a good supply of priests and to exclude heretics. It was granted a monopoly of trade for forty years; and endowed with sovereign rights within its own dominions, so that it could make war or conclude peace, build forts, appoint judges, etc. The grant was made for ever on the simple condition of faith and homage.

2.—The principal sources of the expected revenue of the company were furs from New France and sugar from the West Indies and South America; and to produce the latter slaves were imported from Africa.

The company at once commenced to exercise its monopoly vigorously, and Canada suffered heavily from its effects. The colonists found themselves in the hands of a corporation, which monopolized all their trade and left them entirely subservient to it in commerce, politics and religion. The company alone had the right to import the articles needed by the colonists; and these were of poor quality, and charged for at exorbitant rates; and it also monopolized the right of trade. This state of things could not last long, and the merchants remonstrated against it, and obtained a partial relaxation of the severe rule. The company retained its monopoly of the carrying trade, allowing none but its own ships to carry furs; but it granted the right to trade in furs, reserving to itself, however, the Tadoussac, then the richest fur country, as it embraced all the tribes of Indians between the lower St. Lawrence and Hudson's Bay. The company also levied a tax of one-fourth of the beaver and one-tenth of the moose skins; but in consideration for this paid the governors,

The Company's sources of revenue.

judges and all colonial officials out of its revenues.

3.—Although Louis XIV. had nominally transferred all authority over New France to the West India Company, he shortly changed his mind as far as the appointment of a governor was concerned, and the company knew better than to oppose the royal will to appoint Daniel de Remi, Sieur de Courcelles, governor, and Jean Baptiste Talon, intendant. The king had, previously to this, appointed the Marchal D'Estrodes Viceroy of all his American possessions; but as D'Estrodes was also ambassador to Holland, and could not attend to his duties, the Marquis DeTracy was appointed as lieutenant-general, who shortly after his appointment sailed for his new command.

4.—De Tracy brought a numerous following of young nobles with him, who were anxious to explore the mysteries of the New World. He first visited the West Indian portion of the dominion over which he was appointed, and spent about a year there before proceeding to New France. He arrived at Quebec on the 30th June, 1665, and was received with the highest honors as the representative of royalty, salutes being fired from all the forts, and the people turning out *en masse* to welcome him. He had with him a portion of the regiment of Carignan-Salières, and the pomp and display of his arrival and landing were such as Quebec had never before seen.

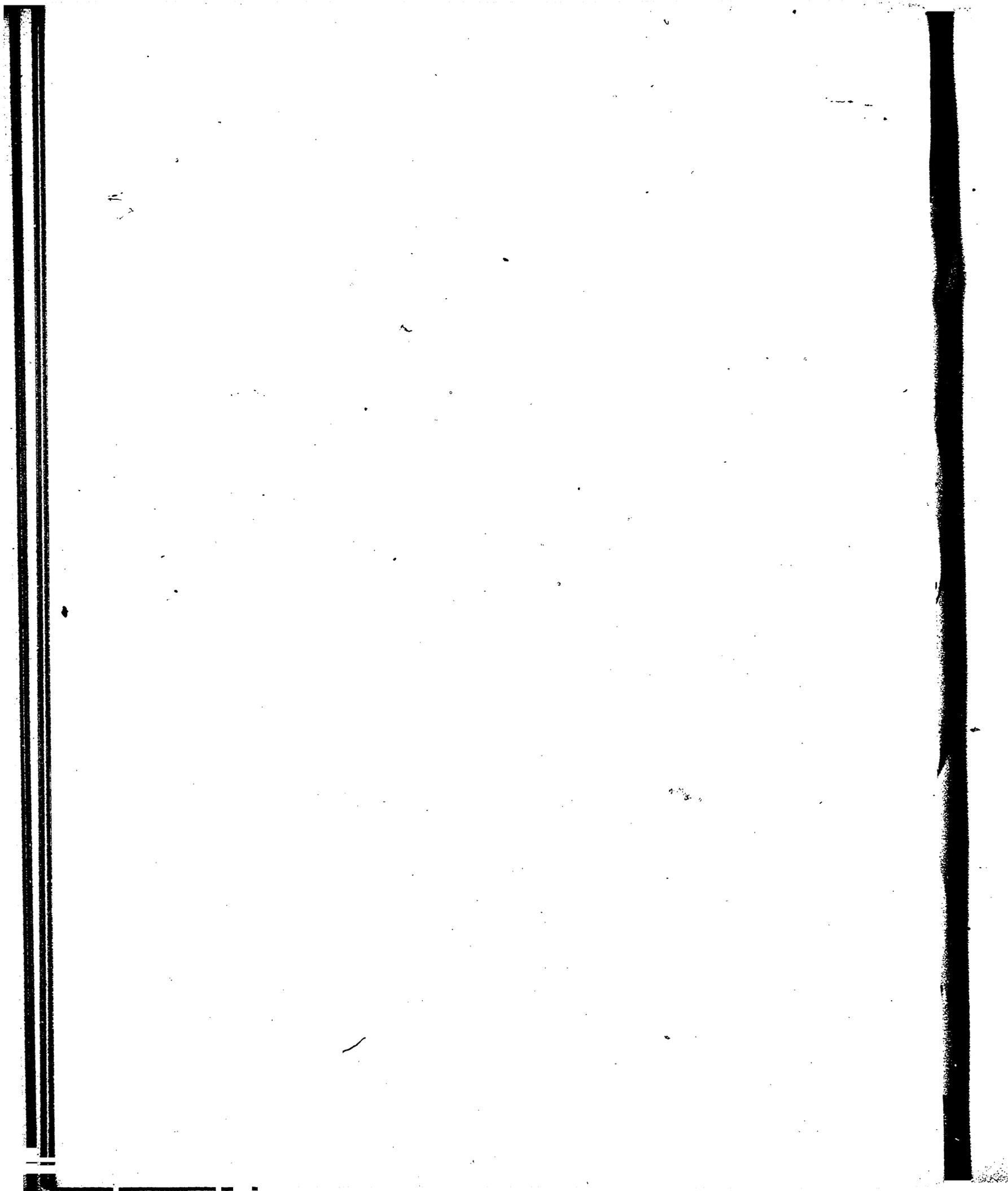
5.—The reception was one of great state and ceremony. The procession was headed by twenty-four guards in the King's livery, followed by four pages and six valets, after whom came DeTracy, with the Chevalier de Chaumont by his side, and followed by a large number of young nobles, all dressed in the handsome and showy costume of the period. The sight, as the procession made its way from Lower Town to the Square between the Jesuit College and the Cathedral, was one to set the Frenchmen half wild with pride and enthusiasm, and to fill the Indians with surprise and astonishment. DeTracy was at this time sixty-two years old, a fine-looking veteran of great height, and stout. Mother Mary writes of him as "one of the largest men I ever saw." But at the time of his landing he was suffering from fever and the effects of a

Royal nomination of Courcelles.

Arrival of De Tracy at Quebec, A. D., 1665.

DeTracy's reception at Quebec, 1665.





long voyage, and looked sallow and worn. Laval, in full pontificals, surrounded by priests, stood in the square to receive and welcome him. No doubt Laval was anxious to gain some insight into the character of the representative of the king, and his first act, one of humility, must have been gratifying to him. A *prie-dieu* had been provided for the lieutenant-general, but declining it, and a cushion which was offered him, he knelt on the bare pavement and prayed with much earnestness and devotion. A *Te Deum* was then sung and a general day of rejoicing followed.

6.—The people considered that they had good cause for rejoicing, for the appearance of the king's representative amongst them augured that the king did not intend to abandon them altogether to a trading company, but desired to build up a new France, to add to the glory of the old. Louis seemed to be determined to infuse new life into the colony, and before the close of navigation over two thousand persons, soldiers, settlers, and young women for the wives of previous settlers, had been landed at Quebec at the expense of the king. He also sent quantities of horses, sheep, cattle and provisions, so that affairs in the colony began to wear a much brighter aspect. "At length," writes Mother Juchereau, "our joy was completed by the arrival of two vessels with Monsieur de Courcelles, our Governor; Monsieur Talon, our intendant, and the last companies of the regiment of Carignan." There was another grand reception, for, as Mother Juchereau tells us, Courcelles "had a superb train; and Monsieur Talon, who naturally loves glory, forgot nothing which could do honor to the king. The voyage, however, had been long and trying, the vessel in which Talon was, being one hundred and seventeen days at sea, and many of the soldiers and sailors were ill, and the hospital was crowded as well as the church and some neighboring houses."

7.—DeTracy, the Viceroy, immediately upon his arrival, applied himself vigorously to carrying out the instructions he had received with regard to checking the depredations of the Iroquois. He had ample force to repel their usual summer incursions, and the harvest was gathered without trouble; but in order to repel future inroads, and to make more advantageous disposition of his troops, forts were erected

Arrival of Governor Courcelles and Talon.

Measures against the Iroquois, A. D., 1666.

at Sorel and Chambly and at a point above the rapids of the Richelieu River. These vigorous measures somewhat intimidated the Iroquois, and the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas sent deputies to Quebec to assure the French governor of their friendly feeling.

8.—The two tribes, however, who had done the most injury to the colony, the Mohawks and Oneidas, maintained their hostile attitude; and it was determined to undertake a winter campaign against them. De Courcelles commanded the expedition in person, which consisted of 300 soldiers, and left Quebec on 9th January, 1666. The march was a very arduous one, the weather being very severe, and a number of men were lost. Most of the journey was performed on snow-shoes, and it was not until the 9th February that the expedition reached Schenectady, where a portion of it was decoyed into an ambush and ten killed and seven wounded.

9. The English at Albany, hearing of the presence of the expedition, sent three citizens to inquire the cause of the invasion of English territory. DeCourcelles stated that he was ignorant of being on English ground, and offered to pay for provisions, and for permission to send his wounded to Albany, while he pursued the object of his expedition, which was the punishment of the Mohawks. His request was complied with; but when he found that he was still three days' march from the nearest Mohawk village, and that it was strongly fortified, he thought it most prudent to retreat, and, accordingly, on the 12th February, he began his return march to Quebec, which was made in such good order, that, although the Mohawks pursued him, he only lost eight men, five of whom died from cold and hunger.

10.—The expedition, although a failure, had one good result in showing the Indians that they could be retaliated upon, and the next spring all the tribes, except the Mohawks, sent deputations to Quebec to renew their offers of peace. The Mohawks not only refused to go, but took effectual means of preventing peace by murdering three officers near Fort Anne, and carrying off a number of prisoners. To avenge this outrage, Captain DeSorel, with three hundred men, made a rapid march on the Mohawk villages. He was met, however, by a deputation

Expedition against the Mohawks and Oneidas, 1666-6.

Failure of the Expedition.

Good results of the Expedition.

which gave up the prisoners, offered reparation for the murder, and sued for peace. DeSorel was so well pleased with their offer that he took the deputation to Quebec, where they were well received. Unfortunately, however, while the deputation was being entertained at dinner, one of them boasted of having killed one of the French officers; and DeTracy, in a moment of passion, forgetting his character as an ambassador, had him hung.

11.—After this act a council of war was held, and it was determined that the only course to pursue, was to make a vigorous Second Expedition against the Mohawks. attack on the Mohawks, who would, doubtless, be greatly incensed at the death of their chief, and endeavor either to exterminate them, or reduce their power to do mischief. An expedition on a larger scale than had hitherto been attempted was prepared; and in September, 1666, a force of 1,200 regulars and militia, and 100 Indians, assembled at Fort Anne, and started against the Mohawks under the command of DeTracy and DeCourcelles. The troops suffered greatly during the march, and were almost reduced to starvation when they reached the villages of the Mohawks, which had been deserted.

12.—The expedition was entirely successful. The Mohawks had never before had their country invaded by the French, and they fled Defeat of the Mohawks. at their approach. In only one place, which was fortified, did they attempt to make a stand; but they fled as soon as the French brought two field-pieces to bear on them, leaving only women and old men. DeTracy burnt their villages, destroyed all the corn they had provided for the winter, and, satisfied that famine was the best ally he could have, rested content with the success of his expedition, and returned to Quebec, where he was received with great rejoicing, and a grand *Te Deum* in the Cathedral.

13.—DeTracy now turned his attention to providing better protection to the settlers against future incursions of the Iroquois, and DeTracy's operations and policy. A. D., 1667. for this purpose strengthened the settlements on the St. Lawrence. A royal edict was also issued, commanding the people to assemble as much as possible in villages; but this was found to be impracticable, on account of the manner in which the clearings had been made. The Viceroy then departed; but previous to his

leaving he confirmed the West India Company in all the privileges previously enjoyed by the Company of One Hundred Associates, so that Canada was again in the hands of a monopoly, which affected her injuriously, and of which more is said further on.

14.—The chief authority of the colony now devolved upon Courcelles, and he assumed command under most favorable circumstances. The power of the Iroquois was broken, DeCourcelles and Talon. A.D. 1668-9. and they were suing for peace; while in civil affairs he was ably supported by the Intendant Talon, who never lost an opportunity to further the interests of the colony. Everything now appeared so prosperous in the colony that nearly all the officers and men of the Carignan regiment determined to settle, and the Government sent out several hundred women from France, to supply them with wives. These women were, many of them, of obscure families; but women were so scarce in the colony, and the demand for wives so great, that all of them were married within two weeks after their arrival.

15.—The peace with the Indian tribes, now well established, was very nearly ruptured in 1670 by three soldiers robbing and murdering an Indian chief while on his way Impartial conduct of the Governor. to market with his furs; but DeCourcelles acted with great promptness and justice, and so prevented the impending war. He went to Montreal, had the men tried, and they being found guilty, were hung in the presence of the assembled Indians. By thus showing his impartiality he gained the good opinion of the Indians, and the Ottawas and Senecas, who had had some differences with the Government, sent deputations to Quebec, where they were kindly received and all differences settled.

16.—The year 1670 witnessed the appearance amongst the Indians of the most deadly foe which had ever visited them — the fearful Small-pox amongst the Indians, A. D. 1670. scourge of small-pox. The great trading-post of Tadoussac, where from twelve to fifteen hundred Indians usually assembled every year, was entirely deserted; Three Rivers, which used to be crowded with Algonquins, was not visited at all; and many of the small tribes north of Quebec were almost totally swept away by the fatal disease. This was not the only year that this scourge visited the Indians;

it remained with them for some time, and a few years later nearly all the Indians of Tillery, some fifteen hundred in number, were carried off with it. There is, probably, no race of men amongst whom small-pox is so fatal as the Indians, one reason being that their skins being toughened by exposure, the pustules seldom break through, until after death, when the body quickly mortifies, but strikes into the system and almost always causes death. The Indians had an idea that the small-pox was caused by the white men, who wished to destroy them, and many depredations were at times committed in reprisal for this supposed infiction. This idea that small-pox is caused by the white man has not quite died out even in the present day, and still exists amongst some of the Indians in the neighborhood of Quebec, where small-pox sometimes breaks out amongst them with great violence.

17.—The effect which the success of the expedition against the Mohawks had on the Indians, was not only to keep them in check,

Salutary labors of the Missionaries.

but enabled DeCourcelles, in the year 1671, to effect a peace between the Senecas and a western tribe called the Buteonatamis. In the meanwhile the untiring zeal and energy of the Jesuits had been causing the rapid spread of Christianity, and thousands of the Indians, of all tribes, were becoming converted, and an influential French party was being built up among the Onondagas and Cayugas, as well as in the more distant tribes. One of the most zealous and untiring of these Missionaries was Nicholas Perrot, who penetrated to the region of the upper lakes and took possession of them in the name of his sovereign. Understanding their language perfectly, he not only converted many of the tribes, but persuaded them to recognize the King and send delegates to meet his representatives at the Falls of St. Mary. Here they were met by representatives of DeCourcelles, and witnessed the erection of a large cross with the arms of the King of France on it, in acknowledgment that he had taken possession of the country.

18.—DeCourcelles, although at peace with the Iroquois, knew well that he could not trust his wily foes, and the safest barrier he could erect against their future inroads into Canada was to build a fort at the head of the St. Lawrence and the foot of Lake

A trading-post established at Cataraqui.

Ontario; he, therefore, selected the site of Cataraqui (now Kingston), and had a personal interview with a deputation from the Iroquois, whose consent he gained to his establishing a trading-post at that point.

19.—DeCourcelles, however, could not carry on his plans himself. Failing health for some time past had compelled him to send in his resignation, and, on his return from Cataraqui to Quebec, he found his successor there in the person of Louis De Buade, Count DeFrontenac. He strongly impressed on DeFrontenac the importance of establishing a trading post and fort at Cataraqui, and shortly after sailed for France, deeply regretted by the people to whom his good qualities, and his wise and moderate government, had greatly endeared him, although he was not in very good odor with the clergy, and especially the Jesuits, to whose views he was generally opposed.

De Courcelles' resignation.—De Frontenac succeeds him.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DETRACY'S CIVIL POLICY.

1. CONDITION OF THE COLONY IN 1667.—2. THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.—3. ENCOURAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.—4. LAWS, CUSTOMS AND TENURE OF LAND.—5. HEAVY LOSS OF THE COLONY.—6. TALONS' CHARACTER, AND HIS EFFORTS FOR THE NEW COLONY.—7. RAPID GROWTH OF THE COLONY, 1665–70.

1.—After his successful campaign against the Iroquois (1667), DeTracy turned his attention to the objects of his visit, other than the suppression of the Iroquois. These related to agriculture, commerce, the re-organization of the Supreme Council, and the general arrangement of all affairs relating to the general welfare of the Colony. The Council was speedily re-organized; and re-enacted its former prohibitions of the sale of liquor to the Indians, making it a criminal offence. In commerce and agriculture he found that the Colony was still suffering greatly from the effects of a trading monopoly, and he endeavored to encourage both as much as possible amongst the colonists.

Condition of the Colony in 1667.

2.—The Colony had been relieved by being taken out of the hands of the "Company of One Hundred Associates," but only to be placed under the control of the "West India Company," which had even larger powers granted it than its predecessor. The affairs of this company were regulated by ten directors in Paris; but, in spite of its vast privileges it was not successful; and its charter was revoked in 1674, on the ground that it was not able to afford sufficient protection to the King's American subjects. The company sank over three and a half million livres in the attempt to monopolize the trade of the French American Colonies, and exercised no permanent beneficial effect on them.

The West India Company.

3.—DeTracy paid great attention to developing the agricultural and mining wealth of the Colony;

and his efforts in these directions were ably seconded by M. Talon.

Encouragement of Agriculture and Commerce.

The Colony entered into a new existence and began to be really prosperous. No longer in dread of the Iroquois, the settlers soon found that they could raise an abundance of grain far exceeding the wants of the Colony, and more attention was paid to commerce. Some of the restrictions on trade had been removed, and a considerable export trade sprang up between Canada and the West Indies, the principal exports being salted fish, salmon, eels, &c.; and porpoise and seal oils. About this time the first effort was made in what has since proved the mainstay of Canada,—the lumber trade,—and samples of oak and other woods were sent to France to show that New France could supply the royal dockyards of Old France. This improved state of things of course materially affected emigration, and the population speedily doubled, while wives for those officers and men of the Carignan regiment who wished to settle, were sent out from France, as mentioned in the last chapter. A register of births and marriages, which had been commenced in Quebec as early as the year 1621, was continued; and in the year 1670, it showed 700 births in Quebec. The mission of M. DeTracy was eminently successful; and when he left the Colony in the fall of 1667, he left it firmly established on a good and solid foundation.

4.—The parts of the feudal system then in existence in the mother country, were introduced into

New France. The administration of the laws was made the same, and many of the customs of the old land permanently introduced. The *seigniorial* system of the tenure of land was also introduced, and large grants of land were made to military officers, and persons of good quality, under the titles of *seigneurs*, and great inducements were held out to soldiers and others to settle on these lands.

5. Governor DeCourcelles and Intendant Talon left for France on 12th September, 1672, and the colony had scarcely ceased to mourn for their departure, when it suffered two very heavy losses in the death of

Heavy loss to the Colony.

Madame de la Peltrie, the founder of the Ursuline Convent at Quebec, who died in November, 1672; and Marie Guyart, the first Lady Superior of that Convent, more generally known as "Mother Mary of the Incarnation." The first of these two noble women, who did much for the early settlers in Canada, was a lady of beauty and refinement, brought up in luxury and ease, who finding herself a widow and very wealthy at the early age of twenty-two, determined to abandon the pleasure and gayety of Parisian life, and devote herself entirely to the task of educating the young French and Indian girls in the new and distant colony of New France. Madame de la Peltrie arrived in Quebec in 1641, and founded the Ursuline Convent, which, from that time, up to the present, has been the leading educational establishment for the higher classes in Quebec. "Mother Mary," the coadjutor of Madame de la Peltrie, was of humble origin, but a woman of great power of mind, and indomitable courage and perseverance. She is thus described by Ferland. "Her soul, strong and great, seemed to elevate itself naturally above the miseries which assailed the infant colony. At a time when most people were fearing that the French would be forced to quit the colony, she quietly pursued her work and the study of the language of the Hurons, in order to be useful to the young girls of those savages, allowing herself to be neither hindered by fear nor carried away by enthusiasm. She wrote a prodigious quantity of letters. One is astounded to find in her compositions an accuracy of perception and of style, and a solidity of judgment, which inspire a lofty opinion of this truly superior woman. Equally skilful in the use of the needle, the scissors and the pen, she was

also qualified to oversee all the work connected with the construction of the buildings, inside and out. She was charged with all the affairs of the convent. She learned the two native languages, Huron and Algonquin. She composed, for the use of the Ursuline teachers, a dictionary, sacred history, catechism, and a collection of prayers in the Algonquin, as well as vocabularies and catechisms in the Huron and Iroquois languages." Her correspondence is full of matters of interest pertaining to the colony, and in it are some very entertaining sketches of the early governors who were accustomed to visit the convent.

6.—Talon, the Intendant, who retired at the same time as DeCourcelles, was in every respect an

Talon's Character and his efforts for the New Colony.

extraordinary man, and has frequently been styled "the Colbert of Canada." He differed, however, greatly from Colbert, inasmuch as he was opposed to trading companies, holding justly that the colonists, who desired to build up houses for themselves, would, if unrestricted in trade and commerce, do more to build up the material prosperity of the colony, than a trading company whose only object was to make money. He never lost an opportunity of encouraging agriculture and commerce, and he laid the germ of manufactures in Canada by fostering the growth of flax and hemp, and in one of his letters—which are voluminous and well stocked with information, even to the minutest details, of the progress of the colony—he boasts that the peasants of New France could clothe themselves from head to foot in garments of their own manufacture. He also encouraged the manufacture of salt and potash, and the building of ships, and proposed expeditions for extending the boundary of New France on the North and West, which afterwards resulted in the discovery of the Mississippi and its tributaries. To Talon is due the credit of first encouraging iron mining at Three Rivers; and it was no fault of his that, although the iron was of good quality and easily got out, this industry was neglected for some years, owing to the apathy of the mother country. The foundations that he laid were solid; and the system for the management of civil, political and commercial affairs, introduced by him, lasted, with little or no change, up to the time that the colony was wrested from France by the English. Talon was a philosopher, a ripe scholar, and an upright, honest and

loyal gentleman, who did his duty to his king and the colony over whose affairs he had the supervision, which is much more than can be said for some of his successors in the office of Intendant.

7.—Under the wise government of DeCourcelles and judicious Intendantship of Talon, the colony had made rapid strides, and the five years, from 1665 to 1670, were Rapid growth of the colony, 1665-70. amongst the most prosperous of its

existence. Peace was maintained with the Indians; agriculture, trade, commerce and manufactures were fostered, and the population in that period doubled, rising from three to six thousand. Quebec was fast rising to be a place of importance, and was already styled a city, and presented a very picturesque appearance with its church and religious edifices, wood and stone houses interspersed with the wigwams of the Indians. These Indians were mostly of the Huron tribe, and about this time were removed to St. Foye. Five years later (1675), they were given a reservation at Lorette where their descendants can still be found. The settlement at Montreal (or Ville Marie, as it was then called) was also flourishing; and when M. Perrot, a nephew of M. Talon, was appointed governor in 1672, it had about seven hundred European inhabitants, was laid out in streets, and was surrounded by a wall or enclosure.

CHAPTER XXIV.

POPULATION AND MARRIAGE.

1. REMARKS ON THE SOCIAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF THE COLONY 1661-73.—2. THE MANNER OF COLONIZATION.—3. WHERE THE COLONISTS CAME FROM.—4. TALON'S REQUEST FOR MORE COLONISTS.—5. MILITARY SETTLERS.—6. PROVIDING WIVES FOR THE SETTLERS.—7. GETTING WIVES FOR THE OFFICERS.—8. SUPPLY OF PEASANT GIRLS.—9. LAHOUTAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE NEW WIVES.—10. BOUCHER'S ACCOUNT OF THE GIRLS' CHARACTERS.—11. CERTIFICATE OF ELIGIBILITY REQUIRED.—12. HOW THE GIRLS WERE SENT OUT.—13. HOW THE GIRLS WERE DISPOSED OF.—14. PREMIUMS FOR EARLY MARRIAGES.—15. BACHELORS FORBIDDEN TO

FISH, HUNT, TRADE, OR GO IN THE WOODS.—16.
 PROVISIONS FOR A CANADIAN NOBILITY.—17.
 BOUNTIES OFFERED FOR CHILDREN.—18. FE-
 CUNDITY AND LONGEVITY OF THE WOMEN.—19.
 THE PECULIARITY OF THE EMIGRATION.

1.—Here, at the close of DeCourcelles' adminis-
 tration and before entering upon an account of
 the administration of Count De-
 Frontenac, his successor, we may
 pause to notice, at some length, the
 social and moral condition of the colony. In these
 remarks we shall confine ourselves to the period
 embraced between the years 1661 and 1673. The
 greater portion of the population of Canada was
 due to the colonization schemes of Louis XIV., as
 carried out by his minister Colbert; and the
 efforts of Talon, and others in the same direction.
 At the time of Louis' ascension of the throne the
 population of New France did not exceed twenty-
 five hundred Europeans, and emigration was al-
 most at a standstill; but almost immediately after
 he became king, Louis XIV., began to send ship-
 loads of colonists, at his own expense, to New
 France, and the population rapidly increased.
 The Sulpicians, at Montreal, and one or two other
 seigneurs also attempted colonization on a small
 scale; but the bulk of it was due to the govern-
 ment.

2. The king bore the expense of this coloniza-
 tion; and in a letter to the cardinals of the Pro-
 paganda, dated 21st October, 1661,
 Laval states that the king had
 spent over two hundred thousand livres, in the
 past two years, in promoting colonization; that he
 had sent out three hundred men a year, and prom-
 ised to send the same number each year for ten
 years. Each merchant ship was required to bring
 a certain number; and they were divided into two
 classes, those who came out as colonists, and those
 who came out as assistants to colonists already
 established. These latter were known as *engagés*,
 and were paid wages for three years, after which
 time they were at liberty to take up land for
 themselves and become colonists. Mother Mary
 tells us that it was also the custom of some private
 persons to bring out these *engagés* for their own
 use.

3. The great bulk of the emigration took place
 from Normandy, Picton, Pays d'Armés, Brittany,

Picardy and Paris, those from Paris Where the Colonists
 came from.
 being principally sent from the
 houses of charity. The shipments took place from
 Dieppe and Rochelle, and at first a number
 of Huguenots came from Rochelle itself and its
 neighborhood; but they were objected to as here-
 tics, and also because they did not make as good
 citizens, and their emigration was discouraged.
 The emigrants, as a whole, seem to have been a
 very decent class of peasantry, although some
 writers have been very severe on them; and even
 Mother Mary, who is usually kind and gentle in
 her remarks, says they were of "very mixed char-
 acter;" but she refers principally to the Huguenots,
 as she continues, "it would be better to send a
 few who are good Christians, rather than so many
 who give so much trouble." Quite a number of
 the emigrants could read and write; and some of
 them brought money and provisions to start them
 in the New World with.

4. Talon was most anxious for the increase of
 the population of the colony, and his demands for
 more men were so constant that at Talon's requests for
 more colonists.
 last Colbert replied that the king
 could not afford to depopulate France to people
 Canada; that men were needed for the army, and
 that the colonists must take care to increase their
 own population. The shipments did not, however,
 cease; and it would appear that the king had sent
 out more men than he had promised, as the popu-
 lation rose from 3,418 in 1666, to 5,870 in 1680, a
 very large portion of which was the result of emi-
 gration, although a heavy percentage was also at-
 tributable to natural increase, which had been
 very great in those years owing to causes which
 will be hereafter explained.

5. Although the king was alarmed at the con-
 stant demands of Talon for colonists, he not only
 continued to send a few, but took Military Settlers.
 wise measures to induce those of
 his soldiers who were already in Canada to remain
 there. A portion of the regiment of Carignan-
 Salières was ordered home, only four companies
 being retained in garrison, but great inducements
 were offered to both men and officers to remain as
 colonists. They were not absolutely ordered to
 do so; but they were informed that the king
 would be pleased with all who did, and rewards
 in money, land and provisions were given to those
 who adopted Canada as their future home. La

Motte, who had married in Canada and signified his intention of remaining there, was presented with fifteen hundred livres by the king; and six thousand livres were set apart for officers and twelve thousand for privates who wished to remain. Every soldier who remained was given a grant of land and one hundred livres in money, or he could have fifty livres in money and one year's provisions if he preferred it. This liberality on the part of the king caused the settlement in Canada of a strong military body which had much to do with the future of the colony, and of which we shall have more to say further on.

6.—So far the emigration, except that of the nuns, had been almost entirely confined to men; but now, with the large accession of settlers from the Carignan-Salières regiment, the demand for wives began to be very great, and means were taken to supply the want in a manner which had previously been tried with success by the Sulpicians of Montreal. The king determined to export girls on a large scale, and Mother Mary tells us that one hundred were so sent out in the year 1665, and two hundred more promised for the next year. These girls were sent from the hospitals of Paris and Lyons—which were not so much hospitals in those days as almshouses, or houses for the poor—and were all married immediately on their arrival. They, however, did not suit the colonists; they were not accustomed to the sort of work they were required to perform, and complaints were soon made that they did not make useful housekeepers. The export of hospital girls was, thereupon, partially stopped, and peasant girls, who had been accustomed to hard work and farm life substituted.

7.—Another difficulty, however, had to be overcome; the officers required wives as well as the men; and to meet this requirement Talon requested the shipment of a lot of young ladies, suitable as wives for the officers. He was soon accommodated, and in 1667, he writes: "They send us eighty-four girls from Dieppe and twenty-five from Rochelle; among them are fifteen or twenty of pretty good birth; several of them are really *demoiselles*, and tolerably well brought up. The young ladies appear to have been rather displeased with their treatment on the voyage, and complained to Talon of

neglect and hardship." He says: "I shall do what I can to soothe their discontent; for if they write to their correspondents at home how ill they have been treated, it would be an obstacle to your plan of sending us next year a number of select young ladies." The supply of young ladies appears to have very nearly met the demand, for it is three years before we find Talon again asking for a supply, and then he only asks for three or four, and complains that fifteen were sent him.

8.—The supply of peasant girls, however, rarely seems to have exceeded the demand; and, in 1672, we find DeCourcelles' successor, DeFrontenac, complaining of a The supply of peasant girls. short supply. Only thirteen girls were sent out that year, and DeFrontenac writes: "If a hundred and fifty girls and as many servants had been sent out this year, they would all have found husbands and masters within a month." The scarcity this year was due to some extent to Talon, who desired to build up a native population, and who advised Colbert not to send many more girls at present, as a number of the old settlers had daughters who were marriageable, and it would be better for them to get husbands before any more girls were sent. The king, however, sent sixty the following year, 1673.

9.—Among the large lot of women thus collected, it is, of course, only natural that some should not be of irreproachable character; and writers have not been La Hontan's account of the new wives. wanting to point the finger of slander at them. One writer, LaHontan, who wrote about twenty years later, gave the following sarcastic, but not over-true account: "After the regiment of Carignan was disbanded, ships were sent out freighted with girls of indifferent virtue, under the direction of a few pious old duennas, who divided them into three classes. These vestals were, so to speak, piled one on the other in three different halls, where the bridegrooms chose the brides as a butcher chooses his sheep out of the midst of the flock. There was wherewith to content the most fantastical in these three harems; for here were to be seen the tall and the short, the blonde and the brown, the plump and the lean, everybody, in short, found a shoe to fit him. At the end of a fortnight not one was left. I am told that the plumpest were taken first, because it was thought that, being less active, they were more

Providing wives for the settlers.

Getting wives for the officers.

likely to keep at home, and that they could resist the winter cold better. Those who wanted a wife applied to the directresses, to whom they were obliged to make known their possessions and means of livelihood before taking from one of the three classes the girl whom they found most to their liking. The marriage was concluded forthwith, with the help of a priest and a notary, and the next day the Governor-General caused the couple to be presented with an ox, a cow, a pair of swine, a pair of fowls, two barrels of salted meat, and eleven crowns in money."

10.—Boucher, on the other hand, who may be considered a good authority, says that great pains were taken to secure only good girls to send out; and that any of loose character were returned to France as soon as they were found out. One case of a girl being sent back is mentioned by Rigensen as having occurred in 1658; and Boucher states in his book, 1663, that a certificate of good character was required from the friends or relations of the girls who wished to go to Canada. That some of them, at least, were carefully selected may be seen by the following extract from a letter of Colbert's to the Archbishop of Rouen: "As, in the parishes about Rouen, fifty or sixty girls might be found who would be very glad to go to Canada to be married, I beg you to employ your credit and authority with the curés in thirty or forty of these parishes, to try to find in each of them one or two girls disposed to go voluntarily for the sake of a settlement in life." This referred to farmers and others who had large numbers of children whom they wished to provide for; and that they were not always poor, is shown by a letter of Talon's, in which he says: "Among the girls who have been brought here have been some who have large and legal pretensions to property from their parents."

11.—Although considerable pains were taken to secure desirable females, still it was found that married women who desired a change of scene, or husband, would sometimes come over; and the priests began to be doubtful about marrying all the new arrivals, of some of whom Mother Mary says: "Along with the honest people, comes a great deal of *canaille*, of both sexes, who cause a great deal of scandal." To prevent attempts at bigamy,

Boucher's account of the girls' characters.

Certificates of eligibility required.

Colbert ordered that every girl who desired to seek a husband in Canada should be provided by the curé or magistrate of her parish, with a certificate that she was free to marry; and further than this he paid considerable attention to their physique and ability to increase the population of the colony as well as to their personal appearance; and in one of his letters he writes: "The girls destined for this country, besides being strong and healthy, ought to be entirely free from any natural blemish or anything personally repulsive."

12.—The young women sent out were placed under the charge of a matron, who was employed and paid by the king, and they sometimes had trouble with their How the girls were sent out. "Medley of merchandise" (*une marchandise mêlée*), as Mother Mary in one of her letters calls them. Madame Bourdon brought out one lot of one hundred and fifty; and Mother Mary says of them; "They gave her no little trouble on the voyage; for they are of all sorts, and some of them are very rude and hard to manage." Madame Bourdon, however, was not disheartened by the conduct of her first charge, but saw them all married; and afterwards superintended the distribution of the arrivals each summer for years, and was chief of the "pious duennas" to whom LaHontan refers.

13.—The mode of allotting the girls was very simple. In Montreal the "King's girls," as they were called, all lodged together in one house, of which Marguerite How the girls were disposed of. Bourgeoys was matron, and she says: "I was obliged to live there myself, because families were to be formed." Which means that she superintended the selection and hasty nuptials. Marguerite Bourgeoys taught the girls their catechism during the time they were with her, and in many ways endeared herself to them in a way they remembered long afterwards. In Quebec, where the demand was much larger, the girls were divided into three classes and were submitted to the inspection of the suitors who readily found a mate amongst the anxious candidates for matrimony. The girls, on their part, had the right of rejection; but they seem to have rarely exercised this when the candidate could satisfactorily answer the question whether he had a house and farm, which was usually the one first put.

14.—The desire of the king for the increase of

the population of his domains was not confined to providing wives for new settlers; but bounties were offered for early marriages. All youths who married before the age of twenty, and all girls who married before the age of sixteen were given twenty livres, besides the dowry which was given by him to every girl brought over his borders. According to Mother Mary this dowry varied, being sometimes a house and provisions for eight months; and sometimes fifty livres in household supplies, besides a barrel or two of salt meat. Colbert was very anxious that the children of colonists should marry young. On one occasion he writes to Talon: "I pray you to commend to the consideration of the whole people, that their prosperity, their subsistence, and all that is dear to them, depend on a general resolution, never to be departed from, to marry youths at eighteen or nineteen years, and girls at fourteen or fifteen; since abundance can never come to them except through the abundance of men." Talon was not slow to follow this advice; and an order was issued that every father having unmarried boys and girls of twenty and sixteen, should be fined unless he could show good cause why they were not married, and he was obliged to present himself to the nearest magistrate every six months to account for the delay.

15.—Bachelors fared hard in those days, especially old and obdurate ones. Orders were issued shortly before the arrival of each lot of girls from France that every bachelor should marry within a fortnight of their arrival; and Mother Mary says: "No sooner have the vessels arrived than the young men go to get wives; and by reason of the great number they are married by thirties at a time." Talon issued very severe orders against bachelors, decreeing that they should not be allowed to fish, hunt, trade with the Indians or go into the woods on any pretence whatever, this latter clause being, probably, intended to prevent them intermarrying with the squaws instead of taking French wives. Colbert goes even further, and says: "Those who may seem to have absolutely renounced marriage should be made to bear additional burdens, and be excluded from all honors; it would be well even to add some marks of infamy." Still the tribe of old bachelors was not quite extinguished,

Premiums for early marriages.

Bachelors forbidden to fish, hunt, trade or go in the woods.

although nearly so, and there were some cases of fines being inflicted on those who were obdurate. Still the prevailing desire was towards matrimony, and so great was this that one instance is given of a widow marrying before her husband was buried.

16.—The desire of the king to promote, and even force, early marriages amongst his Canadian subjects was not confined to the lower order of colonists. He was anxious to create a Canadian nobility, and promoted, as much as possible, early marriages amongst the officers and other settlers of good birth. The Intendant carefully watched and reported these marriages; and in October, 1667, he reports that two captains are already married to two damsels of the country; one lieutenant has espoused a daughter of the governor of Three Rivers; and four ensigns are in treaty with their mistresses, and already half engaged. The lieutenant here referred to was René Gaultier de Varennes, who married Marie Boucher, daughter of the Governor of Three Rivers, when she was only twelve years old. One of the offspring of this marriage was Varennes de la Vérendrye, who discovered the Rocky Mountains.

Provisions for a Canadian nobility.

17.—The king had certainly been assiduous enough for the matrimonial accommodation of his colonists; but he was not content with that, he was not satisfied with providing for the present generation, but he desired to see good provision made for future generations, and he therefore offered bounties for children. A decree in Council was passed, "that in future all inhabitants of the said country of Canada who shall have living children to the number of ten, born in lawful wedlock, not being priests, monks, or nuns, shall each be paid out of the money sent by his Majesty to the said country, a pension of three hundred livres a year; and those who shall have twelve children, a pension of four hundred livres; and that to this effect, they shall be required to declare the number of children every year in the months of June or July to the Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance, established in the said country, who, having verified the same, shall order the payment of said pensions, one half in cash, and the other half in the end of each year." This was intended to apply to all classes. A previous order of Colbert's had offered twelve hundred livres to those

Bounties offered for children.

of the better class of colonists who had fifteen children, and eight hundred to those who had ten.

18.—The desire of the king to increase the population was amply repaid; and in 1670, Talon writes, apparently in great glee, Fecundity and longevity of the women. that “nearly all the young women sent out last summer are pregnant already;” and in 1671 he says that between six and seven hundred children had been born in the colony during the year. The climate seemed to be particularly favorable to the fecundity and longevity of the females—two qualities which the French Canadian women retain to this day; and Dollier de Casson, writing of Montreal, says: “The first reflection I have to make is on the advantage that women have in this place over men; for though the cold is very wholesome to both sexes, it is incomparably more so to the female, who is almost immortal here.” Talon was delighted, as were his successors, at the fecundity of the women, large families being the rule instead of the exception as in France.

19.—The period of which we are writing was, undoubtedly, the most flourishing one of Canadian immigration; but there was one A peculiarity of the immigration. peculiarity about it. Nearly all the immigrants were single men and single women, who came out from France at different times and were married here. A very noticeable feature was that few families emigrated; some were brought out by the *seigneurs*, but they were very few. The new settler was furnished with almost everything by the king. The king sent him out; the king gave him land; the king sent him a wife, when he wanted one—and sometimes made him take one whether he wanted her or not; the king sometimes gave him a house, and offered bonuses for his having children. What more could be desired? Louis XIV. really earned the title of “Father of New France” which was accorded him; but his efforts were spasmodic, and after the breaking out of the war with Holland in 1672, the regular shipments of colonists almost entirely ceased, although soldiers were still encouraged to disband in Canada and settle there.

20.—After seeing the immense pains which Louis took to colonize New France and provide for its increase of population, and the large numbers of young men and women who were sent out to be

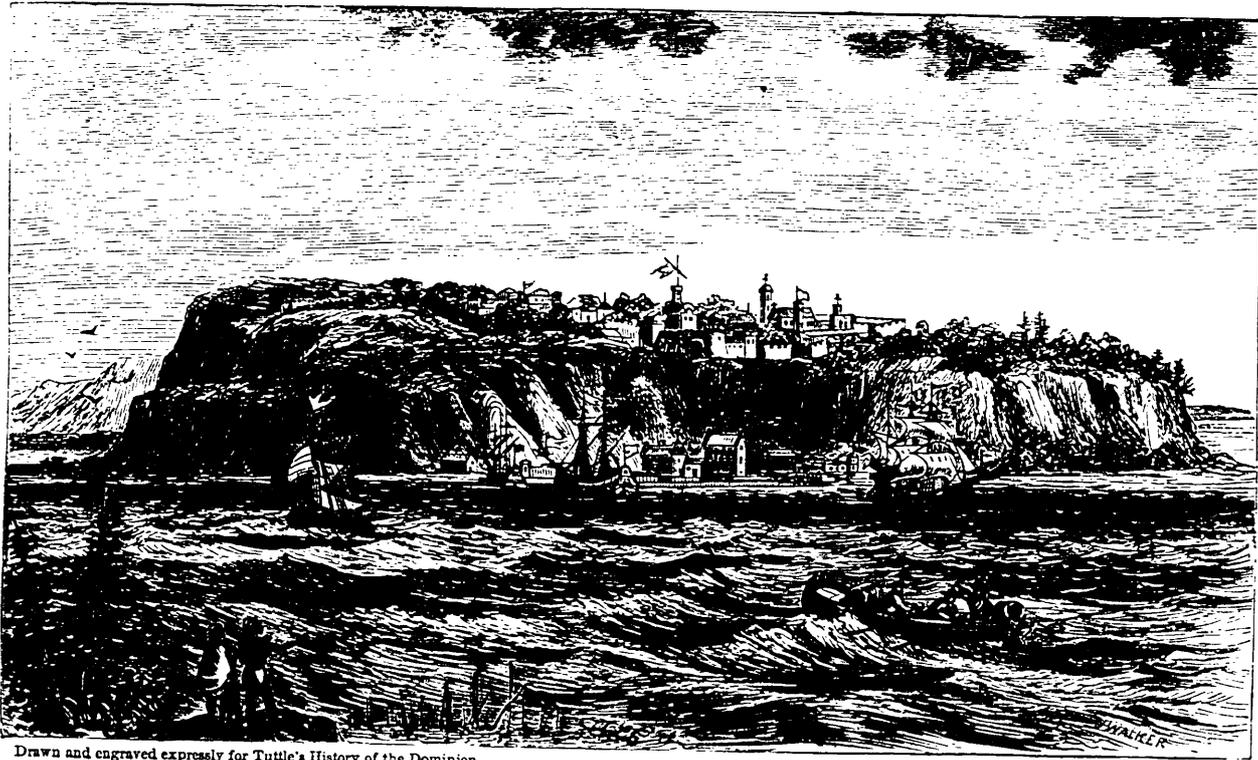
married, it is somewhat surprising that fifty years after the population did not number more than twenty-five thousand; but the reasons for this will appear further on.

CHAPTER XXV.

EARLY HOMES IN CANADA.

1. PECULIAR NATURE OF THE COLONIZATION.—
2. TALON'S PLAN OF SEIGNIORIES COPIED FROM THE ROMANS.—3. POOR SEIGNEURS.—4. FORMATION OF CÔTES.—5. THE BUILDING OF MILLS.—
6. EFFORTS AT CONCENTRATING THE POPULATION.—7. FROM TADOUSSAC TO QUEBEC.—8. QUEBEC IN 1672.—9. FROM QUEBEC TO MONTREAL.—10. MONTREAL AND POINTS ABOVE IT.—
11. ON THE SOUTH SHORE OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.—12. THE COLONIST'S LINES.

1.—Before turning to the political events of the administration of the Count DeFrontenac, let us inquire a little further into the Peculiar nature of the colonization. internal condition of the colony at the period already mentioned. We have seen, in the last chapter, the settler landed and married, let us follow him to his new home, and see what kind of place it is. A peculiar sort of colonization had been instituted under the government of DeCourcelles and Talon, a semi-military, semi-agricultural one. The highest point of the colony at this time, and, therefore, the most exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois, was the island of Montreal; and although nominally at peace with the Indians, both DeCourcelles and Talon were too well aware of the treacherous nature of their red-skinned enemies not to oppose all the barriers they possibly could to prevent a sudden and disastrous inroad into the colony: For this purpose large tracts of land about Montreal, and along the Richelieu, were divided into *seigneuries* and given mostly to those officers of the regiment of Carignan who proposed to settle. These officers, for the most part, re-granted small portions of their land to the soldiers of their regiment who wished to remain in Canada, reserving a certain part of the *seigneuries* to themselves, and requiring a certain amount of command over the soldier—a sort of feudalism, which left the soldier to some extent a



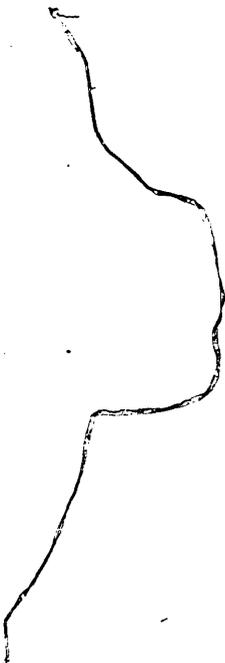
Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

QUEBEC IN 1640.



Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

MONTREAL IN 1720.



vassal, but which formed a very effective cordon of men who could be either soldiers or farmers, as occasion required, to protect the other portions of the colony from the savages.

2.—This plan of semi-military *seigneuries* was recommended by Talon in imitation of the Romans, as he acknowledges in a letter to Colbert, in which he says "The practice of that politic and martial people may, in my opinion, be wisely adopted in a country one thousand leagues from its monarch. And, as the peace and harmony of peoples depend above all things on their fidelity to their sovereign, our first kings, better statesmen than is commonly supposed, introduced into newly conquered countries men of war, of approved trust, in order at once to hold the inhabitants to their duty within, and repel the enemy without." In pursuance of this policy the discharged officers and soldiers of the regiment of Carignan settled in *seigneuries*, principally along the Richelieu and St. Lawrence, between Lake St. Peter and Montreal; and the Sulpicians, who were *seigneurs* of Montreal, followed the same plan and surrounded, as far as they could, their island with semi-military settlements, so that a line of outposts, so to speak, was drawn around the colony to give warning of impending danger. In the neighborhood of Quebec the settlements did not so much partake of this semi-military character, as they were protected by those above.

3.—The allotment of these *seigneuries* has given the names to most of the flourishing towns on the Richelieu and St. Lawrence rivers below Montreal; Sorel, Chambly, Saint Ours, Contrecoeur, Varennes, Verchères, and other important places take their names from the ancient lords of the soil; but it must not be supposed that these towns or villages sprang up at once, or that the "lord of the soil" was a very princely personage in point of wealth. In most instances he had nothing but his sword, his land, and what money the king gave him for taking a wife. Chambly and Sorel were two exceptions to this rule; but the others, for the most part, could scarcely manage to build their *seigniorial* mansion, and but few could afford to build a fort, a chapel, or a mill, three things which were considered almost indispensably necessary. In many instances the lords of the soil and their vassals were obliged

to build their houses together, for protection, and surrounded them with a palisade, thus forming a little fort, or fortified village. The king assisted these *seigneurs*, for he continued the pay of the soldiers while they were clearing the land and building their homes; and it was only after this was accomplished that they were allowed to take wives.

4.—The *seigniorial* grants had a river frontage varying from half a league to six leagues, and a depth of from one half a league to two leagues. These *seigneuries* Formation of côtes. were subdivided, as has been already stated; and as, in the districts least liable to attack from the Indians, the settlers naturally preferred to build their houses near the river, which served as a highway, the settlements assumed the shape of a long fringe of houses near the banks of the rivers, and were called, in local phraseology, *côtes*, a word peculiar to Canada, and still greatly in use here, particularly in the neighborhood of Montreal and Quebec. The *seigneurs* were in but few cases able to build a chapel; and most of these edifices were erected by the seminaries of Quebec and Montreal, mass being said, in the mean time, by a missionary priest, who was taken from *côte to côte* in a canoe.

5.—One of the most important objects to be attained in a new *seigneurie* was the building of a mill, as it was intended to serve not only the purpose of grinding corn, The building of mills. but as a sort of fort, or place of defence. It was built of stone and pierced with loop-holes for muskets for defence. The great mill at Montreal was for a long while its chief means of defence against the attacks of the Indians. It was one of the duties of the *seigneurs* to build a mill for the convenience of their tenants grinding their corn, and they were entitled to one-fourteenth for the service; but there were very few of the *seigneurs*, except the ecclesiastical bodies, who could afford to build a mill; and even amongst those who could build them it was many years before the one-fourteenth left would pay the expense of employing a miller; and a large number of the settlers were therefore compelled to practice the Indian method of grinding their grain by hand.

6.—Talon endeavored to concentrate the population to a great extent around Quebec, so that a

Efforts of concentrating the population.

cannon shot from the Château St. Louis might summon a large body of men to the defence of the capital.

For this purpose he bought a track of land near Quebec, and laid it out as what he considered a model *seigneurie*, thus hoping to have other *seigneurs* follow his example. He also established three inland villages near Quebec, which he called Bourg Royal, Bourg La Reine and Bourg Talon, which he provided with a blacksmith, mason, carpenter and shoemaker each; but somehow the inland villages did not flourish, and the settlers preferred to stretch themselves out in long thin lines along the rivers; so that by sailing up the St. Lawrence and Richelieu one could have seen almost every house in Canada, except Talon's three villages. This was felt to be a very unfavorable arrangement for either a strong government, for ecclesiastical control, or for a good defence; and the king several times ordered the concentration of the inhabitants into the villages instead of *côtes*; but it was found that this would involve so general a cancellation of grants, and cause the abandonment of so many clearings, that the idea had to be abandoned.

7.—Before closing this chapter we will take a hurried glance at the colony of Canada as it appeared in 1672. Coming up the St. Lawrence the first settlement was at Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, where the West India Company had a trading-post, and where a great portion of the fur trade with the Indians was done. From this point until past the huge mountain of Cape Tourmente no sign of civilization broke the vast magnificence of the solemnly silent grandeur of the primeval forest, except the occasional bark hut of some wandering Indian. Above Cape Tourmente began Laval's vast *seigneurie* of Beaupré, which in 1667 contained a population of 656, or 208 more than Quebec, which had then only 448. The land here was mellow with wheat, and the solid little log cottages of the settlers relieved the sameness of the forest scenery for a long distance. Above this came primeval forest again until the *seigneurie* of the ex-physician Gifford, one of the earliest settlers in Canada, was reached at Beauport; and the neighboring island of Orleans, which also belonged to Laval, and contained a population of 529 in 1667, was also fringed with houses,

From Tadoussac to Quebec.

and showed many large and flourishing clearings.

8.—Beyond this towered the promontory of Quebec, crowned with church, fort, convents, seminary and chateau. The Upper Town was principally occupied by Quebec in 1672. the priests, nuns, government officials and soldiers, while trade and commerce was carried on in the Lower Town. In the midst of the trading portion of the town, at the foot of the cliff, was the magazine of the West India Company, with its two round towers and two projecting wings. Here all the beaver skins of the colony were collected, sorted and shipped to France. In the Upper Town, the Chateau St. Louis, which was an indifferent wooden structure, occupied the magnificent site now known as Durham Terrace, and commanded an unbroken view of river, forests and mountains. The governor lived in the chateau, and soldiers were on guard night and day in the fort which stood in its rear, and of which it formed one side. At some distance was the massive but unpretentious convent of the Ursulines, and beyond that was the Hotel Dieu. Between them were the massive buildings of the Jesuits, which were all of stone and very substantial. The college was commenced in 1647, and the walls and roof finished in 1649. The church connected with it was begun in 1666. On the opposite side of the square stood—and still stands—the great church of Notre Dame, the corner stone of which was laid in 1647, and the first Mass performed in it in 1650. This church is celebrated as containing some of the finest paintings in Canada. Behind the church was Laval's seminary, with its extensive enclosures, and these with the court house, the tavern of Jacques Boisdon and a few private houses, on what is now the line of St. Louis Street, composed nearly all the Upper Town of those days.

9.—Leaving Quebec and proceeding along the North Shore of the St. Lawrence, there was a small settlement of Cap Rouge, and further on the beginning of some new *seigneuries*; while the settlements grew thicker as Three Rivers was neared, a fortified village surrounded by a palisade and used as a fur-trading depot. Above Three Rivers came the semi-military settlements of Captain Laubia, Sergeant Labadie, Ensign Moras, Captain

From Quebec to Montreal.

Berthier, Ensign Raudin and Lieutenant La Valterie, all ex-officers of the Carignan-Seliers regiment, who were just establishing *seigneuries*; and these settlements extended so rapidly that in a few years they almost formed a chain of houses from Quebec to Montreal.

10.—The first point of attraction on nearing the island of Montreal was the fortified mill at Point Aux Trembles, built by the Sulpicians, and beyond it the newly-built chapel of the Infant Jesus. A few more settlements followed; and then rose the great fortified mill of Montreal, long since fallen into decay and until quite recently used as a dead house, the Corporation of Montreal being somewhat derelict in providing a decent morgue. Next came into sight the long row of wooden houses, the Hotel Dieu and the rough masonry of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Beyond Montreal there were a few more clearings to Lachine, where La Salle had his *seigneurie*, and beyond that the wilderness was unbroken, except by one small trading-post on Isle Perot.

11.—Crossing Lake Louis at Lachine to the south shore of the St. Lawrence, we come to the *seigneuries* of Longueuil, Boucherville, Varennes, Verchères and Contrecoeur. From the fort at Sorel extended the military *seigneuries* along the Richelieu, and continuing along the St. Lawrence we see the beginnings of the *seigneuries* of Lassaudière, Becancour, Lotbinière and others; while below "the frowning citadel" a few cabins and clearings as far as River Ouelle showed the spread of civilization.

12.—Such is a brief and rapid outline of the colony at the time of which we write. As for the life of the colonist, it was for the first few years a hard one; but after that, with care and thrift he could get along easily and comfortably enough. A few acres would yield enough to support his family with the aid of his gun, if he was a hunter, and the assistance of the bountiful supply of eels with which the St. Lawrence abounded, and which, smoked or salted, furnished his larder for months. By turning his attention during the winter to preparing timber and shingles for the Quebec market he was sure of being able to supply himself with such necessaries as he needed. Still, in a great many cases, the settlers were not happy.

Montreal and points above it.

On the south shore of the St. Lawrence.

The colonists' lives.

There were two main causes for this; first, the former habits of the military settlers unfitted them for the dull routine and constant hard work of their new life, and they grew sick of it as soon as the novelty had worn off. Secondly, their domestic lives were frequently very unhappy; for married as they had been, we may almost say by lottery, it was not surprising that many of them had drawn blanks, as is always the case with all lotteries, of which matrimony is said to be the greatest. Still, if they did not flourish in every respect, they certainly fulfilled the king's wish in being fruitful, and they multiplied rapidly. Mother Mary, in one of her letters, gives the following graphic account of some of them. "A poor man will have eight children and more, who run about in winter with bare heads and bare feet, and a little jacket on their backs, live on nothing but bread and eels, and on that grow fat and stout." Neither the food nor the clothing seem to be anything superfluous, and many of the weaker children died; but from those who withstood this rough nursing sprung the hardy bush-rangers and bush-fighters of a century and more ago, and their no less hardy and tough descendants in the *habitants* of to-day.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GOVERNMENT OF FRONTENAC.—DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT WEST.

I. PIONEER PRIESTS.—2. EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE NORTH AND WEST FOR FRANCE.—3. FIRST VIEW OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—4. CHECK TO THE EXPLORING PARTY.—5. EXPLORATIONS IN THE HUDSON BAY REGION.—6. DEFRONTENAC'S CHARACTER.—7. DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR, BISHOP AND INTENDANT.—8. DEFRONTENAC'S DESPOTISM.—9. DEFRONTENAC CENSURED.—10. THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.—11. BUILDING OF FORT CATARAQUI.

1.—At the time of which we write, little or nothing was known of the Great West, except the very scanty knowledge of a few missionary priests, for the priest was Pioneer priest. always the pioneer of the soldier and

trader. Father Mesnard had, some thirty years before, visited the shores of Lake Superior in company with a band of Ottawa Indians, and had died of starvation and ill-usage. Father Allouez, undeterred by Father Mesnard's fate, accompanied another band to the straits connecting Lakes Huron and Superior, which he named Sault Ste. Marie. He then skirted the eastern shore of Lake Superior as far as the Island of Chagouamigon, afterwards called St. Michel, where he met a band of Christian Hurons, who were being chased by the Iroquois and other tribes. He erected a chapel here, and continued his explorations. At Lake Nipigon he found the remnant of the Nipissing tribe; and afterwards founded two missions, the Algonquins being settled at Sault Ste. Marie and the Hurons at Michillimackinac, on the south shore of the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan.

2.—The soldier and the trader soon followed the priest; and great efforts were shortly after made to take possession of the North and North-west in the name of the King of France. For this purpose an experienced traveller named Nicholas Perrot, who spoke the Indian languages perfectly, received instructions to follow Father Allouez, and call a meeting of Indian delegates to hear a message from the Great Ononchio. He reached Chicago, the head-quarters of the Miamis, and called a general assembly at Sault St. Marie, where in May, 1671, delegates from about twenty tribes met M. DeLousson, the Royal Commissioner. DeLousson explained that he desired to take possession of the country in the name of the French king; and on this speech being translated into Algonquin, he was greeted with cries of "Vive le Roi!" a piece of spontaneous loyalty into which the delegates had been specially instructed by Father Allouez. A solemn chant was then sung, and a cross, with the royal arms attached to it, erected, after which DeLousson declared the country under the protection of the King of France.

3.—It was at Sault Ste. Marie that the first tidings were ever heard of the great Mississippi, which the Indians called Mechasepé, or Mississippi, and described as a mighty river which flowed neither to the North nor to the East. Talon at once observed the great importance of discovering

where this mighty river had its outlet; for whether it flowed South to the Gulf of Mexico, or West to the Pacific, it was of equal importance as a highway to the sea. He therefore instructed Father Marquette and M. Joliet, a prominent merchant of Quebec, to make discoveries. They reached Green Bay, at the extremity of Lake Michigan, and there the Indians attempted to dissuade them from their journey by describing the immense dangers they would have to face. They were not to be deterred, however; and launching two canoes, with a crew of six men on Fox River, they, after great trouble, made their way across the country to the Wisconsin, which they followed to its confluence with the Mississippi, and on the 14th June, 1673, the two canoes reached the main stream of the Mississippi, bearing the first two white men who had ever floated on the broad bosom of "The Father of Waters." When we look at the Mississippi of to-day, with the splendid cities along its shores, adorned with hundreds of church spires, and the wharves crowded with vessels which take millions of tons of freight, the produce of the rich country washed by its waters, we can scarcely realize the fact that it is barely two centuries since Religion and Commerce—in the shape of a priest and a trader, in two birch canoes not big enough to accommodate a modern Saratoga trunk in addition to the living freight they bore—first broke upon its grand solitude, and witnessed the majestic grandeur of "The Father of Waters" before the cry of the raftsmen, or the whistle of the steamboat had awakened its echoes.

4. Both the explorers give glowing accounts of the magnificent and fertile country they saw, with its flowery meadows, grand forests, and majestic prairies, dotted with herds of buffaloes. They continued down the Mississippi past the mouths of the Illinois, Missouri and Ohio rivers to the mouth of the Arkansas, at which point they were forced to turn back, as Marquette's knowledge of the Indian dialects, which had helped them greatly so far, was of no further use, and the Indians were growing hostile. They had, however, learned enough to show them that the river did not flow into the Pacific, as they had hoped, but into the Gulf of Mexico; and they feared that if they continued

Efforts to obtain the North and West for France.

Check to the exploring party.

on to the Gulf they would fall into the hands of the hostile Spaniards. They were, therefore, reluctantly obliged to return; and Father Marquette remained amongst the Miamis at Chicago, while M. Joliet proceeded to Quebec to make his report.

5.—While furthering explorations in the West, Talon also took care to further the interests of France in the region of Hudson's

Explorations in the Hudson Bay region.

Bay. In accordance with instructions issued by him to endeavor to find a short route to Hudson's Bay by way of the Saguenay, Father Albnel and St. Denys and de Simon ascended that river to its source in the Lake St. John in 1671. They encamped on the shores of the Lake that winter, making friends and converts amongst the Indians, and in the spring explored Lake Mistissin, and descended the river Memiscean to its mouth. At this point they were met by delegates from twelve neighboring tribes, and in their presence Father Albnel took formal possession of the territory in the name of his king.

6.—Count Louis de Buade Frontenac, who succeeded DeCourcelles in the governorship of Canada, was a soldier of high reputation, who had won much credit for himself and done good service for his king during the thirty years he had been in the army. He had many brilliant qualities which fitted him for exercising a strong personal influence on the colonists, and his force of character caused him to be both respected and feared by the Indians; but he was haughty, imperious and of a quick, inflexible temper, and he soon came into difficulties with the other officers of the government. At the time of his assuming the governorship Laval was absent in Paris, and on Talon's leaving, before a new Intendant had arrived, DeFrontenac claimed and exercised nearly all the powers of the Supreme Council. On the return of Laval, however, and the arrival of the new Intendant, M. Ducherneau, these officers resisted his pretensions to supreme command, and a state of dissension ensued which lasted throughout the whole of DeFrontenac's administration.

7.—The cause of dispute between the Governor, Bishop and Intendant were their relative powers, and also the liquor traffic with the Indians, which was growing to a very great extent; and, finally, complaints

Dissensions between the Governor, Bishop and Intendant.

were made by the Bishop and Intendant of the very arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the Governor. The royal edict appointing a Governor and Intendant very clearly explained the duties of each; but DeFrontenac claimed the right to exercise nearly all the functions delegated to the Intendant, and hence these two officials were always at variance. With regard to the Bishop and clergy, DeFrontenac appears to have repudiated altogether any claim of theirs to participate in civil administration—a right of which Laval was very jealous; and while he favored the Recollets, who had lately been admitted to Canada by royal edict, he was severe on the Jesuits and opposed to their missionaries.

8.—At this time the evils of the liquor traffic with the Indians were represented to be excessive, and Laval was constantly and strongly urging a prohibitory law; but DeFrontenac belittled the extent of the evil claimed, and charged the advocates of a prohibitory law with exaggerating the facts of the case to further their own views. They, on the other hand, were not slow to accuse DeFrontenac of acquiescing in the abuses and even profiting by them. As the disputes grew warmer DeFrontenac grew more despotic, and exercised the power which he had, with the army at his back, very freely. Several of his opponents in the Supreme Council were banished, as well as a priest named Fenelon, and M. Penot, a nephew of Talon's, who was commandant at Montreal, was arrested and imprisoned in Quebec for a year, on a charge of having insulted one of DeFrontenac's officers, and afterwards sent to France, where the charge was overthrown, and Penot was, in 1684, sent out to Acadia as Governor.

DeFrontenac's Despotism.

9.—Such grave differences between the Governor, Bishop and Intendant could not, of course, continue long without royal interference, and the causes of complaint were referred to France. Both parties had strong friends at Court, Laval went to Paris to sustain his own views in person; but DeFrontenac had a strong friend in the Prime Minister, Colbert, who always showed a disposition to diminish the power of the clergy in civil matters; and DeFrontenac was partially sustained, at least so far as the liquor traffic went, Laval failing to get the prohibition he desired. DeFrontenac was,

DeFrontenac censured.

however, censured, although in a mild form. The exiled members of the Council were all sent back, except one who had died, and DeFrontenac was informed that although it was his duty to preside at the Council and submit subjects for deliberation, he had no further control over the actions of that body. The Intendant was also sustained and his powers enlarged, and DeFrontenac was generally rebuked for his despotic conduct. This did not by any means, however, end the discussion, which continued as long as DeFrontenac and Duchesneau were in office.

10.—Laval was not satisfied with the defeat of his prohibition scheme, and he made another journey to Paris to urge his views. His The liquor traffic. second visit resulted in orders being sent to DeFrontenac, in 1676, to investigate fully, with a committee of twenty-four citizens, the evils of the liquor traffic. A majority of the committee decided that as long as the English and Dutch continued the traffic it was necessary for the French to do so or all the trade with the Indians would be diverted from them. This report was forwarded to Paris while Laval was there, and he made one more effort to carry his pet scheme by getting the whole matter referred to the Archbishop of Paris and another ecclesiastic. The result was a sort of compromise, an order being sent out prohibiting liquor being taken into the woods or to the habitations of the Indians; but not prohibiting its sale in the settlements; with this Laval had to be content, and returned to Quebec; but he continued to urge his clergy to advocate prohibition.

11.—Despite his arrogant assumption of power, DeFrontenac showed himself an efficient and energetic officer. He entered heartily into the schemes of his predecessors DeCourcelles and Talon, Building of Fort Cataraqui. for the security of the colony against the Iroquois, especially the building of a fort at Cataraqui, now Kingston, arrangements for which had been made with the Indians by DeCourcelles before his departure in 1672. He undertook the work vigorously in the summer of 1673. Bateaux and canoes with artillery, ammunition, provisions and everything necessary for building the fort were forwarded, together with four hundred men, to build and garrison the fort; and the place sprang into existence as if by magic, being finished

and ready for occupation in a week, and twenty acres of land in its vicinity enclosed for cultivation. The plans for drawing towards Quebec the traffic of the northern tribes of Indians, included the building of a ship to navigate Lake Erie, the erection of a fort at Niagara, and a more thorough exploration of the north and west. In all these undertakings DeFrontenac had a very able assistant in the person of M. Robert de La Salle, of whom we shall speak at length further on.

CHAPTER XXVII.

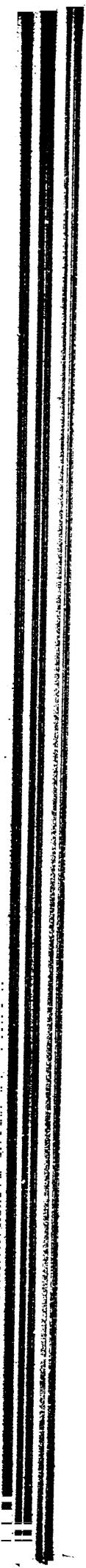
GOVERNMENT OF FRONTENAC. DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT WEST.

1. LA SALLE.—2. THE SULPICIAN OF MONTREAL.—3. SETTLEMENT AT LACHINE.—4. LA SALLE REBUILDS CATARAQUI.—5. THE FIRST VESSEL ON LAKE ERIE.—6. LA SALLE SECURES THE COMMERCE OF THE WEST.—7. LA SALLE REACHES THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI, A.D., 1682.—8. DEATH OF LA SALLE.

1.—LaSalle was a young gentleman who had been trained in the severe school of a Jesuit College, and had even taken some of La Salle. their vows. He was intelligent, daring, and filled with an ambitious desire to find a road to Japan and the East Indies by the way of the Great West, then a *terra incognita*. He was possessed of indomitable pluck and perseverance; was grave, earnest and enthusiastic, and well fitted for the work to which he aspired. No difficulty could daunt or disappointment depress him.

2.—The island of Montreal, which was at that time on the outskirts of the colony, was held as a *seigneurie* by the Seminary of St. The Sulpicians of Montreal. Sulpice; and they, being in constant dread of inroads from the Indians, desired to form a line of semi-military settlements around their *seigneurie* to protect it from the Iroquois, who, although they had received a sharp lesson from Governor DeCourcelles, were still very troublesome. They were at the time of LaSalle's arrival granting land on the outskirts of their settlement on very easy terms to settlers; and the Superior





of the Order, Queylus, made La Salle the generous offer of a large tract of land, about nine miles from Montreal, which is now known as Lachine, on mere nominal terms, La Salle and his successors being made feudal lords on the condition of presenting a fine silver medal, weighing one mark, to the Seminary on the occasion of every change of proprietorship. La Salle, who had some small means of his own, at once endeavored to attract settlers, and offered them very advantageous terms.

3.—After passing what is now Point St. Charles, there was then scarcely any settlement up to the head of the Lachine Rapids; and it was here, at the widening out of the river into Lake St. Louis, that La Salle laid out a fortified village after the fashion of the Indians and the early settlers. The village was enclosed by a high palisade, and within this each settler was allowed a third of an acre, for which he paid a yearly rental of half a sou in money, and three capons; he was also allowed sixty arpents outside the village at a rental of half a sou per annum for each arpent. A common of two hundred arpents was also reserved for the settlers at a rental of five sous each per year. He reserved four hundred and twenty arpents for himself, and began to clear the land and erect buildings.

4.—But LaSalle was not long to remain inactive at Lachine. He studied most assiduously, and mastered eight Indian dialects. The tale of the discovery of the Mississippi by Father Marquette and M. Joliet induced him to attempt a plan of reaching the East by way of the great water tributaries which he felt convinced flowed that way. He consulted DeFrontenac, and at once gained his good will by offering to rebuild Cataraqui with stone, increasing its size and so making it as strong as it was an important post. De Frontenac gave him letters of recommendation to high personages at court, and he visited Paris, where, through the influence of the Duke of Conti and M. Saignelas, the Minister of Marine, he was granted the *seigneurie* of Cataraqui, given unlimited liberty to make discoveries, and awarded the exclusive right of commerce in the West and any new countries he might discover. Having gained these privileges he returned to Canada, accompanied by the Chevalier Tonti, a veteran officer, Father Hennepin, a Flemish priest

of the Order of Recollets, and thirty men; and for about a year busied himself in rebuilding Fort Cataraqui, trading with the Indians and building ships above the Falls of Niagara.

5.—At last his preparations for a voyage of discovery were completed, and on the 9th August, 1679, he entered Lake Erie, accompanied by Father Hennepin, in "The Griffin," the first ship which ever ruffled the waters of that lake. Passing through the whole length of the lake he reached the Detroit strait and entered a calm and beautiful lake which he called St. Clair. On Lake Huron the "Griffin" encountered a severe gale which almost wrecked her, and greatly alarmed the sailors, but she reached Michillimackinac in safety, and obtained a rich cargo of furs in Green Bay, with which "The Griffin" was sent back to Niagara, but she undoubtedly foundered in another storm on the lakes, as she was never heard of afterwards.

6.—La Salle did not lose sight of his great enterprise, although for two years he employed himself chiefly with securing the trade of the West, and established fortified trading-posts at Fort Crevecoeur, on the Illinois river, at St. Joseph, Chicago, Sault Ste. Marie, Michillimackinac, Detroit, and his regular forts at Niagara and Cataraqui. The Chevalier Tonti had gone to live amongst the Illinois tribe, and secured their good will. La Salle dispatched M. Deccan, accompanied by Father Hennepin, to discover the source of the Mississippi, but they were stopped by the beautiful falls of that river, which Father Hennepin named "St. Anthony." The expedition was not altogether a successful one, as it fell into the hands of the Sioux, who kept them captives for some time. La Salle was not without his enemies. Many merchants were jealous of his trading privileges and called him a mere creature of DeFrontenac's; while some of his own men mutinied and attempted to poison him.

7.—La Salle at last started on his grand voyage to discover the mouth of the Mississippi; launched his canoes on the Illinois river, and on the 11th February, 1682, entered the Mississippi. He proceeded downwards past the mouths of the Missouri, Ohio and Arkansas, where Father Marquette had been checked, and was sometimes received in a friendly manner by the Indians, but as often greeted by a

The First Vessel on Lake Erie.

La Salle secures the commerce of the West.

La Salle reaches the mouth of the Mississippi, A. D. 1682.

Settlement at Lachine.

La Salle rebuilds Cataraqui.

volley of arrows. Passing through the country of the Chickasaw, Taenca, Natchez and Quinipisa Indians, the country was flat, dreary and disheartening; but he pushed on, and on the 19th of March, 1682, thirty-six days after entering it, he reached the mouth of the Mississippi. La Salle fully recognized the importance of his discovery, and celebrated the event with great rejoicings. He erected a cross with the king's arms on it, and formally took possession of all the country drained by the Mississippi in the name of his king, calling it, in honor of him, Louisiana. He then commenced his return journey to Quebec, but it was long and arduous, and he did not reach the capital until the spring of 1683.

9.—The news of La Salle's great discovery caused a profound sensation in France, and he was received with great consideration at Court, and entrusted with the task of founding a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi. He was given command of an expedition of two hundred and eighty men, and left Rochelle in 1684 to find the mouth of the Mississippi by sea and found a colony; he was also accompanied by his nephew, Moranger. La Salle, however, had miscalculated his longitude, and sailed two hundred miles past the mouth of the river. When he discovered his mistake he endeavored to retrace his steps; but provisions ran short, as the vessel bearing his chief supplies had been wrecked in the Gulf of Mexico, and his men grew mutinous. He landed to explore the interior, but the men, who were suffering from hunger and exposure, rebelled against the haughty and arrogant temper of Moranger, and, in a fit of exasperation at his conduct, murdered both uncle and nephew. The Chevalier Tonti descended the river to meet La Salle, but it was not until long afterwards that he learned his sad fate.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE JESUITS ON THE LAKES.

1. FAILURES OF THE JESUITS.—2. CHANGES IN THE REPORTS OF THE JESUITS.—3. THE SEARCH OF THE JESUITS FOR COPPER.—4.

* This is in accordance with Parkman.

SUPERSTITION OF THE INDIANS.—5. PRINCIPAL STATIONS ON THE UPPER LAKES.—6. DIVISION OF THE MISSION AT LA POINTE.—7. VISIT OF THE SUPERIOR OF THE MISSIONS.—8. THROWING DOWN AN IDOL.—9. FAVORABLE RECEPTION OF THE MISSIONARIES BY THE MICMACS.—10. INDIAN MORMONS.—11. WHAT THE MISSIONARY SERMONS WERE LIKE.

1.—We may here stop to briefly notice, distinctively, the operations of the Jesuits, from the standpoint of their own order, during the period of which we have been writing, more especially the years 1670-1-2.

Failures of the Jesuits.

Since the ruin of the great mission of the Hurons, a perceptible change had taken place in the Jesuits. They had put forth exertions of an almost superhuman nature; had defied famine, disease, suffering and death to build up a Christian and Jesuit Empire by the conversion of the stationary tribes of the lakes, but they had failed disastrously. Through no fault of theirs; they had lived with the self-abnegation of Saints, and died with the confidence and devotion of martyrs; but a very demon of havoc seemed to have been let loose on them; they had seen their incipient churches crushed, their convents slaughtered, the populous communities, on which they had rested their hopes, uprooted and scattered, and the only tribe left intact was the Iroquois, which, like Aaron's serpent, had "swallowed all the rest." They might have attempted the conversion of this powerful race; but they considered them too much under Dutch and English influence to afford a fruitful field for their labors, and they turned their attention to the north and west.

2.—We find them on Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan, laboring as assiduously as ever, actuated by the same motives, the greater glory of God, and the benefit of the order; but we find a slight change in them, inasmuch as they pay more attention to the increasing of the wealth, power and influence of their order, and the improvement of the colony in a pecuniary way. They work as zealously as ever in the service of God, and are frequently fanatical for their own order as well as their own faith, and claiming a monopoly of the conversion of souls, quite content to endure the accompanying hardships; but we also find them

Change in the reports of the Jesuits.

looking more sharply after mundane affairs, and thus their reports instead of being mere records of conversions, baptisms, and matters relating only to the church divine, begin to contain matters of interest to the church militant, and to contain much valuable information on the winds, currents, and tides of the Great Lakes; speculations on the subterranean outlet of Lake Superior; accounts of its copper mines; surmises touching the North Sea; reports of the great river mentioned by the Indians as flowing South, and other matters.

3.—They paid great attention to the search for copper in Lake Superior, and at wonderful pains, and with great hardihood and enterprise, prepared the map of the Lake which appears in the *Relation* of 1671, the correctness of which is truly wonderful. The surveys were made with great care and exactness, but while working at them the Jesuits also kept a sharp look out for copper, and Father Dablon reports that it was found in greatest abundance on Isle Minong, now Isle Royale. He says: "A day's journey from the head of the lake, on the south side, there is a rock of copper weighing from six hundred to eight hundred pounds, lying on the shore where any who pass may see it." He also speaks of great copper boulders in the bed of the Ontonagan.

4.—Father Dablon complains of the averseness of the Indians to give any information about the locality where copper can be found in quantities; and he gives the following Indian tradition as the reason for their superstitious fears with regard to it. They said that copper had first been found on an island near the north shore, but the island did not stay there, it floated about, and no Indian dared to land on it for fear of the Manito who kept watch over it. The story was that four hunters once landed there, and wishing to cook their food heated four stones to throw into the water, when they discovered that what they supposed were stones were lumps of copper. On leaving the island they took these stones with them; but the moment they left the island a voice like thunder sounded in their ears "who are the thieves who steal the toys of my children." It was the God of the waters, or some powerful Manito. Of the four hunters only one lived to reach his village,

The search of the
Jesuits for Copper.

Superstition of the
Indians.

and he died immediately after telling his people, and warning them not to land on the wonderful island.

5.—There were two principal missions on the upper lakes, one at Sault Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior; and the other at La Pointe, near the western extremity of the lake. The permanent residents at Sault Ste. Marie were a band of the Ojibways; but hosts of the Algonquins and other tribes resorted there in the spring and summer, on account of the excellent fishing, the rapids being almost alive with white-fish. These parties usually scattered into the forest in winter in hunting parties. La Pointe was inhabited by remnants of the Hurons, and the Ottawas who had fled from the Iroquois, and was besides frequented by the Illinois, Pottawattamies, Foxes, Menomonies, Sioux, Assiniboins, and other tribes who came to trade, and it was from the Illinois and Sioux that Marquette got his first information of the Mississippi River, of which, and his visit to it, we have already written.

6.—Marquette determined to visit this river, but before he could put his plan into execution the Mission at La Pointe was broken up by the Sioux—whom the Jesuits called "the Iroquois of the west"—making war on the tribes at La Pointe. This frightened the Hurons and Ottawas, and they left the place and descended to Lake Huron, the Hurons stopping at Michillimackinac, and the Ottawas at Great Manitoulin Island. This divided the mission, Father Marquette remaining with the Hurons, with his headquarters at St. Ignace; and Father André beginning a mission for the Ottawas at St. Simon. In the winter Father André made a missionary visit to the Nipissings and other tribes who had ventured back to Lake Huron after their fear of the Iroquois had been removed by their treatment at the hands of the French. André had a rather hard experience, having to live on acorns and a species of lichen for most of the time, and was even so far reduced as to have to eat moss, the bark of trees, and boil his moccasins to furnish him food.

7.—Another mission was founded at Green Bay, in the neighborhood of which several tribes were located. The first attempt to found a mission was made in 1669 by

The Principal Stations on the Upper Lakes.

Division of the Mission at La Pointe.

Visit of the Superior of the Missions.

Father Allouez, but was unsuccessful. In 1670 Father Dablon, superior of the missions on the upper lakes, joined him and they held a council with the tribes at St. François Xavier, as they had called the mission at Green Bay. The Indians received them well, and, wishing to do them honor, a band of naked warriors walked up and down while the discourse was going on, in imitation of the manner in which they had seen the troops on guard in Montreal, which rather excited the risibilities of the priests, and Father Dablon quaintly says: "We could hardly keep from laughing, though we were discoursing on very important subjects; namely, the mysteries of our religion, and the things necessary to escaping from eternal fire."

8.—Dablon was delighted with the country; but quaintly adds: "The way to it is as hard as the path to heaven." On the banks of Fox River the missionaries found an idol, which was a hideously painted rock somewhat resembling a man, and similar to the one found by Dolhir and Galinee at Detroit; this they threw into the river, and continued their way across Lake Winnebago to the town of the Mascoutis and Miamis, which they reached on 15th September, 1670.

9.—The two tribes lived together in one palisaded village, and numbered about three thousand. They received the priests kindly, and were greatly attracted by a picture of the Last Judgment which they had with them. Dablon praises the conduct of the chief of the Miamis greatly, and says he was honored by his subjects like a king, and his demeanor towards them had no savor of the savage in it. He told them of the wonderful river Mississippi; and when they left they left behind them the reputation of being wonderful medicine men.

10.—Allouez visited the Foxes next winter, and was greatly shocked at what he saw. Their lodges contained from five to ten families, and some of the chiefs had as many as eight wives. He gained a hearing, however, and on a succeeding visit made a great impression on them. It happened that a war party was going out, and it occurred to him that he would tell them the story of the Emperor Constantine and the cross. It had

a great effect on them, and they daubed their shields with a rude sign of the cross. The party was successful, and highly extolled the virtues of the cross as a great war medicine. Dablon remarks with regard to this circumstance: "Thus it is that our holy faith is established among these people; and we have good hope that we shall soon carry it to the famous river called the Mississippi, and perhaps even to the South Sea."

11.—The missionary stations were almost all alike, and of course simple and primitive in appearance and construction. There was a chapel, usually of logs, with one or two houses, and in some instances a store-house and workshop. These were surrounded by palisades, and, in fact, formed a stockade, outside of which were the clearings and cultivated fields. Of course the priests could not accomplish all this work by themselves, as they required men accustomed to forest life, hard work, and able to paddle the canoes, fell trees, build huts and cultivate the ground. In the earlier days of the missions there were a number who joined them voluntarily, either from enthusiasm or as penance, and these were known as *donnés*; or "given men;" but these soon grew scarce, and their places were filled by hired men, or *engagés*. These were employed in all the hard manual labor, hunting, fishing, &c.; and it is even charged against them that they traded with the Indians for the benefit of the missions. This charge of trading was made from the first establishment of the missions, and was vehemently reiterated by the enemies of the missionaries, including DeFrontenac, who complains of it in his dispatches. It is not positively denied by the Jesuits, and if they confined themselves solely to supporting the missions with the profits of these trading transactions, there cannot seem to have been any harm done by them.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GOVERNMENT OF DE LA BARRE.

1. RECALL OF DEFRONTENAC AND DUCHESNEAU.
- 2. APPOINTMENT OF M. DE LA BARRE AND M. DEMEULES.—3. A COUNCIL CALLED TO CONSIDER THE STATE OF THE COLONY.—4. A MOCK

ALLIANCE.—5. PREPARING FOR WAR.—6. DE LA BARRE'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT AGAINST THE SENECAS.—7. RECALL OF DE LA BARRE.

1.—The Governorship of DeFrontenac extended over a period of nearly ten years; and the struggle between himself and the Intendant Duchesneau continued very bitter to the end. It might be said to have been a struggle between State and Church, to some extent, for DeFrontenac strongly opposed the interference of the clergy in civic affairs; and Duchesneau favored the Church, so that he had all the Jesuit influence to support him in Paris, and they gradually gained so much that he began to be looked on as the aggrieved party. At last the struggle grew so bitter that the Prime Minister concluded that the wisest course would be to recall both, which was done, partly as a concession to the Governor's friends, and partly because he saw that the prosperity of the Colony must suffer as long as its two chief officers remained at such variance.

2.—The successors of Count DeFrontenac and M. Duchesneau were M. De la Barre, as Governor, and M. DeMeules, as Intendant, in 1682. The period was a critical one for the colony. The close of the war between Holland and England, and the transfer of the Dutch settlements in New York to the latter power, had raised a formidable rival to the French colony for the trade with the Indians. The Indians had already learned that their white brothers would cheat them in trade, if they could, and that the English traders cheated them far less than the French. The Iroquois, who were the first to discover this, and who had a deadly animosity to the French, endeavored to induce the Indians of the North-West and along the St. Lawrence to trade with the English at New York and other trading-posts; thus striking a death blow at the Canada fur trade at its very source. The Iroquois were fast getting over their fear of "Ononthio;" and the murder of one missionary by the Senecas, frequent inroads into the hunting-grounds of tribes friendly to the French, and occasional collisions with French trappers, showed that it would not require much provocation to cause another Indian war.

3.—De la Barre had been instructed by the king

to use every means on his arrival to place the affairs of the colony on a more satisfactory basis than they were at present. For this purpose De la Barre called a council of the principal men of the colony and requested them to report on the condition of the colony, stating the causes which had led to the unsatisfactory position in which it was, and suggesting the best means for restoring it to prosperity. The report of the council attributed the unprosperous condition of the colony to the crafty and selfish policy of the Iroquois; and suggested as the best means of restoring prosperity, a campaign against them. The council, however, acknowledged that to insure a successful campaign it would need more troops and men than the colony had, and involve a greater expense than the colony could bear. They recommended the building of vessels to navigate Lake Ontario, and the erection of additional forts and magazines.

4.—De la Barre fully endorsed the report and forwarded it to France; but it did not meet with the response he had expected.

Louis appears not to have been thoroughly aware of the critical condition of his colony of New France; and thought that a temporary alliance between the French and English colonies in America would serve to keep the Indians in check. He therefore obtained an order from Charles II. of England, to Governor Dongan, of New York, to maintain a good understanding with De la Barre, and the matter was left pretty much to the two governors to settle. Dongan was very profuse in his professions of good intentions towards the French colony; but he never had any intention of allowing the western trade, which was now growing very important to New York, to be diverted into its old channel to Quebec. He therefore contented himself with corresponding with De la Barre, and so confident did the Iroquois feel that they need not fear anything from the governor of New York, that they there seized a number of Canadian traders, took away goods, and attacked the French trading-post on the Illinois river, while negotiations were pending between the two governors.

5. The Iroquois were not content with these overt acts of hostility; but secretly prepared for war, and sent deputies to the Virginia tribes to secure peace with

A Council called to consider the state of the Colony.

Recall of DeFrontenac and Duchesneau.

Appointment of M. De la Barre and M. DeMeules.

A mock alliance.

Preparing for war.

them in the event of a war with the French. De la Barre knowing this, determined that it would be best for him to take the initiative, and at once carry the war into the enemy's country by striking a blow at the Senecas. He also endeavored to make terms with the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas to induce them to remain neutral; but they refused to do more than to consent to mediate between the French and the Senecas, and openly stated that if the latter declared for war they would join them, in which case they were assured of support from the English at New York.

6.—De la Barre now determined on taking the initiative in active operations, and gathered as large a force as possible at Montreal, with the intention of going to Niagara, and from that post penetrating the Seneca country. From the French trading-posts in the North-West he was able to gain some assistance, and mustered nearly 500 warriors of tribes in that section, friendly to the French, to assist him. On the 21st July, 1684, he left Montreal, at the head of an army composed of 130 regular troops, 700 militia and 200 Indians, *en route* for Niagara. He reached Fort Frontenac (Cataraqui), but his troops were suffering so much from want of provisions, and had been so decimated by sickness, that he was glad to conclude a peace with the delegates of the Cayuga, Oneida, and Onondaga Iroquois, who, amongst other humiliating conditions, required that he should leave the fort on the following day. De la Barre saw that there was nothing for him but compliance, he therefore returned to Montreal at once, leaving his Indian allies from the North-West to get home the best way they could,—an act which did not particularly please them, or increase their friendly feeling towards the French.

7.—Louis had formed a very different idea of the result of a war with the Iroquois from what was the actual result of De la Barre's unsuccessful expedition. This was probably based on two false premises; firstly, the support of the English governor at New York, which was not given; and secondly, the very common, but very foolish mistake of undervaluing the power of one's enemies. When De la Barre arrived at Quebec after concluding his disgraceful peace with the Iroquois, he found a reinforcement of 300 men sent out by Louis, who was

De la Barre's unsuccessful attempt against the Senecas.

Recall of De la Barre.

under the impression that De la Barre was conducting a successful war, with instructions to either exterminate the Iroquois or render them powerless to inflict harm on the colony in the future. To assist this latter view the king mercifully suggested that as the Iroquois were stout and robust, they could be made very useful on his galleys; and De la Barre was therefore instructed to take as many of them as possible prisoners and send them to France for that purpose. De la Barre was very much embarrassed by this order, as instead of catching any Iroquois, the Iroquois had very nearly caught him, and his report of his failure was a great disappointment and source of displeasure to the king. The report of M. DeMeules, the Intendant, was also very unfavorable to De la Barre, and the latter was immediately declared unfit for his post and recalled.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DEDENONVILLE.

1. APPOINTMENT OF THE MARQUIS DEDENONVILLE.—2. HIS MEASURES AGAINST THE INDIANS.—3. THE STRENGTH OF THE IROQUOIS.—4. PROTEST OF GOVERNOR DONGAN, OF NEW YORK.—5. DONGAN'S TREATY WITH THE IROQUOIS.—6. SEIZURE OF ENGLISH TRADING-POSTS.—7. TREACHERY OF DEDENONVILLE.—8. GENEROUS CONDUCT OF THE INDIANS IN RETALIATION.—9. DEDENONVILLE ADVANCES AGAINST THE IROQUOIS.—10. SUCCESS OF DEDENONVILLE'S EXPEDITION.—11. RETALIATION OF THE SENECA.—12. GOVERNOR DONGAN REMONSTRATES.—13. INROAD OF THE MOHAWKS.—14. EFFORTS FOR PEACE.—15. THE FRENCH AGREE TO TERMS OF PEACE.—16. OPPOSITION TO THE PEACE BY THE INDIAN ALLIES OF THE FRENCH.—17. THE PEACE-KILLER.—18. THE MASSACRE AT LACHINE.—19. ABANDONMENT OF FORT FRONTENAC.—20. RECALL OF DEDENONVILLE.

1.—THE king determined to send an active officer to succeed De la Barre, and appointed the

Appointment of the Marquis DeDenonville.

Marquis D Denonville, a well-tried officer of distinction; and at the same time the veteran soldier DeCalliers, Captain of the regiment of Navarre, was appointed to the government of Montreal. The command of the latter was described as extending to Lake St. Peter, and he soon endeared himself to the colonists by his able and judicious administration of the affairs entrusted to him. DeDenonville was accompanied by a reinforcement of troops; and although his voyage had been both long and boisterous, on his arrival in Quebec, in 1685, he allowed neither himself nor his men much time for repose, but pushed forward at once for Fort Frontenac to ascertain the true state of affairs. He applied himself very zealously to gaining a true understanding of the difficulties between the French and Iroquois, and sent a very full and lucid report of the condition of affairs to France.

2.—He held that it would be most conducive to the prosperity of the Colony to maintain peaceable relations with the Iroquois; but thought that their conduct had of late grown so insolent that an immediate war was unavoidable. He stated that it would be necessary for the successful prosecution of the war that Fort Frontenac should be greatly strengthened; also that a new and large fort should be built at Niagara, and garrisoned by 500 men. This would give the French complete command of Lake Ontario, keep the Senecas in check, and prevent the French and Indian trappers of the North-West from trading with the Indians. The great objection to the scheme would be the expense of maintaining the post. He proposed to rent it, a plan which at once met with the hearty co-operation of the merchants of Quebec, who offered to pay a rental of 30,000 livres a year and supply the fort with provisions for nine years.

3.—To carry out his plans Denonville required large reinforcements from France. He made such extensive preparations that one would naturally suppose he was about to attack a very numerous tribe of savages. But he was not about to attack a numerous people, for the Iroquois nations scarcely contained 7,000 souls; but the Iroquois can scarcely be fairly classed as savages. They

The strength of the Iroquois.

were men of finer physique, greater intelligence, and more indomitable pluck than the peasantry of Europe, and they had a far greater natural love of country, for the European patriotism of those days mainly consisted of the love of conquering other nations, while the Iroquois' love of country was the patriotic devotion of defending their own soil from the polluting step of the invader. The whole fighting force of the Iroquois scarcely exceeded 2,000 men, divided as follow: Seneca 1,200, Onondaga 300, Mohawk 200, Cayuga 200, Oneida 150; but they were infinitely superior to the French in their thorough knowledge of the country, and far more practised in desultory warfare; besides which, although they could not move with the military precision of regular troops, nor perform the evolutions which, by making union strength, rendered them formidable, the Iroquois were far better marksmen, having greatly improved their brief acquaintance with the rifle, and could endure much more cold and fatigue than their enemies.

4.—Louis approved of the proposed plans of DeDenonville, and the year 1686 saw him busy with his preparations. Troops were received from France, provisions in large quantities forwarded to Fort Frontenac, and preparations made for building the fort at Niagara. All this did not take place without the cognizance of Governor Dongan, the English Governor at New York, and he saw that if the French were successful against the Iroquois it would wrest from New York and Albany the great advantage in the fur trade which freedom from monopoly had already given them, and seriously affect the trade of the English colony generally. He therefore protested to Governor De la Barre against any attack on the Iroquois, whom he claimed as British subjects; and stated that the large collection of stores at Fort Frontenac, and other preparations, led him to fear that a war on the Five Nations was intended. De la Barre replied by refusing to acknowledge the claim of England to the sovereignty of the Iroquois, claiming that the French had taken possession of the soil long before the English; but, at the same time, disclaiming any intention of making war on the Iroquois, and stating that the collection of supplies at Fort Frontenac was only intended as a supply for the garrison.

Protest of Governor Dongan of New York.

5.—So flimsy an explanation was not at all likely to mislead the English governor, and he very clearly saw through the ambitious designs of the French to monopolize the fur trade; and he proceeded to frustrate that design, although he had to be very cautious on account of the instructions he had lately received from his government to preserve a good understanding with the French. Dongan held a council of the principal chiefs of the Five Nations at New York, and proposed a closer alliance with them. The terms that he proposed were, that the Iroquois were to cease all intercourse with the French; to make a peace with the Hurons and other North-West tribes with whom they were at variance, and to induce them to give all their trade to the British; to compel the Jesuits to withdraw, and to receive the missionaries he would send; to recall the Christian Indians of their tribe who had settled at Caughnawaga, and to assist him in establishing a post at Mackinaw. In consideration of these concessions Dongan offered that should the French attack the Iroquois he would assist them. The chiefs were too politic to agree to all of Dongan's demands, for they did not desire to break entirely with the French, but they thoroughly satisfied him that they would comply with the greater number of his demands, and so a mutual understanding was arrived at between them.

6.—DeDenonville promptly received information of this compact between the British and the Iroquois, through the Jesuit missionary to the Onondagas, Father Lamberville, who learned of it on the return of the chiefs from the council at New York, and who immediately informed DeDenonville, an act which very nearly cost him his life afterwards. DeDenonville was greatly incensed at the action of Dongan, and determined to continue his preparations more actively than ever, so as to show that the threat of British support could not deter him. As a sort of act of reprisal he caused the seizure, in the spring of 1682, of all the English trading-posts at Hudson's Bay, except Port Nelson, which was in direct violation of the treaty shortly before entered into between England and France, one clause of which read to the effect that whatever might occur between the mother countries, the American Colonies should always re-

Dongan's treaty with the Iroquois.

Seizure of English trading-posts.

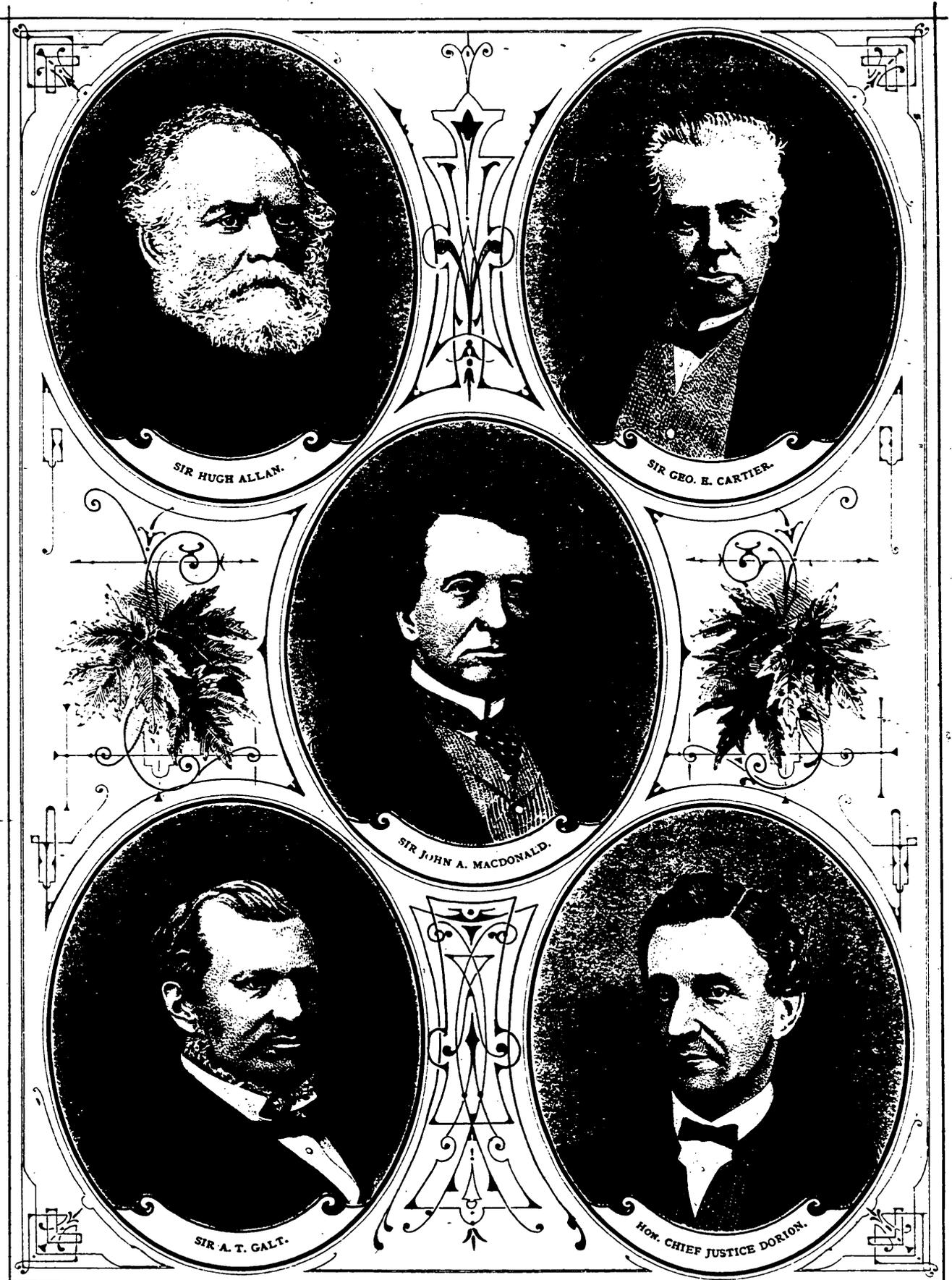
main at peace. These factories were recovered by the British some seven years afterwards, and changed hands several times before the final cession of Canada to England by the French.

7.—DeDenonville having received large reinforcements from France, and completed his arrangements for the campaign, proceeded to Fort Frontenac, where he met a deputation of about fifty chiefs from the Oneidas and Onondagas, who had been persuaded by the Jesuit missionaries of their tribe to meet him. Here DeDenonville was guilty of a most cowardly and treacherous act, which throws a more unpleasant light on his character than anything else he did during his administration. When the chiefs arrived he kept them for some days in suspense as to the nature of his proposed negotiations, then suddenly had them seized, handcuffed and sent to Quebec to be forwarded to France to work in the galleys. This was a novel way of obeying the king's orders, which were to capture all the prisoners he could, in war, and send them to France to work in the galleys. But DeDenonville had not been able to capture any prisoners in war, and so he preferred to meanly and treacherously entice the chiefs into his power under a pretence of peace, and then capture them. This action of DeDenonville was strongly opposed by M. DeCalliers and the Marquis DeVaudreuil, who had arrived with the last reinforcement from France; but DeDenonville was obstinate and had his own way.

8.—The conduct of the Indians to the missionaries through whom DeDenonville had received the information which had excited him to this act of treachery, and through whom the conference had been arranged, was in marked contrast with that of the so-called "civilized" governor. Their rage was very great on learning the treachery of DeDenonville, and the Oneidas seized the missionary and ordered him to be tortured and burnt, thinking that he had purposely betrayed the chiefs into the power of the French governor. He was, however, saved by one of the Christian women of the tribe adopting him as her son. Lamberville, the missionary of the Onondagas, also very narrowly escaped death, but was saved by the generous conduct of the chiefs, who had a far finer sense of honor and justice than DeDenonville, as shown by the speech

Treachery of DeDenonville.

Generous conduct of the Indians in retaliation.



SIR HUGH ALLAN.

SIR GEO. E. CARTIER.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

SIR A. T. GALT.

HON. CHIEF JUSTICE DORION.



of one of their orators. When the news that DeDenonville had treacherously seized their deputies and sent them in chains to France reached the Onondagas they called a council of war, and Lamberville was summoned before them. He had heard what had occurred, and expected nothing but torture and death, although he felt innocent of any intent to entrap the delegates DeDenonville had seized. He was mistaken, however, for the red man had more true nobility, and a greater sense of justice about him, than his white brother. One of the chiefs addressing Lamberville said: "There can be no question that we are now in every respect authorized to treat thee as an enemy; but we cannot resolve to do so. We know thee too well not to be persuaded that thy heart had no share in this treason, of which thou hast, in some degree, been the cause; and are not so unjust as to punish thee for a crime of which we believe thee innocent." They then ordered him to depart immediately; and, fearful that some of their hand might do him injury when they could not protect him, gave him an escort of tried men to guide him by unfrequented paths to a place of safety.

9.—DeDenonville having now collected a force of 2,000 regulars and militia, and 600 Indian allies, DeDenonville advances against the Iroquois. determined to advance against the Iroquois. He started from Fort Frontenac, crossing the lake in a flotilla of boats and canoes, and landed at the Genesee River, where he formed a temporary fort, left his provisions and 400 men to protect them. He then had fifteen days' provisions served out to the remainder of his men, and on the 12th July marched towards the first village of the Senecas. He was not molested the first day, but on the second day was caught in an ambush, and would have been almost totally destroyed had it not been for the loyalty and bravery of his Indian allies, especially the Iroquois Christians, by whose valor the French overcame their enemies. Some of the North-West Indians from Mackinaw were not content with killing and scalping their enemies, but ate some of them also.

10.—The Senecas being foiled in their attempt to destroy the French,—thanks to the Indian allies Success of Denonville's Expedition. of the latter,—attempted no further resistance to the advance of the French, and, after having destroyed

their villages, retreated to the forests. DeDenonville now thought to follow the policy of DeCourcelles a few years previous, and destroyed the large crops of corn which he found growing, and also killed a number of pigs belonging to the Senecas. Having accomplished his task as far as possible, he returned to Quebec, leaving a garrison of 100 men at Fort Niagara, which he had strengthened and provisioned.

11.—The Indians, however, were not slow at revenging the injury done them by the French. Scarcely had DeDenonville returned to Quebec before the Senecas. Retaliation of the Senecas. maddened with their loss, and thirsting for revenge, encompassed Fort Niagara, and after a close blockade of some months reduced the garrison by famine and captured the fort. Out of the hundred men left by DeDenonville only ten survived, the remainder being carried off by famine, disease, or the bullets of the Indians.

12.—Governor Dongan, of New York, was not slow to take advantage of the action of DeDenonville, and an angry correspondence Governor Dongan remonstrates. took place between the two governors. Dongan saw very clearly that the idea of the French was to gain absolute control of the whole country, and if the English colonies wished to exist they would have to fight for it; he therefore encouraged the Iroquois all he could, gave them arms and provisions, and incited them to revenge. At the same time he wrote to DeDenonville assuring him that the Five Nations would never make peace with the French except on the conditions that the deputies entrapped and sent to the galleys in France should be returned; the forts at Niagara and Frontenac demolished; the Senecas reimbursed for the damage inflicted on them by the French; and the Iroquois proselytes at Caughnawaga returned to their tribe.

13.—DeDenonville had intended to make a second inroad in the summer; but a pestilence swept over Canada which so weakened Inroad of the Mohawks. his forces that he was compelled to remain inactive. Not so, however, the Iroquois. In November the Mohawks appeared in the neighborhood of Fort Chambly, and although they did not capture the fort they burned all the farm houses, and either killed or carried into captivity all the inmates. This inroad was charged by the French to have been instigated by

Dongan, and he hastily fortified Albany, and concentrated a body of Indians there, fearing reprisal.

14.—The ill-feeling of the Five Nations against the French rather increased towards the spring of 1688, but still they determined on peace, if the French would agree to the terms proposed by Governor Dongan. They backed up this pacific offer by most hostile demonstrations, and over 1,000 warriors established themselves at Lake St. Francis, within two days' march of Montreal, while their delegates conferred with DeDenonville at that place.

15.—Nor were the Iroquois content with the hostile demonstration at Lake St. Francis; about 500 warriors appeared in the neighborhood of Fort Frontenac, sacked and burned the farm-houses, killed or made captive the inmates, and blockaded the garrison in their fort. DeDenonville finding he could not withstand the storm which his own treachery in seizing the delegates and sending them to France had raised, was forced to agree to the humiliating terms of peace proposed by the Iroquois, which included the return of the deputies. The peace was to be ratified by delegates from all the Iroquois tribes, and was to include all the Indian allies of the French. A cessation of hostilities at once took place; and the Iroquois left five hostages in Montreal as a pledge of their good faith; it being also agreed that any hostile skirmishes that might occur while negotiations were pending, should make no difference in the ultimate completion of the treaty.

16.—But DeDenonville had new and powerful enemies to contend with before a peace could be concluded, and these were his own Indian allies, chiefly the Abenakis, who inhabited what is now the State of Maine, and the Hurons, who had entered upon the war on the express understanding that the Iroquois were to be exterminated. The Abenakis made an inroad along the river Richelieu, surprised a body of Iroquois and their allies, the Mohicans, and committed some outrages on the settlers.

17.—But the most determined foe to a peace was Kondiarak, the chief of the Hurons, known as "The Rat," or "The Machiavel of the Wilderness." He deeply felt

the injustice of the conduct of DeDenonville in attempting to conclude a peace after engaging his nation in war, for he felt that the vengeance of the Iroquois would be visited on his tribe; but he was crafty and cunning and sought by artifice to destroy the peace which was still in negotiation. For this purpose he waylaid the delegates of the Iroquois on their way to Montreal to conclude the peace, and killed or captured all of them. When the prisoners were brought before him and stated that they were delegates to conclude a peace with the French, he expressed great surprise, and stated that he had been instructed by DeDenonville himself to waylay them. He showed deep regret at the part he had been induced to play in the transaction, and released his prisoners, giving them arms and ammunition, and advising them to return to their people and say how the French governor had broken faith with them. He, however, kept one delegate in the place of a Huron chief who had been killed by one of the deputies. He took this chief to Michillimackinac and gave him up to M. Durantage, the French officer in charge of the post, who not having been informed of a truce previously completed, had him killed as a spy. Kondiarak then released an aged Iroquois who had long been a captive of his tribe, and let him return to his own people to tell them of the perfidy of the French. These acts, of course, greatly enraged the Iroquois against the French, and effectually killed the peace.

18.—DeDenonville, as soon as he heard of the treatment the Iroquois delegates had received, disclaimed all knowledge of it, and offered to renew negotiations, promising to hang the Huron chief as soon as he could catch him; but the Iroquois were too deeply offended, and, urged on by Governor Dongan, determined on a terrible revenge. On the night of the 5th of August, 1689, amid a storm of hail and rain, fourteen hundred warriors of the Iroquois confederacy crossed Lake St. Louis. They landed without being seen or heard, at Lachine, the upper limit of the island of Montreal. Favored by the elements and by the darkness, they moved rapidly and noiselessly to the points which had been marked out beforehand; and ere the sun rose next morning, they had surrounded in platoons every dwelling within a circle of several leagues. At a signal from their chief the

Efforts at peace.

The French agree to terms of peace.

Opposition to the peace by the Indian allies of the French.

The Peace-Killer.

The massacre at Lachine.

Iroquois commenced their work of death. Breaking in through doors and windows the savages dragged the sleepers from their beds, and massacred them indiscriminately, old and young, men, women and children. Where the tomahawk could not cleave through the torch was applied, and the inmates, rushing out of their burning houses, were butchered on their own thresholds. The fury of the Iroquois was demoniac. Not content with the hideous license of an unsparing and unrestricted slaughter, they piled mental torture upon physical suffering and forced parents to fling their own offspring into the flames. Up to within a short distance of the city of Montreal, the country was lighted by fire and reeked with blood. Everything that could yield to the tomahawk or to the flames was swooped within the red radius of destruction. Two hundred human beings were burned alive; numbers were put to death, after having been subjected to every torture which diabolical ingenuity could devise; and many were reserved for the torments of the fagot and the stake, in the land of the Iroquois. The enemy finally retreated laden with spoils and having only lost three men.

19.—This terrible swoop of the Iroquois, the most disastrous the colony had ever experienced, filled the colonists with terror and alarm, and so frightened the garrison at Fort Frontenac that they deserted the post without waiting for the approach of the Iroquois, and fled in such haste that many of them were drowned in attempting to shoot the rapids without taking proper precautions.

20.—This virtually closed the government of DeDenonville, for the king, who had looked for the complete subjugation of the Iroquois, and the manning of his galleys with their captive chiefs, was so annoyed at DeDenonville's want of success that he recalled him, and the Count DeFrontenac was appointed in his place. Commencing with an act of perfidy, DeDenonville's government closed in disgrace and most overwhelming misfortune, without any bright or brilliant achievement to lighten its gloom.

Abandonment of
Fort Frontenac.

Recall of DeDenon-
ville.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES.

1. THE EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS.—2. WHY THE ENGLISH WERE SLOW AT COLONIZATION.—3. GRANT TO SIR THOMAS GATES BY JAMES I.—4. THE POWER OF THE COMPANIES UNDER THEIR PATENTS.—5. THE FIRST COLONISTS.—6. SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN.—7. CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.—8. SLOW PROGRESS OF THE COLONY.—9. NEW CHARTER TO THE LONDON COMPANY.—10. FIVE HUNDRED MORE EMIGRANTS SENT OUT.—11. FLOURISHING CONDITION OF THE COLONY UNDER SMITH.—12. RAPID DECLINE OF THE COLONY ON SMITH'S DEPARTURE.—13. GOVERNMENT OF LORD DELAWARE.—14. GOVERNMENT OF SIR THOS. DALE.—15. IMPORTANT CHANGE IN THE TENURE OF LAND.—16. RAID INTO ACADIA AND NEW YORK BY THE COLONISTS.—17. TYRANNY OF ARGALL AND ITS GOOD RESULTS.—18. FEMALE EMIGRANTS.—19. FIRST CONVICTS SENT OUT TO VIRGINIA.—20. SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.

1.—As our narrative now approaches a recital of the life-or-death struggle between the English and French colonies for supremacy on this continent, it will be well for us to pause and glance at the rise and progress of the small seaboard settlements of the English which were now coming into more prominent notice. After the abortive attempt at colonization in the regions of the continent near New France, the English, as a nation, ceased to attempt to increase their empire in America. Their fishing and whaling fleets frequented the seas, along with those of other nations, but they made little or no effort to establish colonies.

2.—The chief reason why France was left almost alone in her efforts to establish a great empire on this continent, and why so little effort was made by the English was, that the early part of the seventeenth century was too much occupied with civil and religious dissensions, ending in civil war, to allow the English much time to think of extending their empire in foreign climes. They needed all their men and money at home. And yet these very civil and religious difficulties were eventu-

The early English
settlements.

Why the English
were slow at coloni-
zation.

ally the means of causing a large emigration from England, which rapidly built up the English colonies in America and made them formidable rivals to the French settlement. The royalists left England under the Commonwealth to find that civil and religious liberty they could not find at home, and built up the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. The Puritans, on the other hand, emigrated after the restoration of Charles II., and founded what are known as the New England States.

3.—On the 10th April, 1606, King James I., of Great Britain and Ireland, granted letters-patent to Sir Thomas Gates and others, Grant to Sir Thomas Gates by James I. granting them all the territory on the North American continent between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude, with all islands within 100 miles of the shore. At the request of the patentees they were divided into two companies, known as the London Company and the Bristol Company. The London Company was located between the 34th and 38th degrees of North latitude, and the Bristol Company between the 41st and 45th degrees, the mid space from the 38th to the 41st degrees being held in common.

4.—The patents gave these companies the right to send out as many British-born subjects as they The power of the Companies under their patents. chose, who, with their descendants, should always enjoy the same rights as British subjects. The lands of the "plantations," as they were called, were to be held of the Crown; and were subject to a royalty of one-fifth of the gold, silver, or copper mined in them, the right of coining these metals for the use of colonists being, however, given to the companies. The administration of the affairs of the future colonies was vested in a Local Council, the members of which were, or might be, nominated by the king; but the whole supervision of the affairs of the plantations was vested in a Board of Management resident in London. This Board was, in effect, almost a department of the general government, as its members were originally nominated by the Crown, and they suggested to the government the names of colonists to appoint to the Local Councils. This did not leave any of the representative liberty of which both England and what were then her incipient colonies, are so proud to-day. In religion there was no more freedom, for the Anglican Church was alone recognized,

and was alone entitled to endowments. The laws, civil and criminal, were generally those of England.

5.—The first shipment of colonists made by the company left England on 19th Dec., 1606, in three small vessels, the largest of which was not 100 tons. The first colonists. The colonists only numbered 105, and were about as bad a lot as could well have been got together for the purpose of founding a new colony, as they were nearly all adventurers, and not at all suited for the hardships and privations incident on building up a new colony.

6.—The expedition was unsuccessful from the start, being 145 days on the voyage. And it was not until the 13th May, 1607, that they landed on the banks of the Settlement of Jamestown. river Powhattan, which they re-christened James River, in honor of the English monarch. They selected a site for a settlement about fifty miles from the seaboard, and erected a few huts and a stockade to serve as a fort, and named the place Jamestown. This fort was intended as a protection against the natives; but they were inclined to be friendly and would have remained so, had they been well treated by the colonists.

7.—The expedition soon began to fare badly, and would have been utterly lost had it not been for one of the patentees, a man of humble birth named John Smith, who Captain John Smith. was at first excluded from the council, but who was afterwards forced by circumstances to take command. The provisions brought out from England were soon exhausted, or spoiled from want of care, and the colonists were too helpless and shiftless to provide themselves with more. During the summer nearly all the party were taken ill, and before winter had set in more than half had died. In this strait Captain John Smith, who had shown himself the only capable man in the expedition, was put at the head of affairs, and set out at the head of a party of exploration. The colonists had, however, ill-treated the Indians during their short stay, and the latter set on Smith's party and killed all but the leader, who was saved at the intercession of the daughter of the chief, a little girl twelve years of age, called Pocahontas. Smith was allowed to return to Jamestown, where he found that the number of the colonists had been reduced to about

forty, and they were then preparing to set out in the pinnacle. Smith dissuaded them from this, although at the risk of his life.

8.—Shortly afterwards the company sent out another lot of 100 colonists, but they were of quite as poor material as the first lot, being nearly all gentlemen adventurers and goldsmiths, the cause of the coming of the latter being the discovery of some shining earth in the James River, which the ignorant colonists mistook for gold. During the season of 1608-9 about seventy more colonists arrived, including two females, the first in the colony, and who may, therefore, be called the very first of the "First Families" of Virginia. At this time there was not a child in the colony. Smith was greatly annoyed at the want of judgment in the company in the quality of the immigrants sent out, and said he would rather have "thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers of roots," than a thousand men such as had been sent him. He did not despair, however, but made the best use he could of his bad material, setting them to cultivate the soil; but although a good stock of implements had been sent out, the men did not know how to use them, and they had to rely almost entirely on the natives for supplies, Smith taking good care to keep on good terms with them. The colony now numbered 200 and the people were strong and in good health.

9.—The London Company was greatly disappointed at not finding the gold which the first settlers had reported to be in the James River; but they still determined to persevere, and on 23d May, 1609, obtained a new charter, which gave them increased power, enlarged their territory, and added a number of nobles, merchants, tradesmen, &c., to the proprietary, thus strengthening the company. The liberties of the colonists were, however, still further infringed, for the Local Council was abolished, and the absolute control vested in a Board of Directors, resident in London. This Board appointed Lord Delaware Governor and Captain-General for life, and made provision for his having a body-guard. The company was now known as "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the city of London, for the first colony in Virginia."

Slow progress of the colony.

10.—The company under its new auspices became popular, and 500 willing emigrants were soon found who were sent out in nine ships, under command of Sir Thomas Gates, Captain Newton and Sir George Somers. This expedition was also unfortunate. These gentlemen were to act as a triumvirate until Lord Delaware arrived; but the vessel in which they were, and which carried the greater part of the stores for the colony, was wrecked in the Bermuda Islands; and the other vessels which reached the colony did not much improve it by the colonists they brought, who were, for the most part, quite as unsuited for colonial life as those who had preceded them. A contemporary writer says of them, that they were mostly "unruly sparks, packed off by their friends, to escape worse destinies at home."

500 more emigrants sent out.

11.—The new governors not having arrived, and the cause of their absence not being known, some of the new arrivals strove to form a government of their own, and ignored Smith; he, however, seized the ringleaders and imprisoned them, and sent about 200 of the "sparks" and other useless members of the community into the woods to found settlements for themselves if they could. The colony now began to thrive for a while; but the 200 who had been sent into the wilderness had so imitated the natives that Smith was forced to go to their assistance, and on one of these expeditions he was so seriously hurt that he was obliged to go to England to receive medical advice and assistance. He left the colony in a prosperous condition. There were about 500 residents, 100 of whom were soldiers; they had three ships, seven boats, twenty-four cannon, plenty of small arms and ammunition, a good supply of live stock, fishing and farming implements, and a lot of goods suitable for trade with the Indians.

Flourishing condition of the Colony under Smith.

12.—The colony without Smith was, however, like an arch without the key-stone, and immediately fell to pieces. Everybody wanted to be master, the stores were wasted, no provision for the future was made, and soon a season of privation set in which was for long afterwards known in the history of the colony as "the starving time." In six months after Smith's departure the 500 colonists he left had been reduced by disease, famine

Rapid decline of the Colony on Smith's departure.

and other causes to 60, and these would, undoubtedly have soon perished but for the opportune arrival, on the 24th May, 1610, of Gates, Somers and Newport, who had been rescued from Bermuda.

13.—Simultaneously with the arrival of Gates, Newton and Somers, came Lord Delaware, bringing ample supplies and a large body of emigrants. Lord Delaware proved an able administrator, and under his wise government the colony began to reassume the prosperous appearance in which John Smith had left it. He induced the Europeans to apply themselves to agriculture, and the useful and industrial arts; and by his honest and upright dealings with the Indians forced them to respect the English character.

14.—It was unfortunate for the colony that ill-health prevented Lord Delaware from remaining more than a few months, when he was forced to seek a warmer climate, leaving a Mr. Percy in charge of the government. His administration did not prove a successful one, and the colony fell into such a state of anarchy and disorder, that, on the arrival of Sir Thomas Dale, the new Governor, on 10th May, 1611, he was compelled to put the people under martial law to save the colony from utter ruin. Three months afterwards Sir Thomas Gates arrived to supersede Dale. He had a fleet of six ships and brought out 300 emigrants with a large supply of stores.

15.—Under Sir Thomas Gates' administration, a very great and salutary change was made in the tenure of land, which had hitherto been held in common, for the common good. Captain John Smith and his successors had held that all land should be cleared for cultivation and worked in common, each man doing six hours' work a day, and all the produce was to be turned into a common stock out of which all were to live. This plan had not worked well, and had been the principal cause of the disasters of the colony, for the idle "sparks" and others would not work, and the few who were willing to do so had to support the idlers and loafers, two classes which very rapidly increased. Gates changed this, and allotted to each man a few acres of ground, which he was to use to the best advantage to support himself, and he was, also, to give a small percentage to be laid up in

the public stores for general use in case of great need. The good effect of this system soon began to be felt, and the colony was soon able to depend on its own productions for food.

16.—In the year 1613, the "Company of Adventurers of the city of London, for the first colony in Virginia," made a practical attempt to assert the rights granted them under their charter of the whole American coasts, by causing a raid to be made by the Virginia colonists, under command of Captain Argall, into the French settlement of Acadia, and also on the Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam (now New York), where the Governor was compelled to acknowledge the English king and promise to pay tribute. But as soon as he got over his scare he refused to pay, and no further attempt was made to sustain the claim of the company to the whole seaboard. The cultivation of tobacco was first commenced in Virginia under the government of Sir Thomas Gates in 1613.

17.—Sir Thomas Dale was appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Gates in 1614, and he was succeeded by Mr. George Yeardley in 1616, who only served one year, when Argall was appointed Governor.

Argall was extremely despotic, and rode roughshod over the rights of the colonists. He was, however, a brave soldier and a firm, if tyrannical administrator. Among his despotic orders was one that every person should go to church—the Established Church of England—every Sunday, under a penalty of imprisonment for one week for the first offence, one month for the second, and one year for the third. Argall's tyranny drew forth strong complaints from the colonists to the company, and Argall was recalled, and Mr. George Yeardley was re-appointed governor, with instructions to look into the alleged grievances. This inquiry resulted in the first establishment of anything like representative government in the British colonies, the power of the Governor being restricted by the appointment of a council to restrain him; and the people being authorized to send deputies to a free Legislative Assembly, which met at Jamestown on 19th June, 1619.

18.—Up to this period the emigrants had been almost entirely males; but now the company began to send out women for wives to the colonists, somewhat in the

Government of Lord Delaware.

Government of Sir Thomas Dale.

Important change in the tenure of land.

Raid into Acadia and New York by the colonists.

Tyranny of Argall and its good results.

Female emigrants.

fashion that the French king afterwards sent wives to his colonists in New France. In 1620 the first lot of ninety women and girls were sent out to Virginia and sixty more were sent the following year. Some chroniclers say that many of these women were sold for their weight in tobacco, varying from one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds; but this is apocryphal, and as tobacco was not yet grown in sufficient quantities to be used as an article of barter,—although it was so used later on in the colony,—there is not much ground for believing that “the mothers of Virginia” were originally valued at no more than their own weight in tobacco.

19.—About this time England began to impose her convict classes on her American colonies; and the first lot of 100 were landed in Virginia in 1621. These men were but the forerunners of many thousands who were afterwards sent to the American plantations. The first lot prospered well; removed from temptation, and obliged to either work honestly or starve, they, for the most part, preferred the former, and after the expiration of their terms many of them settled as respectable free colonists.

20.—We shall now leave the “Old Dominion,” as Virginia is called out of respect to its antiquity, and glance for a moment at the settlement of Maryland, which was, in fact, but an outgrowth of Virginia, as the second charter of the London Company included all the territory now known as Maryland. This territory was founded by Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, who left England with a number of his co-religionists to escape the persecution which was then going on against the Roman Catholics, and was called Maryland out of honor to Henrietta-Maria, Queen Consort of Charles I. The charter, granted in 1633, vested the seigniorship of the country in Lord Baltimore, holding of the British Crown, on feudal payment of a nominal rental, and a royalty of one-fifth of all the precious metals found; and Leonard Calvert, a brother of Lord Baltimore, with about 200 Roman Catholics, sailed for the new country in November, 1633. Speaking of Lord Baltimore, Bancroft, the great American historian, says: “Calvert deserves to be ranked amongst the most wise and benevolent lawgivers

of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions, with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization, by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of papists was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of state policy.”

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES.

(Continued.)

1. FIRST SETTLEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND.—2. CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S SURVEY OF NEW ENGLAND.—3. ARRIVAL OF THE PURITANS.—4. PRIMITIVE LEGISLATION.—5. SETTLEMENT OF BOSTON.—6. INCREASED EMIGRATION AND NEW SETTLEMENTS.—7. SETTLEMENT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.—8. ATTEMPT TO STOP IMMIGRATION.—9. CONFEDERATION OF THE PROVINCES.—10. PERSECUTIONS BY THE PURITANS.—11. PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS.—12. EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—13. THE THREE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE COLONIES.

1.—The first steps towards effecting a settlement in the States known as “New England” were taken about the same time as the settlements in Virginia. The first ^{First settlement of New England.} body of emigrants landed at the mouth of the Kennebec River, and founded a settlement which was called St. George, in honor of the leader of the expedition, Sir George Popham. The two ships which brought out the emigrants returned to England in December, leaving forty-five persons; but they suffered so much from cold and want of provisions during the winter that they abandoned the place in the spring, the leader of the expedition, Sir George Popham, having died in the meanwhile.

2.—In the year 1614, Captain John Smith, who

had made himself famous by his conduct in settling the colony of Virginia, explored the region from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and gave the new territory the name of "New England." A charter was obtained for settling the country Smith had surveyed; but as the grant covered an area which included more than half of what is now the United States, and the whole of Canada, its very extent made it too unwieldy to be used to any advantage, and it became a dead letter in the hands of the patentees.

3.—The two first attempts at settlements in New England were failures; and the settling of that colony was due to a class of dissenters from the English Protestant Church. This sect had arisen during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.; and to them was due mainly the establishment of the Commonwealth in England, and the beheading of Charles I. The branch of the Puritans which emigrated to New England were called "Brownists," from their pastor in Leyden, Holland, where they had gone to escape the persecution of the Church of England. After some difficulty these exiles obtained from the London Virginian Company an assignment of land within the limits of that company; and two vessels, the *Mayflower* and *Speedwell*, were chartered to convey the colonists to their new home. Both vessels were small, the former being only one hundred and eighty tons, and the latter but sixty. The accommodation was so scanty that all the "Pilgrims," as they called themselves, could not embark, and the pastor of the congregation, John Robinson, remained at Leyden with a portion of his flock, while the remainder embarked from Delfhaven, on 22d July, 1620, under charge of an elder named Brewster. The ships were kept by stress of weather in the British Channel until the 6th September, when the whole party embarked on the *Mayflower* and stood across the Atlantic towards their intended settlement in the New Netherlands, near what is now the city of New York. They were, however, deceived by their captain, who conducted them to the Massachusetts shore, and they entered Cape Cod Bay on the 9th of November. Not being satisfied with the site they coasted for some time; and it was not until the 20th of December, 1620, that they

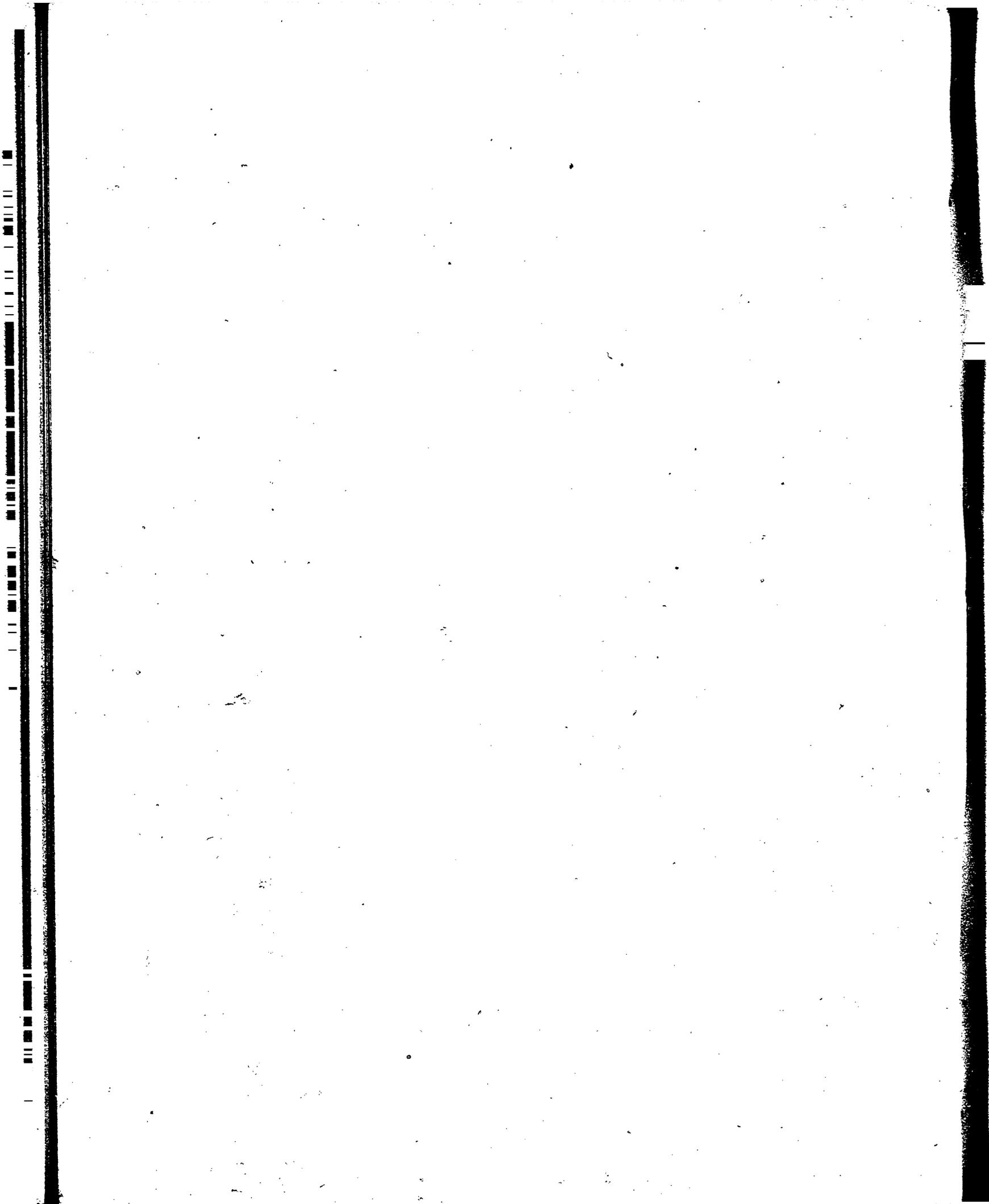
landed on the rock inside the harbor which they had named "New Plymouth," after the English town of Plymouth, from which they had last sailed.

4.—The colonists arranged a form of government for themselves before landing. It was a Republic of the most primitive style, all the male members of the party (101 ^{Primitive Legislation.} souls in all) acting as legislators; and the executive was composed of a governor and five assistants to be elected annually. Mr. John Carver was the first governor. This style of government was not found inconvenient at first, as the colony progressed slowly, and only numbered three hundred ten years after its foundation; but as the population increased it was found necessary to resort to representation.

5.—In 1622, Georges and Mason took a patent for colonizing a territory they called Laconia, and which was bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the St. Lawrence, Merrimac ^{Settlement of Boston.} and Kennebec rivers. Under this patent Portsmouth and Dover were settled in 1623. In 1628, White and Endicott, with a number of other Puritans, settled Salem, which is the earliest permanent settlement in Massachusetts. In the same year Thomas Graves, and about one hundred emigrants, founded a settlement on the Charles river which they called Charlestown, (this is now incorporated as part of the city of Boston.) Two years later (1630) a portion of the settlers, who had been reinforced by immigration, crossed to a place called Shawmut by the Indians, and there founded the present city of Boston. This colony was governed for three years in the same manner as the settlement at New Plymouth; but in 1634 the representative style was adopted, this being the second instance of the introduction of representative government on this continent, the first having been at Jamestown, Va., on 19th June, 1619.

6.—The emigration from England of the Puritans continued for some years, on account of their persecution, and many new colonies were settled. In 1635, over 3,000 ^{Increased emigration and new settlements.} emigrants arrived in New England, amongst them Henry Vane and the Rev. Hugh Peters; both of these gentlemen figured conspicuously under the Commonwealth, and were executed as traitors during the reign of Charles the





Second. In 1633 a small settlement was made by the Dutch at what is now the city of Hartford; and in 1635 John Winthrop founded Saybrook, Conn. Three years later New Haven was founded by Eaton and Davenport.

7.—While some of the New England colonies were flourishing, other attempts were not, at first, so successful; and the attempt to settle the tract of country now known as New Hampshire, which was commenced under a charter granted in 1629, proved so slow that three years after the foundation of Portsmouth it only contained sixty families.

8.—The continued persecutions of the Puritans tended to increase emigration from England to such an extent that in 1637 a Royal proclamation was issued restraining the Puritans from emigrating to America. At the same time an order in council was published prohibiting all non-conformist ministers to emigrate without the leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London. It was also reported that a governor, with very arbitrary powers, would be sent out; and the "Company of Massachusetts Bay," was declared by English judges to be an illegal association, and the New Plymouth patentees, under whom the company held their rights, were outlawed. A squadron of eight ships bound for New England were stopped in 1638 by order of the Privy Council, although allowed to go on in a few days; it is stated by some historians that Oliver Cromwell and Hampden were to have embarked in this fleet—which would have changed English history considerably; but there does not seem to be any foundation for the statement.

9.—New Hampshire was annexed to Massachusetts in 1641; and in 1643 a general confederation was effected under the title of "the United Colonies of New England." These colonies consisted of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. Rhode Island, which was founded in 1638, refused to join, and Maine and Providence were refused admission because the religious views of the people did not agree with those of the other states. The colonization of Maine progressed very slowly; and in 1652 it was annexed to Massachusetts.

10.—After the conquest of Jamaica by Crom-

well in 1655, he offered the Puritans a settlement there; but they declined, according to an American historian, on the ground that "they would have considered it a species of sacrilege to abandon to the savages the consecrated asylum of their peculiar belief; for religion was with them an affair of state, and to preserve its purity was considered the paramount authority of the civil magistrate." But, although tenacious of their own rights to religious liberty, no people were ever more intolerant than they; and members of other sects were sternly persecuted. Thus when the "Antinomian controversy" arose, Anne Hutchinson and her disciples, who held dissentient views on the subject of free grace, were expelled from the colony; Mr. Clark, a Baptist, was fined for preaching at Lynn; a Mr. Holmes was publicly whipped for preaching what was not considered sound doctrine by the Puritans; and any difference from their own faith was visited by fine or imprisonment, while all persons were obliged to attend church or be fined. The writer above quoted says "The very men who had fled from England to gain an asylum for religious freedom, were refusing the slightest toleration to any religious denomination but their own."

11.—The worst persecuted sect was, strange to say, the Quakers, and the bluest of the "Blue Laws" were passed, and enforced against them. Two Quaker ladies who arrived in Boston in 1656, were imprisoned for five weeks, and afterwards banished; and a law was passed prohibiting any more Quakers from entering the colony on pain of fines, imprisonment and even death; and some who dared to enter the colony were hanged. Citizens were also fined for harboring Quakers.

12.—Although the people of New England were terribly bigoted, and persecuted all believers in creeds other than their own, they soon saw the importance of establishing places of public instruction, and a law requiring one public school for every township of fifty householders was passed in 1647; and in towns of one hundred families, or more, grammar schools where boys were to be educated for college. The first college in New England was that of Harvard, established in 1636 by the vote of the Legislature, granting a sum equal to a

Settlement of New
Hampshire.

Attempt to stop
emigration.

Persecutions by the
Puritans.

Persecution of the
Quakers.

Early establishment
of public schools.

whole year's income of the State; but the college would scarcely have attained its great growth but for the munificence of Mr. John Harvard, an English gentleman who arrived in the colony in 1638, and who, dying shortly after his arrival, gave half his property (and a valuable library) to the new college, which then assumed his name. The establishment of a college in Massachusetts created emulation in the other portions of New England, and public schools were very rapidly established.

13.—There were three distinct forms of government in the English colonies; the Royal government, such as Virginia, where all the functionaries were, directly or indirectly, named by the king; secondly, a constitution founded on charters granted to companies of adventurers, such as in New England; and, lastly, the proprietary governments. In the chartered governments, the people really had full control of the government through their representatives. "The general court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay" was composed of the governor, sub-governor, ten magistrates and two deputies from each town, all elected annually. The governors and the magistrates sat in one chamber, the deputies in another. This court was absolute, and there was no appeal from it. The court only met once a year, and the public business was in the mean while administered by the governor in council, who gave audiences twice a week. The proprietary governments had somewhat of a feudal complexion; being so many seigniories, or lordships, granted for particular considerations, or from pure favor, to certain individuals. Thus the proprietorship of Pennsylvania was vested in William Penn and his family. Maryland was held on a proprietary patent by Lord Baltimore; and North and South Carolina, New Jersey, Delaware and Georgia were also proprietary governments.

The three forms of government in the colonies.

3. ANDROS' ATTEMPT TO FORCE THE COLONIES INTO CONSOLIDATION.—4. EFFECT OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688.—5. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH COLONIES.

1.—The great stretch of seaboard, fine, navigable streams, with numerous large bays, together with a fertile soil and a mild climate, gave the British Colonies many advantages which were shown by the rapid increase of trade and commerce, which speedily attained greater importance than their prosperity in other matters. The trade of the merchants was not clogged by the many restrictions and taxes then common in England and the European countries, and it flourished amazingly, especially under the Commonwealth; but an attempt was made to restrict it, soon after the accession of Charles II. to the throne. Parliament passed an act requiring "That all merchandise be imported in British bottoms, except what comes from the place of its growth or manufacture, and that three-fourths of the seamen be English; and that ships loading in the plantations bring their merchandise direct to England." In 1672, a measure was passed, imposing duties on produce sent from one colony to another. These laws were not, however, strictly enforced; and any attempts to do so led to strong remonstrances from the colonists, so that ships from various countries could frequently be found trading in Boston and other harbors.

Natural advantages of the British Colonies.

2.—The colony of Massachusetts Bay was the one which most firmly resisted and evaded the payment of fiscal duties and restrictive trade regulations passed by the English Parliament. The Governor of Virginia reported in 1671, that the colonists had resolved to conform to the Navigation Act, although it would destroy their ship-building, then one of the chief industries of the colony. This was followed by other colonies; and, in 1684, the people of Massachusetts Bay were compelled to relinquish their charter. Charles the Second had intended to abolish the franchises, political and commercial, of New England; but he died before his intent was carried into effect.

Relinquishment of the Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

3.—The next governor appointed after the death of Charles was Sir William Andros, with full

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES—(Continued.)

1. NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF THE BRITISH COLONIES.—2. RELINQUISHMENT OF THE CHARTER OF THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.—

Andros' attempt to force the Colonies into consolidation. powers to make laws and levy taxes at discretion. Immediately on his arrival he revoked the charter of Rhode Island, and attempted to revoke that of Connecticut; but the people resisted and secreted the charter. He was tyrannical and avaricious, and amassed a large fortune for himself. Frost, in his History of the United States, sums up his character very clearly and briefly when he says: "His object seems to have been to amass a fortune for himself, to break the charters, and unite the several colonies in one, for the purpose of effectually resisting the encroachments of the French from Canada."

4.—The news of the revolution in England in 1688 was most joyfully received by the colonists, especially those of Massachusetts Bay. The people of Boston seized and imprisoned Andros, with fifty of his adherents; and magistrates who had been displaced by him were re-instated. This example was followed by Rhode Island and Connecticut, and a restoration of the old charters was applied for. This was not attained until 1691, when Massachusetts obtained a new charter, containing not quite so great privileges as the old one, but granting the same species of government as existed in England. On the arrival of Sir William Phipps as Loyal Governor, in 1692, the charter was accepted. By it New Plymouth, and Acadia, which had passed under British rule after the capture of Port Royal in 1690, were annexed to Massachusetts.

5.—This brings us down to the last decade of the seventeenth century; and, although our sketch of the Anglo-American Colonies has been, of necessity, brief, it will, we think, be sufficient to give an outline of the difference between the two colonies before we enter more fully into the history of the struggle between them for supremacy on this continent. The English colonists were, for the most part, self-expatriated, either to escape political or religious persecution; and, having fled from their own country to seek liberty, they naturally became jealous of the sudden and strong development of a rival colony antagonistic in faith, in nationality and in loyalty; for while the English colonists never loved their king any more than the law required, the French loved theirs with a deep-seated loyalty constantly strengthened by the priests.

The difference between the English and French Colonies.

At first the English colonies paid but little attention to their French neighbors; for under "The Company of One Hundred Associates," and the "West India Company,"—as we have already shown,—emigration languished, trade and commerce made comparatively little progress, and there seemed nothing for the English to fear from their neighbors. But the conquests and ambition of Louis XIV., and the colonial policy of Colbert, which was peopling Canada with a military and laboring population, roused the jealousy of the English colonies. They found that the cordon of military seignories and forts which was being drawn in New France might be used with equal effect against them as against the Iroquois on whose account they were, ostensibly, erected. The English colonies, at last, determined to attempt the subjugation of Canada; and, in 1690, offered men and money to England for that purpose. This brings us down to the close of DeDenonville's government in Canada.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SECOND GOVERNMENT OF COUNT DEFRONTENAC.

1. SECOND ARRIVAL OF DEFRONTENAC AT QUEBEC.—2. DECALLIERE'S PLAN OF ATTACKING THE ENGLISH COLONIES.—3. DISAFFECTION OF THE INDIAN ALLIES OF THE FRENCH.—4. DEFRONTENAC DETERMINES TO ATTACK THE ENGLISH.—5. PARTIAL SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITIONS.—6. DEPUTIES SENT TO THE NORTH-WEST TRIBES.—7. SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION.—8. THE ENGLISH COLONIES PREPARE TO INVADE CANADA.—9. THE PLAN OF INVASION.

1.—To return to the events in Canada we find that the Count DeFrontenac, who was re-appointed to succeed the Marquis DeDenonville, arrived at Quebec on the 15th Second arrival of De Frontenac at Quebec. October, 1687. The Canadian authorities had noticed with some alarm the growing influence of the English traders with the Iroquois; and, after the unsuccessful campaign of DeDenon-

ville, M. DeCallieres, commandant at Montreal, became convinced that as the English at New York openly avowed an alliance with the Five Nations, the most effectual way to crush the Iroquois would be to attack the settlement of their friends, the English, first, and for this purpose he visited France to urge his views.

2.—The Chevalier proceeded to France in the fall of 1688, and his views were accepted by the Government, and the Count DeFrontenac ordered to carry them out. His plans were substantially

DeCalliere's plan of attacking the English Colonies.

as follows:—He proposed to take an army of 2,000 regular troops, by way of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, into the country of the Iroquois with the avowed purpose of attacking them; and, when he should reach the neighborhood of Albany, he would suddenly attack and capture that settlement, which he stated had only a population of about three hundred able-bodied men, and a garrison of one hundred and fifty houses, and had only one earthen fort, mounted with a few cannon, and a wooden palisade. He then proposed to march along the Hudson to New York, which he represented as an open town, containing two hundred houses, and having about four hundred men capable of bearing arms. He urged in support of his plan, that it would put the French in possession of the finest harbor in America; that it would cripple the Iroquois by cutting off the supplies of arms and ammunition which they were obtaining from the English; and that, unless some decisive steps were taken, the Iroquois would destroy Canada, which would entail the loss of the posts at Hudson's Bay, the fur trade, Acadia and the fisheries of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Newfoundland, which would cause the loss of several millions of livres annually to France. Authority was given DeCallieres to carry out his plan; but DeFrontenac found on his arrival that the blow to the French had been too severe for him to attempt anything more than a defensive policy for the present. Although DeFrontenac had a large supply of troops and stores, he was too politic not to take advantage of the fact of his having the Iroquois chiefs, who had been betrayed by DeDenonville and sent to France, and who were being returned in the same ship with him; and, he therefore tried to conciliate them. He

gained the confidence and good will of several, especially Oureouhare, who was of great use to him afterwards.

3.—DeFrontenac concluded that the season was too late, and, besides found it necessary to proceed to Montreal to encourage the inhabitants, who were greatly discouraged from the cruel massacre at Lachine, and to revive the confidence of the Indian allies of the French, many of whom were now disposed to join the English and Iroquois. The Ottawas sent deputies to the Senecas offering to return the Seneca prisoners they had captured, and to make terms of peace. They laughed, and taunted the French missionaries when remonstrated with for this act, saying that they had lost confidence in "Ononchio;" that they had borne their late disasters very tamely, and instead of avenging their defeats, tried to get by treaties what they could not obtain by war. They also claimed that the French had made a dishonorable peace, and were willing to sacrifice their Indian allies; and that they could trade more profitably with the English than with the French.

Disaffection of the Indian allies of the French.

4.—On DeFrontenac becoming aware of this serious disaffection he determined to strike a blow at once, at all hazards, at the English colonies, or he saw that French influence amongst the North West tribes would be lost. He, accordingly in January, 1690, organized expeditions at Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec to invade the English colonies, and sent to assure the Ottawas and Hurons that the French would soon reassert their supremacy. The Montreal party consisted of about one hundred militia and one hundred Indians, under command of De St. Helene, and were destined to attack Albany.

DeFrontenac determines to attack the English.

5.—When the expedition had been five days on its way a council was held; and the Indians so ridiculed the idea of so small a body attacking so strong a place as Albany, that it was determined to abandon the idea, and attack the smaller post of Schenectady. They attacked this place on the night of the 8th February, and took the place entirely by surprise, most of the inhabitants were in bed, and little or no resistance was made. About sixty men, women and children were butchered in cold blood, and twenty eight carried

Partial success of the expeditions.

into captivity, while the entire settlement, consisting of some sixty houses, was reduced to ashes. The French captured a good deal of plunder, including sixty horses, and but for these the expedition would scarcely have been able to reach Montreal, as they ran so short of food they were obliged to eat the horses. A body of English from Albany, and a party of Mohawks pursued them almost to the gates of Montreal, and succeeded in cutting off twenty-five of the party. The party from Three Rivers consisted of only fifty two men, of whom one half were Indians. They made a descent on the village of Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua River, burned nearly all the houses, cattle etc., and carried off fifty-four prisoners, the majority of whom were women and children. The party from Three Rivers was met by the third party from Quebec, and together they took a fortified English post at Casco Bay, Maine, and killed or captured nearly the whole garrison.

6.—DeFrontenac was, however, convinced that something more than these successes was necessary to regain fully the confidence of the North West tribes; and accordingly he sent a convoy of goods, with one hundred and forty soldiers and a few Indians under command of Louvigny, from Montreal for Mackinaw with presents for the Hurons and Ottawas; the great point he was endeavoring to gain being to break the commerce of these tribes with the English, and divert the fur trade once more to the St. Lawrence. Louvigny was also instructed to supersede Durantaze, the commandant at Mackinaw, the principal reason for whose recall was that he was considered too favorable to the Jesuit missionaries, against whose influence DeFrontenac was as bitterly opposed as during his first term as governor.

7.—The expedition very nearly failed, for, on the second day out from Montreal they were attacked by a body of Iroquois and very nearly defeated, but finally succeeded in reaching Mackinaw in safety. Their arrival was most opportune, for the Ottawas were on the eve of sending deputies to the Iroquois to conclude a peace; when, however, they heard of the late successes of the French and saw the value of the goods sent, and the number of the presents for themselves, they immediately declared their renewed allegiance to "Ononthio,"

Deputies sent to the North West tribes.

Success of the expedition.

and the next day one hundred and ten canoes, manned by three hundred Indians, and bearing furs to the value of over one hundred thousand crowns, left for Montreal. DeFrontenac, who chanced to be there, received them very graciously, made them many presents, and they departed highly pleased, renewing their pledge of friendship towards the French. Still the settlers were constantly annoyed by the inroads of the Iroquois, and their war-whoop was heard in many isolated posts and small villages.

8.—The greatest danger to the French was yet to come, however, and it very nearly succeeded in sweeping them from the St. Lawrence. The English colonies were now determined on avenging the injuries done by the French during the previous winter; and the authorities of Massachusetts issued an invitation to the nearest governments asking them to meet at New York to devise means for the general safety. This first American Congress met on May 1, 1690, when the invasion of Canada was determined. The contingents of the different states were arranged, levies ordered and general preparations for an invasion made. A deputation was also sent to England to ask for help in the way of arms and ammunition, and the co-operation of a fleet of English frigates. But the English government was too busy with the war then waging for the restoration of James, and the colonists were left to their own resources.

9.—The English were not, however, deterred, but determined to prosecute their enterprise alone; the scheme being carefully concealed from the Canadians. The plan was that General Winthrop, with eight hundred men and five hundred Indians, was to advance on Montreal, while an attack was made at the same time on Quebec by thirty four vessels manned by fifteen hundred sailors, and carrying thirteen hundred militia. Sir William Phipps was in chief command, and so well were the preparations concealed, that DeFrontenac knew nothing of the threatened invasion until August, at which time he was in Montreal.

The English colonies prepare to invade Canada.

The plan of invasion.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SECOND GOVERNMENT OF DEFRONTENAC—(Continued).

1. FAILURE OF WINTHROP'S EXPEDITION.—2. ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH FLEET BEFORE QUEBEC.—3. DEMAND FOR THE SURRENDER OF THE CITY REFUSED.—4. ATTACK ON THE CITY.—5. RETREAT OF THE BRITISH.—6. REJOICING IN QUEBEC OVER THE VICTORY.—7. POLICY OF THE IROQUOIS DURING THE WAR.—8. NEW INVASION BY THE IROQUOIS.—9. CONSTANT RAIDS DURING THE YEARS 1692-4.—10. REBUILDING OF FORT FRONTENAC.—11. INVASION OF THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY.—12. DEATH OF DEFRONTENAC.

1.—When DeFrontenac received information from an Algonquin that the English and Indians were constructing a large fleet of canoes on Lake George, with the evident intention of invading Canada, he lost no time in collecting all the friendly Algonquins, Hurons and Christian Indians to his assistance; and, although he was over seventy years of age, he took a tomahawk in hand, chanted the war song, and danced the war dance with them to inspire them with courage. But their bravery was little needed; bad management, and a worse commissariat, compelled Winthrop to retreat to Albany without making an attack. Major Schuyler, however, who led the advance guard, and who was not aware of Winthrop's retreat, pushed on to Laprairie, and easily captured the fort, as it was only defended by a small body of militia and Indians. The Canadians retreated on Chambly closely followed by Schuyler; but support arriving from the fort, the pursuers halted and in turn attacked Schuyler, who was defeated with a loss of thirty men killed and wounded, and he was forced to follow the retreat of Winthrop. This closed the invasion of the British, as far as the attack by land was concerned; and DeFrontenac had every reason to congratulate himself on his easy success, which would doubtless have great weight with the Indians.

2.—DeFrontenac was unaware of the fact that a British fleet had left Boston for Quebec, and there is no doubt but that "The Ancient capital" would have been taken by surprise and captured by the Brit-

Arrival of the British fleet before Quebec.

ish, seventy years before it actually was, had it not been for a friendly Algonquin who ran all the way from Piscataqua to Montreal in twelve days to apprise DeFrontenac of the approaching danger. Even as it was he only reached Quebec two days before the British fleet appeared before it, and had they possessed good charts of the St. Lawrence, or not have experienced bad weather in the Gulf, they would have captured Quebec while DeFrontenac was still awaiting Winthrop's attack on Montreal; but the failure of that expedition, and the delay of the fleet in the Gulf, gave DeFrontenac time to concentrate all his forces at Quebec, and when the fleet did arrive, they found it garrisoned by nearly four thousand men. Thus outnumbered, the New Englanders had no chance of carrying by storm so strongly fortified a place as Quebec; and to attempt to reduce it by siege at that advanced period of the year would have been to risk a long and severe winter. The citizens, therefore, felt tolerably safe; yet we can look back and picture with what anxious, watching, wondering eyes the citizens and soldiers gathered on the ramparts on that memorable morning of the 5th October, 1690, and gazed at the British fleet as it rounded Point Levi and anchored in the stream, the British flag floating defiance at the royal standard of France which flung itself proudly to the breeze from the frowning and fortress-capped heights of Cape Diamond.

3.—The British contented themselves that day with furling the white sails of their vessels and getting them into fighting order; but on the morning of the 6th, Sir William Phipps sent an officer on shore, under a flag of truce, and demanded the surrender of the place in the name of King William. DeFrontenac had the messenger blindfolded, to prevent his getting any idea of the strength of the fortification or the number of its defenders, and received him in the Council Chamber, in the presence of the Bishop, Intendant, and nearly all the council. The demand for surrender was couched in somewhat rude language; and, after reading it, the bearer of it laid his watch on the table and said that he had been instructed to wait only one hour for an answer. At this the fiery-tempered and haughty old Governor sprang to his feet and exclaimed passionately, "I do not acknowledge King William, and well know that the

Demand for the surrender of the city refused.

Prince of Orange is an impostor, who has violated the most sacred rights of blood and religion. I will answer your master at the mouth of my cannon!" This spirited answer greatly pleased the Council, and the messenger was immediately conducted from the room and returned to his chief.

4.—Sir William Phipps at once determined on a joint attack by land and water, and during the day he landed his forces and advanced Attack on the city. to the St. Charles River. They met with very little opposition except from about three hundred militia who were ambushed amongst the rocks and bushes, and whose sudden and unexpected attack threw the British advance into momentary confusion; but it soon reformed and succeeded in dislodging the militia. This was all the fighting done on shore that day; but in the afternoon the four largest ships advanced boldly up the river and opened a brisk fire at the fort. This was returned as warmly as it was given, and a general cannonade kept up; it soon became apparent, however, that the guns of the ships were useless against the fort perched on its high eminence, the shot scarcely reaching it, and then having little or no effect. On the other hand the fire from the city was terribly effective, and the four ships suffered severely. Phipps ordered the action to recommence next morning, and with more valor than prudence kept up a vigorous, but ineffectual cannonade, and at noon he saw it was useless to continue the fight and ordered the vessels to drop down stream out of fire which they did in a very crippled condition.

5.—Major Walley, who was in command of the land forces, was instructed to commence an attack at the same time as the fleet; but, although he had his men under arms at daybreak, he did not advance until noon, for some unknown reason which he failed to explain in the account he afterwards wrote of the expedition. There were several skirmishes during the day which generally resulted unfavorably to the British, and with the retirement of the ships, the attempt on Quebec was virtually abandoned. A council was held on board the Admiral's ship, at which it was determined to abandon the enterprise; and on the night of the 11th, the troops were re-embarked, and the vessels stood down the river. In so much haste and confusion was the embarkation made, that a

Retreat of the British.

large quantity of ammunition and stores, and five guns were abandoned, and fell into the hands of the French. And so ended in defeat and disgrace the invasion of Canada by the British. The flag which was in after years destined to wave over the battlements of Quebec, retired now from before the city in humiliation. There is an incident related with regard to one of the flags worth repeating. The flag of one of the British ships was shot away during the engagement, and as it floated down stream a Canadian soldier bravely swam out to it and carried it in triumph to the shore, where he was received with great acclamation. This flag was hung up in the parish church and remained there for many years as a trophy of the successful repulse of the British. Nor did the disasters to the invaders end with their repulse, for nine of their ships were wrecked in the St. Lawrence, and it was not until the 19th of November that Phipps reached Boston with the remainder, by which time the men were almost in a state of mutiny on account of not having been paid. The Treasury, however, was empty, and it was at this time that the first issue of continental paper money took place.

6.—Great was the rejoicing in Quebec over the complete overthrow of the invaders. A memorial church was built in Lower Town and an annual festival established Rejoicing in Quebec over the victory. to commemorate the event. The gallant old Governor wrote with his own hand the despatch which informed his king of the disaster to the British; and so highly did DeFrontenac speak of the courage and loyalty of the militia, that Louis ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate the victory of his subjects in the valley of the St. Lawrence. At the time DeFrontenac heard in Montreal of the intended attack on Quebec, he had despatched a number of fleet canoes down the river to warn any French ships which might be coming up to get out of the way; and the arrival of these ships, all safe, added greatly to the general rejoicing. They had been informed in time, and made good their escape by running up the Saguenay. There was one drawback to the rejoicings, however, and that was the scarcity of provisions, for the newly arrived vessels brought but scanty stores, and the Iroquois had so devastated the crops that there was great suffering in Quebec that winter for want of food; but the

people bore it with cheerfulness and patience, being amply repaid for their sufferings by the defeat of the enemy.

7.—The Iroquois did not enter very heartily into the expedition against the French; not that they hated the French less than they had done, but their instinct of self-preservation became more developed. The confederation of the Five Nations was not only a brave and warlike race, but they were a politic people also. It was all well enough for them to ravage the French settlements, burn or carry off the crops and kill the settlers; but they were not anxious that the English should conquer Canada. They had noticed for some time, with alarm, the rapidly increasing immigration to the English colonies, and they trusted the English no more than the French; for they argued, with a prophetic foresight which subsequent events have shown to have been only too true, that if the English conquered the French they would then turn their undivided attention to the destruction of the red men; and they, therefore, gave but a lukewarm support to the English during the war, sending only one hundred men, instead of five hundred as they had promised, to support Winthrop; and it was to this defection on their part that his sudden and disgraceful retreat was due. But on the termination of the war their experience showed them that the raw undisciplined New Englanders, led by inefficient and inexperienced leaders, were no match for the well-trained semi-military French colonists, led by some of the best and most experienced soldiers of France; they, therefore, concluded that the French need fear nothing from the New England colonies, and at once re-commenced their marauding expeditions against the former.

8.—No sooner were they satisfied on this point than they commenced preparations for a new inroad into Canada, and, accordingly, in May, 1671, they appeared in large numbers in the vicinity of Montreal, and along the Richelieu, burning, killing and destroying as of old. The militia was hastily called out and a temporary check given the Indians, by a number of them being surprised on the Richelieu, by 120 of the militia, and all the Indians but five who escaped, were killed, the prisoners being first brutally tortured. One party of twelve

made a gallant resistance, and it was to them that the five who escaped belonged. They took possession of an old farm house and held it until fired by the French; they then determined to cut their way through their enemies, and making a bold dash for it, tomahawk in hand, five of them succeeded in doing so, the remainder being killed or captured. This misfortune did not, however, long deter them from making another inroad; and in July a large party of Iroquois, accompanied by some English and Mohawks, made their appearance near Montreal with the intention of destroying the crops, which would entail famine on the colony. By a bold dash they captured the strong post of LaPrairie and slew nearly all the garrison; they then fell back into the forest, when they met and destroyed a small French detachment. Shortly after they encountered a strong force under M. DeVairenes and boldly held out for over an hour and a half, killing and wounding one hundred and twenty men. In this fight the Indians behaved with the coolness and courage of trained troops, and showed that they were fast learning the arts of war from their European enemies.

9.—DeFrontenac on hearing of these outrages hurried to Montreal, and succeeded in getting the harvest in in safety; but he did not attempt any punishment then. Constant raids during the years 1692-4. While in Montreal he received an offer from the governor at New York, proposing a treaty of neutrality for the colonies and an exchange of prisoners, although the mother countries were still at war; but DeFrontenac placed no confidence in the sincerity of the offer, and the negotiations soon fell through. The Iroquois soon recovered from their defeat by DeVairenes, and knowing the injury they had inflicted on the French, and under their chief, Black Caldron, made several successful raids, while at times they received severe chastisement. This state of affairs was kept up throughout the years 1692-3-4; and the Canadian settler may be said to have been almost compelled to go into his fields with one hand to his plough and the other on his rifle; or that the Iroquois had almost carried out their threat, that their enemies should have no peace save in the grave. There was no security from the Iroquois except behind stone walls and fortifications, and even these did not always prove sufficient to keep out the marauders. Nor was the

Policy of the Iroquois during the war.

New invasion by the Iroquois.

war all on one side, for while the Iroquois were laying waste the Western portion of the colony, Massachusetts was suffering as badly from the frequent inroads of the French, aided by the Abenakis, the natural enemy of the Iroquois; and DeMantel, in 1693, invaded the Mohawk country and inflicted considerable damage on them, while parties of Canadians swept the beautiful hunting-grounds of the Iroquois on the Bay of Quinte and greatly annoyed them. At last the Iroquois seemed to get tired of the war, and sent messengers to Montreal to know whether deputies would be received to consider terms of peace. They received a favorable answer; but when the deputies arrived they were met evasively, owing mostly to the intrigues of the Abenakis, and they departed dissatisfied, and hostilities were resumed. The Iroquois again ravaged the unprotected points, and when asked if they would send deputies to treat for peace, haughtily answered that it was now the turn of the French to send deputies to them to treat for peace, not only with them, but with their allies the English.

10.—DeFrontenac was not the man to quietly brook the cool insolence of this reply, and he determined on taking more active steps against his implacable foes.

He determined on the rebuilding of Fort Frontenac, as the most effective means of checking the Iroquois, and, although the home government ordered him not to do so, and he was advised against it by the council on account of the great expense the former fort had incurred, he was too obstinate to yield his views, and in July, 1695, sent the Chevalier Crisasy from Montreal, with four hundred troops and two hundred Indians, to rebuild the fort. This year was an unfortunate one for the Iroquois, as far as their expeditions were concerned, but what they lost in war they partly made up for in diplomacy. They concluded a peace with the Hurons and Ottawas, the two powerful western allies of the French. In revenge for the rebuilding of Fort Frontenac they made another swoop on the island of Montreal, but the inhabitants had had timely warning, and were so well prepared to give them a warm reception that they were terribly defeated. In the west and north-west they also suffered defeat from the French and Miamis; and the Ottawa and Hurons made an incursion, at the

instigation of Cadillac, commandant at Mackinaw, into their country, inflicted much damage and carried away many prisoners.

11.—DeFrontenac now determined to carry the war into the country of the Five Nations. The treaty of peace between the Iroquois and the Ottawas and Hurons annoyed him greatly, and he endeavored to regain their entire confidence, but did not meet with much encouragement. They had become very much dissatisfied with the high prices charged by the French in comparison with the English, and had grown weary of war with their powerful neighbors. DeFrontenac, therefore, thought the best way to gain them back to French interests was to strike a decisive blow at the Iroquois. In July, 1696, he started from Montreal with about fifteen hundred regular troops, militia and Indians, and reached Fort Frontenac on the 18th. Here he remained a week to recruit his men, and reached Oswego on the 28th. The Iroquois were not to be taken by surprise, however, for when they reached Lake Onondaga, and launched their canoes, they found two bundles containing fourteen hundred and thirty-four rushes, which showed them that the spies of the Iroquois had been so vigilant, that they had counted the number of the invaders almost to a man. An entrenchment was thrown up on the left bank of the lake, where the army landed, and a guard of one hundred and forty men remained to protect the stores and provisions left there, while the remainder of the force proceeded towards the fortified villages of the Oneidas and Onondagas. DeFrontenac commanded the centre in person, although he was now so old, being over seventy-six, that he could not bear the fatigues of the march, and had to be carried in a chair. De Vaudreuil commanded the right wing, and De Callieres the left. The Onondagas, satisfied that they could not successfully withstand so strong a force, adopted their old plan of burning their villages and retreating to the forest; and the only prisoners taken were an old man and a lame girl. To DeFrontenac's shame be it said, that although he himself stood on the verge of the grave, he had no mercy for this aged chief, but gave him over to his Indian allies to torture. The Oneidas fared somewhat worse, losing thirty-five men, together with their crops and dwellings; but the Cayugas

Rebuilding of Fort Frontenac.

Invasion of the Iroquois country.

and Senecas remained untouched; and as the Iroquois knew the French would not permanently occupy the country, they may be considered to have received but light punishment.

12.—The Iroquois followed the French in their retreat, and cut off many stragglers; nor did the expedition have any serious effect on them, for they continued to harass the French frontier; but they found these raids growing more and more unprofitable as the frontier became stronger and stronger. They could no longer swoop down and carry off rich booty; they more frequently got hard blows than plunder; they therefore, in 1697, made overtures of peace. The war between England and France had just been terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, and the Governor of New York, getting the first intimation of it, sent a deputation to Quebec to propose an exchange of prisoners, both English and Iroquois; but DeFrontenac was too wary to admit the sovereignty of the English over the Iroquois, and preferred to treat separately with the latter, knowing that they were very jealous of their independence. In the following year, while still engaged in this and other affairs for the benefit of the colony, DeFrontenac died at the ripe old age of seventy-eight, retaining to the last the great energy of character which had successfully carried him through his long and eventful career. He died, as he had lived, loved by some for his courage and military virtues, hated by others for his cruel temper and proud but overbearing manners, but respected and feared alike by friend and foe, and with the credit of having, with very little aid from France, supported and increased the strength of a colony which he had found, on his re-appointment, at the brink of ruin.

Death of DeFrontenac.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DECALLIERES.

1. DECALLIERES' FIRST ACT.—2. TREATY OF PEACE WITH THE IROQUOIS SIGNED.—3. CURIOUS EFFECT OF THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS.—4. FORT BUILT AT DETROIT.—5. DEATH OF DECALLIERES.

1.—The successor of the Count DeFrontenac

was the Chevalier DeCallieres, who had been appointed Commandant at Montreal at the same time that DeFrontenac had been re-appointed Governor, and had filled that office during the whole of the Count's administration, with great credit to himself and benefit to the colony, as well as the town he immediately ruled over. He received his commission as Governor by the first ship from France after the opening of navigation in the spring of 1699, and the appointment was one which gave the greatest satisfaction to the colony, he having proved himself "brave in war and prudent in council" on many trying occasions during the long period he had commanded at Montreal, and endeared himself to the hearts of the people by his courtesy, mildness and justice. The first task which presented itself to him on his appointment was one of diplomacy, and he showed himself quite equal to the occasion. DeFrontenac had not completed the treaty of peace with the Iroquois at the time of his death, the trouble being that the English Governor at New York, the Earl of Bellamont, claimed that they were English subjects, stating, "that the Five Nations were always considered subjects of England, can be manifested to all the world;" DeFrontenac, on the other hand, claimed that the French had first occupied the land, and sought to induce the Iroquois to acknowledge the sovereignty of the French king; while the Iroquois, on their side, were not disposed to acknowledge the sovereignty of either. This was the state of affairs when DeCallieres became Governor.

DeCallieres' first difficulty.

2.—DeCallieres commenced his task of diplomacy by flattering the Iroquois. He sent agents to them inviting them to send deputies to Montreal to conclude a peace; and when the deputies from the Senecas and Onondagas arrived in Montreal in the summer of 1700, he received them with great distinction. Cannon boomed in friendly welcome, flags fluttered gayly in the breeze. DeCallieres greeted them with marked warmth of affection, and the whole town put on a festive appearance, as on the occasion of some great and happy event, a mode of reception which drew from the jealous Huron Chief, Kondiarak, the sworn foe of the Iroquois, the caustic remark: "The French showed more respect to their enemies, through

Treaty of peace with the Iroquois signed.

fear, than to their friends, through love." The negotiations were rapidly completed, and DeCallieres, taking advantage of the flowery style of the Indian orators, said to them in their own language, "I hold fast the tree of peace you have planted, and will lose no time in despatching an armorer to Fort Frontenac to repair your arms, and will send merchandise there also suited to your wants." The Indian allies of the French, the Hurons, Abenakis and Christian Iroquois also expressed their assent to the peace and promised to bury the hatchet. A written treaty was then made and the deputies attached to it the symbols of the tribes then represented. The Senecas and Onondagas drew a spider; the Cayugas, a calumet; the Oneidas, a forked stick; the Mohawks, a bear; the Hurons, a beaver; the Abenakis, a deer; and the Ottawas, a hare.

3.—The general exchange of prisoners next took place, all on both sides being given permission to return to their homes; and here a curious illustration of the effects of a free forest life was shown. The freed Indians, almost to a man, at once returned to their different tribes; not so with the French prisoners held by the Indians; very few of them took advantage of their liberty to return to their homes. Many of them had married amongst their captors, and nearly all preferred to adopt the free, semi-savage life of "the children of the forest," with which they had become imbued. Efforts were made to induce them to return, and the king even issued an order that they should do so; but neither orders of kings, nor entreaties of friends could induce them to forego the wild pleasure of the forest life, once they had tasted of it. It was far easier to turn the civilized man into a savage, than to turn the savage into a civilized man. DeCallieres was not slow to communicate to his government the conclusion of this advantageous peace; and to urge that advantage be taken of it to strengthen French influence with the Iroquois. He recommended as a solution of the vexed questions of territorial boundaries and of the sovereignty of the Iroquois, that their country should be declared neutral ground, and that while both nations should have the right of trading with them, neither the French nor the English should make any settlements in their territory. In the matter of religion he suggested that they

Curious effect of the release of prisoners.

should be left entirely free to choose for themselves, feeling confident that the influence of the Jesuit missionaries was so strong, it was in no danger of being seriously hurt by the English.

4.—The news of the successful conclusion of a peace between the French and Iroquois gave rise to great indignation in the English colonies, and especially in New York, which would be most seriously injured if the fur trade were diverted to the St. Lawrence. The indignation was mainly directed against the Jesuit missionaries who were accused, with considerable justice, of having been the principal instruments in bringing about the peace, and their wrath was so great that the legislature actually passed an act, making it a crime punishable by hanging, for any "Popish priest" to come voluntarily into the province. This sounds badly from a Christian people, who, only a few years previously had voluntarily expatriated themselves in the cause of religious liberty, and calls to mind the well known aphorism, "There is nothing so illiberal as liberalism." DeCallieres was determined to lose no opportunity of strengthening French influence in the West, and resolved on building a fort and trading post at the Detroit river; and in June, 1701, one hundred men, under the command of De Cadillac, and accompanied by a Jesuit missionary, were despatched for that purpose. The Iroquois protested against this, but DeCallieres replied, "That as Detroit belonged to Canada, its settlement could, in justice, be opposed by neither the Five Nations nor the English; that his object in building the fort there was to preserve peace and tranquillity among all the western tribes." He also added, that although he was master of his own government he was only so with a view to the happiness of his children. With this reply the Iroquois were forced to be content, and so the fort was built at Detroit, thus making Michigan rank second in age amongst the Western States of America, Illinois being the oldest.

Fort built at Detroit.

5.—The two following years were, with one exception, comparatively uneventful to Canada, directly; but indirectly they were of great importance to her, for England and France were about again to engage in a desperate war, which was destined to shake the crown of Louis XIV. almost from his head, and materially alter the future of both Eu-

Death of De Callieres.

rope and America. The death of James II. of England, at St. Germain, in 1702, had raised hopes that his pretensions to the throne of England; but the recognition of his son by Louis XIV., as "King of the Three Kingdoms," so exasperated William III. that, although he was on his death bed, he determined on another war with France, which should humble the power of *Le Grand Monarque*, and his death in March, 1702, did not affect his plans, which were ably carried out, utterly breaking the power of France in Europe and greatly lessening it in America; but with the wars during the reign of Queen Anne, we will deal in the next chapter, the present one concluding with the one exception mentioned above, as directly affecting Canada, and that was the death, on May 26, 1703, of the Chevalier DeCallieres, who was deeply and truly regretted and mourned for by the people of the colony. M. DeCallieres had only been governor for four years; but he had been so long commandant at Montreal, and was so identified with the administration of De Frontenac, that he had had great opportunities of displaying his many good qualities, and he was deeply loved and respected for them. His great courage, honorable conduct, calmness and sound common sense had not only gained the love of the people; but the respect and confidence of the Indians, who felt that they had lost a friend in his death. With the religious bodies he had been on terms of cordiality, and had a perfectly good understanding; but De Callieres was too politic a man not to see the evil which was threatening the future of Canada through the growing power of the church, and to endeavor to put a mild restraint on it. The religious bodies were becoming formidable on account of their wealth and numbers, and were fast absorbing all the land they could possibly acquire, either by grants or by purchase; and DeCallieres was far seeing enough to view with alarm the preponderating influence which the church would gain if some limit were not put to its voracity; and he obtained an edict from the Crown limiting the acquisition of real estate by religious bodies to a certain amount. The wisdom of this measure we can more fully appreciate when we look at the immense amount of untaxed property still held by the religious communities in the province of Quebec, and especially in the cities of Montreal and Quebec.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DEVAUDREUIL.

1. RAVAGES BY INDIANS IN MASSACHUSETTS.—
2. INTRODUCTION OF MANUFACTURES.—
3. GOOD FEELING OF THE IROQUOIS INCREASING.—
4. UNSUCCESSFUL RAID INTO NEW ENGLAND.—
5. ABORTIVE ATTEMPTS AT INVASION BY BOTH FRENCH AND ENGLISH.—
6. ANOTHER INVASION OF CANADA DETERMINED ON.—
7. STRENGTH OF THE INVADERS. PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE.—
8. DISASTER TO THE FLEET.—
9. FIDELITY OF THE ALLIES OF THE FRENCH.—
10. DEVAUDREUIL ASKS FOR SOLDIERS AND CONVICTS.—
11. A PERIOD OF PEACE.—
12. A CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF CANADA, 1720-1.—
13. DEATH OF DE VAUDREUIL.

1.—The Marquis DeVaudreuil was appointed the successor of M. DeCallieres. He too was a distinguished soldier who had served with distinction before coming to Ravages by Indians in Massachusetts. Canada, and had done good service under DeFrontenac and DeCallieres, the latter of whom he succeeded in the command at Montreal. He was exceedingly popular, and it was at the request of the colony that he was appointed Governor. He assumed the government just at the time of the breaking out of another war in Europe, and soon had a difficult task to preserve peace with the Indians, who were urged on by the Governor of New York to renew their inroads into French territory. To the credit of the Indians, however, be it said, the Iroquois refused, and the Onondagas even went so far as to admit the sovereignty of the French. This was accomplished by the exertions of Sieur Joncaire, who had been adopted into the Seneca tribe, spoke their language, and had resided for a long time amongst them. The attempt of the English to stir up savage warfare on this continent was, however, terribly visited on them; while the French had persuaded the Indian allies of the English to remain neutral during the war, the English had been less fortunate, and the frontier of New England was laid waste by the Abenakis, who were assisted by French troops, and openly urged on by the Jesuit priests to kill and destroy all they could in heretic Massachusetts. If the new

Englanders hated the Jesuits and passed a law to hang every "Popish Priest," the Jesuits certainly returned the hatred with interest, and many a New England home was laid waste, many a thriving village sacked, and men, women and children killed, or carried into captivity at their instigation during the next few years. Indian warfare with all its barbarity was resumed; but this time it was the English that suffered, not the French, for while New England was being laid waste New France was at peace, and quietly engaged in agriculture and commerce.

2.—The intervening years up to 1707 were peaceful ones for the French; and although they showed so great a disposition to indulge in law suits that M. Randot, the Intendant, had to interfere and endeavor to promote amicable adjustments, still they prospered and more attention was paid to agriculture. One great hardship under which they labored was that they were not allowed to manufacture even the coarsest and most common goods. Talon, the first Intendant, had indeed encouraged manufactures, and once boasted that his peasants could make everything they needed to wear, but the policy of successive administrations, had entirely changed that, and the colonists were compelled to wear only goods imported from France. They grew considerable quantities of flax and hemp, but were compelled by law to ship it all to France where it was made into the coarsest and most worthless cloth—"shoddy" in fact—and returned to the colony, where it was sold at enormous profits. Randot tried to rectify this, and get permission from the Home Government to allow the colonists to make their own cloth; but he was refused for a long time and would, most probably, have failed altogether had not a vessel laden with goods for Quebec been wrecked, when he wrote that owing to this fact, and the great risk of capture on account of the war, prices had gone up so much and cloth was so scarce that the poor were quite unable to supply themselves with proper clothing, and were almost in a state of nakedness. On this representation the government yielded, and in 1706 permission was given to the colonists to manufacture coarse cloths and druggets, but only in their own houses and for their own use. This scanty privilege they gladly availed themselves of, and soon became quite expert.

Introduction of manufactures.

3.—The long quiet with the Indians was now to be broken for awhile. Ill feeling had been growing for some time between most of the western tribes, and in 1707 the Illinois made war on the Ottawas, one of the tribes friendly to France. DeVaudreuil at once ordered an expedition into the country of the Illinois, and Cadillac, at the head of four hundred men, invaded their country and succeeded in restoring peace. The Iroquois observed a strict neutrality during these troubles, and, indeed French influence was fast gaining ground with them, and the British saw it with bitter envy. This influence was mainly due to Joncaire who lived with them, and was greatly loved and respected. His having been adopted by the Senecas, living with them and speaking their language fluently, added to his daring courage. His great liberality and affability made him a great favorite; but the Jesuit missionaries also exercised a great deal of influence and turned it to good advantage against the growth of English influence.

Good feeling of the Iroquois increasing.

4.—As an offset to this growing popularity of the French with the Five Nations, the English were steadily gaining ground with the Christian Indians which was greatly aided by the aid of rum, the sale of liquor amongst them having again assumed large proportions. To check this influence DeVaudreuil determined on attacking the English colonies; and at a council held in Montreal in the spring of 1608, it was determined to send an expedition, consisting of one hundred picked men of the militia and a party of Indians into New England. The command was given to DeChaillons and Hertel DeRouville, and the expedition started with the intention of making a descent on Portsmouth. The Hurons and Iroquois, however, soon deserted and the Abenakis failed to join the expedition as they had promised. Finding their forces so much reduced DeChaillons and DeRouville descended the Merrimac river to Haverhill, which was a small and unprotected post, which they could easily sack before returning to Canada. They reached the place early on the morning of the 29th August, and easily overpowered the small garrison; and then the Indians began to murder and burn. The smoke of the burning village, however, raised the surrounding country and the French had to beat a hasty retreat; they fell into an ambushade

Unsuccessful raid into New England.

before they had proceeded a mile and lost thirty men.

5.—This is only one instance of the sudden and cruel destruction which frequently fell upon the New England settlers of those days, and it called forth the following well merited rebuke from Colonel Schuyler, of Albany, to DeVaudreuil: "My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery." But the people of New England could not remain passive while these savage acts of butchery were being constantly enacted on them. For some time a desire for the conquest of Canada had been gaining ground, and it had been recommended to Queen Anne as the only means of protecting her more exposed colonies. At last she sent out Colonel Vetch, who was well acquainted with the St. Lawrence, to undertake an expedition against Montreal by land, and Quebec by water. He arrived in New York on 3d May, 1709. He at once commenced preparations for an invasion by way of the Richelieu, the attack on Quebec to be made simultaneously by a fleet from England. As a check to this movement, DeVaudreuil determined on a counter invasion; and in July sent Governor DeRamsay, of Montreal, to attack the British encampment near Lake Champlain; but, hearing that the enemy was five thousand strong, and his Indian allies deserting him, he was obliged to return to Montreal. The English invasion was equally abortive, for the fleet from England did not come, and the force camped on Lake Champlain retired in September, being decimated by disease. The cause of this illness was for some time a mystery; but it was found to have been purposely caused by the Iroquois allies of the English, who had no wish to have the English conquer Canada; and, seeing that they had strength enough to take Montreal, they used a little Indian strategy to cause them to abandon the enterprise. A stream, from which the men drank, ran through the camp, and into this the Indians threw the skin of the animals they killed; the hot summer sun soon caused them to putrefy and poison the water, and many men were killed and more rendered useless by illness, without any suspicion attaching to the Indians.

6.—The next attempt made by England to wrest from France her possessions in the New

World was more successful. It was the attack on Port Royal, now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, a full description of which appears in its proper place in our history of Acadia. Elated by his success in capturing Port Royal, Nicholson, who commanded the expedition, returned to England and strongly urged the capture of the whole of Canada. Other representations as to the necessity for the capture of Canada, besides those of New England were not wanting. The people of New York began to grow jealous of the increasing popularity of the French with the Indians; and Colonel Schuyler, of Albany was appointed to present an address to Her Majesty on the subject. Amongst other reasons set forth, the address said: "The French penetrate through rivers and lakes at the back of all Your Majesty's plantations on this continent to Carolina, and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians who are vastly numerous. Among these they continually send agents and priests with toys and trifles to ingratiate themselves into their favor. Afterwards they send traders, then soldiers, and at last build forts among them." Schuyler was accompanied by five chiefs of the Iroquois who were granted an audience and who presented her with splendid wampum belts, and avowed their devotion to her cause. Another invasion by a force sufficient to subdue the country was determined on for the next summer, and Bolingbroke himself drew up the plan of the campaign.

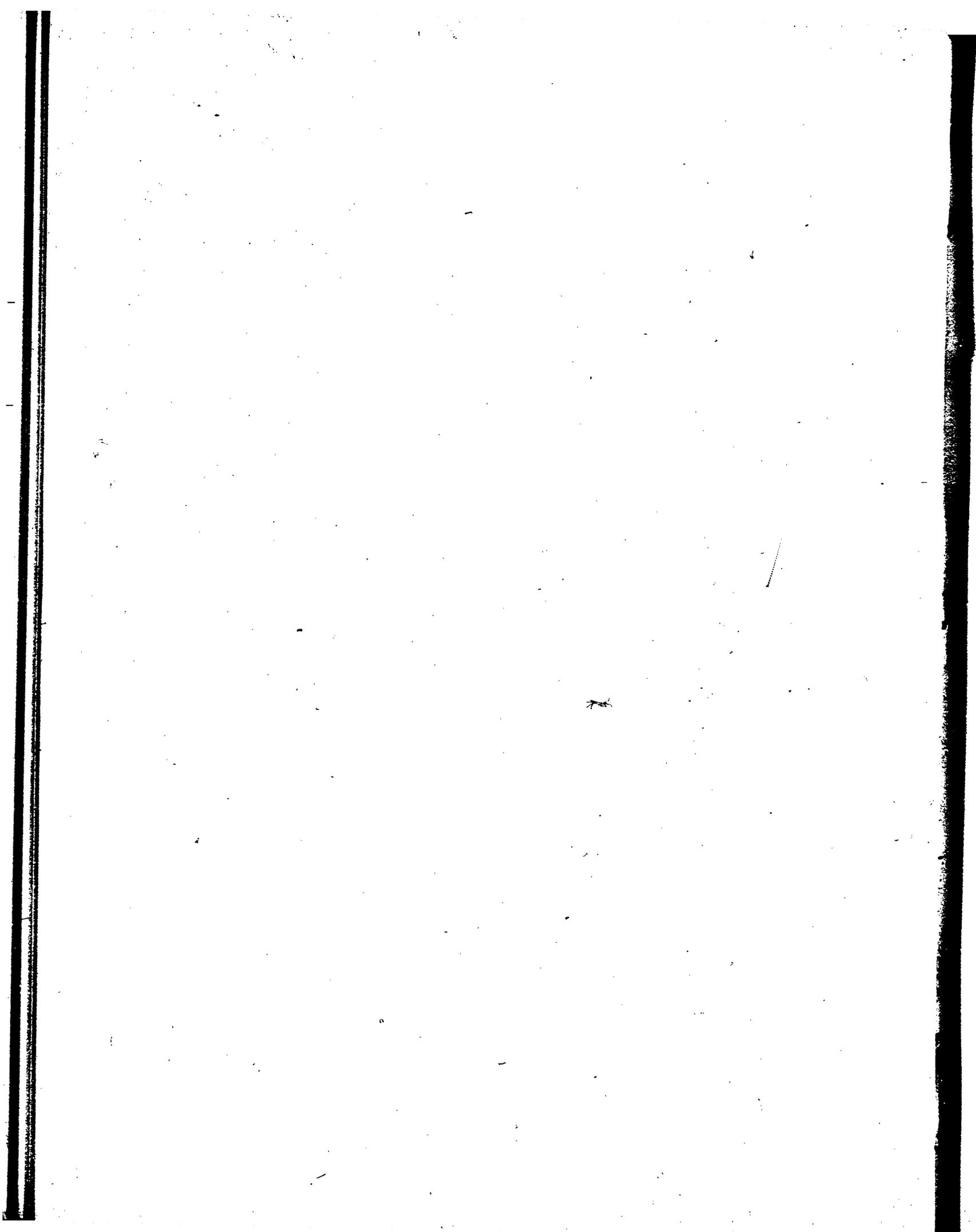
7.—It is an easy thing to draw up a campaign in a country one never saw, and knows nothing of, but it is another thing to carry it out, and so it proved with Bolingbroke's. The arrangements were most ample and the whole armament left Boston on the 30th July, 1711. The whole population of Canada at this time, was about thirty thousand French, men, women, and children, and six thousand Indians, and the strength of the expedition very nearly equalled that with which Wolfe afterwards captured Quebec. The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war and forty-six transports and store ships, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker. The force to be used on land was under command of Brigadier General Hill, and consisted of five veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, and two colonial regiments. In

Abortive attempt at invasion by both French and English.

Another invasion of Canada determined on.

Strength of the invaders. Preparations for defence.





addition to this General Nicholson was to advance on Montreal from Albany with four thousand militia and six hundred Indians, while a diversion was caused in the West by the Fox Indians declaring themselves allies of England; so that DeVaudreuil had enough to do to prepare means for defense. He had been well informed of the intended movement, and his first care was to keep on good terms with the Iroquois. In this he partially succeeded. The Onondaga's remained true to their promised allegiance, and the Senecas, through the influence of Joncaire, agreed to maintain a strict neutrality, the other tribes sided with the English. DeBoncourt was placed in command at Quebec, and proceeded to strengthen the fortifications, while DeVaudreuil proceeded to Montreal to make arrangements for its defence. He collected three thousand soldiers, militia, and Indians, and had them encamped at Chambly, under command of DeLongueuil, to await the coming of Nicholson; he then returned to Quebec to await the English fleet.

8.—But all preparations were unnecessary. The British flag was not destined to float for the second time below the walls of Disaster of the fleet. Quebec, nor a single British red-coat to be seen across the borders of Canada. Incompetency and mismanagement again did their work, and the whole expedition retreated without ever seeing an enemy or firing a shot. The British fleet reached the St. Lawrence, on the 11th August, and was detained a few days by stress of weather, after which it proceeded up the river, until the 22d, when a dense fog set in with an easterly wind. The English knew little or nothing of the river they were navigating; and Admiral Walker seems to have been as ignorant as he was obstinate, for he actually thought that a river with the current and depth of the St. Lawrence froze solid to the bottom, and sagely suggested that in such an event as the vessels remaining the winter, the wisest course would be "to secure them on the dry ground in frames and cradles till the thaw." On the morning of the 23d the English and French pilots both thought the safest plan for keeping mid channel was to head to the southward, which was done, and the vessels stood on safely all day. In the evening the captain of the Admiral reported land in sight, but Walker was just going to bed, and ordered the

fleet to head to the north, without taking the trouble to go on deck. Twice the Admiral was sent for by the pilot to come on deck but refused, until at length an army officer, named Goddard rushed in and said they were surrounded by breakers. The Admiral admitted the breakers, but, still obstinate, said "I see no land to the leeward." Presently the moon shone through the mist and he discovered his error and at last allowed Paradis, the pilot to do what he had all the time been trying to be allowed to do, head to the southward and make for mid-channel. But the obstinacy of the Admiral had its fatal results, and eight ships and eight hundred and eighty-four men were lost on the reefs of the Egg Islands. A council of war was held as soon as the ships could be got together, and the leaders, evidently thinking they had had enough of Canada, unanimously agreed, "that it is impossible to proceed, and that it is for the interests of Her Majesty's service that the British troops do forthwith return to England and the Colonial troops to Boston," and so Her Majesty's ships turned sail and went home. The failure of the fleet, of course, compelled Nicholson to retreat, and so the second attempt to conquer Canada ended in an inglorious failure.

9.—The French could scarcely believe the news, and it was not until a scouting party sent out to ascertain the truth of Nicholson's retreat, returned with three soldiers Fidelity of the allies of the French. who had been released by Nicholson when he retired, that they allowed themselves to believe that they had been so easily delivered from the enemy. Barques were now sent down the St. Lawrence to ascertain whether the report of the disaster to the fleet was correct, and found the hulls of eight large vessels, from which the guns &c., had been taken on shore at the Egg Islands, and the shore was strewn with dead bodies. The only serious loss that threatened the French was in the West, where the Fox Indians besieged Detroit, and unable to take it by storm, pitched their wigwams near the fort, and determined to burn it. This was a most important post, as it opened to the French the highway of the Mississippi and had they lost it, with it would have gone the greater portion of the fur trade; but their Indian allies remained faithful to them, and the Foxes were in turn besieged and forced to surrender. Those taken in arms were massa-

cred in the usual brutal manner, and the rest carried into captivity. Thus did the French, through the good faith of their allies, retain possession of this most important point.

10.—No further attempt on Canada was made by the English, and peace was concluded the following year. By the treaty of Utrecht Louis was despoiled of a portion of his Canadian possessions;

he strove hard to retain them intact; but beaten at every point, old, feeble, with a bankrupt treasury, he was glad to have peace on any terms, even if they were humiliating, and so he was forced to give up Nova Scotia, the Newfoundland fisheries and the Hudson Bay territory. Although the war had not seriously affected Canada, the return of peace caused DeVandreuil to turn his attention to emigration, and a steady effort to build up and strengthen the colony. The fur trade had not improved, for although the Indians liked the French very well as companions they did not like to trade with them, for they charged too high for their goods, and gave poor quality, while the English sold better goods and charged less for them, so the fur trade was still mostly directed to New York. DeVandreuil now made an effort to induce the Home Government to act on the theory "in times of peace prepare for war." He represented that at the first rupture between France and England there was no doubt but that an effort would be made to capture the remainder of the French possessions in Canada; and drew a comparison between the two colonies to show how unable New France was to protect itself from the English. He gave the total number of persons in Canada between the ages of fourteen and sixty, capable of bearing arms, as four thousand four hundred and eighty, of whom only about six hundred were soldiers; while the English colonies could muster sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms. He advocated the sending out of more troops, and recommended that one hundred and fifty convicts a year should also be sent as colonists. Fortunately this latter advice was not acted on, and Canada has never been a convict settlement.

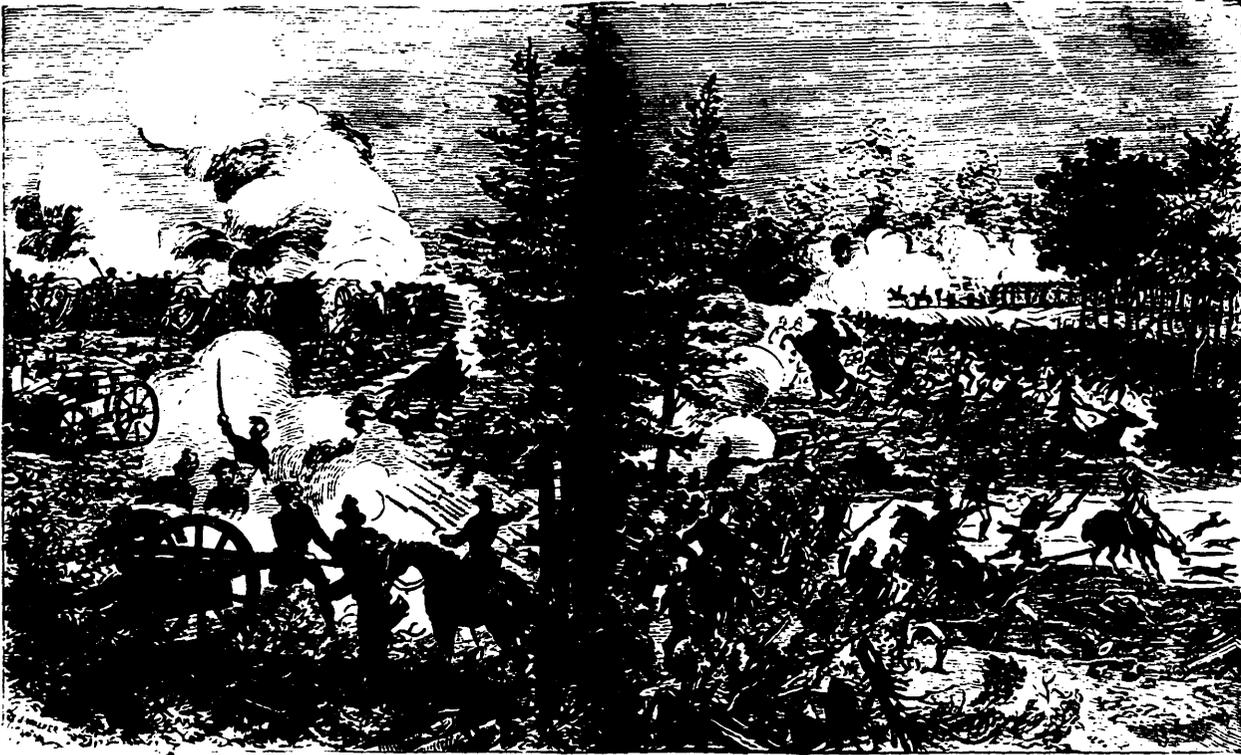
11. The six years, 1714–20, possessed few striking features. The country was at peace and prospered quietly. With the exception of one campaign against the Fox Indians, in 1715, no trouble was ex-

DeVandreuil asks for soldiers and convicts.

perienced with them. Although they had received a bitter lesson at Detroit in 1712 they continued to annoy the French trappers, and DeVandreuil determined to punish them, and sent a strong force against them. Shut up in their fort, and threatened with two field pieces, they submitted; but as soon as they were safe, broke the treaty and always continued to annoy the French on their way down the Mississippi to Louisiana. In 1717 very stringent regulations were made with regard to notaries who had been very remiss in their duties, and caused much trouble with regard to titles. Aside from this the country enjoyed that easy, even sort of existence which affords the historian no salient points to lay hold on, and which is, perhaps, after all the most happy condition in which a country can exist.

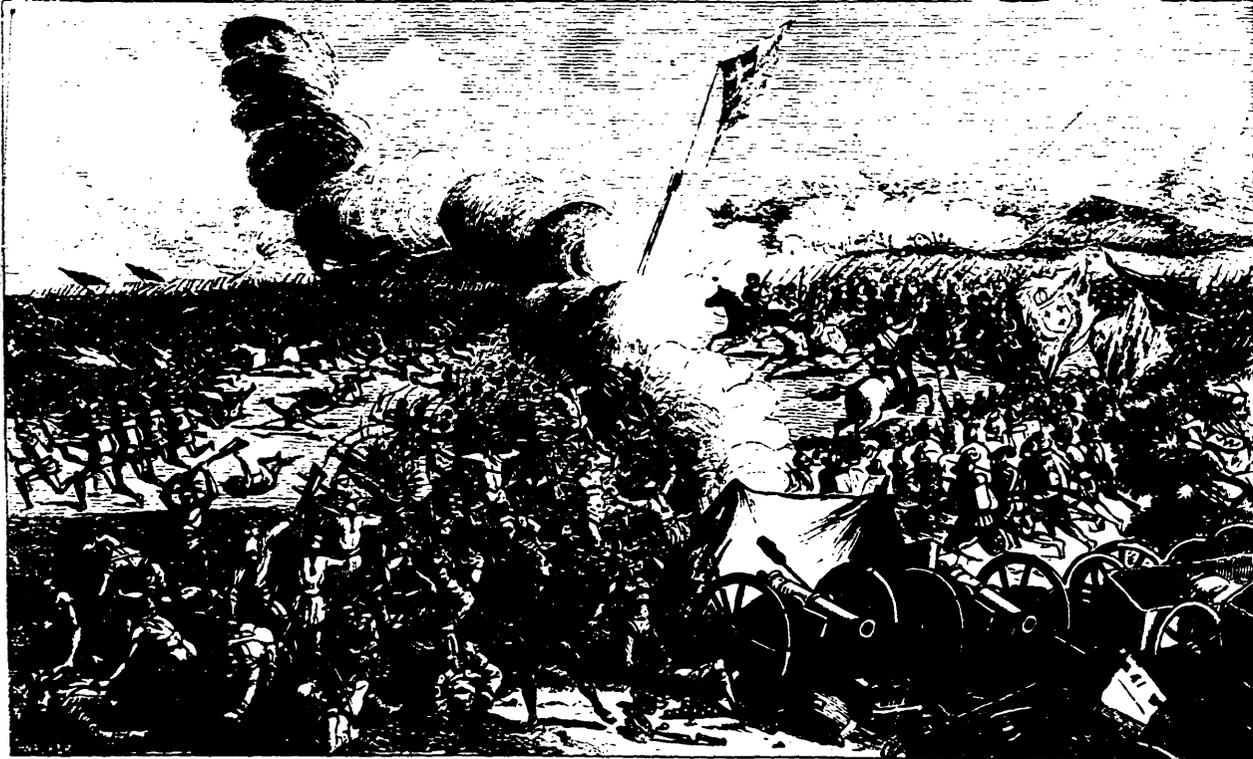
12. Charlevoix, one of the early historians of Canada, spent about a year in Canada visiting the different points of interest, and a few A contemporary view of Canada, 1720-1. extracts from his journal will give our readers a fair idea of the country at that time, as seen by a contemporary writer. He gives the population of Quebec at seven thousand, and it was then, as now, divided into Upper and Lower town. He found the best society, composed of military officers and nobles, to be extremely agreeable, and says that nowhere had he heard the French language more purely spoken.* He says, "The Canadians say, 'The English know better how to accumulate wealth, but we alone are acquainted with the most agreeable way of spending it.'" The only employment suited to their tastes was the fur trade, the roving and adventurous character of which they liked. They made money by it occasionally, which was usually soon squandered again in pleasure and display. Many who made a handsome figure in society were now suffering pecuniary distress; still, while they curtailed the luxuries of their tables, they continued as long as possible to be richly dressed.

* This is rather in contrast with the statement of the Editor of the *Journal des Debats*, concerning the present day, who was travelling in Canada last summer (1876), and wrote some very amusing sketches of his travels to his journal. In one of these he describes the difficulty he experienced in understanding the French Canadians, on account of the different accentuation they give to words from the Parisian; and after illustrating his meaning by giving a conversation he had at his hotel, he concludes, "I am told that these Canadians study much Latin and Greek at their colleges; I thought as I went to bed, 'Would that these Canadians would study less Latin and more French.'"—Ed.



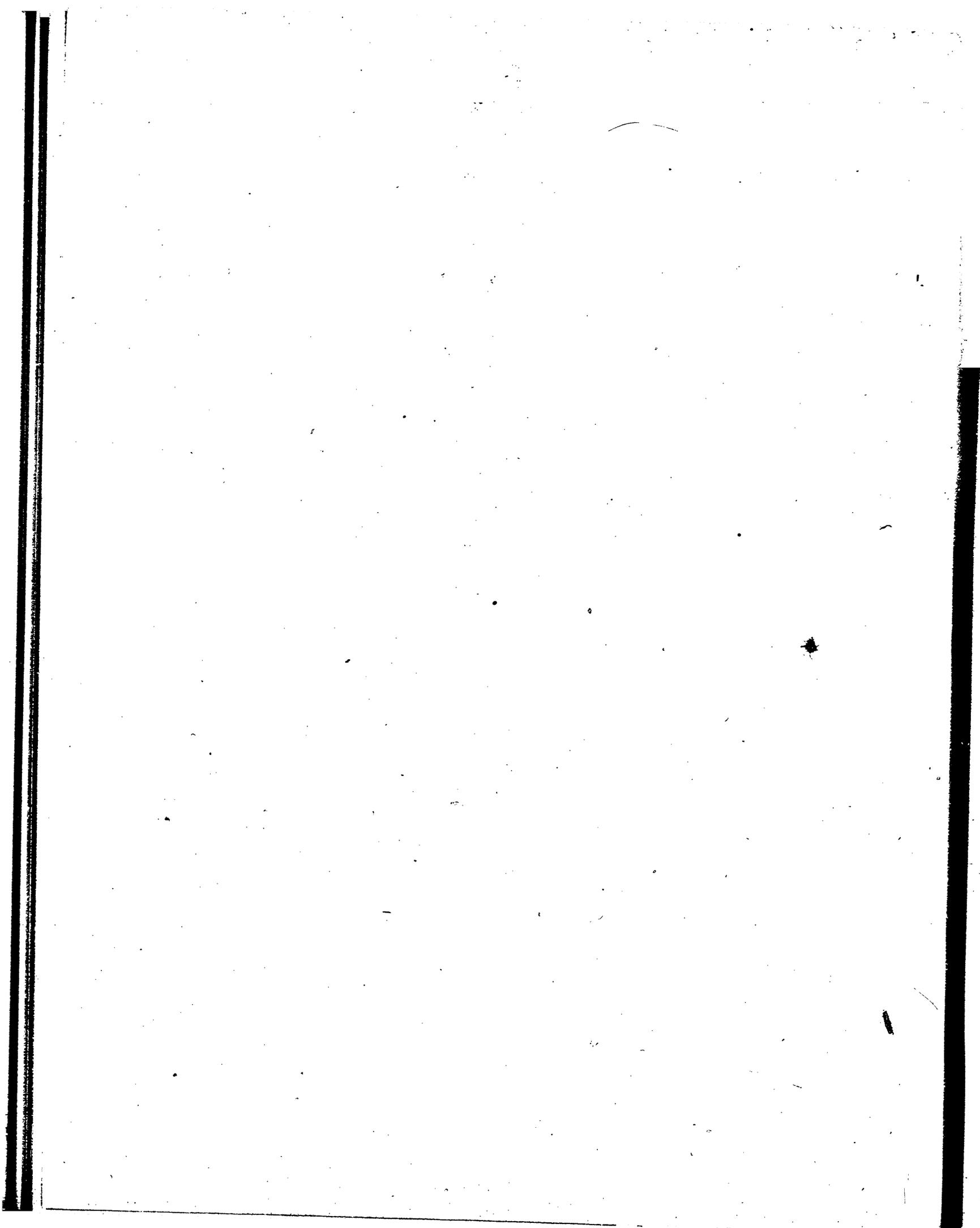
Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

GEN. JOHNSON'S VICTORY, NEAR CROWN POINT, 1755.
(Death of Dieskau.)



Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT, 1755.
(Battle of La Belle Riviere.)



Agriculture received very little attention, and the timber trade was as yet in its infancy. The banks of the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, were laid out in seigniories, and partly cultivated. Some of the farmers were in easy circumstances, and richer than their landlords, whose necessities compelled them to let their land at low quit-rates. At one point he found a baron, holding the office of inspector of highways, who lived in the forest, and derived his support from a traffic with the neighboring Indians. Three Rivers was an agreeable place, containing eight hundred inhabitants and surrounded by cultivated fields; its fur trade had been in a great measure removed to Montreal, and the iron mines had not been worked. He found the country thinly peopled as he ascended the river, until he arrived at the island of Montreal, of which he speaks in glowing terms. He does not state the population of the town, but it was about four thousand at that time. After leaving Montreal he only met with a few posts erected for defence or trade. That is Canada one hundred and forty-two years ago. It would do the old historian's heart good if he could go over the same ground to-day.

13. The years rolled on quietly and peaceably and trade and population steadily increased, so much that, in 1723, nineteen vessels cleared for the ocean. In 1716, some attempt was made to have Quebec and Montreal put in a thorough state of defence, but nothing was done to any extent until 1721, when work was regularly commenced. Montreal, which had hitherto been defended only by palisades, was protected by stone walls, but they were not of a very formidable character. The cost of the work was three hundred thousand livres, which was advanced by the king, one half to be returned by the city, at the rate of six thousand livres per annum: four thousand of which the citizens were required to pay and the remaining two thousand by the Seminary of St. Sulpice. The Marquis DeVaudreuil died on October 10, 1725, to the great sorrow of the population, who deeply and sincerely mourned him. For the long period of twenty-one years had he discharged his important duties with great loyalty, ability, and courage. His vigilance, firmness, and good conduct had preserved Canada to France through a disastrous war, and he went to rest from his labors

Death of DeVaudreuil.

with the blessings and regrets of a grateful people, who had enjoyed all the peace and prosperity provided under his rule.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ACADIA—THE LAST FRENCH GOVERNORS.

1. POOR CONDITION OF THE COLONY.—2. CAPTURE OF PORT ROYAL BY THE BRITISH, 1690.—3. ABANDONMENT OF PORT ROYAL.—4. REVENGE OF THE NEW ENGLANDERS.—5. SUCCESSFUL DEFENCE OF PORT ROYAL.—6. STRENGTHENING THE FORT.

1.—The reader must have been some time anxiously expecting us to return to Acadian affairs. We have not done so until now, except by way of casual reference ^{Poor condition of the Colony.} where such was indispensable to the completeness of our record, partly because the present course conforms to our plan, and mainly because during the period since we last treated of Acadian affairs, there has been little or nothing to record in that department. We have already seen how, in the year 1674, the Government of Cape Breton was made subordinate to that of Quebec, which was the head quarters of the Commander-in-Chief of all New France. During the seventeen years following the signing of the treaty of Breda, France appointed altogether five governors, all of whom devoted themselves more to amassing private fortunes, by trading with the Indians, than to any efforts to improve the colony; so that it is not surprising to find, that in 1686, the Province only contained nine hundred and twelve souls, including thirty soldiers, and that this number was afterwards reduced to eight hundred and six. The only part of the Province where any attention was paid to developing its resources was in Cape Breton, where Nicholas Denys, who had obtained large grants of land by royal letters patent, was making some attempts at agriculture and mining. About this time the coal-mines began to attract attention, as an order was issued in 1677, by which Denys was authorized to collect a tax of twenty sous per ton on all coal exported.

2.—Thus affairs remained in an unsatisfactory

condition until the breaking out of the war between England and France on the accession of William and Mary in 1689. The British colonists, too, now numbered some two hundred thousand, determined to make an effort to gain possession of the French colonies, and selected Port Royal as the first point of attack. The expedition was fitted out at Boston, and the command was given to Sir William Phipps, a man of humble origin, son of a blacksmith, who lived about sixty miles west of Penobscot. Phipps was apprenticed to a carpenter, and at the expiration of his time built a vessel, which he navigated. He made two unsuccessful attempts to recover treasure from sunken ships, one in the Bahamas, the other near Port-de-la-Patal. He made a second attempt at the latter five years later; the Duke of Albemarle, then governor of Jamaica, furnishing the means. This time he was successful, and recovered about three hundred thousand pounds in bullion, for which service he was knighted. The squadron consisted of one frigate of forty guns, one sloop of sixteen and one of eight guns, and four small vessels, with a force of about seven hundred men and boys, and sailed from Boston on the 28th of April, 1690. The fort at Port Royal was in a most dilapidated condition, the guns not even being mounted, and M. de Menneval, Governor of Nova Scotia, who was in command, had only eighty-six men. On the fleet entering the bay, a demand was made by Phipps for a surrender at discretion. De Menneval knew that resistance would be useless, so he sent M. Petit, a priest, to offer a conditional surrender. To this Phipps agreed, and a verbal agreement was entered into that the governor and soldiers should be sent to Quebec with their arms and baggage; that the inhabitants should retain their property, and that they should have free exercise of their religion, the church not to be injured. When Phipps saw the helpless condition of the fort, which could have made no resistance whatever, he declared that he had been tricked; that the terms had been obtained under false pretences, made to him by the priest, and refused to abide by them, as they were not in writing.

3.—Phipps took the Governor and soldiers to Boston as prisoners, as well as the two priests, Petit and Trouve, and having dismantled the port left it without a

Abandonment of Port Royal.

garrison to defend it. It is a curious feature of the history of the Province that the forts often changed hands, and were as often abandoned, the object not being permanent occupation; but the destruction of the fort. The Chevalier de Villebon, De Menneval's successor, arrived a few days after the departure of Phipps, and had an opportunity, of putting the fort in a state of defence and retaining it as a French stronghold; but he preferred to retire to the St. John river, where he remained during the remainder of the war, inflicting great damage on the New England fisheries.

4.—By the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, Nova Scotia was again transferred to France. In 1700 Villebon was recalled and Brouillan was appointed Governor. He not only proved an enemy to the fishermen, but actually gave protection to the pirates who preyed on the trade of Massachusetts. It was no wonder then, that the New Englanders hailed with pleasure the declaration of war with France which followed the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, for they had a long arrearage of grievances to redress, and were anxious for an opportunity of driving the French from the Province. Accordingly an expedition was fitted out in 1704, consisting of one ship of forty two guns, one of thirty two, and a number of transports and whale boats, with about five hundred men. This expedition was under command of Colonel Church and his instructions were to destroy as much property as possible and take all the prisoners he could. He carried out his instructions very fully desolating the fertile region of Minas, which was inhabited by a thrifty agricultural people, able, according to Brouillan, to export eight hundred hogsheads of wheat annually and possessing large quantities of cattle. The expedition also visited Port Royal; but found it well fortified, and it was thought prudent not to attack it.

5.—The Acadians were allowed a respite of nearly three years before they were again attacked by the New Englanders, and in the meanwhile Brouillan died, and M. Subercase was appointed Governor. The New Englanders, however, had not given up the idea of conquering Nova Scotia; and, accordingly, in May 1707, another expedition was sent from Boston to attack Port Royal. It consisted of

Revenge of the New Englanders.

Successful defence of Port Royal.

twenty-three transports and the Province galley, on which were two regiments of militia under Colonels Hilton and Wainwright, the whole conveyed by a fifty-gun frigate. A landing was effected on 6th June; but Subercase had had intimation of their coming and put the fort in a thorough state of defence, and, after losing eighty men in a vain attempt to carry the fort, the New Englanders re-embarked their men, and retired to Casco Bay, where they sent to the Governor of New England for instructions. The Governor was greatly annoyed at the failure of the expedition, and sent a reinforcement of one hundred men to Hilton and Wainwright with instructions to attack the fort a second time. The expedition, accordingly returned to Port Royal and landed a second time; but while they were waiting for instructions, Subercase had been strengthening it, and it was now in a far better condition for defence than on the first visit; and after a siege of fifteen days the English retired, having lost sixteen men, while the French only lost three.

6.—Subercase now proceeded to prepare for a third attack, which he expected. He built a bomb-proof magazine capable of holding Strengthening the Fort. sixty thousand pounds of powder, added new outworks and otherwise greatly added to the strength of the fort; but the third attack was not made; the New Englanders had had enough of Port Royal for the present, and it was left to enjoy peace for a brief period. Subercase was the only one of the French governors who made any real effort to induce the Home Government to colonize the country on a large scale. He was delighted with the soil, climate and resources of the Province, and made frequent appeals for colonization, but he met with little encouragement and less support than any of his predecessors; the fact being that Louis XIV. was too busy just then with his unfortunate war against England under Anne, to give any attention to his colonies; he needed all the men and money he could raise at home, and the colonies had to look out for themselves.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ACADIA.—GOVERNMENT OF NICHOLSON.

1. FINAL CAPTURE OF PORT ROYAL.—2. TERMS OF THE CAPITULATION.—3. THE ENGLISH PERMANENTLY OCCUPY PORT ROYAL.—4. NICHOLSON APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA.—5. BUILDING OF FORT LOUISBOURG.—6. PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE REFUSED THE ACADIANS.—7. PECULIAR STATE OF AFFAIRS.

1.—No further attempt was made on Nova Scotia until 1710, when preparations on a large scale were made for the reduction of the Province to British rule. Final capture of Port Royal. Colonel Nicholson commanded an expedition which sailed from Boston for Port Royal on 18th September, 1710. This was the largest expedition ever sent against it, and consisted of thirty-six vessels, including five transports from England, bearing over three thousand men of the New England militia. A demand for the surrender of the fort was made, and no reply being received, Nicholson landed his forces. The fort was in a very poor condition for defence; Subercase, who commanded, had only three hundred men, and on these he could not fully depend, as they were without pay, and short of provisions. Subercase had been greatly neglected by the French government, and he complains in a letter to the French Minister, asking for assistance, as follows: "I have had means, by my industry, to borrow wherewith to subsist the garrison for these two years. I have paid what I could by selling my movables. I will give even to my last shirt, but I fear all my pains will prove useless if we are not succored during the month of March or early in April, supposing the enemy should let us rest all winter." Nicholson, however, had no such intention, and made a peremptory demand for the surrender of the fort, or he would assault it. Subercase, finding his garrison disorganized, opened communications for a capitulation.

2.—The terms of the capitulation were soon agreed to, and were much more favorable than Subercase had expected to be granted, considering the state of his Terms of the capitulation. garrison. They provided that the garrison should march out with their arms and

baggage, drums beating and colors flying, and that they should be conveyed to Rochelle; and that the inhabitants within two miles of Port Royal should be allowed to remain on their lands for two years, with their corn, cattle and furniture, if so disposed, *on their taking the oath of allegiance to the Queen of Great Britain.** The appearance of the soldiers as they marched out, tattered, hungry, and half mutinous, was an ample excuse for the quiet submission of Subercase, and Nicholson must have regretted that he granted such easy terms to such a disreputable looking lot. They brought out their colors with them, and with them the French flag passed away from Port Royal for ever, for it was never again taken from the English. Four hundred and eighty men in all were conveyed to Rochelle.

3.—The English had now become fully convinced of the bad policy of their previous conduct in abandoning Port Royal as soon as it was captured, and determined to leave a garrison of two hundred marines and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers, under command of Colonel Vetch, as Governor, the squadron then returning to New England. The Acadians, who expected the fort to be abandoned as usual, were greatly alarmed at a permanent occupation, and acted with such hostility that Vetch had to take severe measures to convince them that as long as they remained they must act as faithful subjects of the British Queen. Ardently loyal, these restraints were very galling to the Acadians, and they wrote to DeVaudreuil, who was then Governor of Canada, asking him to assist them to gain a country where they could have absolute freedom. DeVaudreuil sent messengers to the Jesuit missionaries to stir up the Indians against the English, and the result was that the garrison was, in a measure, blockaded in their own fort, it not being safe for them to go into the woods; and a party of eighty were surprised by the Indians and thirty killed. De Vaudreuil was preparing an expedition to endeavor to recapture Port Royal (which was now called Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne), but the threatened invasion of Canada by Admiral Walker,

* This is an important clause, as the Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, did not contain it; and the Acadians claimed they were not compelled to take it, an obstinacy which finally led to their expulsion, as will be shown further on. Ed.

particulars of which we gave in chapter xxxvii., prevented him from doing so; and the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, ceded the whole of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to Great Britain, leaving France, however, the island of Cape Breton.

4.—In accordance with this cession General Nicholson was appointed the first Governor of Nova Scotia, in 1714, and received on his appointment a graceful letter from Queen Anne, in which she said that, in consideration of the King of France having released a number of his subjects, who had been confined to the galleys for professing the Protestant faith, at her request, she wished to show her appreciation of the kindness, by ordering that all Frenchmen who desired to remain in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, should be allowed to retain their property and enjoy all the privileges of British subjects; and if they preferred to move elsewhere, they were permitted to sell their property. On the arrival of Governor Nicholson, he at once required the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance to the Queen of Great Britain; but this they positively refused to do, owning no sovereignty but that of France, and saying they would rather leave the country than take the oath. Now, although it was not positively stated in the treaty of Utrecht that they should take the oath, it was fully implied by the conditions on which they were required to leave the country within a year, unless they desired to do so.

5.—Cape Breton being secured to France, the government saw the necessity of having a strong fort to replace Fort Royal, and protect the North American fisheries; and, after some deliberation on the matter, the site of Louisbourg was selected, and a fort built. The Governor of Cape Breton was very anxious to have the Acadians and the French settlers in Newfoundland come to Cape Breton; but the former did not like to leave the fertile plains of the Annapolis valley to build new homes in Cape Breton, which was not so well suited for their purposes of agriculture. Many of the Newfoundlanders, however, took advantage of the offer and removed to Louisbourg, and about this time a young French officer who had been serving in the navy, named De la Bourlardie, obtained the beautiful island which now bears his name. The French authorities at Louis-

Nicholson appointed first Governor of Nova Scotia.

Building of Fort Louisbourg.

bourg continued to urge the Acadians to leave their country, but in vain, until it was too late to do so without permission, the year allowed by the treaty having expired. It appears, however, that permission was asked by the government of Cape Breton, of the Governor of Nova Scotia, for the Acadians to emigrate, and that this permission was refused. The request was embodied in a letter from the Minister of Marine, at Paris, to the French Ambassador at London, dated 7th November, 1714, and on file in the State Paper office, London.

6.—This letter was finally handed to Colonel Vetch, who was in London at the time, and his answer to it, dated 24th November, 1714, gives a very fair idea of the condition of the Acadians at that time. He says that the number of French families in Acadia and Nova Scotia, as near as he could ascertain after three years' residence, was about five hundred, which, at an average of five each, would give a population of twenty-five hundred. He estimates the population of Cape Breton, not including the garrison, at about the same as Nova Scotia, it having been greatly augmented by emigration from Newfoundland. He strongly advises that permission should be refused, as the whole population would leave, there being no English except those in the garrison at Annapolis. He further urges that it would not only greatly strengthen the French in Cape Breton, and increase a hostile population, in too close proximity to Nova Scotia, but would give all the fur trade to the French, as many of them had intermarried with the Indians, and they would undoubtedly all go to Cape Breton to trade. He estimates the number of cattle owned by the Acadians at five thousand, with about the same number of sheep and swine. He states that nearly all the families were under a written agreement to remain, and would have been quite content to do so but "that they were importuned, and threatened by the officers to be treated as rebels unless they removed."

7.—The position of affairs in Acadia now became a peculiar one. The English government did not absolutely refuse to allow the Acadians to go; but they did not enforce their taking the oath of allegiance, and so they remained nominally the conquered subjects of Queen Anne, but not acknowledging or recognizing their allegiance. This

Permission to emigrate refused the Acadians.

Peculiar state of affairs.

course of the British Government was caused, probably, by the condition the country would be in if all its inhabitants left, which they would if the oath was insisted on, while on the other hand they were willing to stay if it was not. And again, undoubtedly the French government was satisfied as long as the Acadians retained their allegiance to France, as in the event of a war they could depend on a strong assistance from them in an attempt to capture Port Royal. And thus the vacillating policy of the two governments left the poor Acadians neither entirely Frenchmen, nor quite Englishmen. An insight into the condition of affairs at this time may be gained from the instructions at the time of the proclamation of the ascension of George the First to the throne in 1714, on the death of Queen Anne. The officers were sent to Sheknecto, River St. John, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot, and were instructed to see "how the inhabitants stand affected to the English Crown, the nature of their occupations, and the reasons why they do not, as usual, come into these parts and vend their commodities." The oaths of allegiance were also to be "tendered to such as are willing to take them," but nothing is said about compulsion.

CHAPTER XL.

ACADIA.—GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL RICHARD PHILLIPS.

1. THE ACADIANS REFUSE TO EITHER TAKE THE OATH OR LEAVE.—2. A COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE CALLED.—3. THE ACADIANS STILL REFUSE TO TAKE THE OATH.—4. MASCARENE'S ACCOUNT OF THE PROVINCE.—5. MASCARENE'S ACCOUNT OF MINAS.—6. OUTRAGE AT CANSO BY THE INDIANS AND FRENCH.

1.—Thomas Caulfield, Lieutenant-Governor of Annapolis under Nicholson, in making his report of the proclamation, says that the oaths were refused as was expected, and asks how he is to act. He also recommends that the French be induced to remain, or, in other words, that the oaths should not be forced, and says that the next generation would, probably, grow up loyal to the British

The Acadians refuse to either take the oath or leave.

Crown. He gives as the reason for the Indians being attached to the French, that the latter had stores established for the exchange of furs, and recommends that the English do the same. In 1717, General Richard Phillips succeeded General Nicholson as Governor; and John Doucet was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in place of Caulfield. Writing from Boston, before he reached Annapolis, Phillips recommends that more troops be sent out, as the French are growing very insolent, and are led on by their priests, two of whom, Félix and Vincent, had assumed the functions of governors of Chignecto and Minas, and were particularly bitter in their denunciations of the British. He also states that the French had refused to either take the oath or leave.

2.—On his arrival, Phillips found matters in quite as unsatisfactory a state as had been represented to him in Boston. He estimates the number of families as four hundred, and recommends that they be resolutely dealt with immediately, as in a few years they will be greatly increased. In another letter he says the Acadians “are settlers on a fertile soil, raising a great store of cattle and corn, and trafficking in furs at pleasure with the neighboring French colonies at Cape Breton and the Island of St. John, yet refusing supplies to the garrison in the greatest necessities.” He also accuses them “of inciting the Indians to robbery and murder, to the destruction of trade and hindrance of settling the country.” The first council, after the arrival of Governor Phillips at Annapolis, was held on 19th April, 1720, and it was resolved to issue a proclamation to the inhabitants requiring them to choose six persons to represent the whole people at a conference to be held with the council on the subject of the oath of allegiance. The conference met on the 4th May, but on account of the ineligibility of two of the members for want of proper property qualification, nothing was done, and a proclamation was issued for the appointment of two new members.

3.—The Acadian side of the story is somewhat different. In a letter to M. St. Ovide de Brouillon, Governor of Cape Breton, they state that General Phillips insists on their taking the oath or leaving the country; but, if they leave, will only allow them to take two sheep for each family, unless

The Acadians still refuse to take the oath.

they leave within four months. They still profess their steadfast loyalty to the French king, and declare that they will never acknowledge any other. They commenced preparations for departure within the specified time, and began to build a road to Minas by which to drive off their cattle; but were stopped by order of the Governor. This action so alarmed them that deputies were sent in to the Governor promising submission. In his report of these circumstances to the Home Government, Phillips charges that the Acadians pay rent for their land to the Lords of the Manor at Cape Breton, which is a clear violation of the treaty of Utrecht.

4.—In the year 1720, Paul Mascarene—who was afterwards Governor of the Province, at the request of the Board of Trade, made a report on the country which Governor Phillips endorses as “the most exact and perfect account of the Province which has been given,” and from this report we propose to make some extracts. He gives the boundaries of the Province as from the limits of the Government of Massachusetts Bay in New England, or Kennebec River, about the forty-fourth degree of north latitude, to Cape Rosiers, on the south side of the entrance to the River St. Lawrence, in the same latitude; its breadth extending from the easternmost part of the Island of Cape Breton to the south side of the St. Lawrence, out of which tract the French had yielded to them the islands situated in the gulf and at the mouth of the river. He next describes the nature of the soil and its quality for agriculture, the different kinds of woods and minerals. The mines at Doré, he says, had been worked, but not found to pay on account of the great expense in getting the copper out. He reports good coal mines at Chignecto, and an abundance of white marble at the St. John River, which made an excellent lime. He gives five large settlements on the south side of the Bay of Fundy, which were inhabited by French and Indians, of whom about one thousand were capable of bearing arms. He represents the fort as situated about two leagues above Goat Island, on a piece of rising sandy ground, on the south side of the river, at a point formed by the British River, and another small one called Jenny River. “The lower town lies along the first, and is commanded by the fort, and the upper town stretches about a mile and a half

Mascarene's account of the Province.

south-east from the fort in scattered houses, on the rising ground between the two rivers. From the rising ground to the banks of each river, and on the other bank of the smaller one, lie large meadows which formerly were protected from the water and produced good grain and sweet grass, but the "dykes" being broken down, they are overflowed at every spring tide to five leagues above the fort. On both sides of the British River are five farms inhabited by about two hundred families, the river not being navigable more than two leagues above the fort by any other than small boats. The banks of the river are very pleasant and fruitful, and produce wheat, rye, and other grain, also pulse, garden roots and splendid cabbages. Here abound cattle and fowl, and if the several good tracts of land along this river were well improved they would serve for a much greater number of inhabitants.

5.—He states that the chief employment of the inhabitants is agriculture, and that they employ their spare time in hunting, while in the summer some of the young men go fishing. "Manis has its name from the copper mines which are said to be about it, especially at one of the Capes which divides the Bay of Fundy, and is called the Bay of Mines or Cape Dore. This town lies thirty leagues by sea, and about twenty-two by land, east north-east from Annapolis Royal, on the same side of the Bay of Fundy; the harbor there is very wild and insecure. The vessels trading there, which seldom exceed forty or fifty tons, take the opportunity of the tide which commonly rises from nine to ten fathoms, and run up a creek to the town, where when the tide leaves them they lie dry on a bank of mud which stretches five or six miles before it reaches low-water mark. The houses, which compose a kind of scattered town, lie on a rising ground along two creeks which run betwixt them and the meadow, which is thus formed into a kind of peninsula which has a great store of cattle and other conveniences. The inhabitants here are more numerous than those of the British River." He estimates that Cobequid, Truro and Onslow, with the surrounding country, had about fifty French families. Chignecto he describes as situated on the westernmost branch of the Bay of Fundy, almost at the mouth of it, and had about seventy or eighty families. He says that this

Mascarene's report
of Manis.

region abounded more than any other with cattle and a very brisk trade was carried on between it and Cape Breton.

6.—The Indians now began to give trouble, and in August, 1720, they attacked the English fishermen at Canso while they were asleep, killed four and carried off a large quantity of fish and other valuables to the amount of about one hundred thousand dollars. They were assisted by the French; but a portion of the fish was recovered through the energy of the captain of a sloop which had just entered the harbor. Some of the Indians on their return to Minas found a trading vessel belonging to a Mr. John Alder, which they plundered in the presence of the French population, who did not offer to interfere. The Council met in September and reported these outrages, suggesting that a sufficient force be sent out to keep the French in subjection, as they show no respect for British authority beyond the guns of the fort, still refuse to take the oath, and show no indications of any intention of leaving the country. The Board of Trade reply that there seems to be no course left but to remove the French to some other country; but directs the Council not to take any steps in that direction except under positive orders from His Majesty.

Outrage at Canso by
Indians and French.

CHAPTER XLI.

ACADIA—GOVERNMENT OF MASCARENE.

- 1.—APPOINTMENT OF ARMSTRONG.—HIS SUICIDE.
- 2. APPOINTMENT OF MASCARENE.—3. MASCARENE'S CONCILIATORY POLICY.—4. WARLIKE DEMONSTRATION FROM LOUISBOURG.—5. DE RAMEZAY'S SURPRISE OF GRAND PRE.—6. STRENGTH OF LOUISBOURG.—7. PROPOSAL TO ATTACK LOUISBOURG.—8. DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION.—9. CAPITULATION OF LOUISBOURG.—10. GENERAL REJOICING.—11. VALUABLE PRIZES TAKEN.—12. A FLEET DESPATCHED TO RECAPTURE LOUISBOURG.—13. DESTRUCTION TO THE FLEET BY TEMPESTS.—14. THE REMNANT OF THE FLEET, SCOURGED BY PESTILENCE, RETURNS TO FRANCE.—15. THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.—16. CAPE BRETON RETURNED TO FRANCE.

1.—The administration of the affairs of Annapolis were administered by Lieutenant-Colonel Armstrong, who was appointed in 1722, Phillips having resided in England from that time to 1739. Phillips never returned to Annapolis except for a period of about two years, 1729–31, although he nominally remained Governor, and drew the pay as such up to the time of his death in 1849, at the advanced age of ninety. The Lieutenant-Governor administered the affairs of the Province with the aid of the Council, and, as had Phillips, devoted most of his attention to inducing the Acadians to take the oath. In this he was partially successful, as a sort of compromise was effected, some of the Acadians taking the oath with a marginal note in French to the effect that they would not be required to bear arms. Armstrong was a very nervous man, who let little things worry him, and he brooded so much over the difficulties of his position that it caused a slight mental derangement, and on the 6th of December, 1739, he was found dead in his bed with five wounds in his chest, and his sword by his side.

2.—During the visit of Governor Phillips in 1729–31, he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle to say that he had induced all the people in the neighborhood of Annapolis to take the oath unconditionally, and afterwards, in 1730, in a letter to the same nobleman, he announces that he had induced the people of the other settlements to do the same. On the death of Armstrong, Paul Mascarene succeeded him. Mascarene's father was a Huguenot, residing at Castras, in the South of France, when Paul was born in 1684. On the revocation of the edict of Nantes, his father had to fly, and Paul was brought up by his grandmother, until the age of twelve, at which time he went to school at Geneva, and after having graduated, emigrated to England, where he became naturalized in 1706. At the age of twenty-four he was appointed second Lieutenant in Lord Montague's regiment, and in 1710, he obtained a commission as Captain and was ordered to America, when he joined one of the regiments, being raised for the attack on Port Royal, where he commanded the Grenadiers of Colonel Walter's regiment, and was the officer who took formal possession of the fort.

3.—The policy of Mascarene was the same as

his predecessor's, inasmuch as it was intended to lead the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance; but it went further than this and endeavored to propitiate and make friends with them. He was a far more able man than either Phillips or Armstrong, and his statesmanship stood England in good stead some years after, when another war almost lost her Annapolis. Soon after his appointment, Mascarene opened a correspondence with Father Desendaves, who had been Parish Priest at Annapolis for many years, and during his administration he kept on as friendly terms as possible with the clergy, knowing the great influence they had over the Acadians. In 1743 he wrote to the Secretary of State on the probability of a war with France, stating that in that event he was afraid that much confidence could not be placed in the Acadians; and that the two principal places in the Province, Annapolis and Canso, were not in a proper state of defense. Men were sent from New England to repair the fort, and while they were at work on it in May, 1744, assisted by some of the Acadians, a galley arrived from Massachusetts to announce that war had again been declared between England and France, and as soon as the Acadians heard it they left the fort. The news soon spread, and the Indians, at the instigation of the French, began to make demonstrations.

4.—The hostility of the Indians was not very violent; they approached near the fort, but did not offer to attack it, contenting themselves with killing two men who left the place to visit some neighboring gardens, contrary to orders. Shortly after the outbreak of the war an attempt on Annapolis was made from Louisbourg, but the party waited for an expected squadron from France to assist them; and as it did not come they retired, after remaining a few weeks near the fort, without risking an attack alone; although it is doubtful whether or not they might have carried it, for it was not very strongly defended. Mascarene now reaped the benefit of his judicious policy towards the Acadians, and his friendly understanding with the priests, for although the Acadians would not fight with the English they would not fight against them, which was more than Mascarene had hoped would be the case. On the retirement

Appointment of
Armstrong—His suc-
cde.

Mascarene's conciliatory policy.

Appointment of
Mascarene.

Warlike demonstra-
tion from Louis-
bourg.



SIR RICHARD G. MACDONNELL.



HON EDWARD BOWEN.



SIR JOHN MICHEL.



SIR WM. F. WILLIAMS.



SIR JOHN B. ROBINSON.



of the expedition from Louisbourg, Mascarene set himself vigorously to work to strengthen the fort, for he anticipated another expedition would come from Louisbourg with greater strength. He had also a promise of men and ammunition from New England, and he thought he could hold the place. Still he did not cease his conciliatory policy towards the Acadians, and it bore good fruit; for in May, 1745, Lieutenant Marin, with three hundred militia and three hundred Indians, arrived in the vicinity of the fort, and endeavored to get the Acadians to join in an attack on it; but they steadily refused to do so, in spite of Marin's entreaties and his threats. The people were strongly impressed with the friendliness of the Governor; and, besides, they knew the extent of Mascarene's preparations, which Marin did not. While Marin was in doubt what to do, orders came for him to go to the relief of Louisbourg, which was besieged by the English. This he did with four hundred of his men, but his vessels were chased by English cruisers and he did not reach Louisbourg until a month after it had surrendered.

5.—The next demonstration against Annapolis was made by DeRamezay, in the winter of 1741, with a force of almost seven hundred Canadians; but Mascarene having received a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty soldiers, and the fort having been very greatly strengthened, DeRamezay thought it most prudent to retire to Chignecto (Cumberland) and await assistance from France, which was expected in the spring. While there he heard that a body of New England militia was wintering at Grand Pré, and determined to attack them. This party consisted of four hundred and seventy men, under command of Colonel Noble, and formed part of one thousand men which Mascarene had been promised by New England, to assist him in driving the French entirely out of the Province. They reached Minas on 13th December, 1746, and as they found there was ample corn and cattle to support them for the winter, without inconveniencing the inhabitants, they determined to remain there until the spring, the men being quartered at Grand Pré. DeRamezay left Chignecto on the 23d January, 1747, with two hundred and forty Canadian militia, twelve officers and sixty Indians, and reached Grand Pré about 2 o'clock on the morning

DeRamezay's surprise of Grand Pré.

of the 4th February. The English were entirely taken by surprise, they being all in bed; but a gallant resistance was made and fighting in the houses went on until 10 o'clock, when terms of capitulation were agreed to. The English were to leave within twenty-four hours, with the honors of war and six days' rations, the prisoners taken to remain in the hands of the French. Colonel Noble, commander of the English, was killed while fighting in his night dress, and Coulon, who commanded the French, was severely wounded. The French arrived at Beaubassin on the 8th March, from which the whole French force was shortly after withdrawn.

6.—We will turn aside here, for a few moments, from Nova Scotia, and take a hasty glance at how Cape Breton had been prospering since the treaty of Utrecht. The ^{Strength of Louisbourg.} retention of Cape Breton by France under that treaty, and the permanent accession of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland by the British, proved of great advantage to the colony of Cape Breton, as also many of the French from Newfoundland. The importance to them of having a stronghold to protect their North American fisheries, which were very valuable to them, had been pointed out to the government, by M. Raudat, Intendant of Canada, in 1708; and, after Port Royal was permanently lost to them, a harbor was sought for in Cape Breton which would suit their purpose; and after careful consideration of the advantages offered by various harbors, that of Havre a l'Anglais was selected as the most suitable, and a fort erected which was called Louisbourg. The intention was to erect a fort which was impregnable, and the work was prosecuted on a vast scale, and with all the engineering skill of those days. For a quarter of a century Louisbourg retained its reputation of impregnability, and was regarded as the strongest fort in America, except Quebec. The ramparts of the fortress were about two miles and a quarter in circumference, and were mounted with one hundred and sixty guns. The entrance to the harbor was guarded by a strong battery at what is now Lighthouse Point, and about half way up towards Point Rochfort, on the opposite side of the harbor, was another battery on a small island. The defenses were equally good on the land side, and, if bravely defended, Louisbourg seemed to be really impregnable.

7.—Several persons lay claim to the honor of having first proposed an attack on Louisbourg, and urged its feasibility. Mr. Brown, Proposal to attack Louisbourg. in his history of Cape Breton, ascribes the honor to Lieut.-Governor Clarke, of New York, and Dr. Callaghan, in his "New York Documents," gives a letter written by the Governor to the Duke of Newcastle, in 1743, advocating an attack. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1745, there is an article by Judge Auchmuty, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Massachusetts, on the possibility of taking Louisbourg, and giving a plan of attack; but, whoever might first have suggested it, the honor of carrying it out undoubtedly belongs to Governor William Shirley, of Massachusetts, who, in November, 1744, addressed the British minister on the subject, showing its importance and the possibility of the fort being taken with aid from New England. Without awaiting for a reply, Shirley called a meeting of the Legislature, and, in secret session, under an oath of secrecy, proposed the plan to them. It was voted down; but one of the members who had great trust in the Lord, and was blessed with excellent lungs, prayed so loud for the success of the enterprise that he was heard outside the council room, and the secret was soon no longer a secret. Shirley was defeated by the Legislature, but not beaten; he had a petition gotten up which was signed by nearly all the leading merchants, praying the Legislature to reconsider their action, and the result was that the motion in favor of the expedition was carried by a majority of one.

8.—The enthusiasm became very great in all the Provinces as soon as it was known what the Departure of the Expedition. object of the expedition was, and the necessary number of four thousand men was soon raised. The expedition had somewhat the air of a crusade about it, for Louisbourg was looked upon as the stronghold of Romanism, and the Puritans hated Popery rather more than they did the devil; and it is even reported of one worthy pastor that he carried a hatchet in his belt for the purpose of cutting down the images he found in the churches. Whitfield, the great preacher, who was in New England at the time, gave the expedition the motto: "*Nil desperandum Christo duce.*" After the expedition had been determined upon, Shirley

sent to Commodore Warren, who was in command of the West India squadron, asking him to cooperate with him; but Warren refused to do so without orders from England. Shirley was greatly discouraged, but not disheartened, and he wisely kept the refusal to himself and Generals Pepperell and Wolcott, the former of whom was an experienced militia officer and was in command of the expedition; and so the men left Boston in April under the impression that Walker would join them at their rendezvous at Canso. And so he did, very much to Pepperell's surprise and pleasure. After refusing to join Shirley without orders from London, he received instructions to go to Boston; and, thinking he knew pretty well what he was wanted in Boston for, he bore up direct for Canso, the place of rendezvous, reaching it just in time to join the expedition.

9.—The fleet left Canso on the 29th April, and arrived at Garabus Bay, near Louisbourg, on the day following, causing great Capitulation of Louisbourg. consternation in the town when it was known that an English fleet was coming to attack them. The fort was in excellent condition, well supplied with stores and ammunition, and ought to have been able to stand a long siege; but the men were mutinous, and clamored for their pay, which was long overdue, and Shirley, who was aware of this, had hurried his preparations on that account. Governor Duchambeau, however, managed to infuse spirit into his men, by calling them together and delivering a telling address, in which he reminded them that, whatever their grievances, it was their duty now to unite and repulse the common foe for the sake of their king and country. The address had the desired effect, and the men returned to their duty; but their defence was a half-hearted one, and there is little doubt but that had the besieged possessed the pluck and courage of the besiegers, Louisbourg would not then have passed under English control. No opposition was offered to the landing of the English at Flat Point, within half a league of the city, at which point they established themselves. On the north-west arm they found immense quantities of naval stores, including brandy and wine, which were set fire to; but, unfortunately all the brandy was not burned, and the victors gave themselves up to drunkenness on it after the capitulation. Half a mile nearer the

city, and nearly opposite to the centre of the opening of the harbor, stood the grand battery; but, to the great surprise of the English, it was abandoned on their approach without a shot being fired. It was immediately taken possession of by the invaders, who were thus within gunshot of the city. The guns were spiked, but in a few days they were drilled out and fire opened on the city. The siege was kept up for a month, when a simultaneous attack by land and water was determined on; but before the assault commenced, Duchambeau sent to offer to make terms of capitulation; and, terms being agreed to, the fortress was handed over to the British on the 17th June. This great victory was cheaply bought by the English, they only losing one hundred and thirty men during the siege; the loss of the French was never correctly ascertained.

10.—Great were the rejoicings in both Old and New England, on receipt of the news of the fall of this renowned fortress, and the people of New England went nearly wild with joy at the success of their arms; there were grand illuminations, bonfires, and a general jubilee. Pepperell was made a baronet for his conduct, and Warren an Admiral. So much for glory; but there was something for profit to come. Pepperell and Warren acted as joint Governors, and they ordered the French flag to be left flying in order to decoy merchantmen. In this ruse they were successful, and shortly captured two East-Indiamen, whose cargoes were worth over seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and a few days after, a grand prize was taken in the shape of the ship "Deliverance," which, under an ostensible cargo of cocoa, had gold, silver, and Peruvian dollars, to the value of four millions of dollars, one half of which was claimed by the officers and crews of the fleet as prize-money. Not long after this, English cruisers off the Azores captured two consorts of the "Deliverance," laden with specie which it required forty-three wagons to carry from Bristol to London, and when the prize-money was distributed each common sailor got over four thousand dollars as his share.

11.—The victors were not wise in their victory. What the French could not effect, rum did, and hundreds were carried off by fever caused by excessive drinking. Pepperell reports that twelve hundred

General rejoicing.
Valuable prizes
taken.

A fleet despatched
to re-capture
Louisbourg.

men died of fever; and Admiral Knowles, who succeeded Warren, says it was nothing unusual to see a thousand drunken men in the streets in one day. The result of this was, that immense stores of liquor were found in the place, and proper precautions were not taken to secure it. Warren gave orders that all the rum should be placed in the casements of the citadel, and one thousand hogsheads were so stored; but the order must have been very carelessly executed, for very large quantities were left where the men had access to it; and they drank to excess, thus sullyng by debauchery an otherwise splendid victory. It was with dismay and mortification that the French Government received intelligence of the fall of Louisbourg, and the capture of so many rich prizes; and it was at once resolved that Louisbourg must be re-taken at any cost. A large fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, twenty frigates, thirty transports, and two fire ships, was collected and placed under the command of the Duke D'Anville, while the Viceroy of Canada was instructed to co-operate. D'Anville's instructions were of the most alarming character; he was to "re-take Louisbourg, capture Annapolis, and leave a garrison in it; destroy Boston, ravage the seaboard of New England, and attack the British islands in the West Indies." He set sail on June 22d, 1746, escaping an English fleet under Admiral Martin, which had been sent to watch the movements of the French. When the news that the French fleet had sailed reached England, a squadron of eighteen ships was sent in pursuit, under command of Admiral Lestock, but, being baffled by contrary winds, was obliged to return.

12.—The Bostonians were terribly alarmed at their promised destruction, and the ministers, in their prayers from the pulpit, were more pointed than polite in their references to D'Anville. All the preparations possible were, however, made, and the place put in as good a state of defence as could be done. The preparations of the Bostonians were, however, unnecessary; for a greater power than they fought for them, and the elements and the plague did what they would, probably, have failed to accomplish—a fact which the worthy pastors of New England did not fail to turn to good account afterwards, in their discourses to their congregations. D'Anville's fleet had an un-

Destruction to the
fleet by tempest.

usually long passage, and contrary winds all the way. While off Sable Island they encountered a tremendous gale, several transports were wrecked on the island, other of the ships had to run to the West Indies, and some put back to France, while it was not till the 10th September, that D'Anville arrived at Chebucto (Halifax), the place of rendezvous, with only two ships and a few transports. This overwhelming disaster so preyed on his spirits that he died on the 16th, of apoplexy, brought on, it is said, by excessive drinking. Vice Admiral D'Estournelle then took command and held a council of war, at which he proposed to return to France.

13.—In this, however, he was opposed by all his officers, who maintained that they had still force enough left to capture Annapolis, which they insisted on doing. The Admiral, angered at the obstinacy of his officers, grew delirious, and suddenly drawing his sword placed it to his breast and fell on it, the blade passing through his heart. Almost immediately after this second tragedy a pestilence broke out amongst the men. According to Haliburton it was small-pox. It spread with great rapidity, carrying off thousands. On the 11th of October, a French cruiser put into Chebucto with an express from Governor Shirley to Admiral Lestock, at Louisbourg, informing him of the state of affairs, which had been captured by the cruiser, and the information that Lestock was so near them so alarmed the French officers in their crippled condition, that they determined to make all sail for France at once. The crews were hurried on board. Those which had lost their crews—for some had had their whole crews swept away—scuttled and sunk, and the plague-stricken, shattered remnant of the great expedition returned to France. Not deterred by this great disaster, the French, in the spring of 1747, sent out another fleet of fourteen war ships and twenty transports, under command of M. de la Jonquière, for the same purpose. But the English learned of the expedition and sent a fleet to intercept it, and the two fleets met off Cape Finisterre on 3d May, when a fierce engagement ensued, resulting in the capture, by the English, of nine ships of war, several transports, six East-Indiamen, and property valued at nearly eight millions of dollars.

14.—Both sides had by this time become tired, for

awhile, of fighting, and desired breathing time before beginning again. Negotiations for peace were, therefore, opened in 1748, and resulted in the famous

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Cape Breton returned to France.

(or in-famous) treaty of peace, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which England gave up nearly all she had gained by the war, and made terms more befitting a conquered than a conquering people. All that France lost by war, and more too, she recovered by diplomacy, and it was no wonder that a howl of disapproval went up in England, and that it was speedily evident that the fire of enmity between the two nations had not burned out, but still smouldered, and would soon again burst forth to burn more fiercely than ever. The terms of the treaty stipulated "that all conquests which had been made since the commencement of the war, or since the conclusion of the preliminary articles, signed in April last, either in Europe, the East or West Indies, or any other part of the world, should be restored without exception." England also submitted to the indignity of having Lord Cathcart and the Earl of Sussex retained as hostages in France until authentic advices were received that Cape Breton and other conquests had been restored. Therestoration of Louisbourg was bitterly felt by the New England States, which had suffered much during the war, and were justly indignant at the little respect for their safety shown by the mother country. Louisbourg was a constant source of danger and annoyance to them, a regular thorn in their side, and it was a bitter pill for them to swallow to think that this place, won by their valor, was to be replaced in the hands of their enemies to be used against them again. The feeling of discontent was very widespread, and there is no doubt but that the signing of this treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was one of the primary causes of that ill-feeling between the colonies and the mother country which eventuated in the War of Independence.

CHAPTER XLII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE-BEAUHARNOIS.

1. DIFFICULTIES WITH THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.—2. BUILDING OF A FORT AT CROWN

POINT.—3. PROGRESS OF THE COLONY IN TIME OF PEACE.—4. FAMINE, EARTHQUAKES AND SMALL-POX.—5. ATTEMPT TO FIND AN OVERLAND ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC.—6. THE CONDITION OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN 1726.—7. THE GOVERNOR'S INTERFERENCE IN THE CLERICAL QUARREL.—8. RECALL OF DUPUIS, AND CENSURE OF DEBEAUHARNOIS.—9. THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUCCESSION UNDER FRENCH RULE.—10. IMPROVED GOOD-FEELING WITH THE INDIANS.—11. RECALL OF DEBEAUHARNOIS.

1.—The Marquis DeBeauharnois was the next Governor of Canada; and was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Marquis DeVaudreuil. He arrived in May, 1726, and found himself almost immediately involved in a controversy with the Governor of New York, with reference to a fort which the English had erected at Oswego, for the double purpose of enlarging the fur-trade with the Indians, and of protection from the inroads of the French and Indians in case of war. Beauharnois protested against this as a breach of the treaty of Utrecht, and a warm controversy ensued, in the course of which Beauharnois threatened to destroy the fort by force; the answer of Governor Brunet, of New York, to this was to strengthen the garrison, re-victual it, and supply it with arms and ammunition. This settled the matter for the time being, as neither Governor was willing to strike the first blow in a trial *vi et armis*. As an offset to Oswego, however, Governor Beauharnois applied to, and received from, the Onondagas permission to erect a stone fort and trading-post at Niagara. This permission was gained mainly through the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, and the commencement of the fort so annoyed Governor Brunet that he persuaded the Senecas to claim the land as belonging to them. This they did; but the French paid no attention to the protest, and the building of the fort was continued, the Senecas not making any forcible interference owing to the powerful influence of Joncaire, who still resided amongst them.

2.—Beauharnois was not content with the erection of a fort at Niagara, he desired a place more convenient for tapping the fur-trade of New York, and which would command one of the great

Difficulties with the Governor of New York.

Building a fort at Crown Point.

water highways of that state in the event of war; he therefore, in 1731, commenced the erection of Fort Frederic (so called after the Count de Maurepas, Minister of Marine at the time) at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. M. de la Corne was the first to call attention to the importance of such a position, as it would menace both Albany and Oswego, in case of war, and was in such close proximity to the Hudson and Connecticut River settlements as to make descents on them from it an easy matter. Governors Belcher, of Massachusetts, and Vandam, of New York, became alarmed at what appeared to them so hostile a demonstration, and sent a joint deputation to Beauharnois to protest against the building of the fort; but the nations had been at peace so many years now, and there seemed so little prospect of war, that the protest was not very energetically pushed, and the French were allowed to continue the building of Fort Frederic without further remonstrance.

3.—A long period of peace now intervened, which was used by Beauharnois for improving the condition of the people and encouraging agriculture, and many large farms began to spring into existence along the banks of the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. But the progress of Canada was far inferior to that of the British colonies, some of the reasons for which were that emigration scarcely amounted to anything; the people were more fond of pleasure than work, and had an excessive number of holidays; while the plan of settling only along the rivers, and using them as highways, as there were no roads made into the interior, caused the farms to be very narrow by considerable depth; thus they generally had from two to three acres frontage by from sixty to eighty depth. Another point against rapid increase was the frequent subdivision of lands, as the law was the same as that of France, which gave the property in equal shares amongst the children, and, as the families were mostly large, the seigniories and farms soon got cut up into small portions, thus operating against the clearing of new lands, as the people were too indolent to clear a large track of wild land, while they could get a small piece of land already cleared. These evils grew so great at last that, in 1744, the king directed the Bishop of Quebec to suppress a number of holidays, which,

Progress of the colony in time of peace.

instead of being kept as religious occasions, were only used for drunkenness and dissipation; and also by an edict forbidding the subdivision of land or the erection of dwellings on lots smaller than one and a half acres frontage, by a depth of forty acres, under a penalty of one hundred livres.

4.—The period of peace was not, however, one of unbroken prosperity. During the twenty years cessation from the din of arms, Canada had to strive against disease, floods and famine. In 1732, there were very heavy floods on the St. Lawrence, and a vast amount of property was lost, while an earthquake not only damaged but terribly frightened the people. The year 1730 was long known as the "famine" year on account of the great scarcity of bread, and it was in this year that the Digue du Palais, at Quebec, was constructed to give employment to the starving people. It was a sea-wall forming a winter harbor for one hundred vessels, and the site of it is now occupied by the wharves. It will seem curious to the modern reader to know that one of the greatest hardships the poor had to endure that winter, 1829-30, was having to eat potatoes instead of bread, so little was that now necessary vegetable either known or appreciated then; the poor in many cases preferring to eat *bourgeois*, and quite a number are said to have died of hunger in Quebec. A great scarcity of food also prevailed in the two following years, although not to so great an extent, and the year 1733 was marked by a return of that violent scourge, small-pox, which carried off the inhabitants, and especially the Indians, in large numbers.

5.—It was in this period of peace that the first attempt was made to reach the Pacific by land; the subject had been mooted as early as 1718, but the first practical attempt was made in 1731, by Pierre Gauthier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, who received considerable encouragement, but no material support, from M. DeBeauharnois. M. Vérendrye received orders to take possession in the king's name of all countries he may discover, and the right to trade, erect forts, &c.; but he received no aid from the government, and associated himself with a trading company formed in Montreal; so that, as gain was one of the main objects of the explorations, they were not very vigorously prosecuted, and M. Vérendrye never

got any further than the foot of the Rocky Mountains. The party established a number of forts and trading places at the Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, Lake Manitoba, on the Red and Assiniboëls Rivers and at other points. The explorations spread over a number of years, up to the death of M. de la Vérendrye in 1749; but he never received any support from the government, and, after having incurred a debt of forty thousand livres while prosecuting his discoveries, he was just ordered by the government to resume his journey when he died. His heirs laid claim to the right of continuing his discoveries; but Bigot, the Intendant, set their claim aside and formed an association to prosecute the discoveries. This association, however, was only a trading speculation, and was composed of Jonquière, the Governor; Bigot, the Intendant; Bréard, comptroller of Marine; LeGardeur de St. Pierre, and Captain Lamarque St. Marin. The two latter had command of the two expeditions sent out, at government expense, one professedly to ascend the Missouri River to its source, and from thence to follow the first river which seemed to flow towards the Pacific; and the other to pass by way of Lake Manitoba, and join the first expedition at a given latitude on the Pacific. But fur, not science, was really the prime object of both expeditions, and they penetrated no further than the Rocky Mountains, near which Fort Jonquière was built in 1752, and from which so good a trade was done, that Jonquière is said to have received three hundred thousand francs as his share of the plunder.

6.—This scheme for reaching the Pacific has led us a little beyond the period of the government of M. de Beauharnois; we will now return to his term of office, and glance at the ecclesiastical condition of the country, and the struggle between the Church and the Intendant, M. Dupuis, which occupied much time and attention during the governorship of M. de Beauharnois, and for the fullest particulars relating to which we are indebted to Garneau. The origin of the dispute was in the Church itself; and it was only after matters had gone to some length that M. Dupuis appeared on the scene. The cause of the difference was the death of M. de St. Vallier, the second Bishop of Quebec, who succeeded Laval in 1688, and died in December, 1725. M. de Mornay, Grand Vicar

Famine, Earth-
quakes and Small-
pox.

Attempt to find an
overland route to
the Pacific.

The condition of
ecclesiastical affairs
in 1725.

and Coadjutor of the late Bishop, was in France at the time of the prelate's death, and the trouble arose as to who should take charge of the body for interment. M. de Lotbinière, Archdeacon of the Diocese, had charge of it; but it was claimed by the Chapter, headed by M. Poulard, on the ground that as the functions of the Grand Vicar and Coadjutor ceased on the death of the Bishop, it was for them (the Chapter) to take charge of the remains. The Archdeacon paid no attention to the Chapter the Chapter insisted; the Archdeacon appealed to the Intendant, who sustained him; the Chapter refused to obey the Archdeacon as Grand Vicar *pro tem*, and its leader and members were summoned before the Supreme Council. They refused to obey, denying the right of any civil tribunal to try them on a charge which came within ecclesiastical jurisdiction only. Now M. Dupuis laid great stress on formalities, and was a firm believer in the power of Parliament; and he held that the Supreme Council had the same functions as the Parliament of Paris; he therefore reminded the Chapter that before any appeal could be made to the Council at Paris (which appeal they had notified their intention of making in the event of an adverse decision), the case must come before the Supreme Council of Quebec. The Chapter paid no attention to this; and the Supreme Council, at the instance of M. Dupuis, passed a decree declaring that the see of Quebec was not really vacant, as M. de Mornay, though absent, was not defunct; and, such being the case, the Chapter was rightly inhibited from exercising any interim act whatever.

7.—The Chapter, however, would not recognize the decree. M. de Tounancourt, one of the canons, from the pulpit of the cathedral, on the following Sunday, which was Epiphany, read a mandamus protesting against the intervention of civil power in what was purely an ecclesiastical matter; and every parish priest was instructed to read a copy of the mandamus after the sermon on the following Sunday. For this open defiance of himself and the Supreme Council, M. Dupuis proceeded to prosecute Canon Tounancourt. It was now that M. de Beauharnois took a part in the dispute, warmly supporting the Church against the Supreme Council. He had an ordinance read to the Council, restraining the members from taking any

The Governor's interference in the clerical quarrel.

further action in the matter of the quarrel amongst the clergy; and requiring the revocation of any orders already passed on the subject. The Council objected to this high-handed proceeding, and M. Lenoullier, one of the members, stated that it was an insult to the Council as the Supreme Court of the colony; and declared that the Council would appeal to the king against the governor. Beauharnois replied that the Council as a body was absolute over every one in the colony except himself, and that he was absolute over them. He next had the interdict read at the head of companies of the troops, regulars and militia; and further ordered that no decrees of Council should be received unless sanctioned by him. The Council then passed the following counter-ordinance: "The colonists have long known that those who have authority from the prince to govern them have no right, in any case, to cross their path while striving to obtain their legitimate ends; that, on occasions where there is a diversity of sentiment among state functionaries respecting things ordained in common, the provisional execution of a measure variously viewed, belongs to the department it regards; therefore, if there be a difference of opinion, as to acts affecting the community, between the Governor-General and the Intendant, the views of the former are to prevail, supposing the matter in question to be one falling within his province as administrative chief—such as the operations of war and the regulation of military discipline; on these subjects it is competent for him to issue ordinances without consulting any one, but in no other case whatever. Similarly, the ordinances of the Intendant are to have force, provisionally, in matters properly belonging to his office—such as law procedure, police, and finances. The parties when dissident (Governor and Intendant), to account to the king for their several modes of action in every case, in order that his Majesty may decide between them. Such is the nature of the government of Canada." Mr. Garneau adds that this first, and only, formal declaration of rights enunciated during the whole of the French rule in Canada, was justified by a regulation of the year 1684, signed by Louis XIV. and Colbert.

8.—After this the struggle between the Governor and the Intendant—for so it had now become—grew fiercer. The Council were not unani-

Recall of Dupuis and censure of De Beauharnois. mous, but had a majority, and they sent to prison those who refused to obey their orders. On the other hand, the Governor had the military, who poked their swords through the orders in derision; and when the Council had any one arrested the Governor released him, and those so arrested were treated somewhat as martyrs, and favored by the Governor. At last DeBeauharnois had gained over several of the Council, and only needed the absence of two members to reduce the Council roll below the number necessary to grant decrees. At this time he was in Montreal, and he sent a sealed order to Quebec to have the two leaders of the Opposition in the Council, Messrs. D'Artigny and Gaillard, arrested and sent into exile. Dupuis on his side, as President of the Council, was equal to the occasion, and ordered the members to remain in their places and disregard the orders of the Governor. This brought matters to a square issue, and the whole case was submitted to France for judgment. The clergy were about equally divided during the contest; the secular clergy supported the governor, the Recollets sided with the Chapter, and the Jesuits remained neutral. Pending the decision of the ministry, the Governor forcibly prevented Messrs. Gaillard and d'Artigny from taking their seats at the council board, and it was not until some time afterwards that they were allowed to do so. The decision of Cardinal Fleury, then prime minister of France, was, on the whole, adverse to Dupuis, as he was recalled; but it also slightly censured DeBeauharnois. An order was sent to the Supreme Council to disseize the temporalities of the cathedral Chapter, which had been kept under provisional sequestration by the law authorities during the contest; and M. de Maurepas, minister of marine, under whose jurisdiction DeBeauharnois was, blamed him for his arbitrary interposition in the process begun against the chapter and clergy. He was also severely reprimanded for exiling Messrs. Gaillard and d'Artigny, as being an exercise of the royal prerogative delegated to no representative.

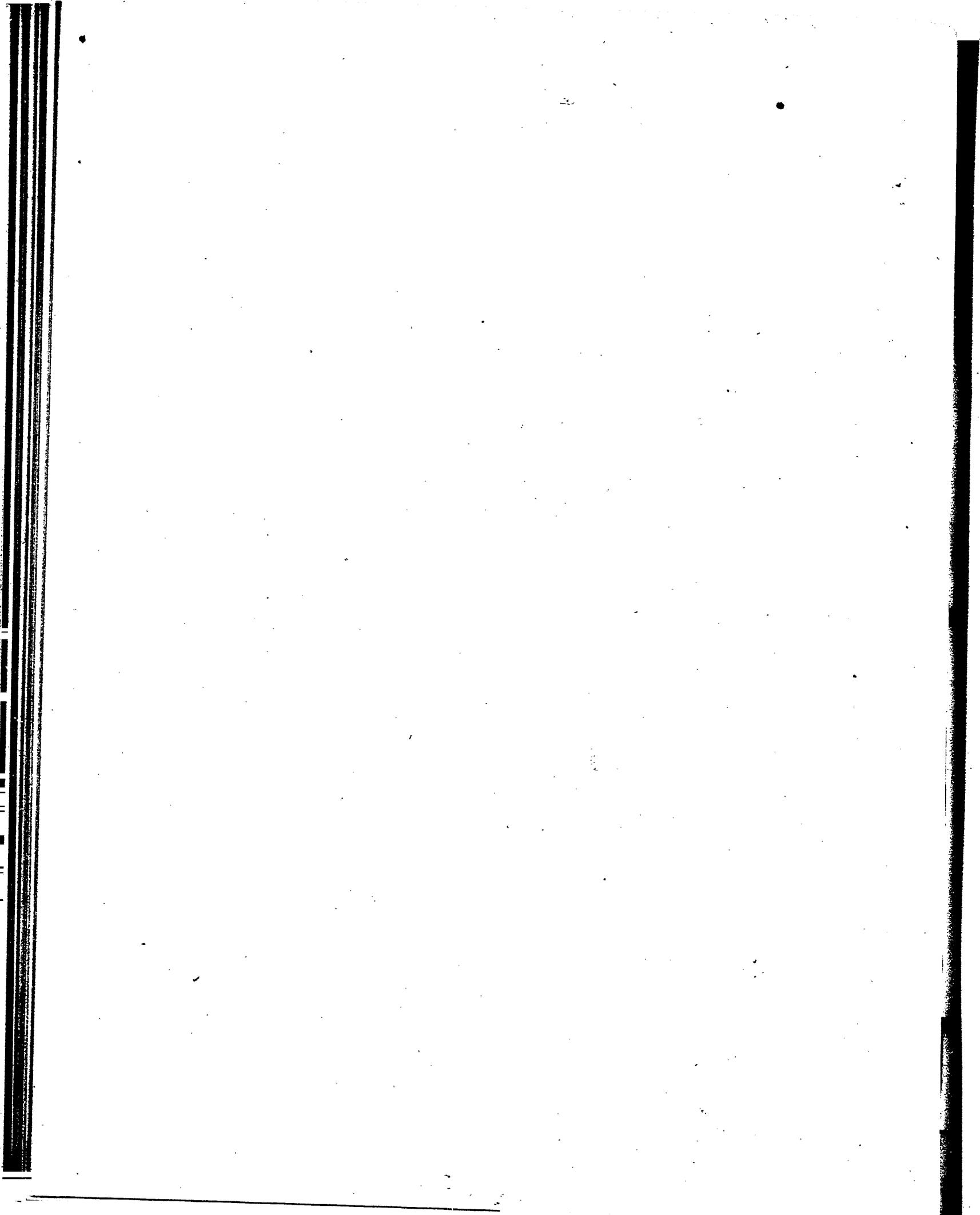
9.—As we shall not have occasion again to refer directly to the ecclesiastical affairs of the Colony for some time, we may as well finish the succession of bishops down to the time of the conquest

The ecclesiastical succession under French rule.

by the English. M. de Mornay, who had been appointed coadjutor of M. de St. Vallier in 1714, was appointed his successor on his death in 1725, and ranks as the third Bishop of Quebec; but, as we have already stated, he was absent in France at the time of M. de St. Vallier's death, and he never returned to Canada. He retained the title and authority until 1733; but the ecclesiastical affairs of the Province were administered by three grand-vicars, elected by the chapter and confirmed by the nominal bishop, who, with the dean, governed the see. This ecclesiastical interregnum lasted for some years, as M. Herman Dosquet, who succeeded M. de Mornay in 1733, as fourth Bishop of Quebec, only visited Quebec for a short time in 1734, and, returning to France the same year, remained, nominally, bishop until 1739, when he resigned. His successor, M. Pourray de l'Auberivière, was appointed by Pope Clement XII.; but arriving in Quebec while small-pox was raging there, in 1740, he caught the disease and died before he had entered upon his functions as bishop. In 1741 M. Dubreuil de Pontbrait was appointed by Pope Benedict XIV. as sixth Bishop of Quebec; and he was the last bishop under French rule. During the period when there was no resident bishop, the cathedral clergy became rather severe towards the inmates of the nunneries; and the Ursuline nuns were threatened with excommunication if they confessed to any one but M. Boulard, Coryphæus of the high clergy, or some priest selected by him; and seven of the sisters were actually debarred confession and communion for a while because they preferred to confess to the Jesuit priests. This conduct of the canons was afterwards, however, disapproved by the court. An early writer on Canada states that about this time the Ursuline nuns became rather lax with regard to their vows, and mixed very freely in society, for which they were reprovved by Cardinal Fleury.

10.—During the peaceful government of De Beauharnois, the friendly feeling between the French and Indians greatly improved; and trade was considerably enlarged from two causes; Improved good feeling with the Indians. Recall of DeBeauharnois. first, because many restrictions and monopolies were removed; and second, because a large annual fair was opened at Montreal, where the Indians could come and dispose of their goods, and buy





what they wanted in return; and they soon began to prefer coming to Montreal, instead of going to Albany, since so many of the French had intermarried with them, adopted their customs and followed their wild hunting life, that they felt more at home with them than with the exclusive and trading Englishman. The Colony remained in a prosperous condition up to the time of the outbreak of war between England and France, on the accession of Maria Theresa to the Crown of Austria. The European complications soon spread to America, and the stronghold of the French in Cape Breton, Louisbourg, was captured by the New Englanders, as already related. M. DeBeauharnois was blamed for his want of co-operation in the first attempt to retake this fortress, and recalled; and his successor, Admiral La Jonquière, a man of sixty, had the misfortune to be captured on his way to Canada, by the English. The fleet, which was intended to re-capture Louisbourg, was defeated off Cape Finisterre, and the new Governor of Canada was amongst the numerous captives. During his captivity the Count De le Galissonnière was appointed to act until his exchange could be effected.

CHAPTER XLIII.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, 1608-1744.

1. THE FIRST FLEETS OF FISHING VESSELS.—2. EARLY TRADE WITH THE INDIANS; AND ESTABLISHMENT OF MONOPOLIES.—3. THE PRIVILEGES OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY; ITS COLLAPSE.—4. FORMATION OF THE COMPANY OF CANADA.—5. M. D'AUTEUIL'S REMARKS ON THE COLONY.—6. TRADING LICENSES.—7. THE LAWS OF NON-INTERCOURSE.—8. EFFORTS TO INDUCE SHIP-BUILDING.—9. THE NATURE AND VALUE OF COMMERCE BEFORE THE CONQUEST.—10. INTRODUCTION OF THE POSTAL SYSTEM, 1721.—11. SLAVERY IN CANADA.—12. CUSTOMS DUTIES; NO BONDED WAREHOUSES.—13. THE MONETARY SYSTEM; CARD MONEY.—14. IMPERFECT TRADE RETURNS; STUPIDITY OF OFFICIALS.—15. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EMIGRATION UNDER FRENCH AND ENGLISH RULE.

1.—As we are now approaching the close of French administration in Canada, we will pause for a while to take a general view of the commerce and industry of the country from the settlement of Quebec to the time of the conquest. In doing so we will, of necessity, be led into some partial repetitions, as the state of trade has been incidentally mentioned under several gubernatorial periods, but we think it will be better to summarize the whole subject in one chapter. The earliest efforts at commerce, as far as Canada was concerned, were confined to the fisheries in the neighborhood of Newfoundland; and we find the French engaged in this traffic in the early part of the sixteenth century, the fishermen being from the Norman, Basque and Breton Provinces. The English did not engage in the business until some years later, and then they found about fifty French, Spanish and Portuguese vessels employed in cod-fishing. The fleet of French fishing vessels steadily increased, and, in 1558, in addition to the cod-fishers, they had about thirty vessels engaged in whale fishing. At this time there were less than a dozen English vessels engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries; but the number rapidly increased until 1615, when there were nearly three hundred English vessels engaged in the trade, as against about four hundred of other nationalities, only one-half of which latter were French.

2.—From coming to catch fish the French soon learned to look also for fur; and the fishermen soon began to trade with the natives, and after a while factories were established for the greater convenience of both French and Indians. It was not long before this trade became valuable, and it was at once attempted to monopolize it. The first license for a monopoly of the peltry trade was granted to Captain Charwin, early in the seventeenth century; but the merchants of Rochelle strongly opposed it, and very little attention was paid to his nominal right to all the trade in furs. In the year 1637-8, the "Company of One Hundred Associates" was formed, with Cardinal Richelieu as its nominal head. This Company was granted very extensive powers, to colonize, found missions, build ships, monopolize the entire fur trade, and all the import trade of the colony. The fisheries were, however, left free, and the Com-

The first fleets of fishing vessels.

Early trade with the Indians; and establishment of monopolies.

pany after an unsuccessful existence of thirty-six years, became extinct. They did not, however, maintain the entire control of the peltry trade, but opened it, in 1645, to the colonists on payment of a royalty. Still the Company did not prosper, and after its extinction the trade of the Colony was open, for a short while, but only to be given up to a greater monopoly known as "The West India Company," which was started in 1664, and had a grant of monopoly for forty years.

3.—This gigantic monopoly had control not only of the whole trade of New France, but of the whole Atlantic seaboard of Africa, and all the French possessions in the West Indies. The capital of the company was one million livres, and they had over a hundred vessels engaged in their traffic, which consisted of almost everything, from importing negroes into the West Indies, to exporting all manufactured goods to be used in the colonies, from France. The privileges of the company were very great; according to Smith "this company was to have the right to all mines and minerals, the power of levying and recruiting soldiers in France, building forts, and the right of waging war against the Indians or the neighboring colonies. Distinctive armorial bearings were allowed to the association, surmounted by the royal arms of France; and to encourage immigration, all colonists, present and to come, being Catholics, were to have the same rights in France as his Majesty's subjects at home. In addition to the above handsome list of privileges and immunities accorded to this favored company, its stock or shares were made transferable; and the revenues or profits of them alone could be attached for debts owing by the holders, even to the king himself. His Majesty also agreed to advance one tenth of the stock without interest for five years, subject to a proportion of all losses which might be incurred by the company during that period." The effect of this monopoly was to raise prices to such a height that the colonists protested and Colbert had to interfere. The company then partially opened the trade in furs to the colonists; but claimed a royalty of one fourth on beaver, and one tenth on all other skins. This state of things existed up to 1674, when the affairs of the company were wound up. In spite of its great concessions it was over three millions and a half livres in debt, and, as the

The privileges of the West India Company. Its collapse.

debt had been mostly incurred for war purposes with the English, Louis XIV. paid the debt and abolished the privileges of the company.

4.—But Canada was not to be allowed free trade in furs yet. The king retained the royalty on skins imposed by the company, and farmed this out to M. Oudette, who had a monopoly, all the beaver skins being delivered at his factories, and paid for at a fixed rate of four francs, ten sous, per pound (about eighty-five cents). This monopoly existed until the year 1700 when the colonists again protested against the enormous exactions of the monopoly, and a new company was formed in which Canadians were allowed to take shares. This company was known as the Company of Canada, and was also a monopoly, as none but its members had a right to trade in furs. This company had only an existence of six years, and transferred its debts of nearly two millions of francs to Messrs. Aubert, Nerot and Guyot in 1706.

Formation of the Company of Canada.

5.—What may be considered a fair exhibit of the commercial condition of the colony was made in 1715, by M. Ruelle d'Auteuil, in two memorials on "The Present State of Canada." He states, in substance, that the trade with the Indians had greatly diminished; ship-building was brisk, and a great deal of hemp for cordage, and flax for linen and thread, were grown. He complains of the neglect of the timber trade, France using no Canadian timber while England got much of hers from her American colonies. He also complains of the neglect of the Huron copper mines; and charges the monopolist companies with having failed to complete their contracts to colonize the country. They were bound to procure from two to three hundred immigrants a year, whereas very little had ever been done in the way of immigration, and nothing whatever since 1663. He charges the Governors and Intendants with not intending to stay in the colony, but merely using it as a means of preferment at home, meanwhile enriching themselves at the cost of the colony. With reference to the card-money (of which we will speak further on in this chapter) he alleges that two millions of livres of it were in circulation in 1714, and suggested that an investigation should be held with regard to its verification and regulation, as the issues had

D'Auteuil's remarks on the colony.

not been severally commanded by specific royal decrees. He suggested that the Governors and Intendants should be changed every three or six years, and that a royal commission should be appointed to receive complaints from colonists. He estimated the annual value of the peltry trade at the time he wrote (1715) at two millions of francs (\$375,000); but it is difficult to form any correct estimate of its exact value during any period of French rule.

6.—The monopoly of Aubert & Co. was superseded, in 1717, by the Western Company, which was afterwards merged into Law's Mississippi scheme; and, after the explosion of that notorious swindle, held a monopoly of the peltry trade for a few years, when it again passed under regal sway, and so remained, until the conquest, a monopoly to the last. The trading-posts of Frontenac, Toronto and Niagara were taken into the hands of the government, and trading licenses issued, for the avowed purpose of enabling the colonists to give better prices to the Indians, and so counteract the growing trade with the English. Some idea of the profits derived from the trade, at this time, may be gathered from the following passage from Smith: "The amount of trade allowed to each license, usual cost of which being six hundred crowns, was merchandise valued at one thousand crowns. To carry on the trade, and to convey the returns, the license-holder was bound to employ two canoes, six men in each. The seller of the license had the right of furnishing the goods used in barter, at a price fifteen per cent. higher than the market rate. A successful adventure, under such a license, generally gave to the merchants a profit of four hundred per cent. on the merchandise, and six hundred crowns to each of the canoe-men. The latter were not only entitled to provisions and clothing, but interested in the results of the adventure, by having a legal right to divide the surplus of the returns, after the cost of the license, merchandise, and four hundred per cent. profit to the merchant, had been reimbursed."

7.—Up to the time of the treaty of Utrecht (1713) the French had done the bulk of the peltry trade, in spite of the rivalry of the English, and the antagonism of the Iroquois; but the taking from them by that treaty, of the Hudson Bay territory, was a

The laws of non-intercourse.

great blow to the volume of their trade; besides which, the competition with the English became so keen that the French found they could not import goods from France, and barter them with the Indians on nearly as good terms as the English could offer, they therefore bought large quantities of the goods they needed from the English, and a considerable contraband trade was kept up between Montreal and Albany. To stop this, Governor Burnet, of New York, indeed the Assembly to pass a non-intercourse bill, in 1720, to last three years, preventing Canadians from bartering their furs in Albany for European goods, and in 1727 the law was made permanent. This caused an immediate increase of prices in Canada, and cloth for barter rose from twenty-five to fifty per cent. As a sort of retaliation for this act, Louis XIV. issued an edict, in 1727, forbidding all intercourse with the British. The system of monopoly operated against the general interests of the public; the licenses were usually issued for three years, and the holders, as a natural result, tried to make as much money as possible in that time, and were not very particular as to the means used. Rum was brought freely into operation, and played a very conspicuous part in trade, the Indians being frequently well plied with liquor before beginning to trade. Some strange instances of curious barter are recorded, amongst them a purchase of beaver skins, in 1754, at a western trading-post, for four grains of pepper each; and another of a pound of vermilion being retailed in small quantities so that it netted nearly one hundred and fifty dollars.

8.—In view of the immense importance of the lumber trade to Canada in later days, one is surprised to find that it was almost entirely neglected up to the time of the conquest. Whilst the New Englanders were exporting lumber, fish and produce of various kinds, the French were confining themselves almost entirely to the fur-trade, and a little agriculture and fishing for domestic purposes. The fishing interest, however, improved after the peace of Utrecht, and, in 1722, there were fourteen fishing stations below Quebec, engaged in seal and porpoise catching, the gulf and river being then much frequented by them. Later on, the exportation of salted fish to France became quite an important item of trade. The Canadians never

Efforts to induce ship-building.

paid much attention to ship-building, except for their own immediate use, although encouragement was offered by the home government, and in 1731 M. de Maurepas, then Minister of Marine, granted a premium of five hundred francs for every vessel of two hundred tons or more, built in the colony and sold in France, or the West Indies, and one hundred and fifty francs for every barge of from thirty to sixty tons. He also intimated that if the merchant ships were satisfactory, the colony would be given a contract to build ships of war. An effort was made in 1732, and ten vessels were built; but they were not nearly so good as those made in New England, and cost much more, and a large number of vessels used in the colonial trade were bought from New England.

9.—Some attempts at mining were made, but were not very successful, the coal mines in Cape Breton, already referred to in our

The nature and value of commerce before the conquest.

chapters on Acadia, being the most important until 1737, when a company was formed to work the iron mines at Three Rivers, a branch of Canadian industry which has greatly enlarged and increased; and the Three Rivers of to-day can boast of having the oldest forge and smelting furnace in Canada. Copper was known to exist in Canada before Cartier discovered the country, and the aborigines showed him samples of it on his visiting Lake Superior, and the Jesuits were always on the look out for a large deposit of the ore in the region of that lake—mentioned more fully in our chapter, ‘The Jesuits on the Lakes;’—but the few attempts that were made at mining the veins discovered proved too expensive to pay. Considerable excitement was caused in 1716 by the discovery of the ‘Ginseng’ plant, which promised, at first, to be of great value to the colony as an article of export to China, where it was in great demand, and worth from four to five dollars a pound, while it could be bought in Quebec for fifty cents a pound, and less; but the eagerness to realize on it defeated its own object; the plant was not properly prepared for market, the Chinese would not have it, and the trade died out. Quebec was not only the seat of government, but the centre of trade, and employed about thirty vessels in her trade with France. A considerable business was also done with Cape Breton and the West Indies, the exports being flour, vegetables, staves, lumber, &c.; while

the return cargoes were coal, sugar, rum, coffee, and molasses; about half a dozen vessels were engaged in this trade, and about as many more went from Quebec annually to the seal fisheries. A writer on the condition of Canada at the time of the war, which terminated in its conquest by the English, estimates the value of its exports at about two million and a half of francs, while the imports were placed at eight millions; included in this latter item is a large amount for arms, ammunition, and naval stores, which were imported in great quantities, and part of which were used and part—a considerable part—stolen and misapplied by the Intendant and other officers.

10.—As we have already noticed, all attempts at manufactures were discouraged after Talon's encouragement of industry in 1671, and all goods had to be imported from France. This monopoly of manufactures continued until 1716, when the Canadians were allowed to make coarse cloths, &c., for their own use—as already mentioned in our chapter on the government of the Marquis de Vaudreuil; but this manufacture was confined to each house, and was in no way allowed to form a part of the commerce of the country. Salt was also made, but only to a limited extent, and the only period in which it is mentioned as being of any importance was in 1746, when works were established at Kamouraska, during war time when salt was scarce; but they were abandoned after they had supplied the immediate necessity. To Intendant Bigot belongs the credit of introducing the postal system into Canada, and the first mails were carried between Quebec and Montreal in 1721. The posting was, of course, a monopoly, and the right was given to M. Lanouiller for twenty years, the rates charged being according to the distance the letter was carried.

Introduction of the postal system, 1721.

11.—The question has often been mooted as to whether there ever were any slaves in Canada, and many writers have claimed that there were, while others have as stoutly maintained that there were not. The facts of the case seem to be that there were some slaves, but they did not pay as a speculation, the climate being unsuited to the blacks, and, as negro slavery was only a matter of buying and selling profitable animals, the race soon died out. Garneau admits that there were some slaves

Slavery in Canada.

in the province at the conquest; and Sir L. H. Lafontaine, who published a pamphlet on the subject in 1859, says: "The citizens of Montreal presented requisitions to Parliament tending to cause the legislature to vindicate the rights of masters over their slaves. The applicants invoked in favor of their demand an ordinance rendered by Jacques Raudot, ninth Intendant, dated April 13, 1709, which edict was, they urged, in force when the definitive treaty of peace was signed, and by consequence formed part and parcel of the laws, usages and customs of Canada, recognized by the Act of Quebec. Three bills on the subject were introduced, in 1800, 1801, and 1803; but none of them passed. Since that time no local legislature sanctioned this matter, and if the act of Imperial Parliament of 1797 had the effect of abolishing slavery in the British plantations, these would, of course, include Canada." One fact, however, is noteworthy, that on the passage of the Emancipation Act of 1833, freeing the negroes in the West Indies, there were no slaves in Canada to liberate.

12.—Under French domination, Canada was almost entirely free from customs duties until 1753, the only taxed articles being liquors, which paid ten per cent.; and tobacco, which was charged five sous per pound. In 1753 all merchandise, with a few exceptions, was taxed three per cent. *ad valorem*, whether imports or exports, and a specific duty of thirty-four livres a tun was placed on rum, and twenty-four livres a keg on brandy. There were no bonded warehouses in those days, and merchants had to pay their duties on arrival of the goods. The customs receipts immediately before the conquest are estimated at about three hundred thousand livres per annum.

13.—The monetary system of Canada under French rule was never very perfect, and what would be called in modern *parlance* "a suspension of specie payments," was rather the rule than the exception. A very large portion of the traffic was always done by barter—so many skins for so much rum, or other commodities, &c.—but the amount of coin in the colony was always small, and various expedients were, from time to time, resorted to. The West India Company, in 1670, under royal permission, coined small coin for circulation, to the amount of one hundred thousand livres; this

coinage was originally intended for the West Indies, but it nearly all got into circulation in Canada, and soon rose to a premium of fifteen to twenty per cent. After Louis XIV. had discovered the ready expedient of issuing paper money, "redeemable by the government, and good as gold," it did not take long for the colonies to follow suit; and, in 1685, the colonial government began to issue paper money, in the shape of exchequer bills. These bills were in great favor for a while; but the treasury at Paris being empty, and payments growing, "like angels visits, few and far between," a sort of state bankruptcy followed, and a composition was arrived at, under the government of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, by which the holders of colonial paper received three-eighths of its value in coin. For a time Canada had again a specie basis, and the issue of paper money was suspended; but the "circulating medium" was speedily absorbed, and the issue of "card-money," which had been abolished in 1717, was again resorted to. The cards bore the royal arms of France and were signed by the Governor-General, the Intendant and Controller; they were in sums of seven, ten, and fifteen sous; and one, three, six, twelve, and twenty-four livres; and some, for local circulation, were issued as low as one centime. The total issue of this currency was about one million of dollars; but it was subject to another system of inflation, which Raynal describes as follows: "When this amount became insufficient for the public wants, the Intendant was permitted to discharge state obligations with transferable bills, signed by himself only, and without limit as to quantity. The nominal value of these ranged between one and one hundred livres. These circulated in the colony every year until October came. Then they were converted into bills of exchange, to be cashed at the treasury in Paris. But the quantity so accumulated that, in 1743, the French finances being embarrassed, their redemption had to be deferred. An unfortunate war, which broke out two years afterwards, greatly added to the amount of undischarged bills, while it lowered the exchangeable value of all. Commodities rose to a ransom price for those who could pay only in currency. As war expenditures had to be maintained in the colony, the amount of paper issues had become astounding by the year 1759, when the Finance Minister declined to pay

Customs duties. No bonded warehouses.

The monetary system. Card-money.

any more of the colonial bills until their origin and proper value could be ascertained and tested." The discount to purchasers who paid in coin was usually from ten to twenty per cent.

14.—It is difficult to get at any exact estimate of the value of the peltry trade up to the time of the Conquest, as the returns were all badly kept, and little confidence can be placed in them. D'Auteuil,

who has been already quoted in this chapter, estimates that the value of exports from Canada had risen from half a million of francs per annum in 1677, to two million francs in 1715; and the most reliable estimates for the years immediately preceding the Conquest put the export value of peltry between three and four million livres per annum. Governor Murray, after the Conquest, found that the Customs Register for 1754, showed an export value of one million and a half of livres, and that for 1755, one million two hundred and sixty thousand livres; but the returns were very incomplete, and but little reliance can be placed on them. The trade of the country was always monopolized in one way or other, and, of course, it was not to the interest of the monopolists to make known the large profits they were making. It was, also, to the interest of the government officers to say as little as possible about the amount of trade, for they were nearly all, from the Governor and Intendant down, engaged in traffic of some kind to enlarge the small salaries they received, and maintain the amount of State show they were expected to exhibit. The salary of the Governor-General, for instance, was about twelve hundred dollars a year, and he was expected to keep up a retinue of twenty-seven servants on that pittance; so that it is not strange that the officials sent from France, looked on Canada only as a temporary resting-place, where they could make some money to enjoy at more leisure when they returned to France, and, therefore, used their power to acquire what wealth they could, sometimes by foul means, during their terms of office. Nearly all the immigration in later years was that of a horde of adventurers who merely came out for a while to try to replenish their impoverished pockets, and they were not very particular whether the money came out of the public treasury or the pockets of the colonists, so long as it went into theirs. The public service was, at first, cheaply administered,

Imperfect trade returns. Cupidity of officials.

not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars a year, up to 1729; then it steadily increased, and, in 1749, had reached over one million seven hundred thousand livres, and, according to Raynal, it "knew no bounds after that epoch." The last Intendant, Bigot, drew two millions and a half livres during the last year of French domination in Canada, and asked for half a million more which he did not get.

15.—The history of the commerce and industry of Canada, up to the time of the Conquest, may be likened to the early days of California and Australia, after gold had been discovered, when many thousands madly rushed thither to wrest what wealth they could from the earth, and then go somewhere else to enjoy it. So it was with Canada; except the regiment of Carignan and the emigrants sent out by Colbert to Talon, there was very little real emigration to the colony; and taking into consideration the death-rate from war and small-pox, it is not surprising that the population, in spite of the fecundity of the French Canadian women (a quality they retain to the present day), did not reach one hundred thousand at the time of the Conquest. When we consider that Canada had then been settled nearly two hundred years, and that not a century and a quarter intervenes between the Canada of 1759, under French rule, and the Canada of 1877, under English rule, with its four millions of inhabitants, its large industries and its immense trade, we can form some idea of the difference of the two systems. We may briefly summarize the difference to be this: Under French rule, people came to Canada to make money to spend elsewhere; under English rule, people came here to find cheap homes, and build up the fortunes of the country at the same time that they benefited themselves.

Difference between immigration under French and English rule.

CHAPTER XLIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT DE LA GALISSONNIERE.

1. APPOINTMENT OF THE COUNT DE LA GALISSONNIERE.—2. HIS ATTEMPT TO CONFINE THE ENGLISH COLONIES TO THE SEABOARD.—3.

NORMAL OCCUPATION OF TERRITORY WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES.—4. ERECTION AND STRENGTHENING OF FORTS.—5. RECALL AND DEATH OF DE LAGALISSONNIERE.

1.—The capture of the Marquis de laJonquière, the appointed successor to the Marquis de Beauharnois, on his way to Canada, caused the appointment of the Count de laGalissonnière, a naval officer of some distinction, who acted as governor for about two years. He was a very small man and deformed; but an able and brilliant officer, and a scientist of no mean ability. Immediately on his arrival, he applied himself to a comprehension of the climate, soil and resources of Canada; and so greatly was he impressed with the importance of not only retaining but enlarging and strengthening New France, that he very strongly urged on the government at Paris the necessity of sending out about ten thousand emigrants to people the valley of the Ohio, which he claimed as French territory; and he also obtained a subsidy for the removal of the Acadians from Nova Scotia (of which we shall treat more fully in our next chapter on Acadia).

2.—He early turned his attention to the frontier question, and he certainly took a very broad view of the question, claiming all the region west of the Alleghany Mountains, and all the mainland north of New England, except the peninsula of Nova Scotia, which had been ceded to Britain. He claimed the Acadian isthmus, and set on foot a scheme for inducing the Acadians, who still refused to take the oath of allegiance to England, to emigrate there, and on the Bay of Fundy, and so build up a living wall of defence against the rapidly increasing province of Nova Scotia, which was being colonized at a rapid rate. His idea was to confine the English entirely to the seaboard, and make a complete chain of territory around them, extending from the St. Lawrence to Louisiana. He was very jealous of the immense strides which the English colonies were making in immigration and settlements; and he foresaw that if they penetrated the lake country and the Ohio valley, there would soon be an end to French domination in those regions. He wrote to the French ministry as to the great importance of the settlements on the Illinois, and said, "The coun-

try once well settled, we would become redoubtable on the Mississippi side. If in the border war we had had four hundred, or five hundred well armed men among the Illinois, not only should we have been undisquieted, but we should have led into the heart of the enemy's settlements the very tribes which have so often insulted us."

3.—M. de laGalissonnière took active measures for retaining the Ohio valley to France, and, as the English continued to trade in it, he, in 1748, sent M. deBienville, with three hundred men, to take formal possession of the country, and erect liminary poles, at the bases of which were buried leaden plates bearing the arms of France. This was usually done in the presence of the aborigines, who, however, by no means freely consented to the proceedings, but claimed, with much justice, that the land belonged neither to the French nor the English, but to themselves. DeBienville, however, paid no heed to the protests, but had *procès-verbaux* drawn up, signed and read, and afterwards wrote to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, informing him that he had taken formal possession of the country in the name of the King of France, and requesting him to prevent all persons under his jurisdiction from trading beyond the Alleghanies, as he (Bienville) had orders to arrest all such, and confiscate their goods.

4.—M. de laGalissonnière did not confine himself to these preparations for holding what portion of this continent he claimed as belonging to New France; but he strengthened the garrison of Detroit, caused forts to be built at Green Bay and Ogdensburg, and one of stone at Toronto. The erection of the fort at Ogdensburg was protested against by the Iroquois, who sent delegates to Montreal in 1748 to claim the land, denying that they had ever given the French any right to it. The fort was, however, carried forward. The Governor-General also turned his attention to the militia, and had an exact muster-roll made for each parish, by which it was found that they numbered about twelve thousand men. The whole of the count's brief administration was marked by a restless activity for the defence of New France; and showed that he fully appreciated the increasing danger to which she was constantly exposed, from the rapidly increasing English

Appointment of the Count de laGalissonnière.

Formal occupation of territory west of the Alleghanies.

His attempt to confine the English colonies to the seaboard.

Erection and strengthening of forts.

settlements to her south. Had the bold views of the count been carried out, it is possible that New France might not have been conquered by England so soon as it was, possibly not at all.

5.—The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle having freed the Marquis de laJonquière, he arrived in August, 1749, to take the position of Governor-General of Canada, to which he had been appointed in 1746, and M. de laGalissonnière returned to Paris, where he served as one of the frontier commission, appointed by the English and French Governments, under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to define the boundaries of the French and English possessions in America. He continued to take a lively interest in Canadian affairs, and addressed two memorials to the government, recommending a large emigration and the strengthening of the forts between Canada and Louisiana, especially at Forts Frederic, Niagara, Detroit and Illinois. The count, who was naturally of a feeble constitution died at Nemours, on 26th October, 1756, while on his way to Fontainebleau. He had been entrusted with the duty of conveying troops to Minorca, and on his return met the English fleet under Admiral Byng, whom he defeated; but the victory was of a negative character, as the fight was a running one, and not an English ship was captured.

CHAPTER XLV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE LAJONQUIERE.

1. CHARACTER OF DE LAJONQUIERE.—2. HE IS ORDERED TO TAKE OFFENSIVE MEASURES IN ACADIA.—3. ARREST OF TRADING ENGLISHMEN IN THE WEST.—4. REINFORCEMENTS FROM FRANCE. PARTIAL REPAIRS TO FORTS.—5. DE LAJONQUIERE'S QUARREL WITH THE JESUITS. HIS DEATH.

1.—The government of the Marquis de la Jonquière was neither a long nor a brilliant one, and the most important events connected with it come more properly under the affairs of Acadia, as

Character of De la Jonquière.

they relate more particularly to that Province. The marquis was a naval officer of some distinction; but he was old (over sixty) and terribly avaricious, not to say miserly, so that he paid more attention to augmenting his own fortunes than to promoting those of the colony. He and the Intendant Bigot—the worst of all the bad Intendants—kept nearly all the peltry trade in their hands, and, besides, almost monopolized the brandy traffic, which had now grown to be enormous. De laJonquiere was, moreover, at heart a miser, and, although he had appropriated over a million livres during his three years of office, denied himself almost the bare necessaries of life, and died, miserably, at Quebec, on 17th May, 1752, where he was buried in the Recollet Church. His trading and swindling was of the most open and barefaced kind, and, together with Bigot, he also swindled the Home Government out of large sums drawn for the strengthening of the forts, but which his avaricious nature would not allow him fully to expend for the purposes for which they were granted. He did little for the good of Canada, and much for himself in the way of heaping up riches which he was not allowed to live to enjoy.

2.—De laJonquière on his arrival declined to carry out the aggressive views with regard to Acadia which had been advocated by the Count de laGalissonnière, holding that the boundary question would shortly be settled by the Commission then sitting in Paris. His timidity, however, drew forth a reprimand from the French Court; and he was ordered to support the Abbé leLoutre in his efforts to induce the Acadians to leave English and settle in French territory. He, therefore, in obedience to instructions sent the Chevalier de laCorne, with about eleven hundred French and Indians, to take possession of the Acadian isthmus and build a fort at Messagouche. This led to retaliatory measures by Governor Cornwallis, of Nova Scotia, and acts of reprisal on both sides, which will be found more fully referred to in our next chapter on Acadia.

3.—The Acadian difficulty was not the only one, however, with which De laJonquière had to deal. He was instructed by the Home Government to maintain the pretensions of the Count de la

He is ordered to take offensive measures in Acadia.

Arrest of trading Englishmen in the West.

Galissonnière to the exclusive right of the French to all territory west of the Alleghany mountains, and to prevent any British traders operating in that region. These instructions he was the more willing to obey, on account of the large trading interests he held, together with Bigot and others; and in 1751 three English traders in the Ohio valley were seized and sent, together with their goods, to Montreal, where they were detained for some time, and only released after an angry correspondence between De laJonquière and the Governor of New York, and an act of reprisal by the British in the seizure of three Frenchmen. While the English were encroaching in the Ohio valley and endeavoring to array the native tribes against the French, the latter were no less active amongst the Iroquois in exciting them against the English; and, principally through LaJonquière and the Jesuit priest Piquet, succeeded so well that it needed all the personal influence of Sir William Johnson—who lived almost as a prince amongst the Mohawks and was greatly loved and esteemed by them—to prevent that tribe from openly joining the French.

4.—De laJonquière clearly saw that in the event of another war, which now seemed imminent, the battle-field would, to a great extent, be removed to this continent, and a determined effort made by the English to conquer all the French colonies in America; he therefore urged the construction of ships, building and re-strengthening of forts, and the sending out of more troops. To this the government responded as well as the crippled condition of the treasury would allow, and French war vessels again appeared on Lake Ontario, while Forts Frontenac, Toronto, and Niagara were partially repaired; but De laJonquière's avarice prevented his expending all the money sent him on them, and the Home Government was constantly complaining of the heavy drain which Canada was on the public purse, so much so indeed, that it was seriously contemplated to abandon the colony altogether. A quantity of military stores, with corps of marines, and recruits to replace invalided soldiers were, however, sent, and the garrisons in the forts strengthened.

5.—The trading mania had now grown to be, epidemic. All the government officers dealt, almost shamelessly, in furs, spirits, trading

licenses and everything by which they could realize money, or money's worth; and the Jesuits were charged by De laJonquière with using their mission stations as trading-posts, not only with the French, but with the English at Albany. The specific charge against them was that at their mission post at Sault St. Louis, they used the name of the Misses Desauniers as a cloak for trading purposes, and sent large quantities of beaver-skins, &c., to Albany. De laJonquière was too deeply interested in trading on his own account to brook any opposition he could forcibly suppress; and, the West India Company having made a formal complaint, the Desaunier establishment was shut up by order of the Governor. The Jesuits were not slow at retaliating, and preferred such charges of malfeasance in office against De laJonquière, that the Court was forced to take notice of them, and the governor was called on to explain. This he refused to do, entering, instead into a long account of his public services, which he thought had been poorly requited, and ended by tendering his resignation. This was accepted, and the Marquis Duquesne appointed in his place; but De laJonquière died before his successor arrived. De laJonquière is credited with being the only French governor who ever expressed any desire to introduce the art of printing into the colony; but it was not with any idea of establishing a newspaper, but only to save the numerous repetitions in the public accounts, and so enable him to make money; the idea, however, was never carried out; and it remained for the Americans to bring the first printing-press into Canada.

De laJonquière's quarrel with the Jesuits. His death.

Reinforcements from France. Partial repairs to Forts.

CHAPTER XLVI.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DUQUESNE.

- 1.—DUQUESNE PUTS THE MILITIA ON AN EFFECTIVE WAR FOOTING.—2. THE OHIO COMPANY.—3. WANT OF UNION AMONGST THE ENGLISH COLONIES.—4. WASHINGTON'S DIPLOMATIC MISSION IN THE WEST.—5. SURRENDER OF WASHINGTON AT FORT NECESSITY.—6. AN ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO FORM A FEDERAL

UNION.—7. REINFORCEMENTS SENT TO BOTH THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH COLONIES.—8. GENERAL BRADDOCK'S PLAN OF INVASION OF CANADA.—9. CAPTURE OF TWO FRENCH VESSELS. DECLARATION OF WAR.

1.—The Marquis De laJonquiere was succeeded by the Marquis DuQuesne deMenneville, who arrived in Quebec in August, 1752.

DuQuesne puts the militia on an effective war footing.

He was a descendant of Grand Admiral DuQuesne, and was a captain of marines at the time of his appointment. He was highly recommended by ex-Governor M. De laGalissonniere, and proceeded to carry out that energetic officer's programme, being fully persuaded that the Boundaries Commission differed too widely as to the respective claims of France and England ever to reach a peaceable solution of the matter, and that the sword, not the pen, must settle the question of boundaries, and, with it, that of French or English supremacy on the continent. During the interval from the death of De laJonquiere, in May, to the arrival of Du Quesne, in August, the affairs of the colony were administered by the Baron deLongueil, as senior officer of the colony. His first efforts were turned towards preparations for war, as his instructions on the frontier question were so stringent that they left no hopes for peace. He had the militia of Montreal and Quebec formed into companies, and had the country militia called out and thoroughly drilled. He complained that these troops had been badly trained, and were sadly wanting in discipline; but he managed, after all, to show a good body of men when the English again attacked Canada. The Intendant, Bigot, opposed the heavy training to which DuQuesne subjected the militia, and claimed that tillage was neglected, as the cultivators were always under arms.

2.—Although affairs on the Nova Scotia frontier had for some time assumed an alarming character,

The Ohio Company. DuQuesne fortifies the western frontier.

it was in the West that the first blow was struck which ended in the termination of French rule in Canada; and, singular to say, George Washington, afterwards the active instrument of attaining American independence, was in command of the company engaged in the first act of the war. The State of Virginia laid claim to the Ohio valley, as forming part of its western boundary; and,

in 1753, the Ohio Company was formed, under charter from that State, and made a settlement at Shortee's Creek. The commandant at Detroit promptly expelled these traders; and in an engagement which ensued with the Miamis, who defended them, one Englishman and fourteen Miamis were killed. Early in the spring of 1753, Du Quesne determined to carry out his instructions with regard to fortifying the West, and sent M. Pean with a strong body of troops and Indians to reinforce the western posts, and establish new forts in the Ohio valley; and Forts Presqu'île and Machaul were erected between Lake Erie and the Ohio, both of which were garrisoned. The Iroquois became alarmed at this appearance of an armed force, and informed Sir William Johnson of the state of affairs, while their envoys met the French at Niagara and at Erie, and warned them to retire. The officer in command, however, declared that the land was his king's, and he would hold it against all comers; and, in proof of his assertions, he fortified Erie, Waterford, and Venango.

3.—We must pause here, for a moment, to consider the condition of the English colonies at this period. Although numerically very strong, the colonies at that time had no union. Each colony was dependant on itself alone, except what assistance could be got from the mother country, and they were not very much disposed to help each other. Still, some efforts at a union of the colonies were made; Receiver-General Kennedy, of New York, who had had many years' experience, advocated the appointment, by the British Parliament, of commissioners from each State to meet every year at Albany or New York, to devise means for the general defence. On the other hand, Franklin opposed the appointment of commissioners, and advocated a federal union at once. He said: "It will not be more difficult to bring about, and can be more easily altered and improved as circumstances may require and experience direct. It would be a strange thing if six nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union, and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted for ages, and appears indissoluble, and that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more ad-

Want of union amongst the English colonies.

vantageous." So it was that Virginia, the State claiming the Ohio valley as part of its territory, was left alone to take the initiative in repelling the advances of the French. Governor Dinwiddie applied to the English Government; but, beyond a decision that the Ohio valley formed part of Virginia, and a few pieces of cannon, no assistance was received from the mother country.

4.—Governor Dinwiddie now determined to send "a person of distinction to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio, to know his reasons for invading the British dominions while a solid peace existed." The envoy so selected was Captain George Washington, a young man of twenty-one, who was accompanied by the agent of the Ohio Company, an interpreter, and four attendants. His trip was made in the winter of 1753, and cannot be said to have been very successful, although some historians dwell with fulsome tediousness on this "first appearance in public life" of "the father of his country." It is certain that Washington endured some personal privation during the journey; but it is also certain that he accomplished nothing. He attended a council of the Delawares and Shawnees, and proceeded to Venango with deputies of those tribes, to give the French notice to quit, for the third and last time. But the French officers announced that they had no intention of quitting; and the envoys of the Delawares were so much impressed with the reports of the fortifications at Waterford, Erie, Niagara, Toronto, and Frontenac, that they concluded they had pressing business at home, and went to look after it. Washington next visited Waterford, which he found strongly fortified with cannon. M. leGardeur de St. Pierre, who was in command, received Washington courteously, but refused to discuss the question of the right of possession; he answered simply: "I am here by the orders of my general, to which I shall conform with exactness and resolution. He has ordered me to seize every Englishman in the Ohio valley, and I will do it." Washington, finding he could do nothing, returned to Virginia, and made his report of the attitude of the French.

5.—Governor Dinwiddie again appealed to the British Government for aid, and also to the other Provincial Governments, but without effect; and, in 1754,

Washington's diplomatic mission in the West.

Surrender of Washington at Fort Necessity.

Washington, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, was engaged raising a regiment in Alexandria, Va., to go to the fork of the Ohio River, where the Ohio Company was building a fort. (This site is now the city of Pittsburg.) Before Washington could reach the partly completed fort, however, Contrecoeur, who was now commanding in the West, attacked the fort, drove out the workmen engaged on it, and finished it himself, calling it Fort duQuesne. Shortly after, hearing that Washington was advancing against him, he sent Jumonville and thirty men, to remonstrate against this invasion of French territory. Washington attacked his small body—although it is alleged by French historians that a trumpeter made a sign that he was a messenger—and killed, or captured the whole party. Contrecoeur, who had meanwhile fortified and provisioned Fort duQuesne, on hearing of this attack, sent against Washington six hundred French and one hundred Indians, under command of M. deVilliers. Washington, hearing of this force advancing against him, hastily constructed a stockade at Great Meadows, on the Monongahela River, which he called Fort Necessity, and which was defended by nine pieces of artillery. The French had no cannon; but the fort being badly constructed in a hollow overlooked by two hills, their marksmen soon picked off thirty of Washington's men, and he was forced to surrender. The surrender took place on the 4th July, 1754, and the English were allowed to retire, leaving the French in undisputed possession of the whole region west of the Alleghanies. Fort Necessity was razed to the ground and the guns destroyed, and so ended, ingloriously for Washington, the first blow in the struggle which was to wrest Canada from France; and, ultimately, the English colonies from England.

6.—The English colonies now became fully alive to the fact that the French intended to maintain their possession of the Ohio valley; and a meeting of Commissioners from seven States was held at Albany to endeavor to form a Federal Union; and to make a treaty with the Iroquois. The idea of a union was not then carried out. A union was proposed for offensive and defensive purposes; but the members could not agree as to terms, the colonists being jealous of vesting too much power in the king, and the loyalists fear-

An abortive attempt to form a Federal Union.

ing to trust as much power to the Federals as they wished to have. The only determination, therefore, arrived at was that each State should call out a certain quantity of militia, arm, equip and train them in readiness to assist the forces sent from the mother country. A deputation from the the Six Nations was admitted to the Conference; and one of the Mohawk chiefs berated them rather soundly for their want of unity and action. "Look at the French," he said, "they are fortifying everywhere. But we are ashamed to say you are like women without any fortifications. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors." The Iroquois were very doubtful as to the issue of the war, and a large portion of the Onondagas joined the French settlement at Ogdensburg; this, however, was to some extent due to the large amount of presents liberally distributed by the French, who were very anxious to retain the good-will of the Indian tribes.

7.—The mother country came forward at once to the relief of the colonies, on hearing of the capture of Fort Necessity; and sent Reinforcements sent to both the English and French Colonies. General Braddock—an officer of more bombast than brains—to command the forces; a squadron under Admiral Keppel being also sent to co-operate. Still war was not formally declared, and the British Government continued the most friendly assurances of an amicable settlement of the outstanding difficulties in the Colonies. After the affair of the Ohio in which Washington figured, DeQuesne received a despatch from Paris, part of which read as follows:—"The disposition which the British Cabinet continues to manifest for maintenance of peace, do not allow us to believe that it can have authorized the movement so much spoken of on the Ohio; and there is yet less appearance that it has sanctioned any hostile demonstration on the other frontiers." The indications of preparation for war were, however, too clear to allow the French to remain long in ignorance of the meditated attack on Canada; and, after General Braddock, with two regiments of the line, had sailed from England, the French Government assembled a fleet at Brest and sent six battalions of veterans, numbering about three thousand men, to reinforce Louisbourg, and strengthen the garrisons in Canada. The fleet was under command of M. de la

Motte; and the land forces destined for Canada were commanded by Major-General Baron Dieskau, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself under Marshal Saxe. Two of the battalions remained at Louisbourg and the other four came on to Canada.

8.—General Braddock left England early in January, 1755, and reached New York about the end of February. He at once summoned the governors of the different colonies to meet him at Alexandria, Va., on the 14th April; and a plan of operations was there agreed on. A simultaneous attack was to be made on the French in four different quarters. Braddock, with his "regulars," was to capture Fort DuQuesne and drive the French from the Ohio valley; Sir William Johnson, with Militia and Indians, was to attack Crown Point; Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to capture Fort Niagara, and Colonel Monckton, with a body of Massachusetts militia, was to assist Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, in driving the French from the Isthmus and St. John's River, and capture Forts Beauséjour and Gaspereau. General Braddock was a great martinet; and had already made himself slightly unpopular in the colonies by disparaging the militia, and saying he had no confidence in any but regular troops; he also disrated the colonial officers, causing the generals and field officers of the provincial forces to rank below the royal subalterns. This caused great dissatisfaction, and Washington and a number of other officers resigned; but matters, in this respect, were afterwards smoothed over, and Washington accepted a staff appointment under Braddock.

9.—The fleet of Admiral Dubois, bearing troops and supplies for Canada, left Brest late in April, 1755; but about ten days previously an English fleet of eleven Capture of two French vessels. Declaration of war. sail of the line, under Admiral Boscawen, was sent to intercept it. Still the English Government continued its pacific assurances, and the Duke of Newcastle, Earl Grenville and Sir T. Robinson assured the French ambassador that no orders had been given Boscawen to assume the offensive, and that "certainly the British will not begin the war." Boscawen must, however, have either misunderstood his instructions, or they were different from what the Duke of

General Braddock's plan of invasion of Canada.

Newcastle represented them to the French ambassador to be, for he encountered three vessels of the French fleet off the banks of Newfoundland and captured two of them, the *Lys* and the *Alcide*, the third escaped, and the remainder of the French vessels being hidden by a fog reached their destination in safety. This capture was the immediate cause of the declaration of war by the French, although several other acts of hostility had taken place on both sides previously; but as soon as the news of this capture on the high seas reached the Court at Versailles, in July, 1755, it at once recalled the French Ambassador to England, and declared war against that country. Meanwhile the Marquis DuQuesne, seeing that war was inevitable, had asked for his recall and appointment in the Navy, and the fleet of Admiral Dubois brought out his successor in the person of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, third son of the former Governor of Canada of that name, who arrived early in the summer of 1755.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ACADIA — GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL CORNWALLIS.

1. DETERMINATION TO COLONIZE NOVA SCOTIA.—
2. STRENGTH OF THE COLONIST. ARRIVAL AT CHEBUCTO.—3. SWEARING IN THE NEW COUNCIL. FIRM ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ACADIANS.—4. FOUNDING OF HALIFAX. RAPID COMPLETION OF THE HOUSES.—5. TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS.—EXTERMINATION PROPOSED.—6. OCCUPATION OF THE ACADIAN ISTEMUS BY THE FRENCH.—7. THE ABBE LALOUTRE.—8. FOUNDING OF DARTMOUTH. ATTACK BY THE INDIANS.—9. RESIGNATION OF CORNWALLIS. REVIEW OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

1.—On the confirmation of Nova Scotia to England by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the restoration of Cape Breton to France, it was urged on the British Government by Governor Shirley and others, that the most effectual way to counterbalance French influence in Nova Scotia was to build up an extensive English colony there. It must be

Determination to
colonize Nova
Scotia.

remembered that at this time, although Acadia was an English possession, the entire population, except the garrison at Annapolis, was French, and that the Acadians still refused to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, although they had been fifty years nominally British subjects. The scheme met with success in England; and an advertisement appeared in the *London Gazette* signifying His Majesty's approval of it, and giving details of the scheme. A free passage was to be given to all emigrants, and provisions for one year, as well as arms, ammunition, fishing-tackle, &c.; together with a very liberal grant of land which was to be free from taxes or rent for ten years, after which the rate was not to exceed one shilling for every fifty acres. The grants were to be, fifty acres to every soldier and seaman, with an additional ten acres for every member of his family; to all army officers under the rank of ensign, and navy officers under the rank of lieutenant, eighty acres, with fifteen acres in addition for every member of his family; to ensigns two hundred acres; to lieutenants, three hundred acres; to captains, four hundred acres; and to all officers of higher rank, six hundred acres, with thirty acres in addition for every member of families in all these latter classes. A civil government was to be established, and the new colony was to be allowed all the privileges of the established plantations.

2.—The scheme was mainly addressed to the army and navy, as it was supposed that as a large number of discharges from both services took place at the close of the war, many of those so discharged would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of securing homes in a new country; but very favorable terms were also offered to farmers, mechanics, artisans, &c. The scheme rapidly became popular, especially amongst the retired army and navy officers, as may be judged from the fact that out of the twenty-five hundred and seventy-six souls who emigrated, there were two majors, six captains, nineteen lieutenants of the army, three lieutenants of the navy, twenty-three midshipmen, and fifteen surgeons. The expedition consisted of thirteen transports and the sloop of war *Sphinx*, and was in command of the Honorable Edward Cornwallis, third son of Baron Cornwallis, who was also appointed Governor of the new colony. The destination of the colonists

Strength of the
colonists. Arrival
at Chebucto.

was Chebucto (now Halifax), where Cornwallis arrived on the 21st of June, 1749. For some years the date of the foundation of Halifax was placed as the eighth of June, on the strength of the following memorandum found on the back of the mess-book of the settlers; "Sphinx sloop of war arrived 8th of June, 1749, with General Cornwallis and his suite. They landed on George's Island soon after;" but the letter from Lord Cornwallis in a note below, leaves no room for doubt as to the exact date, and also contains some interesting particulars.* The transports arrived in July, and the colonists were delighted at the harbor, and the site for the proposed settlement. Halifax was then a perfect wilderness, the trees growing down to the water's edge; the French had a settlement at Merligreche Bay, ten miles distant, where the fleet came to anchor, but had never made any settlement at Chebucto; and when D'Anville's fleet rendezvoused there no clearance was made, only enough wood for use being cut, and the troops camping on the beach.

3.—Immediately on their arrival the emigrants

CHEBUCTO, 22d June, 1749.

MY LORDS,—

I arrived here yesterday. This morning a sloop arrived from Mr. Hopson, which I am obliged to send to Boston. I write to your Lordships by this sloop in case there should be any vessel there, bound for England. We met the "Fairyland," storeship, at sea, the 11th, after we had been four weeks from England, who told us that the transports had arrived at Spithead the day after we sailed, and had probably come into the channel the same week. We were then off the island of Sable, and, except the first eight days, had met with contrary winds all the passage. Besides, we had steered our course for Cape Race, but had been forced off the Banks by a gale of wind from the northwest, so that I had reason to believe the transports might be soon at Chebucto. We had nobody on board that knew anything of the coast or the Bay of Fundy, so we had to cruise off the coast until we should meet with a pilot.

We made the land of Acadia the 14th, but met no pilot till the 20th, when we met with one of the Louisbourg sloops with two pilots. The wind did not then serve for the Bay of Fundy, and the officers assured me that, in case of foggy weather, we might be a fortnight getting to Annapolis. The wind was fair for Chebucto, so I thought it advisable to go in there, rather than risk the being so long after the arrival of the settlers; besides, I could save the garrison of Louisbourg the trouble of the bad navigation to Annapolis, so I wrote to Mr. Hopson, Governor of Louisbourg, that I was going to Chebucto, and desired him to bring the garrison thither, imagining he had transports ready. His sloop, that came in to-day, had orders to wait for me to the 30th, and he had sent another to Annapolis. By his letters, I find he is in great perplexity; the French have arrived and he has no transports. The council of war, it seems, was of opinion that the orders from the secretary of war did not empower him to hire transports, but that he was to await my arrival, and have, from me, the transports that should bring the settlers here. As I cannot know when the transports will arrive, or in what condition they may be, nor how many I can spare, I think it absolutely necessary for the service to send the sloops to Boston, with orders (to Apthorp and Hancock, whom Mr. Hopson recommended to me as persons that have

were landed, and two of the transports sent to Louisbourg—which was then being evacuated by the English in accordance with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—from whence they brought two regiments to reinforce the colony; and, on the arrival of Colonel Mascarene, with a quorum of the council, a meeting was held on the 24th of July, and Governor Cornwallis read his commission, and took the oath of office. On the following day a new council was appointed, and sworn in on board one of the transports. The members of the new council were, Paul Mascarene, Hugh Davidson, John Gorham, Benjamin Green, and John Salisbury. The first business that engaged the attention of the council was the administration of the oath of allegiance to the Acadians, which they had obstinately refused to take for the past forty years, without the insertion of a clause that they would not be required to bear arms against the French. A deputation of these Acadians from different sections, waited on the council, and expressed their willingness to take the oath, with the usual

Swearing in the new council. Firm attitude towards the Acadians.

always served the Government) to hire vessels, with all expedition, for the transportation of the troops and stores from Louisbourg to Chebucto.

I send a letter by the sloop in case she should meet with a vessel going to Annapolis, for Colonel Mascarene. I likewise send a Frenchman that knows the country overland to Minas. I have desired Colonel Mascarene to come here as soon as possible with a quorum of the council, that I may open my commission, take the oaths, and appoint another council, according to His Majesty's instructions. This Frenchman will be there in three or four days. It is twenty-five leagues hence to Minas, and there is a path that the French have made by driving their cattle over there.

I am giving your Lordships little information as yet as to the country. The coasts are as rich as ever they have been represented. We have caught plenty of fish every day since we came, within fifty or sixty leagues of the coast. The harbor itself is full of fish of all sorts. All the officers say this harbor is the best they have seen. The country is one continual wood—no clear spot is to be seen or heard of. I have been ashore in several places. The underwood is only young trees, so that with some difficulty one may make his way anywhere. The D'Anville's fleet has only cut wood for present use, but cleared no ground; they encamped their men upon the beach. I saw a few brooks, but have not found the navigable river that has been talked of. There are a few French families on each side of the bay, about ten leagues off. Several have come on board. We came to anchor in Merligreche Bay, ten leagues to the westward, where there is a French settlement. I sent ashore for some fresh provisions, and to see their houses and manner of living. The families they found there have very comfortable wooden houses covered with bark. A good many cattle and sheep, and clear ground more than serves themselves. As to the number and disposition of the French and Indians I shall be able to give your lordships a full account as soon as I have seen Colonel Mascarene.

I am, &c.,
ED. CORNWALLIS.

[Signed]
To The Lords Commissioners of }
Trades and Plantations. }

reservation. This Cornwallis flatly refused to allow, and told them they must either take the oath, unconditionally, or prepare to leave the colony, as it was ridiculous for them to suppose that they could own houses, land and stock in the Province while they owned obedience to a foreign power; and that it was not for them to dictate the terms on which they would take the oath. The determined attitude of the Governor scared the Acadians, and they sent another deputation to endeavor to make some compromise; and an address, signed by over one thousand inhabitants was afterwards presented, signifying their willingness to take the oath, with the old proviso; and stating that they feared to take the oath without that reservation, on account of the close relations existing between the French and the Indians, which would open them to the attacks of the latter in the event of their knowing that the oath had been taken without the non-bearing arms clause being inserted. Cornwallis assured them that in the event of their becoming His Majesty's subjects, they should receive the same protection from the Indians as other subjects; but they were peremptorily ordered to take the oath by the 26th of October. When asking whether, in the event of their leaving, they would be allowed to sell their property or take it with them, Cornwallis answered at once in the negative, saying that they had had that privilege accorded them, for one year, under the Treaty of Utrecht; but as they had not taken advantage of it they would not be allowed to take anything with them.

4.—Immediately on their arrival the colonists set to work with a good will to clear the land, and lay out a town, and so well did they work that by the end of October they had three hundred houses roofed in; and a stockade had been built round the town to protect it from the Indians. At this time the Governor's house was finished, and the new town was called Halifax, in honor of Lord Halifax. There is a tradition that the present Province building stands on the site of the Governor's house, which was defended by cannon mounted on hogsheads filled with gravel. The selection of a site for the new town was excellent; Point Pleasant was first thought of, but it was afterwards determined to build higher up the harbor, and the selection has certainly proved to

Founding of Halifax. Rapid completion of the houses.

have been a wise one. The plan of allotment was characterized by the greatest fairness. The land was divided into blocks of three hundred and twenty feet by one hundred and twenty, which were again subdivided into sixteen lots of forty feet by sixty each, and lots were drawn for locations, so that no jealousy could be felt on that score. The labor of clearing was very heartily undertaken, and in about a month over twenty acres were cleared. The houses were, of course, of wood, timber for building purposes being brought from Boston, and some of them were very substantial; but many, owing to the inexperience of the builders, were very imperfectly constructed, and not at all adapted for the severity of a Canadian winter, which, to some extent, accounts for the heavy mortality the first winter; but intemperance was also a very fruitful source of disease, the new colonists being too fond of "pouring the spirits down to keep the spirits up."

5.—On the first arrival of the English the Indians seemed disposed to be friendly; but they soon began to evince signs of hostility, being incited thereto by the Jesuit missionaries, and especially by ^{Trouble with the Indians. Extermination proposed.} Joseph LaLoutre, who was exceedingly popular with them, and whose overzeal led him to extreme lengths, and drew down on him at last, the displeasure of his Bishop. A formal treaty of peace was signed with the Indians by Governor Cornwallis, but it was almost immediately broken by them, for in October, 1749, they set upon six men who were cutting wood near Dartmouth, killed four and made one a prisoner, the other escaping. Other outrages were also committed, which so exasperated Cornwallis, that he resolved on the extermination of the race, and offered a reward for every Indian scalp brought him. This policy of extermination was not, however, very vigorously carried out, as the Lords of Trade did not approve of the proposed wholesale destruction advocated by Cornwallis, and in a letter to him, dated 16th October, 1749, they say: "As to your opinion, however, of never hereafter making peace with them, and wholly extirpating them, we cannot but think that, as the prosecution of such designs must be attended with acts of great severity, it may prove of dangerous consequence to the safety of His Majesty's other colonies on the continent, by filling the minds of the bordering Indians with

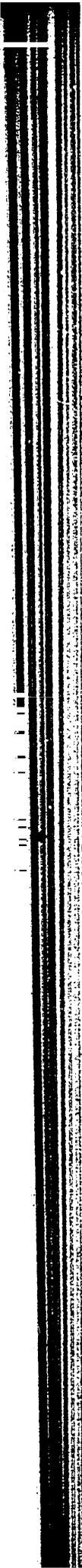
ideas of our cruelty, and instigating them to a dangerous spirit of resentment."

6.—The question of the frontier of Nova Scotia early engaged the attention of Cornwallis, for immediately after the appointment of the Marquis De la Jonquière as Governor-General of Canada, aggressive measures were taken to claim the Acadian isthmus, and the Chevalier De laCorne was despatched to erect forts and hold the country as French territory. He was aided by the Abbé LaLoutre who induced many of the Acadians and Indians to join the French, and a body of eleven hundred men occupied the isthmus, and erected forts at Beau Sejour, Bay Verte and St. Johns River. On hearing of this Cornwallis despatched Major Lawrence with four hundred men to dislodge De laCorne; but on his approaching Chignecto the latter withdrew to the North bank of the river, which position he declared himself prepared to hold. "My orders," he said, "do not permit of my crossing the river, and there is plenty of room at the other side for you." Lawrence, finding himself not sufficiently strong to dislodge so strong a force, had to be content with erecting Fort Lawrence and sending to Cornwallis for reinforcements. Meanwhile the Acadians at Chignecto, urged by De laCorne and the Abbé LaLoutre, had taken the oath of allegiance to Louis XV., and when De laCorne crossed the river they went with him, but some preferred to remain in their homes; these De laCorne would have permitted to do so, but LaLoutre with his own hand set fire to the church and the adjoining houses, and so forced them to join the French. No further acts of hostility were then committed, both parties awaiting the action of the Frontiers Committee then in session. About this time the British sloop *Albany* captured a French war sloop which was taking supplies from Quebec to St. John's River, and carried her to Halifax, where the Admiralty Court condemned her on the ground that she was taking supplies to an unlawful military post; and this tended to cause more ill-feeling between the two races in Nova Scotia.

7.—The most active foe to British rule in Nova Scotia, and the man who might be called the evil genius of the Acadians, was the Abbé LaLoutre. Abbé Joseph De laLoutre, who was sent as a missionary to the Mic-

macs in 1740. He was a bad sample of the political priest, bold and unscrupulous, cunning and vindictive. To his evil influence the Acadians owed much of their future misfortunes, for it was mainly at his instigation that they so stubbornly refused to take the oath of allegiance. He also induced large numbers to emigrate to Isle St. John (Prince Edward's Island), where they suffered great hardships, and finally many returned to their old homes; and he was the instigator of the occupation of the isthmus and the cause of the Acadians joining in that movement. He was liberally supplied with money by friends in Paris, and travelled a great deal amongst the Indians, making handsome presents to the chiefs and inciting them against the English. Cornwallis issued an order for his arrest, and in his instructions to Captain Sylvanus Cobb, says: "I have certain information of his being the author and adviser of all the disturbances the Indians have made in the Province." He is also accused of having been the direct means of the murder of Mr. Edward Howe, a member of Cornwallis' Council, by enticing him into an ambuscade where he was shot by the Indians. As was to be expected from a man of his character, he deserted the Acadians in their hour of greatest distress, and escaping, under a disguise, from Fort Beau Sejour, made his way to Quebec, where, however, he was very unfavorably received, the Bishop having disapproved of his actions; and on one occasion wrote him: "You have at last got into the very trouble which I foresaw, and which I predicted long ago. The refugees could not fail to get into misery, sooner or later, and to charge you with being the cause of their misfortunes. It will be the same with those of the Island of St. John whenever war breaks out. They will be exposed to the English, ravaged without ceasing, and will throw the blame upon you. The court thought it necessary to facilitate their departure from their lands, but that is not the concern of our profession. It was my opinion that we should neither say anything against the course pursued, nor anything to induce it. I reminded you long ago that a priest ought not to meddle with temporal affairs, and that, if he did so, he would always create enemies, and cause his people to be discontented." LaLoutre did not long remain in Quebec, but sailed for France; war had, however, been declared in the





meantime, and the vessel he was in was captured, and he remained a prisoner for eight years until the peace of 1763, when he was released. He returned to France but rapidly sank into obscurity.

8.—The most important event of the year 1750 was the founding of the town of Dartmouth, opposite Halifax. In the autumn of that year the ship *Alderney* arrived with about three hundred and fifty emigrants, who were located on the opposite bank of the river, and founded Dartmouth, and Mr. Aikins says that the first ferry between Dartmouth and Halifax was established in December of that year, John Connor being appointed ferryman by an order in council. Mr. Aikins also says: "In the following year the Indians surprised the little village at night, scalped a number of settlers and carried off several prisoners. The inhabitants fearing an attack, had cut down the spruce trees near their settlement, which, instead of a protection as was intended, served as a cover for the enemy. Captain Clapham and his company of Rangers were stationed on Blackburn Hill; and, it is said, remained within his block house firing from the loop-holes during the whole affair. The light of the torches and the discharge of musketry alarmed the inhabitants of Halifax, some of whom put off to their assistance, but did not arrive in any force till after the Indians had retired. The night was calm, and the cries of the settlers and whoops of the Indians were distinctly heard on the western side of the harbor. On the following morning several bodies were brought over—the Indians having carried off the scalps. Mr. Pyke, father of the late John George Pyke, lost his life on this occasion. Those who fled to the woods were all taken prisoners but one." Mr. Aikins says that from the first settlement of Dartmouth there was a guard-house and a small military settlement there; and that a gun was mounted on the point near the saw-mill in the cove in 1750.

9.—Cornwallis resigned his position in 1752 and returned to England. In the short space of three years he had converted a "howling wilderness," if not exactly into "a smiling plain," yet to a very near approach to it. He had established courts of law; organized a militia of eight hundred and forty men for the public defence; had erected forts at Grand Pré, Pizéquid, Chignecto

Founding of Dartmouth—Attack by the Indians.

Resignation of Cornwallis—Review of his administration.

and fortified George's Island. He also established a public school for orphans, and by his wise but firm sway proved himself a man of rare executive ability; that he did not succeed in conciliating the Acadians was through no fault of his; he tried every gentle means of persuasion possible; but they allowed themselves to be swayed by the evil counsels of LaLoutre and others, and the severe punishment which fell upon them under the administration of his successor, was brought on their heads by themselves. In his last address to them he compliments them on their industry and temperance, and on the absence amongst them of any vice or debauchery. He reminds them that they had not in any way been interfered with in the full and free exercise of their religion; and that they possessed the only cultivated land in the Province, which produced enough for the support of the whole colony. At the same time he firmly insists on their taking the oath, and refuses to allow them to strengthen the French colonies by retiring to them in a body, even without their property. He points out that the French were illegally taking possession of territory ceded to England by treaty, and that in the event of war they would be forced to take up arms against England. He concludes by promising that if they remain peaceably, when the country became more settled, he would grant passports to those who required them.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ACADIA—GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR LAWRENCE.

1. SETTLEMENT OF LUNENBURG.—2. HOPSON GIVES THE NUMBER OF ACADIAN FAMILIES AS 973.—3. REDUCTION OF FORTS BEAU SEJOUR, GASPÉREAU, AND RIVER ST. JOHN.—4. THE COUNCIL DECIDES THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS.—5. PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPULSION.—6. WINSLOW'S SPEECH AT GRAND PRÉ.—7. THE EMBARKATION OF THE EXILES.—8. SEVEN THOUSAND EXILES.—THE AMOUNT OF PROPERTY DESTROYED.—9. MISERABLE CONDITION OF EXILED ACADIANS.—10. IN-

DIVIDUAL CASES OF HARDSHIP.—11. WAS THE REMOVAL OF THE ACADIANS JUSTIFIABLE?—12. THEIR REMOVAL A POLITICAL NECESSITY.—13. NO JUSTIFICATION FOR THE MANNER OF REMOVAL.—14. A LESSON TAUGHT BY THE REMOVAL OF THE ACADIANS.

1.—Peregrine Thomas Hopson, who had been in command of Louisbourg during its occupation by the English, was appointed to succeed Cornwallis in 1752; but ill-health compelled him to resign, and, in November, 1753, he was succeeded by Major Charles Lawrence. The most important event during his brief administration was the settlement of Lunenburg by fifteen hundred Germans. In the Spring of 1751, nine hundred and fifty-eight German settlers had arrived at Halifax, and about one thousand more followed the next year. This emigration, although very welcome, was greater than there was accommodation for, and temporary barracks had to be erected. In the Spring of 1753, it was thought best to form a new settlement at Merliquesh (now Lunenburg), and fifteen hundred of the new emigrants were sent there, with building material, provisions, &c., to form a new town. They were accompanied by Major Gorham, Lieutenant Creighton, and a company of the Rangers.* The remainder of the German emigrants settled in the north suburbs of Halifax and formed Dutch Town.

2.—During the short administration of Governor Hopson, no termination of the existing difficulty with the Acadians was reached. Two petitions were presented, but they were merely repetitions of those already received. The Acadians would not take the oath, unless they were allowed to swear

Hopson gives the number of Acadian families as 973.

* Amongst the settlers who arrived with Cornwallis was Lieutenant John Creighton, the son of a gentleman in the south of England, who entered the army early in life, and was at the battle of Fontenoy. He was among the officers discharged at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and was placed on the half-pay of Colonel Warburton's regiment of foot. Creighton was sent to Merliquesh with the Germans, in 1752, and took a leading part in the settlement of Lunenburg, where he continued to reside till his death in 1807. He was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia, a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and, on the 6th May, 1776, a member of His Majesty's Council, which office he afterwards resigned. Mr. Creighton was father of the late Colonel Joseph Creighton, and grandfather of the Hon. John Creighton, of Lunenburg, now a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia.—*Campbell's History of Nova Scotia.*

that they would do just as they pleased, and the position of things was not materially changed, except that both the Home and Colonial Governments were getting more and more convinced that, as the Acadians would not swear to become loyal subjects, the time was fast approaching when it would be necessary to send them to some place where their avowed disloyalty would be less dangerous than it was in such close proximity to a powerful French settlement. In a despatch sent to the Lords of Trade by Hopson, under date 23d of July, 1753, he gives the number of Acadian families at Annapolis, Minas, Pizequid, and river Canard as nine hundred and ten, and those at Tatamagouche, Cobequid, Cape Sable, and Rimchique as sixty-three. The number of Indians he places at three hundred families, and estimates that they had not more than two hundred warriors amongst them. He states that the French were strengthening Fort Beau Sejour, and gives it as his opinion that the English colonists can never rest in peace until the French flag is removed. In asking for reinforcements he half apologizes, saying that their lordships will doubtless think it strange that he should require more force to subdue so small a number of people, but accounts for it by the facts of a large number of soldiers being required to guard the forts, and the peculiarities of Indian warfare.

3.—Major Charles Lawrence, who succeeded Hopson as governor, on November 1st, 1753, was major in Warburton's regiment, which formed part of the garrison of Louisbourg during its occupation by the English; and he came to Halifax in July, 1749, when two regiments were transferred thither on the evacuation of Louisbourg. He was shortly after appointed a member of council, and proved an active and energetic officer, being engaged in holding the French in check at Beaubassin and Chignecto, and also in founding the German colony at Lunenburg. Amongst the first subjects which engaged the attention of the new governor was the expulsion of the French from Fort Beau Sejour. The encroachments of the French on the Acadian isthmus had aroused the jealousy of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and a conference was held at Boston between him and Colonel Monckton and Captain Scott, who had been delegated by Governor

Reduction of forts Beau Sejour, Gaspareau, and river St. John.

Lawrence. The conference ended in a determination to make a strong and combined attack on the French forts at Beau Sejour, Gaspereau, and river St. John, and preparations were speedily and secretly made. The expedition consisted of thirty-six vessels with about two thousand New England militia, and was under command of Colonel Monckton; it sailed from Boston on the 23d of May and reached Fort Lawrence, opposite Fort Beau Sejour, on the 2d of June, when the troops were landed. The commandant at Fort Beau Sejour, Vergor, had only one hundred and fifty men, and was taken quite by surprise. He, however, hastily summoned the Acadians, and by threats, and through the influence of LaLoutre, induced about three hundred to join in the defence of the fort, their families being sent inland. The siege lasted fourteen days, when, on the morning of the sixteenth, a shell fell on the prison, killing three Frenchmen, and an English officer who was confined there. The defence of the garrison had never been very spirited, and Vergor now offered to surrender. He was allowed to do so, and the French troops were sent to Louisbourg, while the Acadians were allowed to go free, on the ground that they had been forced to take up arms by the French. This is only another instance of the lenient manner in which these people were dealt with, until leniency ceased to be any longer possible. On the fall of Beau Sejour, the fort on the Gaspereau surrendered, and, on the fleet arriving at river St. John, the French officer in command blew up the fort there and retired. The object of the expedition was thus easily accomplished with very small loss. Beau Sejour was garrisoned, and was afterwards called Fort Cumberland.

4.—We now come to that portion of the history of Acadia which some historians have not hesitated to characterize as one of unexampled tyranny in modern days, namely, the forcible expulsion of the Acadians from their homes, the confiscation of their property, and their distribution over the other English Colonies. We shall reserve any comments until the end of the chapter, contenting ourselves, at present, with a recital of the events as they transpired. The continued obstinacy of the Acadians, and their open hostility, as shown by three hundred of them being found in arms in

The council decides that the time has come for the expulsion of the Acadians.

Fort Beau Sejour, added to the fact that war between England and France could no longer be avoided, made the presence of these people in a British province a constant menace, and it was determined to take steps to remove them. On the 3d July, 1755, a council meeting was held at Halifax, at which were present Governor Lawrence, and Councillors Benjamin Green, J. Belcher, William Cotterell, and John Collins, to consider a memorial from the inhabitants of Minas and Pizequid, with regard to the order to them to deliver up their arms. The memorial was about the same in substance, as its predecessors, complaints of injustice and oppression, without any specifications and the usual refusal to take the oath. A portion of the memorialists were brought before the council, and, after the memorial had been read over and discussed with them, they were asked to give a single instance where they had been unjustly treated by the English, or where they had suffered any hardship, and they were forced to confess that they could not point to a single instance, and to admit that the laws were just and fairly administered. On their refusing to take the oath they were given a day to consider it; and, on their again refusing the next day, were ordered into confinement. The governor now called another meeting of council for the 15th of July, at which he invited Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn to be present, and the whole council, including the admirals, were of the opinion that the time had come when the Acadians must either take the oath or leave the country. Lawrence embodied this resolution in his report of 18th of July, to the Lords of Trade, and expressed his determination "to bring the inhabitants to a compliance, or rid the Province of such perfidious subjects."

5.—Another appeal was made to the Acadians to send new deputies to consider seriously the position they were taking; and, accordingly, another meeting of council was held on the 25th of July, at which those of the deputies who had arrived were present; they declared that the inhabitants were unanimous in their determination not to take the oath. The council reasoned with them; and, in order to give them a last chance, adjourned the meeting until the 28th, by which time the other deputies would have arrived, and they would

Preparations for the expulsion.

have had an opportunity of consulting together. On the 28th, all the deputies appeared before the council, and firmly refused to take the oath, saying that the people were unanimous in their determination not to do so. After the deputies had retired it was agreed by the council that the only course to be pursued was to send the Acadians out of the province, and distribute them amongst the other colonies, and that arrangements should be made for doing so with as little delay as possible. For this purpose Governor Lawrence wrote to the Governors of the various colonies, explaining what he intended doing, and asking their cooperation in providing for the exiles and preventing their returning to Acadia. He also ordered transports from Boston to repair to the various ports where the embarkations were to take place; and sent instructions to Major John Handfield, commanding at Annapolis; Colonel Monckton, at Beau Sejour, and Colonel Winslow, at Minas, to prepare for having the people removed. The instructions were very severe, and the officers were ordered to use force, if necessary, to get the people on board the transports; and that if any escaped to the woods, their houses and crops were to be burned, so as to deprive them of means of subsistence.

6.—It was September before the preparations were completed, and the Acadians had gathered their crops, and were perfectly ignorant of the arrangements being made for their removal. At Annapolis and Cumberland the people got some intimation of what was about to take place, and many fled to the woods, and at the latter place some resistance was made. Referring to the latter place Mr. Sabine says: "Two hundred and fifty-three houses were set on fire at one time, and their owners beheld the awful calamity from the neighboring woods in unspeakable agony; when, at length, an attempt was made to burn the church, they suddenly emerged from the forest, slew and maimed about thirty of their enemies, and quickly returned to 'God's first temples.'" At Minas the people were taken entirely by surprise. The commanding officer issued an order to the inhabitants of the district to meet him at the church at Grand Pré (where the scene of Longfellow's "Evangeline" is laid) to hear the commands of the king concerning them. In answer to this summons four hundred

Winslow's speech
at Grand Pré.

and eighteen heads of families assembled, when Colonel Winslow,* standing by the altar rail surrounded by his officers, addressed them as follows: "Gentlemen, I have received from His Excellency Governor Lawrence, the king's commission, which I hold in my hand; and by his orders you are convened together, to manifest to you His Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his Province of Nova Scotia, who, for almost half a century, have had more indulgence granted to them than any of His Majesty's subjects, in any part of his dominions; what use you have made of it, you yourselves best know. The path of duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species; but it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive, and, therefore, without hesitation, deliver to you His Majesty's orders and instructions, namely, that your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the crown, with all your other effects, saving your money and household goods, and you yourselves to be removed from this his province. Thus, it is peremptorily His Majesty's orders that the whole French inhabitants of these districts be removed; and I am, through His Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can, without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power that all these goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off, also, that whole families shall go in the same vessels, and make this remove, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, as easy as His Majesty's service will admit; and hope that in whatsoever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects—a peaceable and happy people. I must also inform you that it is His Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection and directions of the troops that I have the power to command."

* Winslow, whose book and journal, while engaged in the removal of the Acadians, are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at Boston, was a son of Isaac Winslow, of Marshfield, in Massachusetts, and great-grandson of Edward Winslow, one of the first Plymouth settlers. He was a captain of Provincials in the unfortunate expedition to Cuba, in 1740; and afterwards an officer in the British army, and a Major-General of Militia. So great was his popularity that he raised, for the expedition under Monckton, two thousand men in the space of two months. He died at Marshfield, in 1774, aged seventy-three years.—*Campbell's History of Nova Scotia.*

7.—This announcement fell like a thunderbolt on the assemblage; although they had long known that this would be the inevitable result of their obstinacy, they had no idea the *dénouement* was so near, and its suddenness for awhile paralyzed them. Winslow was true to his promise to do all he could for them, and allowed the prisoners, ten at a time, to visit their families and make what little preparations were needed for their departure. They were kept in the church several days until the transports were ready to receive them, and on the 10th of September, all preparations being completed, the embarkation of the men commenced. An old writer thus describes the scene: "The prisoners were drawn up six deep, and the young men, one hundred and sixty one in number, were ordered to go first on board the vessels. This they instantly and peremptorily refused to do, declaring that they would not leave their parents; but expressed a willingness to obey the order, provided they were permitted to embark with their families. Their request was immediately rejected, and the troops were ordered to fix bayonets and advance towards the prisoners, a motion which had the effect of producing obedience on the part of the young men, who forthwith commenced their march. The road from the chapel to the shore, just one mile in length, was crowded with women and children, who on their knees greeted them as they passed with their tears and their blessings; while the prisoners advanced with slow and reluctant steps, weeping, praying and singing hymns. This detachment was followed by the seniors, who passed through the same scene of sorrow and distress. In this manner was the whole male population of Minas put on board five transports, stationed in the river Gaspereau, each vessel being guarded by six non-commissioned officers and eighty privates. As soon as the other vessels arrived, their wives and children followed, and the whole were transported from Nova Scotia.

8.—The total number of persons removed was about seven thousand; and, according to Mr. Murdoch the number of cattle was seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-three. In the district of Minas the whole number of persons transported was nineteen hundred and twenty-three souls, consisting of four hundred and eighty-three men and three hundred

The embarkation of the exiles.

Seven thousand exiles. The amount of property destroyed.

and thirty-seven women, heads of families; their sons and daughters numbering five hundred and twenty-seven of the former, and five hundred and seventy-six of the latter. Their stock was upwards of five thousand horned cattle, four hundred and ninety-three horses, and twelve thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven sheep and swine. The destruction to property was immense; Haliburton puts the numbers in the district of Minas at two hundred and fifty-five houses, two hundred and seventy-six barns, one hundred and fifty-five out-houses, eleven mills, and one church; and a number of houses and other property were destroyed in other parts of the country. All the transports, however, did not reach their destinations; one of those which sailed from Annapolis Royal was seized by the passengers, numbering two hundred and twenty-six souls, and taken to the St. John River; and another was driven into the West Indies, through stress of weather.

9.—The unfortunate Acadians were distributed amongst the other Provinces, where they were not wanted and not liked, as they were of a different faith and spoke a different language. About one thousand were sent to Massachusetts, a number to New York, Philadelphia, Connecticut, and other points. Their condition was, for the most part, utterly wretched; strangers in a strange land, they had no one to help them, and the majority could not help themselves; even those who could work, and were willing to do so, could not find any employment, as it was too late in the season for agricultural labor, and they understood little else. As a natural consequence, they became a burden on the various colonies to which they had been sent, and their governors applied to Governor Lawrence for means to support them. He, however, was only too glad to have got rid of such troublesome subjects, and seems to have given himself little anxiety about what became of them, his only desire being to keep them away; for in July, 1756, when Governor Phipps, of Massachusetts, informed him that seven boats, containing Frenchmen for Nova Scotia, had been seized in one of the southern harbors of that state, he immediately addressed a circular to all the governors, asking them to use every means in their power to prevent "so pernicious an undertaking as their return to Nova Scotia." The Lords of Trade ap-

Miserable condition of the exiled Acadians.

proved of the course pursued to prevent their return, and said, in a letter dated March, 1757: "There was no attempt, however desperate and cruel, which might not be expected from persons exasperated, as they must have been, by the treatment they had met with." Some of the colonies would have nothing to do with the exiles, and several hundred were sent home to England from Virginia and South Carolina. The bulk of them either died or remained in the States to which they had been sent, and gradually became absorbed in the great body of the people; and many of the French families in New York, Philadelphia, &c., are the descendants of the Acadian exiles.

10.—Cases of unnecessary harshness and of great individual suffering were not uncommon.

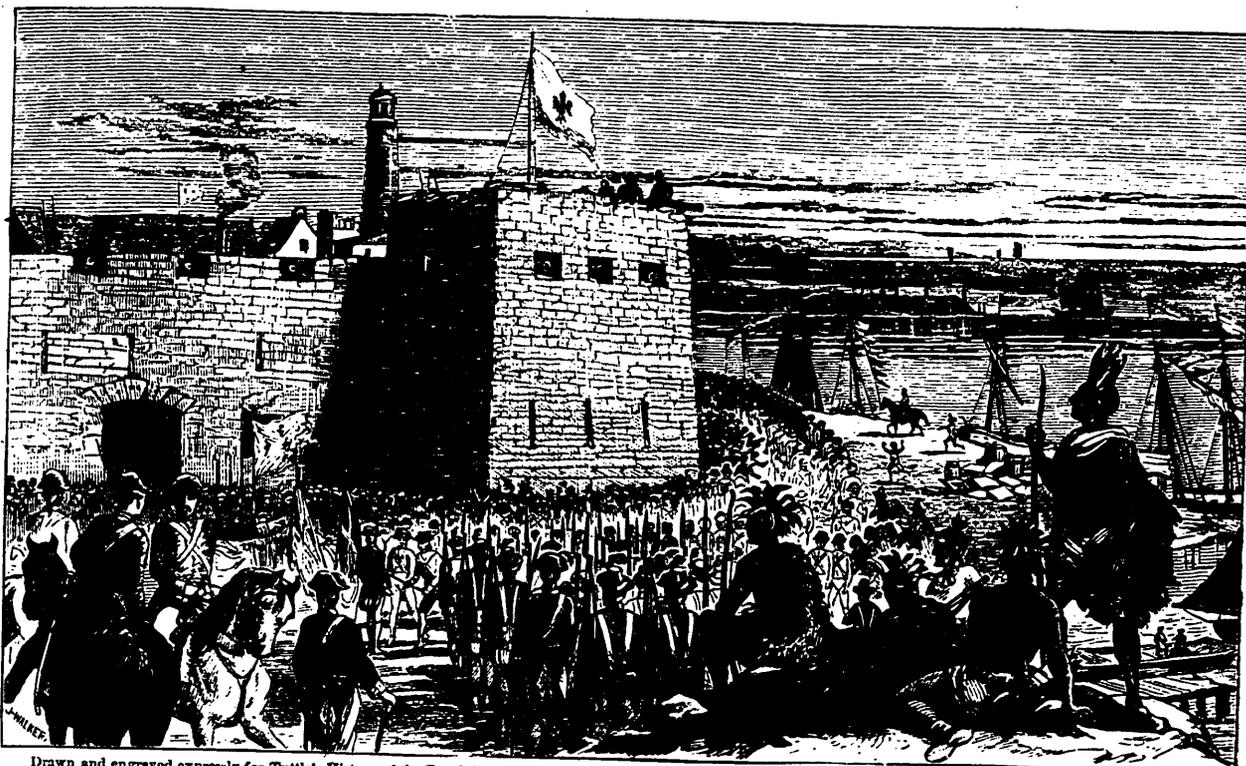
Whether by accident, or because Individual cases of hardship. no more care was taken in transporting them than would have been in shipping so many cattle, families were not only separated by being put into different ships, but were, in some cases, sent to different States—husbands were separated from their wives and children, fathers and mothers from their offspring. One of the exiles put the case with remarkable force when he said: "It was the hardest which had happened since our Saviour was on earth." One particularly hard case was that of a Notary Public (who figures in Longfellow's "Evangeline"), who was over seventy years of age at the time of his removal. He had taken the oath of allegiance when Acadia was first ceded to England, and had paid the penalty by four years' imprisonment by the French; after which he had returned to his former allegiance, and remained firm in it. He was the father of twenty children, and about one hundred and fifty grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and Colonel Winslow promised him that the family should be kept together; but this was not done—he, with his wife and two youngest children, were sent to New York, while the remainder of the family were scattered about the other States. At last he heard that three of the family were in Philadelphia, and, after enduring suffering and hardship, succeeded in reaching them there. All the Acadians, however, were not poor; many of them had for years been carefully hoarding up what money they got, in anticipation of this day of sorrow; and this they were allowed to take with them. As far back as September, 1745,

Governor Beauharnois wrote to the Count de Maurepas: "The Acadians are extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Isle Royal, they have drawn from Louisbourg almost all the specie the king annually sent out; it never makes its appearance again—they are particularly careful to conceal it. What object can they have except to secure for themselves a resource for an evil day?"

11.—The question now arises—Was the British Government justified in using such harsh measures towards these simple people? Leaving poetry and sentiment—two Was the removal of the Acadians justifiable. things antagonistic to political economy and history—out of the question, we think that the government was perfectly justified in removing the Acadians, but not in the manner in which it was done. The Acadians have been represented as living in a state of most primitive simplicity; Acadia as a second Garden of Eden, "on a new and enlarged plan," with thousands of Adams and Eves, wearing pretty good clothes instead of the original fig-leaf, which would doubtless have proved rather too light apparel for the climate; but we opine that after all they were very much like other people, removed, to a great extent, from the temptations of a more busy, bustling life. In a far away corner of the world, they had almost, as it were, a little world to themselves, and were, without doubt, an industrious, sober, orderly, and eminently moral people: and Longfellow's description in "Evangeline" may be a pretty correct one:

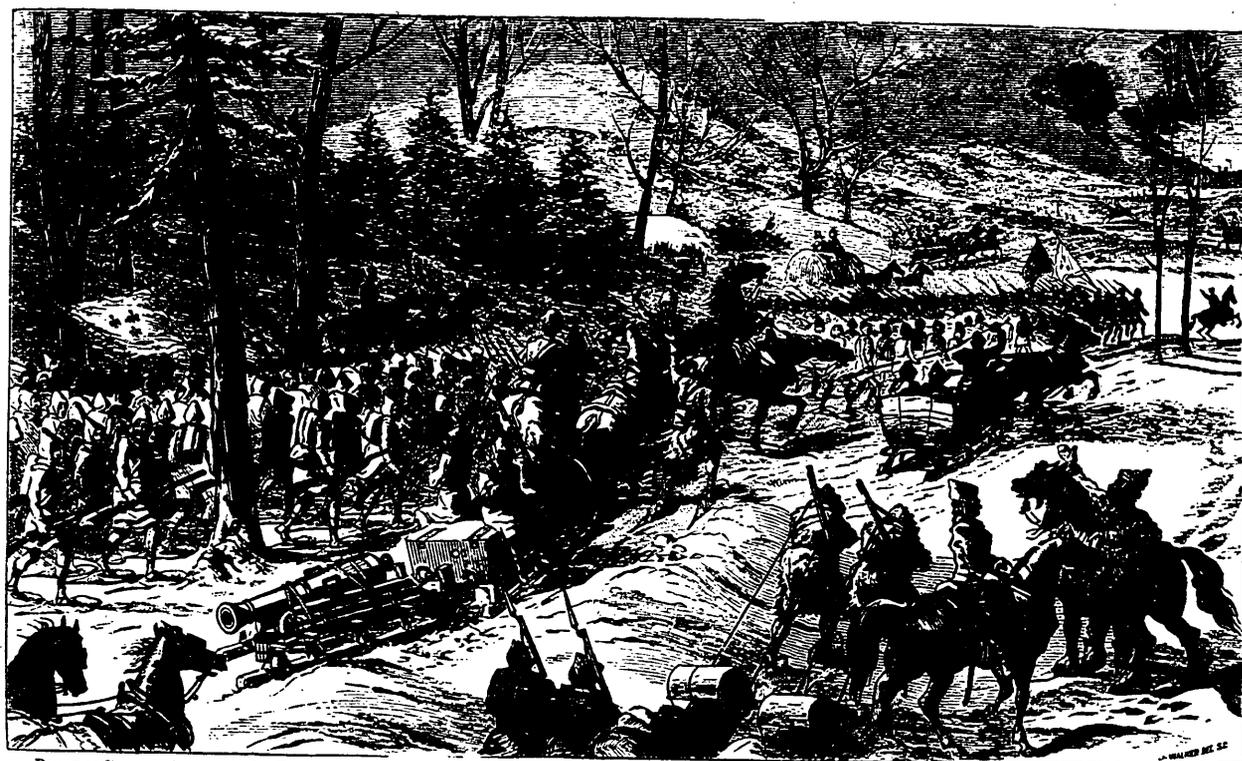
"—— Alike were they free from
Fear, that reigns with the tyrant, and envy, the vice of republics.
Neither locks had they to their doors, nor bars to their windows;
But their dwellings were open as day and the hearts of the owners—
There the richest was poor, and the poorest lived in abundance.*

* Longfellow's beautiful poem is evidently based, to a great extent, if not entirely, on the Abbé Raynal's description of the Acadians, given in the fifth volume of his "Philosophical and Political History." He says: "There were twelve or thirteen hundred Acadians settled in the capital; the rest were dispersed in the neighboring country. No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them, and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rent or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them, and they were equally strangers to him. Hunting, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes in the low lands, by repelling the sea and the rivers which covered these plains with dykes. These grounds yielded fifty times as much as before. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There



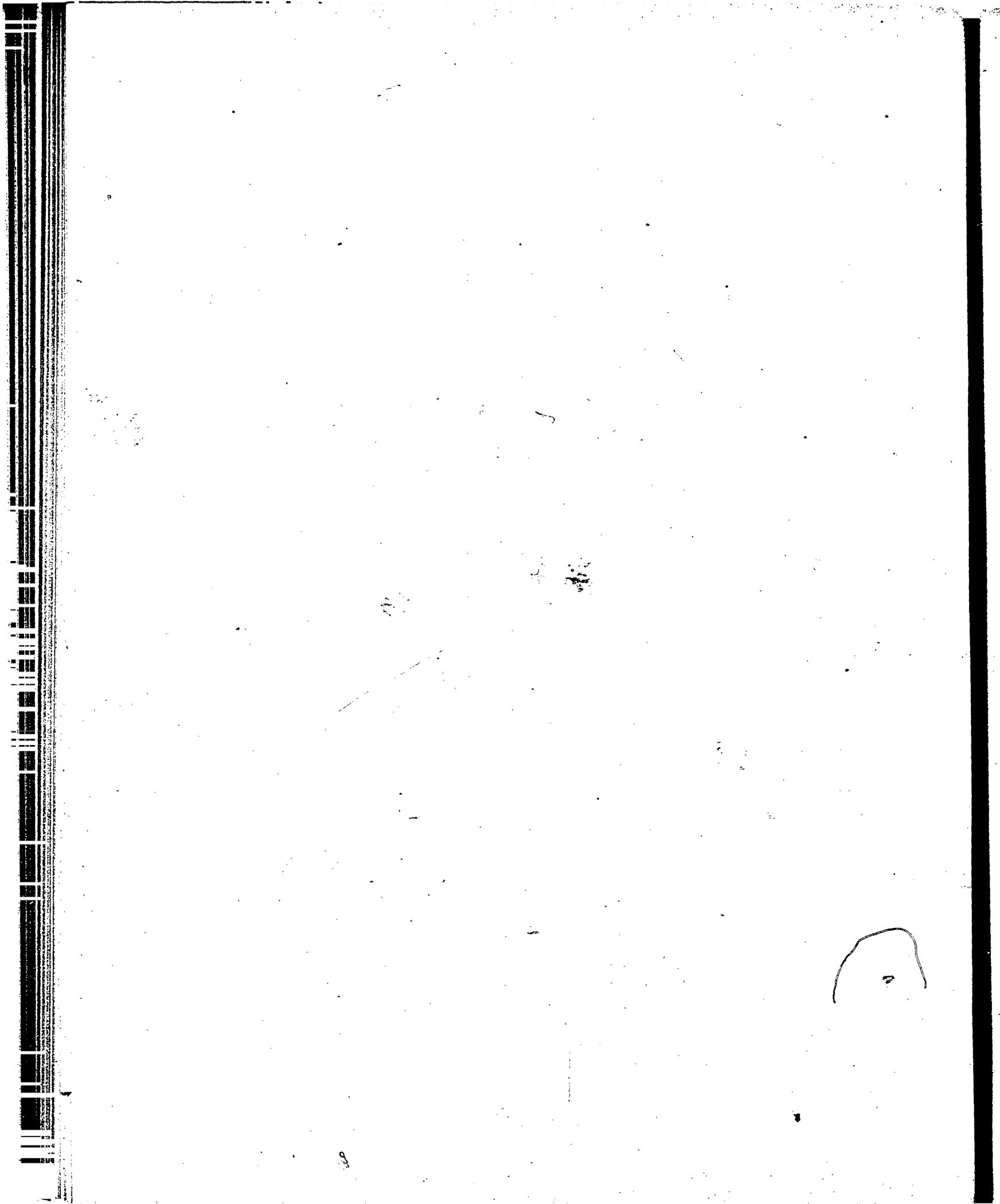
Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

CAPITULATION OF OSWEGO, 1756.



Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion.

WINTER ATTACK ON FORT WILLIAM HENRY, 1757.



Still, they were not angels; and the glowing account of peace and harmony existing amongst them must be taken *cum grano salis*, as the evidence of Governor Armstrong in 1731, and of Governor Lawrence in 1753, shows them to have been "extremely litigious among themselves," and the only one thing on which they appear to have been thoroughly united was their hatred of the English. Some of the other fancy pictures of them are not based on solid foundations, for, with regard to their dwellings, Governor Beauharnois says of them, in 1745: "Their houses are wretched wooden boxes, without convenience and without ornament, and scarcely containing the necessary furniture;" while the "eighteen thousand souls" and "sixty thousand head of cattle," mentioned by

were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common. At the same time, the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of cattle were computed there, and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built entirely of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. The people had a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was, in general, wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cider, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual clothing was, in general, the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common lineus and coarse cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs. The neutral French had few articles to dispose of among their neighbors, and still fewer amongst themselves, because each separate family was able to provide for its wants. They therefore knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie which had stolen into the colony did not promote that circulation, which is the greatest advantage that can be derived from it. Their manners were, of course, extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-seventh part of their harvests. These were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency to fulfil every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt: and food was universally dispensed without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received it. These people, amounting to eighteen thousand souls, were, in a word, a society of brethren, every individual equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind. Such perfect harmony naturally prevented all those galantries which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others."

Raynal, dwindle down by actual count, at the time of the removal, to about seven thousand souls and less than eight thousand head of cattle. Still, that does not affect the question—"Should they have been removed?" and the answer, "They should," is not based on their numbers nor their quarrels amongst themselves, but on the ground of political necessity, brought about by their own obstinacy, and their continued misconduct towards the English. Raynal may write them angels, in prose, and Longfellow print them as martyrs, in poetry; but that does not alter the facts that, for forty-two years, these people were allowed to hold their possessions in conquered territory, without molestation or annoyance, and without paying taxes, rent, or anything whatever; that they were permitted to enjoy free exercise of their religion without restrictions, and without even an effort to obtain a single proselyte amongst them; that they lived under the full protection of British law, and were allowed all its privileges—except those of contributing to the revenue or defending the crown. And what return did they make? They did not content themselves with refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, but continued, during the whole forty-two years, secret and, at times, open enemies of England and active allies of her enemy, France. They supplied the French with information concerning the movements of the British forces; they traded with Louisbourg, and sent all their surplus produce there, while they refused to sell the bare necessaries of life to the half-starving garrison at Annapolis; they and their priests incited the Indians against the English, and even joined or countenanced them in plundering an English vessel and killing British subjects; they paid the Seigniors of Cape Breton rent for the land they held in British territory, under the British flag; and last, but not least, three hundred of them were taken in open rebellion, with arms in their hands, fighting against that flag, when Fort Beau Sejour was captured.

12.—Justified in removing them, we should think so; even had there never been any overt, or actual acts of hostility, still as a political necessity, England would have been justified in removing so dangerous an element from such close proximity to the French Colony of Cape Breton, as long as

Their removal a political necessity.

the people refused to submit to British rule, and take the oath of allegiance to England's King. It must be remembered that these were dangerous times for English supremacy in America. France had taken a bold and determined stand in the West, and declared her intention of confining the English colonies to the seaboard; she had greatly strengthened herself in Canada, and was building up a strong colony in Cape Breton; she had witnessed with envy the rapid growth of Halifax, and the sudden prosperity of Nova Scotia under the British, and she looked with greedy eye on the fair possessions torn from her by the treaty of Utrecht, and longed for an opportunity to endeavour to wrest it again from England. Is it any wonder then that England looked with suspicion on these obstinate Acadians, who lost no opportunity of showing their hostility, and determined that if they would not become good British subjects, they, at least, should not join her enemies, and swell the power of France in America by the accession of a population of over seven thousand, nearly one quarter of which was capable of bearing arms.

13.—There is no doubt in our minds that England was justified in removing the Acadians; we wish we could say as much for the manner of doing it, but we cannot, in honesty, do so. England was not justified in suddenly sweeping down upon these seven thousand people, like a hawk on a dove, and sending them, without means of support, to a country where their language was not spoken, and where they were looked on with suspicion and distrust on account of their religion and nationality. England at that time had the honor (?) of leading the other nations in the horrible slave-trade; but no act of atrocity committed under the flag in that nefarious traffic, ever excelled in inhumanity, this awful uprooting of seven thousand souls and throwing them, helpless, amongst a people who did not want them, and where they could not work for a living, no matter how willing they may be. The negro slaves were happy in comparison, for although they too were torn from their homes, separated from those they loved and made to work, still they were fed and clothed and taken care of, while the unhappy Acadians had to care for themselves. As the removal had to be made it could just as well have been done with some regard to

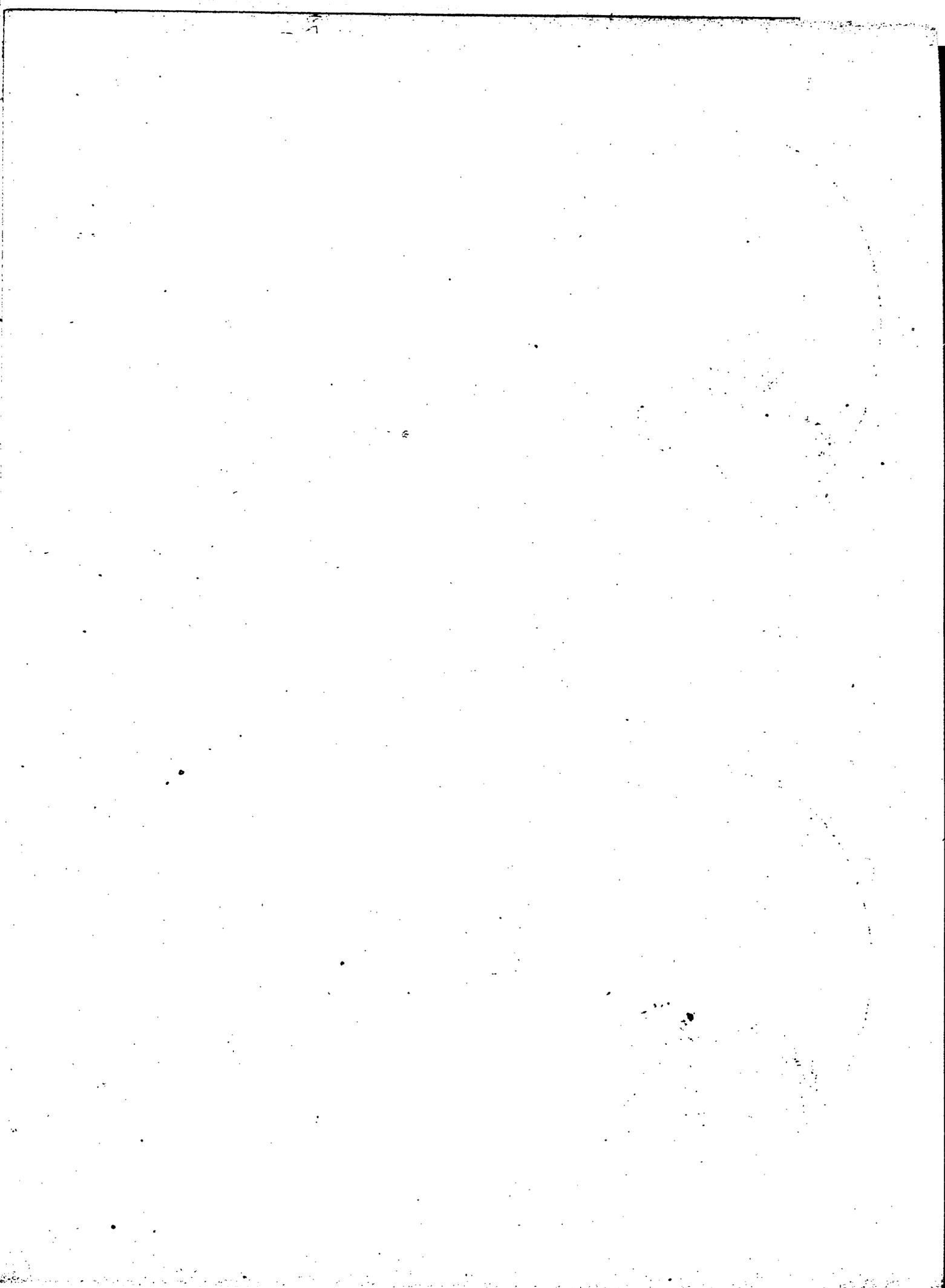
No justification for the manner of removal.

humanity; there was no necessity for removing the people late in the fall, when they could not obtain work in the States to which they were going; more care should have been taken that families were kept together; and proper provision for the maintenance of the exiles for awhile, until they could obtain work, should have been made. This pitch-forking them into other colonies to be pitch-forked out again was cruel, unjust and inhuman to the last degree; no wonder Colonel Winslow, in his address to the unfortunates in the Church of Grand Pré, should have spoken of his duty as "very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species." It has been urged that, as the people had to be expelled from Acadia, they might have been sent to Louisiana; but this would hardly have done, as they would undoubtedly have almost immediately returned—as some of them eventually did; or, failing that, they would have formed a fine body of recruits for the French army, which was then wanting men, which would not very well have done for England. Perhaps the best thing that could have been done with them, would have been to have distributed them amongst the French West India islands, where they would have been with people of their own religion, who spoke their language, and where there would have been less chance of their recruiting the French army, or returning to Acadia. The removal was all right; but the manner of doing it all wrong.

14.—Before leaving this subject of the removal of the Acadians we may revert to two circumstances which operated very unfavorably against the Acadians, and led to the inevitable result of their expulsion; the first was the vacillating policy of the British Government at the expiration of the year of grace given by the treaty of Utrecht; and the other was the loyal but mistaken devotion to the French cause shown by the priests, who really controlled the people, and which led them to suppose that they could keep "putting off," taking the oath until France was able and ready to make an effort to regain her lost territory in Nova Scotia, when it would be very convenient to have a large body of loyal Acadians ready and willing to assist in expelling the heretic English. On this subject Raynal—who, injudiciously praiseful of the Aca-

A lesson taught by the removal of the Acadians.





dians themselves—is unjust and untruthful with regard to their missionaries: while his description well applies to LaLoutre, it traduces others.* If Sir Richard Phillips had firmly insisted on the people either taking the oath, or quitting the colony,—and have either expelled, or made preparations for expelling one small settlement as an example,—there is but little doubt but that the Acadians would have listened to reason, and the terrible tragedy of their expulsion would not have been enacted; but the wavering policy of the Government deceived the priests and the people into the belief that the threat of expulsion was only held *in terrorem* over them, until the threat was carried out—after forty-two years waiting—and the calamity fell on them. The terrible punishment of the Acadians was not without its salutary lesson, however; for it taught the priests, and through them the people, that a conquered people must submit quietly to the rule of the conqueror, at least as long as it is mild and just; and to the misfortunes of these unhappy peasants we owe it that the Canadians submitted so quietly to their fate, when it became their turn to have to submit to British rule; and to the wiser and more temperate teachings of the Church is due the fact that there is not to-day a more loyal body of men in Canada than the French Canadians.

CHAPTER XLIX.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARRQUIS DEVAUDREUIL.

1. APPOINTMENT OF DEVAUDREUIL.—A “CORNER” IN GRAIN.—2. BRADDOCK’S ADVANCE

* Raynal says:—“The missionaries easily insinuated themselves among them,—the Indians,—and had so far inculcated their tenets as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion they inspired them with that hatred which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which made the strongest impression on their senses, and the only one that favored their passion for war, they adopted with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any exchange with the English, but also frequently disturbed and ravaged the frontiers of that nation. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular after they had chosen St. Cassiens, formerly Captain in the regiment of Carignan, for their commander, who had settled among them, had married one of their women, and conformed in every re-

ON FORT DUQUESNE.—3. BRADDOCK’S TERRIBLE DEFEAT. DUNBAR’S RETREAT.—4. SHIRLEY’S USELESS MARCH.—5. JOHNSON’S ADVANCE ON CROWN POINT.—6. DEVAUDREUIL’S PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE.—7. DIESKAU’S DEFEAT AT FORT WILLIAM HENRY.—8. JOHNSON REWARDED WITH A BARONETCY FOR HIS VICTORY.—9. GREAT PREPARATIONS FOR A GENERAL INVASION OF CANADA.

1.—The year 1755 was a busy one for both the French and English colonies; and one of the events of special importance to Canada was the arrival of the Marquis De Vaudreuil as governor, in place of DuQuesne, who had asked to be relieved in order that he might rejoin the navy. The Marquis De Vaudreuil DeCavagnal was the third son of the Marquis DeVaudreuil—the best governor Canada had under French rule; and the people, remembering the twenty-two years of prosperity they had enjoyed under his father (1703–25), requested that the marquis should be transferred from the governorship of Louisiana, where he then was, to that of Canada. The request was granted, and the Canadians were delighted, and gave him a warm and hearty reception. But the new governor was a very different man from his father; he had seen too much of the corruption of the French Court, and brought with him to Canada a keen desire to improve his personal fortune at the expense of the people, which characterized nearly all the newcomers to Canada during the last days of French sway. Shortly after his arrival he became interested in the trading company of which Bigot, the Intendant, was the head, and in which DeJonquière had made so much money by monopolizing trade; and, at the instance of Bigot a “corner in grain” was got up which would have done credit to Chicago of the present day. It will be remembered that during DuQuesne’s administration he endeavored to make the militia as effective as possible, and that Bigot protested that DuQuesne kept the men away to much from agriculture, and that crops would consequently be short. Crops were a little short; but Bigot determined to im-

spect to their mode of life. When the English saw that all efforts, either to reconcile the savages or to destroy them in their forests, were ineffectual, they fell upon the Acadians, whom they looked upon, with reason, as the only cause of all their calamities.”

Appointment of De-
Vaudreuil. A
“Corner in grain.”

prove the opportunity, and his company bought up all the flour that could be had and ran the prices up to famine rates. Not content with this, however, Bigot, under the pretence that the farmers had caused the increase in prices, issued an ordinance that they should be compelled to sell at a fixed price, which he took care to place low, and then sent one of his creatures, named Cadet, through the country to buy up all the grain. This he did most effectually; in many cases using force to obtain the grain, and, although numerous complaints were made, no notice was taken of them, as both DeVaudreuil and Bigot were "in the ring," and the poor swindled farmers could get no redress. Swindling was done in a very high-handed manner in those "good old days."

2.—We will now return to the four expeditions against Canada, planned by the English colonies and assisted by the mother country. The expedition, under Colonel Monckton, against the French forts, on the Acadian isthmus and river St. John, we have already seen, in the last chapter, was entirely successful, and the French were driven from both places; but while these events were occurring, Braddock had been meeting with a most disastrous defeat in the West, which again gave the French full command in the Ohio valley. Braddock joined the main body of his army at Fort Cumberland on the fifth of June, and found himself in command of twenty-three hundred men, including two regiments of the line, the 44th and 48th, and twelve pieces of artillery. He left Fort Cumberland on the 10th of June, and, learning shortly afterwards that Contrecoeur expected reinforcements at Fort DuQuesne, he left Colonel Dunbar in charge of the main body, to advance more leisurely, and, taking the 44th and 48th with ten guns and some companies of militia, in all twelve hundred men, he struck boldly out through the Alleghanies, hoping to reach Fort DuQuesne before the reinforcements could arrive there, and, probably take the French by surprise. Contrecoeur, however, who had been kept perfectly well informed of Braddock's movements, waited until the 9th of July, when he was within a day's march of the Fort, and then sent DeBeaujeu, with all the force he could spare—two hundred and fifty soldiers and six hundred Indians—to occupy a defile about six miles' distant, through which Brad-

dock must pass. The general's march had been most loosely conducted; he was a brave man; but conceited, and knew nothing of the sort of warfare he was engaged in. He had no confidence in any troops but "regulars," and snubbed Washington, who commanded some Virginia militia, and served on the general's staff, because he ventured to suggest more caution, and sent him to the rear.

3.—Braddock soon paid the penalty of his rashness, for DeBeaujeu had scarcely got his men into position before the British vanguard appeared and the action commenced at once. The flanking parties were speedily driven in, and then Braddock advanced at the head of the 44th, but his "regulars" had never before been engaged in Indian warfare, and the terrible "whoop" so demoralized them that they wavered, and as the steady fire from their unseen enemies in the covert swept away the head of every formation, they became panic-stricken; and, in spite of Braddock's utmost efforts to rally them, they broke and retreated in the greatest confusion on the 48th, which was now advancing to their assistance, under Colonel Burton. Meanwhile the artillery had pushed on, and all the officers and nearly all the men were shot down at their guns. Braddock now formed the 48th and advanced to the attack of a hill on which the French were posted; but, securely hidden in the thicket they easily repulsed him, although he led on his men again and again, with useless courage, until wounded in the arm and lung, when he was taken to the rear by Colonel Gage. On Braddock's falling the remnants of the 44th and 48th turned and fairly ran for it, leaving their dead and wounded to be scalped, and all the artillery and baggage. Washington, who was in command of the rear-guard, and who had taken little part in the action, held the enemy in check until the disordered troops had crossed the Monongahela, and managed to retire in pretty fair order. As for the "regulars," their scare was too great to be easily overcome, and they fled precipitately until they had reached Colonel Dunbar's force fifty miles behind, having made the distance in less than twenty-four hours. Colonel Dunbar took command and continued the retreat, Braddock dying on the third day. He was terribly chagrined at his defeat, but took the whole blame to himself, dictating a despatch shortly before his

Braddock's terrible
defeat. Dunbar's
retreat.

Braddock's advance
on Fort DuQuesne.

death, in which he entirely exonerated all his officers, and recommended them to favor. Dunbar continued to retreat as fast as possible until he reached Fort Cumberland, where he only paused to leave two companies of militia to strengthen the garrison, and continued his march to Philadelphia, from whence the remnant of the army, sixteen hundred strong, was transferred to Albany by order of General Shirley, who became commander-in-chief on Braddock's death. This was a most terrible defeat to the British, and a cheap victory for the French. Of the twelve hundred men Braddock took into action, barely four hundred returned, and sixty four officers were amongst those lost. Out of fifty four women who accompanied the expedition, only four returned. The French on their side suffered very little, losing only sixty men, including their commander, De Beaujeu, and their Indian allies lost very little more. This was the most crushing defeat ever inflicted on the English, and left the French in undisputed possession of the Ohio.

4.—The third expedition determined on by the Council of Alexandria, was for the capture of Fort Niagara, and was under command

Shirley's useless march.

of General Shirley, who left Albany in the middle of July; but it ended in a fizzle, for the Provincial troops heard of Braddock's defeat and deserted in companies; but Shirley pushed on to Lake Ontario, which he reached late in August; but as he found that the Iroquois, on whom he had depended, refused to assist him, and the season was late and supplies running short, he was obliged to abandon his intended attack on Niagara and returned to Albany, after leaving seven hundred men at Oswego. The Iroquois on this occasion, again showed their politic nature. They too had heard of Braddock's defeat, and not only refused to join Shirley, but protested against his marching through their country, and the garrisoning of Oswego, saying that they only allowed the fort there as a trading-post. They were doubtful as to the issue of the war, and were careful not to commit themselves too fully to the interest of the British until they were sure the French would not win.

5. The only one of the land expeditions which was successful, and redeemed to some extent the defeat of General Braddock, was the campaign of Sir William John-

Johnson's advance on Crown Point.

son on Crown Point. Johnson was an Irishman by birth, and had emigrated at an early age,—for emigration from Ireland was even then considerable,—and commenced life as a private soldier. He was one of the men, however, who is "bound to rise," and soon won his way to wealth and position. He was at this time Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Mohawk Valley, where he had been settled many years, and was a great favorite with the Indians; indeed he has sometimes been termed "The Tribune of the Six Nations." The Iroquois had carefully abstained from assisting the expeditions under either Braddock or Shirley, but three hundred Mohawk warriors joined Johnson, led by their chief Hendrick.* The militia of New York, Massachusetts, and other States, to the number of about five thousand, assembled at Albany early in July, and, under command of General Lyman, marched to the portage between the Hudson and Sorel and built Fort Edward. Johnson joined the army with his Indians, and leaving three hundred men to defend the fort, and protect his supplies, he marched to

* Hendrick and Johnson were warm friends, the latter putting great faith in the judgment of the chief. On one occasion Johnson was preparing a small force to repel an expected invasion, and asked Hendrick's opinion of them. "If they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many," laconically replied the chief. There is a story told of the manner in which Johnson acquired a large tract of land in what is now Herkimer County, New York, which may be true, but it has a considerable spice of the romantic and improbable about it. On a certain occasion, Sir William was unpacking a large box of clothing which had just arrived from England. Hendrick happened to be in the room, and was particularly attracted by a richly embroidered coat which he saw brought forth and shaken out in all its glittering splendor of gold lace and gilded buttons, and bright silk trimming. The Indian's eyes sparkled, and he could scarcely keep his hands from the coveted prize. But he held back, and kept his peace for the time. On the following morning, however, the chieftain waited upon Johnson for a purpose, as was evident from the intensity of his look. "Sir William," he said, "me have a great dream last night; me dream that you say to me, 'Good Hendrick, you have been my friend, and now I will reward you,' and you gave me the new coat, with the bright gold on it, that came in the box." The baronet reflected a few moments, and finally said; "It is true, Hendrick, you have been my friend: the coat is yours." The chief went away fairly beside himself with delight. A few days after that Sir William said to him, "Hendrick, I had a dream last night." "Ah! and what did my white brother dream?" "I dreamed that you took me by the hand and said, 'Sir William Johnson, you have been my true friend, and I will give you a proof of my love for you,' and you gave me the tract of land on the great river and Canada Creek," describing a square territory embracing nearly one hundred thousand acres of choice land. The chief was for a little time confounded. This was the fairest part of his domain. But he was not to be outdone in generosity. "My pale-faced brother," he said, "the land is yours." After a pause he added, with a nod, "Sir William, we won't dream any more. You dream too big for me." The land was afterwards confirmed to Sir William by the British Government, and called the Royal Grant.

the southern shore of Lake George, then called the Lake of the Holy Sacrament, and established his camp there, and, although this was his first campaign, he selected a very strong position, having Lake George in front of him, Fort Edward in his rear to fall back on if necessary, and his flanks well protected by wooded swamps. The place was then utterly wild, and Johnson says, "I found a mere wilderness: never was house or fort erected here before."

6.—DeVaudreuil was preparing to follow up the advantage gained in the West by Braddock's defeat, when he heard of the advance of Johnson, and at once turned his attention to the defence of Crown Point, sending Baron Dieskau with seven hundred troops, fifteen hundred mounted militia, and seven hundred Indians to its relief. Dieskau was a brave and experienced officer, and very anxious to gain distinction; he therefore determined not to wait for Johnson to attack him, but leaving half his army at Crown Point, he took three hundred regulars, and twelve hundred Canadians and Indians, and pushed on to attack Fort Edward; but when he got within four miles of the fort they refused to attack it, but offered to go against the army on the lake, and Dieskau accordingly turned that way. During the night of the 7th September, Johnson was informed by his scouts that a large body of French and Indians were advancing on Fort Edward; and he, next morning, sent Colonel Williams with one thousand militia, and Hendrick with two hundred Indians, to its relief. They were not aware of Dieskau's change of plan, and that he was advancing against the camp instead of the fort; and he having been informed by his scouts that a party was advancing to the relief of Fort Edward, had time to ambuscade his forces amongst some brushwood in a rocky defile, and would, undoubtedly, have cut off the whole detachment had not the Christian Iroquois of Caughnawaga, disliking to fire on the Mohawks, given them warning as soon as they entered the defile. The militia and Indians under Williams fought well, and managed to effect their retreat to the camp, which was three miles distant, and into which Dieskau designed to follow them, pushing his men rapidly on, so as to enter with the fugitives.

7.—Meanwhile Johnson had not been idle; he

heard the firing, and, being unaware of the strength of the enemy, began hastily to throw up breastworks, for the camp was ^{Dieskau's defeat at Fort William Henry.} not fortified. The wagons and baggage cars were placed along the front, and a number of trees felled, while three guns were brought up from the lake; and by the time Dieskau arrived, he was pretty well prepared to receive him. It is a noticeable fact that the New England men had not a bayonet amongst them, and were armed with fowling-pieces and rifles, very good weapons to use from behind breastworks, but scarcely suited to withstand the veteran French troops in an open field; it was to Johnson's expedition, therefore, in throwing up some defences, that his victory was due. Dieskau was surprised to find Johnson entrenched, but brought his regulars up gallantly to break the centre, the Canadians and Indians having quailed at the sight of breastworks, and trailed off to the right and left, where they kept up a fire on the British flanks. The action lasted about four hours, and the havoc amongst the French regulars was very great, nearly all of them were killed, and Dieskau was mortally wounded. At last the French wavered and gave way, and the New England men, leaping over the breastworks, put them to flight. The pursuit was not kept up, and the Canadians and Indians, on reaching the scene of the fight of the morning, stopped to scalp the dead and wounded, when they were attacked by a body of New Hampshire men, under Captain Macginnis, and again defeated, after a fight of two hours. The French now made the best of their way to Fort Ticonderoga, where the troops left behind by Dieskau on his march on Fort Edward were entrenched. The total loss to the British during the day was two hundred and sixteen killed and ninety-six wounded; while the loss to the French was much heavier, some accounts placing the figures at one thousand, but it probably did not much exceed one-half of that number.

8.—Johnson was wounded early in the action, and General Lyman took command. Although he had successfully repulsed the enemy, Johnson showed much caution in not allowing himself to be flushed by victory, and wisely determined that his raw, undisciplined militia, although good enough to fight behind breastworks, where rapid firing

DeVaudreuil's preparations for defence.

Johnson rewarded with a baronetcy for his victory.

and good aim were the chief requisites, were no match for the well-drilled veterans of France, or for attacking fortified positions; and, therefore, having found that the French, about two thousand strong, were strongly entrenched at Ticonderoga, and that the place was defended by artillery, he determined not to venture an attack. He therefore contended himself with building Fort William Henry on the scene of the battle, and garrisoning it with a regiment of militia. He then strengthened Fort Edward, and set out on his return to Albany, on the 24th of December. The British Government was greatly pleased at the victory, although it was not productive of any important results, and rewarded Johnson with a baronetcy, and a parliamentary grant of five thousand pounds.

9.—The French were not slow to take advantage of their success in the west, and Pennsylvania felt the full effect of Braddock's defeat and Dunbar's retreat. The whole frontier was ravaged by French and Indians, who were plundering and massacring in every direction, advancing along the Susquehanna to within eighty miles of Philadelphia. It was only then that the Quaker legislature began to take measures to repel the invaders—they having previously steadily refused to grant any money for war purposes, and an appropriation of sixty-two thousand pounds was voted. The English colonies now began to be seriously alarmed, and a grand council of war was held in New York on the 12th of December, at which the governors of nearly all the States were present. It was determined to appeal to the mother country for aid, and a grand general campaign for the next year was determined on. Three expeditions were to operate simultaneously, one to attack Quebec by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière; another to carry Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and menace the settlements on the St. Lawrence and Richelieu, while the third was to start from Oswego, capture Forts Frontenac, Niagara and Toronto; and Fort DuQuesne and Detroit, thus cut off from Montreal, would be forced to surrender. The mother country agreed to the campaign, and Lord Loudon was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American armies.

Great preparations for a general invasion of Canada.

CHAPTER L.

GOVERNMENT OF M. DEVAUDREUIL.—
(Continued.)

1. COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1756.—
2. ARRIVAL OF MONTCALM. THE POSITION OF AFFAIRS.—
3. THE FRENCH PREPARE TO ATTACK OSWEGO.—
4. CAPTURE OF OSWEGO.—
5. A CHEAP VICTORY. MASSACRE BY THE INDIANS.—
6. INACTIVITY OF THE BRITISH. GREAT REJOICINGS IN CANADA.—
7. GREAT SUFFERING IN QUEBEC.—
8. TREATY OF PEACE WITH THE IROQUOIS.—
9. THE FRENCH ATTACK FORT WILLIAM HENRY.—
10. CAPITULATION OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY.—
11. MASSACRE OF PRISONERS BY THE INDIANS.—
12. DESTRUCTION OF THE FORT. PANIC AMONGST THE ENGLISH.—
13. FAMINE IN CANADA.—
14. BIGOT AND HIS SWINDLING COMPANY.

1.—It seems almost incredible that during these two years—'74-5—of war in the colonies, and hostile acts of both nations by sea and land, England and France remained nominally at peace; and it was not until the 17th of May, 1756, that war was formally declared, although, in the meanwhile, not only had Admiral Boscawen captured the French men-of-war *Alcide* and *Lys*, but over three hundred trading vessels had been taken by the English, thus depriving France of nearly eight thousand sailors. The French ministry contented itself with protesting against the act of the British, and the English ministry replied firmly, but politely, that the acts committed were only those of reprisal for the conduct of the French in North America, and that no further satisfaction could be given as long as the French maintained a chain of forts along the Alleghanies, and so the matter rested again for a while with the two nations nominally at peace, but actually at war. At last matters in Europe began to get complicated, and the French captured Minorca, shortly after which war was formally declared, as already stated. Preparations for the summer campaign were actively pushed on in the colonies, and DeVaudreuil commenced operations on the 17th of March, by despatching Lieutenant DeLery, with two hundred and fifty French and eighty Indians, to de-

Commencement of the campaign of 1756.

stroy some small forts which had been erected by the British to protect Oswego. This was done, and an unfortunate little garrison of twenty men in one of them who resisted, were, with the exception of two, all killed and scalped by the Indians. DeVaudreuil also despatched Captain DeVillier from Frontenac with three hundred men, to establish a fort near Oswego, and if possible, make a sudden descent upon that post and capture it. He erected a fort in the Iroquois territory, to which they strongly objected, and sent a deputation to DeVaudreuil to demand its demolition. DeVaudreuil refused, but gave the chiefs rich presents; and promised that if the Iroquois remained neutral they should be protected.

2.—About the middle of May, 1756, the Marquis deMontcalm arrived at Quebec to take command of the French armies in Canada, in place of Baron Dieskau. He was accompanied by the Chevalier de Levis, M. deBougainville, M. deBourlamaque, M. deMontreuil and others, and fourteen hundred men. He also brought a supply of arms and ammunition, and some provisions, which were sadly needed, as the colony was suffering greatly from want, partly on account of the lands not being tilled, and partly on account of the rapacity of Bigot and his satellites. The Marquis was forty-four years old, was descended from one of the best families in Rouerque, and was already a very distinguished soldier, having distinguished himself at the battle of Placentia, and at the siege of Assiette, receiving five wounds in the two engagements. He had also taken part in the celebrated retreat of the French, under Marshal deBelleisle, and had been promoted to a major-generalship shortly before leaving France. He found himself in command of about four thousand regulars, and nearly twice as many militia, and hastened to confer with DeVaudreuil at Montreal, as to the best means of prosecuting the campaign. The position of affairs at the opening of the year was decidedly in favor of the French; they had entire control of the Ohio, and their chain of forts was unbroken down to Montreal, while they held strong positions at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and menaced Oswego. Still the English colonies were preparing, although slowly, to put nearly twenty-five thousand men in the field; and it was evident that the campaign of 1756 would be a

warm one; Montcalm, therefore, lost no time in strengthening his position as much as possible, before the British attacked him. He highly approved of DeVaudreuil's action with regard to Oswego, and sent M. deBourlamaque to reinforce DeVillier and take command of the frontier. He forwarded one battalion to Niagara and two to Frontenac, while he collected about three thousand men at Ticonderoga, under the command of the Chevalier DeLevis. M. Dumas was put in command of Fort DuQuesne, and M. Bellestre of Detroit, while about three thousand five hundred men were on duty along the frontier. The whole force in Canada at this time, according to Garneau, was only about twelve thousand men, stretched along a frontier line extending from the Illinôis river to Cape Breton; and considerable deduction had to be made for the militia who, from time to time, had to be granted furloughs to attend to their crops, or agriculture would have been abandoned altogether.

3.—The British, meanwhile, were not idle, although not so active as their opponents. The House of Commons voted one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to aid the colonies in calling out and arming their militia, and Lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, being detained in England, Major-General Abercrombie, with the 35th and 42d regiments was sent to take command until his arrival, and reached Albany about the end of June. Abercrombie declined the responsibility of carrying out the campaign determined on, until the arrival of Lord Loudon, and contented himself with sending General Winslow to Fort William Henry, in anticipation of the attack on Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The greater portion of the summer passed away in inactivity, broken only by a small engagement near Oswego, between a force of French under DeVilliers, and a convoy returning from victualling Oswego, under Colonel Bradstreet, in which the latter was victorious. If the British were slow, however, the French soon took the initiative; and, finding he was in no immediate danger of attack at either Crown Point or Ticonderoga, Montcalm determined to carry out DeVaudreuil's long conceived idea of attacking Oswego. Montcalm did not enter very warmly into the scheme, seeming to see too many difficul-

Arrival of Montcalm. The position of affairs.

The French prepare to attack Oswego.

ties attending it; he writes, "The object which is in view in my passage to Frontenac appears to me possible enough, in a military sense, if all the details be well combined; but I shall set out to effect it, without being assured or convinced." In another place he says: "There are no routes other than rivers full of rapids and cataracts, or lakes to navigate so storm-veged as to be often impassable by bateaux." Still this did not prevent his entering rigorously on the campaign. He made his appearance, rather ostentatiously, at Ticonderoga, to give the British the idea that an attack would be made from that quarter, and then suddenly repaired to Frontenac, where a force of thirteen hundred and fifty regulars, fifteen hundred militia, and two hundred and fifty Indians had been assembled. The vanguard left Frontenac on the 4th August, and arrived within a mile of Oswego on the night of the 10th, and, having marched only at night, their approach was unknown until they appeared before Ontario, a small fort which served as an outpost to Oswego.

4.—Oswego, beside the fort proper, had two defences named Fort Ontario and Fort George, both of which from their positions, commanded the fort. The garrison consisted of about seventeen hundred militia, consisting of Shirley's, Pepperell's and Schuyler's regiments, and was in command of Colonel Mercer. On the 12th, Bourslamaque, who had charge of the siege, had advanced his works to within two hundred yards of Fort Ontario, and opened fire from six cannon, the besieged returning the fire briskly until their ammunition began to run short, when Colonel Mercer spiked the guns and withdrew his men. Montcalm immediately took possession of the abandoned fort which was mounted with eight guns and four mortars, and working all night, had his parallel extended down to the river, and by daybreak had nine guns pouring a destructive fire into the main work at point blank range. Meanwhile M. DeVaudreuil (a brother of the governor) with a force of militia and Indians had crossed the river, and thrown himself between Oswego and Fort George, cutting off all communication between them. Colonel Mercer was killed at eight o'clock, and succeeded in his command by Colonel Littlehayes, who, two hours afterwards, offered to capitulate. Montcalm was very glad to allow him favorable terms,

as he was expecting an attack from General Webb, who with two thousand men was at Wood's Creek, a few miles distant, and he was anxious to finish the siege of Oswego before Webb arrived. Webb never came, however. Mercer had written him in the morning to come to his relief immediately, but the messenger was intercepted by Montcalm's scouts and Webb did not receive the order. When he heard of the fall of Oswego, he fell back and left Montcalm in undisputed possession.

5.—This was a fortunate and cheaply bought victory for the French, who had only eighty men killed and wounded. The English loss was about one hundred and fifty, including thirty who were massacred by the Indians after the capitulation. The garrison, numbering some sixteen hundred, with one hundred and twenty women and children, were made prisoners of war and sent down to Montreal. The booty was considerable, consisting of seven sloops of war, carrying from eight to eighteen guns each, two hundred bateaux, one hundred and twenty cannon and mortars, seven hundred and thirty muskets, seven stands of colors, and large quantities of ammunition and provisions, besides the government chest containing about seventy five thousand dollars in gold. The only stain on this victory was the conduct of the Indians, who plundered and murdered many of the prisoners, and even broke into the hospital and scalped the wounded there. Montcalm has been blamed for this, but he seems to have done all he could to restrain the Indians, and finally succeeded in stopping the butchery by promising the Indians rich gifts. In his despatch to the minister he says: "This will cost the king some eight or ten thousand livres; but the gift will assure to us more than ever the affection of the savage tribes; and any amount of money would I have sacrificed rather than that there should be a stain on French honor resulting from this business."

6.—The fall of Oswego ended the campaign for 1756, with the exception of a few inroads into Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York by French and Indians, who swooped down on unprotected settlements and detached forts all along the frontier, and did immense damage, killing or taking prisoners the inhabitants, and carrying off

A cheap victory.
Massacre by the
Indians.

Inactivity of the
British. Great re-
joicings in Canada.

or destroying crops, dwellings, etc. Lord Loudon determined not to attempt any offensive operations this season, and, dismissing the militia, quartered his regulars on the people of New York and Albany. Winslow was ordered not to attack Ticonderoga, but to entrench himself so as to command the routes to Lake Champlain and Oswego; the expedition by way of the Chaudière was given up, and the attack on Fort DuQuesne postponed. Montcalm razed Oswego to the ground in the presence of the Iroquois chiefs; this was done for two reasons, first, he could not afford to spare enough men to garrison it properly; and next, because he wished to propitiate the Iroquois, and indeed so great an effect did the successes of the French have on the Six Nations that it needed all the influence of Sir William Johnson to prevent the Mohawks from joining Montcalm. The French militia were allowed to go home for awhile to gather their crops, and the people gave themselves up for awhile to great rejoicing over the victory achieved. The stands of British colors taken were paraded through the streets of Montreal and deposited in Notre Dame, where a grand *Te Deum* was sung, as well as in all the other churches throughout the colony. The only person who did not seem to be thoroughly well pleased about the matter, was Montcalm himself; and he was not displeased at what was done, but at the manner of doing it, which was contrary to his ideas of warfare, and in one of his letters he says: "Never before did three thousand men, with a scanty artillery, besiege eighteen hundred, there being two thousand other enemies within call, as in the lake affair; the party attacked having a superior marine, also, on Lake Ontario. The success gained has been contrary to all expectation. The conduct I followed in this affair, and the dispositions I made, were so much out of the ordinary way of doing things, that the audacity we manifested would be counted rashness in Europe. Therefore, Monseigneur, I beg of you, as a favor, to assure his Majesty that if he should accord to me what I most wish for, employment in regular campaigning, I shall be guided by very different principles."

7.—The French and Indians were by no means idle during the winter; although no serious engagements took place, constant raids were being made into Virginia,

Great suffering in Quebec.

New York, and Pennsylvania, one party penetrating to within twenty miles of the city of Philadelphia. Still the French were suffering greatly for want of provisions; all articles of food were at famine prices, partly on account of scarcity, partly on account of the rapacity of Bigot and his fellow plunderers, whom no amount of human misery could dissuade from their deliberate robbery of the suffering poor, and it was difficult to supply the garrisons, indeed it would have been almost impossible to do so, but for the large stores of provisions captured at Oswego. In Quebec, Bigot & Co. held a monopoly of bread and meat, and made the unfortunate inhabitants pay thirty and sixty cents per pound for what only cost three and six. During this winter many hundreds died of starvation, and small-pox also added its ravages amongst both whites and Indians, especially amongst the Abenakis, who were decimated by it. A large number of Acadians also came up from Miramichi, and added to the general suffering. So reduced were the people that horse-flesh had to be resorted to for food. Some of the Acadians died of small-pox, some settled in the neighborhoods of Three Rivers and Montreal, and founded the parishes of Acadia, St. Jacques, Nicolet and Bécancour, while the remainder hung about the towns and cities for awhile and gradually became absorbed in the general population. In February Montcalm proposed to make a sudden descent on Fort William Henry, which was said to contain immense quantities of provisions, and to send M. deBourlamaque with eight hundred and fifty men for that purpose. DeVaudreuil entertained the proposal, but sent fifteen hundred men, consisting of four hundred and fifty regulars, eight hundred militia, and three hundred Indians, under command of his brother, M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, an appointment which gave umbrage to some of the regular officers, between whom and the militia officers considerable jealousy existed.

8.—M. Rigaud started on 23d February, and, travelling nearly one hundred miles on snowshoes, reached Fort William Henry on 18th March, intending to take ^{Treaty of peace with the Iroquois.} it by surprise, but the vigilance of the sentries prevented this, and the place was invested by the French, and the commander, Major Eyres, summoned to surrender. This he refused to do, and after investing it for three days,



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M. Rigaud concluded that the fort was too strong to be taken by assault with the force at his command, and contented himself with destroying the storehouses, etc., near it. This destruction was considerable—four armed vessels, of ten to fourteen guns each, three hundred bateaux, and all the storehouses and out-buildings being burnt, leaving only the main buildings, which were surrounded by fire for nearly four days. Rigaud then retired. Speaking of the French, Garneau says: "Some of the latter, on their retreat, experienced a singular affection of the eyes, involving temporary privation of sight, from the continued glare of the snow; similar to the ophthalmia experienced by many of the French when crossing the sandy regions of Egypt by Napoleon. But in the former case, two days after reaching headquarters, the stricken men's sight returned." The continued successes of the French, and the ease with which they held their forts against the superior numbers of the English, greatly raised them in the estimation of the Indians, and friendly relations were cemented with them. The Iroquois, in spite of the strenuous efforts of Sir William Johnson, sent deputies to Montreal, where they were met by deputies from the Nipisings, Algonquins, Pottowattamis and Ottawas, and friendly protestations renewed. This made the French feel more secure on their frontier; but that had not been assailed by the Indians during the war, all the border warfare being inflicted on the other side, where the frontier was laid waste, and at one time as much as sixty square miles in Pennsylvania was deserted by the English settlers on account of the Indian and French incursions.

9.—Meanwhile the British were not inactive, Lord Loudon called a meeting of the governors of Boston in January, 1757, and it was decided to abandon the plan previously adopted, of striking at two or three points simultaneously, and to concentrate on one place, Louisbourg being selected as the first stronghold to attack. The expedition left New York on 20th June, under command of Lord Loudon, and proceeded to Halifax; a full account of the expedition and its want of success, will be found in our next chapter on Acadia. As soon as the departure of Loudon was known, Montcalm determined to attack Fort William

The French attack
Fort William
Henry.

Henry, which was strongly fortified and defended by two thousand men under Colonel Munroe. The English colonies had been left by no means defenceless by Loudon's departure, for Colonel Stanwyx was left to guard the Western frontier with two thousand men; General Webb had four thousand men to defend New York, and Colonel Bouquet had two thousand on the Carolina frontier; besides these, there was the reserve militia to draw on. Montcalm gathered his army at Ticonderoga, about the end of July, and found himself at the head of three thousand regulars, three thousand militia, and sixteen hundred Indians. This was the largest Indian force ever attached to one French army, and there were representatives of thirty-two tribes in it, including the Oneidas and Senecas, who could no longer resist the temptation of throwing off their neutrality and joining what seemed to be the winning side. Provisions were very scarce; the crops had been a failure, and in order to get provisions for the army, the militia had to bring maize and vegetables with them. DeVaudreuil says of them in one of his letters, "They had neither flour nor bacon to use; they denied themselves ordinary food, with equal zeal and generosity, for the king's sake." Several foraging parties went out from Ticonderoga, while the troops were being gathered, and were generally successful. Lieutenant Main, with a body of militia and Indians, surprised a party of English near Fort Edward, and took fifty-five scalps. Rigaud attacked Colonel Parker and about three hundred men, while they were descending Lake George, and killed about one-half, taking one hundred and sixty prisoners. One of the prisoners said to Montcalm, "To-morrow, or next day, General Webb will be at the fort with fresh troops." Montcalm answered, "No matter; in less than twelve days I will have a good story to tell about them."

10.—On account of a scarcity of boats the advance was made by both land and water; DeLevis, in command of twenty-eight hundred men, advancing along the east side of Lake George. He left on the 30th July, and was joined the following night by Montcalm and the balance of the army, they having come up the lake in two hundred and fifty boats, preceded by the Indians in their war canoes. On the second the force showed itself

Capitulation of
Fort William
Henry.

on the lake, and Montcalm landed without opposition a mile and a half below the fort, almost taking the English by surprise. Montcalm moved towards the fort in three columns, with the Indians acting as skirmishers, who managed to cut off a foraging party, and took forty scalps and fifty head of cattle. During the day LaCorne and the Indians occupied the road leading to Fort Edward, to give warning should assistance be coming from that quarter; DeLevis passed to the north of the fort, and Montcalm with the main body occupied a position by the lake. On the 3d Montcalm summoned Munroe to surrender, but he replied: "I will defend my trust to the last extremity." He had about five hundred men of the 35th regiment in the fort, and about seventeen hundred more troops were encamped under protection of its guns. On the 4th the first trench was opened, the siege operations being under the direction of Colonel Bourlamaque, and a battery of nine guns and two mortars commenced firing. Montcalm knew that if he was to succeed at all, he must succeed quickly, as he was not in a position, with his half starving army, to undertake a long siege, and he pushed on operations with the greatest activity, working night and day. He was at first apprehensive of an attack from Webb, but on the second day of the siege a letter from that general to Colonel Munroe fell into his hands, in which Webb advised the latter to make the best terms he could and surrender, as he could render him no assistance, and the French were thirteen thousand strong. On the 6th Montcalm had completed his second parallel, and a battery of eight guns and one mortar opened fire at short range; while on the 7th still another battery was unmasked. Montcalm now suspended operations for awhile, and forwarded Webb's letter to Munroe; but the latter still refused to surrender, although he now saw he could expect no outside help, and the odds were greatly against him. It seems inexplicable that Webb, with four thousand men, which he could have easily increased to eight by calling out the militia, should have allowed Munroe to be overpowered without making an effort to help him; but that astute general's tactics reminds us of the old nursery rhyme,

"The King of France with forty thousand men,
Marched up a hill, and then marched down again,"

for his only manœuvre consisted in sending a corps of observation, which appeared on the heights, "took a look," and, evidently not liking the appearance of things, retired again. On the 9th Munroe offered to capitulate, and Montcalm granted him favorable terms.

11.—The terms of the capitulation were that the English should march out with the honors of war, retaining their arms and personal effects, and be allowed to Massacre of prisoners by the Indians. depart on their parole not to engage again in the present war, either against the French or the Indians; and further, that all Canadian and Indian prisoners held by the British in the colonies should be given up at Ticonderoga within four months. The British, to the number of twenty-three hundred and seventy-two, slept in their intrenched camp that night, and started next morning for Fort Edward, under an escort commanded by DeLevis. Montcalm had been most desirous of keeping the Indians from the prisoners, and had prevented the former from having access to any liquor; but, unfortunately, the English themselves gave it to them, and the consequence was that the scene of Oswego was re-enacted on a larger scale. The Indians were greatly dissatisfied at the English being allowed to take off their personal effects, as they had been promised to be allowed to plunder, and having maddened themselves with the whiskey given them by the English, they fell on the prisoners as they were marching to Fort Edward, and began to pillage and massacre them. Efforts were made by Montcalm and his officers to restrain the Indians, but in vain, and the march of the British was a disordered flight, officers and men, stripped of everything, seeking safety in the woods, and only six hundred reaching Fort Edward in a body. Four hundred were retained in the French camp, and afterwards sent over under a strong escort. The Indians took two hundred prisoners, but they were afterwards ransomed by Montcalm and set at liberty.

12.—The fort was razed and the camp obliterated, and, on 16th August, Montcalm re-embarked on his two hundred and fifty canoes Destruction of the fort. Panic among the English. and departed homewards. His prizes were forty-three cannon, twenty tons of powder, twenty-nine small vessels, and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions,

the latter, which was about six weeks supply for the victors, being considered the greatest prize, in the starving condition of the country. Montcalm's loss was only fifty-four, while that of the English was over two hundred. The intentions of De Vaudreuil, and his orders to Montcalm, were to attack Fort Edward on the fall of Fort William Henry, and Webb, who commanded there, made every preparation for an inglorious retreat to the Highlands of the Hudson, and had already sent his baggage to the rear in anticipation of flight; but Montcalm—never supposing that Webb, whom he knew had four thousand men, was so anxious to run—concluded that "discretion was the better part of valor," and, content with the victory he had achieved, thought it better to allow his militia to return home and try to gather in the crops—if they could find any—than to risk a siege of so strong and well garrisoned a place as Fort Edward, which was almost certain to be relieved. Indeed the fall of Fort William Henry caused a perfect panic in New York and Connecticut, and frantic appeals for help were made to the neighboring States, and all the militia was called out. Some of the officers at Albany were so much alarmed that they even anticipated an attack on New York." It is inconceivable, "says Hutchinson, "how four or five thousand enemies could cause such a panic." DeVaudreuil was greatly annoyed at his orders not having been carried out, and the breach between himself and Montcalm, which had been growing for some time, sensibly widened.

13.—So ended the campaign of '57 with more reverses for the English, and more military triumphs for the French; one of
 Famine in Canada. Briton's strongholds on the lakes had been demolished, and great loss inflicted, at comparatively little cost to the French, and once more the French flag floated triumphantly from Cape Breton to the Illinois; but it, after all, was only the final flickering up of the candle before the light went out for ever. Lord Loudon returned from his bootless errand to Louisbourg, but took no action against the French, preferring to fritter away his time quarrelling with the Provincial authorities about quarters for his troops, and the Royal prerogative, which did not tend to improve the feeling of the colonists towards the mother country, which was

now growing very bitter. But while victory perched on the banners of France, gaunt famine stalked through Canada, and the winter of 1757 was even more severe than the previous year. The crops utterly failed, and what provisions there were, were eagerly seized by Bigot and his swindling "Society" and held for enormous prices. Several attempts to mutiny on account of the rations—or rather want of rations—took place, and it was only by the utmost personal exertion that DeLevis restrained the men from breaking out into open revolt. Garneau says: "In several parishes, hardly enough grain was reaped to provide for next crops. Cereals, which promised well as they grew, gave small returns or none, owing to the flooding summer rains. It was feared that the country would have no bread at all by the coming month of January. For precaution against the worst, two hundred *quarts* of flour were kept in reserve, to supply the wants of the sick in hospital till May. In the religious houses, the daily portion was reduced to half a pound each person; and it was proposed to supply to each of the townspeople one pound of beef or horse-flesh, or cod-fish, along with the *quarteron* of bread allowed, but which was judged insufficient of itself. The Intendant bought up twelve to fifteen thousand horses for the shambles. Stored subsistence failing, the troops were quartered upon the people in rural districts, as these were thought to be the best provided in a time of general dearth. Only a few soldiers were kept in the towns to do garrison duty." * * * "Early in April, the daily ration for the Quebec people was reduced again, and fixed at two ounces of bread daily, with eight ounces of bacon or cod-fish. Men began to fall down in the streets with hunger. More than three hundred Acadians died from privation at this time."

14.—But in the midst of all this misery and wretchedness there were some who "fared sumptuously every day," and grew fat and rich on the starvation of ^{Bigot and his swindling Company.} others. Foremost amongst these was Bigot, the Intendant, the evil genius of Canada, who robbed both King and people with such unblushing effrontery that even the corrupt government at Paris at last became alarmed at his ever-growing demands, and cried "Enough." The expenses of the Colony, always heavy, became

frightfully so under his corrupt administration. From about two hundred thousand dollars they rapidly rose to millions, and in 1757—the year of which we are writing—he drew for over two millions and a half of dollars, while at the time of the conquest he had about twenty million dollars worth of paper money afloat, representing a *per capita* indebtedness of about two hundred and fifty dollars. When the famine was at its height in Quebec the French Government was compelled to send out provisions for distribution; but this was too good a chance for Bigot to lose, so one of his creatures opened a store next to the Intendants and sold the goods to the people at most exorbitant rates; indeed, so palpable was the cheat, that the people nicknamed the store “La Friponne,” and a similar establishment in Montreal was also so called and the street where the store stood is still called Friponne street. It is some satisfaction to know that on his return to France to enjoy his ill-got gains he was imprisoned for fifteen months in the Bastille, then tried for fraud, and sentenced to banishment for life, to pay a fine of one thousand livres, to refund one million and a half of livres, and to have all his property confiscated. Seven of his associates in crime were tried at the same time and found guilty; and some idea of the amount of the peculations of the precious crew may be formed from the fact that the total amount ordered to be refunded by them amounted to four millions and a half livres. De Vaudreuil, if not actually implicated with Bigot, was certainly very remiss in his duty in not endeavoring to stop such barefaced swindling.

CHAPTER LI.

ACADIA—GOVERNMENT OF COLONEL LAWRENCE.—(Continued.)

1. UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE LOUISBOURG.—2. SECOND ATTACK ON LOUISBOURG. PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE.—3. SURRENDER OF LOUISBOURG.—4. DEMAND FOR A HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. OBJECTION OF GOVERNOR LAWRENCE.—5. MEETING OF THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—6. CIVIL POLICY OF LAWRENCE. 7. DESTRUCTION OF LOUISBOURG. DEATH OF

LAWRENCE.—8. STATE OF THE COLONY IN 1760.—9. NEW HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

1.—After the removal of the Acadians the next event of importance in Nova Scotia, was the attempt to capture Louisbourg in 1757. As we have already seen, war was declared between England and France on 18th May, 1756; and vigorous measures against the French Colonies of America were determined on at a meeting of governors held in Boston in January, 1757. Louisbourg was selected as the first point of attack; and a large army and powerful fleet were concentrated at Halifax for the attempt. Admiral Holborne left England in April with eleven ships of the line, and fifty transports, having on board five thousand regulars, under command of General Hopson. On the 20th June Lord Loudon left New York with six thousand troops embarked in ninety transports, and joined the English fleet at Halifax on 9th July. Before the expedition left port, however, intelligence was received that Admiral de laMotte had arrived at Louisbourg from Brest, with a fleet of seventeen ships of the line and three frigates; and that the town was garrisoned by six thousand French regulars, three thousand militia, and twelve hundred Indians. A council of war was held, and it was unanimously determined that, under the circumstances, the force at hand was not sufficient to warrant an attack on Louisbourg; the troops under Lord Loudon, therefore, returned to New York, and Admiral Holborne, with fifteen ships of the line, four frigates and a fire ship, stood towards Louisbourg to reconnoitre. Admiral de laMotte offered battle; but Holborne declined, as the French outnumbered him, and returned to Halifax. There he was joined by four more ships of the line, and in September appeared again off Louisbourg; but this time the French Admiral thought it prudent to decline an engagement, as the English had now a superior force, and he had received strict instructions not to risk, against odds, the best fleet France had been able to equip for half a century. Shortly afterwards a storm destroyed part of the British fleet, and the remainder either returned to England, or put into American ports for repairs.

2.—The return to power in England of Pitt caused new life to be infused into the war in

The second attack on Louisbourg. Preparations for defence.

America; and the campaign of 1758 was opened with great vigor. Lord Loudon was re-called and General Abercrombie appointed commander-in-chief. General Amherst, with Wolfe, Whitmore, and Lawrence as brigadiers, were appointed to command the land forces in another attack to be made on Louisbourg. Admiral Boscawen was despatched to Halifax with a large fleet, and was there joined by General Amherst with the land forces. The squadron consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, fifteen frigates and one hundred and twenty transports and small vessels, having eleven thousand six hundred soldiers on board. The fleet arrived off Louisbourg on the 2d June, and was detained five days by bad weather, before a landing could be attempted. This gave the French an opportunity to prepare for a defence, and they made the best use of the time so gained. M. Drucourt, who was in command, had thirty-four hundred regulars, with about seven hundred militia and some Indians, in the fortress; while six ships of the line, and seven frigates and small vessels, carrying in all five hundred and sixty-two guns, defended the harbor.* The fortifications had been allowed to get into a very dilapidated condition, the revetments and curtains were in a crumbling condition, and only one casemate and the magazine were bomb-proof. In a letter to his uncle, dated 27th July, 1758, General Wolfe says: "Louisbourg is a little place, and has but one casemate in it, hardly big enough to hold the women. Our artillery made havoc among them (the garrison) and soon opened the rampart; in two days more, we should certainly have carried it."

* Campbell, in his *History of Nova Scotia* says: "The garrison of Louisbourg when the English landed consisted of:

Twenty-four companies of infantry and two companies of artillery; in all	- - - - -	1,200
The second battalion of the regiment of Volontaires Etrangers.	- - - - -	600
" " " " Artois	- - - - -	500
" " " " Burgoyne	- - - - -	450
" " " " Chambise	- - - - -	650
Total,	- - - - -	3,400

There were also in the town seven hundred burgher militia and a number of Indians, and in the harbor the following ships of war:

Le Prudent	- - - 74 guns.	La Chèvre	- - - 16 guns.
L'Entreprenant	- - - 74 "	La Biche	- - - 16 "
Le Capricieux	- - - 64 "	Le Fidèle	- - - 36 "
Le Célèbre	- - - 64 "	L'Echo	- - - 32 "
Le Bienfaisant	- - - 64 "	La Diane	- - - 36 "
L'Apollon	- - - 50 "	L'Aréthuse	- - - 36 "

3.—It was not until the 8th, that the sea subsided sufficiently to allow a landing to be attempted; and on that morning seven frigates hauled in shore and opened fire on a French battery, which had been erected at Cormorant Point, to cover the landing of the troops. The troops were in three divisions of boats, Wolfe commanding the left, and leading Lawrence and Whitmore. The French opened a brisk fire as the boats neared the shore; but Wolfe, springing into the water, cheered on his men, and led them gallantly up to the breastworks the French had erected. A stubborn fight ensued here, but the works were finally carried and the French retreated to the fortress, after having lost seventy men. On the 12th the siege guns and heavy artillery were landed; and Wolfe pushed forward and took possession of several works which the French had deserted. He was thus enabled to open fire on the town, to which Drucourt had retired. Three of the French frigates had been sunk across the mouth of the harbor, to keep out the English fleet. On the 21st a shell set fire to the French line of battle ship *Entreprenant*, and the flames communicated to *Le Capricieux* and *Le Célèbre*, totally destroying the three. A boat party, under command of Captains Lafaroy and Balfour, entered the harbor at night, captured and brought out one French ship and set another on fire; these were the last men-of-war the French had, as the others had all been sunk to protect the harbor. On the 26th of July, Drucourt, finding further resistance useless, was forced to submit to an unconditional surrender, no better terms being obtainable. The victory was an important one, for with Louisbourg fell the whole of Cape Breton, and the island of St. John; the French were left without a stronghold on the Atlantic, and the way open to Quebec. Five thousand six hundred soldiers and sailors were made prisoners; fifteen thousand stands of arms; eleven pairs of colors, and an immense amount of military stores and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors, while all the French fleet was either captured or destroyed. As the English had Halifax for a naval station, Louisbourg was not needed. It was, therefore, deserted, and shortly afterwards demolished. The news of this victory, accomplished with the comparatively trifling loss of four hundred men, was received with great demonstra-

Surrender of Louisbourg.

tions of joy in England, and it was felt that the days of French rule in Canada were numbered. The eleven stands of captured colors were taken to England by Captain Amherst, a brother of the General, and laid at the feet of the king, who commanded them to be taken to St. Paul's Church in triumph. Wolfe gained great credit for his conduct during the siege, and to him was entrusted command of the force which was sent against Quebec during the following summer, and of which we shall treat in our next chapter.

4.—We will turn now from the military to the civil events of importance which occurred in the colony during the administration of Governor Lawrence. The most important of these was the establishment of the General Assembly, which it took several years to accomplish, owing to the opposition of Governor Lawrence who did not like the power to rule the colony taken from the governor and council. The proclamation calling for emigrants had guaranteed them the same form of government and rights as the other colonies; but, owing to difficulties in the way of electing an Assembly, none had yet been chosen, and the affairs of the colony were administered by the governor and council. In 1754, Jonathan Belcher, second son of Governor Belcher, of Massachusetts, was appointed chief justice of Nova Scotia; and the following year he raised the question—in a letter to the Lords of Trade—as to the constitutionality of several laws passed by the governor and council, without the endorsement of an assembly. The question was submitted to the attorney-general and solicitor-general, who decided that the governor and council alone had not the right to make laws, and that any so made were unconstitutional. The Lords of Trade informed Lawrence of this, and advised him to convene an assembly at once, and get the laws already passed confirmed, before it was known that they were illegal. Lawrence replied that the difficulties in the way were unsurmountable; and urged as one objection the fear that the merchants of Halifax would have too great an influence in the Assembly, to the detriment of the country people, whose interests were of a more permanent character. The people also got up a petition to the Crown praying for a Legislative Assembly, and this matter was again urged on Lawrence by the Lords of Trade. Still

Demand for a House
of Assembly. Ob-
jections of Governor
Lawrence.

Lawrence managed to find excuses, and the matter was put off for that year. In December, 1756, Belcher took his seat in the council; and Lawrence then laid before the House a proposal for calling a House of Representatives, which Belcher had handed him the previous year, while chief justice, and which had been submitted by him to the Lords of Trade. On the 3d of January, 1757, another meeting of council was held and it was agreed that the House of Representatives should consist of twenty-two members, twelve to be elected for the Province at large, until it could be divided into counties, four for the township of Halifax, two for that of Lunenburg, and one each for Dartmouth, Lawrentown, Annapolis Royal, and Cumberland; sixteen members to form a quorum, and only freeholders to be entitled to a vote. Still Lawrence neglected to call an election, and wrote to the Lords of Trade that an assembly was not necessary at present, and that all the persons to whom he had spoken were opposed to calling an Assembly immediately. Their lordships replied, rather curtly, that he knew their desires on the subject, and, as he did not seem disposed to gratify them, they were obliged to order him to do so; adding that they knew that many had left the Province and gone to other colonies, on account of the discontent at the delay in calling an assembly.

5.—Lawrence could not very well evade such direct instructions, and, accordingly, at the council meeting of 20th of May, 1758, ^{Meeting of the first} the matter of calling an assembly ^{General Assembly.} was again brought up, and a resolution to the following effect passed: That a House of Representatives of the inhabitants of this Province be the civil legislature thereof, in conjunction with the governor for the time being, and the council; that the first house shall be known as the General Assembly, and shall be convened in the following manner; sixteen members to be elected by the Province at large, until such time as it should be divided into counties; four by the township of Halifax, and two by the township of Lunenburg; and that as soon as Pizequid, Minas, Cobequid, or any other township which might be erected, had fifty electors it should be entitled to elect two representatives to the assembly, as well as having the right of voting for representatives for the Province at large. Eleven members, besides the

speaker, to form a quorum. The first³ Assembly of Nova Scotia met on the 7th of October, 1758, at Halifax, and elected Robert Sanderson, Speaker. A number of the laws passed by the governor and council were passed with slight alterations; and the Assembly, on the question being put whether any money should be paid them for their services, unanimously resolved that the members should serve without any remuneration that session. The usual speech from the throne was made, and a complimentary address in reply moved; and the governor and his new assembly got on better together than he had expected, for he had written to the Lords of Trade that some of the men elected were not remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to His Majesty's Government in the Province.

6.—Lawrence was an active and able officer, and paid great attention to developing the resources of

Civil policy of
Lawrence.

the Province, and promoting the welfare of the people. He opposed the government scheme of making the colony a military settlement; and was permitted to invite a more desirable class of emigrants, farmers, mechanics, &c. A proclamation was issued and enquiry soon followed as to the inducements offered settlers. The terms were liberal. The townships were laid out at twelve square miles, or one hundred thousand acres each; and each settler was entitled to one hundred acres for himself, and fifty acres for every member of his family, on condition that he cultivated the land within thirty years; and each township was to have the right to send two representatives to the legislature as soon as it contained fifty families. Agents from parties in Connecticut and Rhode Island visited Halifax in 1759, with a view to emigration, and selected Minas, Chignecto and Cobequid—which had formerly been settled by the Acadians—as sites for townships. Emigration soon set in steadily towards the Province: six vessels, with two hundred settlers, arrived from Boston; four schooners, with one hundred, came from Rhode Island; New London and Plymouth furnished two hundred and eighty, and three hundred came from Ireland, under the management of Alexander McNutt.

7.—The year 1760 was marked by two notable events in the history of the colony, the destruction of Louisbourg, and the death of Governor Lawrence. After the capture of this stronghold of the

Destruction of Louis-
bourg. Death of
Lawrence.

French, two years before, it had been abandoned except by a small garrison; but it was so identified with French rule in Acadia, that the English Government concluded that so long as it existed the French would be always making efforts to regain it, and, therefore, determined to demolish it altogether. Accordingly engineers were sent from England to entirely destroy it, which was speedily and skilfully done; and now only a few houses remain to mark the spot which cost France so many millions and so many lives to maintain, and England so much to capture. The destruction of Louisbourg was a great relief to the Nova Scotians, as they regarded it as a constant source of danger in time of war. The death of Governor Lawrence took place on the 19th of October, 1760, from inflammation of the lungs, brought on by a cold taken at a ball at Government House. He was deeply mourned by the colony, and his loss severely felt. He was accorded a public funeral, and the Legislature caused a monument to his memory to be erected in St. Paul's church, Halifax, as a mark of their sense of the many important services he had rendered the Province. Lawrence was a wise, upright and impartial administrator, and zealous and indefatigable in his endeavors for the public good; even his opposition to calling a general assembly made him few enemies, and his strongest opponent in the matter, Chief Justice Belcher—who succeeded him in the Administration—remained on good terms with him. Haliburton says of him "Few men ever gave so much satisfaction to the government by whom he was employed;" and Mr. Murdoch adds, "He was a man inflexible in his purposes, and held control with no feeble hands; earnest and resolute, he pursued the object of establishing and confirming British authority here with marked success." The one stain on his memory is his treatment of the Acadians, in the manner of their removal, which—however necessary—was performed in a more harsh and cruel way than was required.

8.—The Honorable Jonathan Belcher succeeded Lawrence, and we cannot give a better account of the condition of the Province at the end of the year 1760, than by quoting from his letter to the Lords of Trade in December of that year. He says: "I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordships that the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and

State of the Colony
in 1760.

Falmouth, are so well established that everything bears a hopeful appearance; as soon as these townships were laid out by the surveyor, palisaded forts were erected in each of them, by order of the late governor, with room to secure all the inhabitants who were formed into a militia, to join what troops could be spared to oppose any attempts that might be formed against them by Indian tribes, which had not then surrendered, and bodies of French inhabitants who were hovering about the country. After this necessary business, the proper season coming on, they were employed in gathering hay for winter. One thousand tons were provided for Horton, five hundred for Cornwallis, and six hundred for Falmouth, and about this time they put some corn and roots in the ground, and began to build their houses. In the month of August, the late governor having returned from Liverpool, made a progress into these settlements, where, after having regulated several matters, the great object of his attention were the Dykes, of which the breach made in that of the river Canard, in the township of Cornwallis, as it was the greatest, was his first care. For this purpose the inhabitants, with their cattle and carriages, together with those hired from Horton, at their own expense, were joined with some of the Provincial troops, and Acadians, who were best acquainted with work of this kind, to make a collection of the necessary materials to repair the breach. A considerable quantity was accordingly got ready, when the inundation usual at this time of the year put a stop to the work for this season. However, the materials were all secured against the next undertaking, and care was immediately taken to protect as much of the dykes in this and the neighboring townships as would enclose land sufficient to raise bread corn for them the next year, except at Falmouth, where the upland is in very good condition for that purpose. The late Governor having observed how necessary it was that a good road should be made from Halifax into these settlements, immediately on his return ordered all the troops that could be spared from duty to be employed on this work, beginning at Fort Lockville. It was, at this time, very difficult to be passed in many places, on account of swamps and broken bridges, but it has since been finished so as to become a good horse road, by which it will be an easy day's journey in the summer time thence

into the settlements. The greatest part of the expense of this will be defrayed out of a sum of money appropriated from a seizure of molasses. Many of the inhabitants are rich and in good circumstances. About one hundred have transported themselves and their effects, at their own expense, and are very well able to provide for their own support. As to the poorer sort there is provision made for them, until the month of August. In the township of Liverpool, they are now employed in building three vessels for the fishery, and have laid in hay for the winter fodder for their cattle, and have raised a considerable quantity of roots, and erected a grist and saw mill. They have sixteen sail of fishing schooners, and although several of them came late in the season, they have caught near five hundred quintals of fish; the principal owners of which have gone back to the continent to dispose of it, and will return in the spring for a further supply of stock for their lands. From these circumstances, I flatter myself, your lordships will entertain a favorable opinion of this settlement. In regard to the townships of Annapolis and Granville, about thirty proprietors are settled in each; as they came late in the year they did not bring all their families, but are preparing against their arrivals in the spring, at which time the rest of the proprietors are expected. Of the townships of Chester and Dublin as they did not contract early in the year, but a few proprietors are yet come to each of them. However, persons of considerable substance are engaged in them, who are making preparations to come to their lands as early in the next year as the season will permit. In the engagements entered into for carrying on the settlements, no promises were made of transportation or care to any but the grantees of Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth, and although the latter grantees have readily and cheerfully engaged themselves, yet they pleaded much for such encouragements, and have found themselves partly obstructed for want of these advantages. As the perfect establishment of the settlement depends in a very great degree on the repairs of the dykes, for the security of the marsh lands, from whence the support of the inhabitants will become easy and plentiful, necessary measures for effecting this great point have been fully considered, and I humbly conceive that the dykes may be put into very good condition, if, with your

Lordship's approbation, one hundred of the French inhabitants may be employed in different parts of the Province to assist and instruct in these repairs, the new settlers having come from a country in which no such works are wanting. I must not omit to mention to your lordships, that the settlement of Lunenburg is in a very thriving condition, and that none are in want there, except the sickly and infirm."

9.—The death of George the Second, which occurred in October, 1760, dissolved the first House of Assembly; and, as great changes in the population had taken place since the election, the manner of election was altered. The president and council decided to allow the counties of Halifax, Lunenburg, Annapolis, and King's two members each; the townships of Lunenburg, Annapolis, Horton, Cornwallis, Falmouth, and Liverpool two members each, and the township of Halifax four members, making a total of twenty-four members, and abolishing representatives for the province at large. The first meeting of the new assembly was held on the first of July, 1761, and Mr. Nesbitt, who had been elected Speaker in 1759, was re-elected;* and the House again agreed to give their services gratuitously. The most important act during this session was the formal treaty of peace with the Indians, who buried the hatchet with great ceremony, in the presence of the governor, council, assembly, magistrates, and public officers. Nova Scotia was not troubled with the "horrors of war" during the conflict then going on between France and England, although Halifax did get one pretty good scare after the surrender of St. Johns, Newfoundland, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1762, to

* Mr. William Nesbitt was a member of the first Assembly elected in 1758. "He accompanied Governor Cornwallis to the Province in 1749, as one of the government clerks, and appears to have performed, in connection with Archibald Hinchelwood, the duties of the secretary's office for several years. He afterwards practised as an attorney and solicitor at Halifax, where many of the deeds and conveyances of land appear in his handwriting. He succeeded Mr. Little as attorney-general of the colony, which office he held for nearly twenty-five years. He occupied the chair of the House of Assembly, with the intermission of the session of 1774, till 1783, when he retired on a pension of one hundred pounds per annum. He died in the following year. During the period of his speakership, the House sat fourteen years without a dissolution, and was thus the Long Parliament of Nova Scotia. Mr. Nesbitt's house was in Grafton street, Halifax. He is supposed to have left no male heirs in the country. His daughter, Mrs. Swan, died in the old house in Grafton street about thirty-eight years ago. The portraits of Speaker Nesbitt and his lady are in the library of King's College, Windsor."—*Campbell's History of Nova Scotia.*

four French men-of-war. When the news reached Halifax it caused great excitement, as it was feared that a descent would be made on that place. A boom was stretched across the north-west arm; the *Northumberland*, the only man-of-war in the harbor at the time, was anchored in mid-channel, and other preparations made for defence; but the French vessels did not appear, and the only effect of the scare was the banishment of one hundred and thirty of the Acadians who yet remained in the province. It was feared that there would be a rising of the Acadians if the French appeared, and, to prevent this, the militia of King's County collected one hundred and thirty of them, brought them to Halifax, and they were shipped to Massachusetts. That colony, however, had had enough trouble with the Acadians sent them by Governor Lawrence, and would not allow this lot to land, and the transports conveying them had, therefore, to take them back to Halifax. Peace was declared on the eighth of November, 1762, and by the treaty which followed, all the French possessions in Canada—Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and the islands in the gulf and river St. Lawrence—were ceded to Great Britain. In 1763 Colonel Montague Wilmot was appointed lieutenant-governor in place of Mr. Belcher; and in the following year, Cape Breton and the island of St. John were annexed to Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER LII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.—(Continued.)

1. ABERCROMBY'S ADVANCE ON CARILLON.—2. THE LANDING. DEATH OF LORD HOWE.—3. ABERCROMBY'S DEFEAT.—4. ABERCROMBY'S RETREAT.—5. BRADSTREET CAPTURES FORT FRONTENAC.—6. ABANDONMENT OF FORT DU QUESNE.—7. THE SITUATION AT THE CLOSE OF 1758. FRANCE ABANDONS CANADA.—8. STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE COLONY. STARVATION AND ROBBERY.

1.—The failure of Lord Loudon in his attack on Louisbourg in 1757, and the capture of Fort Wil-

Abercromby's advance on Carillon.

liam Henry by the French in that year, caused great excitement in England. The ministry of the Duke of Newcastle had just retired, and Pitt, the "great Commoner," was at the helm of public affairs. He saw the incompetency of Lord Loudon, and recalled him, giving command of the English forces in America to Lord Abercromby, while General Amherst was placed in command of the forces to attack Louisbourg, with what success we have already seen. Pitt tried to inspire confidence and animation in the colonies by addressing circulars to the governors, promising troops and war material in abundance, provided the colonies would raise such additional men amongst themselves as might be needful. As a mark of favor and encouragement, provincial colonels were raised to the rank of brigadier-generals, and lieutenant-colonels to that of colonels. These circulars were very heartily responded to, and in less than two months nearly twenty thousand men had assembled at Albany. The plan of the campaign was to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point, while a simultaneous attack was made on Fort DuQuesne. Abercrombie commanded in person the force destined for Ticonderoga, and had the honor of being at the head of the largest army which had ever assembled in the English or French colonies. It consisted of a strong detachment of the royal artillery, six thousand three hundred and fifty regulars, and nine thousand militia. This vast army left Albany at the end of June, and marching to Lake George, encamped on the ruins of Fort William Henry, where it remained until the fifth of July, when it was embarked on one thousand and thirty-five boats, and proceeded towards Ticonderoga. The cannon were mounted on rafts, and formed floating batteries. The sight was a grand and imposing one. Mr. Dwight records it as follows: "The sky was serene and the weather superb; our flotilla sped its way in measured time, in accord with inspiring martial music. The standards' folds floated gayly in the sunshine; and joyous expectations of a coming triumph beamed in every eye. The firmament above, the earth below, and all things around us, formed together a glorious spectacle. The sun, since his course in the heavens began, rarely ever lighted up a scene of greater beauty or grandeur."

2.—Ticonderoga, or Carillon, as it was called

by the French, was situated on the left bank of the river which connects Lake George with Lake Champlain, on a high bluff which was washed by the waters of the lake and river on the east and south, and protected by marshes on the north; the west was, therefore, the vulnerable side, and this was unprotected at the time the English landed. The English pulled up the lake all day, but went on shore in the evening, and built large fires, in order to deceive Montcalm into the idea that they would proceed no further that night. About midnight, however, the troops were re-embarked and pushed on up the stream; and by five o'clock on the morning of the sixth the advanced guard of two thousand men, under command of General Bradstreet, was landed, much to the surprise of Montcalm, who did not expect them so soon, and remarked: "These people move cautiously, but if they give me time to gain the position I have chosen on the heights of Carillon, I shall beat them." The whole army being landed, was formed into four columns and pushed forward. The forest was very dense, and marching difficult, the troops often impeding each other. They had not proceeded far when the right centre, led by Lord Howe, encountered a body of three hundred French, led by M. de Trépézée, which had been sent out to reconnoitre, had lost its way, and was endeavoring to regain the main body of Montcalm's army, which was then falling back on Carillon from LaChute. A short engagement ensued, but the gallant little band were outnumbered ten to one, and were all either killed or captured. Their first fire, however, had been fatal, for a bullet had struck Lord Howe in the breast, and he died almost instantly.*

3.—The British spent all night in the forest, and so gave Montcalm time to fall back on Ticonderoga and prepare for defence. This he did by felling trees across the western base of the triangle, placing them with their large branches towards the

* Lord Howe was second in command, and, although only a young officer, had distinguished himself, and it was on his coolness and judgment that Pitt depended more than on Abercromby. Young, of an excellent disposition, kind, brave, and belonging to one of the best families in England, he was greatly beloved, and his death was sincerely mourned by his companions in arms. The Legislature of Massachusetts afterwards caused a monument to his memory to be erected in Westminster Abbey.

The landing. Death of Lord Howe.

Abercromby's defeat.

enemy, so as to form a sort of *chevaux-de-frise*, and throwing up earthworks. He had altogether about four thousand regulars and militia, and commanded the centre in person, while DeLevis commanded the right and Bourlemaque the left. On the morning of the 8th Abercromby sent Colonel Clerk, chief of the engineers, to reconnoitre, and he reported the French works to be of light and flimsy construction, and strong in appearance only. Many of the provincial officers differed with the engineer, but Abercromby inclined to the view of the "professional," and ordered an attack without even waiting for his artillery to come up. This he was partly urged to do by the false information given him by a prisoner, captured that morning, that Montcalm had six thousand men and DeLevis was marching to his support with three thousand more; while the truth of the matter was that DeLevis had already joined Montcalm, but had only brought eight hundred men, half of whom were militia. The French works were by no means so insignificant as Colonel Clerk had represented them, for Montcalm had had his men at work from dawn, and the position was strong in the centre; but the flanks were unprotected, a fault which Montcalm had not had time to rectify, and one which Abercromby never discovered. The attacking force was formed into three columns, and at one o'clock the attack began. The flanking columns converging towards the centre, made the mass in front of the French very dense, and as Montcalm had given orders not to fire until the British had become entangled in the trees in front of his position, the first fire, poured in at about twenty paces, was terribly destructive, the British being mowed down like grass. The grenadier companies of the line now moved to the front, supported by the 421 Highlanders, led by Lord John Murray. The grenadiers were checked by the abatis, and the Highlanders, anxious to join the fray, could not be held in reserve, as they should have been, but pushed forward, and, for a while, broke through the abatis, but only to die before the earthworks beyond. Again and again were they swept down and forced back by the steady and constant fire of the French; and again and again did they, with desperate courage, return to the attack, but without avail; over half of them, and nearly all their officers, were killed or severely wounded, and still the French could not be driven

from their intrenchments. Regiment after regiment was brought up to the support of the Highlanders, but only to meet the same fate, and for four hours the assault was continued without effect. As MacMullen says, "the valor of these brave men, thus sacrificed by an incompetent commander, was unavailing; and against that rude barrier so easily turned, and which one hour of well-plied artillery would have swept away, the flower of British chivalry was crushed and broken." The troops were now recalled for a breathing spell, and after a rest of an hour, were massed and hurled against the centre; but the French still stood "firm as a rock," and this last charge was as unavailing as the others. The regiments got jammed together, and, in the confusion, one regiment fired into another, which caused a panic, and in a few minutes the whole force was in flight. Finding, however, that the French did not pursue, the troops rallied on a few unbroken battalions which had been kept in the rear, and would soon have recovered but for the order of Abercromby to retreat to the landing place. This caused another panic, the troops thinking that the French were in pursuit and that they were to embark at once, and a general scramble for the boats ensued. Bradstreet, however, still had a few men in control, and throwing them across the landing, he held back the disordered mass of fugitives until they had time to recover themselves, and the army encamped on the lake shore that night.

4.—Although Abercromby had had all night to get over his fright, and although he still had four times as many men as the French, still he showed no disposition to re-^{Abercromby's retreat.}new the attack, as Montcalm expected he would, but embarked early next morning, and was not happy until he had put the lake between himself and the victors; indeed so bad was his scare that he sent his artillery and ammunition ahead, for fear it should fall into the hands of the French. But Abercromby had nothing to fear from Montcalm, for that general was too brave himself to do his adversary the discourtesy of thinking him such a coward as to run away from a force not one-quarter his strength; he therefore spent the night—after having served out refreshments to his men, and personally thanked each regiment for its bravery—in strengthening his position, fully believing that the British would

reform at the landing and renew the attack next morning. Had he known the true state of the case, and have pursued, the slaughter would have been immense, as the British were thoroughly demoralized; even as it was, their loss was nineteen hundred and fifty men killed, wounded and missing, including a large proportion of officers. The loss fell almost entirely upon the regulars, the provincials taking but little part in the engagement; and although Sir William Johnson had arrived that morning with four hundred and fifty Mohawks, they were not in the fight at all. Nothing could be more in contrast than the conduct of the two opposing generals. Montcalm, with his overcoat off—for it was a hot day—was everywhere along his lines, encouraging his men by his presence, voice and example; Abercromby was all day safely posted at the saw mills in the rear of his army, and the only example he set them was in his eagerness to reach the landing. The spirits of the two men seemed to infuse themselves into those of their respective armies; the spirit of the brave man gave his men new courage; the spirit of the coward insinuated itself into the hearts of the brave men he led, and made them, for a while, almost as cowardly as himself. The loss to the French was four hundred and fifty men, of whom no less than thirty-eight were officers. Montcalm said afterwards, "Had I to besiege Fort Carillon, I would ask for but six mortars and two pieces of artillery."

5.—Abercromby, safely back at Fort William Henry, contented himself with spending the summer laying out the lines of a new fort, and ordering General Amherst from Louisbourg to join him. Amherst landed in Boston on the 13th of September with forty-five hundred men, and proceeded to Albany; but the season was too far advanced for action then; and it fell to the lot of Colonel Bradstreet to perform the only act which in any way redeemed the campaign of Abercromby from disgrace and utter failure. Knowing that DeLevis had left Fort Frontenac to come to Montcalm's assistance at Carillon, he induced a majority in the council of war to favor his attack on that place, and with three thousand men and eleven guns, landed near the fort on the 25th August. The attack was a complete surprise, and the place almost defenceless, for M. deNoyan, the commander,

had only one hundred and twenty soldiers and forty Indians with him; still he held out, in the hope of being relieved, until the shells of Bradstreet rendered the place untenable, when he was forced to surrender. This was a bloodless victory for Bradstreet, who did not lose a man, and the plunder was immense, this being the principal *entrepôt* of the French in that section. Sixty cannon, eighteen mortars, an immense supply of ammunition and provisions, and all the shipping on the lake, fell into his hands. The latter was a valuable prize, as it included several rich cargoes of furs. He loaded two of the vessels with the furs and what other material they would hold, and destroyed everything else. The prisoners were released on parole, and Bradstreet retired after having demolished the fort. This was a heavy blow to the French, as they needed the provisions and ammunition badly; beside which Frontenac was the key to their position on Lake Ontario, and the loss of the shipping greatly crippled their trade. DeNoyan was so severely reprimanded for not having had the garrison strengthened that he was forced to retire from the service. In the following summer, Frontenac was rebuilt by DeVaudreuil.

6.—The destruction of Frontenac closed the campaign in the north, except that Montcalm kept up a constant succession of raids about Abercromby's army and cut off several small parties, on one occasion capturing one hundred and twenty wagon loads of provisions, almost under the guns of Fort Edward. Major Rogers was sent out with a party of five hundred men to intercept the raiders; and on the eighth of August he met an equal party and defeated them with a loss of one hundred and fifty, his own loss being only forty. In the West the campaign of the British was successful. On the 30th June, Brigadier General Forbes, left Philadelphia at the head of fifteen hundred regulars, and five thousand militia, amongst the latter being Colonel Washington, who was in command of the Virginia troops. The march was long and tiresome, and it was the middle of September before the army arrived at Raystown, ninety miles from Fort DuQuesne. The march had been uneventful, except that a new road to the Ohio had been built. Forbes determined to rest his army at Raystown for awhile, but sent Colonel Bouquet and two

Bradstreet captures
Fort Frontenac.

Abandonment of
Fort Du Quesne.

thousand men forward to Loyal Hanna. Here Bouquet learned from some Indians that Fort DuQuesne was in a very weak condition, and only garrisoned by about eight hundred men, and he thought it would be a fine thing to capture the fort without waiting for Forbes to come up with the main body. He, therefore, sent Major Grant with eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginia militia to reconnoitre. Now Grant got into his head that it would be a great thing for him to take the fort without waiting for Bouquet; and so, instead of returning to Loyal Hanna, as he had been directed to do, he posted his men on a hill near the fort and beat a challenge to the garrison. M. de Lignieres, who was in command, promptly accepted the challenge, and sent M. Aubry with nearly his whole garrison, to drive Grant from his position. This he succeeded in doing; and when the English had reached the plain, and were reforming for an attack, a body of Indians, which were prudently situated across the river to watch the course of events, seeing the French getting the best of it, suddenly joined them, and the rout of the English was complete. The loss of the English was about three hundred killed and wounded, and about one hundred prisoners, amongst whom was Grant. The English fell back on Forbes, who now ordered the whole army to advance on Fort DuQuesne. De Lignieres harrassed them all he could on the march; but knowing it would be impossible for him to stand a siege with his small garrison and scanty provisions, he did not await Forbes' arrival at the fort. Placing his artillery and garrison in bateaux he dropped down the Ohio river, towards the friendly settlements on the Mississippi, having first blown up the fort. The British took possession of the ruins and proceeded to rebuild the fort, which they named Fort Pitt, in compliment to the great statesman who was then guiding public affairs in England.

7.—Thus closed the campaign of 1758, decidedly in favor of the British, being the first year of the war which closed with any advantage to them. Three heavy blows had been struck at France, in the capture of Louisbourg and the destruction of Forts Frontenac and DuQuesne; and the termination of French rule in Canada was only a matter of one or two more campaigns. The French

The situation at the close of 1758. France abandons Canada.

Ministry fully recognized this fact; and, in answer to a letter from Montcalm saying that the English would surely conquer Canada in the campaign of 1760, if not in that of 1759, unless large reinforcements were sent, as they had sixty thousand men in the field against the ten thousand of the French, the minister of war wrote, under date 19th February 1759, "not only would additional troops be a means of aggravating the evils of the dearth which has too long afflicted the colony, but the chances are great that, if sent thither, they would be captured by the British on their way to you; and as the king cannot pretend to send forces in any equal proportion to those which the British can oppose to ours, the only result of our increasing the latter would be, that the cabinet of London would augment theirs in an over-proportion so as to maintain the superiority which Britain has acquired in that part of your continent." This was tantamount to saying that France did not want Canada any longer, and did not intend to spend any more money, or risk any more lives in trying to keep it as a French colony. The sequel showed this to be the case; for the following year all the assistance which was derived from the Mother country by Canada, was six hundred troops, and a dozen cargoes of provisions, nearly all of the latter being for Bigot. The breach between DeVaudreuil and Montcalm had also greatly widened, and each was openly accusing the other to the Home Government and asking his recall. Montcalm again and again begged to be recalled; in his letter to the Minister announcing the victory at Carillon he says; "As for me, I ask for no other guerdon than my recall from the King. My health is failing, my purse is getting thin; by the year's end I shall owe ten thousand crowns to the colonial treasurer. Worse than all, what between the unpleasantness and contrarities I have to endure, along with my impotence to do good or to prevent evil from being done—all things, in short, impel me to supplicate earnestly that His Majesty would let me return to France, for that is the only royal grace I covet."

8.—Meanwhile the internal affairs of the colony were rapidly growing worse. Provisions continued scarce and at exorbitant prices. Food had had to be imported in 1758, and even more was required for the coming year, it being estimated that at

State of affairs in the Colony. Starvation and robbery.

least fifteen thousand tons would be needed. Writing in October of the intended attack of the British the following year, DeVaudreuil, after asking for reinforcements, adds; "We cannot count for much from the inhabitants, they are wearied out by continual marching; yet it is to them we trust as scouts for the army. Their lands are but half cultivated; their dwellings are falling to ruin; they are ever camping far away from wives and children, who mostly have not bread to eat. There will be no tillage this year for want of husbandmen." But in spite of the general want and suffering the peculations of the officials continued, and indeed increased; and the words used by Montcalm in a letter to the minister of war, dated 12th April, 1759, were only too true. He said "It would seem, really, that every one is in hot haste to realize a fortune before the colony is quite lost to France; several, perhaps wish for the ruin to be total, so that all recorded evidences of their peculations may be covered by its wrecks." Poor Canada! She was indeed in a bad plight, abandoned by the government which ought to have succored her; robbed and pillaged by those appointed to protect her revenues; suffering from famine, and threatened by a powerful foe, her condition did indeed look gloomy at the close of the year 1758, and yet, who can deny that what then seemed a terrible fate to the Canadians was only "a blessing in disguise;" and that the French Canadian of to-day is freer, happier and better protected in his rights than he ever was—or, most probably, ever would have been—under French rule.

CHAPTER LIII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DEVAUDREUIL.—(Continued.)

1. PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN OF 1759.
- 2. DEVAUDREUIL'S APPEAL TO THE MILITIA.
- 3. MONTCALM'S PLAN OF DEFENCE.—4. PRIDEAUX'S ATTACK ON FORT NIAGARA.—5. DEFEAT OF DEAUBRY.—6. CAPITULATION OF FORT NIAGARA.—7. DESTRUCTION OF FORT CARILLON.—7. DEBOURLEMAQUE'S POSITION AT THE ISLE-AUX-NOIX.

1.—The successes in Canada in the campaign of 1758, caused great rejoicing in England, and it was determined to put forth fresh exertions the next year, and end Preparations for the campaign of 1759. the struggle for supremacy on this continent in one campaign. Pitt's hands were greatly strengthened by a vote of twelve millions sterling to prosecute the war; and General Amherst was formally thanked by a vote of the House of Commons. Pitt's first move in the new game for a kingdom which was about to commence, was to make great changes in the officers in command. He was fully aware that it was to Abercromby's cowardice and incompetence that Montcalm owed his victory at Carillon, and Abercromby was therefore recalled in disgrace and General Amherst appointed commander-in-chief of the armies in America. The plan of the coming campaign was to be a triple attack, as the last year's had been, the objective points this time being Quebec, Crown Point, and Niagara; with these fell the power of France in Canada, and ample means in men and money were provided to accomplish that end. Wolfe, with ten thousand men was to attack Quebec; Amherst was to lead Abercromby's army once more against Crown Point, and Prideaux was to attack Fort Niagara; the three armies to rendezvous before Quebec, if necessary. A fourth corps under Colonel Stanwix was at the same time to operate against the small French forts from Pittsburg to Lake Erie.

2.—While the English were making these preparations Montcalm was by no means idle. We have already seen how his applications for assistance from France were DeVaudreuil's appeal to the militia. received, and he knew that the end was very near; but he none the less took every measure in his power to prevent, or at least postpone the catastrophe, and employed all the resources at his command to repel the invaders. During the winter of 1758-9 a census was taken, and it was found that the total population of Canada capable of bearing arms was about fifteen thousand. This included all between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and would leave none but old men, women and children for agriculture. The exact figures were: District of Quebec, seven thousand five hundred and eleven; District of Three Rivers, thirteen hundred and thirteen; District of Montreal, six thousand four hundred and

five: making a total of fifteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine. The number of regulars was five thousand three hundred; so that the entire number of persons capable of bearing arms in Canada was barely half that of the trained troops being brought against her. In May DeVaudreuil issued a stirring appeal to the officers of Militia, ordering them to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice, with six days' rations. In this circular he says: "This campaign will afford the Canadians an opportunity of signaling themselves. His Majesty well knows the confidence I have in them, and I have not failed to inform him of their services. His Majesty trusts they will make those efforts that are to be looked for from the most faithful subjects, more particularly as they have to defend their religion, their wives and their property, from the cruel treatment to be expected from the English. With respect to myself, I am resolved not to consent to any capitulation, in hopes that this resolution may have the most ruinous consequences to the English. It is most indubitable, that it would be more merciful for the inhabitants, their wives and children to be buried under the ruins of the Colony, than to fall into the hands of the English. We promise every protection to the inhabitants, their wives, children and property, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English, who would make them suffer the hardships experienced by the Acadians. In addition to which we have the testimony of their late ill conduct, in their treatment of the inhabitants of Cape Breton, notwithstanding the capitulation, as well as those of the Island of St. John. Their hatred is so well known towards everything that is Canadian, that they even make them responsible for the cruelties of a few Indians, still forgetting the measures we have taken to prevent a repetition of these actions, and the good treatment which the nation has at all times shown them when prisoners." This is a remarkable document, but not so much so as the pastoral of the Bishop of Quebec, Henri DePontbriant, which was read in all the churches in April, 1759.* It is worth

*The Bishop's pastoral was as follows:—"You are not unacquainted, my dear brethren, with the immense preparations of the enemy, the designs formed to attack the Colony in four different parts, the number of their regular troops and militia, six times at least superior to ours. Neither are you ignorant that they have sent emissaries to all the Indian nations to incite them to forsake us, and rouse those to take arms against us who are willing to preserve a kind of neutrality. You are sensible, moreover, that they occupy

perusal as a picture of the times drawn by one on the spot who ought to have known what he was writing about.

3.—Knowing the fearful odds against which he had to fight, but "still resolved to find our graves beneath the ruins of the Colony," as he wrote to a friend, Montcalm ^{Montcalm's plan of defence.} made his preparations to act strictly on the defensive. Perfectly aware that the Colony

those harbors at the lower end of our river, which hitherto we have regarded as so many barriers; you perceive every incitement to fear and terror, and you are undoubtedly astonished thereat. The uncertainty of the affairs of Europe, the many dangers to which the succors we expect are exposed, the numerous fleets destined for our destruction; the general scarcity that prevails of everything necessary for our defence as well as our subsistence even in peace, ought naturally to make the greatest impression on our minds. But what might still be the cause of the greatest chagrin, is the little zeal for piety observed everywhere, the injurious and wicked speeches maintained against those in whom we ought to place our confidence; and what may create still further fear in us, are the profane diversions to which we are addicted with greater attachment than ever; the insufferable excesses of the games of chance; the impious hypocrisy in derision or rather in contempt of religion; the various crimes against heaven, that have been multiplied in the course of this winter; all these, my brethren, ought to make us dread everything, and *oblige me to declare to you, that God himself is enraged, that His arm is prepared to chastise us, and, in fact, that we deserve it.* Yea, my friends, we tell it, in the face of the altars and in bitterness of our heart, that it is not the number of the enemy, nor their utmost efforts that affright us, and make us reflect on the impending disasters both on the Church and on religion, but our manifold sins and wickedness. Eighteen years have now elapsed since the Lord called us, though unworthy, to watch over this extensive diocese; we have frequently seen you suffer famine, and disease, and almost continual war. Nevertheless, this year, it appears to us, is in all respects the most afflictive and deplorable, because in reality we are most criminal. Were there ever such open robberies, so many heinous acts of injustice, such shameful rapines heard of? Who has not seen in this Colony, families devoted publicly, if I may so say, to crimes of the most odious nature? Who ever beheld so many abominations? In almost all ranks the contagion is almost universal; however, my brethren, matters are not remediless, neither are our misfortunes irretrievable. The Christian faith teaches us a true and sincere conversion can stop the avenging hand of Divine justice, and it even hath frequently stayed it. It is true the disease is great, but the remedy is in our power. *O faithless Jerusalem, return to your God, and God, according to His promise, will deign to relent!* Alas, my dear brethren, I say, atone speedily for the past by years of repentance; they will be acceptable to the merciful heart of God, who never punishes His creatures but with regret. Dear children, be diligent therein, sympathize with the ministers of the altar in weeping, wailing and prayer. Implore the Lord with fervency to enlighten sinners with the misery of their souls, and he will affect and convert them; we mean those of our brethren who run to their own destruction; dread, lest you find yourselves involved in their calamities; and ye, O sinners! we beseech you, in the name of Jesus Christ, at least be no hindrance to the blessings we ask for you; come, rather, we conjure you by all that is capable of affecting you, come and solicit them of your own accord, with a spirit of meekness and contrition. For these purposes, after conferring with our respectable brethren the Canons of our Cathedral Church, having invoked the holy name of God, we have ordered, and do hereby order, the due performance of the services herein directed."—Here follows a list of the processions and services.

was to be attacked at three points, perhaps at the same time, he tried to so divide his small force that he could bring the greatest number to the support of the place first attacked, or give support to the weakest spot. He gave command in the Champlain region to Colonel Bourlemaque of about three thousand men, stationed at various points from Chambly to Lake George, with orders to hold Carillon and Crown Point as long as practicable; but if they could not be defended he was to blow them up, and make a final stand at the Isles-Noix, at the entrance to the Richelieu. This he was to defend at all hazards. The shipping on the lakes was very much strengthened, and Fort Frontenac rebuilt. Early in the spring M. Pouchot, with three hundred men, went up to Fort Niagara, which he strengthened; he had also orders to assist the forts in the West if he was not assailed. The Chevalier De La Corne, with twelve hundred regulars and militia was entrenched above Montreal, and the defences at Quebec were put in as good order as possible. Montcalm with DeVaudreuil and De Levis remained at Montreal waiting for the first attack, and all available troops were held in readiness to march at a moment's notice. So the spring passed and midsummer had come before any advance was made.

4.—The first blow of the new campaign was struck at Niagara. On the 20th May, Brigadier-General Prideaux left Schenectady at the head of four thousand regulars and militia, and about twelve hundred Iroquois led by Sir William Johnson. He left Colonel Haldimand with a detachment to rebuild Oswego, and embarked on Lake Ontario on the first of July, landing about six miles from Niagara on the seventh, without the French being aware of his approach. From the position of Fort Niagara, on a spot of land formed by the junction of the river and lake, it was easily attacked by land, and the British war vessels cut off all chance of communication by sea. Pouchot, who was in command, had not quite completed the repairs to the fort, and hastily made the best preparations he could under the circumstances, for defence. He had only five hundred men; but he despatched messengers to Frontenac, Detroit, Fort Machault, Ogdensburgh and Venango, asking for aid; and when called on to surrender replied: "My post is

strong, my garrison faithful; and the more I hold out the more I shall win the esteem of the enemy." Chabert burnt his fort at the portage and succeeded in getting into Niagara on the tenth with a few militia and Indians, and on the eleventh Pouchot made a sally but was easily repulsed. On the tenth the English opened fire, and by the thirteenth had completed their parallels to the lake, when the fire was so heavy that the garrison had protection nowhere but in the covered way and behind the ramparts. On the nineteenth the French schooner *Iroquois* arrived from Frontenac, but did not dare to venture in. On the evening of the same day General Prideaux was shot in the trenches and Sir William Johnson assumed command. For fourteen days an almost incessant fire was kept up; the bastions were battered to pieces, but Pouchot supplied their place with bales of peltry and still held bravely out, feeling assured of receiving assistance ere long.

5.—On the twenty-third Pouchot received letters from DeAubry, at Detroit, and DeLigneris at Fort Machault, informing him that they were coming to his assistance with twelve hundred regulars and militia, and fourteen hundred Indians; but the treacherous messengers had already had an interview with Johnson, and he was quite prepared to meet DeAubry. He selected about two thousand troops, and marched to the road leading from Chippewa to Niagara, ambushed his men and awaited DeAubry's arrival. About eight o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fourth the head of DeAubry's column appeared, flanked by a large number of Indians. They advanced to the front, but were met by so steady a fire from the British that they fled precipitately and took no further part in the engagement. The Iroquois now flanked the French, and for about half an hour the battle continued, the French almost surrounded, and fighting against heavy odds. For awhile they stood firm, but as the heavy fire decimated their ranks, they finally broke and fled. DeAubry, De Leigneris and several other officers were taken prisoners; and nearly all the remainder of the attacking force were either captured or killed. A few, however, escaped and joined M. DeRocheblave, who fell back on Detroit. Johnson informed Pouchot of the defeat of DeAubry and again demanded a surrender. Pouchot was at first

Defeat of DeAubry.
Capitulation of
Niagara.

Prideaux' attack on
Niagara.



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incredulous; but, after being allowed an interview with some of the captured French officers, he saw that further resistance was useless and agreed to capitulate. Johnson granted very liberal terms. The French were to march out with the honors of war and lay down their arms at the lake; the women and children were to be sent to the nearest port in France, and the garrison, about five hundred strong, was to be sent to New York. All stores, provisions, &c., were to be given up, and Johnson guaranteed the French protection from the Indians, which he succeeded in giving. The fall of Niagara was a heavy blow to the French, as it opened the lakes entirely to the British; Detroit and the other Western posts had been stripped of their garrisons to furnish DeAubry's army; and when the officers left in command of them heard of DeAubry's defeat, they burned their forts and retreated on the advance of Stanwix from Pittsburg, and he took possession of them. A demonstration against the detachment left at Oswego was made by De laCorne during the progress of the siege of Niagara, but proved unsuccessful. He made an attack on it on the fifth of July, but was repulsed; and again on the sixth, but was again easily repelled and forced to retire.

6.—General Amherst left Albany on the sixth of June for Lake George, where he assembled the main army for the attack on Crown Point and Carillon. He had great difficulty in keeping the militia together, and had to shoot four deserters as examples; but even that did not deter others from leaving. On the twenty-second of June Fort George was traced out, near the site of Fort William Henry; and on the twenty-first of July, all his arrangements being completed, Amherst embarked his men and moved down the lake in four columns. His army consisted of over eleven thousand men, of whom five thousand seven hundred were regulars, and he had also fifty-four pieces of artillery. He landed near the scene of Abercromby's flight of last year, and advanced at once to the French entrenchments which were defended by DeBourlemaque with three thousand men. DeBourlemaque never intended to defend the place, and fell back on the fort as soon as the British appeared on the morning of the twenty-third, and evacuated the fort that night, leaving

four hundred men to keep up a show of resistance until he was well away. So effectually did they do this that it was not until the twenty-sixth, after they also had retired, that Amherst knew the fort had been evacuated. Before leaving, however, the French mined the fort, and it blew up shortly after they were away. Amherst took possession of the place and began to repair the fort, while Captain Loring, of the navy, raised some boats the French had sunk and built a brig, to strengthen the British navy on the lakes.

7.—Amherst next turned his attention to Crown Point; but it was found that DeBourlemaque had blown that up also, and retreated to the Isle-aux-Noix. Amherst here laid out a new fort

DeBourlemaque's position at the Isle-aux-Noix.

(which is said afterwards to have cost the British two millions of pounds sterling) and then turned his attention again to DeBourlemaque. This officer had assumed a very strong position at the Isle-aux-Noix, which commanded the entrance to the Richelieu River. Here he had about thirty-five hundred men and one hundred pieces of artillery, and was determined to make every effort to prevent Amherst from forming a junction with Wolfe before Quebec. From the position held by DeBourlemaque, Amherst had to make a choice of two necessities, either to cut his way through the woods to Montreal, leaving DeBourlemaque in his rear, and endeavor to join Wolfe that way; or to obtain command of the Lake and drive DeBourlemaque from his position, before proceeding further. He determined on the latter course; but in order to attack DeBourlemaque he must have vessels and boats, for without them his force was of no avail for attacking an island. He therefore had to wait; but it was the 10th of October before he obtained a brig of eighteen guns from Ticonderoga, and a sloop of sixteen guns. He then embarked his army in boats, and proceeded to attack the Isle-aux-Noix; but a storm arose which nearly destroyed his boats; and although most of the French fleet was destroyed, the season was so far advanced he was forced to abandon the enterprise for the present season, and take his troops into winter-quarters; which was rendered all the more necessary as there was a great deal of sickness amongst the Provincials. The force which had captured Niagara accomplished nothing more this season either. General Gage, who suc-

Destruction of Fort Carillon.

ceeded General Prideaux, was ordered by Amherst to attack L'Presentation (now Ogdensburgh), but he delayed so long that that project had also to be postponed until the following year. And so two armies lay inactive awaiting summer to begin the final campaign in Canada.

CHAPTER LIV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.—(Continued.)

1. SAILING OF THE BRITISH FLEET FOR QUEBEC.
- 2. ARRIVAL OF THE FLEET.—3. MONTCALM'S PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE.—4. DISPOSITION OF THE FRENCH FORCES.—5. ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE FLEET BY FIRE-SHIPS.—6. CAPTURE OF THE POST AT POINT LEVIS.—7. SUFFERING IN QUEBEC.—8. THE COUNTRY LAID WASTE.—9. WOLFE PREPARES TO ATTACK MONTCALM.—10. THE BATTLE OF MONTMORENCI.—11. REPULSE OF THE BRITISH.

1.—We now come to the most interesting period of Canadian history—the siege and capture of Quebec by General Wolfe, a victory which settled the question of French rule in Canada and changed the destinies of a continent. General James Wolfe, to whom the command of this expedition was entrusted, was a young officer, being only thirty-two years of age, but an old soldier, and had already greatly distinguished himself in Europe. The previous year he had commanded a brigade at the capture of Louisbourg, where his gallant conduct gained him so much praise that he was promoted, and Pitt selected him, in preference to older officers, to undertake the capture of Quebec, a service which he knew required courage, skill and boldness unmixed with rashness, qualities which Wolfe eminently possessed. For brigadiers he had Generals Monckton, Townshend and Murray, whom he was allowed to select himself. The army consisted of about eight thousand men, mostly those who had taken part in the capture of Louisbourg, from which port the expedition sailed on the 7th of June. The fleet consisted of twenty-two line-of-battle ships, carrying fourteen hundred and

ninety-four guns, five frigates, carrying one hundred and forty-eight guns, and seventeen sloops of war, carrying two hundred and forty-four guns, making a total of eighteen hundred and eighty-six guns, and was in command of Admiral Saunders, who sailed in the *Neptune*, a ninety-gun ship. The fleet sailed up the river without any accident or obstruction; for although the French had removed all the buoys, land-marks, &c., early in the spring, the English had some excellent charts of the river, found on board of two French vessels captured in the gulf, and so escaped any of those accidents which befell the expedition of Sir William Phipps in 1690, and that of Admiral Walker in 1711.

2.—The fleet arrived off the Isle of Orleans on the 26th, and for the third time the hostile flag of England floated below the battlements of Quebec. The advent of the English was anxiously watched with great disfavor by the colonists, and especially the clergy, who stirred the people up to resistance by every means in their power, so much so that, according to Garneau, there were thirteen thousand combatants assembled in and about Quebec for its defence. An incident is related by Smith in his "History of Canada," which will go far to show the powerful feelings awakened in the breasts of the clergy by the invasion. Admiral Durell, who led the advance-guard of the fleet, carried French colors until off Bic, to deceive any merchantmen that might be on their way to or from Quebec; and the inhabitants were almost wild with joy at the idea that a large fleet had come from France to help them, and sent information of its arrival to Quebec. Opposite Bic, however, the French flag was hauled down and the English run up in its place; the sudden dashing to the ground of their hopes so shocked a priest who was watching the fleet through a telescope that he fell down and almost immediately expired. Montcalm had exhausted every means in his power for the defence of the city. The city itself not being judged to be impregnable, it was decided to protect it by an entrenched camp. The entrance to the St. Charles River was closed by masts and booms anchored across it; protected in front by five barges, each having one gun, while in the rear merchant vessels had been sunk, and platforms erected on them bearing heavy guns, which commanded the

Arrival of the fleet.
Montcalm's preparations for defence.

Sailing of the British fleet for Quebec.

bay. A bridge of boats, defended by a small battery at each end, crossed the St. Charles at the near end of the Beauport and Charlesbourg roads; and the right bank of the river from this bridge to Palace Gate was defended by intrenchments, mounted with heavy artillery, to prevent the heights being gained by way of St. Roch suburbs. The army was placed in intrenchments running from the bridge of boats, along the left bank of the St. Lawrence, to Montmorenci; and every advantage offered by the formation of the ground was taken advantage of for the erection of redoubts and batteries, while a battery of twelve guns was moored at the issue of the Beauport stream. The small fleet, consisting of two frigates, some barges and five ships, was in command of Captain Vauguelin; a small redoubt with two cannon guarded the steep ascent to the Plains of Abraham from Ansedu Foulon (Wolfe's Cove), and sentinels were placed at various intervals along the shore to give intimation of the movements of the enemy. Having completed his arrangements, Montcalm had nothing to do but to await patiently an attack. meanwhile the governor-general retired to Montreal, and most of the best families were sent to Three Rivers, where the archives of the colony had previously been conveyed.

3.—With regard to the arrangement of the field forces, Garneau says: "Montcalm's right wing, composed of the militias of Quebec and Three Rivers districts, four thousand three hundred and eighty strong, under Messrs. De St. Ours and DeBonne, occupied La Canadière (facing the city); the centre, composed of two thousand regulars, under Brigadier Sennezergues, guarded the space between the lower St. Charles and Beauport church; the left, composed of the militia of Montreal district, numbering three thousand four hundred and fifty men, under Messrs. Prud'homme and D'Herbin, extended from the church to the river Montmorenci. General DeLévis commanded the whole left, Colonel DeBougainville the entire right, of the general position; while M. DeMontcalm, taking charge of the centre, there established his head-quarters. A corps in reserve, composed of one thousand four hundred colonial soldiers, three hundred and fifty horsemen, and four hundred and fifty savages, under M. DeBoishébert (an officer just returned from Acadia), took up a position

Disposition of the
French forces.

behind the centre of the army, on the heights of Beauport. If to these forces we add the sailors and six hundred and fifty others in Quebec garrison (the latter being armed citizens), under M. DeRamezay, there is a resulting total of thirteen thousand combatants." The enthusiasm of the people was intense, and "the cradle and the grave" were robbed to furnish defenders. One who was in the city at the time writes: "We had not reckoned on realizing so large a force, because so great a number of Canadians was not expected to be present; those only being called on who were most able to bear the fatigues of war; but there was so great an emulation among the people that there arrived in camp even octogenarians and lads of twelve to thirteen years of age. Never were subjects of any king more worthy of his favor, whether regard be had to their constancy in toil, or to their patience in sufferings which have really been extreme in this country. In the army itself, every heavy burden was laid upon them."

4.—The British landed on the 27th, on the Isle d'Orléans, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, and Wolfe commenced reconnoitring for a vulnerable place through which to pierce the city. The army took up a position at the upper end of the island, and the fleet anchored under its cover. An examination of the basin and outer port was made by boats, one of which was commanded by James Cook, then sailing-master of the "Pembroke," line-of-battle-ship, and afterwards renowned as a discoverer and circumnavigator of the world. It is also worthy of remark that the French had also on their side one who subsequently distinguished himself as a circumnavigator, M. De Bougainville. A storm sprang up towards evening which sent some of the smaller vessels ashore, swamped others, and almost forced the men-of-war from their anchorage. As night closed in, Montcalm sent seven fire-ships, of three to four hundred tons each, down the stream towards the British fleet, which caused some confusion amongst the British, as it was thought the French were about to make an attack in force; but a few boats put off, and grappling the burning vessels towed them ashore and allowed them to burn themselves out. Captain John Knox, in his *Journal*, gives the following description of the appearance of these infernal machines: "Nothing could be more for-

Attempt to de-
stroy the fleet
by fire-ships.

midable than these infernal engines were on their first appearance, with the discharge of their guns, which was followed by the bursting of grenades, also placed on board in order to convey terror to our army; the enemy, we are told, formed sanguine expectations from this project, but their hopes were happily defeated; some of these dreadful messengers ran on shore, and the rest were towed away clear of our fleet by the seamen, who exerted themselves with great spirit and alertness on the occasion. They were certainly the grandest fireworks (if I may be allowed to call them so) that can possibly be conceived, every circumstance having contributed to their awful, yet beautiful appearance; the night was serene and calm, there was no light but what the stars produced, and this was eclipsed by the blaze of the floating fires issuing from all parts, and running almost as quick as thought up the masts and rigging; add to this the solemnity of the sable night, still more obscured by the profuse clouds of smoke, with the firing of the cannon, the bursting of the grenades, and the crackling of the other combustibles; all which reverberated through the air, and the adjacent woods, together with the sonorous shouts and frequent repetitions of "all's well" from our gallant seamen on the water, afforded a scene I think infinitely superior to any adequate description."

5.—Immediately after his arrival Wolfe issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, offering safety to persons and property if they remained neutral; but far from so doing they and their Indian allies constantly annoyed the British, cutting off and scalping all stragglers from the camp. Some of the light troops, and others who were accustomed to Indian warfare, soon began to make reprisals, and Wolfe permitted it as far as Indians, or Canadians dressed like Indians, were concerned; but forbid, on pain of death, that the peaceable inhabitants should be disturbed. Admiral Saunders, finding the anchorage at the Isle d'Orléans neither safe nor convenient, determined to pass up to the harbor of Quebec, and requested Wolfe to take possession of the headland at Point Levis, where the French had a small force, and a battery which would seriously annoy the ships in passing up. To Brigadier Monckton was delegated the duty of dislodging the French, and he accordingly crossed to Point Levis on the night of the

Capture of the post
at Point Levis.

29th with one regiment and drove out the French and Indians, who occupied the place, after a sharp engagement. Montcalm felt that this was a serious advantage gained by the British; he had strongly urged on DeVaudreuil that Levis should be well fortified, and defended by three or four thousand men; but the Governor would not be guided by him, and did not see his error until it was too late. During the night of the 12th-13th July, Montcalm endeavored to carry the British position at Levis by surprise, and sent M. Dumas with about two thousand troops for that purpose; they were divided into two columns, one of which getting in advance, the rear column fired into it, mistaking it in the darkness for the enemy; the fire was returned, and then both columns made for the boats where the mistake was discovered, but it was fatal to the enterprise, and the expedition had scarcely re-embarked before the English were advancing on it, aroused by the firing; it, however, got off safely, the only loss they encountered being that inflicted by themselves, which amounted to about seventy killed and wounded. On the same night fire was opened on the city from the Levis batteries, and on the sixteenth a shell set fire to a house in the Lower Town, which, fanned by a strong west wind, spread rapidly and destroyed many houses and other buildings, amongst them the church built to commemorate the repulse of Sir William Phipps in 1690.

6.—Wolfe tried in vain to find a favorable place to cross the Montmorenci, where he could meet the French on anything like fair terms; but in vain; Montcalm had fortified every point for miles, and

Suffering in Que-
bec. The country
laid waste.

Wolfe was constrained to look elsewhere. On the night of the 18th he, with a small squadron of four war vessels and two transports under command of Captain Rous, passed up the river above the city without being noticed by the French sentries, two of whom Montcalm had hung on the following day for carelessness. Wolfe made a careful examination of the land above the city, but found it quite as unpromising as that below, high precipitous banks everywhere, and intrenchments thrown up at any point which appeared a little weak. Unable to find any landing place above the town, Wolfe returned to his army and determined to try an attack on the

extreme left. He, however, sent Colonel Carleton to Pointe-aux-Trembles, where he made a few prisoners and intercepted some letters which gave a very gloomy report of the condition of affairs in Quebec. One letter said: "But for our priests and the dread of the savages, we would submit;" and another stated: "We are without hope and food; since the English have passed the town, our communication with Montreal is cut off. God hath forsaken us." Hearing of the distress of the city, Wolfe ordered the country to be laid waste; to cut off all possible sources of supply, and force on a capitulation. Garneau gives the following exaggerated account of the destruction: "He burned all the dwellings, and cut all the fruit-trees, from Montmorenci Falls to Cape Tormente (30 miles below Quebec), on the left bank of the St. Lawrence. He did the same at Malbaie (90 miles), and the bay of St. Paul (60); also throughout the Isle d'Orléans, which is twenty miles long. The parishes on the right bank of the flood, from Buthier (24 miles) to the Rivière du Loup (80 miles), a range of twenty-three leagues, were ravaged and burnt in their turn, as well as those of Point Levis, St. Nicholas, St. Croix (33), etc. Wolfe chose the night-time for committing those ravages, which he perpetrated on both sides of the St. Lawrence, wherever he could obtain a footing; he carried off the women and children, the victuals and cattle. As the season advanced this war of brigands extended itself, for Wolfe indulged in it to avenge himself for the checks he received, as well as to terrify the inhabitants. A detachment of three hundred men, under Captain Montgomery, having been sent to St. Joachim, where some of the people stood on their defence, committed there the greatest cruelties. The prisoners taken were coolly and most barbarously slaughtered.* M. de Portneuf, curate of the place, who stuck by his parishioners, in view of ministering to their spiritual needs, was

*This statement is made on the authority, so a foot-note in M. Garneau's work informs us, of a manuscript journal of the operations before Quebec, kept by Lieutenant Malcolm Frazer, of the 78th Highlanders; but when it is known that the Captain Montgomery here referred to was the General Montgomery who afterwards fell before Quebec during the American invasion, and who was noted for his humanity, the statement of the Lieutenant must be taken *cum grano salis*. Indeed the whole paragraph is a gross misrepresentation; for although Wolfe was compelled to take strong measures to keep supplies out of Quebec, he was naturally of too humane a disposition to inflict pain or loss unnecessarily, especially on non-combatants.—ED.

attacked and hewn to pieces by sabres. From the Beauport camp was seen, simultaneously, the flames rising from Beaupré, and from the Isle d'Orléans, also from sundry parts on the right bank of the flood."

7.—Six weeks slipped away without Wolfe being able to discover any vulnerable spot in Montcalm's defences; skirmishes were of almost daily occurrence, ^{Wolfe prepares to attack Montcalm.} and the fire on the city had been so effectively kept up that the battlements were almost destroyed, and the greater portion of the town in ruins, still Wolfe was no nearer to his object than when he landed. At last he determined to try an assault by way of Beauport flats. On the night of the 28th July, the French again sent down a fire-ship to destroy the English fleet, but it was towed on shore as the others had been, and Wolfe informed Montcalm that if any more were sent down he would tow them alongside of the ship used for detaining the French prisoners. This had the desired effect, and no more were sent. "As the left bank of the Montmorenci," says Garneau, "just beyond its embouchure, is higher than the right, Wolfe strengthened the batteries he already had there, the gun range of which enfiladed above that river the French intrenchments. The number of his cannon and pieces for shelling was raised to sixty. He caused to sink, on the rocks level with the flood below, two transports, placing on each, when in position, fourteen guns. One vessel lay to the right, the other to the left, of a small redoubt which the French had erected on the strand at the foot of the Courville road, in order to defend, not only the entry of that road which led to the heights occupied by the French reserve, but also the ford of the Montmorenci below the falls. Cannon shots from the transports crossed each other in the direction of the redoubt. It became needful, therefore, to silence the fire of the latter, and cover the march of the assailants, on this accessible point of our line; therefore the *Centurian*, a sixty-gun ship, was sent afterwards to anchor opposite the falls, and as near as might be to the shore, to protect the ford which the British forlorn hope was to cross, as soon as the attacking force should descend from their camp of L'Ange Gardien. Thus one hundred and eighteen pieces of ordnance were about to play upon Montcalm's left wing."

8.—“Towards noon, July 31st, all this artillery began to play; and, at the same time, Wolfe formed his columns of attack. More than fifteen hundred barges were in motion in the basin of Quebec.

The battle of
Montmorenci.

A part of Monckton's brigade, and twelve hundred grenadiers, embarked at Point Lévis, with intention to re-land between the site of the *Centurian* and the sunken transports. The second column, composed of Townshend's and Murray's brigades, descended the heights of L'Ange Gardien, in order to take the ford and join their forces to the first column at the foot of the Courville road, which was ordered to be ready posted, and only waiting for the signal to advance against the adjoining French entrenchments. These two columns numbered six thousand men. A third corps of two thousand soldiers, charged to ascend the left bank of the Montmorenci, was to pass that river at a ford about a league above the falls, but which was guarded (as already intimated) by a detachment under M. DeRepentigny. At one P.M. the three British columns were on foot to execute the concerted plan of attack, which would have been far too complicated for troops less disciplined than Wolfe's. Montcalm, for some time doubtful about the point the enemy would assail, had sent orders along his whole line for the men to be ready everywhere to oppose the British wherever they came forward. As soon as the latter neared their destination, DeLévis sent five hundred men to succor Repentigny (at the upper ford), also a small detachment to spy the manoeuvres of the British when about to cross the lower ford, while he sent to Montcalm for some battalions of regulars, to sustain himself in case of need. The general (Montcalm) came up, at two P.M., to examine the posture of matters at the left. He proceeded along the lines, approved of the dispositions of DeLévis, gave fresh orders, and returned to the centre, in order to be in a position to observe all that should pass. Three battalions and some Canadians, from Trois Rivières, came in opportunely to reinforce the French left. The greatest part of these troops took post, as a reserve, on the highway, and the rest were directed on the ford defended by M. DeRepentigny. The latter had been already hotly attacked by a British column, but he forced it to give way, after some loss of men. The retreat of this corps

permitted that sent to succor Repentigny to hasten back to the arena of the chief attack.

9.—“Meanwhile, the barges bearing the Point Lévis column, led by Wolfe in person, after making several evolutions, meant to deceive the French as to the real ^{Repulse of the British.} place for landing, were directed towards the sunken transports. The tide was now ebbing, thus, part of the barges were grounded on a ridge of rock and gravelly matter, which stopped their progress and caused some disorder; but at last all obstacles were surmounted, and twelve hundred grenadiers, supported by other soldiers, landed on the St. Lawrence strand. They were to advance in four divisions; and Monckton's brigade, which was to embark later, had orders to follow, and, as soon as landed, to sustain them. From some misunderstanding these orders were not punctually executed. The enemy formed in columns, indeed; but Monckton's men did not arrive on time. Still the van moved, music playing, up to the Courville road redoubt, which the French at once evacuated. The enemy's grenadiers took possession of it, and prepared to assail the intrenchments beyond, which were within musket-shot distance. Wolfe's batteries had been pouring, ever since mid-day, on the Canadians who defended this part of the line, a shower of shells and bullets, which they sustained without flinching. Having re-formed, the British advanced, with fixed bayonets, to attack the intrenchments; their showy costume contrasting strangely with that of their adversaries, wrapped as these were in light capotes and girt round the loins. The Canadians, who compensated their deficient discipline only by their native courage and the great accuracy of their aim, waited patiently till the enemies were a few yards distant from their line, meaning to fire at them point-blank. At the proper time, they discharged their pieces so rapidly, and with such destructive effect, that the two British columns, despite all their officer's endeavors, were broken and put to flight.* They sought shelter at first against their foe's fire behind the redoubt; but, not being allowed to reform ranks, they continued to retreat to the main

*“Their (men of) small-arms, in the trenches, lay cool till they were sure of their mark; they then poured their shot like showers of hail, which caused our brave grenadiers to fall very fast.”—*Journal of a British officer.*

body of the army, which had deployed a little further back. At this critical time, a violent thunderstorm supervened, which hid the view of the combatants on both sides from each other, while the reverberations of successive peals rose far above the din of battle. When the rain mist cleared off, the Canadians beheld the British re-embarking with their wounded, after setting fire to the sunken transports. Their army finally drey off, as it had advanced, some corps in the barges, others marched landward, after recrossing the Montmorenci ford. The fire of their numerous cannon, however, continued till night set in; and it was estimated that the British discharged three thousand cannon-balls during the day and evening, while the French had only a dozen pieces of cannon in action; but these were very serviceable in harassing the disembarking British. The loss of the French, which was due almost entirely to artillery fire, was inconsiderable, if we remember that they were for more than six hours exposed to it. The enemy lost about five hundred men killed and wounded, including many officers."

CHAPTER LV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.—(Continued.)

1. MURRAY'S EXPEDITION UP THE ST. LAWRENCE.—2. WOLFE DECIDES TO MAKE AN ATTACK ABOVE QUEBEC.—3. MONTCALM'S SITUATION.—4. WOLFE CONCENTRATES HIS ARMY AT POINT LEVIS.—5. WOLFE SCALES THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.—6. DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE-FIELD.—7. POSITIONS OF THE CONTENTING ARMIES.—8. FIRST BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.—9. DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH.—10. DEATH OF WOLFE, TOWNSHEND'S TRIBUTE TO HIS MEMORY.—11. HONORS PAID THE DEAD GENERAL.—12. DEATH OF MONTCALM.—13. SKETCH OF MONTCALM'S CHARACTER, MONUMENT TO HIS MEMORY.—14. THE LOSSES ON BOTH SIDES. CAPITULATION OF QUEBEC.

1.—The repulse at Montmorenci was a sad dis-

appointment to Wolfe, and the worry and anxiety of it brought on a fever, the germs of which had previously appeared, and for weeks the brave soldier was confined to a sick-bed, with his energies prostrated, and his life in considerable danger. Still he was not wholly idle. The fleet above the town had been strengthened by a squadron under Admiral Holmes, and Brigadier Murray was now sent up the river, with 1,200 men, to destroy the French shipping which had escaped up the river, and open communication, if possible, with General Amherst at Lake Champlain. The vessels escaped, by landing their guns, ammunition, etc., and running into shallow water, with the exception of one brigantine, which was burned; and Murray found the landing-places along the river so well defended that it was only at Deschambault, 39 miles above Quebec, that he was able to effect a landing, after having been twice repulsed at Pointe-aux-Trembles. Deschambault was defended by a few invalid soldiers, and was easily captured. Here he found some letters which informed him of the capture of Niagara by Sir William Johnson, and the occupation of Carillon and Crown Point by General Amherst. Finding that he could not effect a junction with Amherst, and that he could not accomplish anything by going further up the river, he returned to Quebec to convey to Wolfe the good news of the success of the British arms in other parts of Canada.

2.—Wolfe had not recovered from his fever when Murray returned; but he saw clearly that if Quebec was to be taken that season it must be done by his army alone, as he was not likely to receive any assistance from either Amherst or Johnson before the winter set in. Ill as he was he laid out three plans of attack on Montcalm's army below the town, and submitted them to his brigadiers, Murray, Townshend and Monckton. They were unanimous in rejecting all three, and recommended instead a plan of Brigadier Townshend's to make an attack above the town, landing on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, and thereby drawing Montcalm from his strong position. In this report of 20th August the brigadiers say: "If we can maintain a new position on that side, we should force Montcalm to fight wherever we choose; we shall then be not only situated be-

Murray's Expedition up the St. Lawrence.

Wolfe decides to make an attack above Quebec.

tween him and his magazines, but also between his camp and the forces opposed to Amherst. If he offer us battle, and he should lose the day, then Quebec, probably all Canada, would fall into our hands—a result far greater than any that could accrue from a victory at Beauport; and, again, if he cross the River St. Charles with forces enough to confront us in this position we have supposed, the Beauport camp, thereby weakened, might be all the more easily attacked.” Before acceding to the desires of his brigadiers for a “change of base,” Wolfe again examined carefully the approaches to the citadel by way of the Lower Town—which was almost entirely in ashes from the heavy fire of his batteries—and was accompanied by Admiral Saunders, who was willing to give all the aid possible from the fleet; but Wolfe was forced to confess that attack from that side seemed hopeless, so well had Montcalm defended all the passes to the Upper Town; he therefore agreed to the plan approved by his brigadiers. He was by no means sanguine of success, however, and in his despatch to Pitt, dated 2d September, he says: “I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it into execution. There is such a choice of difficulties that I am myself at a loss how to determine.”

3.—But if Wolfe was somewhat daunted at the obstacles before him, Montcalm was nearly disheartened at the almost insurmountable difficulties with which he was surrounded. Slowly but surely he saw the cordon of British troops being drawn around him, which must, ultimately, crush and overpower him. He knew that he was fighting without hope or chance of success, and that the utmost he could do was to ward off the culminating disaster as long as possible, and die bravely and honorably. He knew that, even if he could keep Wolfe at bay during the winter, the armies of Amherst and Johnson would advance on him in the spring; and, with the three English armies combined, the small force he could concentrate to oppose would be almost powerless to resist them. This idea is very fully conveyed in a letter of his to a friend in which he says: “Of one thing I can assure you, I shall not survive the probable loss of the Colony. There are times when a general’s only resource is to die with honor; this is such a time: no stain shall rest on my memory.” He

knew that he need not expect any succor from France; the French ministry had clearly intimated its determination to leave Canada to her fate; and even if that policy had been changed and help sent to Quebec, the strong fleet riding at anchor below the city was an effectual bar to the needed aid reaching its destination. Montcalm had, also, other difficulties to contend with; there was great want and privation in the camp, and the militia would desert to look after their long-deserted farms; and although he hung some and whipped others, it did not deter them, and he was at last obliged to grant short furloughs to about two thousand, thus materially weakening his strength, just as he was about to need it most.

4.—It was necessary for the carrying out of the newly-proposed line of attack to concentrate the British forces at Point Levis, and Wolfe therefore withdrew his troops from the Montmorenci on the 3d of September. Montcalm endeavored to attack them while embarking, and threw forward two strong columns for that purpose; but Montcalm, from Point Levis, observing the movement, embarked a strong detachment in boats which, assisted by some frigates and light-draught vessels, made a feigned attack on the Beauport camp, which obliged Montcalm to recall his troops, and the British were allowed to cross without molestation. For several days after the concentration of the British army at Point Levis the fleet, under Admiral Holmes, manœuvred above the town, threatening various points, to annoy and confuse the enemy, while Wolfe and his brigadiers were searching for a favorable spot to effect a landing by which access to the Plains of Abraham could be gained. At last Wolfe decided on landing at a point about three miles above the city (now known as Wolfe’s Cove), where a narrow path, scarcely admitting of two men walking abreast, led to the plains above. Once there, Montcalm must fight on about equal terms, and Wolfe determined to take the risk of getting there. One fact which led to this determination was that the place was only slightly guarded,—being considered inaccessible,—and he judged that not more than one hundred men defended it. Montcalm had been over-confident of the natural strength of his position on this side, and had differed greatly with De Vaudreuil with regard to the necessary defence.

Montcalm's situation.

Wolfe concentrates his army at Point Levis.



LIEUT. GOV. LETELLIER DE ST. JUST.



WILLIAM WORKMAN, ESQ.



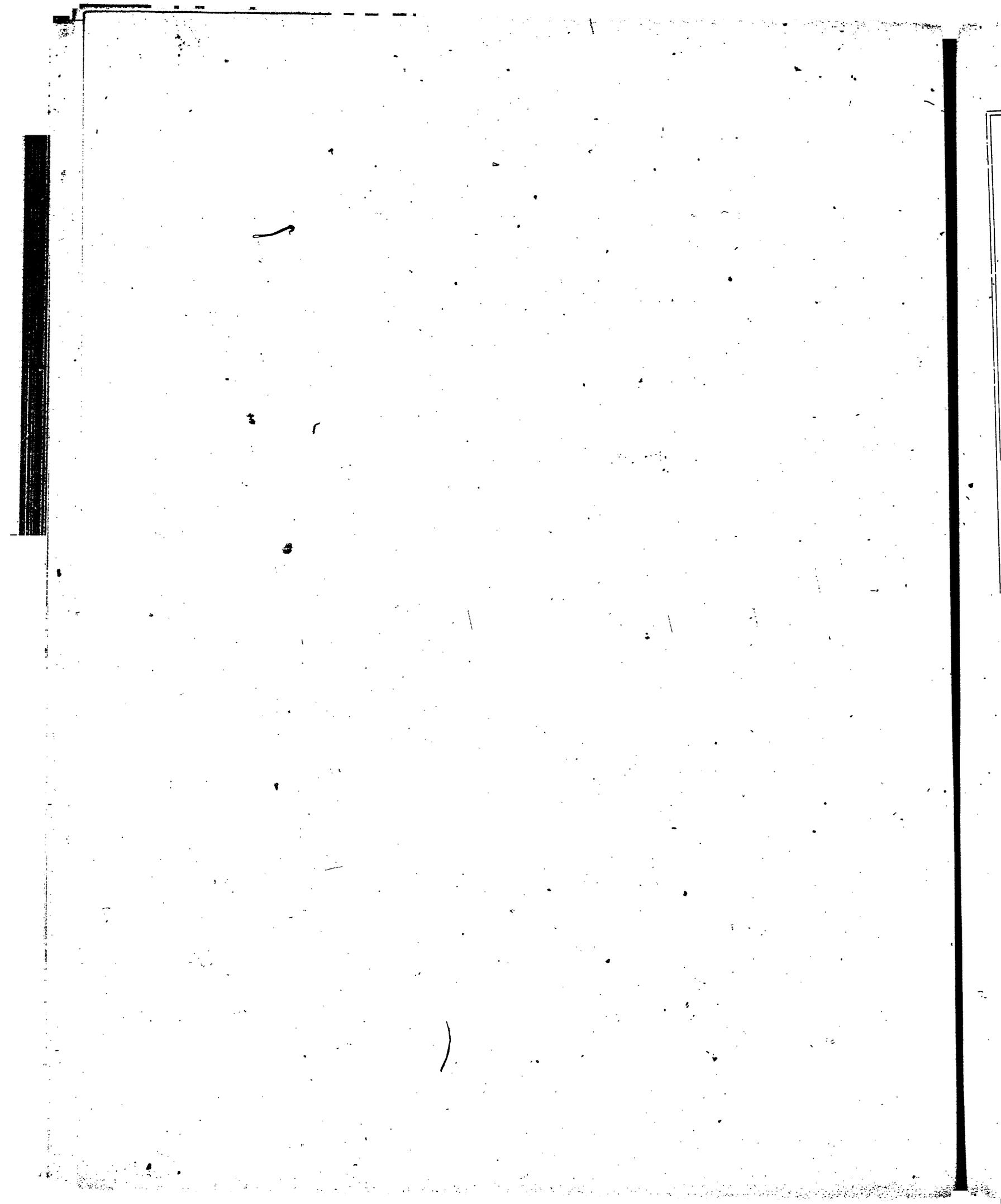
SIR WILLIAM E. LOGAN.



HON. RICH'D CARTWRIGHT.



JUDGE FOURNIER.



In a letter dated 29th July, he said: "None but God knows how to effect the impossible. You know, sir, the force of the army. If you wish for a strong garrison in the city, you have but to give the word, and the thing will be done; but in that case you must give up the position you now occupy; I yield, in advance, to your opinion in the matter, for I can neither divine nor be answerable for events which may follow in a case so uncertain. Every night you incur as many risks as you are exposed to in the present. According to M. DeLévis, the enemy musters as strong at the falls as usual; and it is certain that he has set eight hundred men at work to make fascines to fortify his camp. You have, besides the (armed) inhabitants, 500 men in garrison in the city, 1,500 on the batteries, and 100 armed laborers. Vigilant patrolling is all that is wanted in addition; *for we need not suppose that our enemies have wings to enable them, in one night, to cross the flood, disembark, ascend broken-up steep-ways and resort to escalade; an operation all the more unlikely to take place, as the assailants would have to bring ladders.*" We have italicized these last few lines, because what Montcalm said the enemy could *not* do, was very nearly just what they *did* do.

5.—Montcalm, however, somewhat changed his ideas after Wolfe had moved his army to Point Lévis, and the British fleet seemed

Wolfe scales the heights of Abraham.

to be spreading itself out in a menacing line, from the city as far up the river as Pointe-aux-Trembles. He first sent DeBougainville, who was in command on that side of one thousand men, which force was increased, from time to time—as the movements of the British became more menacing, threatening to cut off the supply of provisions—until his army numbered about three thousand; the guard-houses between the city and Cape Rouge were also reinforced; and Bougainville was charged to keep a strict watch on all the movements of the British, who seemed to be threatening simultaneously the Beauport camp, the city, and the provision stores of the army. Wolfe had been informed by two French deserters that an attempt would be made during the night of the 12–13th to bring provisions into the city by way of the river, as it was becoming almost impossible to convey them by land, as only old men, women and children were left for any other than military service. The countersign

by which the convoy was to be known was learned; and used to good advantage afterwards. On the evening of the 12th a feint was made on the Beauport camp, by the heavy ships of the line drawing in shore, as if to attack, while the smaller vessels set sail and swept past the batteries to join the fleet above the town. Monckton's and Murray's brigades were, at the same time, pushed up along the river from Point Lévis, and embarked without being observed; and, about nine o'clock, the first division, about sixteen hundred strong, silently removed to flat-bottom boats and awaited orders. The advance took place about one o'clock on the morning of the 13th, Wolfe commanding in person. The first troops to land were the light companies of the 78th Highlanders, and they had scrambled some way up the cliff before they were discovered. To the French sentry's challenge "*Qui vive?*" the answer was promptly given "*ne faites pas de bruit, ce sont les vivres*" (say nothing, this is the convoy of provisions). The sentries were satisfied for a few moments; but soon discovered their error and a brief struggle took place; but the British had, meanwhile, landed in numbers; the small guard was quickly overpowered, and, by daybreak, Wolfe stood on the Plains of Abraham at the head of his army, drawn up in order of battle, ready to engage in that memorable contest which was to decide the fate of Quebec and Canada.*

* For many years there was considerable speculation as to the source from whence these celebrated plains derived their name; and, even in the present day, it is comparatively little known that they are called after a Scotchman—or descendant of a Scotchman—named Andrew Martin, who owned the land during a portion of the first half of the seventeenth century. Lt. Col. Beatson, Royal Engineers, who was stationed in Quebec from 1849 to 1854, and spent all his spare time during those years in historical research, gives in his book, "The Plains of Abraham," the following interesting account of the man from whom they take their name: "Notwithstanding the world-wide celebrity of these Plains, it was not until very recently that the derivation of their name was discovered; and, as it is still comparatively unknown, even in Canada, the following explanation of its origin will doubtless possess attractions for such as are fond of tracing to their sources the names of celebrated localities, and who may be surprised to learn that, upwards of a century previous to the final conquest of Canada by the British arms, the scene of the decisive struggle for national supremacy in the northern division of the New World had derived its name from one who, if not a Scotchman by birth, would seem to have been of Scottish lineage. This apparently improbable fact will, however, appear less extraordinary when it is known that he was a seafaring man, and when it is considered how close was the alliance and how frequent the intercourse which for centuries before that period, had subsisted between France and Scotland. This individual, whose name was Abraham Martin, is described in a small legal document, dated 15th August, 1646, and preserved among the archives of the Bishop's Palace, at Quebec, as (the King's) Pilot of the *St. Lawrence*; an appointment which probably conferred on its possessor considerable official rank; for we find

6.—Hawkins, in his "Picture of Quebec" (published in 1834) says: "Any one who visits the celebrated Plains of Abraham, the scene of this glorious fight—equally rich in natural beauty and historic recollections—will admit that no site could be found better adapted for displaying the evolutions of military skill and discipline, or the exertion of physical force and determined valor. The battle ground presents almost a level surface from the brink of the St. Lawrence to the Ste. Foye road. The *Grande Allée*, or road to Cape Rouge, running parallel to that of Ste. Foye, passed through its centre—and was commanded by a field redoubt, in all probability the four-gun battery on the English left, which was captured by the light infantry, as mentioned in General Townshend's letter. The remains of this battery are distinctly seen (1834) near to the present race stand. There were also two other redoubts, one upon the rising ground, in the rear of Mr. C. Campbell's house (now M. Connolly's)—the death scene of Wolfe—and the other towards the Ste. Foye road which

that Jacques Quartier, or Cartier, the enterprising discoverer and explorer of the St. Lawrence, when about to proceed, in 1540, on his third voyage to Canada, was appointed by Francis I. *Captain-General and Master Pilot* of the expedition, which consisted of four vessels. That Martin was a person of considerable importance in the then infant colony of New France may also be inferred from the fact that, in the Journal of the Jesuits and in the parish register of Quebec, he is usually designated by his Christian name only, *Maitre Abraham*; as well as from the circumstance of Champlain, the distinguished founder of Quebec and father of New France, having been godfather to one of Abraham's daughters (Hélène), and of *Charles De St. Etienne, Sieur De La Tour*, of Acadian celebrity, having stood in the same relation to Martin's youngest son, Charles Amador. The earliest mention of Martin's name occurs in the first entry in the Parish register of Quebec, viz., on the 24th October, 1621; when his son Eustache, who died shortly afterwards, was baptized by Father Denis, a Franciscan friar. The second baptism therein recorded is that of his daughter Marguerite, which took place in 1624; and it is stated in the register that these children were born of the legitimate marriage of Abraham Martin, surnamed or usually known as "*The Scot (Dit l'Ecossois)*." To the above Mr. J. M. Lemoine adds the following paragraph: "On referring to the parish register of Quebec, from 1621 to 1700, one individual only seems to have borne the name of Abraham, and that person is Abraham Martin, to whom, under the appellation of *Maitre Abraham*, repeated reference is made both in the register and the Jesuits' journal. Abraham Martin, according to the documents quoted by Col. Beatson, owned in two separate lots—one of twenty and the other of twelve *arpents*—thirty-two *arpents* of land, covering a great portion of the site on which St. John and St. Louis suburbs have since been erected. Abraham's property occupied, it would seem, a portion of the area—the northern section—which, for a long period, also went under the name of Abraham's Plains. It adjoined other land the Ursuline ladies then owned, on *Coteau St. Louis*, close to the city, when in 1667 it was purchased by them; at that time, the whole tract, according to Col. Beatson, went under the general name of Plains of Abraham. Such appear to be the results of recent researches on this once very obscure question."

it was intended to command. On the site of the country seat called Marchmont (the property of John Gilmore, Esq.), there was also a small redoubt, commanding the intrenched path leading to the cove. This was taken possession of by the advanced-guard of the light infantry, immediately on ascending the heights. At the period of the battle, the plains were without fences or enclosures, and extended to the walls of the St. Louis side. The surface was dotted over with bushes, and the woods on either flank were more dense than at present, affording shelter to the French and Indian marksmen."

7.—Montcalm would scarcely give credence to the information, brought him early in the morning, that Wolfe occupied the Plains of Abraham in force. "It can be but a small party come to burn a few houses and retire," he said; but when assured that it was an army which had reached the plains he remarked: "Then they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison; we must give them battle and crush them before mid-day." He left DeVaudreuil, with fifteen hundred men, in command of the camp at Beauport, and at once took the remainder of his army, numbering about seven thousand five hundred, to meet Wolfe.* Hurrying his troops across the valley of the St. Charles, over the bridge, and along the northern rampart to the battle ground, which the main body reached about eight o'clock, he at once

* The strength of Montcalm's army on the 13th September, 1759, was as follows:

RIGHT COLUMN.	
Colony troops	550
Regiment of La Sarre	500
Regiment of Languedoc	550
Militia	400
	2,000
CENTRE.	
Regiment of Bearn	360
Regiment of Guienne	360
Militia	1,200
	1,920
LEFT COLUMN.	
Regiment Royal Roussillon	650
Colony troops	650
Militia	2,300
	3,600
Grand total,	7,520

Of these 3,620 were regulars, and 3,900 militia. Montcalm had also about 400 Indians.

began to form in line of battle, without waiting for his troops to rest, or to be sure that DeBougainville, who had three thousand troops with him, was moving to his support. It was about ten o'clock when Montcalm ordered his army to advance, and Wolfe had then occupied the plains for about four hours, and had his men drawn up in line of battle, the 35th regiment being on the extreme right, and the Louisbourg grenadiers on the left, commanded by Monckton and Murray, respectively. The 28th, 43d, 58th, 78th and 47th regiments, under Wolfe, completed the first line. The second line consisted of the 15th regiment and two battalions of the 60th, under command of Townshend; and the 48th under Colonel Burton, formed in four columns, acted as a reserve, while the light infantry, under Colonel Howe, covered the left flank and rear, the right flank being effectually protected by the precipice. The total strength of the British, as shown by Wolfe's field-book, was forty-eight hundred and twenty-eight men; but they were all well-trained soldiers, and the majority of them veterans.

8.—There were two noticeable features about the battle of the Plains of Abraham; first, that

First battle of the
Plains of Abraham.

Wolfe had put his army in a position where they *must* win, or be almost entirely annihilated, for to retreat down the narrow pathway by which they had gained the heights and re-embark would have been next to impossible, if pursued by a victorious enemy; and second, that it was fought very nearly without artillery, Wolfe having only one field-piece, and Montcalm two guns. Montcalm's first effort was to outflank the British and crowd them towards the precipice and the landing-place; and, therefore, he began the battle by throwing forward a large body of Canadian and Indian skirmishers against Colonel Howe's light infantry, which protected the British left; and, under cover of the smoke raised by the quick firing of the Canadians, to hurl the whole force of his right wing (consisting of sixteen hundred veterans and four hundred militia) against Howe's light troops. The position was critical for a few minutes; but Townshend promptly came to Howe's aid with the 15th regiment and two battalions of the 60th, and the French were repulsed with heavy loss. Failing in his attempt to flank, Montcalm now made a general attack on the right

and centre, and endeavored to force Wolfe back by mere force of numbers. Throwing out a long line of skirmishers, the few light troops which Wolfe had to cover the front of his centre and left were soon driven in; and the French advanced rapidly towards the British lines. At one hundred and fifty yards they began firing, and great damage was done to the British, but not a shot was returned. Steady and solid as if on parade the English stood, with their arms at the shoulder, never moving, except to fill up the ghastly gaps made in their ranks by the fire of the French. Wolfe had ordered the men to put an extra bullet in their guns, and not to fire until he gave the word. Quickly the French neared the British lines until they were within forty paces, when the command "Fire!" was given, and a deadly volley, at almost pistol range, was poured out from the whole British front, and the battle of the Plains of Abraham was as good as won, for the French wavered, halted, and it was only by the greatest personal efforts of Montcalm that the regulars were induced to re-form; the militia fled and could not be rallied again. The volley was one of the most deadly ever fired by British guns; battalions were almost entirely swept away, and some of them were left with scarcely any officers. M. de St. Ours was killed, and M. DeSenezergues mortally wounded. Montcalm displayed the utmost valor in endeavoring to re-form his men, and rode along the shattered ranks encouraging the men by his voice and presence.

9.—Wolfe quickly took advantage of the confusion in the French ranks, and, after allowing time for the men to re-load, ordered the whole line to advance with ^{Defeat of the} French. fixed bayonets, he leading the charge at the head of the 28th regiment. It was at this moment that he was mortally wounded. In the early part of the engagement he had been wounded in the hand; but he tied a handkerchief round it, and continued in command; now he was struck in the body, and almost immediately after received another bullet in his breast, which he felt to be fatal.* He turned to an officer near him and said, "Support me, let not my brave fellows

* A sergeant of the 60th regiment, who had been reduced to the ranks by Wolfe for cruelty to a soldier, and who had afterwards deserted to the French, is generally credited with having fired the fatal shot.

see me fall." He was taken to the rear, and water given him; but the wound was mortal, and no hope of his recovery was entertained. The troops did not see Wolfe fall, and pressed steadily onwards, and in vain Montcalm galloped amongst his veterans and endeavored to keep them steady; on the right the 35th swept all before them, while on the left, where the struggle was fiercest, the 58th and the 78th Highlanders overcame a stubborn resistance and forced the French to fly. The latter regiment, burning to revenge their defeat at Montmorenci, fought like demons, and when the French broke, the Highlanders threw away their muskets, and drawing their terrible claymores followed in pursuit until stopped by the guns from the ramparts of Quebec. As quick as the French endeavored to rally, the head of their formation was swept away by the steady fire of the British; and, Montcalm being mortally wounded, a second charge of the British utterly routed the French and sent them flying back in confusion towards the St. Charles.

10.—Meanwhile Wolfe's life was fast ebbing away. With his head supported by one of his officers, he lay, conscious, but fast dying, on the field his valor had won for his country. His eyes were closed, his cheek already paling under the hand of death, and his labored breathing alone gave evidence of life. A sad and solemn silence fell on the little group, anxiously watching their dying general, which was broken by the officer who supported him, exclaiming, "They run, they run!" "Who runs?" asked Wolfe, opening his eyes and speaking distinctly, but with great effort. "The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere," replied the officer. "What! do they run already?" said Wolfe, and then continued, "Pray, one of you go to Colonel Burton, and tell him to march Webb's regiment, with all speed, down to St. Charles River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." He paused for an instant, and turned a little to gain an easier position, then a slight flush passed over his face, his eye brightened, and he said faintly but distinctly, "Now God be praised, I die happy!" and almost immediately afterwards expired. So died, at the early age of thirty-two, one of the most gallant and promising generals that ever wore the British uniform. Brave, courteous, gentle, humane, and

Death of Wolfe.
Townshend's tribute to his memory.

of a highly poetic nature, Wolfe had endeared himself to the whole army, and his loss was deeply felt. Brigadier Townshend, writing a few days after the battle to a friend in England, says: "I am not ashamed to own to you, that my heart does not exult in this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe. Our country has lost a sure support, and a perpetual honor. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is, that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years actions that would have adorned a lengthy life." Wolfe was of a highly poetical temperament, and on the night before his death, as he floated in his boat below the frowning battlements of Quebec, with the bright stars of an autumn night shining over him, his mind, distracted for a moment from the stern realities of the scene about him, roamed into the realms of poetry, and he quoted many passages from his favorite poet, Gray, and declared that he would have preferred the honor of being the author of the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" to the glory of beating the French in the coming struggle, and, with almost prophetic foresight, he quoted the lines:

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inexorable hour,
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

11.—The remains of Wolfe were embalmed and taken to Greenwich, where they were interred beside his father, who had died a few months previously. Parliament voted him a monument in Westminster Abbey; a joint monument to Wolfe and Montcalm was erected in Quebec in 1827, by subscription, headed by the Earl of Dalhousie, and a simple monument placed on the spot where Wolfe fell. In 1849 this latter was replaced by a handsome column bearing the simple, but significant and expressive inscription:

HERE DIED
WOLFE,
VICTORIOUS.

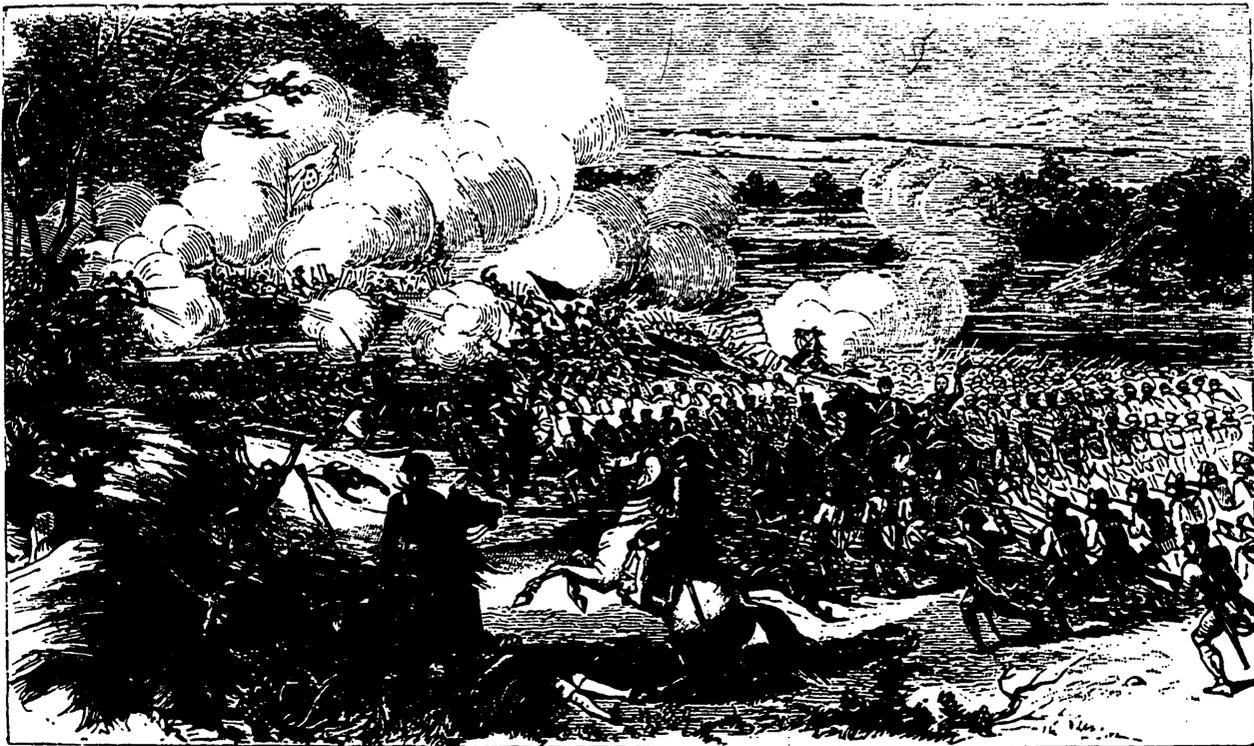
This fitting tribute to a great soldier was erected

Honors paid the
dead General.



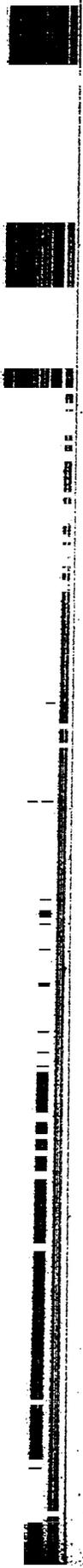
Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

GENERAL WOLFE AT THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, A.D., 1758.



Drawn and engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

BATTLE OF CARILLON, A.D., 1758.



by the soldiers stationed in Canada at the time, and the inception and execution of the idea is due to Lord Aylmer. With regard to the authenticity of the location we copy the following from Mr. Lemoine's *Quebec Past and Present*: "The spot consecrated by the fall of General Wolfe, in the charge made by the Grenadiers upon the left of the French line, will to the latest day be visited with deep interest and emotion. On the highest ground considerably in advance of the Martello towers, commanding a complete view of the field of battle—not far from the fence which divides the rear ground from the enclosures on the east, and opposite to the right of the English—are the remains of a redoubt against which the attack was directed, which Wolfe so gallantly urged on by his personal example. A few years ago a rock was pointed out, as marking the spot where he actually breathed his last; and in one of the enclosures nearer to the road is the well whence they brought him water. It is mentioned in the statistical work of Colonel Bouchette, that one of the four meridian stones, placed in 1790 by Major Holland, then Surveyor-General of Canada, 'stood in the angle of a field redoubt where General Wolfe is said to have breathed his last.' As he had been conveyed a short distance to the rear after being struck with the fatal ball, it must be presumed that this redoubt had been captured, and that the grenadiers were pressing on when he received his mortal wound. This is corroborated by a letter which we have met with, written after the battle by an officer of the 28th regiment, serving at the time as a volunteer with the Louisbourg grenadiers under Colonel Murray. He speaks of the redoubt in question as 'a rising ground,' and shows that Wolfe was in possession of it previously to his last wound; 'upon the general viewing the position of the two armies, he took notice of a small rising ground between our right and the enemy's left, which concealed their motions from us in that quarter, upon which the general did me the honor to detach me with a few grenadiers to take possession of that ground, and maintain it to the last extremity, which I did until both armies were engaged, and then the general came to me; but that great, that ever memorable man, whose loss can never be enough regretted, was scarce a moment with me till he received his fatal wound.'"

12.—While Wolfe was dying on the field of glory, Montcalm was being supported from the field of battle, mortally wounded.

He was first struck by a musket ^{Death of Montcalm.} ball, while fighting in front of the

French left, and was afterwards wounded by the only gun in possession of the English. Still he did not at once retire, but continued for some time to direct the retreat of his troops, and it was only after he had taken every measure for their safety that he retired from the field. He was still mounted, and, supported by a grenadier on each side of his horse, rode down St. Louis street, where some women seeing him, exclaimed, "My God, my God, the Marquis is killed!" to which he replied with a smile, "It is nothing, it is nothing. Do not trouble yourselves for me, my good friends." He was taken to the Castle St. Louis.* When his wounds were being dressed, he was informed by the surgeon, Arnoux, that they were mortal. "How long have I to live?" asked the marquis. "Ten or twelve hours," was the reply. "So much the better," he said, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." A council of war was hastily held, at which he showed how all the French troops could be concentrated, and the British again attacked before they could intrench themselves, but his counsel was overruled, the hope of saving Canada seemed to be dying with him. M. DeRamezay, who commanded the garrison, asked for orders for the defence; but Montcalm answered, "I will neither give orders nor interfere any further; I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison, and this wretched country. My time is very short, so pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities." Shortly afterwards he said to one of his attendants, "Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so brave and generous an enemy," and one of his last acts was to dictate a letter recommending the French prisoners to the generosity of the victors. His

* There is some doubt as to the exact place of Montcalm's death; and it is not clearly determined whether he died at the Castle St. Louis, at the house of M. Arnoux, Surgeon, St. Louis Street, at the Horn work, on the St. Charles, at his own residence, on the ramparts, or at the Ursuline Convent.

chaplain and the Bishop of Quebec passed the night with him, and administered the last rites of his church. He died about five o'clock on the morning of the 14th.

13.—Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, was forty-seven years old at the time of his death; and had gained laurels in campaigns in Italy, Germany and Bohemia before coming to Canada. In Canada he had shown his true power as a general, and had gained three signal victories over the English at Oswego, Fort William Henry, and Carillon, besides repulsing Wolfe at Montmorenci, before his final defeat on the Plains of Abraham. Even Garneau, who is terribly prejudiced against Montcalm, is constrained in justice to say: "Whatever the general's faults may have been, his death would seem to have sufficiently expiated them; and in presence of his tomb among us, we wish to be mindful only of his valor and his triumphs. His contemporaries, French born and Canadians alike, deplored his death as a public loss. He had acquired an ascendancy over the minds of both, as much by his energy, as by his skill in turning their courage to account. None but he was supposed to be capable of risking a battle (against odds) with a certainty of gaining it." His personal bravery was beyond dispute, and was the main-spring of his influence over his army; where he led they were ashamed not to follow. At Oswego he had inspired his men with new courage by seizing, with his own hand, a color from an English officer; and wherever the fighting was most severe he was always in the van, *leading* his men, not *ordering* them on. In his Continental campaigns he had received five wounds—three at the battle of Plaisance, 13th June, 1746, and two at Assiette, 8th July, 1746. He was a remarkable contrast to the majority of French officials in Canada at that time; for, while they were self-seeking, grasping and cowardly, Montcalm was self-denying, laborious, just, and spent all his own means in relieving the want and suffering around him. He was buried in the Ursuline Convent in a furrow made in the walls by a bomb-shell; and nearly seventy-five years afterwards (in 1833) the spot was identified by an aged nun of the Convent (then over eighty years of age), who was a little girl at the time of his death, and had followed the funeral procession out of curiosity. A search was made

Sketch of Montcalm's character. Monuments to his memory.

had gained laurels in campaigns in Italy, Germany and Bohemia before coming to Canada. In Canada he

for the remains, and some bones were found, but the only part which was intact was the skull—on which the marks of two wounds are visible—which is now preserved under a glass case in the apartments of the Chaplain of the Convent. A tablet to the memory of Montcalm was placed in the Convent a few years afterwards;* and a joint monument to Wolfe and Montcalm was erected in Quebec in 1827, by the Earl of Dalhousie, with the following inscription:—

HUNC LAPIDEM
MONUMENTI IN MEMORIAM
VIGORUM ILLUSTRUM

WOLFE ET MONTCALM,

Fundamentum

P.C.

GEORGIUS, COMES DE DALHOUSIE,

In Septentrionalis Americæ Partibus ad Brittanos
pertinentibus, summam serum administrans,

OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM.

(QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENTIENTIUS ?)

AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLE-STIMULANS, MUNI-
FICENTIA FOVENS.

Die Novembris XV., à A.D., MDCCCXXVII.

GEORGE IV., BRITONNIORUM REGE.

(Translation.)

THIS FOUNDATION STONE

OF A MONUMENT IN THE MEMORY OF

THE ILLUSTRIOUS MEN,

WOLFE AND MONTCALM,

Was laid by

GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE,

Governor in Chief over all the British Provinces
in North America,

A WORK NEGLECTED FOR MANY YEARS.

(WHAT IS THERE MORE WORTHY OF A GALLANT
GENERAL ?)

HE PROMOTED BY HIS INFLUENCE, ENCOURAGED BY HIS EX-
AMPLE, AND FAVORED BY HIS MUNIFICENCE.

15th November, 1827.

GEORGE IV., REIGNING KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

* See note, on opposite page.

14.—The casualties to the British in the battle of the Plains of Abraham, as given in the *Official Gazette*, London, were fifty-eight killed, five hundred and ninety-six wounded, and three missing; making a total of six hundred and fifty-seven laid *hors des combats*. The list of killed reads, one general (Wolfe), one captain, six lieutenants, one ensign, three sergeants, forty-five rank-and-file, one gunner. Wounded, one general (Monckton), four staff officers, twelve captains, twenty-six lieutenants, ten ensigns, twenty-five sergeants, four drummers, five hundred and six rank-and-file, one

The losses on both sides. Capitulation of Quebec.

* The erection of this tablet was originated by M. de Bougainville, who was warmly attached to Montcalm, and had served under him, with distinction, for two years in Canada. M. de Bougainville was scarcely twenty years of age at the time of the capitulation at Quebec, although he was in command of about two thousand troops. He afterwards joined the French navy and circumnavigated the globe, gaining as much distinction in this direction as Captain Cook, who was opposed to him at Quebec. He was killed by a revolutionary mob in Paris on the 10th August, 1792. The tablet to Montcalm's memory was subscribed for by the soldiers who had served under him in Canada; and the following correspondence passed between M. de Bougainville, and the English Prime Minister (the Great Pitt) on the question of its being erected in Quebec:—"Sir,—The honors paid, under your ministry, to Mr. Wolfe, assure me that you will not disapprove of the grateful endeavors of the French troops to perpetuate the memory of the Marquis de Montcalm. The body of that General, who was honored by the regret of your nation, is interred in Quebec. I have the honor of sending you an epitaph made for him by the Academy of Inscriptions. I beg the favor of you, that you will be pleased to examine it; and, if not improper, obtain leave for me to send it to Quebec, engraved on marble, that it may be placed on the Marquis de Montcalm's tomb. Should such leave be granted, may I presume, sir, that you would be so good as to inform me of it, and, at the same time, to send me a passport; that the marble, with the epitaph engraved on it, may be received into an English ship; and that Mr. Murray, Governor of Quebec, may allow it to be placed in the Ursuline Church. You will be pleased, sir, to pardon me for this intrusion on your important occupations; but endeavoring to immortalize illustrious men and eminent patriots is doing honor to yourself. I am, with respect, &c. DeBougainville. Paris, 24th March, 1761." "Sir,—It is a real satisfaction to me to send you the King's consent on a subject so affecting as the epitaph, composed by the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, for the Marquis de Montcalm; and which it is desired may be sent to Quebec, engraved on marble, to be placed on the tomb of that illustrious soldier. It is perfectly beautiful; and the desire of the French troops which served in Canada to pay such a tribute to the memory of their General whom they saw expire at their head in a manner worthy of himself and of them, is truly noble and praiseworthy. I shall take a pleasure, sir, in facilitating, in every way, such amiable intentions; and on receiving notice of the measures taken for shipping this marble, will not fail to transmit to you immediately the passport you desire, and to send directions to the Governor of Quebec for its reception. I withal beg of you, sir, to be persuaded of my just sensibility of that so obliging part of the letter with which you have honored me relating to myself; and to believe that I embrace, as a happiness, this opportunity of manifesting the esteem and particular regard with which I have the honor to be, &c. W. Pitt. London, April 10th, 1761."

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engineer, one bombardier, one gunner, five matrosses; missing, three rank and file. The loss of the French was about fifteen hundred, including prisoners. DeVaudreuil, who was marching to the support of Montcalm from Beauport, as soon as he heard of the victory of the British, withdrew the fifteen hundred troops under him to the Jacques Cartier river, leaving his tents, ammunition, baggage, etc., at Beauport. DeLévis, on whom the command fell, but who was in Montreal at the time of Montcalm's defeat, joined the army at once and endeavored to rally his forces for another attack on the British. But he was too late. Townshend, on whom the command fell, after Wolfe's death and Monckton's serious injuries, at once began to entrench his troops, and push on the erection of his siege works, and the mounting of his heavy guns; so that by the seventeenth he had sixty-one heavy guns and fifty-seven light guns in position, ready to batter away at the already almost ruined walls of Quebec; besides this Admiral Saunders had moved his whole fleet into the basin, and was ready to begin a general bombardment of what was left of the Lower Town. Under these circumstances, the citizens of Quebec forced on M. de Ramezay, Commandant of the garrison, the necessity of capitulating; and he, finding further resistance was useless, did so. On the evening of the seventeenth the terms of capitulation were agreed on, and early next morning they were fully ratified and the city surrendered. Shortly afterwards the keys were delivered up, and the Louisbourg Grenadiers marched in and took possession, while a body of seamen, under Captain Palliser, at the same time occupied the Lower Town.

CHAPTER LVI.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DEVAUDREUIL.—(Continued.)

1. DEPARTURE OF THE ENGLISH FLEET. GENERAL MURRAY LEFT IN COMMAND AT QUEBEC.
- 2. MURRAY'S POLICY TOWARDS THE INHABITANTS. SCURVY AMONGST THE TROOPS.—3.

DESPERATE SITUATION OF THE FRENCH AFTER THE FALL OF QUEBEC.—4. GREAT REJOICING IN ENGLAND. PREPARATIONS FOR A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN.—5. DELEVIS PREPARES TO ATTACK QUEBEC.—6. MURRAY DETERMINES TO ATTACK DELEVIS.—7. SECOND BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM. LAST VICTORY OF THE FRENCH.—8. MURRAY PREPARES TO WITHSTAND A SIEGE.—9. SIEGE OF QUEBEC BY THE FRENCH.—10. THE SIEGE RAISED. A LAST STAND TO BE MADE AT MONTREAL.—11. A NON-COMBATANT'S ACCOUNT OF THE OPERATIONS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF QUEBEC.

1.—The terms of capitulation granted by Townshend were very favorable to the French, only one proposal—that the garrison should be allowed to join the French army at the Jacques Cartier river—being modified so that the troops, amounting to about one thousand, should be allowed to march out with the honors of war, and afterwards be conveyed to the nearest port in France. The inhabitants were to be protected in person and property, and allowed the free exercise of their religion on laying down their arms, and churches and convents were to be guarded so as to preserve them from insult. The terms were made as liberal as possible, as Townshend was anxious to get his men under cover before the cold weather set in; and Admiral Saunders was desirous of getting his fleet to sea ere the ice began to form in the gulf. On the eighteenth of October, Saunders sailed for England, leaving only two small vessels, the *Racehorse* of twenty and the *Porcupine* of eighteen guns. Brigadier Townshend also left with the fleet, taking with him three companies of Louisbourg grenadiers and five companies of the Royal American rangers. Brigadier Monckton went to spend the winter in New York, to recover from his wound, and Brigadier Murray was left in command at Quebec, having between five and six thousand men under him.* The sick

* Mr. Smith, in his History of Canada, says 5,000; although the authors whom he followed textually, Knox and Monte, say "more than 7,000 men." The Archives of the Provincial Secretary, at Quebec, contain a register for the order for payment of Murray's troops, the data in which ought to be sure means for settling this question in future. These orders testify the exact number of men and non-commissioned officers in each regiment according to the returns, December 24th, 1759.

and wounded who were not likely to speedily recover, were also taken away, as well as the prisoners.

2.—Murray at once set about repairing and rebuilding the houses which had been injured or destroyed during the bombardment, and about five hundred were made habitable for the troops during the winter. He also destroyed the redoubts on the plain, and repaired and strengthened the fortifications of the city, and erected eleven new redoubts—facing the Plains of Abraham—of heavy timber, mounted with artillery. At several points in the neighborhood he established outposts, which not only served him in collecting provisions, and keeping him informed of the movements of the enemy, but were also very useful in gaining over the inhabitants, to whom he had addressed a proclamation setting forth the inutility of further resistance. So convinced were the unfortunate *habitants*, who had had very little choice between being starved or shot during the past five years, that it was useless to resist any longer, that eleven parishes submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to England. Skirmishing was kept up on both sides during the winter, but without any serious results, and the only heavy loss sustained by Murray was from sickness. Fresh provisions became very scarce, and scurvy broke out amongst the troops, caused by the constant use of salt meat. Between Christmas and spring nearly eight hundred men were carried off by this disease, and twice as many were rendered totally unfit for duty.

3.—The situation of the French was now becoming desperate. After the capitulation of Quebec, DeLévis fell back to the Jacques Cartier river, and concentrated his troops there, while DeVaudreuil went to Montreal. No attempt was made to recapture Quebec; and, as the season advanced, the

Murray's policy towards the inhabitants. Scurvy amongst the troops.

Desperate situation of the French after the fall of Quebec.

MEN.		MEN.	
47th regiment.	680	2d battalion of Fusileers.	871
35th "	876	3d "	930
43d "	693	28th regiment.	623
58th "	653	48th "	882
78th " (Scots Highlanders.)	1,377	15th "	619
			8,204

Garneau's History of Canada.





militia was disbanded, and the men allowed to go home, and the regulars were withdrawn to the neighborhoods of Montreal and Three Rivers for the winter, leaving only six hundred men at Jacques Cartier, under M. Dumas, to annoy the British outposts. The troops were also withdrawn from Lakes Ontario and Champlain, except small garrisons of three hundred men at Fort Lévis (situated on a small island a little below Ogdensburg), four hundred men at the Isle-aux-Noix, and three hundred at St. John. And so the winter set in in darkness and gloom for the prospects of the maintenance of French power in America. Shut off from the sea by the fall of Quebec, from Lake Champlain by the destruction of Carillon and Crown Point, and from the west by the loss of Niagara, the French now found themselves penned up within the Montreal and Three Rivers districts, with scarcely a strong post to defend. They still held Detroit, Mackinaw and other western forts, but, cut off from the rest of Canada; they were useless, and must fall at the first attack. The only hope was in re-capturing Quebec, and receiving aid from France. Shortly after the retirement of DeVaudreuil to Montreal, and the sailing of the British fleet from Quebec, a vessel was despatched for France, which succeeded in running past the batteries of Quebec without being noticed (owing to a thick fog), and arrived safely at its destination. On this vessel was M. LeMercier, commandant of the artillery, who bore despatches from DeVaudreuil, DeLévis and Bigot, explaining the desperate condition of affairs, and imploring aid. But Louis XV. had no aid to give, and no disposition to do so, even had he possessed the means; but with an empty treasury, an expensive continental war, and a host of Court parasites fattening on the spoils wrung from an over-taxed and down-trodden peasantry, Louis had neither men nor money to spare for Canada, and so she was left to her fate. All the help sent in the spring was nineteen small vessels loaded with provisions and four hundred soldiers, convoyed by one frigate. But the aid never reached Canada, for the frigate and her convoy were chased into the Bay du Chaleurs by a squadron, under command of Captain Byron, which was cruising in the St. Lawrence, and there either captured or destroyed. Meanwhile, the condition of the poor *habitants* daily grew worse. Every hamlet had its

sick or wounded, and famine again added to their other misfortunes. Provisions became terribly scarce as winter progressed, and it was with difficulty that Bigot could obtain any supplies for the army, even by force. The farmers were starving and would not part with what scant stock of provisions they had.

4.—While the news of the capture of Quebec, and the destruction of Forts Niagara, Carillon, and Crown Point, was received with apathy in France, it was the cause of great rejoicing in England and the British colonies. London, and nearly all the large cities, presented congratulatory addresses to the king, extolling the government and its prime minister, Pitt; illuminations and bonfires on both sides of the Atlantic signalized the victories, and King George ordered a general thanksgiving service in all the churches throughout the British Empire. Parliament was in high good humor; and, besides passing a vote of thanks to the commanders of the naval and military forces, and ordering a monument to be erected to Wolfe in Westminster Abbey, granted with alacrity all the appropriations asked for by Pitt to enable him to push the conquest of Canada to a successful issue during the next campaign. In the colonies, also, the war fever was at its height; supplies of men and money were freely voted, and every preparation made to insure the next campaign being "short, sharp and decisive." Amherst's army was strengthened, and a fleet, with reinforcements, sailed to the relief of Murray, at Quebec, who was ordered to ascend the Laurentian Valley, and meet Amherst before Montreal, towards which point the army of Brigadier Haviland was also to converge, from Lake Champlain.

5.—DeLévis was not idle during the winter. Trusting to receiving aid from France in the spring he prepared for an attack on Quebec as soon as the breaking up of the ice should open a passage down the river. The French vessels, which had taken refuge up the river from Saunder's fleet, were refitted, and galleys were built to transport the stores, ammunition and guns, the bulk of which were withdrawn from the forts at St. John's and Chambly. He collected all the stores and provisions possible; and DeVaudreuil assisted his efforts by an inflammatory address to the people,

Great rejoicing in England. Preparations for a vigorous campaign.

De Lévis prepares to attack Quebec.

grossly misrepresenting the character of Murray's government at Quebec, and charging cruelties to the British, which they never perpetrated, while he held out hopes of early succor from France. Bishop Pontbriant, in his pastoral, also threw the power of the Church against the British, and endeavored to excite the colonists to further resistance by appealing to their love of country and religion. These appeals had the desired effect; and on the seventeenth of April DeLévis left Montreal to commence his spring campaign, having determined to endeavor to recapture Quebec before the breaking up of the ice in the gulf would admit of Murray's receiving any help from England. Part of DeLévis' army was conveyed from Montreal in two frigates, while a number of smaller vessels conveyed the siege guns, ammunition and stores. The river was still so blocked with ice, however, that the troops had to be landed at Point-aux-Trembles. On collecting his forces, DeLévis found himself at the head of four thousand five hundred regulars, six thousand militia and about two hundred Indians. DeVaudreuil had tried hard to induce all the friendly tribes to join him; but the wary Indians held aloof, they knew that the power of France was broken, and they either openly joined the British or remained neutral.

6.—DeLévis had hoped to surprise Murray, and for that purpose had circulated several false reports during the winter as to intended attacks on Quebec, in the hope of deceiving him when the real attack was made; but, on the 27th of April, a French artilleryman, who had fallen overboard while disembarking at Point-aux-Trembles, was rescued by the British from a piece of floating ice to which he clung, and gave information of the approach of the French in force. He estimated the army at about twelve thousand, and it was to be supported by a fleet from France, besides the frigates which had escaped up the river, and one which had wintered at Gaspé. Murray acted promptly on this information, and during the day succeeded in effecting the safe retreat of all his advanced guards at Cape Rouge and other points, with the loss of only two men. By day-break on the 28th, DeLévis had taken possession of the Plains of Abraham, and had covered the cove where Wolfe had successfully landed his men, and

where the vessels bearing DeLévis' siege guns and ammunition had been ordered to rendezvous. No sooner had Murray collected all his forces in the city than he determined on a sortie of the whole garrison on the advancing French before they had time to intrench. This determination seems almost unaccountable when we consider that death and disease had so decimated his troops that he had scarcely three thousand five hundred men available, and when he marched out on the morning of the 28th he left only about one hundred men to garrison the city. He had with him, however, twenty field pieces, while the French were only able to get four into action.

7.—About nine o'clock Murray commenced his forward movement, and DeLévis could scarcely believe that he seriously contemplated attacking such superior numbers. The army of the French had been marching nearly all the previous night, which had been very rainy, and were just halted to rest and clean their arms, when Murray appeared and, endeavoring to take advantage of the unprepared state of the French, pushed forward so rapidly that DeLévis' right was thrown into temporary confusion and forced slightly back by the British light troops, who, however, advancing too far, got in front of their own artillery and rendered it useless for a while. The success, however, was but momentary; the French grenadiers speedily rallied, and with their supports drove back the English light troops. By this time DeLévis had got his army into line of battle, and an obstinate struggle of nearly two hours' duration ensued. The English artillery committed great havoc, and materially thinned the French ranks; but their steadiness, rapid and deadly firing, and superior numbers, at length prevailed. The British left broke and fled; the right was thrown into confusion, and Murray was forced to retreat, leaving nearly all his guns and one hundred wounded in the hands of the enemy. The latter were given over to the fury of the Indians, and only twenty-eight were taken to hospital, the rest being killed and scalped by the savages. The British lost over three hundred killed, and about seven hundred wounded, being nearly one-third of the force which went into action. The loss to the French, although not so much in proportion, was also great, about eighteen hundred being placed *hors de com-*

Second battle on the Plains of Abraham. Last victory of the French.

Murray determines to attack DeLévis.

bat. The confusion of the English was so great that the ramparts were left unmanned and the gates open for some time; and Knox says that had the French continued the pursuit into the city, it would, undoubtedly, have fallen into their hands; but DeLévis did not push his advantage, and Murray had time to repair his error in risking a battle by making preparations for a vigorous resistance to the siege which DeLévis at once instituted. This was the last victory gained by the French in Canada, and was one of the most bloody battles of the whole war.

8.—If Murray was incautious in venturing to attack a superior force, he atoned for it by his active preparations for a vigorous resistance. On the evening of the 28th he issued a general order to the troops in which he said: "Although the action of the morning has not been favorable to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, our affairs are not so discouraging as to deprive us of all hope. I know by experience the bravery of the soldiers under my command, and I am sure that they will strain every nerve to regain what has been lost. A fleet is expected, and reinforcements are already on the way. I ask the officers and soldiers to bear their fatigues with patience; and I beg that they will expose themselves with a good heart to all perils: it is a duty they owe their king and country, as well as to themselves." His garrison was now reduced to twenty-two hundred men; but they worked with a will to strengthen the fortifications, and even the wounded, who could walk on crutches, busied themselves making sand-bags and cartridges, while the soldiers' wives, of whom there were nearly five hundred, were of great assistance, attending to the wounded, and doing the cooking. So zealously did the men work that in a few days the works were all thoroughly strengthened, and one hundred and thirty-two guns mounted on the ramparts.

9.—DeLévis commenced operations on the evening of the 28th, beginning his parallels at eight hundred yards; but his progress was slow, and it was not until the 7th of May that he opened fire on the city, and then he had only thirteen guns and two mortars, which were so poorly supplied with ammunition that he could only afford to fire about twenty rounds from each during the twenty-

Siege of Quebec by the French.

four hours; besides which the distance from the walls made his shots of little effect, while Murray's numerous artillery played on his troops with great effect and almost silenced his fire. Still the main hope of both sides was in relief from sea; both generals expected aid from their mother countries, and they felt that whichever side received that assistance first would control the fate of Quebec. On the 9th of May, a frigate entered the fort without displaying any colors; the anxiety on both sides was intense, and every eye was fixed on the mysterious craft in hope and fear, until the English flag was run up, a salute fired, and all doubts dispelled. Captain Knox, in his Journal, thus describes the scene in Quebec: "Such were the hopes and fears of the soldiery, that we remained long in suspense, not daring to look fixedly in the fateful quarter; but soon were we convinced that the stranger was from Britain. Not but that some among us, willing to seem wiser than their neighbors, sought to cloud our joy by obstinately maintaining a contrary opinion; till all doubts were set at rest by the frigate saluting the city with twenty-one guns, and by her men launching a boat and making for the shore. No tongue can express the intensity of pleasure which pervaded the minds of the whole garrison at this time. Officers and soldiers both mounted the ramparts facing the French camp, and during an hour hurra'd continuously, throwing their hats up in the air! The city, the enemy's camp, the port, and the neighboring country for several miles around, resounded with our acclamations and the booming of our cannon; for the soldiers in the delirium of their joy, did not tire of salute-firing for a long time. In a word, it is impossible to give a proper notion of the exaltation of the time, to those who have not suffered the extremities of a siege, or to one who has not found himself, along with dear friends and brave fellow countrymen, exposed to the risk of a cruel death."

10.—Besiegers and besieged retained their relative positions for nearly another week; DeLévis still, "hoping against hope" that a French fleet might be on its way to Quebec; but on the fifteenth two more English frigates appeared, under command of Commodore Swainton; and on the following day the English fleet attacked the few French frigates and armed vessels above the city, and captured or

The siege raised. A last stand to be made at Montreal.

destroyed the whole of them. This was a death-blow to DeLévis' hopes; during the night of the 16th-17th, he hurriedly withdrew his army, leaving his artillery, baggage, etc., and retreated to the Jacques Cartier river. Murray pursued for a short distance, but only succeeded in capturing a few stragglers. The army of DeLévis melted away very quickly; the militia would not remain with him any longer, and nearly all of them returned to their homes, leaving only about fifteen hundred regulars, who were placed under the command of M. Dumas, and posted between Point-Aux-Trembles and the Jacques Cartier river to watch the movements of the British, while DeLévis himself repaired to Montreal, where the last stand was to be made. So ended the first and only siege of Quebec by the French; and the flag which then waved proudly before them has never since been displaced by that of any other nation. Murray turned to good account the retreat of DeLévis, and the numerous desertions of his militia, by issuing a second proclamation on the 22d of May, in which he briefly stated that the peaceful inhabitants would be fully protected, as well as those who at once laid down their arms, and remained neutral. He represented that France, with her fleet destroyed and her treasury empty, could give them no assistance; that the bills of exchange drawn during the preceding year, in redemption of the paper money of the colony, were yet unpaid, and likely to remain so, which must entail great loss to the colonists, which they could only avoid by adhering to a rich and powerful nation like the British; and concluded by promising the inhabitants that "if they withdrew themselves from the army of M. DeLévis, and gave it no assistance, further injury should not be done to their homes or growing crops, and that thus the evils of another famine would be averted." This proclamation was widely circulated, and had the effect of causing numbers to desert and swear allegiance to Great Britain; some copies even found their way to Montreal, which so exasperated DeLévis that he threatened to hang any person found with one in his possession. This threat, however, had little effect, and the unfortunate colonists speedily began to find out that they had had enough of robbery and misrule, and that they could enjoy more peace and liberty under the English than under the French flag.

11.—As this comprises all the actions which took place in the neighborhood of Quebec before the final capitulation of Canada, at Montreal, we will conclude this chapter by giving a non-combatant's report of the five years' war, which will, we think, prove interesting to our readers. It was written by a nun of the General Hospital, Quebec, to a religious community of the same order in France, and was first published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: "My very Reverend Mothers,—As our constitution requires us to consult the other establishments of our congregation in any difficulties that may occur, tending to impede the progress of our holy institution, it must also give you the same power, I imagine, when necessary to promote our edification. The simple narration, which I am about to give you, of what passed since the year 1755, when the English determined to use every effort to acquire this colony; the part we took, by the immense labors which were consequently imposed upon us, will be the subject. The General Hospital is situated in the outer limits of Quebec, about half a mile from the walls. The fire * from which our sisters in Quebec have lately suffered, having rendered it impossible for them to continue their charge of the sick, M. Bigot, the Intendant of the country, proposed that we should receive them in our hospital. We readily agreed so to do; being desirous of rendering service, and zealously fulfilling the duties of our calling, the sisters lost no time in entering upon the sacred work. His Majesty, attentive to the wants of his subjects, and being informed of the preparations making by the English, did not fail to forward succor to the country, consisting in numerous vessels laden with munitions of war and provisions, of which we were entirely destitute, and several regiments, who landed in a deplorable state, unfit for service, a great many men having died soon after. They were suffering from malignant fever. All the sick, officers and privates, were conveyed to our hospital, which was insufficient to contain them; we were therefore compelled to fill most parts of the building, even to the church, having obtained the permission of the

* The Hotel Dieu (Nunnery) had been recently destroyed by fire, communicated by an incendiary.

late Bishop Pontbriant, our illustrious prelate. He whose zeal and charity all must readily acknowledge, being desirous of partaking in the labors of the almoners, passed days and nights in ministering to the sick and dying, exposing his life in the midst of infection, which contributed materially to affect his health and to abridge his days. He had the misfortune to lose four of his almoners, who perished in a few days from the pestilential infection they inhaled in their attendance upon the sick. He ministered to them himself, and his charitable attentions were readily bestowed upon his flock generally. The heavy duties with which we were charged seemed to touch his noble heart; the loss of ten of our youngest nuns affected him most sensibly. In their last moments they were not without consolation, conscious of having done their duty. They prayed that God would be pleased to receive them as acceptable victims in appeasing His wrath; but this was only a small portion of the bitter cup of affliction prepared for us. The loss deprived us of the power to attend to all the calls upon us, arising from our numerous patients. The Bishop caused ten nuns to come to our assistance from the Hotel Dieu of Quebec, who, full of a sense of their duty, really edified us by their exertions and indefatigable zeal in attending day and night upon the sick. Our gratitude towards their community increased from day to day. The poverty of our establishments did not admit of our assisting them in their distress as we desired, their house having been destroyed by fire. Let us now, dear mothers, endeavor to give you some details of a war and captivity, which our sins have drawn upon us. Heaven, so far favorable to our supplications, preserved us on several occasions. The most Holy Virgin, patroness of this country, having baffled the efforts of the enemy, enabled our vessels to escape their vigilance, and the tempests and storms of the ocean. But, alas! want of sufficient gratitude deprived us of a continuation of her protection. Still, during the first attacks of our enemy, we continued to enjoy it; everywhere they appeared, they were beaten and repulsed with considerable loss. The taking of Fort St. George and several others, of which they were deprived, are proofs. The victories we obtained at Belle Rivière and at Carillon were most glorious; our warriors returned crowned with

laurels. They probably did not return thanks to the God of armies, to whom they were indebted for success, as it was miraculous; their small numbers, without heavenly aid, could not so completely have accomplished it. Thereupon the enemy, despairing of vanquishing us, ashamed to retreat, determined to fit out a formidable fleet, armed with all the artillery that the infernal regions could supply for the destruction of human kind. They displayed the English flag in the harbor of Quebec on the 26th June, 1759. On the receipt of intelligence of their arrival, our troops and militia came down from above. Our generals left garrisons in the advanced posts, of which there are a great number above Montreal, in order to prevent the junction of their land forces, which it was understood were on the march. Our generals did not fail to occupy most points where the enemy might land; but they could not guard them all. The sickness suffered by our troops, lately from France, and the losses they sustained in two or three recent actions with the enemy, though victorious, weakened us considerably; and it became necessary to abandon Point Levis, directly opposite to and commanding Quebec. The enemy soon occupied it, and constructed their batteries, which commenced firing on the 24th July, in a manner to excite the greatest alarm in our unfortunate communities of religious ladies. The Reverend Mother St. Helen, Superior of the Hospital, wrote to us the same day, supplicating admission into our house for herself and her sisters. Although we could not doubt that our building would be speedily filled with wounded from the siege, we received our dear sisters with open arms. The tears which we shed, and the tenderness exhibited towards them, made it evident that we were happy to share with them the little comfort that remained to us. We surrendered the rooms to them, and confined ourselves to our dormitories. We were not long before another dislodgment took place. Next day, at six o'clock in the evening, we beheld in our meadows the Reverend ladies of the Ursuline Convent, who, seized with fright, occasioned by the shot and shells, which had penetrated the walls of their dwelling, were hurrying towards our asylum. It became necessary to find place for upwards of thirty sisters, who were received with no less tenderness and affection than was exhibited to the

ladies of the Hospital. It now became necessary to ascertain how we should accommodate ourselves. On the arrival of the English fleet, all the families of distinction, merchants, etc., capable of maintaining themselves, were removed to Three Rivers and Montreal, thereby relieving the garrison during the siege. Several members of our families and others whom we could not refuse sought shelter with us, being at hand to succor their husbands and sons who might be wounded. As our house was beyond the range of the enemy's artillery, the poor people of the city did not fail to seek refuge there. All the outhouses, stables, barns, garrets, etc., were well filled. The only consolation we enjoyed was that of daily seeing our Bishop, though in a dying state, exhorting and encouraging us not to relax in our good works. He was induced to retire from his capital, his Palace and Cathedral being reduced to ashes. He would not quit his flock while any hope remained of saving them; he lived with the Curate at Charlesbourg, three miles from Quebec. He permitted the several almoners to celebrate mass in our choir, the church being occupied by the wounded. Most people of the neighborhood assisted at mass, so that we were extremely crowded. It was consolatory to us that we were enabled to have divine service during the siege, without interfering with the attentions to the sick and wounded. The only rest we partook of was during prayers, and still it was not without interruption from the noise of shells and shot, dreading every moment that they would be directed towards us. The red-hot shot and shells terrified those who attended the sick during the night. They had the affliction of witnessing the destruction of the houses of the citizens, many of our connections being immediately interested therein. During one night, upwards of fifty of the best houses in the Lower Town were destroyed. The vaults containing merchandise and many precious articles did not escape the effects of the artillery. During this dreadful conflagration, we could offer nothing but our tears and prayers at the foot of the altar at such moments as could be snatched from the necessary attention to the wounded. In addition to these misfortunes we had to contend with more than one enemy; famine, at all times inseparable from war, threatened to reduce us to the last extremity; upwards of six hundred persons

were in our building and vicinity, partaking of our small means of subsistence, supplied from the government stores, which were likely soon to be short of what was required for the troops. In the midst of this desolation, the Almighty, disposed to humble us, and to deprive us of our substance, which we had probably amassed contrary to His will and with too great avidity, still mercifully preserved our lives, which were daily perilled from the present state of the country. Our enemy, informed of our destitute condition, was satisfied with battering our walls, despairing of conquering us, except by starvation. The river was the only obstruction we could oppose to the enemy; it likewise interfered to prevent our attacking them. They remained long under our eyes, meditating a descent; finally they determined on landing at Beauport. Our army, always on the alert, being apprised by the advanced guard, immediately rushed to the spot, with that ardor natural to the French nation, without calculating upon the many causes likely to wrest the victory from their grasp. The enemy, more cautious in their proceedings, on observing our army, hesitated in landing all their forces. We drove them from our redoubts, of which they had obtained possession. They became overwhelmed, and left the field strewed with killed and wounded. This action alone, had it been properly managed, would have finally relieved us from this invasion. We must not, however, attribute the mismanagement solely to our generals; the Indian tribes, often essential to our support, became prejudicial to us on this occasion. The hideous yells of defiance tended to intimidate our foes, who, instead of meeting the onset, to which they had exposed themselves, precipitately retreated to their boats, and left us masters of the field. We charitably conveyed their wounded to our hospital, notwithstanding the fury and rage of the Indians, who, according to their cruel custom, sought to scalp them. Our army continued constantly ready to oppose the enemy. They dared not attempt a second landing; but ashamed of inaction they took to burning the country places. Under shelter of darkness, they moved their vessels about seven or eight leagues above Quebec. There they captured a great number of prisoners, including women and children, who had taken refuge in that quarter. Then again they experienced the valor of a small garrison of invalids,

commanded by an officer, having one arm only, placed there in charge of military stores. The enemy, after a severe struggle, succeeded in capturing them. After remaining in vain nearly three months at anchor in the port, they appeared disposed to retire, despairing of success; but the Almighty, whose intentions are beyond our penetration, and always just, having resolved to subdue us, inspired the English commander with the idea of making another attempt before his departure, which was done by surprise during the night. It was the intention, that night, to send supplies to a body of our troops forming an outpost on the heights near Quebec. A miserable deserter gave the information to the enemy, and persuaded them that it would be easy to surprise us, and pass their boats by using our countersign. They profited by the information, and the treasonable scheme succeeded. They landed on giving the password; our officer detected the deceit, but too late. He defended his post bravely with his small band, and was wounded. By this plan the enemy found themselves on the heights near the city. General DeMontcalm, without loss of time, marched at the head of his army; but having to proceed about half a league, the enemy had time to bring up their artillery, and to form for the reception of the French. Our leading battalions did not wait the arrival and formation of the other forces to support them, they rushed with their usual impetuosity on their enemies and killed a great number; but they were soon overcome by the artillery. They lost their general and a great number of officers.* Our loss was not equal to that of the enemy; but it was not the less serious. General DeMontcalm and his principal officers fell on the occasion. Several officers of the Canadian militia, fathers of families, shared the same fate. We witnessed the carnage from our windows. It was such a scene that charity triumphed, and caused us to forget self-preservation and the danger we were exposed to in the immediate presence of the enemy. We were in the midst of the dead and the dying, who were brought in to us by hundreds, many of them our close connections; it was necessary to smother our griefs and exert ourselves to relieve them. Loaded with the inmates of three

convents, and all the inhabitants of the neighboring suburbs, which the approach of the enemy caused to fly in this direction, you may judge of our terror and confusion. The enemy, masters of the field, and within a few paces of our house, exposed to the fury of the soldiers, we had reason to dread the worst. It was then that we experienced the truth of the words of Holy writ: 'He who places his trust in the Lord has nothing to fear.' But though not wanting in faith or hope, the approach of night greatly added to our fears. The three sisterhoods, with the exception of those who were dispersed over the house, prostrated themselves at the foot of the altar, to implore Divine mercy. The silence and consternation which prevailed was suddenly interrupted by loud and repeated knocks at our doors. Two young nuns, who were carrying broth to the sick, unavoidably happened to be near when the door was opened. The pallor and fright which overcame them touched the officer, and he prevented the guard from entering; he demanded the appearance of the Superiors, and desired them to assure us of protection; he said that part of the English force would *en tour* and take possession of the house, apprehending that our army, which was not distant, might return and attack them in their intrenchments—which would certainly have taken place had our troops been enabled to reassemble before the capitulation. Soon after we saw their army drawn up under our windows. The loss we had sustained the day before led us to fear, with reason, that our fate was decided, our people being unable to rally. General DeLévis, second in command, who became chief on the death of DeMontcalm, had set out, some days previous, with about three thousand men, to reinforce the upper posts, which were daily harassed by the enemy. The loss we had just sustained, and the departure of that force, determined the Marquis DeVaudreuil, Governor General of the Colony, to abandon Quebec, being no longer able to retain it. The enemy having formed their intrenchments and their camp near the principal gate, their fleet commanding the fort, it was impossible to convey succor to the garrison. M. DeRamezay, who commanded, with a feeble garrison, without provisions or munitions, held out to the last extremity. The principal inhabitants represented to him that they had readily sacrificed their property; but with regard

* The battle here referred to is the first battle on the Plains of Abraham, 13th September, 1759.

to their wives and children, they could not make up their minds to witness their massacre, in the event of the place being stormed; it was, therefore, necessary to determine on capitulation. The English readily accorded the articles demanded, religious toleration and civil advantages for the inhabitants. Happy in having acquired possession of a country, in which they had on several previous occasions failed, they were the most moderate of conquerors. We could not, without injustice, complain of the manner in which they treated us. However, their good treatment has not yet dried our tears. We do not shed them as did the good Hebrews near the waters of Babylon, we are still in the land of promise; but our Canticles will not again be heard until we can shake off this medley of nations, and until our temples are re-established; then we will celebrate, with the utmost gratitude, the merciful bounty of the Lord. After the capitulation of Quebec, all that remained of the families of distinction followed the French armies to Montreal. His Lordship the Bishop having no place to dwell in was compelled to follow their example. Before his departure he made all necessary arrangements in his diocese; he appointed M. Briand, Vicar-General, who is justly considered a godly man, and of such established merit that our enemies could not withhold their approbation, and, I may say, their veneration of him. He maintained his rights and those of his curates in such a manner as to meet with no obstacles from the English. The Vicar selected our house for his residence; beholding us charged with an infinite number of people, without resources, exposed to many evils, he did not consider us safe but under his own eyes. He was not mistaken; and in the end we were much indebted to him. The reduction of Quebec, on the 18th September, 1759, produced no tranquility for us, but rather increased our labors. The English generals came to our hospital and assured us of their protection, and at the same time requested us to take charge of their wounded and sick. Although we were near the seat of war, our establishment had nothing to fear, as the well understood rights of nations protected hospitals so situated; still they obliged us to lodge a guard of thirty men, and it was necessary to prepare food and bedding for them. On being relieved, they carried off many of the blankets, etc., the officer taking no measures to prevent them. Our greatest

misfortune was to hear their talking during divine service. The sisters from the other Convents determined to return to their former dwellings. It was very painful for us to part with them. Their long residence with us, and the esteem and affection created thereby, caused our separation to be most sensibly felt. The reverend Mother St. Helen, Superior, observing us overwhelmed with work, which was daily augmenting, left us twelve of her dear sisters, who were a great relief to us. Two of the Ursuline sisters were too weak to be removed, and they terminated their days with us. The fatigues and sickness they endured with much patience and resignation merited, I trust, an eternal reward. The departure of the dear sisters gave us no additional space, as it became necessary to place the sick of the English army in the same apartments. Let us now return to the French. Our generals, not finding their force sufficient to undertake the recovery of their losses, proceeded to the construction of a fort, about five leagues above Quebec, and left a garrison therein, capable of checking the enemy from penetrating into the country. They did not remain inactive, but were constantly on the alert, harassing the enemy. The English were not safe beyond the gates of Quebec. General Murray, the commander, of the place, on several occasions was near being made a prisoner, and would not have escaped if our people had been faithful. Prisoners were frequently made, which so irritated the commander, that he sent out detachments to pillage and burn the habitations of the country people. The desire to recover the country and to acquire glory was attended with great loss to our citizens. We heard of nothing but combats throughout the winter; the severity of the season had not the effect of making them lay down their arms. Wherever the enemy was observed, they were pursued without relaxation, which caused them to remark 'that they had never known a people more attached and faithful to their sovereign than the Canadians.' The English did not fail to require the oath of allegiance to their king; but, notwithstanding this forced obligation, which our people did not consider themselves bound to observe, they joined the flying camps of the French whenever an opportunity offered. The French forces did not spare the inhabitants of the country; they lived freely at the expense of those unfortunate

people. We suffered considerable loss in a seigneurie which we possessed below Quebec. The officer commanding seized on all our cattle, which were numerous, and wheat to subsist his troops. The purveyor rendered us no account of such seizures. Notwithstanding this loss, we were compelled to maintain upwards of three hundred wounded, sent to us after the battle of the 13th September. The stores of the French government, now in possession of the English, being exhausted, we were, therefore, obliged to have recourse to the enemy. They gave us flour and clothing. But how little suited was it for our unfortunate wounded! We had no wine or other comforts to afford them. Drained long since by the great numbers, nothing remained but goodwill. This, however, did not satisfy them. Our officers represented to the English commander that they were not accustomed to be treated in that manner by the King of France. The commander, piqued by this reproach, attached the blame to us, and required us to make a statement of what was necessary for the relief of these gentlemen, and then caused us to pay for it. We flattered ourselves that the French government, more just, would be proud to reimburse all our extra expenses, which were unavoidable at this time. The desire to obtain our rights and recover the country induced us to do our utmost in support of the cause. As we had, in our hospital, many French soldiers of the garrison of Quebec, and of the sufferers in the action of the 13th, they implored us, when their strength was re-established, to allow them to fly and join the army; we readily agreed to it, and furnished them with clothing and provisions, to enable them to accomplish their object, which drew upon us the most severe reproaches and menaces from the enemy. They threatened to allow us to die from starvation. As our house was still full of sick, the Grand-Vicar, who attended closely to our welfare, removed several of the almoners who contributed to embarrass us from the scarcity of provisions. He and the Reverend Mr. DeRigauville, our chaplain, administered to the sick, and attended to them in their last moments, night and day. We had at this time upwards of two hundred English, who occupied our dining-rooms and dormitories; and as many French in our infirmaries, leaving us merely one small room to retire into. There assembled, and

left to our reflections, we anticipated the worst. All communication with our friends being interrupted, we knew not what was passing in the upper parts. Our enemies, better informed, announced the approach of our army; the measures they adopted, and the additional fortifications they constructed in Quebec, supported by a strong garrison, caused us to dread the result of the struggle. On our side we had false prophets; women painting, in their imaginations, sieges without mortars or cannon; the town taken by assault. Nothing more was required to stir and animate those who were eager for the fray. As soon as the season appeared suitable for campaigning, our army followed the ice, scantily provided with provisions, and still less with artillery suited for a siege. Our generals did not doubt the valor of the troops; but they only flattered themselves with the prospect of success, in the event of the arrival of succor from France. In the expectation of their arrival, our army commenced their march; they arrived near Quebec on the 26th April. The 27th was employed in landing the few guns brought from Montreal. An artilleryman, in landing, fell on a loose piece of ice, which floated him directly opposite the city. The extraordinary conveyance attracted the attention of the sentinels; they notified the commander, who immediately sent relief to the artilleryman. He was brought before the commander and questioned. The poor man, seized with fright, after his dangerous escape, was quite unprepared for evasion; he candidly acknowledged that he was one of the French army, who were within two leagues of Quebec. He related how he had been transported down the river against his will. So far the march of the army had been secret. The secret being now developed, it appeared to us a bad omen—an event governed by a power beyond our reach or opposition. The English commander, General Murray, informed by this means, lost not a moment. He immediately withdrew a strong advanced post, stationed about a league from Quebec, with their cannon, and blew up the church of Ste Foy, which had served as a shelter for the troops; after which he summoned a council of war, and appeared to be alone of opinion that it was expedient to march out with a considerable portion of the garrison, and take up a strong position, establish his batteries, and there meet the enemy. The proposal

did not meet with the sanction of the majority, but, notwithstanding, he carried it into execution. Our army, ignorant of the information accidentally obtained by the garrison, continued their march. During the night of the 27th and 28th it rained incessantly. The heavens appeared to contend against us. The thunder and lightning, very rare at this season, seemed to be the forerunner of the shock to which our forces were about to be exposed. The rain falling in torrents, and the roads rendered impracticable by the melting of the snow, prevented their marching in good order. General de Bourglamaque, second in command, at the head of the leading battalion, came in sight of the enemy before forming his men. The enemy's artillery lost no time in opening a destructive fire upon them, which placed many *hors de combat*. The general was wounded and forced to retire. The main body of our troops, marines and militia, better acquainted with the roads, arrived in time to support a regiment which was near being cut to pieces, rather than retreat. The action then became most furious and general. The English having had the choice of position, possessed considerable advantage. Our army did not expect to find their foes drawn up in order of battle; they were consequently compelled to halt, and not finding the ground suitable for extending their lines, the first divisions had to bear the brunt of the fire. The main struggle took place near Quebec, on a height opposite our house. Not a shot was fired which did not resound in our ears. Judge, if possible, what must have been our situation; the interest of our country, and our close connections were amongst the combatants, producing a state of anguish it is impossible to paint. The Grand-Vicar, at present our Bishop, who suffered equally with us, exhorted us to bear the shock with resignation and submission to the decrees of the Almighty; after which he retired to the church, penetrated with the deepest affliction, and threw himself at the foot of the altar, where he poured forth his prayers, imploring with confidence that the Divine Ruler of events would be pleased to stay the deadly conflict, and spare the flock confided to his care. He then arose full of hope, in order to proceed to the field of battle, notwithstanding our remonstrances, which were not urged without reason, as he must be exposed to great danger. He was induced to proceed to the field because he

apprehended that there were not sufficient of the clergy on the spot to minister to the dying, who he believed were very numerous. Mr. de Rigauville, our chaplain, full of zeal, was desirous of following the Grand-Vicar. He was not without anxiety, his only brother and several of his nearest connections being in the army. He had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy turn their backs and fly. The engagement lasted two hours. The intrepidity and valor of the French and Canadians drove the enemy from their strong position, and followed them up under the guns of the city. We remained masters of the field, and of their cannon, and made many prisoners. The enemy retired within the walls, and dared not again venture out. The victory, however, was dearly bought, and caused many tears to flow. M. DeLévis, on approaching Quebec, assembled a council; it was proposed to blow up our house, fearing that it might be a rallying point for the enemy. But God was pleased to spare us and them; He opened their eyes, and convinced them that it was most essential to their purposes. The French commander directed us to dismiss all persons who had taken refuge in our establishment, as he looked to us as the only persons capable of taking charge of the wounded during the siege, about to be commenced. We did not fail to answer, that we would proceed to empty our house, with the exception of two hundred English sick, which it was not in our power to remove; but in other respects we were always ready to second his intentions, and to render all the service in our power. After the battle he sent us an officer with a French guard, which, however, did not free us from the English guard. It became necessary to find room for them. But this was but the prelude to what was yet to happen. It would require another pen than mine to depict the horrors which we were compelled to witness during twenty-four hours, which were occupied in the reception of the wounded; their cries and the lamentations of their friends were truly heart-rending. It required supernatural strength to bear the scenes. After having prepared upwards of five hundred beds, which were procured from the public stores, as many more were required. Our stables and barns were filled with these unfortunate men. It was very difficult to find time to attend to all. We had in our infirmaries seventy-two officers, thirty-

three of whom died. We saw nothing but amputation of legs and arms. To crown our distress there was a deficiency of linen; we were under the necessity of giving our sheets and our body linen. The French army did not fail to provide that article, but unfortunately, the vessel conveying their stores from Montreal was captured by the English. In this instance we were differently situated from what we were after the battle of the 13th September; we could not expect assistance from the religious ladies of the city; the English had taken possession of their establishments for the reception of their wounded, who were more numerous than the French. About twenty officers of the English army, who were left wounded on the field, were also brought to us. Reverend Mothers, as I give you this account, nearly from memory, of what passed under our eyes, and with a view to afford you the satisfaction of knowing that we sustained with fortitude, and in an edifying manner, the painful duties imposed upon us by our vocation, I will not undertake to relate to you all the particulars of the surrender of the country. I could do it but imperfectly, and from hearsay. I will merely say that the majority of the Canadians were disposed to perish rather than surrender; and that the small number of troops remaining were deficient of ammunition and provisions, and only surrendered in order to save the lives of the women and children, who are likely to be exposed to the greatest peril when towns are carried by assault. Alas! dear Mothers, it was a great misfortune for us that France could not send, in the spring, some vessels with provisions and munitions; we should still be under her dominion. She has lost a vast country and a faithful people, sincerely attached to their sovereign; a loss we must greatly deplore, on account of our religion, and the difference of the laws to which we must submit. We vainly flatter ourselves that peace may restore us to our rights."

CHAPTER LVII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE
VAUDREUIL.—(Continued.)

1. MURRAY'S ADVANCE ON MONTREAL.—2. AMHERST'S ADVANCE FROM OSWEGO.—3. THREE

ARMIES CONCENTRATED AROUND MONTREAL.
DEFENCELESS STATE OF THE CITY.—4. CAPITULATION OF THE WHOLE OF CANADA.—5. TERMS OF THE CAPITULATION.

1.—The three English frigates, whose arrival at Quebec had caused DeLévis to raise the siege, were followed by the remainder of Lord Colville's fleet; and early in ^{Murray's advance on Montreal.} July the reinforcements of land forces, under command of Lord Rollo, arrived. On the 14th of July, Murray left Quebec to join Amherst before Montreal. He had about twenty-five hundred men under his command, and the force ascended the St. Lawrence in thirty-two sailing vessels and about two hundred barges. He proceeded very leisurely up the river, subduing a few small posts on his way, and inducing the inhabitants, wherever practicable, to take the oath of allegiance. At Sorel he found M. DeBourlamaque, with about three thousand men, and, not deeming it advisable to attack him, awaited the arrival of some expected reinforcements. On their arrival he continued his way towards Montreal, DeBourlamaque abandoning Sorel and retreating. Numbers of the parishes gave in their submission; in one instance, at Boucherville, as many as four hundred coming to take the oath of allegiance at once. The repudiation by the French government of the bills of exchange drawn by Bigot had had a great effect on the French peasantry; they began at last to partially realize the system of robbery and coercion under which they had existed, and they were glad of almost any change. The clergy also, finding that the British were willing to deal leniently with them, maintain them in the possession of their properties, and guarantee a free exercise of their religion, began to bow to the inevitable, and displayed less animosity to the conquerors. Murray waited down the St. Lawrence until he was assured of the near approach of the other English forces converging towards Montreal, and then approached the Quebec gate of the city on the seventh of September, 1760.

2.—General Amherst assembled at Schenectady, and marched to Oswego, on the ninth of July, where he was joined by General Gage, and afterwards by Sir Wil- ^{Amherst's advance from Oswego.} liam Johnson, who was in command of about six hundred Iroquois, which num-

ber was subsequently increased to about thirteen hundred. From Oswego, Johnson opened negotiations with the Christian Iroquois, and other tribes which still remained friendly to the French, and induced them to abandon their allies, so that the French were entirely abandoned by the Indians. On the tenth of August, Amherst left Oswego at the head of four thousand regulars and six thousand militia, and invested the French fort at Ogdensburg (Fort DeLévis), on the nineteenth. M. Pouchol, the commandant, had a garrison of only a few hundred men, but he held out bravely for two days, when he was forced to surrender at discretion. Here Amherst showed both humanity and firmness. The Iroquois had intended, according to their custom, to massacre the French garrison; but Amherst, hearing of their intention, warned them that if they attempted any violence he would order his troops to attack them. They then sullenly threatened to return home unless allowed to destroy the garrison; but the days when the threat of desertion by the Indians could influence a British general were past, and Amherst not only consented to their leaving but cautioned them against any acts of violence on their return home, as he would most assuredly punish them if they committed any outrages. From Ogdensburg Amherst proceeded down the St. Lawrence, preferring to face the dangers of the rapids to the permitting an opportunity for the French army to escape—it being said that M. DeLévis intended to withdraw all his troops from Montreal to Detroit, and from thence retreat to Louisiana. He accomplished the descent of the St. Lawrence with the loss of sixty-four barges and eighty-eight men in the Cedar Rapids, and landed at Lachine, on the sixth of September, M. de la Corne, who commanded a small force there, retreating before him. On the same day he advanced to Montreal, nine miles distant.

3.—The third army, under Colonel Haviland, numbering about three thousand five hundred men, advanced by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River; M. DeBougainville retreating before him, and abandoning the Isle-aux-Noix, St. John's, Chambly and other posts. Haviland, therefore, arrived at Longueuil on the seventh of September, without having had to strike a blow. The three English armies, now concentrated on Mon-

Three armies concentrated round Montreal. Defenceless state of the city.

treil, numbered over sixteen thousand troops, well furnished with provisions and all munitions of war; while to oppose them DeVaudreuil had less than four thousand regular troops, and some militia, who were dissatisfied, dispirited, and wanted to go home. The whole were poorly armed, short of ammunition, and half-starved, hemmed in in a city which was incapable of defence. The defences of Montreal were of the most imperfect kind, and were never fit for more than repulsing the attacks of unorganized savages, without artillery. The surrounding wall was only about three feet thick, and had about a dozen guns mounted on it. The position was a desperate one, and is well described in a letter, written by a French officer shortly after the capitulation, part of which we transcribe. He says: "We were shut up in Montreal. Amherst's army appeared in sight of the side towards the Lachine gate, on the seventh of September, about three in the afternoon, and General Murray, with his army from Quebec, appeared two hours after at the opposite side of the town. Thus the black crisis was at hand for the fate of Canada. Montreal was noways susceptible of a defence. It was surrounded with walls, built with design only to preserve the inhabitants from the incursions of the Indians, little imagining at that time that it would become the theatre of a regular war, and that one day they would see formidable armies of regular, well-disciplined troops before its walls. We were, however, all pent up in that miserable, bad place (without provisions, a thousand times worse than a position in an open field), whose pitiful walls could not resist two hours' cannonade without being levelled to the ground, and where we would have been forced to surrender at discretion if the English had insisted upon it."

4.—On the night of the seventh, DeVaudreuil held a council of war, and it was unanimously agreed that, if terms of capitulation could be agreed to, it would be better to make no further resistance. M. DeBougainville was, therefore, sent, under a flag of truce, next morning, to General Amherst, to propose a truce of one month; this was at once rejected, and negotiations for a capitulation entered into. There were fifty-five articles altogether submitted to Amherst, to nearly all of which he agreed. One article refused was that

Capitulation of the whole of Canada.

the army should march out with all the honors of war, and its rejection so angered M. DeLévis that he requested to be allowed to retire to St. Helen's Island, with five hundred men, and continue the contest until he could make terms to please him. This DeVaudreuil refused to permit, and, in a written order, commanded the chevalier to make his troops lay down their arms, and submit to the capitulation. The terms for the capitulation of the whole of Canada were agreed to on the eighth, and signed on that day by DeVaudreuil and Amherst. The inhabitants were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, and undisturbed possession of all their property; the militia were allowed to disperse to their homes, and the regular troops—amounting to about four thousand—were sent to France. All the public officials, many of the aristocracy and adventurers, and a few servants returned to France at the same time: the colony could well spare the first three classes, and be all the better for it.

5.—Thus terminated French rule in Canada. The terms of capitulation were honorable to Amherst, and did no less credit to DeVaudreuil for endeavoring to obtain as many privileges as possible for his fellow-countrymen. We give the text of the articles of capitulation complete, reserving any remarks on the state of the country, the effect of the capitulation, etc., for another chapter. The paragraphs marked articles, are the propositions as originally submitted to Amherst by DeVaudreuil; those in quotation marks are the modifications, or refusals of Amherst.

Terms of the capitulation.

Articles of the capitulation between his Excellency General Amherst, commander-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's troops and forces in North America, and his Excellency the Marquis DeVaudreuil, grand croix of the royal and military order of St. Lewis, governor and lieutenant-general for the King in Canada.

ARTICLE I.—Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present capitulation, the English general shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the gates of the town of Montreal; and the English garrison shall not come into the place, until after the French troops have evacuated it.

“The whole garrison of Montreal must lay

down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war. Immediately after the signing of the present capitulation the king's troops shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards necessary to preserve good order in the town.”

ARTICLE II.—The troops and the militia, who are in garrison in the town of Montreal, shall go out with all the honors of war, six pieces of cannon, and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel, when the Marquis DeVaudreuil shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece. The same shall be granted to the garrison of Trois Rivières, as to the honors of war.

ARTICLE III.—The troops and militia, who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques Cartier, and in the island of St. Helen, and other forts, shall be treated in the same manner, and shall have the same honors; and these troops shall go to Montreal, or Trois Rivières, or Quebec, to be there embarked for the first seaport in France by the shortest way. The troops who are in our posts, situated on the frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other posts, shall enjoy the same honors, and be treated in the same manner.

“All these troops are not to serve during the present war, and shall likewise lay down their arms. The rest is granted.”

ARTICLE IV.—The militia after being come out of the above towns, forts, and posts, shall return to their homes, without being molested, on any pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms.

“Granted.”

ARTICLE V.—The troops who keep the field shall raise their camp, and march, drums beating, with their arms, baggage, and artillery, to join the garrison at Montreal, and shall be treated in every respect the same.

“These troops, as well as the others, must lay down their arms.”

ARTICLE VI.—The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and of his most Christian Majesty, soldiers, militia, or seamen, who shall have deserted, or left the service of their sovereign, and carried arms in North America, shall be, on both sides, pardoned for their crimes; they shall be, respectively, returned to their country; if not, each shall remain where he is, without being sought after or molested.

"Refused."

ARTICLE VII.—The magazines, the artillery, firelocks, sabres, ammunition of war, and, in general, everything that belongs to his most Christian Majesty, as well in the towns of Montreal and Trois Rivières as in the forts and posts mentioned in the third article, shall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the commissaries, who shall be appointed to receive the same in the name of his Britannic Majesty. Duplicates of the said inventories shall be given to the Marquis DeVaudreuil.

"This is everything that can be asked on this article."

ARTICLE VIII.—The officers, soldiers, militia, seamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds or sickness, as well in the hospital as in private houses, shall enjoy the privilege of the cartel, and be treated accordingly.

"The sick and the wounded shall be treated the same as our own people."

ARTICLE IX.—The English general shall engage to send back to their own homes the Indians who make part of his armies, immediately after the signing of the present capitulation. And in the meantime, in order to prevent all disorders on the parts of those who may not be gone away, the said general shall give safeguards to such persons who shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country.

"The first part refused. There never have been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order shall be preserved."

ARTICLE X.—His Britannic Majesty's general shall be answerable for all disorders on the part of his troops, and oblige them to pay the damages they may do, as well in the towns as in country.

"Answered by the preceding article."

ARTICLE XI.—The English general shall not oblige the Marquis DeVaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before the ———, and no person shall be lodged in his house till he is gone. The Chevalier Lévis, commander of the land forces, and of the colony troops, the engineers, officers of the artillery and commissary of war, shall also remain at Montreal, till the said day, and shall keep their lodgings there. The same shall be observed with regard to M. Bigot, Intendant, the commissaries of the marines, and writers, whom the said M. Bigot shall have occasion for, and no

person shall be lodged at the Intendant's house before he shall be gone.

"The Marquis DeVaudreuil, and all these gentlemen, shall be masters of their houses, and shall embark when the king's ships shall be ready to sail for Europe. And all possible conveniences shall be granted them."

ARTICLE XII.—The most convenient vessel that can be found shall be appointed to carry the Marquis DeVaudreuil, by the straightest passage, to the first seaport in France. The necessary accommodations shall be made for him, the Marquis DeVaudreuil, M. DeRigaud, Governor of Montreal, and suite of this general. This vessel shall be properly victualled at the expense of his Britannic Majesty, and the Marquis DeVaudreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being examined; and his equipage, plate, baggage, and also those of his suite.

"Granted; except the archives, which shall be necessary for the government of the country."

ARTICLE XIII.—If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis DeVaudreuil, news of peace should arrive, and that, by the treaty, Canada should remain to his most Christian Majesty, the Marquis DeVaudreuil shall return to Quebec or Montreal, everything shall return to its former state under the dominion of his most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall become null and of no effect.

"Whatever the king may have done on this subject, shall be obeyed."

ARTICLE XIV.—Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France the Chevalier DeLévis, the principal officers, and the staff of the land forces, the engineers, officers of artillery, and their suite. These vessels shall likewise be victualled, and the necessary accommodations provided in them. The said officers shall take with them their papers without being examined, and also their equipages and baggage. Such of the said officers as shall be married shall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who shall be also victualled.

"Granted, except that the Marquis DeVaudreuil, and all the officers, of whatever rank they may be, shall faithfully deliver up to us all charts and plans of the country."

ARTICLE XV.—A vessel shall also be appointed for the passage of M. Bigot, the Intendant, with his suite, in which vessel the proper accommodation

shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him; he shall likewise embark with him his papers, which shall not be examined, his equipages, plate, and baggage, and those of his suite. This vessel shall also be victualled as before mentioned.

“Granted, with the same reserve as in the preceding article.”

ARTICLE XVI.—The English general shall also order the necessary and most convenient vessels to carry to France M. DeLongueuil, Governor of Trois Rivières, the staff of the Colony, and the commissary of the marines; they shall embark therein their families, servants, baggage, and equipages; and they shall be properly victualled during the passage, at the expense of his Britannic Majesty.

“Granted.”

ARTICLE XVII.—The officers and soldiers, as well of the land forces as of the Colony, and also the marine officers and seamen, who are in the Colony, shall be likewise embarked for France, and sufficient and convenient vessels shall be appointed for them. The land and sea officers who shall be married shall take with them their families, and all of them shall have liberty to embark their servants and baggage. As to the soldiers and seamen, those who are married shall take with them their wives and children, and all of them shall embark their haversacks and baggage. These vessels shall be properly and sufficiently victualled at the expense of his Britannic Majesty.

“Granted.”

ARTICLE XVIII.—The officers, soldiers, and all the followers of the troops, who shall have their baggage in the field, may send for it before they depart, without any hindrance or molestation.

“Granted.”

ARTICLE XIX.—An hospital ship shall be provided by the English General, for such of the wounded and sick officers, soldiers, and seamen, as shall be in a condition to be carried to France, and shall likewise be victualled at the expense of his Britannic Majesty. It shall be the same with regard to the other wounded and sick officers, soldiers, and sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered. They shall be at liberty to carry with them their wives, children, servants, and baggage; and the said soldiers and sailors shall not be solicited nor forced to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty.

“Granted.”

ARTICLE XX.—A commissary and one of the King's writers shall be left to take care of the hospitals, and of whatever may relate to the service of his most Christian Majesty.

“Granted.”

ARTICLE XXI.—The English general shall also provide ships for carrying to France the officers of the Supreme Council of Justice, Police, Admiralty, and all other officers, having commissions or brevets from his most Christian Majesty, for them, their families, servants, and equipages, as well as for the other officers; and they shall likewise be victualled at the expense of his Britannic Majesty. They shall, however, be at liberty to stay in the Colony, if they think proper, to settle their affairs, or to withdraw to France, whenever they think fit.

“Granted; but, if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered to us.”

ARTICLE XXII.—If there are any military officers whose affairs should require their presence in the Colony till next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it, after having obtained the permission of the Marquis DeVaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war.

“All those whose private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who shall have the Marquis DeVaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.”

ARTICLE XXIII.—The commissary for the king's provisions shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to answer the debts he has contracted in the Colony, on account of what he has furnished; but, if he should prefer to go to France this year, he shall be obliged to leave till next year a person to transact his business. This private person shall preserve, and have liberty to carry off all his papers, without being inspected. His clerks shall have leave to stay in the Colony, or go to France; and, in this last case, a passage and subsistence shall be allowed them on board the ships of his Britannic Majesty, for them, their families, and their baggage.

“Granted.”

ARTICLE XXIV.—The provisions, and other kinds of stores which shall be found in the magazines of the commissary, as well in the town of Montreal, and of Trois Rivières, as in the country, shall be

preserved to him, the said provisions belonging to him and not to the king, and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French or English.

"Everything that is actually in the magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the English commissary for the king's forces."

ARTICLE XXV.—A passage to France shall likewise be granted on board of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as victuals, to such officers of the India Company as shall be willing to go thither, and they shall take with them their families, servants, and baggage. The chief agent of the said Company, in case he should choose to go to France, shall be allowed to leave such persons as he shall think proper, till next year, to settle the affairs of the said Company, and to recover such sums as are due to them. The said chief agent shall keep possession of all the papers belonging to the said Company, and they shall not be liable to inspection.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XXVI.—The said Company shall be maintained in the property of the Ecarlatines and Castors, which they may have in the town of Montreal; they shall not be touched under any pretence whatever, and the necessary facilities shall be given to the chief agent, to send this year his castors to France, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, paying the freight on the same footing as the English would pay it.

"Granted, with regard to what may belong to the Company, or to private persons; but if his most Christian Majesty has any share in it, that must become the property of the king."

ARTICLE XXVII.—The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion shall subsist entire; in such manner that all the states and peoples of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English government, to pay to the priests the tithes and all the taxes they were used to pay under the government of his most Christian Majesty.

"Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion. The obligation of paying the tithes to the priests will depend on the king's pleasure."

ARTICLE XXVIII.—The chapter, priests, curates, and missionaries, shall continue with an entire liberty the exercise and functions of their cures in the parishes of the towns and countries.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XXIX.—The Grand-Vicars, named by the chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the Episcopal see, shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or country parishes, as they shall think proper. They shall at all times be free to visit in different parishes of the diocese, with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of death of the future Bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.

"Granted; except what regards the following article."

ARTICLE XXX.—If, by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the Bishop of the colony, who shall always be of the Roman communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman religion.

"Refused."

ARTICLE XXXI.—The Bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the meantime, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the town or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service, may be required of him.

"This article is comprised under the foregoing."

ARTICLE XXXII.—The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitution and privileges. They shall continue to observe their rules. They shall be exempted from lodging any military, and it shall be forbid to trouble them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries; safe-guards shall even be given them, if they desire them.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XXXIII.—The preceding articles shall likewise be executed with regard to the com-





munities of Jesuits and Recollets, and of the house of the priests of St. Sulpice at Montreal. This last, and the Jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain curacies and missions, as heretofore.

"Refused, till the king's pleasure be known."

ARTICLE XXXIV.—All the communities, and all the priests, shall preserve their moveables, the property and revenues of the seigniories, and other estates which they possess in the colony, of what nature soever they may be. And the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honors, and exemptions.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XXXV.—If the canons, priests, missionaries, the priests of the ceremony of the foreign missions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits, and the Recollets, choose to go to France, passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships; and they shall all have leave to sell, in whole or in part, the estates and moveables which they possess in the colonies, either to the French or to the English, without the least hindrance or obstacle from the British government. They may take with them, or send to France, the produce, of what nature soever it be, of the said goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the 26th article, and such of the said priests who choose to go this year shall be victualled during the passage at the expense of his Britannic Majesty; and shall take with them their baggage.

"They shall be masters to dispose of their estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all that belongs to them, to France."

ARTICLE XXXVI.—If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, merchants and other persons, who choose to retire to France, shall have leave to do so from the English general, who shall procure them a passage. And, nevertheless, if, from this time to that decision, any French or Canadian merchants, or other persons, shall desire to go to France, they shall likewise have leave from the English general. But the one and the other shall take with them their families, servants and baggage.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XXXVII.—The lords of manors, the military and civil officers, the Canadians, as well

in the town as in the country, the French settled or trading in the whole extent of the colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the entire peaceable property and possession of their goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and immoveable, merchandise, furs, and other effects, even their ships; they shall not be touched, nor the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatsoever. They shall have liberty to keep, let, or sell them, as well to the French as to the English, to take away the produce of them, in bills of exchange, furs, specie, or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the 26th article. They shall also have the furs which are in the posts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal. And for this purpose they shall have leave to send, this year or the next, canoes, fitted out, to fetch such of the said furs as shall have remained in those posts.

"Granted; as in the 26th article."

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada, on the side of Acadia, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and shall enjoy the same privileges.

"The king is to dispose of his ancient subjects; in the meantime they shall enjoy the same privileges as the Canadians."

ARTICLE XXXIX.—None of the Canadians, Acadians, or French, who are now in Canada, and on the frontiers of the colony, on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other places and posts of the countries above, the married and unmarried soldiers, remaining in Canada, shall be carried or transported into the English colonies, or to Old England, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.

"Granted; except with regard to the Acadians."

ARTICLE XL.—The savages or Indian allies of his most Christian Majesty shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit, if they choose to remain there; they shall not be molested on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms, and served his most Christian Majesty. They shall have, as well as the French, liberty of religion, and shall keep their missionaries. The actual Vicars General, and the Bishop, when the Episcopal see shall be filled, shall have leave to send them new missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.

"Granted; except the last article, which has been already refused."

ARTICLE XLI.—The French, Canadians, and Acadians, of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the colony, shall not be forced to take arms against his most Christian Majesty or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever. The British government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.

"They become subjects of the king."

ARTICLE XLII.—The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the custom of Paris, and the laws and usages established for this country; and they shall not be subject to any other imposts than those which were established under the French dominions.

"Answered by the preceding articles, and particularly by the last."

ARTICLE XLIII.—The papers of the government shall remain, without exception, in the power of the Marquis deVaudreuil, and shall go to France with him. These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatsoever.

"Granted; with the reserve already made."

ARTICLE XLIV.—The papers of the Intendency of the officers of comptroller of the marine, of the ancient and new treasurers of the king's magazines, of the office of the revenue, and forces of St. Maurice, shall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the Intendant, and they shall be embarked for France in the same vessel with him. These papers shall not be examined.

"The same as to this article."

ARTICLE XLV.—The registers, and other papers of the Supreme Council of Quebec, of the provost and admiralty of the same city, those of the royal jurisdictions of Trois Rivières and Montreal, those of the seigniorial jurisdictions of the colony; the minutes of the acts of the notaries of the towns and of the countries; and in general, the acts and other papers that may serve to prove the estates and fortunes of the citizens, shall remain in the colony, in the rolls of the jurisdictions on which these papers depend.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XLVI.—The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favors and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the countries above as in the interior of the colony.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XLVII.—The negroes and panis of both sexes shall remain, in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony, or to sell them; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

"Granted; except those who shall have been made prisoners."

ARTICLE XLVIII.—The Marquis DeVaudreuil, the general and staff officers of the land forces, the governors and staff officers of the different places of the colony; the military and civil officers, and all other persons who shall leave the colony, or who are already absent, shall have leave to name and appoint attorneys to act for them, and in their name, in the administration of their effects, moveable and immoveable, until the peace. And if, by the treaty between the two crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominion, these officers or other persons, or attorneys for them, shall have leave to sell their manors, houses and other estates, their moveables, and effects, etc., to carry away or send to France the produce, either in bills of exchange, specie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the 37th article.

"Granted."

ARTICLE XLIX.—The inhabitants and other persons who shall have suffered any damage in their goods, moveable or immoveable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their representations to the British government, who shall render them due justice, against the person to whom it shall belong.

"Granted."

ARTICLE L, and last. The present capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide* on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction, and any other pretence with regard to the preceding capitulations, and without making use of reprisals.

"Granted."

P. S.—ARTICLE LI.—The English general shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns; and that they do not, in any manner, insult the subjects of his most Christian Majesty.

"Care shall be taken that the Indians do not in-

sult any of the subjects of his most Christian Majesty."

ARTICLE LII.—The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall be embarked, at latest, fifteen days after the signing of the present capitulation.

"Answered by the 11th Article."

ARTICLE LIII.—The troops and other subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal, and other posts which they now occupy, till they shall be embarked for their departure; passports, however, shall be granted to those who shall want them for the different places of the colony to take care of their affairs.

"Granted."

ARTICLE LIV.—All the officers and soldiers of the troops in the service of France, who are prisoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent back, as soon as possible, to France, when their ransom or exchange shall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and if any of these officers have affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there.

"Granted."

ARTICLE LV.—As to the officers of the Militia, and the Acadians, who are prisoners in New England, they shall be sent back to their countries.

"Granted, except what regards the Acadians."

Done at Montreal, September 8th, 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

Done in the camp before Montreal, the 8th of September, 1760.

JEFF. AMHERST.

CHAPTER LVIII.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL MURRAY.

1. SURRENDER OF THE FRENCH FORTS IN THE WEST.—2. ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY RULE.
- 3. DEPARTURE OF MOST OF THE NOBLE FRENCH FAMILIES FROM CANADA.—4. TREATY OF PEACE. FORMAL CESSION OF CANADA TO BRITAIN.—5. HOW THE NEWS OF THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC WAS RECEIVED IN FRANCE.
- 6. THE FIRST NEWSPAPER IN CANADA.—7. THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC. CAPTURE OF THE WESTERN FORTS.—8. SIEGE OF DETROIT.

1.—Immediately after the capitulation of Montreal, Major Rogers was sent, with two hundred of his rangers, to take formal possession of the French forts in the West, which he did without opposition, the garrisons being sent to Quebec for transmission to France. While encamped one night at the head of Lake Erie, he was met by Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, who protested against the occupation of his country by the British. Rogers persuaded him not to interfere, and was allowed to proceed; but Pontiac was greatly exercised at the downfall of French authority in Canada, foreseeing that it was the forerunner of a war of extermination between the English and the Indians, and he formed a conspiracy for expelling the former from the West by simultaneously seizing all their forts, and massacring the inhabitants, a plot which he subsequently carried out, and of which we shall speak further on. The French now, after years of almost incessant warfare, found themselves once more enjoying the blessings of peace, and enabled to devote themselves to agriculture and commerce. Freed from the fear of English invasion, and protected from the onslaughts of the Indians, the colonists once more turned their attention to peaceful pursuits. The city and district of Quebec had suffered heavily during the contest; the city was in ruins, and the country laid waste; but, relieved from military service, they were enabled to give all their attention to their domestic affairs, and the people were soon happier and the country more prosperous than had been the case for many years.

2.—General Amherst provided a military government for the colony, until such time as a treaty of peace should decide whether or not Canada was to remain under British rule, and divided the colony into three districts, the same as had been done by the French. Murray was made Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec; Colonel Burton was placed in command of the Three Rivers district, and General Gage of that of Montreal; General Amherst acting as Governor General. The Lieutenant Governors were provided with Secretaries, M. Cramaché being appointed for Quebec, M. Bruyères for Three Rivers, and M. Mathurin for Montreal; and courts of justice were established, composed of Canadian officers; the right of appeal to the Commandant

being granted. This was a great improvement on the administration of justice—if it could be so called—under the French rule, and the people immediately felt the benefits arising from it. Under French rule a suspected person was seized and thrown into prison, was deprived of the assistance of friends or counsel, and questioned without being informed of the charge against him, or being confronted by his accuser; indeed he never saw him until just before judgment was pronounced, or, perhaps, when he was to be tortured, or executed. He was sworn to tell the truth, and thereby made to criminate himself, and in obstinate cases, recourse was had to the rack.* The great difference in the manner of administering justice is well described by the able Ragnal, who says, "To the impenetrably mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition succeeded a cool, rational and public trial; and a tribunal, dreadful, and accustomed to shed blood, was replaced by humane judges, more disposed to acknowledge innocence than to suppose criminality. The conquered people have been still more delighted, by finding the liberties of their persons secured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of those who governed them, they have blessed the beneficent hand that drew them from a state of slavery, to put them under the protection of just laws."

3.—A number of the noble families returned to France with the Marquis de Vaudreuil,† and more followed after the treaty of peace in 1763 formally ceded Canada to Great Britain. Their noble birth had allowed them no occupation but a military

Departure of most of the noble French families from Canada.

* "In 1752, Pierre Beaudoin dit Cumberland, with three others, soldiers in a corps called "Détachement des Troupes de la Marine," then in garrison in the town of Three Rivers, were accused of having set fire to the town, in different places, on the night of the 21st May. The crime of arson was proved by witnesses against Beaudoin, but he was placed on the rack in order to discover whether he had any accomplices. He suffered this punishment without making any declaration, and was finally executed. The punishment of the rack was frequently applied to criminals, and in one instance on a female, for having hidden the birth of an illegitimate child. In another instance, a negro female, for having set fire to her master's house, was condemned to be burnt at the stake, after having been hung on the gallows. The rack actually was in use in Canada at a very short period before the conquest."—*Christie's History of Lower Canada.*

† The Marquis de Vaudreuil was arrested on his return to France, and confined in the Bastille, together with Bigot and a number of other officers, charged with malfeasance in office. The trial took place on the 10th of December, 1763, and DeVaudreuil was acquitted, with five others. Bigot and the remainder were punished by fine and imprisonment, as already mentioned in our chapter on trade and commerce. DeVaudreuil died the next year. He returned to France a poor man, having spent his private fortune and his salary in maintaining the army during the latter portion of French domination.

life or government employment—for, by the French feudal law, a nobleman who engaged in trade forfeited his patent of nobility—and with the overthrow of French rule, they found, like Othello, their "occupation gone." Many of them were given positions in the French army, navy or public service, and some officers who remained at Tadousac received pensions. The number of noble families who came to Canada—except army and navy officers, who retired with their forces—is generally overestimated; and very few of them remained, the great majority selling their seignories and returning to France. Governor Carleton, during the debate on the Quebec act of 1774, when asked how many noble French families there were in the colony, said he could only speak from memory, and was not very sure; he thought the number was about one hundred and fifty. Maseres, however, who was Attorney General of the Province from 1766 to 1769, and who wrote in 1775, puts the number at only twenty-two, and he is, most probably, correct, as he had ample means of knowing. Of course a number of seignors remained, and, unfortunately, retained their feudal privileges, so that the peasant, although he received what may be called his personal and political liberty, still held his lands on feudal tenure from the seignors, and a long period elapsed before this burden was lifted from his shoulders.

4.—The war between Great Britain and France continued for three years after the capture of Quebec, but no more of its horrors were felt in this country, and under the temperate government of the English generals Canada began to recover from her prostration. Negotiations for peace were entered into on the 3d of November, 1762, at Fontainebleau, and ratified at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. France, whose navy was destroyed, whose army was almost annihilated, whose treasury had long been empty, and nearly all of whose colonies had been wrested from her, was glad to make "peace on any terms;" and was forced to submit to being shorn of nearly all her foreign possessions. By it France lost all her possessions in British North America, with the exception of the two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon (two small fishing stations near Newfoundland), several islands in the West Indies, and nearly all her possessions in Africa and Asia. Well might

Treaty of peace. Formal cession of Canada to Britain.

George III. exclaim "Never did England, nor I believe any other power in Europe, sign such a peace before." Public opinion in England was by no means unanimous, however, as to the expediency of retaining Canada, and efforts were made to retain Guadaloupe and restore Canada. Already the feeling was gaining ground that the English colonies were growing too powerful, and needed restraint to keep them to their allegiance, and the British traders said, "If Canada were annexed, the Americans will be at leisure to manufacture for themselves, and throw off their dependence on the mother country." Several pamphlets were published on the subject, in one of which the writer says, "A country of such vast resources, and so distant as North America, could never remain long subject to Great Britain. The acquisition of Canada would strengthen America to revolt. The islands, from this weakness, can never revolt; but if we acquire all Canada, we shall soon find North America itself too powerful and too populous to be governed by us at a distance." Pitt desired to retain both Guadaloupe and Canada, and when forced to choose between them, took the latter. Benjamin Franklin, who was in England at the time, strongly urged the retention of Canada, arguing that it would promote a perpetual peace in North America, that the varied interests of the thirteen colonies would prevent their ever uniting against the mother country, and that agriculture was so profitable, the colonists would not be likely to engage in manufactures, to the detriment of English industries. These counsels ultimately prevailed, and Canada was retained; and thirteen years afterwards the fears of those who were looked on as "croakers" at the time were realized by the declaration of the independence of those thirteen States, whose "varying interests" Franklin had said would prevent their ever uniting against the mother country, and Franklin was one of those who signed the solemn declaration of the severance of the bond of union between the parent State and her colonies.

5.—But if England was somewhat reluctant to receive Canada as an English colony, the French ministry were anxious enough to get rid of a country which had cost so much for such small returns. The expense of the colony had been enormous, and the small quantities of furs received

How the news of the capture of Quebec was received in France.

in return were as nothing compared to the thousands of lives and millions of treasure which the defence of the colony cost France. During the last twelve years of French domination, the debt incurred by France on account of Canada—taking the Intendant's bills of exchange and promissory notes alone, and leaving out of account the sums spent in France for raising and arming troops, fitting out fleets, &c., amounted to over sixty millions of dollars, one-half of which remained due and unpaid to the colonists at the time of the Conquest. The opposition in England to the permanent acquisition of Canada was based on the theory of the necessity for the maintenance of the balance of power—then a pet idea; and William Burke, a relative and friend of the great Irish orator and statesman, in a pamphlet on the subject, said, "a neighbor that keeps us in some awe, is not always the worst of neighbors. There should be a balance of power in America." But the French Ministry had no idea of supplying the balance, surrounded as the sensual Louis XV. was with profligate women and grasping, corrupt courtiers and cormorants, who sought only the gratification of their own passions and desires, it is not wonderful that the loss of Canada was not only looked on complaisantly, but even rejoiced in. When La Pompadour, the brazen mistress of Louis, heard of the fall of Quebec, she exclaimed joyfully, "thank heaven! at last the king will have a chance of sleeping in peace." Others rejoiced in the capitulation of Canada because in the humiliation of France they foresaw the downfall of a corrupt and profligate monarchy, and the uprising of the liberties of the people. already the faint, low murmurings of the gathering storm, which was to burst in all the wild madness of the Revolution and the Reign of Terror, were heard; and Voltaire celebrated the capture of Quebec, at his residence at Ferney, by a banquet, not so much as a rejoicing over a defeat to France, as a celebration of a victory of Liberty over Despotism. The following description of the entertainment given by Voltaire after the banquet, is thus described in the *London Public Advertiser*, November 28, 1759. "The banquet over, the company retired into an elegant private theatre, where was played, 'The Island Patriot,' a dramatic piece full of aspirations for liberty; in which Voltaire himself played a leading personage. This representation finished,

the slides of the scenery unclosed, and a spacious court, illuminated and ornamented with Indian trophies, met the spectator's view. Brilliant fireworks, accompanied by military music, concluded the fête. Among the pyrotechnic devices was 'The Star of St. George,' which emitted rockets; and underneath was represented the cataract of Niagara."

6.—After the conclusion of peace General Murray was continued as Governor of the Province of Quebec, and remained in office until 1768, when he was succeeded by General Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester. A royal proclamation issued 17th September, 1764, establishing a Court of King's Bench, a Court of Common Pleas and the English laws were ordered to be observed as the laws of the colony. This caused great dissatisfaction to the French who found themselves governed by laws they did not understand and tried in a language they did not comprehend. Constant complaints were made and petitions presented to the Home government which finally led to the passage of the Quebec Act of 1774, of which we shall speak further on. Amongst the most notable events of General Murray's administration was the introduction of printing into Quebec and the publication of the first newspaper. Under French rule no attempt was made to start a newspaper, and although Governor De laJonquière did at one time propose to import a printing press, it was only for the purpose of reproducing public documents, proclamations, &c., and the project was never carried out. Immediately after the formal cession of Canada, however, Messrs. William Brown and Thomas Gilmour, of Philadelphia, determined to start a newspaper in Quebec; and, as there was no type foundry in America, Mr. Gilmour went to England to obtain his plant, which was brought out in the spring of 1764, and on the 21st June, in that year, the first number of *The Quebec Gazette* made its appearance. It was a small four page sheet printed in both French and English and contained no editorials. It started with a subscription list of one hundred and fifty, and enjoyed a varied existence of upwards of one hundred years, its publication being suspended only about three years ago.

7.—When the treaty of peace which confirmed Canada to England was known to the Indians,

many of them were deeply offended at the extinction of French rule, fearing that its downfall would be followed by their own extermination. The most powerful chief of the time was Pontiac, chief of the Ottawa tribe, and he conceived the bold plan of seizing all the forts in the west, for which end he wrought the western tribes into a confederacy. So well did he succeed in his plans that seven of the small forts were attacked about the same time and captured, the garrisons being either killed or taken into captivity. The most remarkable capture, and the one showing most clearly the depth of Indian cunning, was that of Fort Michilimackinac (now Mackinaw), which was taken by the Ojibway Indians under their chief Minavavana on the anniversary of George the Third's birthday, 4th June, 1763. The fort was commanded by Captain Etherington, who had about thirty-five men under him, and on the king's birthday nearly all the garrison was outside the fort witnessing a great LaCrosse match between the Ojibway and Sac Indians. Several times the ball was played up to the gate of the fort, which was open, and at last it was thrown over the palisade, which was a preconcerted signal for the Indians to rush in, and drawing their tomahawks they attacked the unarmed garrison and speedily murdered nearly all the English in the fort. The Indians committed great excesses, and, according to Mr. Henry, an English trader who escaped, were even guilty of cannibalism. He says, "through an aperture which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled. The dying were writhing and shrieking under the insatiate knife and tomahawk, and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory."

8.—Pontiac in person made an attack on Detroit, and invested the fort for nearly fifteen months. It was his design to take the fort by surprise, and for this purpose he asked an audience with Major Gladwyn, the commander of the garrison, which was granted. About sixty chiefs attended, all of whom had arms concealed about them, and the

The conspiracy of Pontiac. Capture of the western forts.

The first newspaper in Canada.

Seize of Detroit.

design was to take the English by surprise, while professing friendship, and massacre them. The plot, however, failed; as Major Gladwyn had received information of it and kept his troops ready to resist any treachery. It is not very clear how Gladwyn got information of the plot; one account is that a Canadian woman, who visited the Indian village, saw the men filing off the barrels of their guns so that they could be made short enough to hide under their blankets, and spoke of the circumstance to some of the settlers, by whom it was reported to Gladwyn; but there is a tradition, which is generally credited, that the plot was revealed by an Ojibway girl named Catherine, who frequently visited the fort and had conceived a passion for Gladwyn. She heard of the proposed massacre, and under a pretext of bringing him a pair of slippers, visited Gladwyn on the evening before the day on which Pontiac had decided to ask for an audience, and revealed the plot. When Pontiac found that his plan was discovered he retired in anger, without attempting any outrage, but the next night the Indians crossed the river to the Detroit side and formally invested it. They murdered all the English in the vicinity, but maintained friendly relations with the French, who assisted them with provisions. The siege lasted about fifteen months, and the fort was finally relieved by Col. Bradstreet. During this siege Pontiac issued promissory notes, written on birch bark, to the French for his provisions, and after peace was declared he redeemed his notes.

9.—Two unsuccessful attempts were made to relieve Detroit, one under Lieut. Cayles, and the other under Captain Dalzell, but in both instances the expeditions fell into ambushes and were severely cut up. At last General Amherst sent Colonel Boquet with 500 Highlanders against the Indians, and he totally defeated them at a place called Bushey Run, near Fort Pitt, after a sanguinary battle of seven hours' duration. This signal defeat was the death-blow to Pontiac's conspiracy; his allies melted away from him, all the forts were recaptured, and the Indians were glad to conclude a treaty of peace with Sir William Johnson, at Niagara, in 1764, all the principal tribes being present. By this treaty the land on both sides of the Detroit River from Lake Erie to Lake Ste. Clair, and a strip four miles

Treaty of peace with the Indians.

wide on each side of the Niagara River were ceded to the English.

CHAPTER LIX.

GOVERNMENT OF GUY CARLETON.

1. STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN 1766.—2. THE PROCLAMATION OF 1763 NOT CARRIED OUT.—3. UNSATISFACTORY ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS.—4. MURRAY'S REPORT ON THE BRITISH EMIGRANTS.—5. MURRAY'S OPINION OF THE FRENCH COLONISTS.—6. DISGRACEFUL OUTRAGE IN MONTREAL.—7. GREAT FIRE IN MONTREAL.—8. APPOINTMENT OF CARLETON. HIS FIRST ACTS.—9. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH LAWS.—10. ATTORNEY-GENERAL THURLOW'S OPINION ON THE OLD LAWS.—11. MARRIOTT'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A CONSTITUTION FOR CANADA.—12. SOLICITOR-GENERAL WEDDERBURN'S OPINION.—13. THE QUEBEC ACT OF 1774. ITS PROVISIONS.—14. OPPOSITION TO THE ACT IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—15. PETITION OF THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION OF LONDON AGAINST THE ACT.—16. DISAPPROVAL OF THE ACT IN THE COLONIES.

1.—Peace had now fully thrown its sheltering mantle over poor war-worn Canada, and after their long and hard struggle the peasants found themselves once ^{State of the country in 1766.} more relieved from the constant dangers and fatigues of military life, and at liberty to resume their agricultural and other pursuits. They soon fell back into their accustomed vocations, and for the first time in many years the land began to bloom again with smiling vegetation; the cheerful song of the husbandman echoed in the air instead of the sharp crack of the carbine, and the peaceful lowing of the kine replaced the loud sounds of martial music. Once more the peasant could sit by his own fireside and rest, happy and contented after a good day's work, with his family around him, no anxious care or thought for absent ones to trouble him, instead of lying before the camp fire far from his home, with the ever-recurring remembrance of the absent

ones before him, and the constant dread that they may be in want and misery haunting him like a grim monster, and rendering the very food he ate tasteless and unpalatable, as he thought that meagre and poor as his own fare was, that of those dear ones left behind him was probably worse, if they were not indeed in danger of actual starvation. The six years which had elapsed since the capitulation of Montreal had done much to restore the former prosperity of Canada, and the conquered inhabitants were beginning to grow more content with the rule of their conquerors, who were more just and lenient than they had been led to expect; and the terms of the treaty of peace—the free exercise of their religion and possession of their property, had dispelled the fear, which had hung over them during the war, that if conquered they would be treated as the Acadians had been; and although they did not understand the laws under which they were governed, they, for the most part, appealed as little as possible to those laws, and were content to be allowed to worship God after their own fashion, and earn their living by honest labor.

2.—The proclamation of 1763, after the cession, had induced a certain amount of emigration, a number of settlers from the old country taking advantage of the large grants of land offered, to secure homes in the newly conquered country. These, for the most part, were not the most desirable class of immigrants, and were dissatisfied with the country and little disposed to commingle with the “new subjects,” as the French were called. One great cause of complaint, and one which it took ten years and much agitation to settle, was the non-performance of the promise of the royal proclamation that the province of Quebec should enjoy the same privileges as the New England colonies, and have a House of Assembly. This it was found impossible to fulfil immediately, as the Roman Catholics could not take the oaths required of them, and the English colonists were too few in number to assume the entire control of the province, besides which it would have been manifestly unjust to nominally adopt representative government, while only about four hundred of the inhabitants could take the oaths necessary, and the remaining seventy or eighty thousand would be practically disfranchised; the form of

The parliament of 1763 not carried out.

the government was, therefore, that of a Governor and Council—the latter consisting of the Lieutenant-Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers, the Attorney-General, and eight members appointed by the Governor, only one of whom, however, was a French Canadian. This style of government continued until the Quebec Act of 1774.

3.—The royal proclamation of 1763 introduced the civil and criminal laws of England, and Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas and Chancery were established, as we have already mentioned; but this system of things worked very badly, or to be more accurate, did not work at all. The French cared nothing for trial by jury, and could not comprehend how the English preferred to be tried and condemned by inexperienced laymen, rather than submit to the judgment of a judge who would, at all events, be “learned in the law,” even if he was not always just and impartial. Trial by jury was particularly distasteful to the French nobles, whose pride would not permit of their submitting to be tried by a jury composed of trades-people, peasants and others who were both mentally and socially greatly their inferiors. Then again there was the difficulty of language. The trials were all in English, for that was the law of the courts, and the parties interested did not, as a general thing, understand one word of the language in which they were tried, and could gain no information of what accusation was brought against them, or how they were defended, except through an interpreter. Another great fault in the state of things brought about by the royal proclamation was the unfitness of many of the officers of justice, jurors, etc., for the positions they held, and the fulfilment of the duties they had sworn to perform. Many of these appointments were sold, and the purchasers, determining to make as much money as possible out of their places, were most extortionate in the amount of fees charged by them.

Unsatisfactory administration of the laws.

4.—Governor Murray, on his return to England, in 1766, wrote a lengthy report on the condition of the colony, in which he does not draw a very flattering picture of the English emigrants of those days. He says: “There are nineteen Protestant families in the parishes; the rest of that persuasion (a few

Murray's report on the British emigrants.



HON. L. S. HUNTINGDON.



HON. DAVID CHRISTIE.



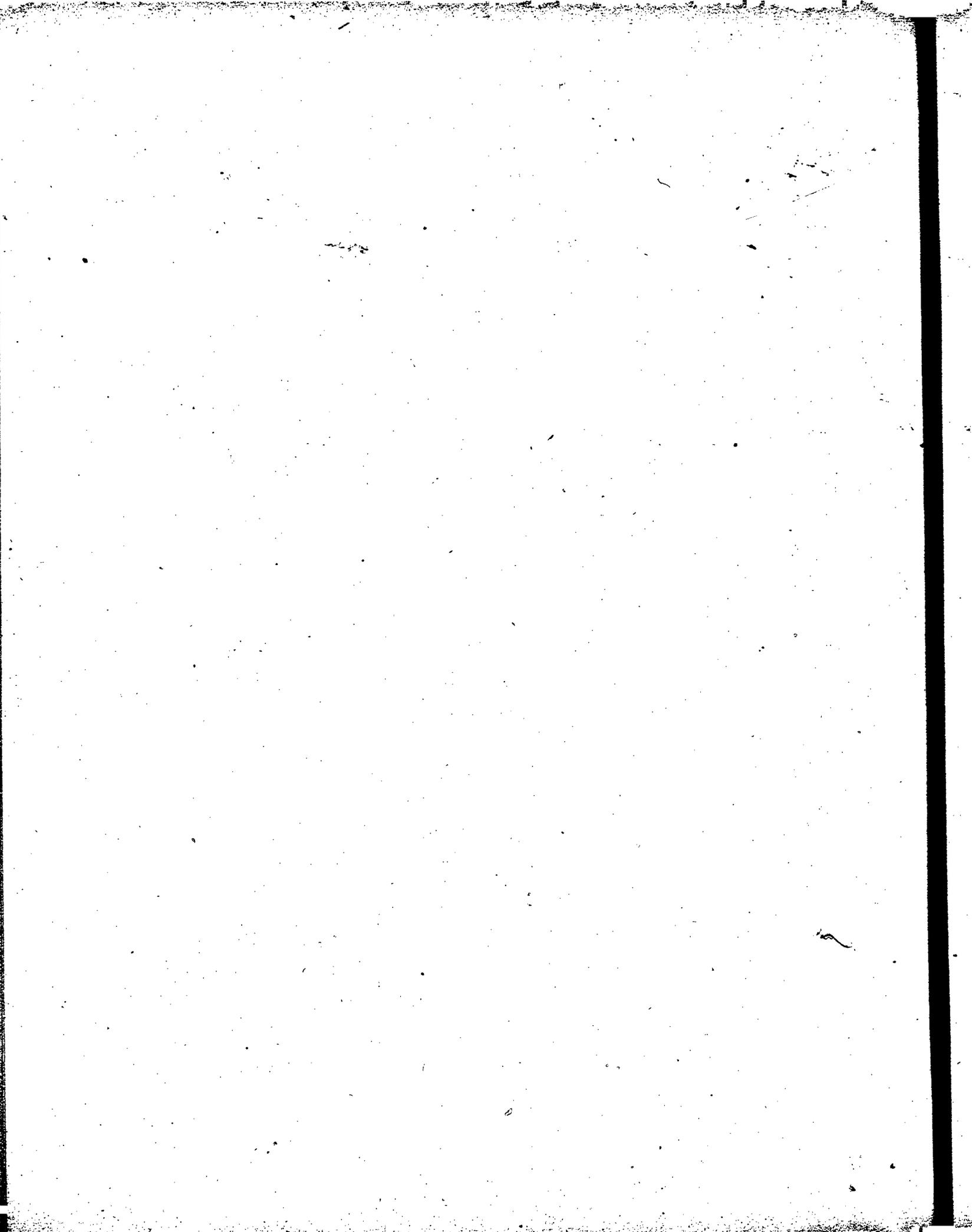
MAJOR-GENERAL W. O'GRADY HALY.



HON. JUDGE DUNKIN.



HON. JUDGE TASCHEREAU.



half-pay officers excepted) are traders, mechanics and publicans, who reside in the lower towns of Quebec and Montreal. Most of them were followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at the reduction of the troops. All have their fortunes to make, and I fear few are solicitous about the means when the end can be attained. I report them to be in general the most immoral collection of men I ever knew; of course, little calculated to make the new subjects enamored with our laws, religion and customs. and far less adapted to enforce those laws which are to govern. * * * The improper choice and numbers of the civil officers sent out from England increased the inquietudes of the colony. Instead of men of genius and untainted morals, the very reverse were appointed to the most important offices; and it was impossible to communicate, through them, those impressions of the dignity of government, by which alone mankind can be held together in society. The judge fixed upon to conciliate the minds of 75,000 foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain was taken from a jail, entirely ignorant of civil law and of the language of the people. The attorney-general, with regard to the language of the people, was not better qualified. The offices of secretary of the Province, register, clerk of the council, commissary of stores and provisions, provost-marshal, etc., were given by patent to men of interest in England, who let them out to the best bidders, and so little did they consider the capacity of their representatives, that not one of them understood the language of the natives."

5.—If, however, General Murray could find no better expression for the British colonists than

"the most immoral collection of men I ever knew," he had some kind words to say about the French Canadians, and while admitting their ignorance, acknowledges their good qualities. He says: "On the other hand, the Canadians, accustomed to arbitrary, and a sort of military government, are a frugal, industrious and moral race of men, who, from the just and mild treatment they met with from His Majesty's military officers, that ruled the country for four years, until the establishment of civil government, had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had to their conquerors. They consist of a *noblesse* who are nu-

Murray's opinion of the French colonists.

merous, and who pique themselves much upon the antiquity of their families, their own military glory, and that of their ancestors. These *noblesse* are seigniors of the whole country, and though not rich, are in a situation in that plentiful part of the world, where money is scarce, and luxury still unknown, to support their dignity. Their tenants, who pay only an annual quit-rent of about a dollar for one hundred acres, are at their ease, and comfortable. They have been accustomed to respect and obey their *noblesse*; their tenures being military in the feudal manner, they have shared with them the dangers of the field, and natural affection has been increased in proportion to the calamities which have been common to both, from the conquest of the country. As they have been taught to respect their superiors, and are not yet intoxicated with the abuse of liberty, they are shocked at the insults which their *noblesse* and the king's officers have received from the English traders and lawyers since the civil government took place. It is natural to suppose they are zealous of their religion. They are very ignorant: it was the policy of the French government to keep them so: few or none can read. Printing was never permitted in Canada till we got possession of it. Their veneration for the priesthood is in proportion to their ignorance: it will probably decrease as they become more enlightened.

6.—The military and the "old subjects," as the English emigrants styled themselves, did not always get on very well together, and a disgraceful attack on one of the ^{Disgraceful outrage in Montreal.} latter by some of the former occurred in Montreal in 1764. The troops had been lodged in private houses, and the rooms occupied by Captain Frazer becoming vacant through his promotion to the office of paymaster-general, by which quarters were provided for him at the public expense, the owners of the house let them to another gentleman. They were, however, claimed by a Captain Payne in the name and right of Captain Frazer, and taken forcible possession of by him. An appeal was made to the justices of the peace and they ordered Payne to give up the rooms; this he refused to do, and was arrested and imprisoned for a few days until released by order of the attorney-general. This action of the magistrates gave great offense to the military, and it was decided to punish one of them, Mr.

Thomas Walker, who was supposed to have been the instigator of the warrant of arrest. An old chronicler gives the following account of the outrage: "On Thursday, December 6th, the plot was carried into execution. At a quarter past nine, at night, as Mr. and Mrs. Walker were at supper, a sudden noise was heard at the door. Mrs. Walker upon hearing it, called out '*Entrez,*' supposing it to be some Canadians coming to him on business. Looking towards the door, Mrs. Walker saw a crowd of black faces. Her exclamation of surprise caused her husband to look round just as the ruffians entered, and as he rose from his seat he was struck with a sword, which made a wound five inches long on the forepart of his head. He endeavored to reach his bedroom, where his pistols were, but sunk down exhausted from loss of blood. One of the party endeavored to throw him into the fire, but the terror of such a death gave him fresh courage, and he prevented them carrying their plan into execution. Another one of the party knelt down and cut off his right ear; while a third one tried to cut his throat, but Mr. Walker prevented this by pressing his head down close to his shoulders, and protecting his neck with his hands. An alarm having been given, the assailants made off without being recognized. In consequence of the outrage, the city was thrown into the greatest possible alarm. The inhabitants went armed in the streets, and whenever a soldier entered a shop to purchase an article, he was closely watched, to prevent any outrage being committed." Large rewards were offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of this outrage. Mr. Walker offered £100; the Canadian authorities £200 and the king, when he heard of the attack, ordered an additional reward of £100; but the ruffians never were discovered. Several arrests were made, and on the 11th March, 1765, Captain Disney of the 44th Regiment was tried and honorably acquitted, after which it was thought the guilty parties would not be discovered, and further prosecutions were dropped.

7.—Montreal had by this time grown to be a town of considerable size, and boasted nearly five hundred houses when it was visited by a most destructive conflagration on the 18th May, 1765, and over one hundred houses were burned, rendering two hundred and fifteen families houseless. The fire

Great fire in Montreal.

was occasioned by some hot ashes being placed in the garret of a Mr. Livingstone in St. Paul street, and as there was a high wind and no fire engine, the flames spread with great rapidity, and their progress was only checked by pulling down a portion of the Hospital of the Sisters of the Congregation on Notre Dame Street, and some adjacent houses. A careful statement of the loss, and the number of families burned out, was prepared by order of the governor for transmission to England, and from it we learn that the damage done was as follows: value in buildings, £31,989; merchandise, £54,718; furniture and apparel, £25,261; cash, plate, etc., £4,814. Total, £116,773. The number of families rendered homeless were, St. Francois Street, 54; St. Paul Street, 87; Market Place (now Custom-House Square), 26; Hospital Street, 1; St. Louis Street, 15; St. Eloi, 6; St. Sacrament, 6; St. Nicholas, 1; St. Ann 1; St. Ann Suburbs, 10; Grey Sisters Hospital and houses near, 8; total, 215. The sufferers were in many instances utterly ruined, but the inhabitants aided them all in their power, and a subscription list, headed by His Majesty, George III., with £500, was opened in England and a large sum realized which enabled many to rebuild.

8.—Such was the condition of the Province of Quebec when Guy Carleton assumed the reins of government in 1766. Guy Carleton was connected with Canada and Canadian affairs for over thirty-five years, and played a conspicuous part in the early history of Quebec as a British Province. Of the skill and ability which he displayed, and his constant efforts for the good of the colony, we shall have occasion to speak more fully as our history progresses; but we may say here that Canada has never had a truer friend in the gubernatorial chair than Guy Carleton. He was descended from an ancient Irish family, and was born at Newry, Ireland, in 1722. He served with distinction under Wolfe, and was wounded at the capture of Quebec. One of the new governor's first acts was to settle the boundary line between the Provinces of Quebec and New York; for this purpose he, accompanied by a surveyor, met Governor Sir Henry Morse of that State, at Lake Champlain, in August, 1766, and after they had agreed on the boundary a stone was erected to mark the line, which stone remained until the Ashburton treaty

Appointment of Carleton. His first acts.

of 1842, when it was replaced by an iron monument. Carleton next turned his attention to internal affairs, and endeavored to reconcile the conflicting laws as much as possible. Although the civil law of England was nominally the law of Canada, it was found impossible to strictly enforce it, as it was not understood by the Canadians; and many of its provisions, particularly those relating to the laws of primogeniture, marriage and inheritance, were very repugnant to the French, who desired to retain the ancient laws they had been accustomed to and known as the "*Cot me de Paris*." Carleton favored this plan, and introduced as much French law as possible into the practice of the courts. Still the result was unsatisfactory as the judges were English and did not understand French law, and the French neither understood nor wanted to understand English law, and considerable confusion arose in the courts, so that there came to be a very general feeling in favor of a change which would give more general satisfaction. So matters remained until 1770, when Governor Carleton was called to England to give evidence on the subject, and M. Cramach , as the oldest member of the Executive Council, administered the government.

9.—As these differences between the English and French civil laws have caused much trouble in Canada,—and continue to cause trouble to the present day,—let us see wherein these differences lay.

Differences between the French and English laws.

The first great difference was in the tenure of land. The French law was the feudal law, and the seigniors were lords of the soil holding the peasantry in vassalage. This was, of course, opposed to the English idea of the rights of land-owners, and led to many complications. The feature of the feudal law which pressed most heavily on the British colonists was the right of the seignior to enforce the payment of *tools* and *rents*, which was one-twelfth of the purchase-money, over and above the sum agreed to be paid to the seller, and was levied by the seignior on all lands sold in his seignior. This not only applied to the land itself, but to all improvements made by the vassal, and pressed very heavily on the intending purchaser, who had not only to pay all the cost of improvements, but one-twelfth in addition. This tax retarded the growth of towns, and prevented much land from being cultivated. The next great point

of difference was in the law of inheritance. The English law of primogeniture was very repugnant to the French, by whose law the property of the father was divided amongst all the children; and the French system of dividing up their farms into ten or a dozen small lots for each child, did not at all agree with English ideas, although they were not very strongly wedded to the law of primogeniture, which was fast growing into disfavor in the other colonies. Another difference which the English found very objectionable was that in the marriage law. Under the French law a man by taking a wife virtually made her, her children, or, in the event of her having no children, her relations, a present of one-half of all he was worth, or might ever become possessed of. Of course the laws of *dower* could be avoided by a man making a contract *before* marriage, stating in what way he wished to dispose of his property after his death; but the English believed in the right of a man to dispose of his property as he pleased, either before or after marriage. Another right possessed by the woman was that of *communante* or partnership, which gave her half of the husband's personal property, and in the event of her dying first this did not revert to him, but went at once to the children, or in default of children to the wife's nearest relations, who were, perhaps, perfect strangers to the husband. But the law which was most obnoxious to the business spirit of the English was that relating to mortgages being executed without registration, so that when a purchaser bought a piece of property he could never tell whether it was not already mortgaged for as much, or more than it was worth. Under the French law a *habitant* could go to two or three notaries and execute as many mortgages, in secret, and then sell the property, and the first thing the unlucky purchaser would know about the former transactions would be the foreclosure of a mortgage on what he had considered his property. The cases of swindling in this way were not very numerous, but they were enough to make the British suspicious and distrustful in purchasing land, or in taking land as a security in business transactions. These differences in the laws, and the postponement of the fulfilment of the King's promise of a representative government tended to check British emigration, and many who had come here found their way to the neighboring

colonies. On the other hand, however, numbers of the French who had left at the conquest returned when they found how peaceably affairs were conducted, and large quantities of the Acadians who had been sent to the other colonies either came back to their old homes or settled in other parts of the province. The population of the colony increased, agriculture and commerce flourished; considerable exports of grain were made, and the settlements along the St. Lawrence were greatly extended. The trade was almost entirely in the hands of the British, nearly all the French merchants having left the colony.

10.—The question of granting a new constitution to the Province of Quebec had been raised in England as early as the year 1766;

Attorney-General
Thurlow's opinion
of the old laws.

but its consideration was postponed for four years, on account of the defeat of the Rockingham ministry. In 1770, the matter was again taken under consideration, and was referred to three law officers of the Crown, to report on—Attorney-General Thurlow, Solicitor-General Wedderburn, and Dr. Marriott, king's advocate. These gentlemen had all the reports on the administration of justice in Canada submitted to them, examined several witnesses, and took nearly three years before delivering separate reports. Attorney-General (afterwards lord) Thurlow favored the retention of the French laws, both civil and criminal. We have not space here to reproduce his arguments in favor of this course, but a few paragraphs extracted will show clearly his reasons. He said: "The Canadians seem to have been strictly entitled by the *ius gentium* to their property, as they possessed it upon the capitulation and treaty of peace, together with all its qualities and incidents, by tenure or otherwise, the more so to their personal liberty, for both which they were to expect Your Majesty's gracious protection. It seems a necessary consequence that all those laws by which that property was created, defined, and received, must be continued to them. To introduce any other, tends to confound and subvert rights, instead of supporting them. When certain forms of civil justice have long been established, people have had frequent occasions to feel themselves, and observe in others, the actual coercion of the law in matters of debt and other engagements in dealings, and also in the recompense for all sorts of wrongs. The force of these ex-

amples goes still further, and stamps an impression on the current opinion of men, and puts an actual check on their dealings; and those who never heard of the examples or the laws which produced them, yet acquire a kind of traditional knowledge of the legal effects and consequences of their transactions, sufficient, and withal, absolutely necessary, for the common affairs of private life. It is easy to imagine what infinite disturbance it would create, to introduce new and unknown measures of justice, doubt and uncertainty in each transaction, with attendant disappointment or loss for consequences. The same kind of observation applies with still greater force against a change of the criminal law, in proportion as the examples are more striking and the consequences more important. The general consternation which must follow upon the circumstance of being suddenly subjected to a new system of criminal law, cannot soon be appeased by the looseness or mildness of the code. From these observations, I draw as a consequence, that new subjects acquired by conquest have a right to expect from the benignity and justice of their conqueror the continuance of all their old laws, and they seem to have no less reason to expect it from his wisdom. It must, I think, be the interest of the conqueror to leave his new subjects in the utmost degree of private tranquillity and personal security, and in the fullest persuasion of their reality, without introducing needless occasion of complaint and displeasure and disrespect for their own sovereign."

11.—Marriott differed very widely from Thurlow in his opinion as to the necessary legislation needed for Canada. He opposed the establishment of a Legislative Assembly amongst an uneducated

Dr. Marriott's
recommendations
for a constitution
for Canada.

people; and recommended a government to consist of a governor and council, all Crown nominees, and all Protestants. In this he probably only echoed the sentiments of King George III., who was just then having trouble with his own Parliament, and the Legislative Assemblies of the New England colonies, and who was strongly averse to extending the rights of his colonists to govern themselves, while strongly asserting the royal prerogative. Marriott advocated the maintenance of English criminal law and practice; but suggested that the French language should be allowed in legal procedures, and that all public

acts should be published in both languages. He admitted that by the 36th article of capitulation the British were bound to respect the laws covering the tenure of property at that time; but suggested some changes in the *Coutume de Paris*, and its gradual assimilation to English law. He was in favor of checking Roman Catholicism as much as possible; and held that Roman Catholics in Canada should not be allowed any rights and privileges which Roman Catholics in Great Britain did not possess. He advocated the gradual extinction of all the religious communities, as the existing members died out; and the appropriation of the revenues of their estates as a common educational fund, for the support of schools of all denominations; and strongly advised an abolition of all street processions, and the observance of all *fêtes d'obligation*, and other Church holidays, except Good Friday and Christmas Day. He recommended the relegation of the estate of the Seminary of St. Sulpice to the Crown, and that the tithes should be levied as usual, but paid to the receiver-general, and by him distributed between the Protestant and Catholic clergy. "In fine," says Garneau, "Marriott's system was just that imposed on Ireland; for tyranny may be exercised in the name of God and religion, as well as on the plea of necessity."

12.—Solicitor-General Wedderburn advocated what may be styled a middle course. He was in favor of a mixed jurisprudence; parts of the French laws being retained, and parts of the English laws introduced, as a sort of compromise to the prejudices of both English and French settlers; but added, "for policy's sake, more attention is due to the Canadian than to British immigrants, not only because the former are more numerous, but because it is not for the interest of Britain than many of her natives should settle in Canada." With regard to the form of government and the toleration of the Roman Catholic religion, he said: "The government established after the treaty of 1763 was neither military nor civil; it evidently was not made to endure. A council ought to be formed with power to make ordinances for the proper government of the country, but not with power to impose taxes, a right which the British Parliament should be bound to reserve to itself alone. *Free exercise of the Catholic religion

Solicitor-General
Wedderburn's
opinion.

ought to be allowed; but in temporal things, no potency incompatible with the sovereignty of the king or the authority of his government, ought to be allowed to interpose between rulers and ruled—such as the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome. The parish clergy ought to be irremovable, and their collation to benefices rightly vested in the Crown. Confraternities of *religieux* ought to be abolished, but communities of *religieuses* had better be tolerated."

13.—Petitions were forwarded to the king in the winter of 1773, praying for the summoning of a Legislative Assembly, as promised by the royal proclamation of 1763, ^{The Quebec act of 1774. Its provisions.} and at the opening of parliament in 1774. The king, in his speech from the throne, intimated that some legislation on the subject of the government of Quebec would be needed that session. On the second of May the Earl of Dartmouth introduced into the House of Lords a bill "for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec." This bill, commonly known as the Québec Act, passed the House of Lords without discussion; but was strongly opposed in the House of Commons. This bill, in its preamble, repealed all portions of the royal proclamation of 1763, establishing civil government, and revoked the commissions of all judges and civil officers appointed under that proclamation. It then defined the boundaries of the province, which were considerably enlarged, and declared the Province of Quebec to contain all of the old French Province of Canada, Labrador, and the countries west of the Ohio and Mississippi. The exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was declared free, and the clergy maintained in their rights to tithes, but only from those of their own church—Protestants being exempt from dues to the Roman priesthood. All his majesty's subjects were secured in the full possession of their property, the only exception being the religious orders and communities.* The English criminal law was established in perpetuity; and the French civil law declared the code for all civil rights and rights of property, but subject to amendment by the governor and Legislative

* The religious orders and communities, however, have never to this day been disturbed in the possession of their property, the only exception being the Jesuits, whose order was abolished in Canada by a Papal decree in 1773, and their property in Quebec was occupied by the troops in 1776 as a barracks.

Council. This council was to be appointed by the Crown, and consist of not less than seventeen nor more than twenty-three members, and it was given power to pass ordinances for the peace, welfare and good government of the province. Its powers, however, were limited, and it was not allowed to impose any taxes other than those which any town or district may impose for building roads, or other local improvements. The council was only to meet between the first of January and the first of May, except in case of great necessity, when the governor may call an extra session, and no ordinance could be passed unless a majority of the council was present. No ordinance respecting religion, or inflicting greater punishment than a fine, or three months' imprisonment, was to have effect until approved of by the king; and all ordinances were to be submitted for royal assent within six months after their enactment, and if disallowed, were to become null from the time that notification of such disallowance was received in Quebec. All right of external taxation, or levying duties on imports or exports, was reserved to the British Crown.

14.—Such were the main provisions of this celebrated act, which caused great dissatisfaction in the British colonies and provoked much hostile criticism in England, both in and out of the House of Commons. The bill was opposed by Charles Fox, Edmund Burke, Charles Townsend, Jr., and others, chiefly on the ground of its unconstitutionality, and every effort was made to amend it, but without avail. Mr. Mockworth moved an amendment that in civil cases it should be at the option of the contending parties to have a trial by jury or not; but the amendment was voted down, although this optional system had been tried for some years and found to answer well. Mr. Townshend next tried an amendment limiting the time of the existence of the Legislative Council to seven years, after which it was to be succeeded by a Legislative Assembly, but it was voted down. The point in the bill which called forth most strenuous opposition was the establishment of French civil law, which deprived the subject of his right to the benefits of the act of *Habeas Corpus*, and Mr. Dempster moved an amendment that "the English laws of *habeas corpus*, and of bail in cases of commitment," should be introduced into the bill.

The amendment was lost, as was another motion by Mr. Dempster that the proceedings of the Legislature should be public, and the bill was finally passed on the 13th of June, by a vote of 56 to 20. In the House of Lords it was also opposed, Pitt (then Earl of Chatham) protesting most vigorously against it. He declared "it was a most cruel, oppressive and odious measure, tearing up justice and every good principle by the roots; that the whole of it appeared to him to be destructive of that liberty which ought to be the ground-work of every constitution; and that it would shake the affections and confidence of his majesty's subjects in England and Ireland, and finally lose him the hearts of all the Americans." The bill, however, passed by a vote of 26 to 7, and received the royal assent on the prorogation of parliament on the 22d of June, the king stating with regard to it that, "it was founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity; and would, he doubted not, have the best effect in quieting the minds and promoting the happiness of his Canadian subjects.

15.—The bill gave great dissatisfaction to the merchants of London, and the mayor, aldermen and council drew up a petition to the king praying him not to sign it; and as this petition embodies about all that can be said against the measure we give it entire. "We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, are exceedingly alarmed that a bill has passed your two houses of parliament, entitled an 'Act for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, in North America,' which we apprehend to be entirely subversive of the great fundamental principles of the Constitution of the British monarchy, as well as of the authority of various solemn acts of the Legislature. We beg leave to observe, that the English law, and that wonderful effort of human wisdom, the trial by jury, are not admitted by this bill in any civil cases, and the French law of Canada is imposed on all the inhabitants of that extensive Province, by which both the persons and properties of very many of your Majesty's subjects are rendered insecure and precarious. We humbly conceive that this bill, if passed into a law, will be contrary, not only with the compact entered into with the various

Opposition to the act in both Houses of Parliament.

Petition of the mayor and corporation of London against the act.

settlers of the reformed religion who were invited into the said Province under the sacred promise of enjoying the benefit of the laws of your realm of England, but likewise repugnant to your royal proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, for the speedy settlement of the said new government. That, consistent with the public faith, pledged by the said proclamation, your Majesty cannot erect and constitute courts of judicature and public justice for the hearing and determining all cases, as well civil as criminal, within the said Province, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England; nor can any laws, statutes, or ordinances, for the public peace, welfare, and good government of the said Province, be made, constituted or ordained, but according to the laws of this realm. That the Roman Catholic religion, which is known to be idolatrous and bloody, is established by this bill, and no legal provision is made for the free exercise of our reformed faith, nor the security of our Protestant fellow subjects of the Church of England, in the true worship of Almighty God, according to their consciences. That your Majesty's illustrious family was called to the throne of these kingdoms in consequence of the exclusion of the Roman Catholic ancient branch of the Stuart line, under the express stipulation that they should profess the Protestant religion, and according to the oath established by the sanction of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our great deliverer, King William the Third, your Majesty at your coronation has solemnly sworn that you would, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law. That although the term of imprisonment of the subject is limited to three months, the power of fining is left indefinite and unrestrained, by which the total ruin of the party may be effected by an enormous and excessive fine. That the whole legislative power of the Province is vested in persons to be wholly appointed by your Majesty, and removable at your pleasure, which we apprehend to be repugnant to the leading principles of this free constitution, by which alone your Majesty now holds or legally can hold, the Imperial crown of these realms. That the said bill was brought into Parliament, very late in the present session, and after the greater number of the members of the two

houses were retired into the country, so that it cannot fairly be presumed to be the sense of those parts of the Legislature. Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly supplicate your Majesty, as the guardian of the laws, liberty, and religion of your people, and of the great bulwark of the Protestant faith, that you will not give your royal assent to the said bill, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray," etc.

16.—The strongest feeling and excitement prevailed in England for some months after the passage of the act, and the papers were filled with little else than letters Disapproval of the act in the colonies. and remarks on it. In Quebec it did not meet a more favorable reception; the British settlers were indignant, and meetings were held in Quebec and Montreal at which strong resolutions were passed, and petitions to the king, the House of Lords and the Commons, praying for a repeal of the act were prepared, numerous signed, and forwarded to England. On May 17th, 1775, Lord Camden moved in the House of Lords a repeal of the Quebec Act, but the motion was defeated by a vote of 88 to 28; and a similar motion by Sir George Saville, in the Commons, on the 18th of May, was likewise defeated by a vote of 174 to 86. The feeling in the colony was very strong against the act; and as an evidence of how it was regarded, we may mention an incident which occurred in Montreal during the night of the 30th of April—1st May, 1775. George the III. had presented his bust to the city and it had been erected in one of the public squares. On the morning of the 1st of May it was found that during the night some party, or parties, had painted it black and placed a string of beads with a cross attached round its neck, and a mitre on its head, while under the bust was written, in French, "This is the Pope of Canada and the *Sot* of England." A reward of £100 was offered for the discovery of the persons concerned in the outrage, but it was never claimed. This head, attached to a plaster bust, is now in the Library of the Natural History Society, Montreal. The excitement in England and Canada on the passage of the act was, however, only a breeze compared to the storm of indignation which it raised in the thirteen other provinces when the news reached them; and there is no doubt but that the passage of this act was "the last drop" which overflowed

the cup of colonial patience, and led directly to the Declaration of Independence. But we shall reserve further remarks on this head for another chapter, contenting ourselves with saying here that it will be necessary now for us to take up again the History of the Anglo-American colonies, which we followed in chapters 31-3 (pages 163-71), down to the year 1690, and give a short account of the progress of those colonies and the causes which led to the Declaration of Independence. After this we shall follow the history of the Province of Quebec down to the time of the formation of Upper and Lower Canada, in 1791, and then bring the history of Acadia—which the importance of the events occurring in Canada has caused us to neglect somewhat latterly—down to the same point; and thereafter we shall continue the history of each Province separately until Confederation, when we will again unite them in the History of the Dominion.

CHAPTER LX.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

1. GENERAL VIEW OF THE BRITISH COLONIES.
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1.—It will be remembered that at the time of the treaty of Paris, 1763, by which Canada was formally ceded to Great Britain, there was considerable opposition to the permanent possession by England of the French colonies in America, it being held by many statesmen that a balance of

General view of the British colonies.

power was as much needed on this Continent as in Europe, and that the retention of Canada as a British Province would lead to the severance of the ties which bound the English colonies to the mother country. Nor was this fear without grounds. The English colonies might almost be said to have been entirely an outgrowth of persecution. Both Protestants and Catholics in turn had sought the friendly shores of America, for the purpose of enjoying that freedom of thought and liberty of conscience which they could not enjoy in Great Britain. At first the colonists had been bigoted and narrow-minded amongst themselves; many of the old country prejudices were imported and carefully nurtured, the New England Puritan was as great a bigot as the most enthusiastic Jesuit that ever lived, and many of the old laws of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut are as severe against persons professing any other than the Puritan faith, as any passed in England during the time of Catholic supremacy; but, gradually, the different colonies began to respect each other more and draw closer together in common accord, to withstand what they considered the injustice and ill-treatment of the mother country. Conflicting interests were made to agree more harmoniously, small rivalries and petty jealousies were laid aside for the time being, and a sort of offensive and defensive union formed, to resist the authority of the mother country.

2.—During the seventy years which elapsed between the time down to which we brought our last chapter on the Anglo-American colonies, 1690, and the capitulation of Canada in 1760, the colonies had increased wonderfully in numbers and strength. The flow of immigration had been steady; new provinces had been formed, population had greatly increased, and trade and commerce flourished. The liberal charters granted by the English Government had almost entirely vested the right of self-government in the people of the colonies, and the supremacy of the Sovereign was so little felt as to be almost nominal. Still, the very extent of the freedom they enjoyed made the colonists yearn for more, and rendered them exceedingly jealous of the slightest encroachments on their rights and privileges. The navigation laws, passed in the time of Cromwell, confirmed by Charles II., in 1660, and amended from time to time, gave great

Growth and prosperity of the colonies. The navigation laws.





cause for complaint. By these laws it was forbidden that the products of the colonies should be exported to any other country than England, or in any other than British ships, or ships built in the colonies, thus preventing the direct importation of many articles, such as tea, spices, sugar, etc., needed by the colonists; all these articles having first to go to England, and from thence be taken to the colonies. Trade between the different colonies was also restricted, and manufactures discouraged, it being forbidden to erect certain mills or to make certain specified articles. These laws, however, had been for many years greatly evaded; smuggling was very general; and many of the prominent Boston merchants owed their fortunes to their success in evading the Custom House officers.*

3.—Still, these laws would not, of themselves, have been enough to have caused the severance of the bonds of unity which held the colonies to the mother country; but many successive acts of the English Government caused a growing feeling of uneasiness and discontent in the colonies, which gradually developed into a desire for independence. One act which caused great dissatisfaction, and open remonstrance, was the restoration of Louisbourg to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. This redoubtable stronghold was captured by the New Englanders, under General Pepperell, in 1745—as already related by us—and its return to France, on the conclusion of peace, without consulting the colonies, gave great offense to the New Englanders, who were, however, greatly appeased by Great Britain refunding them the amount they had expended during the war; and they remained steadfast in their loyalty and entered heartily into the seven years' war, which ended with the cession of Canada. But with the accession of George III. came a change of policy towards her colonies on the part of England. That monarch was a staunch foe to representative government, and soon began to make the royal authority felt in the colonies in a manner which aroused the utmost indignation and eventuated in open rebellion.

* Sabine, in his *American Loyalists*, states that nearly all the large fortune of John Hancock, President of the First Revolutionary Congress at Philadelphia, and the first signer of the Declaration of Independence, was acquired by his uncle, by smuggling tea; and that there were suits against Hancock in the Admiralty Courts at the time of the Declaration, for the recovery of nearly half a million of dollars, for evasion of the revenue laws.

The war with France had exhausted the English treasury, and as that war had been partly caused by the abortive attempt to define the boundaries between New France and New England under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British Government determined to exercise its right to impose taxation on the colonies. This project was first introduced into Parliament in 1764 by Lord Grenville, who was then Prime Minister, at the personal instance of the King, and against his own judgment. The motion met with much opposition, and was severely criticised by the colonial press, which was fast becoming a power in the land; nevertheless the measure was pressed, and in March, 1765, the celebrated "Stamp Act" was passed, extending the provisions of the existing stamp law of England to the colonies. All newspapers, printed pamphlets, law documents, &c., were to have a government stamp affixed before publication.†

4.—The passage of this act called forth a storm of indignation in the colonies, especially in New England. The sturdy descendants of the stern old Puritans firmly declared against the principle of taxation without representation; they affirmed that they could not legally be taxed except by their own representatives; and said that if they permitted themselves to be taxed by a body in which they had no voice, they may be burdened to an extent heavier than they could bear. The Assembly of Virginia was the first to take formal action against the enforcement of the Stamp Act. In a series of resolutions, which were introduced by Patrick Henry, it was declared that the colonists were not bound to pay any taxes, except those imposed by their own representatives; and that any one who did not acknowledge this truth was a public enemy. It was in the discussion on these resolutions that Patrick Henry made use of an expression which

Indignation in the colonies at the passage of the act.

† The stamp tax on newspapers was first imposed in the tenth year of the reign of Queen Anne, and went into effect on the 19th July, 1712, the amount being a half-penny for each half sheet. This tax called forth the following bit of sarcasm from Dean Swift, which occurs in his *Journal to Stella*: "Do you know that Grub Street is dead and gone last week! No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it close the last fortnight, and published at least seven papers of my own, besides some of other peoples; but now every single half-sheet pays a half-penny to the Queen, * * * Have you seen the red stamp the papers are marked with? Methinks the stamping is worth a half-penny." The stamp tax on newspapers was increased from time to time, until in 1815 it reached the exorbitant amount of four pence (eight cents) on each paper, at which it remained until 1836, when it was reduced to a penny, and in 1855 was abolished altogether.

has become historical. Speaking of the fate of tyrants, he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III—" here he was interrupted by cries of "Treason! Treason!" but, continuing, with scarcely a perceptible pause, he said, "And let George III., I say, profit by those examples. If such a caution smell of treason, I would fain be informed wherein it consists." The imposition of the tax was most vigorously resisted. Several riots occurred in Boston, and bales of the stamped paper were burned, while traders, lawyers, etc., agreed to suspend business rather than use the stamps. The shipping in Philadelphia displayed flags at half-mast when the vessels bearing stamped paper arrived from England, and the muffled bells tolled all day. The stamp office in Boston was destroyed and the stamps burned. Deputations waited on all stamp agents, and most of them were so intimidated that they shut up shop; while those persons who favored the measure were burned in effigy. A congress of all the colonies was assembled in New York, and a petition to the English Parliament drawn up, protesting against its right to enforce taxation on an unrepresented people.

5.—The feeling of hostility to the act increased; "Sons of Liberty" were enrolled in all the colonies, and preparations made for an appeal

Repeal of the Stamp Act. Tax on tea. The Boston massacre.

to arms, while the merchants took a more practical, but equally effective mode of showing their discontent by ceasing their trade with Great Britain, in consequence of which many home manufactures began to spring up. The stamp act was not, however, long in existence. When the British Parliament met in 1766, the government found itself so surrounded by difficulties and discontent at home, that it was little disposed to prevent discord in the colonies; the obnoxious act was, therefore, repealed, Parliament, however, reserving to itself the right to tax the colonies if it saw fit. This allayed the excitement in the colonies for a while, but the following year Parliament exercised its right to tax the colonies by levying small taxes on tea, glass, papers and printers' colors. This act was even more objectionable than the stamp act, and met with as determined an opposition. Agitation continued in the press, and at public and private meetings, and the feeling of hostility to the parent government daily increased. The tax on glass,

paper and printers' colors was repealed, but that on tea retained, although it was not enforced. Massachusetts took the lead in opposition to the tax on tea, and in 1768 General Gage and four regiments were sent to Boston, professedly to keep the peace, but really to overawe the people. General Gage came with his troops, marching to martial music, with colors flying, through the streets of Boston on Sunday morning. Demanding quarters, and being refused, he took possession of the 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 excitement subsided. The soldiers engaged in this affair were tried for murder, but all were acquitted except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter.

6.—The feelings of distrust and discontent continued to spread, complaints and petitions were numerous and occasional skirmishes took place between the citizens and ^{The Boston Tea Party.} the military: but nothing of a serious nature took place until the session of Parliament of 1773, when the ministry under Lord North received the act of 1767 imposing a duty of three pence per pound on tea, and authorizing the East India Company to transport the article to the colonies. This action was partly caused by a desire to help the East India Company which had a large quantity of tea on hand, and as a matter of fact the duty levied was only one quarter that paid in England; but the colonists thought more about principle than tea, and the people were urged to discontinue the use of the article. Some of the cargoes sent out were returned; but in Boston the authorities refused clearances to the vessels which had brought out the tea, and insisted on its being landed. On the evening of 16th December, 1773, Faneuil Hall was crowded by Sons of Liberty and others opposed to the tea tax, and when the decision of the authorities was made known, a large party, disguised as Indians, proceeded to the harbor, boarded the three vessels which had the

tea on board, and threw three hundred and forty-two chests into the dock. This was known as the Boston tea party. There was no attempt made 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.

7.—The ministry was, of course, highly incensed at this act of open rebellion, and Lord North promptly introduced repressive acts in the Parliament of 1774, to punish the contumacious Bostonians. An act was passed closing the port of Boston, allowing no vessels to load or unload there, and so cutting of all the trade and commerce of the city; another act was passed abridging the liberties of Massachusetts and prohibiting meetings of the Assembly unless called by the Governor; while a third act granted immunity from criminal prosecution to all functionaries engaged in quelling riots or disturbances, which was intended to prevent the recurrence of a prosecution such as had taken place at the time of the Boston massacre. General Gage was appointed Governor of Massachusetts (the last Governor under British rule), and arrived in Boston 17th May, 1774. The New Englanders, however, were neither to be coerced nor intimidated; a Committee of the Assembly was appointed to convene a general meeting of representatives of all the States to be held at Philadelphia; and in response to this call the first "Continental Congress" was held in the city of Brotherly Love on 5th September, 1774, and remained in session until 26th October. Meanwhile the excitement continued to grow more and more intense; the passage of the Quebec act added fuel to the fire, and active but secret preparations for an appeal to arms were made. Minute men were enrolled—so called because they were sworn to be ready at a minute's notice—and stores of provisions were collected; while General Gage fearing from "the signs of the times" that the breach between the colonies and the parent State was too wide to be mended, save at the point of the bayonet, began to fortify Boston neck.

8.—Such was the condition of affairs when the Congress met at Philadelphia. Representatives were present from Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachu-

The port of Boston closed. Enrolling "minute" men.

First meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, 5th Sept. 1774.

setts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia. The only British colonies which did not send delegates to this Congress were Georgia, Nova Scotia, and Quebec. The Congress opened with a declaration of the rights of man, and a statement of the grievances of the colonies; it sustained Massachusetts in its resistance, denounced the presence of a standing army, disclaimed the recent acts of the English government, and approved of non-intercourse with the mother country. Independence was not openly advocated, the Congress thinking that the rights of the colonists could be upheld without shaking the connection with the mother country. Addresses were moved to the king, parliament, and to the people of Great Britain, in which, amongst other grievances, the Quebec act was specially dwelt on. From the latter address we extract the following passage, as showing the feeling with regard to this act: "Well aware that such hard attempts (to take our property from us—to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury—to seize our persons, and carry us for trial to Great Britain—to blockade our ports—to destroy our charters, and change our form of government) would occasion, and had already, occasioned great discontent in all the colonies, which might produce opposition to these measures, an act was passed 'to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment, such as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavoring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution;' and by another act, 'the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed,' as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to administration so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and, on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient, free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves. This was evidently the object of the act; and in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forbear complaining of it, as hostile to British America. Superadded to these convictions, we cannot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has

reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the royal proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country. They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned cannot claim the benefit of the *habeas corpus* act, that great bulwark and palladium of English liberty; nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion, through every part of the world."

9.—The winter of 1774-5 wore away in doubt, distrust, and uncertainty. Each side was now expecting a sudden call to arms, but as yet no regular conflict between the regular troops and the continentals, as the colonists now began to call themselves—but the first clash of arms, which was to be the signal for the uprising of three millions of people in a life or death struggle for liberty had not yet sounded, and the spring of 1775 opened with the situation, apparently, but little changed. But a great change had been quietly going on. The people had been arming and preparing for a fight for their very existence, and what they valued more even than that, the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as it was afterwards expressed in the Declaration of Independence. The fire was smouldering, and it needed but a little breeze to fan it into a flame. An occasion for an outbreak was not long wanting. Governor Gage 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 19th, 1775, for that purpose. The people started off messengers to rouse the minute-men, and a signal lantern on the steeple of North Church to call assistance from considerable distances. Lexington was one of the rallying points of the continental forces, and when the British 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 small

The first bloodshed.
The battle of
Lexington.

skirmish took place, 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 spilled 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 continentals, and about three hundred of the British fell before the remainder were rescued by reinforcements from Boston.

10.—Thus was the first blow for independence struck, and the news of the outbreak spread so rapidly that in less than a month after the battle of Lexington the whole country from Maine to Georgia was aroused; men were rushing to arms, companies were being organized, and the authority of the British Governor was nowhere recognized beyond the ranks of the regular troops. The second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia on the tenth of May, and a levy of twenty thousand men was ordered and General Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Continental army. An address was also moved to the king, which he refused to receive. On the same day that Congress met at Philadelphia, the second blow of the war was struck, but this time it was a bloodless victory. Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold gathered a large force of Vermont and New Hampshire militia, and crossing Lake Champlain during the night of the ninth of May, suddenly appeared before Ticonderoga on the morning of the tenth, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The commanding officer was in bed at the time, and, having scarcely one hundred men under him, was in no condition to make any resistance. When he asked in whose name he was called on to surrender, Ethan Allen replied, "In the name of the Lord Jehovah and the Continental Congress." By this *coup de main* the continentals captured over one hundred cannon and a large quantity of stores and ammunition, of which they stood greatly in need. Crown Point fell a few days later, and the only armed vessel on Lake Champlain was captured, and so "the gates of Canada" were in the hands of the enemy, and he was free to advance on Montreal if he thought proper to do so.

Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

11.—Events were now crowding fast on each other. Large bodies of militia were gathering about Boston, and Gage was in effect besieged. The continentals determined to risk an engagement, and the command was entrusted to General Prescott. The President of Harvard College prayed to 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 simultaneously every rifle vomited forth its messenger of death. The British, 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 patriots possessed a sufficiency of ammunition the whole force under Howe's command would have been insufficient to dislodge 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 patriots, having no weapons but their clubbed muskets, were compelled reluctantly to retire from the scene on which they had so gallantly distinguished themselves. This was

Battle of Bunker Hill

the bloodiest and most desperately contested battle of the whole war, and although the continentals had been driven from their position, they had given evidence of a coolness and courage which showed that they were no mean adversaries to be despised, as some members of the English Parliament seemed to think. Such, briefly, is a sketch of the causes which led to the American revolution, and some of the first acts in the drama which culminated in the Independence of the colonies, and the establishment of the greatest republic of modern times. Let us now return to Canada, and see what effect the uprising had there, and what preparations were made to repel the invaders.

CHAPTER LXI.

THE AMERICAN INVASION.

1. SATISFACTION OF THE FRENCH CANADIANS WITH THE QUEBEC ACT.—2. ADDRESS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS TO THE CANADIANS.—3. CARLETON SUMMONS THE FIRST COUNCIL. PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE.—4. APATHY OF THE PEOPLE. MONTGOMERY ADVANCES AGAINST ST. JOHNS.—5. SURRENDER OF CHAMBLY. DEFEAT AND CAPTURE OF ETHAN ALLEN.—6. CAPTURE OF MONTREAL. TERMS OF THE SURRENDER.

1.—Although the passing of the Quebec Act was most distasteful to the British colonists in Canada,—who had expected the royal promise of a legislative assembly to be fulfilled,—and greatly incensed the Americans, it proved wholly satisfactory to the French inhabitants of Quebec. Accustomed to despotic government in both Church and State, they knew little, and cared less, for civil and religious liberty. What they did care for was to have the free exercise of their religion, a continuance of their laws and the use of their language guaranteed to them; these they had got, and they felt thankful and grateful to their conquerors for it. The form of government was what they were accustomed to, and the forms of civil law were what they understood. They knew nothing of their rights to self-government, and

Satisfaction of French Canadian with the Quebec Act.

disliked what little they had seen of trial by jury ; indeed they were rather disposed to look suspiciously on legislative assemblies and trials by jury as English traps in which to catch the unwary, and were very glad to be without them. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the flattering addresses of the Continental Congress to them, fell meaninglessly on the ears of the few of these simple people who heard them ; and that although a few of the better educated undoubtedly longed for greater political freedom, and some of the most enthusiastic joined the continentals, or rendered them assistance,—more with some vague idea of again getting under the dominion of the King of France than from any wish to help the Americans,—yet the great bulk of the people either remained perfectly passive—sagely concluding that it was none of their business, and that the English could settle their troubles amongst themselves—or openly espoused the cause of their new sovereign and did him good and faithful service, far better than many of the British colonists did.

2.—To this active and passive loyalty of the Canadians, is almost undoubtedly due the fact that the Union Jack floats over the Citadel at Quebec to-day instead of the stars and stripes; and we

Address of the Continental Congress to the Canadians.

are indebted for the whole of this vast Dominion of ours to the "new subjects" who remained faithful to their allegiance when the "old subjects" forsook it. This loyalty of the Canadians was a sad disappointment to the Americans. Although they made the passage of the Quebec Act one of their grievances, and the first Congress in their addresses to the king, and the people of Great Britain, inveighed strongly against the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion—which was stigmatized as having "dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion, through every part of the world;" still that same Congress issued a most flattering address to the Canadians, inviting them to send delegates to the second Congress to be held on the 10th May, 1775. This address is very long and begins by saying, "When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we rejoiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account, &c." It then sets forth at length the wrongs which had been done to the Canadians by the English gov-

ernment by the passage of the Quebec Act, and thus depriving them of that amount of liberty they were entitled to as British subjects. On the subject of religion the address says: "We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in the cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Catholic and Protestant States being in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them." This address fell perfectly flat; very few of the French ever saw or heard of it, and but few of those that did paid any attention to it.

3.—The provisions of the Quebec Act were put into operation immediately after Governor Carleton's return to Canada in the fall of 1774. He had been promoted to the rank of major-general, and a Knight of the Order of the Bath for his services in Canada, and he at once appointed a council of twenty-three members, of whom eight were Catholics. This council had several meetings, which were interrupted by the outbreak of hostilities in the other Provinces, and the duties of defending the Province from the continentals, which devolved upon the governor. As soon as Carleton heard of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point he endeavored to take such measures as he could for the defence of the colony. His position was a peculiarly embarrassing one, and had there been a man of less courage, address and ability than Guy Carleton at the head of affairs, Canada would, probably, have been lost to the British Crown. He had only two regiments of regulars to defend the whole of Canada, the 7th and 26th, and they together numbered very little more than eight hundred men; the British colonists he knew were, for the most part, disaffected, and would gladly hail the arrival of the continentals, and of the loyalty of the newly conquered French subjects he could not be assured. He first called out the militia, knowing that he could depend on most of the seigniors, and holding that as Canada was still under Feudal laws, the peasants owed ser-

Carleton summons the first Council. Preparations for defence.

vice to the seigniors and the seigniors fealty to the king. But the peasants did not view the matter in this light. They had had fifteen years of peace now, and they enjoyed its comforts and blessings too much to consent to take up arms again if they could avoid it; they, therefore, denied the right of the seigniors to military service, and claimed that all that could be exacted from them was quit-rents and tithes. Some of the younger and more enthusiastic seigniors tried to use force, but without avail; the *habitans* said it was no quarrel of theirs, and they would not fight.

4.—Carleton next tried to call out the militia by proclamation, and proclaimed martial law on the 9th of June; but this had little or no effect, and as a last resort the governor appealed to Bishop De Briand to aid him, and that prelate addressed an encyclical letter to all the *curés* in the Province, calling on his flock to take up arms for the defence of their religion, urging that it would not be respected by the Puritans; but the flock was for once deaf to their shepherd's call, and but a very feeble response was made to the appeal of the bishop. Carleton next tried to get volunteers for the war by offering bounties of two hundred acres of land for every unmarried man; and two hundred and fifty for every married man, with fifty acres additional for each child, but even this failed to gain many recruits, and, as a final effort, endeavored to enlist the Iroquois on his side. This last effort was partially successful, and, at the instance of Sir William Johnson and others, a few of the chiefs consented to link their fortunes with the British. Meanwhile the continentals had not been idle. Congress had determined on a formal invasion of Canada, and having possession of "the gates" it was easy to concentrate a sufficient body of men to attack Montreal by way of the Richelieu. This force consisted of about two thousand men, under command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, and arrived at Isle-aux-Noix on 5th September, where it halted for a few days to receive reinforcements, and to distribute a second address to the Canadians, which Congress had prepared. This address excused the seizure of Ticonderoga and Crown Point as a military necessity, and said that the Americans came not as foes to the French, but as their friends, to liberate them from the British yoke. But

Apathy of the people. Montgomery advances against St. John's.

no effect, and as a last resort the governor appealed to Bishop De Briand to aid him, and that prelate

the French did not want to be liberated, and this address had about as little effect as the first one, or the proclamations of the governor and the letter of the bishop. The French evidently intended to remain neutral, and remain neutral the great bulk of them did during the whole war, there being nothing like a general rising in aid of either the British or Americans. On the 17th, Schuyler having returned to Albany, General Montgomery, who had assumed command, advanced to the attack of St. John's, while a small body was detached to reduce the fort at Chambly.

5.—Major Stopfort, who commanded at Chambly, surrendered the place after only thirty-six hours investment; and the Americans captured seventeen guns and a large quantity of ammunition, of which they were greatly in need.

Surrender of Chambly. Defeat and capture of Ethan Allen.

This cowardly act of the major of the 7th was of the greatest advantage to Montgomery, who brought the guns to bear on St. John's, and commenced a vigorous siege, in which he was assisted by many of the disaffected British and French of the Chambly district. Major Preston, of the 20th regiment, commanded the fort and made a gallant and spirited resistance, expecting to be relieved by Governor Carleton. Meanwhile a dash had been made on Montreal by Colonel Ethan Allen, and about two hundred men, who were led to suppose that the inhabitants were favorable to the American cause, and that no opposition would be met with. Allen reached Longue Pointe, about five miles below Montreal, where he took possession of some houses, and waited for the co-operation of Major Brown, and to the action of the inhabitants of Montreal. Carleton, on hearing that some Americans were posted at Longue Pointe, sent all his available force from Montreal to dislodge them. This force consisted of about two hundred and fifty militia and thirty men of the 26th regiment, under command of Major Carsden. Allen's force was surrounded, and after an engagement of half an hour, in which he had five men killed and ten wounded, he was forced to surrender. The British lost their commander, Major Carsden, two privates, and a highly respected merchant of Montreal, Mr. Alexander Patterson, who was serving as a volunteer. Ethan Allen and his men were shortly afterwards sent to England in the "Adamant," and were confined in Pendennis Castle.

6.—Carleton had in vain endeavored to get together a sufficient force to attempt to relieve St. John's; but towards the end of October he thought he could command sufficient strength to go to the assistance of the brave Major Preston, who was still gallantly holding out, although the fort was badly damaged and his men suffering severely. Colonel Maclean, with about 300 militia, was ordered up from Quebec to advance to the relief of St. John's by way of Sorel, while Carleton himself, with about six hundred men, crossed from Montreal to Longueuil; but Montgomery had foreseen this and posted a detachment with two six-pounders there, and Carleton was forced to retreat to Montreal. Maclean reached Sorel, and attempted to push on to St. John's; but his men deserted rapidly, and finding that Carleton had failed in his attempt to advance, he took what stores he could from Sorel and Three Rivers, and retreated with the remnant of his men towards Quebec. On the news of the failure of the attempts to relieve him reaching Major Preston, he surrendered St. John's on 31st October, after a gallant defence of forty-five days, and was allowed to march out with the honors of war. With St. John's fell the last chance of the British making any stand in the Montreal or Three Rivers districts, and the only hope left Carleton was to gather all his available force at Quebec, and endeavor to hold that fortress until the arrival of aid from England in the spring. Nearly all the regulars in Canada had surrendered at Chambly and St. John's, and Carleton hastily embarking the few that were left him—about one hundred—on a small vessel at Montreal, with what stores and ammunition he could take, left for Quebec, having destroyed all the stores he could not remove. He did not proceed far, however, for, fearing capture, he left the vessel at Lavaltrie, and disguised as a *habitan*, and piloted by Captain Joseph Bouchette, made his way in an open boat to Quebec, leaving General Prescott in charge of the vessel. It was well Carleton escaped when he did, for Prescott was stopped by the Americans next day and forced to surrender.

7.—Immediately after the fall of St. John's Montgomery despatched forces to Sorel and Three Rivers, to cut off, if possible, Carleton's retreat to Quebec, a design in which, as we have seen, he was

Fall of St. John's.
Carleton's flight to
Quebec.

Capture of Montreal.
Terms of the sur-
render.

very nearly successful. At the same time he advanced with the main body of his army on Montreal, where he arrived immediately after Carleton had departed. Without defences, and with no troops or munitions of war, there was nothing for Montreal but submission; still the inhabitants tried to get terms of capitulation, and a meeting was held at which the following articles were drawn up and signed by twelve of the leading inhabitants:

"1st. That the citizens and inhabitants of Montreal, as well individuals as religious orders and communities, without any exception, shall be maintained in the free possession and enjoyment of their rights, goods and effects, movable and immovable, of what nature soever they may be.

"2d. That the inhabitants, French and English, shall be maintained in the free exercise of their religion.

"3d. That trade in general, as well within the Province as in the Upper countries, and parts beyond the seas, shall be carried on freely as heretofore, and passports shall be granted for that purpose.

"4th. That passports shall be granted to those who may want them for the different parts of this Province, as elsewhere on their lawful affairs.

"5th. That the citizens and inhabitants of the town and suburbs of Montreal, shall not be compelled, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the mother country, nor to contribute in any manner towards carrying on the war against her.

"6th. That the citizens and inhabitants of the town and suburbs, or any other part of the country, who have taken up arms for the defence of this Province, and are taken prisoners, shall be set at liberty.

"7th. That Courts of Justice shall be established for the determination of property; and that the Judges of the said Courts shall be elected by the people.

"8th. That the inhabitants of the town shall not be subjected to lodge troops.

"9th. That no inhabitant of the country, or savages, shall be permitted to enter the town until the commandant shall have taken possession and provided for the security thereof."

To these requests Montgomery gave the following reply:

"I do hereby certify that the above articles were presented to me, to which I have given the following answers:

"The city of Montreal having neither ammunition, artillery, troops nor provisions; and having it not in their power to fulfil one article of the treaty, can claim no title to a capitulation.

"The continental arms have a generous disdain of every act of oppression and violence; they have come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security. The general, therefore, engages his honor to maintain in the peaceable enjoyment of their property of every kind, the individual and religious communities of the city of Montreal.

"The inhabitants, whether English, French, or others, shall be maintained in the free exercise of their religion.

"The present unhappy contention between Great Britain and her colonies, puts it out of his power to engage for a freedom of trade to the mother country; nor can he make a general promise of passports. As far as it consists with the safety of the troops and the public good, he should be happy to promote commerce; and for that purpose promises to grant passports to the Upper countries when required.

"The general hopes to see such a virtuous Provincial convention assembled as will enter with zeal into every measure that can contribute to set the civil and religious rights of this and her sister colonies on a permanent foundation. He promises for himself that he will not compel the inhabitants of the town to take up arms against the mother country or contribute towards the expenses of carrying on the present war.

"The continental army came into this Province for its protection; they therefore cannot consider its opposers as taking up arms for its defence.

"It is not in the general's power to engage for the return of prisoners. Motives of humanity will induce him to use his interest for their return to their families, provided it can be done without endangering the public safety. Speedy measures shall be taken for establishing Courts of Justice upon the most liberal plan, conformable to the British constitution.

"The inhabitants shall not be burdened with troops, but when necessity requires it, of which necessity, the general must be the judge.

"The inhabitants of the country, and savages, shall not enter the town till the guards are posted.

"To-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, the continental troops shall take possession of the Recollet

Gate. The proper officers must attend with the keys of all public stores, upon the quartermaster-general, at 9 o'clock, at the Recollet Gate.

"This engagement is understood and believed to be binding on any future commanding officer of the continental troops that may succeed me in this district.

"(Signed) RICHARD MONTGOMERY,

"Brigadier-General, Continental Army."

"MONTREAL, 12th November, 1775."

CHAPTER LXII.

GOVERNMENT OF SIR GUY CARLETON.— THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

1. MONTGOMERY'S CONCILIATORY CONDUCT TOWARDS THE INHABITANTS.—2. ARNOLD'S MARCH THROUGH THE WILDERNESS.—3. ARNOLD APPEARS ON THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.—4. THE DEFENSES OF QUEBEC.—5. CARLETON'S PROMPTITUDE. STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON.—6. QUEBEC FORMALLY INVESTED. DESTRUCTION OF THE INTENDANT'S PALACE.—7. A MONTH OF INACTIVITY.—8. MONTGOMERY DETERMINES ON A NIGHT ATTACK.—9. REPULSE OF THE ATTACK ON *Près-de-Ville*. DEATH OF MONTGOMERY.—10. BURIAL OF MONTGOMERY.—11. REPULSE OF ARNOLD'S ATTACK. SURRENDER OF THE ATTACKING PARTY.

1.—The success of the Americans had, so far, been wonderful. With the exception of St. Johns, they had taken possession of the fairest portion of Canada without opposition, and it appeared as if there was nothing to prevent the whole of the Province falling into their hands. They were temperate in their victory, treated the inhabitants with the utmost kindness, and sought to have them join the cause of the colonists. New circulars were issued and industriously distributed, and some recruits were gained; but the clergy exerted their power in favor of the British, and nothing

Montgomery's Conciliatory conduct towards the Inhabitants.

like a general rising took place. "The inhabitants of the three suburbs of Montreal" did present General Montgomery with a congratulatory address of welcome, on his taking possession of that city, in which they declared that they joined the Union cause, but their protestations were mostly confined to paper, and the Americans gained no permanent benefit from them. Montgomery did not remain long in Montreal, but followed Carleton rapidly towards Quebec, leaving General Wooster in command at Montreal. The towns along the river all submitted and were treated with the same consideration shown to the Montrealers. Montgomery well carried out the orders of Congress to be conciliatory towards the Canadians, and his own natural feelings of humanity also prompted him to treat, not only the inhabitants, but all the prisoners who fell into his hands, with the utmost kindness. That he did not induce more Canadians to join his standard was no fault of his, but was due to the influence of the clergy, and the conviction of the people that they would not fare as well as one of the states of the proposed Union—if the rebellion succeeded, which was doubtful—as they would as a British Province, now that the Quebec act was passed guaranteeing their religion and laws.

2.—While Montgomery was completing his successes in the Montreal district, the "Ancient Capital" was threatened from a new and unexpected quarter, in a manner, the very boldness of which, promised to crown it with success. About the same time that Montgomery appeared before St. John's, an expedition, numbering about eleven hundred men, under command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, set out from Boston with the intention of making a descent on Quebec by way of the Kennebec and Chaudière rivers. The path of the invaders lay through an almost trackless forest, and the numerous and terrible difficulties which had to be met and overcome, makes Arnold's "march through the wilderness" one of the most memorable feats of the revolutionary war. He embarked his small army on the Kennebec River on 22d September, in two hundred batteaux, and for six weeks fought his way against the obstacles of nature with a dogged determination which has seldom been equalled. Through the tangled forest, up a rapid stream, across desolate swamps, deserted by one third of his men, weary, footsore and

Arnold's march through the Wilderness.

reduced to the verge of starvation, Arnold's gallant little band reached the settlement of Sertignan, on the Chaudière, twenty-five miles from Quebec, on the fourth of November, and there obtained the relief they so much needed. Their boots were worn out, their clothes ragged and torn, and to such straits had they been reduced for food that they had been forced to eat some dogs they had with them, and even the leather which covered their cartridge boxes. Arnold, who had been a horse dealer and in that capacity frequently visited Quebec, had been selected by Washington on account of his courage, pluck, and endurance, and his conduct thoroughly justified the choice; afterwards he turned traitor to the Union cause, and agreed to deliver up West Point to Sir Henry Clinton, but the plot was discovered and Arnold only escaped execution by flight. His conduct towards the Canadians was the same as Montgomery's; Congress had ordered that they should be treated with the utmost consideration; put to no inconvenience, and liberally paid, for all that was required in the way of provisions, &c., and Arnold faithfully carried out his instructions.

3.—On the morning of the ninth of November, the inhabitants of Quebec were thrown into a state of consternation by the sudden appearance of a body of men on the heights of Levis, and speculation was for some time rife as to who they were and where they had come from. So well had the movement been concealed, and so thoroughly unexpected was an attack from that quarter, that scarcely anyone in Quebec, except Lt. Governor Cramahé, and those in his immediate confidence, knew of Arnold's approach. The Lieutenant Governor, however, had been kept informed of his enemy's movements since he emerged from the wilderness on 4th November, by some faithful scouts, and had taken the precaution of removing all the boats he could find to the Quebec side, so that when Arnold reached Levis he was disappointed in his design of crossing immediately and taking the city by surprise. He without delay set about to procure canoes, and succeeded in getting together about thirty, in which he crossed the river on the night of the thirteenth—evading the vigilance of the *Hunter* and *Lizard*, ships of war—and landed at the same spot where Wolfe had effected his landing sixteen years before. On the morning of the

Arnold appears on the Plains of Abraham.

fourteenth they appeared on the Plains of Abraham, and approached to within three hundred yards of the fortifications, where they gave three cheers, expecting that the city would capitulate immediately, as they had friends inside who had led them to believe that they would be received with open arms. Their reception, however, was warmer than they expected. Mr. James Thompson, who had charge of the fortifications, says; "At this juncture (the cheering), I was on Cape Diamond bastion, and levelled and fired a 24-pounder at them, which had the effect of making them disperse hastily and retire to Point-aux-Trembles."

4.—Mr. Thompson probably over-estimates the effect of his shot; but Arnold, foiled in his attempt to surprise the city, and disappointed at the lack of sympathy and co-operation he had so far met with from the Canadians, saw that it would be folly for him, with less than nine hundred men, most of whom were in bad health after their arduous march, and without artillery, to attempt to storm so well fortified a place as Quebec; he therefore deemed it prudent to fall back to Point-aux-Trembles and there await the coming of Montgomery, who he knew was on his way from Montreal. Meanwhile preparations for defence had been made. The task of putting the defences in order had been entrusted to Mr. James Thompson, who thus describes his work; "My first object was to secure stout spar timber for palisading a great extent of open ground between the gates called Palace and Hope, and again from Cape Diamond half-bastion, along the brow of the cape, towards the castle St. Louis. I began at Palace gate palisading, with loop-holes for musketry, and made a projection in the form of a bastion, as a defence for the line of pickets, in the gorge of which I erected a block-house, which made a good defence. While employed at this station of the works, a company of artificers arrived from Halifax, and another company from Newfoundland joined me soon after. The Halifax men I set to work at palisading the open ground on Cape Diamond, and framing and erecting a large block-house on the outside of Port St. Louis, to serve as a captain's nightly guard-house, in order to be prepared against a surprise, also a block-house on the cape, under Cape Diamond bastion; at the same time, a party was employed

The defences of Quebec.

in laying platforms and preparing embrasures. I also had a party of the carpenters barricading the extremities of the Lower-town, by blocking up all the windows of the houses next to the river side, and those facing the water, leaving only loop-holes for musketry, as a defence in case the St. Lawrence should freeze across."

5.—Great excitement, and difference of opinion existed in Quebec after the arrival of Arnold's corps. The Americans had many sympathizers within the walls; and there were many more who were undecided as to which cause they should espouse, desiring only to be on the winning side, and being unable to make up their minds which side that was most likely to be. Several meetings were held at which the advisability of a surrender was discussed, and one was actually in progress in a chapel when Governor Carleton arrived from Point-aux-Trembles where he had narrowly escaped capture by Arnold's forces. The arrival of the Governor quickly changed the aspect of affairs. He took prompt and vigorous measures for defence, and quickly weeded out the half-hearted and disaffected. All the available fighting men were mustered, and Carleton passed down the line demanding of each man whether he intended to be true to his king and country. The Canadian militia, 550 strong, unanimously declared their loyalty, and the remnant of the gallant Highlanders, Frazer's regiment, who had fought so sturdily for the capture of Quebec under Wolfe, now announced their determination to defend it with equal valor. Still there were many disaffected, especially amongst the British merchants, who felt aggrieved at the Quebec Act, and longed for the representative government which the Americans promised them. Carleton dealt summarily with all suspected or doubtful persons, and caused them at once to leave the city, reducing the number within the walls to those who were willing to take part in the defence of the place. The population of Quebec at this time was about five thousand, and the total number of defenders, on the 1st December, was eighteen hundred, of whom only about three hundred were regulars, including the Highlanders. The force was as follows:

22 Royal Artillery, 3d Comp. 4th Battalion.
70 Royal Fusiliers, or 7th Regiment.

Carleton's promptitude. Strength of the garrison.

- 230 Royal Emigrants, or 84th Regiment.
 330 British militia, under Lt. Col. Caldwell.
 543 Canadians, under Col. Dufré.
 400 Seamen, under Captains Hamilton and Mackenzie.
 50 Masters and Mates.
 35 Marines.
 120 Artificers, under Mr. James Thompson.

1800 Total bearing arms.

6.—Montgomery joined Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles on the first of December, and three days after the Americans advanced to Quebec and formally invested it.

Quebec formerly invested. Destruction of the Intendant's Palace.

They numbered less than two thousand men, and were deficient in artillery, yet Montgomery hoped to take the city by assault, and took possession of the approaches to the city to prevent any supplies reaching it; he took up his headquarters at the Holland House. As soon as the investment was completed, Montgomery sent a flag of truce to summon the garrison to surrender; but Carleton ordered this to be fired on, saying that he could not treat with rebels, unless they came to lay down their arms and sue for pardon. This treatment highly incensed the Americans, and they at once commenced to erect batteries and opened fire on the city; but their guns were light and did but little execution, and, although they threw a number of shells into the city every night they did but little damage, and Quebec suffered but slight loss during this siege. On the other hand the guns on the fortifications did considerable execution amongst the Americans, destroying their batteries and dismounting their guns. The American riflemen, under Morgan, greatly annoyed the besieged; posted in houses, and every spot which afforded concealment and safety, they swept the ramparts and picked off all who incautiously exposed themselves. A party of them took possession of the cupola of the Intendant's Palace, and so annoyed the sentries that Carleton ordered a nine pounder to be directed against the building, and the once splendid edifice was soon a heap of crumbling ruins.

7.—So wore away the month of December. The besieged were kept anxious and always on the alert, but they did not suffer any of the rigors of a siege, such as the French had to endure when Wolfe

A month of inactivity.

was thundering at the fortifications of Quebec, and laying hundreds of houses in ashes, while the garrison was half starving. Carleton had sufficient provisions to last for over six months, and after the inhabitants had got over the novelty of the sensation of being "stormed at with shot and shell," they settled down into the dull monotony of a siege, or rather blockade, for the investment of the city partook more of the character of the latter than the former. Still Carleton was anxious. The fate of Canada trembled in the balance before Quebec; every other point had submitted, and from the citadel of the frowning fortress alone floated the grand old flag of England, which he had struggled so hard to place there sixteen years before. It was one of the "chances of war" that the two men who now commanded the opposing forces had both served under Wolfe, and both regarded him as the great military model. Montgomery had fought under Wolfe at Louisbourg, and Carleton had taken part in the memorable siege of Quebec in '59. One can almost picture, on those dark and stormy nights in December, when the moon hid her face, and the huge fortress was lighted up only by the dull, smoky glare of a number of iron pots, filled with combustibles and suspended over the walls, that the spirit of the great commander who had laid down his life in the moment of victory before those luring battlements, hovered over the scene and softly whispered words of hope and comfort to the old companion in arms who was fighting to defend the flag he loved so well, while the shade looked coldly on that other brother in arms, who was trying to pull down the old flag from its proud post, and plant another and a strange one in its stead.

8.—Montgomery was satisfied that his only hope of carrying the place was by surprise, and only awaited a dark night for carrying his intention into execution. At length the moment arrived. The last day of the year but one had come; the besieged had commenced to make some preparations for enjoying as best they might the festivities of the New Year; but many who looked hopefully forward to the varying fortunes of the coming year were destined never to see its dawn; and its advent was to be ushered in with groans and moans, with tears and sorrow, with still, cold, white dead bodies, and dark, narrow graves, in-

Montgomery determines on a night attack.

stead of with song and dance, with feasting and merriment, with light laughter, toast and jest. The night of the 30th December was dark and stormy, a heavy snow storm had set in, and the large white flakes filled the air, obscuring the light of the burning beacons on the walls, and the soft carpet of white muffled the sound of the marching feet as Montgomery and his men stole quietly to the attack. Montgomery's plan was to divide his force into four attacking columns, two of which, under Colonel Livingston and Major Brown, were to make feigned attacks on the St. John Gate and Citadel in Upper Town; and while the attention of the garrison was thus distracted, an attack from two quarters was to be made simultaneously by Montgomery and Arnold, to force their way into Lower Town; they were then to join their forces and make their way up Mountain Hill to Upper Town. The movement began about four o'clock on the morning of the 31st, and the attacking columns got well up to the fortifications without being observed, on account of the storm; but the garrison was not likely to be taken by surprise, as some deserters had informed Carleton that a night attack was intended, and he had kept the garrison under arms, ready to meet the foe at whatever point he might make his appearance.

9.—Montgomery in person led the main attacking force, which was about seven hundred strong, and approaching from Wolfe's Cove, advanced by a narrow path under Cape Diamond to the outer barrier of *Près-de-Ville*, where a small battery of seven three-pounders had been erected. This was manned by thirty Canadians, under command of Captain Chabot and Lieutenant Picard; eight English militiamen, with nine British tars, under Captain Bansfare of the *Tell*, to work the gun as artillerymen, and Sergeant Hugh McQuarters of the Royal Artillery. Montgomery halted his men when quite near the battery, and sent an officer forward to reconnoitre. He reported all quiet, and the men at once rushed forward to surprise the guard and carry the position by assault. But the surprise was all on the other side; for the men were all quietly standing by their guns, and as the enemy drew near, the command to fire was given and a storm of grape-shot and bullets swept down the head of the advancing column. Thirteen

Repulse of the attack on *Près-de-Ville*. Death of Montgomery.

of the enemy were killed, amongst them General Montgomery and his aides-de-camp, Cheeseman and McPherson, and so surprised and demoralized did the attacking party become, that it immediately turned and fled, leaving the dead on the field, and no further attempt was made in this direction.

There has been some dispute as to who fired the fatal gun, and, indeed, as to whether one gun or more was fired; Captain Bansfare,* Hugh McQuarters and others have received the credit for it, and the evidence in favor of McQuarters and Bansfare is in each case exceedingly clear, and written at the time the events occurred. It is not a very material point, but we give the account of Mr. Thompson—already referred to—and, in a foot note, a letter from Captain Bansfare, to show how widely chroniclers will sometimes vary on points where one would think they could scarcely fail to agree. Mr. Thompson says: "The path leading round the bottom of the rock on which the garrison stands, and called *Près-de-Ville*, was then quite narrow; so that the front of the line of march could present only a few files of men. The Sergeant who had charge of the barrier guards, Hugh McQuarters,—where there was a gun kept loaded with grape and musket balls, and levelled every evening in the direction of the said foot-path—had orders to be vigilant, and when assured of an approach by any body of men, to fire the gun. It was General Montgomery's fate to be amongst the leading files of the storming party; and the precision with which McQuarters acquitted himself of the orders he had received, resulted in the death of the General, two aides-de-camp, and a sergeant; at least, these were all that could be

* The following extract of a letter from Captain Bansfare to the owners of the *Tell*, is dated Quebec, May 15th, 1776, and was published some time since in the *New York Historical Magazine*, edited by Benjamin J. Lossing: "We have got the troubles of this winter over, and have kept the town of Quebec in spite of all our enemies. I am now fitting out the *Tell* as fast as possible to go up the river. The rebels who ran from the place on the 6th inst., on the approach of a frigate were 4,000 strong, and we have within the walls 1,500. We have had a hard winter within the walls; beef was one shilling a pound, and pork was 1s. 3d. Before this comes to hand, you will hear of us having been attacked on 31st December, when I had the honor to command at that post, where the grand attack was made. I had the fortune of killing the General and his aide-de-camp, by the very first two guns I fired, which was a great means of saving the garrison, so you may find I have become an expert warrior. They made several attempts afterwards, and raised four batteries against different parts of the town; one was against the shipping, which has done great damage to several of them, but most to the *Tell*; they knew the ship, as she lay between two men of war. One boy on board has lost his leg, and one more is wounded. All our ship's company are well, only John Hays is wounded in the hand."

found after the search made at dawn of day the next morning. *There was but one discharge of the gun*, from which the General had received a grape-shot in his chin, one in the groin, and one through the thigh, which shattered the bone. I never could ascertain whether the defection of Montgomery's followers was in consequence of the fall of their leader, or whether owing to their being panic-stricken, a consequence peculiar to an unlooked-for shock in the dead of night, and when almost on the point of coming into action, added to which, the meeting with an obstruction (in the barrier) where one was not expected to exist. Be that as it may, he, or rather the cause in which he had engaged, was deserted by his followers at the instant that their perseverance and intrepidity were the most needed. I afterwards learned that the men's engagements were to terminate on 31st December (1775)."

10.—During the remaining dark hours of that gloomy December morning, the little guard at *Près-de-Ville* awaited a renewal of the attack, while they could hear the noise of the engagement with Arnold's forces in Sault-au-Matelot street; but the Americans did not return to the attack, Col. Campbell, who succeeded Montgomery in the command, deeming it most prudent to withdraw his men. When daylight appeared and the guard saw that the enemy had retired, they examined the field of battle for the dead and wounded. At first nothing was discernible, the fleecy flakes of snow had fallen fast, and with a light covering shrouded the deed of blood from human gaze; but soon an arm and hand, stretched supplicatingly up out of the snow, was discovered, and this indicated the spot where Montgomery fell. He was dead, and frozen stiff; the body was distorted as if by pain, the knees being drawn up towards the head, and he had three wounds. His two Aides, his Orderly Sergeant, and nine others, were found about the same time; the Sergeant was alive, but in great agony and died shortly after. The body of Montgomery was not at first recognized; but was identified by some of Arnold's officers who had been captured, some hours afterwards. Carleton gave instructions to Mr. Thompson to have the body privately buried, and that gentleman thus recounts how he performed his duty: "General Carleton, the then Governor-General, being satis-

Burial of Montgomery.

fied as to his identity, ordered that the body should be decently buried, in the most private manner, and His Excellency entrusted the business to me. I accordingly had the body conveyed to a small log-house in St. Louis street (opposite the residence of Judge Dunn), the second from the corner of St. Ursule street, owned by one François Gaubert, a cooper, and I ordered Henry Dunn, joiner, to prepare a suitable coffin; this he complied with, having covered it with fine black cloth and lined it with flannel; I gave him no direction about the burying party, as I had a party of my soldiers in waiting at the Château to carry the corpse to the grave at the moment that General Carleton conceived proper. I next proceeded to Gaubert's, where I was told that Mr. Dunn had just taken away the corpse; this was about the setting of the sun on the 4th January, 1776. I accordingly stepped up to the place where I had ordered the grave to be dug (just alongside that of my first wife, within and near the surrounding wall of the powder magazine, in the gorge of the St. Louis Bastion), and found, in addition to the six men and Dunn, the undertaker, that the Rev. Mr. DeMontmollin, the military chaplain, was in attendance. On satisfying myself that the grave was properly covered up, I went and reported the circumstances to General Carleton. It having been (subsequently) decided to demolish the powder magazine, and to erect a casemated barrack in its stead, I took care to mark the spot where Montgomery was buried (not so much, perhaps, on *his* account as from the interest I felt for it on another score) by having a small cut stone inserted in the pavement within the barrack square, and this precaution enabled me afterwards to point out the place to a nephew of the General, Mr. Lewis, who, hearing that the person who had had the direction of the burial of his uncle's corpse was still living, came to Quebec, about the year 1818, to take away the remains. I repaired thither with young Mr. Lewis and several officers of the garrison, together with Chief Justice Sewell and some friends of the deceased. They accordingly took up the pavement, exactly in the direction of the grave. The skeleton was found complete, and when removed a musket ball fell from the skull; the coffin was nearly decayed. No part of the black cloth of the outside, nor of the flannel of the inside were visible; a leather thong with which the hair had

been tied was still in a state of preservation after a lapse of forty-three years. There is a spring of water near the place, which may have had the effect of hastening the decay of the contents of the grave.*

11.—While Montgomery was endeavoring to force his way into Lower Town by the *Près-de-Ville*, Arnold—who was well acquainted with Quebec from his frequent visits there—led about five hundred men through St. Roch's and the Palais, towards the first barrier in Little Sault-au-Matelot street (or Dog Lane). Here there was a battery of two guns erected, and at the first attack on it Arnold was wounded in the knee and taken to the General Hospital, the command falling on Colonel Morgan, who gallantly carried the position and continued the fight for two hours.†

Repulse of Arnold's
attack—Surrender
of the attacking
party.

* We are indebted for this, and other extracts from Mr. Thompson's Journal, to Mr. J. M. LeMoynes's very interesting work, "*Quebec, Past and Present*."

† The following letter, written by Colonel Arnold while lying in the General Hospital, and while the fight was still going on, will be read with interest:—

GENERAL HOSPITAL, Dec. 31st, 1775.

TO GENERAL WOOSTER:

Dear Sir,—I make no doubt General Montgomery acquainted you with his intention of storming Quebec as soon as a good opportunity offered. As we had several men deserted from us a few days past, the General was induced to alter his plan, which was to have attacked the Upper and Lower Town at the same time. He thought it most prudent to make two different attacks upon the Lower Town, the one at Cape Diamond, the other at St. Roch's. For the last attack, I was ordered with my own detachment, and Captain Lamb's company of Artillery. At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, a false attack was ordered to be made on the Upper Town. We accordingly began our march. I passed through St. Roch's, and approached near the two-gun battery picketed in the street, without being discovered, which we attacked; it was bravely defended for about an hour, but with the loss of a number of men, we carried it. In the attack I was shot through the leg, and was obliged to be carried to the hospital, where I soon heard the disagreeable news that the General was defeated at Cape Diamond; himself, Captain McPherson, his A. D. C., and Captain Cheeseman, killed on the spot, with a number of others unknown. After gaining the battery, my detachment pushed on to the second barrier, which they took possession of; at the same time, the enemy sallied out from the Palace Gate and attacked them in rear. A field-piece, which the roughness of the roads would not permit us carrying on, fell into the enemy's hands, with a number of prisoners. At last accounts from my detachment, about ten minutes since, they were pushing for the Lower Town. Their communication with me was cut off. I am exceedingly apprehensive what the event will be. They will either carry the Lower Town, remain prisoners, or be cut to pieces. I thought proper to send an express to let you know the critical situation we are in, and make no doubt you will give us all the assistance in your power. As I am not able to act, I shall give up the command to Colonel Campbell. I beg you will immediately send an express to the Honorable Continental Congress and

The second barrier in Sault-au-Matelot street was stubbornly defended, and as gallantly assailed. This barrier extended, by means of *hangards* from the rock to the river, and was mounted with several cannon. The enemy took possession of some houses, which afforded shelter for the riflemen, and also took advantage of the narrow path running round the base of the cliff towards Hope Gate, which protected them from the fire of the guns, and kept up a vigorous attack on the barrier. But the wounding of Arnold, and the death of a French Canadian who was acting as guide, left Morgan without any one acquainted with the road to the Upper Town, and all he could do was to barely hold his own. Meanwhile Carleton—who had heard of Montgomery's repulse at *Près-de-Ville*, and seeing that the attack on the Upper Town was only a feint—despatched Captain Lewis, with two hundred men by the Palais Gate to attack Morgan in the rear. Thus hemmed in on all sides, there was nothing left for Morgan but surrender, which he did, after having lost about one hundred killed and wounded. The following is a list of the force which surrendered: 44 officers and soldiers, wounded; not wounded, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Majors, 8 Captains, 15 Lieutenants, 6 Adjutants, 1 Quarter-Master, 4 Volunteers, 350 rank and file; total, 426. This is exclusive of the thirteen killed at *Près-de-Ville*. The British loss was Lieutenant Anderson, R. N., Mr. Frazer, head ship-carpenter, and seventeen killed and wounded.

CHAPTER LXIII.

GOVERNMENT OF SIR GUY CARLETON. —EVACUATION OF CANADA BY THE AMERICANS.

1. RESUMPTION OF THE BLOCKADE.—DISCOURAGEMENT OF THE AMERICANS.—2. THE GROWING DISLIKE OF THE CANADIANS TO THE

His Excellency General Washington. The loss in my detachment before I left it, was about thirty killed and wounded; among the latter is Major Ogden, who with Captain Oswald, Captain Burr and the other volunteers, behaved extremely well. I have only time to add that I am, with the greatest esteem,

Your most obedient, &c.,

B. ARNOLD.

AMERICANS.—3. ATTEMPT OF SOME CANADIANS TO RELIEVE QUEBEC.—4. ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS FROM ENGLAND. RETREAT OF THE AMERICANS.—5. A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE VISITS MONTREAL.—6. HOPELESSNESS OF THE AMERICAN CAUSE. ONE RESULT OF THE VISIT.—7. REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE AMERICANS. THE TROOPS FROM ENGLAND.—8. CAPTAIN FOSTER'S VICTORY AT THE CEDARS.—9. A DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS AT THREE RIVERS.—10. THE AMERICANS DRIVEN OUT OF CANADA. NAVAL VICTORY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.—11. BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER AT SARATOGA.—12. RESUMPTION OF THE SESSIONS OF COUNCIL. CARLETON RESIGNS.

1.—The fatal shot which ended the earthly career of General Richard Montgomery before the barriers at *Prés-de-Ville*, ended also the chances of success of the American cause in Canada. Up to the attack on Quebec the American arms, with the exception of Ethan Allen's rash attempt on Montreal, had been successful everywhere; from the moment of this repulse beneath the walls of the only fortress left England in Canada, reverses began to overtake the invaders, and "disaster on disaster followed fast and followed faster," until the Americans were totally expelled from Canada, and followed into their own country by the victorious British. Shorn of one-third of their strength by the loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners in the attack on Quebec; with small-pox rife amongst them; with scanty clothing and insufficient food; disheartened by defeat, and discouraged by the want of sympathy and co-operation of the Canadians, it is not to be wondered at that the Americans became demoralized, and that a large number of desertions took place. Arnold, who had assumed command, complained of the great difficulty he had in keeping them together, and practically abandoned the siege by retiring three miles from the walls, although the blockade was kept up all the winter. Carleton had now a force quite equal, if not superior, in numbers to the Americans, and could, probably, have driven them with ease from the country had he chosen to take the offensive; but he was too politic for that. In the first place he was by no means sure of all the men under him; many of

Resumption of the blockade. Discouragement of the Americans.

them were rebels at heart, and would be unreliable in the hour of need, if that hour came; and Carleton was too astute to risk even the chance of disaster.

2.—A second consideration in favor of remaining in Quebec until the arrival of reinforcements in the spring, was that the Americans were daily losing what little favor ^{The growing dislike of the Canadians to the Americans} they had with the French. Their *prestige* of victory was gone; one-third of their army had been captured or killed; they had no provisions, and no money to pay for what they bought, the unredeemable Continental paper currency being useless, and the Canadians—in spite of all the flowery addresses delivered to them by Congress—began to look on the Americans as a band of marauders who had come to rob and pillage them, instead of giving them the liberty they boasted so much about. Carleton foresaw this reaction, and was wise enough to give it time to work itself out without endeavoring to force it by risking an engagement. He knew that large reinforcements would reach him in the spring, and he was determined that "the flag that's braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze," should still wave over the ramparts of Quebec. When those reinforcements arrived, to gladden the eyes of those who were on their way to his relief, and to assure the British of a basis of operations against the insurgents. Carleton's conduct has been called cowardly by some rash and unthinking writers; it was only that of a cautious and prudent General, who had sufficient patience to wait for what he knew must be inevitable, instead of rashly attempting to seize immediate victory while there was a possibility of defeat. The blockade now resumed its monotonous features, and both sides waited for reinforcements. Arnold, in his report to General Schuyler of the failure of the attack on Quebec, asked for reinforcements, and that General earnestly besought Congress to send three thousand men to Canada. This was an impossibility at the time, as Washington had no troops to spare; but he persuaded the people of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut to each send a regiment of volunteers, and gave orders to endeavor to enroll as many Canadians as possible. Congress issued another address to the Canadians—it was prolific of addresses—in which it said, "Eight battalions are



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raising, and will soon rush forward to the rescue of your Province; if more are wanted they will be supplied;" and proceeded to urge on the Canadians, as usual, the advantages to be gained by them by joining the Union. But it was in vain; what little enthusiasm had fired some of the French was fast dying out, and the steady and persistent efforts of the priests and seigniors more than counterbalanced all the addresses Congress could issue.

3.—So the winter wore away; and the feeling against the Americans increased, so much so that an attempt was made to relieve Quebec by a party of loyal Canadians led by M. de Beaujeu. But the bulk of the Canadians desired to remain perfectly neutral, and many of them opposed and restrained any open demonstration in favor of the British. Garneau says: "The general colonial population, as winter terminated, desired to maintain a neutral part; and demanded that the royalist party should keep quiet, for M. de Beaujeu having assembled in March three hundred and fifty men in the Laurentian parishes of the right bank, below Quebec, in order to assist in the defence of that city,—forthwith a combined corps, Canadian and American, marched against him, surprised his vanguard, killed or wounded several of his men, and would have slain them all but for the interference of some of their own officers. In this skirmish, fathers fought against sons, brothers against brothers, &c. M. de Beaujeu, finding himself thus opposed, judged it expedient to disband his corps." About the same time the Americans received reinforcements which raised their number to about two thousand men. Arnold was placed in charge of Montreal, and General Wooster took command before Quebec. Early in April offensive operations were resumed; the besiegers again approached the walls of the city and opened fire once more, but with no better success than attended their former efforts. On the night of the third of May, General Thomas, who had succeeded General Wooster in command, proposed to make one last effort to surprise the garrison, and carry the city by storm. Navigation was now open, and he determined to send a fire-ship into the British vessels which had wintered in the Cul-de-Sac, and take advantage of the confusion caused by the burning of the shipping, to make a general

Attempt of some
Canadians to relieve
Quebec.

attack; but his scheme miscarried, his fire-ships never reached the shipping, and while the inhabitants of Quebec were witnessing the pyrotechnic display provided for them, the joyful intelligence was brought to the city that an English fleet was advancing up the river to their relief.

4.—General Thomas had been informed of the expected reinforcements for the British—although he did not know they were so near—^{Arrival of reinforcements from England.} and called a council of war on ^{Retreat of the Americans.} the night of the 5th, at which it was determined to abandon the siege and retreat to the Richelieu, where reinforcements were expected. The determination was not arrived at too soon, for early on the following morning the long penned up inhabitants were gladdened by the sight of the wide-spread white wings of an English frigate rounding Point Lévis, and shortly after the *Surprise* dropped anchor in the basin. She was quickly followed by the *Isis* and *Martin* with reinforcements, and two companies of the 29th Regiment and some marines, in all two hundred men, were landed at once. Thus reinforced, Carleton, at the head of about one thousand men, sallied forth to annoy the rear of the Americans, who were now in full retreat, having struck their tents and made off as hastily as possible on the appearance of the *Surprise*. Carleton succeeded in coming up with the rear, and captured all the artillery, stores, &c., and about two hundred sick fell into his hands. The retreat now became a rout; the men threw away their guns and fairly ran for it to Sorel, where, finding they were not pursued, they made a stand until the arrival of General Sullivan with 1,400 reinforcements. The men were in a terribly exhausted condition; suffering for want of food and clothing, and still afflicted with small-pox, from which General Thomas died soon after his arrival at Sorel. Carleton returned to Quebec to await the arrival of all the reinforcements sent out, when a rigorous campaign was to be inaugurated.

5.—On hearing of the death of Montgomery, the repulse of the Americans, and the growing disfavor of the Canadians, the Congressional Congress determined not only to send reinforcements to the troops, but to appoint a commission to visit Canada, ascertain the exact position of affairs, and adopt the best course possible under the circum-

A Congressional
Committee visit
Montreal.

stances. The Commission consisted of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, and was accompanied by Father John Carroll (afterwards Bishop of Baltimore) who was expected to use his influence with the clergy. The commissioners had the fullest power, and were authorized to admit Canada into the Union, and to perform any other functions which Congress itself had the right, or power, to perform in Canada. The Commissioners left Philadelphia on the 20th March, 1776, but did not reach Montreal until the 29th April. They were received by General Arnold and lodged with Mr. Thomas Walker (a leading malcontent), who owned the best built and best furnished house in Montreal, at that time. On the following day a council of war was held, and the Commissioners were so thoroughly convinced of the hopelessness of the American cause in Canada that their first dispatch to Congress contained the announcement that the country was lost to them. Still the Commissioners tried once again to arouse the Canadians, and more addresses were issued, and an effort made to get up a little enthusiasm, but without effect. The news of the raising of the siege of Quebec, and the arrival of large reinforcements from England, spread rapidly, and the few friends the Americans ever had were fast falling away from them. Nor were the efforts of Father Carroll more successful. The clergy gave him plainly to understand that they had no faith in the promises of the Americans; that they were bigoted against the Roman Catholic faith and had made the guarantee of its free exercise in Canada, under the Quebec Act, one of their chief grounds of complaint, and that they (the clergy) had no confidence in receiving better treatment from the Americans than they had from the British, who had guaranteed them in their religion, their property and their laws.*

6.—Franklin first perceived the hopelessness of the American cause in Canada, and left Montreal on 11th May, being joined by Father Carroll at St. John's on the following day. The other Commissioners remained in Montreal until the 29th of May, when they left to attend a council of war

Hopelessness of the American cause. One result of the visit.

* It is worthy of note that, after all the fine addresses of Congress to the Canadians, in which it denied the idea of anything like a difficulty on the ground of religious differences, etc., it should still cling to the passage of the Quebec act as one of the grievances of the American people, and so quote it in the Declaration of Independence signed 4th July, 1776.

at Chambly, and from thence returned to Philadelphia. There is one curious circumstance connected with the visit of the Commissioners, which is that it was the means of introducing the art of printing into Montreal, they bringing with them the first press ever seen in that city. A portion of the instructions of Congress to the Commissioners ran as follows: "Chiefly, however, they are charged to convince, conciliate, and win the Canadians by appeals to their reason and interest; in aid of which they are to take measures for establishing a newspaper to be conducted by a friend of Congress." In compliance with these instructions the Commissioners brought on a French printer named Mesplats, who, probably, printed some of the addresses to the Canadians, although no reference is made in the Commissioners' report to Congress as to what work he did. There was no time to start a newspaper, as the Commissioners remained so short a while, but when they left, Mesplats remained behind, and, taking in a man named Berger as partner, opened a printing office in Market Place (now Custom House Square). He afterwards went to Quebec, and published the first book printed in Canada. He returned to Montreal, and, in 1778, brought out the first number of the *Montreal Gazette*, which was a small sheet, printed half French and half English, and published weekly. The *Gazette* has gone through many changes since then, but still flourishes, and is now the oldest paper in Canada, and the third in age, we believe, on this continent.

7.—Congress did not confine its efforts for the conquest of Canada to the issuing of flattering addresses, and the sending of Commissioners; all the available force they could raise was sent into Canada; so that by the time Chase and Carroll left Montreal (29th May), there were nearly seven thousand American troops in the Montreal district. General Sullivan, who had succeeded General Thomas, being in command. The Americans, however, were in a terribly destitute condition, lacking ammunition and artillery, and so straitened for food that they were compelled by hunger to take grain and provisions by force from the dealers, who had refused to take any more of the irredeemable Continental paper money, and the Americans had no coin to pay with. This action was afterwards defended in Congress on the ground of

Reinforcements for the Americans. The troops from England.

expediency; but it operated very much against the Americans, and numbers of the Canadians now began to come forward and join the British forces. The British Government, during the winter of 1775-6, had taken vigorous measures for the suppression of the American revolution. Some fears being entertained that the regulars could not be altogether depended on to fight against their own countrymen, especially as so many British officers had espoused the American cause, arrangements were made with the Duke of Brunswick, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Cassel, and other petty German princes, for the supply of about fifteen thousand men. A division of these troops, under Generals Specht and Riedesell, were sent to Quebec, together with ten British battalions and some companies of artillery, the whole under command of General Burgoyne. All through the month of May, transports filled with troops continued to arrive at Quebec, and by the end of that month there were upwards of ten thousand men assembled in the Province ready to advance on the Americans and expel them.

8.—The next military operation, in chronological sequence, after the retreat from Quebec, was the battle of the Cedars, and the capture of five hundred Americans. When the Americans invaded Canada in the fall there had been small garrisons in the Western forts, which were cut off during the winter from the main body of troops in Quebec; but as spring approached, such numbers as could be spared from the defence of the posts began to descend towards Montreal. On the 11th May, Captain Forster, who had assembled one hundred and twenty-five men of the 8th Regiment, and about one hundred and fifty Indians, at Ogdensburg, moved forward to the attack of a stockade which the Americans had erected at the Cedars. This was garrisoned by four hundred Americans, under Colonel Bedell, who, after a sharp engagement, surrendered on 19th May. On the following day a party of one hundred Americans, who were coming to Bedell's relief, were met by a body of Canadians and Indians, and forced to surrender after a sharp action of ten minutes' duration. The prisoners were marched to the fort, but some excesses were committed by the Indians, whom Forster found it impossible to restrain. This loss was a serious one to the Amer-

Captain Forster's
victory at the
Cedars.

icans, as, besides the number of men captured—whom they could ill afford to lose—it cut them off from communication with the Indians, with whom they were tampering. Their negotiations, however, with the Indians were not very successful, and during the whole war the Iroquois remained faithful to the British cause. This was, to a great extent, due to Thayendanega,—better known as Joseph Brant,—a Mohawk chief, who had been educated in Connecticut, and who bore a colonel's commission from the king during the war. After his victory at the Cedars, Forster pushed on towards Montreal; but, learning that Arnold was advancing on him with a superior force, he entrenched himself and repulsed the American general, who retreated to St. Anne's. Afterwards an exchange of prisoners was effected, and Arnold, shortly after, evacuated Montreal and fell back towards the frontier.

9.—A forward-movement of the British troops from Quebec took place early in June, detachments being stationed along the St. Lawrence, reaching nearly to Three Rivers. General Sullivan, who was in command of the Americans at Sorel, thought this would be a good opportunity to make a descent on Three Rivers, before the full force of the British arrived there; he therefore despatched General Thompson, with eighteen hundred men, to reduce the place. Thompson crossed Lake St. Peter at Point-du-Lac, and advanced towards Three Rivers during the night of the seventh and eighth of June. Information was brought to the town about four o'clock on the morning of the eighth, by a captain of Canadian militia, and General Frazer, who had just arrived from Quebec, hastily landed his troops and advanced to the attack. He was joined on the way by many Canadians, and had nearly as strong a force as Thompson. He possessed two advantages, however, over the American general, he had several field-pieces, which the Americans lacked: and he had an opportunity of placing his men so that he could flank the enemy. The forces met in a wood about two miles from Three Rivers, and, while the Americans were engaged with the British vanguard, the main body of Frazer's troops flanked the Americans and drove them into a swampy wood to the north of Lake St. Peter, where the bulk of them remained for several days before they could

Defeat of the Amer-
icans at Three Riv-
ers.

manage to effect their escape to Sorel. Thompson and five hundred of his men surrendered; and when the shattered remnant of his forces reached Sullivan, that general thought it most prudent to retire, and evacuating Sorel on the 14th June, fell back to Chambly.

10.—A general advance of the British forces commenced on 14th June, and the Americans fell back before it, burning the forts at Chambly and St. John's; and concentrating all their forces at Isle-aux-Noix, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, which had been strongly fortified, and whither Arnold's forces from Montreal had retired. Thus Canada was freed from the invader, and there was nothing left to remind the inhabitants of their winter visitors save a large number of prisoners, many of them sick and wounded, and a great quantity of worthless paper money which they could not use. The summer campaign was over in Canada, as far as military operations were concerned, and nearly the whole of the balance of the season was spent in preparing for a struggle for the mastery of Lake Champlain. Three frigates were built in England and sent out in sections, to be put together and launched on the Lake, and about twenty small gun-boats and other craft were constructed. The Americans also made what naval preparations they could during the summer, and by the fall had two corvettes, two armed brigantines, and about a dozen small vessels, the whole being under command of General Arnold. The first engagement took place near Valcour's Island on 11th October, and the Americans had rather the best of the engagement, as Captain Pringle, who commanded the British fleet, was forced to retire; but Arnold lost two of his vessels, and this so crippled him that he determined to get under the shelter of the guns at Crown Point. In this he was disappointed, for on the 13th, Pringle intercepted him and another engagement ensued, in which Arnold was totally defeated, and the whole American fleet, with the exception of four vessels, either captured or destroyed. After this the Americans blew up the fort at Crown Point, and retreated up the lake, while both armies soon after went into winter quarters, the British being stationed in cantons from Isle-aux-Noix to Quebec.

11.—It is not within our province to follow the history of the War of Independence further than

it concerns Canada, and as it rolled away from our borders it may pass out of our history, except a brief reference to the campaign of 1777, which had some interest for Canada, as it led to the withdrawal, for a while, from her councils of one of the warmest friends and best governors she ever had, Guy Carleton. During the winter 1776-7 General Burgoyne visited England, and returned in the spring of 1777 as Commander-in-Chief of the English army to operate from Canada into the State of New York. Burgoyne was a self-opinionated, over-estimated soldier, who, having met with some trifling success in Portugal, was, at the instance of his friends at court, promoted over the heads of better men, and brought disgrace and disaster on the British arms, as his great prototypes Braddock and Abercromby had before him. Carleton, who desired military service, and felt aggrieved at the appointment of Burgoyne, tendered his resignation of the governorship of Canada. The plan of the British campaign of 1777, was for the army under Burgoyne, nearly 10,000 strong, to advance from Canada on Albany, there to form a junction with Lord Howe's forces from New York, and thus "cut the rebellion in two" by dividing the New England from the Southern States. The campaign opened late in June, and Burgoyne was, at first, entirely successful. Ticonderoga fell on the 6th July, and Burgoyne continued to advance towards Albany, the Americans retreating, but rapidly concentrating their forces, not only in his front but in his rear, for Burgoyne, who had said, boastfully, "Britons never turn their backs," failed to keep his lines of retreat open, and when he was checked by the entrenched camp of the Americans at Stillwater, where General Gates was in command, Lake George was being taken possession of in his rear. Burgoyne remained before the camp until the 7th October, when, his provisions running short, he was forced to trust his fortunes to an assault. The struggle was a desperate one, and the British loss heavy, but the Americans held their own and Burgoyne was repulsed. There was nothing left him now but to retreat, and this he found it impossible to do. Hemmed in on all sides, short of provisions and ammunition, with a victorious enemy pressing close on him, nothing was left but to surrender, which he accordingly did at Saratoga on the 16th

The Americans driven out of Canada.—Naval victory on Lake Champlain.

Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga.

October, the force so laying down their arms numbering about six thousand men. Burgoyne and his men were sent to Boston and detained there some time, the Americans insisting upon a ratification of the surrender by the British Government before sending the troops to England.

12.—Whilst Burgoyne was suffering defeat and disgrace, Canada, relieved from the presence of a foe, again enjoyed the blessings of

Resumption of the sessions of Council. Carleton resigns.

peace. The sittings of the council, which had been suspended by the outbreak in the States, were resumed in 1777, and sixteen bills were passed. The most important acts were those confirming the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, already established; one erecting a Court of Probate, and one constituting the whole council a Court of Appeal, any five of the members, with the governor or chief justice, being competent to hear cases. The session was a very quiet and orderly one, and all the acts passed received the approval of the governor and the home government. Bills relating to trade and commerce, highways, etc., were passed, and the British commercial laws were declared binding on Canada, which gave the British merchants a greater feeling of security. About this time a difference arose between Governor Carleton and Chief-Justice Livius, which led to the dismissal of the latter. The cause of the dispute was the appointment of a Privy Council of five members of the Legislative Council, under private instructions received by Carleton from the ministry. This Privy Council was appointed in 1776, and consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor, and Messrs. Collins, Dunn, Finlay, and Mabane. Livius, who was the leader of what may be called the "British" element in the council, demanded the production of these instructions, which Carleton refused, and suspended the chief justice. Livius then complained to the Board of Trade, and he was adjudged to have been unjustly removed, and recommended for re-instatement; but meanwhile Carleton had resigned, and Livius—who was in England—did not return to Canada, his place being filled by Mabane. Carleton's retirement from office was sincerely regretted by the Canadians, whose friend he had always shown himself to be; and they had even more cause to regret him when they came under the sway of his successor, General Haldimand.

CHAPTER LXIV.

GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL HALDIMAND.—UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS.

1. GENERAL HALDIMAND'S APPOINTMENT. EFFORTS OF THE AMERICANS TO INFLUENCE THE CANADIANS.—2. HALDIMAND'S TYRANNY.—3. RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.—4. CURTAILMENT OF THE BOUNDARIES OF QUEBEC. CONSEQUENT DIFFICULTIES.—5. PERSECUTION OF LOYALISTS BY THE AMERICANS. EMIGRATION TO CANADA.—6. UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS. SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN CANADA.—7. POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE. SETTLEMENT OF THE IROQUOIS ON GRAND RIVER.—8. RECALL OF GOVERNOR HALDIMAND. PASSING THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT.

1.—Major-General Frederick Haldimand, who succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as governor, was a Swiss by birth, a soldier of experience and credit, but a most unpromising martinet, a man of stern nature and imperious manner, little fitted to rule a new country peopled by two races, to both of which he was alien, and with the laws of neither of which was he thoroughly conversant. He was appointed to the government at a critical period, and he adopted the iron rule of coercion as the one most suited to hold Canada true to her allegiance to Great Britain during the trying times of the American revolution. He succeeded, but more through the disinclination of the great bulk of the people to join the revolted provinces, and the influence of the priests, than through the efficacy of the repressive policy he adopted; and he earned for himself the thorough dislike and contempt of the people he was appointed to rule; while, by his arbitrary harshness, he, unconsciously, assisted the cause of political liberty, by showing very strongly the contrast of military despotism. The surrender of Burgoyne, at Saratoga, inspired the Americans with fresh hopes; and, although they did not attempt another invasion of Canada, they never abandoned the idea of inducing the Canadians to join their Confederation, and emissaries were constantly at work endeavoring to sap the loyalty of the Cana-

General Haldimand's appointment. Efforts of the Americans to influence the Canadians.

dian people. Although they did not succeed, still their efforts caused many to be disaffected, and gave opportunities to Haldimand for many arbitrary acts in the summary arrest and imprisonment, without trial, of persons suspected of favoring the American cause. Many cases of summary arrest of suspected persons are recorded, the most noteworthy of which was that of Du Calvet, an ex-magistrate, and gentleman of good standing and position, who had been on friendly terms with the Americans during their occupancy of Montreal, and furnished them with supplies. He was suspected of carrying on a secret correspondence with the Americans, and was arrested at his residence, in Montreal, on the 23d of September, 1780, and taken to Quebec, where he was kept in prison—bail being refused—until the signing of the treaty of Paris, in 1783, by which the independence of the United States was recognized, when all political prisoners in Canada were released.

2.—The large number of arrests of suspected persons soon filled the jail, and the Recollet's convent was used to afford extra accommodation. The governor respected very little the sacredness of private correspondence, and the mail bags were freely opened and their contents searched for treasonable correspondence. As late as December, 1783, Mr. H. Finlay—a member of the Privy Council, and afterwards deputy-postmaster-general—wrote to Mr. Todd, Secretary of the General Post Office, London: "It has an appearance as if the governor of Nova Scotia, and our governor here, were yet permitted to take up and open the mails from England." Garneau gives the following not very flattering picture of the condition of affairs at this time: "Such unquiet tyranny, all the more oppressive as it was exercised on a people few in numbers, beginning with the governor, extended to the judges in the different tribunals. Accused parties were deprived, not only of their liberty, but endangered in their fortunes. Many were ruined through denied or delayed justice, or by iniquitous sentences, passed recklessly, in violation of all the principles of equity and every proper form of law. Several rich citizens of Quebec and Montreal were despoiled of their goods by this system of persecution, which became more and more unsparring as the

Haldimand's
tyranny.

royal forces in America had to quail before those of the Congress. Without form of process the soldiers arrested citizens, some as accused of high treason, others suspected of minor crimes, others again for nobody knew what reason. The arrests began at a low point in the social scale and ascended to the highest. Among those pounced upon, all more or less distinguished for their birth, position, or substance, we may enumerate Messrs. Joutard, Hay, Carignan, Du Fort, merchants; M. La Terrière, director of the iron works at St. Maurice, and M. Pellion. These were either imprisoned on board vessels of war at Quebec, or cast into dungeons, without being informed of the charges (if any) brought against them. One stranger who was mysteriously arrested, occupied a cell on the highest floor of the city prison. The rumor ran that he was one of the young French nobles who came with La Fayette into America; and who were seen, as was alleged, in different localities of Canada, with a suspicious aim which has never been explained to this day. However that may be, the prison sentinel had orders to fire at the high-celled stranger should he court public regards through the grated window."

3.—During the administration of Governor Haldimand a strong opposition was developed in the Legislative Council, and the desire for a Legislative Assembly increased. Several petitions were presented to the Home Government praying for a more liberal charter, and the subject was finally taken under consideration by the English Parliament. Meanwhile the war of American independence had been drawing towards a successful termination for the insurgent colonies. Benjamin Franklin had been sent as representative of the United States at the Court of France; and had not only succeeded in gaining a recognition of the new republic from Louis XVI., but the young nation also received material aid in the shape of troops and a fleet. England was by this time engaged in a general continental war, and could only spend a portion of her energy and resources on the subjugation of her revolted colonies; besides this, there was a strong feeling growing up that it would be best to allow the revolted States to sever their connection with the mother country. The fortunes of war fluctuated at first between the British and the revolted colonies; but after

Recognition of the
Independence of
the United States.

the alliance with France the balance turned steadily in favor of the colonists, and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, with seven thousand men, to a combined American and French force of twelve thousand men, under Washington and Rochambeau, at Yorktown, Va., on 17th October, 1782, virtually finished the war; and the independence of the United States was formally acknowledged by Great Britain by the treaty of peace signed at Paris in 1783.

4.—By the treaty of peace Quebec was shorn of nearly all the territory which had been added to it by the act of 1774, and reduced to about the same proportions as at the time of the conquest. All the vast and fertile region between the Mississippi on the west and the Ohio on the south was recognized as belonging to the United States; and the boundary of the American possessions was defined by a line drawn from a point in the forty-fifth degree of north latitude (St. Regis), through the middle of the river St. Lawrence, and of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, and the Lake of the Woods. In the east, British and American territories were divided by the St. Croix River, and by a line drawn from its source to the "highlands dividing the waters falling into the Atlantic from those emptying themselves into the St. Lawrence." This indefinite definition gave rise to various complications in after years, and very nearly caused a war between England and the United States before the boundary was settled. The difficulties were to define which were the "St. Croix River" and the "highlands" mentioned in the treaty. The Americans claimed that the Magaguadavic was the river mentioned as the St. Croix, the British that it was the Scodiac. In 1798 a decision was given in favor of the British river, and it was then determined to draw the line of "the highlands" from the source of the northern branch of the Scodiac River; but here another difficulty presented itself, as to which were "the highlands" meant by the treaty. The British claimed that they were certain detached heights running westward from Mars Hill, the Americans that the high ridges running from Cape Rosières—about thirty miles on an average from the left bank of the St. Lawrence—to the northwest branch of the Connecticut River, were the highlands referred to in the treaty. The British

Curtailment of the boundaries of Quebec. Consequent difficulties.

claimed that the spirit of the treaty was to retain to each country its great rivers and their tributaries, and therefore held that they were entitled to the country watered by the Aroostook, Allagash and Walloostock; but the Americans disputed the game, and the matter remained in abeyance for nearly sixty years, and was the cause of much trouble, the country being known as the Disputed Territory. At last the difficulty was settled, to the disadvantage of Canada, by the Ashburton treaty of 1842, by which the three rivers, and nearly all the territory claimed, were given to the United States.

5.—But if Canada lost considerably in territory by the treaty of 1783, she gained very greatly by emigration, both in quantity and quality. During the war of independence there was a strong party in the States (especially New York, Massachusetts and Virginia) who clung with the utmost loyalty to the old flag, and fought with the British against the revolutionists. These were known as Tories, and were more cordially hated by the Americans than either the Hessians or the British. When the independence of the States was acknowledged, these men became the objects of most cruel persecution; not only was their property confiscated, but their lives were endangered, and it became evident that in order to protect them they must be provided for elsewhere by the British Government. Accordingly, large grants of land were offered them in the various British colonies. Large numbers settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and about ten thousand migrated to the Province of Quebec, settling in what was then the upper part of the Province, but now forms the Province of Ontario. About twenty-five thousand of these emigrants came to Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, and by their thrift and industry tended greatly to build up those Provinces. When it became necessary to remove them from New York (where most stringent laws had been passed against them), the British Government offered them large grants of land; and as it was thought politic to keep the French Catholic and English Protestant populations as much as possible apart, these grants were all made west of Montreal, around the Bay of Quinté and along the northern shore of Lake Ontario. Many of these emigrants had been men of wealth and

Persecution of Loyalists by the Americans. Emigration to Canada

position in their own States, but had lost their all on account of their loyalty to the British Crown, so that the government had not only to give them large tracts of land,—varying from two hundred to five thousand acres,—but to assist them with farming implements, provisions and clothing for the first two years; but nobly have they repaid the bounty of the government by reclaiming the vast wilderness of the West, and building up the populous and flourishing Province of Ontario.

6.—The United Empire Loyalists, as these pioneers of civilization in Western Canada are

United Empire Loyalists. Settlements in Western Canada.

usually called, derived their name from an order in council, passed in 1789, in which their children, as well those who were born before as those born after their emigration, were granted two hundred acres of land on attaining their majority, or on marriage under that age, if females. A list of these emigrants was ordered to be made for the purpose, as the order expresses it, "to put a mark of honor upon the families who had adhered to the *Unity of the Empire*, and joined the *Royal* standard in America, before the treaty of separation in 1783, to the end that their posterity might be discriminated from the then future settlers." From the emphasis laid on the words "unity," "empire," and "royal," this list was called the U. E. list, and those whose names were entered on it known as United Empire Loyalists. At this time the whole of Western Canada was a vast wilderness; a few military and trading posts had been, as we have seen, established, but no effort at colonization had been made, and the hardy loyalists had to go into the heart of the primeval forest and hew out their own fortunes by their own labors. The few French and English who had heretofore penetrated those wilds, had done so only for hunting and trading purposes, or in search of precious metals; but these men came to make their homes there, and to transform the trackless forest into a smiling garden, rich with vegetation and teeming with abundant harvests. When we think of the Western Canada of scarcely ninety years ago, without a farm, without a settlement of any extent, without any means of intercommunication, save the trails of the Indians, and their light canoes and batteaux, and with scarcely any inhabitants but the nomadic Red man; and then gaze at the Ontario of to-day, with its population

of two millions, its magnificent cities, its thousands of farms, its giant industries, its network of railways, and its thousands of steamers and sailing vessels ploughing its vast inland seas and carrying its products to all parts of the world, we may look with reverence on this noble little band of patriots, whom oppression drove into the wilderness to seek subsistence, and from whose small beginnings such great things have resulted.

7.—Surveys were commenced in the summer of 1784, and townships laid out from the highest French settlements on Lake St. Francis, upwards along the St. Lawrence, and around the Bay of Quinté, and possession was taken of the lands, as fast as they were surveyed, by members of the 84th Regiment, and other English and German soldiers. A settlement was also formed at Niagara, and one at Amherstburg, and a colony from New York took possession of the old site of Fort Frontenac, and founded what is now the flourishing city of Kingston. The pioneer of this party, in describing the place, says there were no dwellings to be seen save "the bark-thatched wigwam of the savage, or the newly-erected tent of the hardy loyalist;" yet so rapidly did the place progress that when the Rev. John Stuart, D. D.—then the only clergyman in Upper Canada—visited the place, in 1785, he says, "the town increases fast; there are already about fifty houses built in it, and some of them very elegant. We have now, just at the door, a ship, a scow, and a sloop, besides a number of small crafts." Peace brought with it an influx of emigrants from England, as well as the States, and soon the swing of the woodman's axe was sweeping away the giants of the forest, and happy homes were being built up where naught but a state of nature had existed a few months before. In this year, 1784, a census was taken, and the population of the Province found to be one hundred and thirteen thousand and twelve, twenty-eight thousand of whom were fit to bear arms, and enrolled in the militia; but as only the more settled districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers were taken, it is safe to estimate at least ten thousand more in the sparsely peopled and only partly settled districts. The Indian population also received a large accession this year, by the emigration of a body of the Iroquois from their old hunting-grounds in the

Population of the Province. Settlement of the Iroquois on the Grand River.



MAJOR-GENERAL SELBY SMITH.



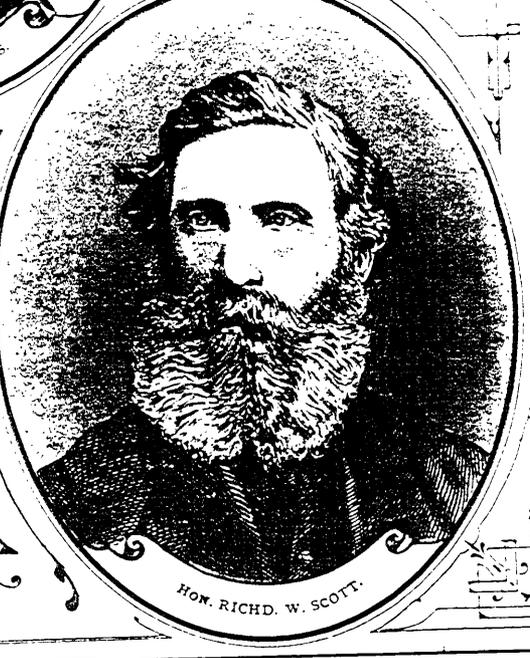
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CHIEF JUSTICE RICHARDS.



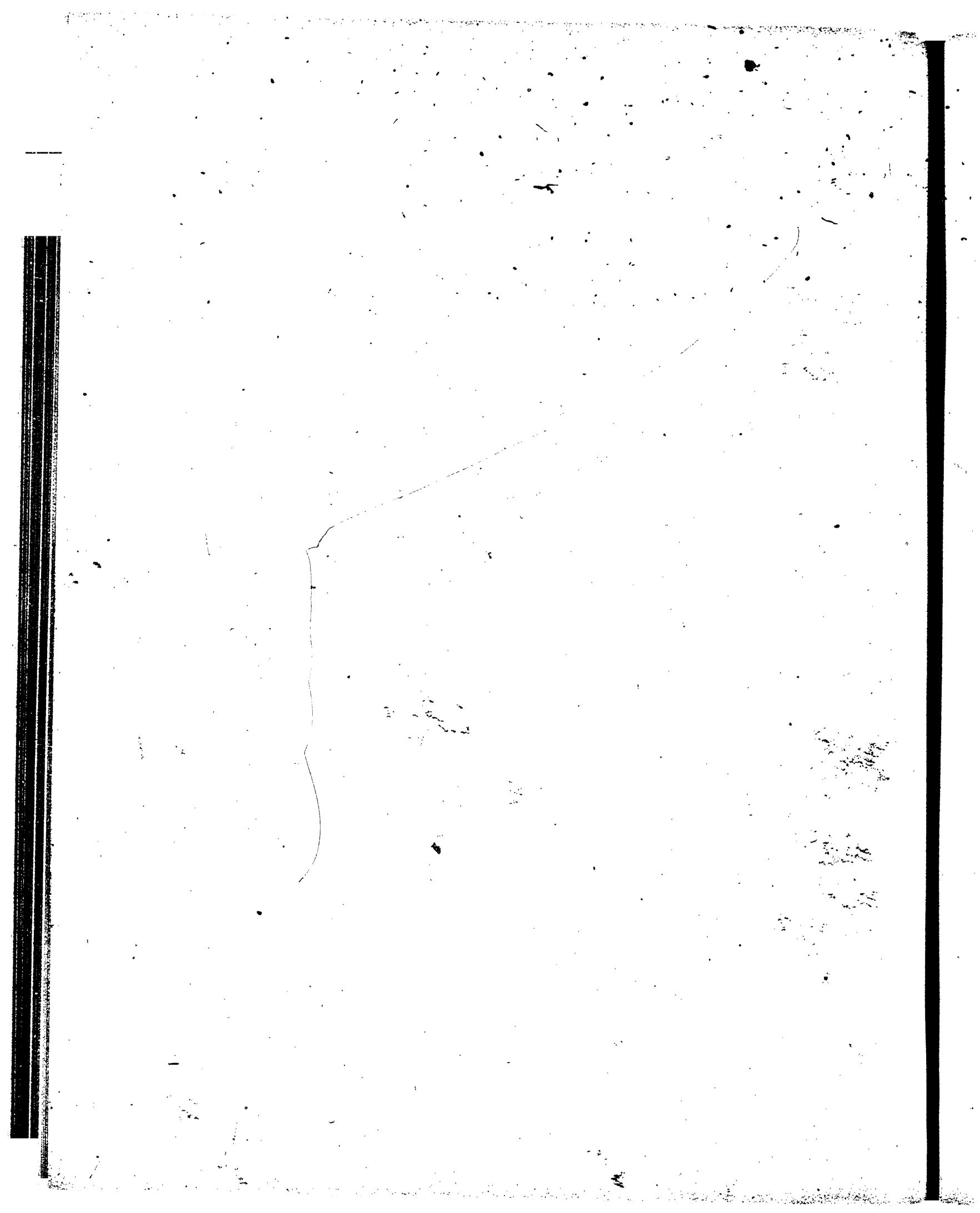
HON. J. H. CAMERON.



HON. RICHD. W. SCOTT.

ENGRAVED EXPRESSLY FOR "TUTTLE'S HISTORY OF THE DOMINION" — TO FIND BIOGRAPHIES SEE INDEX

THE BURLAND DESBARATS LITHO COMPT



State of New York to a reservation which was given them on the Grand River, the grant being a strip of land six miles wide along the whole length of the river. The Iroquois had suffered heavily during the war, on account of their fidelity to the British; General Sullivan had ravaged their villages, and inflicted severe loss on them, and being driven from New York, they were forced to seek an asylum in Canada. They settled down peaceably on their reservation, under the leadership of their Chief, Thayendanega, or Brant, after whom the town and county of Brant are named—and their descendants continue to occupy the same lands to the present day. Joseph Brant was a fine specimen of a Christian Indian, and by his wise counsels and example, not only induced the Indians to forego many of their cruel practices in war, but trained them in the paths of Christianity and civilization, so that they became useful and valuable members of the community.

8.—The return of peace gave the British ministry time to look into the conduct of Governor Haldimand, and it was found that he was totally unsuited for his position, and was equally distasteful to both the French and British colonists; he was, therefore, recalled (at his own request), and left for England early in 1785. His successor was Mr. Henry Hamilton, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and arrived at Quebec in the spring of 1785. The first act of the new Governor was to convene the Legislative Council, and he submitted to it the propriety of introducing the *habeas corpus* act, the advisability of which had been determined on by the English Privy Council. The bill was accordingly introduced and met with general favor; the Canadians, who now thoroughly understood the benefits of the act, strongly supporting it, and the clergy fully indorsing it. It was at first proposed to exempt the members of female religious communities from the benefits of the act; but the nuns became highly indignant at this, looking on it as an imputation that they would take advantage of the act, if they could, to leave their cloisters, and at their request, the act was so amended that they, as well as others, could enjoy its privileges. Mr. Hamilton only acted as lieutenant-governor for one year, and was succeeded, for a brief period, by Mr. Henry Hope; but nothing of interest or importance occurred under

Recall of Governor Haldimand. Passage of the *habeas corpus* act.

either administration; beyond what has been already recorded.

CHAPTER LXV.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD DORCHESTER, —DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE.

1. REAPPOINTMENT OF GENERAL CARLETON.—
2. REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON THE CONDITION OF THE COLONY.—3. AGITATION FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. PASSAGE OF THE "CONSTITUTIONAL" ACT, 1791.—4. PRINCIPAL PROVISIONS OF THE ACT.—5. DIVISION LINE BETWEEN THE TWO PROVINCES. CENSUS.

1.—Immediately after the close of the American revolutionary war the Liberals of Quebec had recommended an agitation for representative government; and their cause was greatly strengthened by the advent of the United Empire Loyalists, who had been promised the free exercise of all the rights and privileges to which they had been accustomed as citizens of British Provinces. Canadian affairs again began to occupy the attention of the English House of Parliament, and in June, 1768, Sir Guy Carleton—now raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester—was appointed governor-general of all the Provinces, and commander-in-chief of all the forces in British America. He arrived at Quebec on 23d October, and was joyfully received by all classes, but especially by the Canadians, with whom he was a great favorite on account of the mildness and justice with which he had treated them during his former administrations. At the same time there also arrived a new chief justice for Quebec, Mr. Smith, who had been attorney-general of New York, but had been forced to leave on account of his loyalty to the British Crown. The governor-general at once convened a meeting of the Council, and laid before them certain suggestions with regard to ascertaining the exact condition of the colony. The council was divided into committees to inquire into the administration of justice, the state of trade and commerce, the condition of the police and the state of education in the Province.

Reappointment of General Carleton.

2.—These committees made long and careful investigations, examined many witnesses, and at length made reports. The investigation into the administration of the laws was opened by the chief justice in June, 1787, and showed a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. Charges were made against the judges of drunkenness, incompetency, and favoritism. It was shown that the English judges followed English law, the French judges French law; and one judge—who apparently understood no law at all—gave his decisions on the “equity” of cases without any respect to either English or French law. The committee on trade and commerce reported both in an unsatisfactory condition, which was mainly attributed to the competition of the United States, and also to the uncertainty of the laws, it being strongly urged that English laws should be introduced altogether, and the use of French laws discontinued. The committee on education found it at a very low ebb. There were no public schools, and few private ones outside of Montreal and Quebec; the Jesuits had closed their college and there was not a school in the Province where the higher branches of learning were taught. The committee suggested the establishment of elementary schools in all the parishes; district schools for teaching arithmetic, the French and English languages, grammar, book-keeping, gauging, navigation, land-measuring, and the practised branches of mathematics; and a university for the study of the higher branches of learning. The committee recommended that the Jesuits' estate and a portion of the public lands should be set apart for the maintenance of this large scheme of general education.

3.—These reports were presented in due form, and forwarded by Lord Dorchester to the Home Government; but some time elapsed before action was taken on them. Meanwhile the agitation in favor of representative government continued.

The territory granted to the United Empire Loyalists had been divided into four districts, Lunenburg, Hesse, Nassau, and Mecklenburg, and English laws were permitted in these districts, as the inhabitants knew nothing of French laws, and did not even understand the language in which they were written. This caused further efforts on the part of the Quebec liberals, and, in 1790, Mr. Adam

Lymburner, a leading merchant of Quebec, visited London and urged the views of the party he represented so successfully, that a bill was prepared by Mr. Grenville, the then colonial secretary, and submitted to Lord Dorchester, after which it was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt in the spring of 1791. The new bill carried out the idea introduced by the settlement of the United Empire Loyalists in the Western part of the Province—that of keeping the two races separate and distinct; the Province was divided into two, observing as nearly as possible the distinctions of religion and race, and each Province was granted a Legislative Assembly of its own. The bill was strongly opposed by Mr. Fox, who argued that the two races should be drawn close together instead of being kept separate; and that the council should be elective instead of being appointed by the crown. Mr. Pitt maintained that a division of the Province would be the best means of conciliating the French, as it would satisfy them that no attempt would be made to force British laws on them; while it would also gratify the British settlers in Western Canada, by allowing them to be ruled by the laws they most desired. The Quebec reformers were by no means pleased with the division of the Province, and Mr. Lymburner was heard at the bar of the House of Commons, on 25th March, 1791, and strongly opposed the bill, setting forth his objections very clearly, and arguing that a division would be very detrimental to the interests of Upper Canada. The bill was, however, passed, and continued the law of the country for fifty years.

4.—The following condensation of this celebrated act is taken from Christie's History of Lower Canada: “The Constitutional Act repealed so much of the Quebec Act as related to the appointment of a Council for the Province of Quebec, and the powers given to it to make ordinances for the government thereof. His Majesty's message, expressive of his intention to divide the Province of Quebec into two separate Provinces, as previously noticed, to be called Upper Canada and Lower Canada, being recited, it was enacted that a Legislative Council and Assembly should be established in each Province, with power to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government thereof. The members of the Legislative Council were to be appointed by the King for life, and in Upper

Reports of Committees on the condition of the Colony.

Agitation for representative Government. Passage of the “Constitutional” Act, 1791.

Principal provisions of the act.

Cánada to consist of not fewer than *seven*, and in Lower Canada not fewer than *fifteen* persons. No person not being of the full age of 21 years and a natural born subject of his majesty, or naturalized by Act of British Parliament, or a subject of his majesty by the conquest and cession of Canada, could be appointed to it. His majesty was authorized to annex to hereditary titles of honor, the right of being summoned to the Legislative Council in either Province. The governor had the right of appointing a speaker to the Legislative Council. Each Province was to be divided into districts or counties, or cities, or towns, or townships, which were to return representatives to the assemblies, the governor fixing the limits of such districts and the number of representatives to be returned to each. The whole number of members of the assembly in Upper Canada was to be not less than sixteen, and in Lower Canada not less than fifty, and to be chosen by a majority of votes. The county members were to be elected by owners of land in freehold or in fief or roture, to the value of forty shillings sterling a year, over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same. Members for the towns or townships were eligible by persons having a dwelling-house and lot of ground therein of the yearly value of £5 sterling or upwards, or who having resided in the town for twelve calendar months, next before date of the writ of election, shall *bona fide* have paid one year's rent for the dwelling-house in which he shall have resided, at the rate of £10 sterling per annum, or upwards. No person being a legislative councillor or clergyman of the Church of England or Rome, or a teacher of any other religious profession, was eligible to the house of assembly in either Province, nor was any person, under lawful age, to vote at any election of a member to serve in the assembly, nor eligible thereto; nor was any person eligible as such who was not a natural-born subject, or naturalized as aforesaid, or a subject of his majesty, by the conquest. Power was given the governor to fix the times and places of holding the first and every other session of the Legislative Council and Assembly in each Province, giving due notice thereof, and to prorogue the same from time to time, and dissolve it whenever he deemed such expedient. They were to be convoked once at least, in every twelve months, and each as-

sembly was to continue four years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the members; subject, however, to be sooner prorogued and dissolved at the pleasure of the governor. The governor was authorized to give or withhold his majesty's assent to all bills passed by the two branches, and to reserve such as he may think fit for the signification of his majesty's pleasure thereupon. Copies of all bills he might assent to, were also to be forwarded to the secretary of state, and his majesty might, at any time within two years after receipt by the secretary, disallow them if he thought fit. Bills reserved by the governor for his majesty's pleasure, were not to have effect till sanctioned and notice thereof given by message to the two houses of the Provincial parliament, or by proclamation; nor could the royal assent to bills so reserved be given, unless within two years next after the day when presented to the governor for the royal assent. All laws or statutes and ordinances in force in either Province, except as repealed or altered by that act, were to remain in force, as they might be at the time of its coming into operation. The governor and Executive Council, which by an ordinance of the Province of Quebec, had been constituted a Court of Appeals, were, in each Province, to continue so; liable, however, to such other provisions as might be deemed necessary by the new legislatures. It was enacted that an allotment of crown lands, in each Province, should be made for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy within the same, and such allotment was to be as nearly as circumstances and the nature of the case would permit, equal in value to a seventh part of the lands granted and to be granted. * * * His majesty was authorized to empower the governors in each Province to erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents or ministers of the Church of England, subject and liable to all rights of institution and all other spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority lawfully granted to the Bishop of Nova Scotia. Power was given to the Provincial Legislatures to vary and repeal the provisions relating to such allotments for the support of a Protestant clergy, parsonages and rectories, and presentation of incumbents or ministers; but it was provided that no bills in this behalf were to be assented to by his majesty until thirty

days after they had been laid before both houses of the Imperial parliament, nor was his majesty to assent to any such bill in case of an address from either of the Houses during that period, requesting him to withhold the royal assent from it. The intent of these privileges was to preserve the rights and interests of the Established Church of England in both Provinces from invasion by their respective legislatures. All lands to be thereafter granted in Upper Canada, were to be in fee and common soccage, and so also in Lower Canada, when the grantee required it. The British parliament reserved to itself the right of providing regulations or prohibitions, imposing, levying, and collecting duties, for the regulation of navigation or for the regulation of commerce, to be carried on between the said two Provinces, or between either of them, and any other part of his majesty's dominions or any foreign country, or for appointing and directing the payment of duties so imposed; leaving, however, the exclusive appropriation of all moneys so levied, in either province, to the legislature thereof, and applicable to such public uses therein as it might think fit to apply them. The governor, pursuant to the king's instructions, was to fix upon and declare the day when the act should commence, which was not to be later than the 31st December, 1791; nor was the calling together of the Legislative Council and Assembly, in each Province, to be later than the 31st December, 1792."

5.—The proclamation issued at the time defined the boundary line between the two Provinces as follows: "Commencing at a stone boundary on the north bank of the Lake St. Francis, at the cove west of the Point *au Baudet*, in the limit between the township of Lancaster and seigneurie of New Longueil, running along the said limit in the direction of north thirty-four degrees west to the west-most angle of the seigneurie of New Longueil, thence along the northwest boundary of the seigneurie of Vaudreuil, running north twenty-five degrees east, until it strikes the Ottawa River, to ascend the said river into Lake Tomiscanning, and from the head of the said lake, by a line drawn due north until it strikes the boundary line of Hudson's Bay, including all the territory to the westward and southward of the said line to the utmost extent of the country commonly called or known by

Division line between the two Provinces. Census.

the name of Canada." The new Provinces were divided into electoral districts, according to population, no account being taken of the extent of territory. A census taken the previous year gave the number of males over sixteen, as thirty-seven thousand four hundred and eleven, and the entire population as one hundred and fifty thousand, of whom about fifteen thousand were British. On the 17th August, 1791, Lord Dorchester went on a visit to England, leaving Major-General Alured Clarke to act as lieutenant-governor, and to carry out the provisions of the new act.

CHAPTER LXVI.

NOVA SCOTIA. — DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE.

1. GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION TO HOME MANUFACTURES.—2. GOVERNOR FRANCKLIN'S OPINION ABOUT MANUFACTURES IN 1766.—3. EFFORTS TO INDUCE NOVA SCOTIA TO JOIN THE REVOLTED PROVINCES.—4. NON-INTERCOURSE WITH THE REVOLTED PROVINCES.—5. ATTEMPTS TO INCITE THE INDIANS TO REVOLT.—6. GOVERNOR LEGGE'S INVESTIGATION INTO FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT.—7. ARRIVAL OF UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS.—8. THE REV. JACOB BAILEY. HIS ACCOUNT OF HIS APPEARANCE ON HIS LANDING AT HALIFAX.—9. DISSATISFACTION OF THE LOYALISTS. DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE.

1.—During the period down to which we brought the History of Nova Scotia in our last chapter on that Province (chapter 51, page 236), and the year 1784, when the Province of New Brunswick was established, the affairs of the Province were administered by eight governors and lieutenant-governors, whose terms of office were not sufficiently pregnant with matters of public interest to demand separate chapters for each; we shall, therefore, embrace the eight administrations in the present chapter, and bring our history down to the division of the Province in 1784.* Governor

* The Governors of Nova Scotia appointed after Mr. Montague Wilmot (1763), up to the time of the division of the Province were:

Michael Francklin, 1766.	Richard Hughes, 1778.
Lord William Campbell, 1766 and 1772.	Sir Andrew S. Hammond, 1781.
Francis Legge, 1773.	John Parr, 1782.
Mariot Arbuthnot, 1776.	Edward Fanning, 1783.

Government opposition to Home Manufactures.

Wilmot died in 1766, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Francklin, whose administration was not marked by any particularly remarkable events. The colony continued to prosper, and a steady flow of emigration swelled its population. The inhabitants confined their pursuits to agriculture and lumbering; there were no manufactures, and the spirit of the English government was strongly opposed to giving any encouragement to them; indeed, on the contrary, efforts were made to suppress any attempts at the home production of goods made in England; and, in 1768, Governor Francklin received orders from the secretary of state to prohibit the working of the Cape Breton coal mines, which was clearly intended as a hindrance to home manufactures, and a protection to the English manufactures. England at that time was extremely jealous of her manufactures, and the commercial spirit so pervaded the government that every effort was made to repress manufactures in the colonies, it being desired that they should be entirely dependent on the mother country. This policy was continued many years; and even after the close of the American war of Independence, and the advent of the United Empire Loyalists, Cape Breton was kept as a sealed book, and while grants of land were freely made in Nova Scotia, none were made in the island of Cape Breton until 1784. This policy was undoubtedly caused by the fear that the infant industries then rapidly springing into existence in the New England States would be imitated by the English colonies, where coal was convenient for manufacturing purposes.

2.—The policy of the government is very clearly shown in the following extract from a letter of Governor Francklin to the Earl of Shelburne in 1766: "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; and they also make part of their coarse linen from the flax they 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 proba-

Governor Francklin's opinion about manufactures in 1766.

bly 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 farming and fishing, are made in Great Britain."

3.—The House of Representatives in Massachusetts, when the agitation was commenced in that colony about the passage of the Stamp Act, endeavored to gain the sympathy and support of Nova Scotia; and in 1768 addressed a circular to the Assembly of that province. The circular was addressed to the Speaker of the House of Assembly, but it was never read to the House as it was desired that it should be, for it fell into the hands of Lieutenant-Governor Francklin, and he adopted the somewhat high-handed measure of forwarding it to the Earl of Shelburne, without submitting it to the Assembly; and, at the same time, he assured his lordship of the loyalty of the inhabitants of the province, and that no temptation, however strong, would induce the people to resist the execution of any laws passed by the English Parliament. This assurance was fully verified by the loyalty of the Nova Scotians during the war of Independence. A number of the Acadians, who had been exiled in 1755, returned after the peace of 1763, and quietly settled down on their old properties, and were not again disturbed. In 1764, captains of the king's ships in Halifax were made magistrates *ex-officio*, and in 1765 a large collection was made in Halifax for the sufferers by the extensive conflagration in Montreal in September of that year.

Efforts to induce Nova Scotia to join the revolted provinces.

4.—On the breaking out of hostilities in the thirteen colonies, a proclamation was issued by Lieutenant-Governor Legge, who had been appointed in 1773, forbidding any correspondence with the

Non-intercourse with the revolted provinces.

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 on the river St. John, destroyed Fort Frederick, and burned the house and stores of Simmon's fishing station. They also captured a brig of one hundred and twenty tons, laden with supplies for the troops in Boston.

5.—The agents of the Massachusetts government were very active amongst the Indians, and tried hard to incite the Micmacs to revolt against British authority. They so far succeeded 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 Micmacs 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. Francklin—then Commissioner of Indian Affairs—was present, and the chiefs were so flattered, feasted, and loaded with

Attempt to incite the Indians to revolt.

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 further 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.

6.—Governor Legge, who was a relative of the Earl of Dartmouth, was recalled in 1776, but continued, through family influences, to hold the sinecure position of governor, and drew the pay for many years, the affairs being administered by Lieutenant-Governors 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. His widow disclaimed all knowledge of them, and the present Treasurer knew nothing of them. At Legge's instance actions were brought against John Newton and Jonathan Binney, for seven hundred and thirty-six pounds, claimed to have been improperly paid them, and judgments obtained in the Supreme Court. Newton paid the amount claimed from him; but Binney was committed to prison in default. Lieutenant-Governor Francklin explained that the money paid Mr. Binney was for services rendered, but that did not

Governor Legge's investigation into financial mismanagement.

prevent judgment being rendered against him, nor his commitment to prison. There seems to be no doubt that irregularities had existed in the expenditure of the public money; but Governor Legge was rather indiscriminate in his accusations, and blamed some officials who were above suspicion. He was much disliked by the council, and that body felt greatly relieved when he was recalled.

7.—The attention of emigrants from the New England colonies had been called to Nova Scotia,

Arrival of United
Empire Loyalists.

many years ago, by Governor Lawrence, as related in Chapter 51; and it was only natural that when it became quite evident there would be a struggle between the thirteen colonies and the Mother Country, many of those who remained loyal to the latter should consider the advisability of removing to another colony where they could still retain their attachment to the crown. Even before hostilities began a number of loyal families emigrated from Boston and settled on the river St. John, founding the town of Parrtown, now St. John, N. B. They found the climate and soil both much better than they had expected, and the colony soon began to thrive apace. Settlements were made at Oromocto, where a fort was built, and one bold explorer penetrated as far as the present site of Fredericton, and cleared a farm there for himself. These emigrants numbered about five hundred, and the district they settled in was made the county of Sunbury. This, however, was only the advance-guard of the immense army of emigrants which was to be attracted to the colony at the close of the war, and which was destined to play so important a part in the history of the Maritime Province. The exodus of loyalists from New England commenced immediately after the opening of negotiations for peace in November, 1782; for so bitter was the action of the different State legislatures against them that Lord Dorchester could not await the tardy action of parliament, but took upon himself to commence their removal to Nova Scotia. On the 18th May, 1783, the ships bearing the first instalment of loyalist emigrants from New England arrived at Navy Island, and during the summer they continued to arrive until about five thousand had settled between Parrtown and St. Ann's. The peninsula now occupied by the city of St. John was then almost a wilderness, covered with shrubs, scrubby spruce

and marsh. Large numbers of emigrants also arrived at Annapolis, Port Roseway and other points; and Governor Parr, in a letter to Lord North in September, 1783, estimates the whole number that had arrived in Nova Scotia and the island of St. John at thirteen thousand.

8.—These emigrants included all classes, disbanded soldiers, lawyers, clergymen, merchants, farmers and mechanics; all in indigent circumstances, but willing to build up their own fortunes and

The Rev. Jacob
Bailey. His account
of his appearance on
landing at Halifax.

those of the land of their adoption by honest labor and industry. Amongst the first arrivals was the Reverend Jacob Bailey, a church of England Minister, who had been a missionary of the Society for

Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts for about eighteen years in Maine. He was greatly persecuted on account of being an agent of a British Society, and suffered great hardships before reaching Halifax in 1799. He gives the following description of his arrival, and, certainly, from his own account he must have been in a sad plight: "We were now plainly sensible," he writes, "that our uncouth habits and uncommon appearance had by this time attracted the notice of multitudes who flocked towards the water to indulge their curiosity. These inquisitive strangers threw us into some confusion, and to prevent a multitude of impertinent interrogations, which might naturally be expected by persons in our circumstances, I made the following public declaration, standing on the quarter deck: 'Gentlemen, we are a company of fugitives from Kennebeck, in New England, driven by famine and persecution to take refuge among you; and, therefore, I must entreat your candor and compassion to excuse the meanness and singularity of our dress.' I, at that moment, discerned among the gathering crowd Mr. Kitson, one of our Kennebeck neighbors, running down the street to our assistance. He came instantly on board, and after mutual salutation, helped us on shore. Thus, just a fortnight after we left our own beloved habitation, we found ourselves landed in a strange country, destitute of money, clothing, or furniture, and wholly uncertain what countenance or protection we might obtain from the governing powers. Mr. Kitson kindly offered to conduct us either to Mr. Brum's or Captain Callahan's, and just as we had quitted our vessel, Mr. Moody, formerly clerk to the King's

chapel, appeared to welcome our arrival. But as it may afford some diversion to the courteous reader, I will suspend my narrative a few moments to describe the singularity of our apparel, and the order of our procession through the streets, which were surprisingly contrasted by the elegant dresses of the ladies and gentlemen we happened to meet in our lengthy ambulation. And here I am confoundedly at a loss where to begin, whether with Captain Smith or myself; but as he was a faithful pilot to this haven of repose, I conclude it is no more than gratitude and complaisance to give him the preference. He was clothed in a long, swinging, threadbare coat, and the rest of his habit displayed the venerable signatures of antiquity, both in the form and materials. His hat carried a long peak before, exactly perpendicular to the longitude of his aquiline nose. On the right hand of this sleek commander shuffled along your very humble servant, having his feet adorned with a pair of shoes which sustained the marks of rebellion and independence. My legs were covered with a thick pair of blue woollen stockings, which had been so often mended and darned by the fingers of frugality, that scarce an atom of the original remained. My breeches, which just concealed the shame of my nakedness, had formerly been black, but the color being worn out by age, nothing remained but a rusty gray, bespattered with lint and bedaubed with pitch. Over a coarse tow and linen shirt, manufactured in the looms of sedition, I sustained a coat and waistcoat of the same dandy gray russet, and to secrete from public inspection the innumerable rents, holes, and deformities which time and misfortune had wrought in these ragged and weather-beaten garments, I was furnished with a blue surtout, fretted at the elbows, worn at the button-holes, and stained with a rarity of tints, so that it might truly be styled a coat of many colors; and to render this department of my habit still more conspicuous and worthy of observation, the waist descended below my knees, and the skirts hung dangling about my heels; and to complete the whole a jaundice-colored wig, devoid of curls, was shaded by the remnants of a rusty beaver, its monstrous brim replete with notches and furrows, and, grown limpsey by the alternate inflictions of storms and sunshine, lopped over my shoulders, and obscured a face meagre with famine and wrinkled with solicitude. My consort and niece came lag-

ging behind at a little distance, the former arrayed in a ragged baize night-gown, tied round her middle with a woollen string instead of a sash; the latter carried upon her back the tattered remains of a hemlock-colored linsey-woolsey, and both their heads were adorned with bonnets composed of black, moth-eaten stuff, almost devoured with the teeth of time. I forgot to mention the admirable figure of their petticoats, gogged at the bottom, distinguished by a multitude of fissures, and curiously drabbed in the mud, for a heavy rain was now beginning to set in. And to close this solemn procession Dr. Mayer and my faithful John marched along in all the pride of poverty and majesty of rags and patches, which exhibited the various dyes of the rainbow. In this manner our procession began, and was supported till we arrived at Captain Callahan's, near half a mile from the place of our landing." Mr. Bailey was first called to Cornwallis, but returned to Annapolis in 1782, and was rector of St. Luke's Parish for twenty-five years.

9.—In the year 1783 an act was passed by the legislature removing some of the disabilities of Roman Catholics, public opinion in Nova Scotia, on this point, being ahead of that in England; but it was not until 1829 that all disabilities were removed. Dissatisfaction of the loyalists. Division of the Province. The loyalists who settled at the St. John River did not agree very well with the original settlers. They grew angry with the governor because their grants of land had not been surveyed. He, in turn, charged them with refusing to assist in the surveys, by acting as chainmen, unless they were well paid for it. Then they demanded additional representation in the Assembly. Nova Scotia was then divided into eight counties, and there were thirty-six representatives in the Assembly; the districts where a number of loyalists had settled being included in the county of Halifax. Governor Parr opposed an increase of representation, as his instructions specially forbade his increasing or diminishing the number of representatives in the Assembly. The loyalists then began to agitate for a division of the province, a policy which was strongly opposed by the governor, and which gave rise to much excitement and ill-feeling. Parr even went so far as to remove some of the loyalists to the other side of the Bay of Fundy, in the hope that that would settle the agitation; but it only increased it, and the loyalists, who





had many warm and influential friends at court, urged a division so earnestly that the ministry yielded to their wishes, and the Province of New Brunswick was created, so called out of compliment to the reigning family of England. The river Missiquash was constituted the boundary line between the two provinces, and the separation took place in the fall of 1794, the first governor of New Brunswick, Colonel Thomas Carleton (brother of Lord Dorchester), arriving at St. John on 21st November. In the same year Cape Breton was made a separate colony, 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 what at present constitutes the Maritime Provinces. We shall now take up the history of Upper and Lower Canada, and follow their fortunes for a considerable period before reverting again to the history of Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER LXVII.

LOWER CANADA.—GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL ALURED CLARKE.

1. FUTURE CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS OF THIS WORK.—2. SEPARATION OF THE PROVINCES. DIVISION OF LOWER CANADA INTO COUNTIES, &c.—3. THE FIRST PARLIAMENT. CONTEST FOR THE SPEAKERSHIP.—4. FORMAL OPENING OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF LOWER CANADA.—5. DEBATE ON THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH PROCEEDINGS SHOULD BE RECORDED.—6. THE BILLS PASSED.—7.—PROROGATION OF THE HOUSE.—8. CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.

1.—We open this chapter with a paragraph in explanation of the succeeding divisions of this work, fearing, should we trust to a mere foot-note, it would be overlooked, and that a misunderstanding between reader and editor would result in confusion. It would be impossible to write a history of the present Dominion of Canada from any one common centre. There is no one chain of great events around which all others can be woven with any degree of harmony. Up to this

Future classification of subjects of this work.

point we have alternated between Canada and Acadia, a plan which has kept us from inharmony of arrangement, and at the same time brought forward the history in cotemporaneous order. But now we find the number of provinces rapidly increasing, each with certain local interests and events of vast importance, some partly connected with or growing out of cotemporary events in the other, and some quite independent in both cause and effect. In view of these and other facts we have decided upon the following order of division as to subjects in the succeeding chapters :

1. History of Lower Canada as a province from the division of 1791 to the union of 1840.
2. History of Upper Canada as a province from the division of 1791 to the union of 1840.
3. History of Nova Scotia from 1784, the point at which we last left the history of that province to the Confederation of 1867.
4. History of New Brunswick from the erection of the province in 1784 to the Confederation of 1867.
5. History of Prince Edward Island from its earliest settlement to the Confederation of 1867.
6. History of the Province of Canada from the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1840 to the Confederation of 1867.

7. History of British Columbia from its first settlement to the Confederation of 1867.

8. History of the Dominion of Canada from the Confederation of 1867 to 1877.

2.—The Proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, made on 18th November, 1791, ordering that the separation of the provinces should take effect from 26th December, caused general satisfaction in

Separation of the Provinces. Division of Lower Canada into counties, &c.

Quebec. The people generally were well pleased with the provisions of the Constitutional Act; and, although some of the more ultra-British were offended that the "Test" oaths had been so qualified that Catholics could be admitted to the Legislative Assembly,* still the majority of both French and English were satisfied, and the formal separation of the Province into Upper and Lower Canada was celebrated in Quebec by a grand banquet, at which about one hundred and sixty leading citizens were present. A constitutional club was also formed, and an effort made to bring the

* Roman Catholics were not at this time admitted to the British House of Parliament.

French and English elements more closely together. The effort succeeded, while the novelty of representative government lasted; but as that wore off the antagonisms of race and religion again showed themselves, and the Constitutional Club died. No event of importance occurred during the winter; but with the return of spring the Canadians, for the first time, experienced the excitement of an election. On the 7th May, 1792, Governor Clarke issued a proclamation dividing Lower Canada into twenty-one counties, besides the towns of Quebec and Montreal, and the boroughs of Three Rivers and William Henry, and apportioning the number of representatives of each. The counties of Gaspè, Bedford and Orleans were to return one member each; those of Buckinghamshire, Cornwallis, Devon, Dorchester, Effingham, Hertford, Huntingdon, Hampshire, Kent, Leinster, Montreal, Northumberland, Quebec, Richelieu, Surry, St. Maurice, Warwick and York, two members each; Quebec and Montreal, four members each; Three Rivers, two members, and William Henry one member, making a total of fifty.

3.—One week later (14th May), another proclamation appeared stating that writs of election had been ordered to issue, dated 28th May and returnable on the 12th July. The elections came off during June, and the people exercised their new privilege with prudence and judgment, returning good men; and although the elections were warmly contested in some places, everything passed off very quietly. There were fifteen English speaking members elected, amongst whom were some of the leading merchants, such as James McGill, Joseph Frobisher, John Richardson, and others, whose descendants are still amongst our leading citizens. Amongst the French elected were many of the most prominent seigniors, such as Louis DeSalaberry, M. H. de Rouville, Philip Rocheblave, M. E. G. Ch. DeLotbinière, M. La Vatrice, and others; altogether, it is generally claimed that the first assembly of Lower Canada was the best the Province ever had. A proclamation was issued, on 30th October, convoking the Provincial Parliament to meet at Quebec, for despatch of business, on 17th December, 1792. On that day the Legislative Council met and the Hon. Chief Justice William Smith, was appointed speaker. The House of Assembly had some difficulty in select-

The first Parliament.
Contest for the
Speakership.

ing a speaker and did not succeed in doing so on the first day. The French speaking members nominated Mr. J. A. Parret, a leading advocate of Quebec, and the English party nominated successively Mr. James McGill, one of the most prominent merchants of Montreal, and William Grant, of Quebec. The feeling was strong on each side to have in the speaker a gentleman of their own language; but M. Parret was ultimately chosen by a large majority, to some extent, because he understood and spoke both languages fluently. This gentleman occupied the position for upwards of twenty years, and fully justified the wisdom of the first legislature in electing him.

4.—On the House being properly constituted, the lieutenant-governor formally opened it by the address from the throne, on the 20th Dec. As this document is interesting from its being the inauguration Formal opening of the First Parliament of Lower Canada. of a new order of things in Lower Canada, we give a condensation of it from Christie's *History of Lower Canada*: "Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.—Our most gracious sovereign, always watchful over the happiness of his people, having taken into consideration the condition of his loyal subjects of this Province, and recommended them to his Parliament for such change in their colonial government as circumstances might require and admit, the act was passed that has made it my duty, as it is my pride, to meet you in general assembly, which I have endeavored to do at a season least inconvenient to your private interests. On a day like this, signalized by the commencement in this country of that form of government which has raised the kingdom, to which it is subordinate, to the highest elevation, it is impossible not to feel emotions difficult to be expressed. To give an opportunity for your loyal and grateful acknowledgments to his majesty is one of my motives for calling you together, and that debt discharged, your councils will, doubtless, be next employed for enacting laws necessary to confine and augment the prosperity of your country."

"Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.—Acquainted as you are with the condition and desires of the people you represent, it is from your House the public will chiefly expect such ordinary provisions as the common weal may require, and I trust, that if any measures conducive to it shall

necessarily be postponed for mature consideration to a subsequent session, no regulation of indispensable utility will escape your present attention."

"Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly.—Great Britain being happily at peace with all the world, and, I hope, without apprehension of its interruption, the present moment must be most fit and urgent for all those arrangements best made at a season of tranquility and falling within the sphere of our trust. The conviction I feel of your disposition to cultivate that harmony amongst yourselves and each branch of the Legislature, which is always essential to the public good and private satisfaction, makes it unnecessary for me to enlarge upon this subject. Such subjects as it may become my duty to recommend to your consideration shall be occasionally communicated to you by message."

5.—The address, in reply to the speech from the throne, was extremely loyal, and conveyed great satisfaction at the granting of the constitution. In one passage it says, "We beg leave to assure Your Excellency that our feelings, and those of our constituents, fully sensible of the magnitude of the blessings conferred by the change which brought us to so memorable a convention, are of the most lively nature; and next to our gratitude to the Almighty Arbiter of the universe, we cannot sufficiently extol the magnanimity and grace of the king, the common father of his people, and of that parliament which has so generously co-operated for the establishment, that is most deservedly the subject of our general joy." The House then settled down to business and began to adopt its rules of order and debate; and here a difficulty arose which has never yet been properly settled, and which continues to this day to cause the Quebec Legislature to be a polyglot parliament, and every piece of business to cost just twice as much time and money as it should, as it has to be done twice—once in English, once in French. The question arose on the mode of recording the minutes; the English members holding that the record of a Legislative Assembly of a British Province ought to be in the language of the nation and no other; the French members, however, held with great persistency to their language, but were willing that the record should be in both; and,

Debate on the language in which proceedings should be recorded.

after three days, debate, a motion was carried "to resolve that the House shall keep its journal in two registers, in one of which the proceedings of the House and the motions shall be written in the French language, with a translation of the motions originally made in the English language; and in the other shall be entered the proceedings of the House and the motions in the English language, with a translation of the motions originally made in the French language." A few days after another resolution was passed to the effect that bills could be presented in either language, but should be translated by the clerk of the House, or his assistants, so that all bills should be in both languages. Thus the Province of Quebec was saddled with a system of having two languages instead of one; and hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually spent uselessly in translating and publishing English documents in French, and *vice versa*.

6.—After settling the difficulty of language, the Assembly took into consideration several subjects of interest, especially that of education. This subject occupied the attention of the House for some time, and, finally, an address to His Majesty on the subject was carried, portions of which we give to show the utter lack of educational provision in the Province of Quebec eighty-five years ago. The address says, "That the deplorable state of education in this province has long been a matter of the deepest regret; and as the object of our present humble address and petition to Your Majesty is to remedy so great an evil, it cannot fail to interest the feelings of the beneficent and enlightened sovereign of a liberal and magnanimous nation,—permit us to say that a matter of more serious and important concern to this part of Your Majesty's dominions cannot occupy our attention. In contemplating this subject, we have been naturally led to look forward to the reversion of the property now and heretofore possessed by the Jesuits in this province, as greatly contributing to so desirable an end. We therefore most humbly beseech Your Majesty to be graciously pleased, upon their extinction or demise, to order such measures as to Your Majesty, in your royal wisdom and justice, shall seem meet, to secure and apply the same to the education of the youth in this province, by the re-establishment of a college.

The bills passed.

therein; a purpose apparently congenial to the original intention of the donors, most benevolent in itself, and most essentially necessary for the promotion of science and useful knowledge." A bill for the toleration of Quakers—who were then under great restrictions in some of the United States—was passed; and the greater portion of the session was occupied in forming and perfecting rules of order, etc. An act was also passed to make provision for paying the expenses of the legislature, by levying a duty on wine;* and, in order to prevent dissatisfaction in Upper Canada, a resolution was passed, that the Assembly would take into consideration the allowance of a drawback on all wines, etc., consumed in the Upper Province. Eight bills were passed in all during the session.

7.—Meanwhile the French revolution had broken out and the Reign of Terror commenced; war was declared against England, and the fact was communicated to the legislature by Lt. Governor Clarke in a message dated 25th April, 1793. The Assembly immediately adopted an address to the King, denouncing the monstrosities of the French revolution, and assuring him of their renewed loyalty, concluding with a prayer for the success of his arms against his enemies. They attempted to show their loyalty in a more practical manner, by amending the militia law so as to make that body more effective; but it was found that the law already gave ample power to the governor, and was as stringent as was necessary, and it was, therefore, left unaltered. Happily for Canada she was spared the horrors of the guillotine, and remained peaceful during the long struggle which ended only on the field of Waterloo. The Assembly was exceedingly slow and dignified in its actions, and it was not until May that they concluded the session had been sufficiently prolonged. On the 9th of that month the chambers were prorogued by the Lieutenant Governor, who, in his speech complimented the House on the able and orderly manner in which its deliberations had been conducted, and concluded by saying: "Gentlemen, the laws that you have prepared, and to which I have given His Majesty's assent, will afford relief to some of the objects that demanded immediate attention, and I

* The total expense of this Parliament, which lasted over five months, was not quite £1,500.

persuade myself that those of a more important nature will receive your private reflection during the recess, and be the result of your mature deliberation at the next session, particularly that respecting the courts of judicature which has been strongly recommended to your attention, and such further regulations as may appear necessary for the better organization and more effectual calling forth the militia for the defence of this extensive and valuable country, when war or the evil disposition of our enemies of any description shall make it necessary."

8.—Thus ended the first session of the first Parliament of Lower Canada; and, as a whole, we may say that the session was a satisfactory one. The demons of Condition of the Province. party spirit and of national prejudices had indeed shown themselves; but only enough to show that they were in existence and would become potent agents of discord as the heat of political contest warmed them into life. The war of races which had been going on between the French and English on this continent for over a century and a half, was not ended by the capitulation and cession of Canada, only the scene of action was changed from the battle-field to the Council chamber, and words and ballots took the places of swords and bullets. The French Canadians showed at the very commencement of constitutional government, that they considered the French language, the French people, the French laws and the French religion, the language, people, laws and religion of Canada, and that the English were only interlopers who had no business there, and with whom they were to affiliate as little as possible. The division of the Province so as to keep the English, as much as possible, apart, confirmed and strengthened this idea; and the soundness of Charles James Fox's objection to the constitutional act of 1791, was shown in 1841, when this growing "National" feeling had caused an appeal to arms, and required the Union of the provinces. Before leaving this first meeting of parliament we may take a short glance at the Quebec of those days as compared with the present, and see how "slow" the people were in those days, compared with these times of steamers, telegraphs, balloons, telephones, etc. Now-a-days we hear of important events transpiring in England three or four hours before their occurrence—

according to our time; then it took two months or more to receive information from England, and so important an event as the French revolution and the declaration of war between France and England was not known in Quebec for ten weeks after its occurrence, the letter of the Secretary of State, dated the 9th of February, not reaching Lieutenant Governor Clarke until the 25th of April. It took a month for a letter from Quebec to reach either Halifax or New York, and a fortnightly mail to the latter place—established in 1792—was considered a great sign of progress. Still the country prospered and trade and commerce increased; in 1791, ninety vessels arrived at Quebec, and the revenue amounted to £5,000. As an offset to this, however, the expense of maintaining the government was about £25,000 and the deficit had to be made up by the home government. No further events of importance occurred during the brief administration of General Clarke, which was terminated by the return of Lord Dorchester, on the 24th of September, 1793.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

LOWER CANADA. GOVERNMENT OF LORD DORCHESTER.

1. GENERAL SATISFACTION AT THE RETURN OF LORD DORCHESTER.—2. EMISSARIES OF FRENCH REPUBLIC ENDEAVOR TO DISAFFECT CANADIANS.—3. PUBLIC ACCOUNTS FIRST SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT.—4. LORD DORCHESTER'S APPEAL TO THE LOYALTY OF THE ASSEMBLY. ATTITUDE OF THE CLERGY.—5. M. DEPLESSIS' EULOGY OF ENGLISH RULE IN CANADA.—6. PARLIAMENTARY SESSION, 1795. EMBARGO ON THE EXPORTATION OF GRAIN.—7. LAST SESSION OF FIRST PARLIAMENT. COMPLIMENTS FROM LORD DORCHESTER.—8. FINAL DEPARTURE OF LORD DORCHESTER. GENERAL REGRET AT HIS LEAVING.

1.—Lord Dorchester arrived at Quebec on the 24th of September, 1793, and was enthusiastically received by all classes, but more especially by the French. "The Saviour of Quebec," as he was

General satisfaction at the return of Lord Dorchester.

sometimes called, was always popular, and few governors have ever been so truly loved and respected by the people they ruled over. The town was illuminated on the night of his arrival, and the inhabitants, probably, felt something of the same sense of relief and assurance at his presence as they did on that memorable night in November, 1775, when he arrived in the beleagured town. The *Quebec Gazette* of the 26th of September, speaking of his arrival, says: "Long and repeated experience has taught the Canadians to repose the highest confidence in his Lordship's fostering care of this colony; they look up to him as a father; nor do they appear to entertain a more sincere wish than that he may be induced to spend the remainder of his valuable life amongst them, and that they may long enjoy the blessings of his mild and equitable Government." The times were indeed troublesome. All Europe was engaged in war, and the emissaries of the French republic were busily at work, trying to gain sympathy in the United States, and stir up that country to war with England—an effort which would, probably, have succeeded had it not been for the firmness of President Washington. The Consul for France in the United States was also endeavoring to spread republican ideas in Canada, and incite the people to revolt against British authority, and declare themselves in favor of the republic; it was no wonder then, that the great bulk of the law-abiding and peace-loving citizens of Canada welcomed back with delight, one who had for so many years been associated in their recollections with peace and prosperity, and who had successfully resisted the attack of the only foe who had assailed them during his many administrations.

2.—The second session of the first parliament of Lower Canada was opened by Lord Dorchester, on 11th November, 1793, and remained in session until 31st May, 1794, seven months and a half; and some idea of the deliberate manner in which public business was then transacted may be gathered from the fact, that during that period only six bills were passed. In those early days of legislation there was no "rushing" bills though the house near the close of the session, in such haste that there was no time to thoroughly examine the acts, and it was only after they were passed that they were found

Emissaries of the French republic endeavor to disaffect the Canadians.

to be inoperative from being carelessly drawn, or that they did not convey the meaning intended. Our early legislators worked slowly, but they did their work thoroughly. Lord Dorchester, in opening the session, stated that the public accounts would be submitted; and also called the attention of the house to the necessity of passing laws regulating the judiciary, and also one amending the militia act. Both these bills were passed during the session; and also one establishing "regulations respecting aliens and certain subjects of his majesty who have resided in France coming into this province and residing therein, and for empowering his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of high treason, and for the arrest and commitment of all persons who may individually, by seditious practices, attempt to disturb the government of this province." This act virtually suspended the *habeas corpus* act, and was based on the alien act which it had been found necessary to pass in England, on account of the great number of foreigners, chiefly French, who had been forced to seek protection beneath her flag by reason of the French revolution, many of whom were not desirable persons to have in the country, and who required watching, or summary arrest. The act was renewed from time to time, remaining in force until the close of the war, and under it the first execution for high treason in Lower Canada took place. Christie says in a foot-note (Vol I., page 150): "It would seem by a proclamation of Lord Dorchester, dated at Quebec, the 16th November, 1793, that there were emissaries from France, or others in the province, busying themselves in propagating in it the revolutionary principles of that country in those times. The proclamation alluded to stated, that "whereas divers evil disposed persons had lately manifested seditious and wicked attempts to alienate the affections of his Majesty's loyal subjects, by false representations of the cause and conduct of the persons at present exercising the supreme authority in France, and particularly certain foreigners, being alien enemies, who are lurking and lie concealed in various parts of this province, acting in concert with persons in foreign dominions, with a view to forward the criminal purposes of such persons, enemies of the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of the province, and of all religion, government and order,"—his Excellency therefore, re-

quired "all magistrates in and throughout the provinces, captains of militia, peace officers, and others his Majesty's good subjects, to be vigilant, and to do their utmost and secure all and every person who might hold seditious discourses, or utter treasonable words, spread false news, publish or distribute libellous papers, written or printed, tending to excite discontent, or lessen the affections of his Majesty's subjects, or in any manner to disturb the peace and happiness under his Majesty's government in the colony."

3.—In his speech from the throne his Excellency said with reference to the expenses of the colony: "Such parts of it as more particularly belong to that head, I am not at this time enabled to bring forward; I can only say it greatly exceeds the provincial funds: yet, it is not, at present, my intention to apply to you for aid; that you may have time to consider by what means the provincial revenue may be rendered more productive; in hopes, nevertheless, that Great Britain, in the meanwhile, will continue her generous assistance to this colony, and defray such surplus expenses as are absolutely necessary to its prosperity." The legislature in its address in reply said: "By receiving from your Excellency an account of the receipt of the provincial revenues of the Crown, we shall be enabled to deliberate on the means by which they may be rendered more productive; and penetrated with gratitude to the parent state for having hitherto defrayed the surplus expenditure of the province, we flatter ourselves that in consideration of our situation, we shall continue to experience her generous assistance; a hope further strengthened by your Excellency's intention of not requiring from us any subsidy at present, which confirms the benevolence of our Mother Country." On the 29th April, 1794, these accounts were submitted, and showed that the gross receipts from the date of the separation of the provinces (26th December, 1791), to the 5th January, 1794, amounted to £14,128 2s. 7d, and the net amount to £12,657 6s. 11d, leaving £1,470 15s. 8d, or more than 10 per cent. as cost of collecting. The expenses of the government were not detailed, but estimated at "about twenty-five thousand pounds." The House, in its address in reply to the message, thanked the governor for submitting the accounts; but feared that it was too late in the session for

Public accounts
first submitted to
Parliament.

them to give the subject the attention it required, it would, therefore, be reserved for the next session, when it should receive due attention.

4.—The second session of the first parliament was prorogued on the 31st of May, 1794, after assent having been given to five bills; the sixth bill, relating to the judiciary, was reserved for the royal pleasure and did not come into effect until the following December. Lord Dorchester was evidently still anxious about the efforts of emissaries of the French republic trying to excite the Canadians to sedition; for in his prorogation speech he strongly urged the members of both houses to use their personal influence against seditious practices. He said, "I have no doubt that on returning to your respective homes, you will zealously diffuse among all ranks of people those principles of justice, patriotism and loyalty which have distinguished your public labors during this session; and that you will use your best exertions to find out and bring to justice, those evil-disposed persons, who, by inflammatory discourses, or the spreading of seditious writings, endeavor to deceive the unwary and disturb the peace and good order of society;—and that you will avail yourselves of every opportunity to convince your fellow-subjects that the blessings they enjoy under a truly free and happy constitution, can be preserved only by a due obedience to the laws, all breaches of which are the more inexcusable, as the constitution itself has provided for the safe and easy repeal or modification of such as may be found not to answer the good intentions of the legislature." The quiet but firm policy of the governor, aided by the members of parliament and others—most especially the clergy—had the desired effect, and the emissaries of the French government, and the few disaffected who are always to be found in every community, met with no encouragement at the hands of the masses. The mass of the people had no sympathy with the French revolution, and shrank with horror from its wild excesses; the clergy, as a matter of course, opposed an atheistical government which paid no respect to priest or prelate, and the simple-minded *habitans* could have no feelings in common with men who did not venerate their priests, and who murdered their sovereign; so the French republic found no

Lord Dorchester's appeal to the loyalty of the assembly: Attitude of the clergy.

friends in Canada, and while France was being drenched with blood and maddened with the desire for glory, under the republic, under the Directory and under the empire, the descendants of Frenchmen, living quietly and happily under English rule, pursued their ordinary avocations in peace and contentment, and began to recognize the blessing which had fallen on them when they passed under English rule.

5.—The Catholic clergy were especially zealous in their efforts to prevent the spread of republican ideas amongst their flocks, and took frequent occasion to disabuse the minds of the British of any idea that the French Canadians harbored any thoughts friendly to the cause of the revolution, or inimicable to Great Britain. Thus we find the parish priest of Quebec, M. DePlessis, in an oration in the cathedral on the occasion of the death of Bishop Briand, thus eulogizing the conduct of the British: "Our conquerors, regarded (at first) with a jealous eye and lowering brow, inspired in us feelings only of detestation or aversion, we could not be persuaded (for the time) that a race of men strangers to our soil, to our language, to our laws, to our worship—could ever be willing to render to Canada an equivalent for what it lost by changing its masters. Generous nation! which has made us aware, by so many evidences, how ill-founded were our prepossessions; industrious nation! which has developed the earth's fecundity, and explored its hidden riches; exemplary nation! that, in critical times taught the attentive world wherein consists that liberty which all men aspire to obtain, but so few know how to keep within proper bounds; pitying nation! which has—just welcomed, with so much humanity, the most faithful yet worst-used subjects of that realm to which ourselves once belonged; beneficent nation! which daily gives us, men of Canada, fresh proofs of its liberality:—no, no! your people are not enemies of our people; nor are ye dispoilers of our property, which rather do your laws protect; nor are ye foes of our religion, to which ye pay all due respect. Pardon us, then, for that our first (and now past) distrustfulness of a foreign race, whose virtues, being as yet unexperienced by us, we had not the happiness to know; and if, after being apprised of the overthrow of the monarchy and the abolition of the only right worship in

M. DePlessis' eulogy of English rule in Canada.

France, and after experiencing, for thirty-five years, the gentleness of your domination, there remains still among us some natures purblind enough, or of such an evil disposition, as to revive past antipathies, or to awaken in the popular mind disloyal wishes to revert to French supremacy,—let Britons be assured that such beings are rare among us; and we beg that what may be true of the malcontent few, will not be imputed to the well-disposed many. * * * M. Briand's maxim ever was, that true Christians and sincere Catholics are and must be all obedient subjects of their legitimate sovereign. He had learned, from Jesus Christ, that we must render to Cæsar what of right belongs to Cæsar; St. Paul had taught him, that every soul should be voluntarily submissive to established authority; that he who resisted it is in opposition to God himself, and thereby merits damnation; he had learned, from the chiefest of the Apostles, that the king bears not the sword in vain; inculcating, that we are to accredit him by our obedience, as God's representative; and to honor him, not only in his own person, but in the persons of his lawful deputies. Such are, my fellow-Christians, the principles of our holy religion in that regard; principles which we cannot too often impress upon your minds, or over frequently bring under your view; for they form an integral part of evangelical morality, upon which our eternal salvation depends. And yet, sometimes, when we expound (for your benefit) the obligations you are under in those particulars, there are not wanting those who murmur at our words, making bitter complaint against us, accusing us of being actuated by political or selfish motives; such parties not forgetting, either, to insinuate that we are going beyond the proper limits of our ministering. Oh, my erring brothers, how great is this your injustice!"

6.—Nothing of special importance occurred between the close of the second and opening of the third session of Parliament, on 5th of January, 1795. The country remained quiet, and the people happy, although not increasing in prosperity quite so rapidly as they probably would have done had not the whole of Europe been engaged in war. This session was shorter than its predecessors, lasting only until the 7th of May, and appears, from the speeches from the throne and addresses

Parliamentary session, 1795. Embargo on the exportation of grain.

third session of Parliament, on 5th of January, 1795. The country remained quiet, and the people

in reply, to have passed off quite as harmoniously as the two previous meetings. There were several important acts passed during the session, especially two relating to revenue, duties on wines, spirits and other luxuries being increased, and some changes made in the license laws. The expenses of the civil government for the year ending on the 5th of January, 1795, amounted to £19,985 and the estimate for the next year to £19,993 sterling. The Assembly was quite unable to meet this, and could only contribute £5,000, the deficit being paid by the home government. An agreement was entered into during this session between the two Provinces whereby Upper Canada was to receive one-eighth of the duties levied on wines, etc., the agreement to remain in force until the end of December, 1796. It must be remembered that there were no canals or railroads in those days, and, consequently, no ports of entry in Upper Canada, so that all goods for that province had to pay duties at Quebec; from the distribution of the money so raised, it would seem to imply that the population of Upper Canada was about one-eighth of that of Lower Canada. The crops this year were poor, and Lord Dorchester, fearing the high prices ruling in England on account of the war and a failure in the crops, laid an embargo on the exportation of wheat and breadstuffs, before the 10th of December, so as to prevent Lower Canada suffering from a famine during the winter.

7.—Parliament met again on the 20th of November, 1795, and remained in session until the 7th of May, 1796. Thirteen bills were passed during the session, twelve of which were assented to.

Last session of first Parliament. Compliments from Lord Dorchester.

The thirteenth, relating to a readjustment of the revenue laws, was reserved. Amongst those passed were one to regulate trade with the United States, another to appoint commissioners to adjust the duties between Upper and Lower Canada, and a new road act. This latter bill caused some trouble, as it was resisted in some districts, and the opposition being attributed to disaffection several arrests were made and small fines and imprisonment inflicted; two or three persons were also attainted of high treason, but the prosecutions were not pressed, the desire, seemingly, being more to intimidate than to punish. There is no reason, however, to suppose that there was any disaffec-

tion; the people at large regarded the Parliament as a sort of taxing machine, and were very jealous of any laws which involved additional expense, hence their objection to the road bill, an act which was cheerfully accepted when its provisions became understood, and which remained the law of the Province for many years. The final session of the first parliament was prorogued on the 7th of May, 1796, and in taking leave of the members Lord Dorchester expressed his gratification at the satisfactory manner in which they had performed their duties by saying: "Gentlemen of the Legislative Council, and gentlemen of the House of Assembly,—In expressing my approbation of your proceedings, I must further observe that the unanimity, loyalty, and disinterestedness manifested by this first Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada, has never been surpassed in any of his Majesty's Provincial dominions, and I feel convinced that the prosperity and happiness of this country will continue to increase in proportion as succeeding parliaments shall follow your laudable example."

8.—Lord Dorchester having again obtained leave of absence, took his final departure from Canada on the 9th of July, 1796, in H. M. frigate *Active*, leaving, Major-General Robert Prescott as Lieutenant-Governor. Lord Dorchester had taken part in the siege of Quebec, under Wolfe, and had for upwards of thirty-six years, with brief intermissions, been actively connected with the affairs of Canada. He had proved himself a constant and earnest friend of the Province, and was loved and respected by all classes. His departure was deeply regretted, and several addresses were presented to him; we make a brief extract from the one presented by the citizens of Quebec, as indicative of the general tone of them all: "The length of your residence in the Province, the advantages derived to our society from the example of private virtues, shown by yourself and your family,—your Lordship's uniform, prudent and paternal attention, under every change of time and circumstance, to the true interests of His Majesty's subjects entrusted to your immediate care,—and that gratitude which we feel (and must be permitted to repeat), excite in our minds, the warmest sentiments of personal attachment, of which allow us to tender you the strongest assurances. Under these impressions, we view your Lordship's in-

Final departure of Lord Dorchester. General regret at his leaving.

tended departure, with the deepest regret; and submitting to your determination to leave us with unfeigned reluctance, we entreat you to accept our most sincere wishes for your favorable passage to Great Britain,—for the future prosperity of yourself and of all your family." His Lordship, however, was unfortunate on his homeward voyage, as the *Active* was wrecked on the island of Anticosti. No loss of life was sustained, but his Lordship and family suffered some inconvenience, having to cross over to Gaspé and there await conveyance to Halifax, not reaching England until the 19th of September. Lord Dorchester lived for many years to enjoy the repose he had so well earned, and died in 1808, aged 83 years.

CHAPTER LXIX.

LOWER CANADA.—GOVERNMENT OF GEN. R. PRESCOTT.

1. SECOND PARLIAMENT OPENED BY GOVERNOR PRESCOTT.—2. THE "PRESERVATION OF GOVERNMENT" ACT.—3. FIRST EXECUTION FOR HIGH TREASON IN CANADA.—4. ACCOUNT OF THE EXECUTION BY AN EYE-WITNESS.—5. SESSIONS OF 1798—9. RECALL OF GOVERNOR PRESCOTT.—6. SUBSTANTIAL TESTIMONY OF LOYALTY. A RETROSPECT.

1.—Previous to Lord Dorchester's departure, writs for a general election had been issued, and the elections took place during the months of June and July. The elections were in many cases conducted, but passed off quietly. The composition of the House, however, underwent a great change; only thirteen members of the first parliament were re-elected, and in some districts the changes were very marked, as, for instance, in the city and county of Montreal where four English and two French members were returned to the first Parliament, five French and one English member were returned to the second; and the only case of re-election was that of Mr. Joseph Papineau, who changed from representing the county to representing the West Ward. The new Parliament met on the 24th January, 1797, and Lieutenant-Governor Prescott, in his speech from the throne, congratulated the Assembly on the progress made by the province in spite of the con-

Second Parliament opened by Governor Prescott.

tinued war in Europe. He was, however, still anxious about the intrigues of emissaries of the French Republic, as he says, "You are not unapprised that, in addition to the customary mode of warfare, the emissaries of France have been dispersed in every quarter, and by holding out delusive prospects to the people, they have endeavored to disturb the quiet of all settled governments. Attempts of this nature having recently been made in this province, it is incumbent on me to direct your attention to the salutary effects already produced by the alien bill, and as its duration is limited to a period which will soon expire, to recommend to your consideration the expediency of prolonging its continuance."

2.—These fears of the Governor appear to have been unnecessary, and the nature and extent of the dissatisfaction

of the people exaggerated and misunderstood; the only grievance of the people being the operations of the road act,

and these feelings of annoyance were greatly alleviated as the act began to be better understood. However, the House seemed to share the Governor's fears, and not only renewed the alien act, but passed another bill "for the better preservation of His Majesty's Government, as by law happily established in this province," which virtually suspended the *habeas corpus* act, and gave the executive most arbitrary power, giving the right to arrest and hold in prison at pleasure, without bringing to trial, any person accused or suspected of treasonable practices. The bill, after denouncing "the horrible system of anarchy and confusion which has so fatally prevailed in France," continues, "it is hereby enacted, that every person or persons who are, or shall be in prison within the Province of Lower Canada, at or upon the day on which this act shall receive His Majesty's royal assent, or after, by warrant of His Majesty's Executive Council of and for this Province, signed by three of the said Executive Council, for high treason, misprision of high treason, suspicion of high treason, or treasonable practices, may be detained in safe custody, without bail or mainprise, and shall not be bailed without a warrant for that purpose, from His Majesty's Executive Council, signed by three of the Executive Council."

3.—The question of education occupied the attention of the House, but no action was taken; a motion of Mr.

Grant's, "to resolve that, for the instruction of youth in the higher branches of knowledge, it is necessary that an university, upon liberal principles, be founded and established in this province, as soon as circumstances shall permit," being voted down on a call for "the previous question."

Six bills altogether were passed at this session, one of which related to the pilotage of the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Bic. The public accounts showed a very

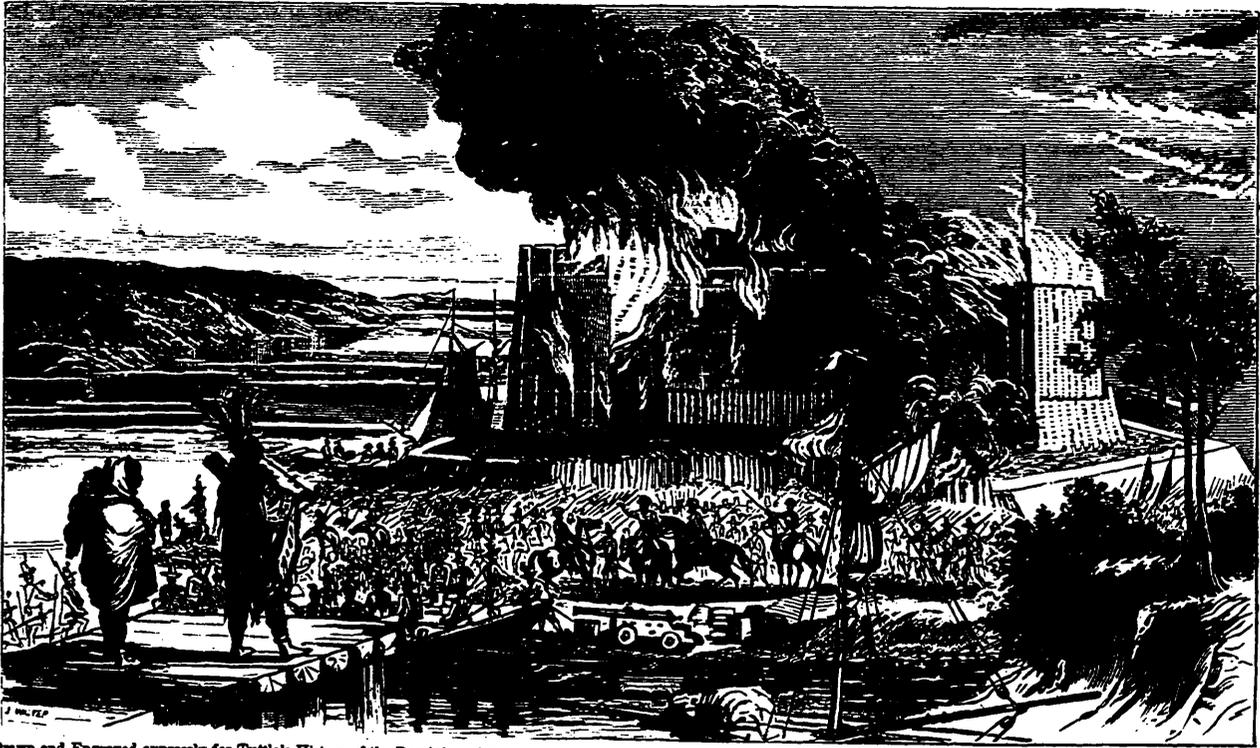
material increase in revenue, it amounting to £18,975. Still it did not meet expenses, which were £25,380, including £1,040 drawback allowed to Upper Canada. In this year, 1797, the first execution for high treason took place in Quebec. The sufferer was an American citizen named David McLane, who was an emissary of Mr. Audet, representative of the French Republic at Washington. McLane's scheme was a great one, being nothing less than the extinction of British power in Canada at one swoop; but the means at his command seem to have been very inadequate to the undertaking, although he talked a good deal about having a fleet and an army of 10,000 men from France to assist him. He visited Canada in 1796, endeavoring to gain the sympathy and assistance of the Canadians, but did not succeed. In the following year he returned, and was accompanied by a man named Frechette from St. Johns to Quebec, where he visited Mr. John Black, member of the Assembly for Quebec county. He unfolded his scheme to Black, who denounced him to the Government, and he was arrested and tried for high treason, before Chief Justice Osgood, on 7th July, 1797. The evidence at his trial showed that he was a bankrupt merchant of Providence, Rhode Island, and he also claimed to be a general in the French army, acting under instructions from the French Minister at Washington. His plan was to introduce a number of men from the United States, under the guise of raftsmen; they were to concentrate at Quebec, and at a favorable moment, seize the city and hold it in the name of the French Republic until the arrival of assistance from France. He counted on the assistance of the French, who, he believed, were anxious to regain their lost nationality. He was found guilty and condemned to death by Chief Justice Osgood in the following sentence: "That you, David McLane, be taken to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn to the place of execution, where you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead, for you must be cut down alive and your bowels taken out and burnt before your face; then your head must be severed from your body, which must be divided into four parts, and your head and quarters be at the King's disposal; and may the Lord have mercy on your soul."

4.—This horrible sentence was not fully carried out to the entire extent of all its barbarity; and it is only fair to suppose that this mode of execution—

which was then the custom in England—

Account of the execution by an eye-witness.

was mainly intended to intimidate the Canadians. That the execution was terrible enough is evidenced by the following extract from M. DeGaspé's *Canadians of Old*: "Artillery and a body of troops paraded the streets and accompanied the prisoner to the place of execution, on the glacis, outside of St. John's



Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

EVACUATION OF FORT DUQUESNE, 1758.



Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

CAPTURE OF FORT FRONTENAC, 1758.



Gate, facing the site now occupied by the school of the Christian Brothers. I saw McLane; he was seated (on a sledge whose runners grated on the earth and stones) with his back to the horse, an axe and block stood on the front of the sledge. The unfortunate man gazed on the spectators with an aspect calm but not defiant. McLane was of high stature and remarkably handsome. I heard women of the lower classes, whilst bewailing his fate, exclaim: 'Ah! if things were as of yore, some girl would come forward and claim him as her future husband.' Such sayings continued even after his death. This popular belief took its origin, I imagine, in the fact that French captives among the Indians, who were doomed to die, had in many instances owed their lives to Indian women claiming them for husbands. McLane's sentence was not carried out to the letter. I saw the whole thing with my own eyes. A big school boy named Boudrault, from time to time, raised me up in his arms, so that I should witness every incident of this butchery. Old Dr. Duvert was near us; he pulled out his watch, as soon as Ward, the executioner, had withdrawn the ladder on which rested McLane, lying on his back, with the rope round his neck, hanging from the gallows; the body then struck the northern side of the gallows post, and remained stationary after a few jerks. 'He is stone dead,' said Dr. Duvert, when the executioner cut the rope at the end of the twenty-five minutes; 'he will be insensible to what shall follow.' We all thought that he was to be disembowelled alive and witness the burning of his entrails, as the sentence purported. McLane was really dead when Ward opened his body, took out the heart and bowels, which he burnt on a *réchaud*; he then cut off his head and held up this bloody trophy to the gaze of the crowd. The spectators, the nearest to the gallows, said that the executioner had refused to enforce the sentence literally, saying that he might be an executioner, but he was not a butcher; that it was merely by dint of gold guineas the sheriff succeeded in making him carry out the sentence, and that at each act of the terrible drama, he insisted on more pay.

5. Frichette was also arrested on a charge of misprision of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

He was a person of no consequence, and after the execution of McLane he was pardoned and set at liberty. The government probably thinking that act of barbarity sufficient to intimidate the friends of the French republic. With regard to this execution, Mr. Christie very justly says; "This, from the conquest to that time, is the only instance in Canada of a trial for high treason, and it, be it also observed, not of a British subject. It is creditable to the Canadian character that, with the single exception mentioned, none were connected with McLane, the very absurdity of whose scheme denoted him a mere maniac,

and who, had not the government deemed an example necessary, in the agitation of the times, might with more propriety have been treated as an unhappy lunatic than as a criminal. A stranger, friendless and unknown, he was altogether powerless, and now that time has dispelled the mist of prejudice against him at the moment, and that we can coolly survey the whole matter from first to last, there seems more of cruelty than of justice in the example made of this unfortunate person, who suffered rather for the instruction of the people, uneasy under the road act, than for any guilt in a plan perfectly impracticable and preposterous." This execution of McLane was about the last occurrence of any special importance during the administration of Governor Prescott, and if it was intended as an intimidation it certainly had its effect. The sessions of the Legislature of 1798-9, present no features of special interest; the usual supplies were voted and the revenue showed a steady increase, amounting for 1799 to £25,427 currency, while the civil expenditure reached £24,597 sterling, and the expenses of the Legislature £1,500 currency, the most satisfactory exhibit yet made by the province; the "Protection of Government" act was renewed, and acts passed for regulating trade and commerce with the United States and the Upper Province; and suitable Court Houses were erected at Montreal and Quebec. Governor Prescott prorogued the House on the 3d June, 1799, and before Parliament met again he had been recalled, and Mr. Robert Shore Milnes appointed lieutenant-governor. Governor Prescott was well liked and respected by the majority of the people, although some considered him rather severe in administering the alien act. The cause of his recall was a difference between himself and Chief Justice Osgood on the question of Crown Lands, in which the Chief Justice, having strong influence at court, had the best of it.

6.—To show that the people of Lower Canada were willing to contribute something more substantial than mere sympathy to England during her long wars with France, we may mention that in 1799 it was proposed in Quebec to raise a subscription to assist in defraying the expenses of the war; over £1000 cash was at once subscribed, and about fifty persons pledged themselves to pay certain amounts [varying from six shillings to one hundred pounds] every year during the continuance of the war. The total was about £800 per annum, not a very large amount, perhaps, to carry on an expensive war with, but sufficient to show the animus of the people and their sympathy with the British Government. This subscription was not confined to English citizens, rather more than one-half of the annual payments guaranteed being by French Canadians. Standing now on the threshold of the nineteenth century, we may pause for a moment and take a retrospective glance at the changed

Sessions of 1798-9.
Recall of Governor
Prescott.

Substantial testimony of loyalty. A retrospect.

condition of Canada during the past one hundred years. The opening of the century had found her a warlike French Colony, scarcely yet recovered from the effects of King William's war (1689-97,) and shortly after to be plunged into the strife again by Queen Anne's war (1702-13). While an almost perpetual petty warfare was going on against the Indians, who could never be trusted to keep a treaty for any length of time; then the *habitant* was a soldier first and a colonist afterwards; then the government was centered in the King and the peasant had no voice in the management of affairs; then the infant colony was but sparsely peopled, intercommunication there was none, except by the trail of the Indian or the light canoe, and intercourse with the outer world was limited to the arrival of a few ships from France, bringing out supplies of food and clothing and taking back furs; looking a little further on into the century we find Canada engaged in a death struggle for existence as a French colony; we see her gallant sons stubbornly resisting for seven years, inch by inch almost, every advance of a brave, numerous, and persistent foe; we see her at last lie bruised and bleeding at the feet of her conqueror, laying down her arms only when she had no longer strength left to lift them; we see her stricken by poverty and famine, wasted and shattered by war, ruined in agriculture, with almost her whole trade gone, and scarcely any commerce left, at last haul down the *fleur-de-lys* as a token of submission and pass under British sway when little more than half the century had passed away; we see her during the last forty years of the century rapidly recovering from her long exhaustion; we see her population pouring in; we see industries springing up; the primeval forest melting before the swing of the woodman's axe; we see towns springing up in the wilderness and smiling fields and happy firesides appearing as if by magic where erstwhile naught was seen but the tangled forest, naught heard save the scream of wild birds or the still wilder whoop of the Indian; we see law and order spreading their healthy influences over the land, and industry reaping its reward by the plentiful produce of a fertile country; we see hundreds of ships bearing the produce of the field, the farm and the chase to distant lands; and while the two countries from which Canadians sprang are engaged in mortal strife, and scarce a home in either but is mourning some member lost, we see the Canadian happy, peaceful, prosperous and contented, ruled by a government in which he has a voice, taxed only with his own consent, maintained in the full and free use of his religion, his language, his laws and his customs, and we may well exclaim, stormy as was the opening of the eighteenth century for Canada; dark and lowering as were its middle years to her, the end brought her peace and happiness. Of the political condition of the people we cannot do better than quote from Christie:

He says: "So far the constitution had worked to admiration, and promised success. The Government and Parliament were in perfect harmony; commerce began to thrive, and the vast resources of trade to unfold themselves—the province evidently was prosperous—and all classes of the people contented and happy, friendly and well disposed in all respects towards each other. There were no religious feuds or disputes of any kind—natural-origin prejudices were scarcely felt or known—never publicly appealed to, and by an universal tacit consent avoided and discountenanced. The habitual politeness, the loyalty, the chivalrous feeling characteristic of the gentlemen of the old French school, were still in the ascendant, and harmonized admirably with the gentlemanly bearing, upright character, and general information which in all countries distinguish the British merchant, and for which those in Canada of that not less than of this day, were eminent. The earth yielded, in abundance, fruits, food for man and beast, and with but little labor. Taxes none, except upon litigation, as just observed, and upon luxuries, which were not felt by the cultivator—and truly may it be said, that the last sun of the eighteenth century, that set upon Canada, left its people the happiest upon this earth of all the sons of men it that day had shone upon."

CHAPTER LXX.

LOWER CANADA. GOVERNMENT OF SIR R. S. MILNES.

1. APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL MILNES. A SHORT SESSION.—2. PASSAGE OF A BILL PROVIDING FOR A "ROYAL INSTITUTION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.—3. SESSION OF 1802. ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE CULTURE OF HEMP—4. SESSION OF 1803. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—5. SESSION OF 1804. A QUIET YEAR.—6. FOURTH PARLIAMENT. DISAGREEMENT OF THE HOUSE ON THE JAIL ACT.—7. THE QUESTION OF INTERCOMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCES.—8. PERSECUTION OF THE PRESS.—9. THE EDITOR OF THE MERCURY FORCED TO APOLOGISE.—10. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE COMMERCIAL AND AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS. ESTABLISHMENT OF LE CANADIEN.—11. FEARS OF A WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES. MILITIA CALLED OUT.

1.—Governor Robert Shore Milnes (afterwards created a Baronet) relieved General Prescott on the 31st July, 1799, but did not meet Parliament until ^{Appointment of} he 5th March, 1800. The session was ^{General Milnes. A} a short one, the House being prorogued ^{short session.} on the 8th April, and but little business of any special mo-

ment was transacted. An effort was made by the few factious French demagogues in the House to force the governor to submit some correspondence with reference to the title of the Crown to the Jesuit estate; but they were, as yet, too weak to materially disturb the harmony of the House, and, after some discussion, it was agreed that "the house ought to postpone to a future time, the inquiry into the rights and pretensions alluded to. During this session the first occasion occurred on which Parliament had to assert its dignity with respect to one of its own members. A Mr. Bouc, member for Effingham, had been found guilty of a questionable transaction in wheat in Montreal and sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of £20. Bouc, who was a strong opponent of the government, claimed that the charge was a conspiracy against him, but he could not substantiate his assertion either in court, or before the bar of the House where he was heard, by counsel, on 2d April, and afterwards expelled by a vote of 21 to 8. He must have enjoyed the confidence of his constituents, as he was twice afterwards re-elected, until, at last, Parliament passed an act rendering him ineligible. The revenue this year was 26,081 and the civil expenses 36,954. This closed the second parliament, and new elections were held during the summer, and were mostly well contested, but did not materially change the complexion of the House. In this year (1800) the last of the Jesuit order in Canada, Father Casot, died. He was a man much beloved and esteemed, and had for many years devoted the large revenues at his command to the cause of charity. On his demise the Jesuit estate lapsed to the crown, and its revenues have since been devoted to educational purposes. The first year of the century passed tranquilly enough for Canada, and left so little for the historian to record that we may safely venture to believe that the people had no cause of complaint, and were happy and contented.

2.—The most important acts passed this session related to taxes on billiard tables, tobacco and snuff, which were

taxed for the first time; to the establishment of public schools, and to the removal of the walls around Montreal.

The educational act provided for the establishment of free schools and the establishment of a corporation under the style of "The Royal institution for the advancement of learning," a portion of the Crown Lands to be appropriated to the maintenance of the institutions. The act was a failure and the Royal institution existed for some years on subsidies, but did not accomplish the object aimed at. The want of success was attributed to the Composition of the Corporation, which was chiefly Protestant, with the Protestant Bishop at its head, and the Roman Catholic clergy deemed it too sectarian and gave it no support. No appropriation of lands was ever made

either. Several new townships were laid out this year for the officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the Canadian militia who had assisted at the defense of Quebec during the American invasion, 1775-6. The grants varied from 1,000 acres down to 400. The revenue of the year amounted to £27,166 currency, of which £17,120 were applicable to the expenses of the civil government, which amounted to £33,381 sterling.

3.—The only subject of importance discussed in the session of 1802—which met on 11th of January and was prorogued on 5th of April—was the encouragement of the growth of hemp in the province. This matter had been under discussion the previous year, and the subject was again taken up at the recommendation of the lieutenant-governor. The Assembly voted £1,200 to encourage its production, and a board was appointed, of which the lieutenant-governor was chairman. Some small efforts were made, but the project was not a success, the habitants preferring to continue the raising of wheat. Nothing of importance occurred during this year, except that the settlements in the Eastern townships began to assume greater prosperity and lay the foundation of what is now the most flourishing rural district in Lower Canada.

Session of 1802, encouragement for the culture of hemp.

4.—In the session of 1803; the most noteworthy fact was the increase in the revenue, which amounted to £31,241 currency; against an expenditure of £37,008 sterling. In this year slavery formally ceased to be an "institution" in Canada. It had been introduced under French rule, and was specially recognized by article 47 of the capitulation of Canada; but it never seemed to flourish here, and a bill was introduced at the first session of the first parliament for its abolition; the bill was shelved, and a similar act, introduced in 1792, was laid on the table. In 1803, Chief-Justice Osgood rendered a decision at Montreal that slavery was incompatible with the laws of Lower Canada, which extinguished it. The number of blacks could never have been very great, as we find by the census of the next year that there were only 304 negroes in the whole Province of Lower Canada. A short session of Parliament took place in August, on the arrival of the news of the renewal of hostilities between France and England, for the purpose of renewing the alien and protection to government acts, which had been allowed to expire by limitation at the last session, on account of the short peace in Europe. The renewal of hostilities caused some strong manifestations of loyalty throughout the province, and large numbers offered to form volunteer companies for the defence of the province if needed. The governor sent a message to the House on the subject, but it arrived too late for action, as prorogation took place the next day.

Session of 1803. Abolition of slavery.

5.—The year 1804, so “pregnant with the fate of great events” in Europe, passed almost like a happy dream in Canada, and left not a ruffle on the surface of memory to mar the pleasures of recollection. The Legislature met on 10th February, and remained in session until 2d May, passing thirteen bills, amongst them one providing for insane persons and foundlings. — It was found very difficult to keep the members together, as the novelty of legislation had worn off, and many members preferred either to remain at home, or to pay a short visit to the capital and then return to their usual avocations; so difficult, indeed, was it found to get together enough members to transact business, that the number necessary to form a quorum was reduced to twelve, including the speaker. The public accounts showed the revenues of the past year to have been £32,276 currency, and the expenses £36,821 sterling, including £1,340 returned to Upper Canada as her share of imposts. This session terminated the fourth Parliament of Lower Canada, and a general election was held in July following.

6.—The first session of the fourth Parliament met on the 9th of January, 1805, and during its session a slight difference between the House and the Executive occurred, as well as a difficulty between the members themselves. The latter was caused by the introduction of a bill to build jails in the province, and, in order to meet the expense, it provided for a tax of two and a half per cent on all goods sold at auction; a duty of twopence per pound on bohea, fourpence on souchong, sixpence on hyson, and fourpence on all other teas. An additional duty of threepence per gallon on wines and spirits and twopence on molasses or syrup was also imposed. The town members—especially those of Montreal—strongly opposed this system of taxation, holding that it would paralyze commerce to burden it with all the taxes of the province, and that a land tax should be imposed to meet the expense. The country members defended the system as the fairest one, as the duty was really paid by the consumer in the enhanced value of the goods to be purchased, while it would be impossible to impose any land tax in a new country like Canada which would not press unfairly on some land-owners, and would retard settlement. The country members were in the majority and carried the bill, which was assented to in spite of petitions against it, and counter petitions in its favor. A bill “to enable seigniors to compound their feudal rights and dues with their vassals and censitaires,” was introduced, but laid on the table. The most important act of the session was one for regulating the pilotage and improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence, under which the Trinity Board was established.

7.—The great want of better intercommunication was being greatly felt, as the two provinces increased in population; and a bill was passed granting one thousand pounds for the removal of some obstructions in the Lachine rapids, but it was already felt that the only way to utilize the noble St. Lawrence and the vast inland lakes to their full extent was by canals. The difference between the lieutenant-governor and the House was on a very slight matter; the House thought that M. P. E. Desbarats, French translator, was not receiving sufficient salary, and sent an address to the governor recommending an increase. This offended the lieutenant-governor as being an encroachment on the royal prerogative; and although he, probably, had no objection to raising Mr. Desbarats' salary, he replied, “that however he might feel disposed to accede to every request of the House of Assembly, he found himself called upon in the present instance to decline doing so; and that he regretted the necessity for remarking that when the usual observances which tend to preserve a due harmony between the executive power and the other branches of the Legislature were omitted, he felt himself compelled to resist a precedent which might lead to consequences so injurious.” This nettled the assembly, and they were about to go into Committee on the message, when they were summoned to the Legislative Council chamber and Parliament prorogued. The public accounts for the past year, showed the revenue to be £33,633 currency; and the civil expenditure £33,003 sterling, including £1,272 refunded Upper Canada. The lieutenant-governor sailed for England on the 5th of August, and left the affairs of the Province to be administered by Mr. Dunn, who was the senior member of the Council. In this year the second newspaper in Quebec and the first in the province published entirely in English, *The Mercury*, made its appearance, being established by Mr. Cary, who remained its editor and proprietor until his death in 1823. The trade of Quebec greatly increased this year, the number of vessels arriving being 146 with a total tonnage of 25,136.

8.—Mr. Administrator Dunn convoked Parliament on the 22d of February, 1806, and this session was marked by the first crusade against the freedom of the press in Canada. It appears that the citizens of Montreal were greatly pleased with the conduct of their town and county members in opposing the jail act, and gave them a dinner at Dillon's Hotel, in March, 1805. About sixty of the leading citizens were present, and after the usual loyal and patriotic toasts had been drunk, the following were also proposed: “6. The honorable members of the Legislative Council who were friendly to constitutional taxation, as proposed by our worthy members in the House of Assembly. 7. Our representatives in Provincial Par-

Session of 1804
A quiet year.

Fourth Parlia-
ment. Disagree-
ment of the House
on the Jail Act.

Persecution of the
Press.

The question of
intercommunica-
tion between the
Provinces.

liament, who proposed a constitutional and proper mode of taxation for building jails, and who opposed a tax on commerce for that purpose, as contrary to the sound practice of the parent state. 8. May our representatives be actuated by a patriotic spirit for the good of the province as dependent on the British Empire, and be divested of local prejudices. 9. Prosperity to the agriculture and commerce of Canada, and may they aid each other, as their true interest dictates, by sharing a due proportion of advantages and burdens. 10. The city and county of Montreal and the Grand Juries of the district, who recommended local assessments for local purposes. 11. May the city of Montreal be enabled to support a newspaper, though deprived of its natural and useful advantages; apparently for the benefit of an *individual*. 12. May the commercial interests of this province have its due influence on the administration of its government." In the present day, when we are accustomed to the free—and sometimes too free—expression of opinion by the press, on all subjects, we can scarcely conceive that any deliberative assembly would pass a resolution that the mere publication of the above toasts, without comment and without even stating when the dinner was held, was "a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, highly and unjustly reflecting upon his majesty's representative in this province, and on both Houses of the Provincial Parliament, and tending to lessen the affections of his majesty's subjects towards his government in this province;" yet the Provincial Legislature did pass such a resolution, and adopted the report of a committee of seven that Isaac Todd, who presided at the meeting, and Edward Edwards, who published the resolutions in the *Montreal Gazette*, were "guilty of a high breach of the privileges of this house," and their arrest by the sergeant-at-arms was ordered. They took care to keep out of the way, however, and the affair blew over.

9.—Mr. Cary, editor of the *Mercury*, was not so fortunate, however, and was forced to apologize to the House

for having published an account of its proceedings with regard to the *Gazette*.*
The Editor of the Mercury forced to apologize.

As there were only three papers published

* It must be remembered that reporters were not allowed in the House in those days, and the unauthorized publication of the proceedings of the House was regarded as a breach of privilege. Even in the present day in England, as well as in this country, reporters are only admitted on sufferance, and any member can have them excluded by calling the attention of the speaker to the fact that there are strangers in the House and asking to have the gallery cleared. The privilege has long since gone into disuse, and members of Parliament are now more likely to be offended at not being reported than at being reported; still Parliament retains the right, and an irascible member occasionally makes himself ridiculous by causing its enforcement. It took many years before the liberty of the press was acknowledged in England, and printers and publishers suffered much persecution. The reign of George the Third was specially noticeable for press persecutions, and editors, publishers and printers formed one of the staples of the jail population. One of the greatest causes of complaint was reporting the debates in Parliament, the members declaring it a breach of privilege to do so. The *London Evening Post* was the first paper to offend in this way. Its publisher collected some particulars

in the province at that time, and the third was the government organ, the *Quebec Gazette*, it may be concluded that the House had succeeded in pretty effectually muzzling the press, for the present; but not for long; public opinion was in favor of a free press, and in the course of time the House was forced to bow to public opinion and permit, not only publication of its actions, but very free discussions on them. Beyond the persecution of the press, the only question which occupied the particular attention of the House was the jail act. This had been passed, as we have seen, at last session; but a petition having been forwarded to the king, praying him to revoke the bill (which he had the power to do with any act, within two years after its passage), a counter-petition and address was passed in the Assembly, after a violent discussion, humbly beseeching his majesty to allow the act to remain in force, and setting forth the great injustice of a tax on land. The bill, being already assented to, was not disturbed, and the jails were built, Commerce being taxed to pay for them; as the taxes yielded largely, the cost of the jails was soon paid, but the tax was retained to meet the expenses of the American war.

10.—The growing jealousy of the agricultural and commercial interests of each other was now rapidly increasing; so far it had not declared itself as a war of nationality, but, as the country or agricultural party were all French, and—
Differences between the Commercial and Agricultural interests. Establishment of Le Canadien.
 largely in the majority—while the town or commercial party were very nearly all

English, it could not fail to develop itself ere long as a war of races. The ground of the difficulty was that the commercial interests objected to have all the taxes placed on commerce, and upheld local taxation for local purposes; on the other hand the agricultural party desired commerce to pay all expenses and agriculture to reap its fair share of the profits on such expenditures, without pay-

of the debate on the Middlesex election from members of the House and published them. This was quickly followed by the *St. James Chronicle*, which employed a reporter specially to go about to coffee houses and pick up information from members. This gentleman, whose name is, unfortunately, lost to fame, is the first of the now numerous race of "interviewers." These publications caused a perfect storm in the House, and on the 12th March, 1771, Miller, the publisher of the *Post*, was commanded to appear before the bar of the House. Miller refused to appear, and the deputy sergeant-at-arms was sent to bring him; but it was the old story of catching a Tartar; instead of capturing Miller, Miller captured the deputy, and took him before the Lord Mayor, within whose jurisdiction miller lived, charging him with assault. The Lord Mayor was highly indignant that anyone should attempt to interfere with his authority, and promptly committed the deputy, holding that the speaker's warrant was of no account in the city. At this the House was thrown into a state of great indignation, and after a stormy debate, the Lord Mayor and two aldermen who had signed the warrant with him were arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, where they remained for three months until Parliament adjourned. This may be said to have finished the fight between Parliament and the press, the latter winning, for the conduct of the House brought down such a storm of indignation from the people that no further effort to interfere with the right of the press to report was made. Reporters were tacitly admitted to the gallery, and not very long afterwards special accommodation was provided for them. Ed.

ing anything directly—and scarcely anything indirectly, for the French country people raised their own food, made their own clothes, and were almost entirely independent of the towns for imported goods, as they are in many parts of Quebec to this day. The French had long felt the want of a newspaper of their own, printed entirely in their own language,* and representing their ideas; to meet this want *Le Canadien* was brought out in November, 1806. Its professed object was to repel attacks on the French Canadian character and to instruct its compatriots in their duties and rights as British subjects; but, as Mr. Christie says, "it was from the outset anti-executive in politics, anti-commercial in its doctrines, and, indeed, anti-British in spirit, treating as anti-Canadian everything British in the colony, and the British immigrants and population as "étrangers et intrus—strangers and intruders." Quebec seems to have been rapidly increasing in trade, 191 vessels of 33,474 tons altogether arrived from the sea during the year, and a large coasting-trade was also done, besides which ship-building was springing up and fast becoming an important industry.

11.—Neither the governor-general, Sir Robert Prescott, nor the lieutenant-governor, Sir R. S. Milnes, returning to the province, Mr. Administrator Dunn again convoked Parliament on the 21st January, 1807. The business of the session was not very important, the principal matter discussed being a motion to make "An allowance for defraying the expenses of the members of the Assembly who reside at a distance from Quebec;" but it was defeated by a vote of 16 to 14; the members being jealous of their privileges, one of which was to serve their king and country for nothing, and pay their own expenses. This race of men has died out of public life in Canada now. The assembly also considered the propriety of appointing an agent in London to represent them in London; but final consideration of the subject was postponed until another session. The public accounts for 1806 showed the revenue to be £36,417 currency, and the civil expenditure £36,213 sterling; in this latter amount was included two items of £2,000 and £1,500 respectively, for the salaries of the governor-general and lieutenant-governor, neither of whom had been in the province during the year. During the summer great anxiety was felt on the score of the prospect of war with the United States. Great Britain, then "mistress of the seas," having swept all the navies of the world off the ocean, declared the whole coast of France in a state of blockade, and captured some American ships who were trying to run in—just as in late years, during the Southern rebellion, the United States vessels captured British ships trying to run the blockade into Southern ports.

* The only three papers in the Province then were printed, two, half in French, half in English, and one entirely in English.

This irritated the Americans, who claimed to be neutral—although secretly aiding France; and when the British ship *Leopard*, exercising the "Right of Search," overhauled the American frigate *Chesapeake* and took from her four deserters, known to be on board, after having killed and wounded several of the crew of the *Chesapeake* in a short engagement, the excitement grew to fever point, and a declaration of war was momentarily expected. This was happily prevented, for a time, by the prompt action of the British government, who disavowed the action of the commander of the *Leopard* as having been without orders, and made what restitution was in their power. The Americans threatened another invasion of Canada, and boasted that they would, this time, have the hearty co-operation of the French Canadians, who were dissatisfied with British rule; to test this Mr. Dunn, in August, called out one-fifth of the militia for active duty, and the Roman Catholic Bishop endorsed the call in an encyclical letter. The people responded most cheerfully and willingly, and with such eagerness to serve, that, according to the Quebec *Mercury*, "sums of money were offered by individuals for prize-tickets, for such the tickets were called which, in balloting, were for service. Some young bachelors procured prize-tickets from the married men, who had been drawn for service, but the greater part of the latter insisted on keeping their tickets, notwithstanding that offers of exchange were made to them by bachelors." Fortunately their services were not needed, but their prompt loyalty went far to disabuse any idea of disaffection on the part of the French. On the 18th October, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Craig, who had been appointed governor-general, arrived at Quebec in the frigate *Horatio*, and relieved Mr. Dunn, who was allowed a pension of £500 a year in acknowledgment of the able manner in which he had administered the affairs of the province.

CHAPTER LXXI.

LOWER CANADA. GOVERNMENT OF SIR JAMES HENRY CRAIG.

1. APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR CRAIG. HIS CHARACTER.—2. THE INELIGIBILITY OF JUDGES. EXPULSION OF MR. HART.—3. CRAIG'S FIRST DIFFERENCE WITH THE ASSEMBLY. THE HOUSE DISSOLVED.—4. GROWTH OF PARTY SPIRIT. THE FIRST STEAMBOAT ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.—5. THE ASSEMBLY DECLARES THE GOVERNOR'S CENSURE OF THEIR CONDUCT A BREACH OF PRIVILEGE.—6. THE ASSEMBLY OFFERS TO ASSUME THE WHOLE CIVIL LIST. JUDGE DEBONNE EXPELLED.—7. THE GOVERNOR AGAIN



DISSOLVES THE HOUSE. RAPID INCREASE OF TRADE ON ACCOUNT OF EUROPEAN WAR.—8. SUPPRESSION OF LE CANADIEN. SUMMARY ARREST OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE.—9. A TRUCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE ASSEMBLY.—10. ADDRESSES TO THE GOVERNOR ON HIS DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND.

1.—Lieutenant-General James Henry Craig was an officer who had served his country for forty years with honor and distinction; and it was, probably, the threatening aspect of the United States which indicated a near possibility of war, which influenced the Home government in selecting him to fill the position of lieutenant-governor and captain-general in Canada. A strict martinet and disciplinarian, he seems to have regarded the Canadian Assembly very much as a body of raw recruits who had to be "taught their facings;" and although he was popular with a small clique of ultra-British, who wished to ignore the French element altogether, he was by no means generally liked, and his administration—added to the inflammatory and intensely anti-British tone adopted by *Le Canadien*—may be regarded as the entering wedge which finally forced the French and English elements in this province so widely asunder. He was nearly sixty years old at the time of his appointment, and suffering from dropsy and other diseases; and it is, therefore, only just to attribute to ill health some of the irascibility and peevishness which characterized his administration. Firm in his convictions, he was yet easily misled by violent partisans; and, in his four years of official life, went a very great way towards destroying that cordial good feeling, as fellow-citizens under one sovereign, which Guy Carleton, during his thirty-six years of connection with Canada, had striven so earnestly to foster and encourage. That Craig made mistakes there is no doubt; but it must be remembered that nearly all the officeholders were British, and strongly anti-Canadian in sentiment, and they were his principal advisers; and he appears to have acted honestly and conscientiously, as far as he was personally concerned, for the best interests of the province.

2.—The opening of Parliament was on the 29th of January, 1808, and there was nothing remarkable about it, except that the governor's speech was rather longer than usual. The address in reply was both cordial and short. "The apple of discord" of this session was thrown by the introduction of a resolution, "that it is expedient to declare that the Judges of the Court of King's bench now established, the Provincial Judges of the districts of Three Rivers and Gaspé, and all commissioned Judges of any courts that may hereafter be established in this Province, are incapable of being elected, or of sitting or voting in the House of Assembly or any Parliament of this Prov-

Appointment of Governor Craig. His character.

The ineligibility of Judges. Expulsion of Mr. Hart.

ince." The resolution was passed with only two dissentient votes—for the Assembly had, for some time, felt that it was incongruous to have the same persons who made the laws administer them, and be under the obligation of electoral suffrage to the very persons they may be called on to administer justice to;—and a bill was passed, but rejected by the Legislative Council. This caused great displeasure in the House, and the most violent members were in favor of expelling the judges at once, by resolution of the House; but milder counsels prevailed, and the matter was laid over until next session. The first act with reference to contested elections was passed at this session, and some other useful bills were also assented to; but the House evinced an illiberal spirit by passing a resolution vacating the seat of Mr. Ezekiel Hart—elected by the town of Three Rivers to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Lees—because he was a Jew. The public accounts for the past year showed the revenue to have been £35,943, currency; and the civil expenditure £44,410, sterling. This session ended the fourth Parliament, and a general election took place in the following May, the most noticeable feature of which was the defeat of Mr. Parret, the speaker of the House, for Quebec, on account of his connection with *Le Canadien*, which was then growing very abusive of the government. He was, however, elected for Huntingdon.

3.—The first session of the fifth Parliament met on the 9th of April, 1809, and showed a large infusion of new blood, there being twenty-two mem-
Craig's first difference with the Assembly. The House dissolved.
 bers elected for the first time. Of the others thirteen had been previously elected once; six twice; six three times; and Judge DeBonne, Mr. Speaker Parret, and M. Pierre Bedard, had been elected to all the four previous Parliaments. The House renewed the alien act, the preservation of the government act, and the act relating to drawbacks to be allowed to Upper Canada, and spent the balance of the session in discussing a bill to expel Mr. Hart, because he was a Jew, and in discussing the act to render judges ineligible. Five weeks were consumed in this manner, and then Governor Craig—unaccustomed to the slow and methodical manner of procedure of the House, came down to the Legislative Council on the 15th of May, and, having summoned the Assembly, dissolved Parliament, after having given the Assembly what might be called "a good blowing up." In a portion of his speech—which was long, as all his speeches were—he said: "You have wasted, in fruitless debates, excited by private and personal animosity, or by frivolous contests upon trivial matters of form, that time and those talents to which, within your walls, the public have an exclusive title. This abuse of your functions you have preferred to the high and important duties which you owe to your sovereign and to

your constituents; and you have, thereby, been forced to neglect the consideration of matters of moment and necessity which were before you, while you have, at the same time, virtually prevented the introduction of such others as may have been in contemplation. If any proof of this misuse of your time were necessary, I have just presented it, in having been called on, after a session of five weeks, to exercise his majesty's prerogative of assent, to only the same number of bills, three of which were the mere renewal of acts to which you stood pledged, and which required no discussion. So much of intemperate heat has been manifested in all your proceedings, and you have shown such a prolonged and disrespectful attention to matters submitted to your consideration, by the other branches of the legislature, that whatever might be the moderation and forbearance exercised on their parts, a general good understanding is scarcely to be looked for without a new Assembly. I shall not particularly advert to other acts which appear to be unconstitutional infringements of the rights of the subject, repugnant to the very letter of the Imperial Parliament, under which you hold your seats; and to have been matured by proceedings, which amount to a dereliction of the first principles of natural justice; and shall abstain from any further enumeration of the causes by which I have been induced to adopt the determination which I have taken, because the part of your conduct, to which I have already referred, is obviously and in a high degree detrimental to the best interests of the country, such as my duty to the crown forbids me to countenance, and as compels me to have recourse to a dissolution, as the only constitutional means by which its recurrence may be prevented."

4. The governor thanked the members of the Legislative Council for their kindness and courtesy, and also

Growth of party-spirit. The first steamboat on the St. Lawrence.

excepts a portion of the Assembly from his censure. In the summer the governor made a sort of triumphal procession through the province, and was presented with congratulatory addresses, at several towns, on his conduct in dissolving the Assembly; but the country was not in sympathy with him, and the result of the general election, held in October, was the return of all the old members, or others in their places even more opposed to the government than the late incumbents. This was, to a great extent, due to the violent anti-British articles in *Le Canadien*, and the addresses of the ex-members to their constituents who represented that the Assembly had been dissolved because it endeavored to maintain the people's right. While the seeds of dissension were being sown between the executive and the representatives of the people, a spirit of enterprise was being developed which has revolutionized the whole commercial condition of Canada. Fulton had just astonished the

world by applying steam to navigation, and no sooner was his experiment on the Hudson proved to be a success, than the enterprise of a Canadian seized on the idea; and fully appreciating the importance to commerce of the application of steam to navigation, caused the construction of a steamer to ply between Montreal and Quebec. To the Hon. John Molson is due the honor of building the second steamer on this continent, and the first to plough the waters of the mighty St. Lawrence. Viewed in the light of modern accomplishments in the matter of steam navigation, and compared with the "floating palaces" which now adorn our lakes and rivers, the "Accommodation" would seem a very small and mean concern but, as the advance guard of the large steam mercantile marine of Canada she is worthy of more than momentary consideration.*

5. The new assembly met on 29th January, 1810, and the speech from the throne and the address in reply were each equally civil and formal; but the breach between the executive and the commons was widening and soon again led to an open rupture. In his The Assembly declares the Governor's censure of their conduct a breach of privilege. speech from the throne Governor Craig referred to the bill disqualifying judges from occupying seats in the Assembly, and said: "Having received his majesty's pleasure upon it, I shall feel myself warranted in giving his Majesty's royal assent to any proper bill for rendering his Majesty's judges of the Courts of King's bench, in future ineligible to a seat in the House of Assembly; in which the two houses may concur." This caused the impression to gain ground that the governor had been reprimanded by the Home government for his summary dismissal of the last Parliament; and the House, by a vote of 24 to 11, returned the compliment of the "blowing up" he had given it at the close of the last session, by passing a resolution "that every attempt of the executive government and of the other branches of the Legislature against this House, whether in dictating or censoring its proceedings,

* The following extract from the *Quebec Mercury* of 6th November, 1809, will probably prove interesting."

"On Saturday morning, at 8 o'clock, arrived here, from Montreal, being her first trip, the steamboat "Accommodation," with ten passengers. This is the first vessel of the kind that ever appeared in this harbor. She is continually crowded with visitants. She left Montreal on Wednesday, at 2 o'clock, so that her passage was sixty-six hours; thirty of which she was at anchor. She arrived at Three Rivers in twenty-four hours. She has at present, berths for twenty passengers; which, next year, will be considerably augmented. *No wind or tide can stop her.* She has 75 feet keel, and 85 feet on deck. The price for a passage up is \$9, and \$8 down, the vessel supplying provisions. The great advantage attending a vessel so constructed is, that a passage may be calculated on to a degree of certainty, in point of time, which cannot be the case with any vessel propelled by sails only. The steamboat receives her impulse from an open, double-spoked perpendicular wheel, on each side, without any circular band or rim. To the end of each double spoke is fixed a square board, which enters the water, and by the rotatory motion of the wheel acts like a paddle. The wheels are put and kept in motion by steam, operating within the vessel. A mast is to be fixed in her, for the purpose of using sail when the wind is favorable, which will occasionally accelerate her headway."

or in approving the conduct of one part of its members, and disapproving the conduct of the others, is a violation of the statute by which this House is constituted; a breach of the privileges of this House against which it cannot forbear objecting; and a dangerous attack upon the rights and liberties of his Majesty's subjects in this Province."

6. This nettled the strict old governor, but the Assembly drew up so loyal an address of congratulation to his Majesty King George the Third on having entered on the fiftieth year of his reign, that his excellency could do nothing but bow his acknowledgments, and

promise to forward the address. The Assembly next passed resolutions that the province was in a position to assume the whole civil list, and they would vote supplies if the estimates were sent down. This was couched in very loyal terms; but the desire to get the civil service employees entirely under the control of the Assembly, by having the power to cut down—or cut off—their salaries, was apparent to the wary old governor, and he replied cautiously, that the suggestion was so novel that he did not feel authorized to deal with it, but would consider the matter and refer it to the Home government, at the same time acknowledging the patriotism which induced the Assembly to offer to relieve the parent state for the expense it had been under for some years. The subject rested at this point for some time, as more important matters intervened and no public accounts were laid before the Legislature. The differences between the governor and the Assembly were again rapidly approaching a climax. The Assembly passed a bill declaring all judges ineligible of holding seats in that body; the Legislative Council amended the bill so as to make it apply only in the future, and not affect members of the present House—a very reasonable amendment. At this the House grew indignant and passed a resolution "That P. A. DeBonne, being one of the Judges of the Court of King's bench, cannot sit nor vote in this house." This was passed by a vote of 18 to 6, there not being a single English vote recorded in favor of it, and only two French votes against it.

7.—This sounded like mutiny in the ears of the martinet governor, and he bustled down in great haste to dissolve the House. He was cheered by the people, who had begun to be rather amused at "Little King Craig," as he had been nicknamed. In his speech dissolving the House he said: "The House of Assembly have taken upon themselves without the participation of the other branches of the Legislature, to pass a vote that a Judge of his majesty's court of King's Bench cannot sit nor vote in this House. * * * It is impossible for me to consider what has been done in any other light than as a direct violation of an act of the Imperial Parliament; of that

Parliament which conferred upon you the constitution to which you profess to owe your present prosperity; nor can I do otherwise than consider the House of Assembly as having unconstitutionally disfranchised a large portion of his majesty's subjects, and rendered ineligible, by an authority they do not possess, another, not inconsiderable, class of the community." This summary dismissal of Parliament, for the second time, by the governor, brought out party spirit to a greater extent than had ever been known before. Congratulatory addresses were presented to the governor from all the towns—representing the British and commercial interest; while, on the other hand, a strong agitation was got up against him by the French, and *Le Canadien* was more bitter than ever against "*le étrangers et intrus*." Turning for a moment from the political difficulties we may glance briefly at the commercial affairs of the province. Lower Canada was prospering rapidly. The war in Europe and the embargo laid on goods from the United States had helped Canada wonderfully; during the year 635 ocean going vessels, with a total tonnage of 138,057 tons entered and cleared at Quebec, while 26 new vessels, with a total tonnage of 5,836 tons were built. A revenue of £70,356 currency was collected, about £21,000 of which was applicable to the expenses of civil government, which amounted to about £50,000 sterling, the balance being mostly unappropriated money at the disposal of the Legislature.

8.—At this time the whole press of Lower Canada consisted of five weekly newspapers; the *Gazette*, and *Courant*, published in Montreal; and the *Gazette*, *Mercury* and *Le Canadien*, published in Quebec.* The first four were essentially English, and supported the government; *Le Canadien*, as its name implies, was thoroughly French, and was extremely bitter in its attacks on the government and the English generally. As the elections approached, abusive and jeering epithets were freely used on both sides; and although *Le Canadien* was fighting at odds of four to one, it had rather the best of it until the governor saw fit to make a sudden descent on the establishment, on 17th March, and cause the type, papers, &c., to be seized, and the printer, Mr. Lefrancois, to be arrested. After an examination of the matter found, Messrs. Bedard, Blanchet and Taschereau,—members of the last Assembly, and Messrs. Pierre Laforce, Pierre Papineau, and Francois Corbeil, were arrested under the "act for the better preservation of his majesty's government," on a charge of "treasonable practices." The guards were doubled and "The reign of terror" (as the governor's enemies called it) set in. Craig was very firm and determined, and in a long proclamation, dated 21st March,

* At the present time, 1877, there are daily, tri-weekly, semi-weekly, weekly, and monthly English and French publications in the Province of Quebec,—which was, in 1810, Lower Canada.—ED.

The Assembly offers to assume the whole civil list. Judge DeBonne expelled.

Suppression of *Le Canadien*. Summary arrest of members of the House.

The Governor again dissolves the House. Rapid increase of trade on account of European war.

he justified his arbitrary conduct on the ground that the parties arrested had been writing and publishing treasonable and seditious papers, and that it was necessary for the public safety that such practices should be stopped. The elections took place in the summer, and nearly all the old opponents of the government were returned, including Pierre Bedard, who was in jail; indeed, the opposition gained strength, and only nine English members were returned. The governor soon found that he had stretched his authority rather too far, and, by degrees all the parties imprisoned were released—on the plea of ill-health—except M. Bedard, who was the leader of the French faction in the House.

9.—The seventh Parliament of Lower Canada met on 12th December, 1810, and Mr. Parret was again chosen speaker. Both the governor and the House showed a rather more conciliatory spirit; two summary dismissals had taught the latter what a firm and determined old soldier they had to deal with, while the former having been slightly reprimanded by the Home government, was disposed to be in a little better temper towards the House. The act "for the better preservation of his majesty's government as by law happily established," was renewed—although it was a bitter pill for the House to swallow; but an amendment was tacked on to it to the effect that no member of either House should be imprisoned or detained during the sitting of Parliament, until the matter of which he stood suspected was first communicated to the House of which he might be a member, and the consent of that House obtained for his commitment or detention. A series of resolutions with regard to the imprisonment of M. Bedard were passed, and a committee appointed to present them to his excellency; but, somehow, the committee did not like to "beard the lion in his den," and M. Bedard remained in prison until after the session was closed; indeed so jealous was the governor least it should be thought that the Assembly had influenced him in any way in his conduct, that M. Bedard was not released until every member had left the city. A bill appropriating £14,980 for the repairs of the castle of St. Louis was passed, and another granting £50,000 for the erection of Parliament buildings; but the war prevented the latter being carried into effect. The House was prorogued on 21st March, and altogether the session passed off much more quietly than had been anticipated. Shortly after the prorogation of Parliament Governor Craig obtained the permission he had applied for, to return home, and left Quebec in H. M. Ship *Amelia* on 19th June, 1811, Mr. Dunn again becoming administrator *ad interim*. His infirmities had greatly increased of late, and he was scarcely expected to live to reach England; he did, however, survive the voyage, but died the following January.

10.—Craig was very popular with the ultra-British

class, and, besides, had made many personal friends—who objected to his political conduct and arbitrary measures—by his hospitality, urbanity and great charity. Nearly the whole British population of Quebec accompanied him to the place of embarkation, his horses were unharnessed and the carriage drawn by citizens, while addresses complimenting him on his administration and regretting his departure were presented him by the citizens of Québec, Montreal, Three Rivers and other places. Considerable allowance must be made for Craig's arbitrary conduct, when we consider that he had from the age of fifteen been accustomed to a strict military life; and that his advisers were not of the best or purest minded men to be found in the province. Christie says of him: "The governor, however unconscious of it he may have been, really was in the hands of, and ruled by, a clique of officials rioting on the means of the country, yet desiring nothing better than the privilege of tyrannizing it, and who, however obsequious to him in appearance, were nevertheless his masters. The government, in fact, was a bureaucracy, the governor himself little better than a hostage, and the people looked upon and treated as serfs and vassals, by these their official lords. Such was the invested order of the government in those times, anything, it must be avowed, but responsible in the English acceptation and meaning of the term."

CHAPTER LXXII.

LOWER CANADA.—GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

1. APPOINTMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST. GROWING ILL-FEELING IN THE UNITED STATES AGAINST BRITAIN.—2. THE "HENRY PLOT." THE UNITED STATES DECLARE WAR AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.—3. CONCILIATORY POLICY OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST.—4. LIBERAL GRANTS BY THE ASSEMBLY. LOYAL CONDUCT OF THE CANADIANS.—5. THE MILITIA HELD IN READINESS TO BE CALLED OUT. ISSUE OF ARMY BILLS.—6. CAMPAIGN OF 1812. AN EFFORT TOWARDS PEACE.—7. ABORTIVE ATTEMPT OF GENERAL DEARBORN TO INVADE LOWER CANADA.—8. SESSION OF 1813. GOOD FEELING BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE HOUSE.—9. CAPTURE OF THE "GROWLER" AND "EAGLE."—10. DESTRUCTION OF AMERICAN ARSENALS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.—11. GENERAL HAMPTON'S INVASION.—12. DESALABERRY'S BRILLIANT VICTORY AT CHATEAUGUAY.—13. IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGES SEWELL AND MONK. THE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL ON BAD TERMS.—14. AR-

RIVAL OF SMALL REINFORCEMENTS. COUNCIL OF INDIANS.—15. INVASION OF GENERAL WILKINSON. REPULSE AT LA COLLE MILL.—16. ARRIVAL OF LARGE REINFORCEMENTS. SIR GEORGE PREVOST ASSUMES THE OFFENSIVE.—17. COMBINED ATTACK ON PLATTSBURGH BY LAND AND WATER. DEFEAT OF THE FLEET.—18. RETREAT OF THE LAND FORCES. SIR GEORGE PREVOST'S ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIR.—19. RECALL OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST TO BE TRIED BY COURT-MARTIAL.—20. APPROPRIATION FOR CONSTRUCTING THE LACHINE CANAL.—21. TREATY OF PEACE. DEPARTURE OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

1.—If the British ministry had made a mistake in ap-

pointing Sir J. H. Craig, they certainly, as far as possible, corrected their error by naming Major-General Sir George Prevost as his successor. General Prevost was an officer of considerable distinction, and was filling the position of lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia with great satisfaction to the people, at the time he was transferred to Lower Canada. General Brock was also transferred to Upper Canada, so that both provinces were provided with military governors in the event of the war with the United States, which it seemed impossible to avoid. The war-party in the United States was not really very strong, numerically speaking, and it was not composed of the most respectable portions of the community; but what it lacked in these two requisites it made up in loud and demonstrative clamor, and the more serious-minded and important portion of the people were being forced, against their better judgment, into a position hostile to Great Britain, by the continued outcry of a few demagogues, who were more anxious to give vent to their old feeling of spite against Great Britain than to consult the best interests of the country. The great damage and inconvenience to United States commerce by the continued war in Europe, and the embargoes laid on vessels of other nations entering either English or French ports by Napoleon's Berlin decree, forbidding intercourse with Great Britain or her colonies, and the Orders in Council of the British government, declaring all French ports in a state of blockade, had caused much discontent and unfriendly feeling in the States, which was, from time to time, increased by some overt act of hostility; thus in May, 1811, an engagement took place between the British war sloop *Little Bell*, of 18 guns, and the American frigate *President*, 44 guns, in which the former was captured, after having 32 men killed or wounded; while a difficulty which the Americans had with the Indians in the West was attributed to the influence of British agents.

2.—In January, 1822, Congress, by a vote of one hundred and nine to twenty-two, decided to increase the force of the standing army to twenty-five thousand

men, and an immediate loan of ten millions of dollars was agreed to. Shortly afterwards a good deal of excitement was

The "Henry plot." The United States declare war against Great Britain.

got up by a report that President Madison had purchased, for fifty thousand dollars, a number of letters written by a secret agent of Sir Henry Craig's, which showed that Great Britain was engaged in an effort to disaffect the New England States, especially Massachusetts, and induce them to leave the Union. This person was named John Henry, and held a commission as captain in the American militia; he was an Irishman by birth, who had emigrated to the States, but not succeeding there as well as he anticipated, he came to Montreal to study law. He got introduced into good circles, and was, in 1809, employed by Craig—without the knowledge or consent of the Home government—to visit the United States, put himself in communication with some of the leading men, and ascertain their sentiments with regard to a return to their allegiance to Great Britain, it being then thought that there was a strong tendency that way amongst the peace-party, especially in Massachusetts. Henry performed his mission, but really found out nothing which could not have been gathered from the tone of the press in some sections. He wrote fourteen letters in all, in cypher, which were addressed to Judge Sewell, Mr. Ryland, Craig's private secretary, and other parties in the governor's confidence. He did not accomplish much, and was not very greatly rewarded, at which he took offence and appealed to Lord Liverpool, claiming an appointment as advocate-general of Lower Canada, or a permanent consulship in the United States, at a salary of £500 a year. He was referred back to the Canadian government, and, knowing he would get nothing more there, offered copies of the letters to President Madison, who purchased them, and "the Henry plot," as it was called, caused great excitement for a little while and helped to hurry on a declaration of war, being skilfully used by Madison and the war-party to excite the passions of Congress. At last the excitement was got up to fever point, and Congress, on 18th June, 1812, passed an act empowering the president to declare war against Great Britain, which he did at once. This action by no means gave general satisfaction, and the vessels in Boston harbor ran up their flags at half-mast on receipt of the news.

3.—Sir George Prevost arrived at Quebec on 14th September, 1811, and at once applied himself to allaying the feeling of irritation caused amongst the French by Craig's conduct. One great complaint had always been that the English filled all places of honor and emoluments. This was true, and Sir George endeavored to gratify the French element by appointing some of the most prominent members of the party to positions of trust and profit; the Executive Council was enlarged and several French

Congress
policy of Sir
George Prevost.

Appointment of Sir George Prevost. Growing ill-feeling in the United States against Britain.

members added, positions were found for others, and Craig's great antagonist, M. Bedard, was made a judge at Three Rivers. Prevost, apparently, took Guy Carleton as his model, and tried to reconcile the conflicting differences of all parties. In this he was quite successful, and soon became very popular, especially with the French members of the Assembly, who had not managed, as a rule, to pull very well together with the executive since the departure of Lord Dorchester. Parliament met on 21st February, 1812, and was opened by a conciliatory speech by Sir George Prevost, who had shortly before been on a tour of military inspection through the Montreal and Richelieu districts. The alien act, and the act "for the better preservation of His Majesty's government," were not renewed, although asked for by the governor. The House, indeed, passed the protection of government act, but amended it so as to leave the power solely in the hands of the governor, instead of in the Executive Council. This offended the council, and they failed to concur, so the bill fell through. The governor, wisely, did not press the matter, contenting himself by simply reminding the House that he could, in case of necessity, assume all the functions granted by the act, by declaring the country under martial-law. The militia bill occupied most attention, and in the face of the impending conflict the most liberal provisions possible were made. The governor was authorized to embody 2,000 bachelors, between the ages of 18 and 25, for three months in the year; and in case of invasion or imminent danger thereof, to retain them for one year, relieving one half of the number embodied by fresh drafts at the expiration of that period. In the event of war, invasion, insurrection, or imminent danger thereof, he was empowered to embody the whole militia of the province, should it become necessary.

4.—In the matter of supplies the House was also liberal, granting £12,000 for training the militia; £20,000 for purposes of general defence, and a further sum of £30,000 in the event of a declaration of war. Nothing else of much importance occurred during the session, and military matters soon became the all-absorbing topic. The embargo on foreign trade with England, while it was injuring the United States, was proportionately helping to develop Canada; large quantities of lumber and wheat were exported, the number of vessels clearing during the year 1811 being 432, with a total tonnage of 116,687 tons, of which 37 vessels, with 12,688 tons, had been that year launched at Quebec. The public accounts showed the revenue to be £75,162 currency, and the expenses for civil services £49,017 sterling. The governor determined to mobilize a portion of the militia, and, on the 28th May, called out four regiments. He also reinstated Mr. Parret and other gentlemen who had been summarily dismissed from their positions in the militia, in their former com-

missions; and placed Major De Salaberry in command of a regiment of Canadian voltigeurs which was raised. The Americans counted on a large disaffection amongst the French Canadians, and expected they would seize the opportunity to sever their connection with Great Britain; but for the second time they were deceived, and learned that they did not understand the French Canadian character. At the time of the first American invasion the Canadians, for the most part, had been content to stand aloof and allow the British and the Americans to fight each other without their interference; but in 1812 it was very different. At the first call the Canadians sprang readily and cheerfully to arms, and fought side by side with the British during the three years that followed, showing as much gallantry, and proving that the old stock of French military settlers had not degenerated either in courage or military skill, nor in their love of king and country.

5.—The news of the declaration of war reached Quebec six days after the passage of the bill by Congress, and active measures for defence were at once taken. All Americans were notified to leave the province by the 3d of July; an embargo was laid on all vessels in port, and the Legislature was convened for 16th July. At the first glance the relative numbers of the forces to be opposed to each other seemed so disproportioned, that it would appear as if the Americans would have nothing to do but to walk in and take possession; but such was not the case, as events proved. The population of the United States at that time was about 8,000,000, while the population of both Upper and Lower Canada combined scarcely exceeded 300,000; and England was so busily engaged with her Continental war that she could scarcely spare any troops to reinforce the 5,000 regulars which were then in Canada. Congress authorized the raising of the regular army to 25,000, the calling out of 50,000 volunteers, and the mobilization of 100,000 militia for home defence, so that the Americans at once had an army, greatly superior in numbers to the whole male population of Canada, capable of bearing arms. But the Americans were not a fighting people, and their levies were nearly all raw recruits, while a very large portion of the people were opposed to the war and went into it in a very half-hearted manner. Parliament met on 16th July, and was prorogued 1st August. The House was as liberal as could possibly have been expected. The exchequer was almost empty, and the governor suggested the issue of any bills, bearing interest, redeemable either in cash or bills of exchange on London. The House immediately authorized the issue of \$1,000,000 of army bills in amount suitable for the requirements of change. The smallest bills, four dollars, were at all times redeemable in cash, and the larger denominations of twenty-five dollars and upwards,

Liberal grants by the Assembly. Loyal conduct of the Canadians.

The militia held in readiness to be called out. Issue of army bills authorized.

were to bear interest at the rate of fourpence per day per hundred pounds (six per cent). These bills were made legal tenders, and any contracts discriminating between them and gold were to be void. To meet the interest the House voted \$60,000 a year for five years, and \$10,000 a year to defray the expenses of the army bill office. To raise this amount the taxes imposed under the Jails Act were continued. The whole militia force was ordered to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, and all the regular troops moved to the front, leaving Quebec and Montreal to be defended by the local militia. Once more the clash of arms and the sound of martial music was heard in the calm fields and quiet glens, not as in "the piping times of peace," but with "all the pomp and panoply of glorious war;" and the shepherd left his flock, the husbandman his plough, the laborer his toil, and turned their faces towards the invader, determined to defend their homes and friends as bravely as their forefathers had done in years gone by.

6.—Hostilities commenced almost immediately after the declaration of war; and General Brock had the satisfaction of expelling the American general, Hull, who had invaded Upper Canada, and forcing the surrender of his whole army, together with the strong fort of Detroit; as this, and other engagements which took place in Upper Canada, will be referred to in our history of that province, we shall pass over them here, and confine ourselves to the operations which took place in Lower Canada. The military operations in Lower Canada were entirely confined to skirmishes. Shortly after the declaration of war a force of about 10,000 men, under command of General Dearborn, and known as "the Army of the North," menaced Montreal by way of St. Johns and Odelltown from Lake Champlain. Sir George Prevost, with the scanty force at his command, was fain to content himself with drawing a cordon of military posts across the frontier from St. Regis to Yamaska, and act strictly on the defensive. In August, Sir George Prevost received instructions that the "Orders in Council," which were the ostensible cause of the war, had been revoked; and he at once proposed an armistice to General Dearborn, who agreed, as far as his army was concerned, and submitted the matter to General Armstrong, the American secretary of war. Great Britain had no doubt that as soon as the cause of the war had been withdrawn, the Americans would be willing to conclude peace; but the war-party, having now involved the country, declined to entertain proposals of peace unless Great Britain waived the Right of Search. This, of course, Sir George Prevost was not authorized to entertain, and hostilities were resumed. The Right of Search was merely a pretext to prevent negotiations, for the war-party was actuated by the feeling, which in after years was known as the "Monroe

Doctrine," that America was intended for the Americans, and they had determined on making a strong effort to drive the British from Canada, and extend the sway of the Union over the whole continent.

7.—General Dearborn spent the summer and part of the autumn in apparently trying to make up his mind whether he would invade Lower Canada or not. It is doubtful whether he really seriously intended anything more than a diversion of the troops in Lower Canada to prevent their going to the assistance of the Upper Province, then menaced by two armies; and, besides, he had great difficulty with his raw militia, who were unaccustomed to drill, sickly, and many of them seriously disinclined to invade what they considered as friendly territory. At last he made up his mind to assume the offensive, and on the 23d of October a party of four hundred Americans, from Plattsburgh, under command of Major Young, surprised St. Regis, where there was a small picket-guard. Lieutenant Rotolle, Sergeant McGillivray, and six men, were killed, and twenty-three prisoners made. This small affair was about counterbalanced by the surrender of an American captain and forty-two men, at Salmon river, on 23d November, to Col. McMillan, commanding a few men of the 49th regiment and portions of the Cornwall and Glengarry militia; four batteaux and fifty-seven stands of arms were also taken. On the 20th November an advance was made towards Odelltown, and an attempt made by about fifteen hundred Americans to surprise a small outpost of Major DeSalaberry's at Lacolle. Between three and four in the morning the sergeant of the guard going his rounds discovered the enemy crossing the river in two bodies; he at once gave the alarm, and the guard hastily mustering fired one volley into both advancing parties, and then made good their escape in the darkness without losing a man. The Americans returned fire, and the two columns, each mistaking the other for the enemy, kept up a brisk fire for nearly half an hour killing and wounding a good many.

8.—At this indication of an invasion in force, Sir George Prevost ordered the whole militia under arms, and the battalions from Montreal and other points were moved to the front; but Dearborn made no further demonstration, and shortly afterwards retired to Plattsburgh and went into winter quarters. This ended the campaign in this province, and, on 27th November, the governor ordered the troops and militia into winter quarters. The governor met the Legislature on 29th December, and congratulated them on the repulse of the three attacks on Upper Canada by the Americans, as well as their retirement from the vicinity of Lower Canada. He returned thanks to the militia for their prompt, brave and patriotic conduct, recommended a revision of the militia law, and advised a speedy dispatch

Campaign of 1812.
An effort towards
peace.

Abortive attempt
of General Dearborn
to invade
Lower Canada.

Session of 1813.
Good feeling between
the Governor and the
House.

of business. The session was much calmer than had been the rule of late, and ample supplies were granted for conducting the war. Two million dollars army bills were authorized, sixty thousand dollars granted for the embodiment of the militia, and one hundred thousand dollars for the support of the war. The militia act was amended, but fell through for want of the concurrence of the Council; a proposal to tax salaries of government officials was also rejected by that chamber; and a duty of two and a half per cent on all merchandise (except provisions) imported into the province was imposed, together with an additional two and a half per cent if the importer was not an actual resident of the province for at least six months previous to the importation. The revenue of the year 1812 amounted to £61,193 currency, and the expenses to £98,777 sterling, including about £55,000 for the militia. The number of vessels clearing from Quebec was 399, with a tonnage of 86,436 tons, including 21 vessels, built in the city, of 5,898 tons.

9.—The events of the campaign of 1813 were numerous and important in Upper Canada, but of comparatively little moment in the Lower Province, although it was threatened with invasion, and several sharp skirmishes took place. With a view to a descent on Lower Canada, the Americans constructed, at great expense, barracks, arsenals and hospitals at various points along Lake Champlain, especially at Burlington, Plattsburgh, Champlain and Swanton; the British, on the other hand, repaired the old fortifications at Isle-aux-Noix, and sent three small gunboats there from Quebec. On the morning of the 3d of June a strange sail was noticed approaching the island, and Major Taylor, of the 100th regiment, who was in command, determined to guard against an attack in force, by endeavoring to capture her before she could receive assistance. He had no sailors, but he manned the three gunboats with soldiers, and with three artillerymen in each boat, put out to the attack. On doubling the point he found that there were two vessels, but that did not deter him, and, after landing a portion of his forces to operate from the shore as the enemy approached near it,—which he was obliged to do on account of the river being very narrow,—Taylor proceeded to engage the two hostile vessels, and after an engagement which lasted nearly four hours, succeeded in capturing both. They proved to be the *Growler* and *Eagle*, sloops of war, each carrying eleven heavy guns, and very completely fitted. Over 100 prisoners were taken; the number of killed was not known, they being thrown overboard. The British loss was 1 killed and 3 wounded.

10.—This important capture gave the British the mastery of Lake Champlain, and was a very effectual safeguard against invasion from that quarter. The captured vessels were speedily put into commission, and re-named the *Shan-*

Capture of the
Growler and
Eagle.

Destruction of
American Arse-
nals on Lake
Champlain.

non and *Brock*, and the three gunboats being put in repair, the small squadron was placed in command of Captain Pring, who came from Lake Ontario for the purpose, with orders to operate against the American stations on the lake. Still there were no sailors; but, fortunately, at this juncture, the *Wasp*, sloop of war, arrived at Quebec, and Captain Everard, her commander, was ordered to transfer her crew to the *Shannon* and other vessels, and take command of the little fleet on Lake Champlain. On the 29th of July, the fleet took on board nine hundred regulars from the 13th, 100th and 103d regiments with some artillery, and a number of Canadian militia to act as batteaux men, and proceeded up the lake, landing near Plattsburgh on the 31st, without meeting any opposition, the American general, Moore, with fifteen hundred men, having retreated. Colonel Murray, who was in command of the British, took possession of the arsenal, &c., and after carrying off all the munitions of war he could, burned the remainder, together with the barracks (which were capable of holding four thousand men), commissariat stores, &c. He sent the *Shannon* and *Brock* over to Burlington, where General Hampton was encamped with four thousand men, and captured four vessels; the barracks, &c., at Champlain and Swanton were also destroyed, and the expedition returned to Isle-aux-Noix on the 4th of August, without the loss of a man, and having been perfectly successful.

11.—General Hampton remained in the neighborhood of Burlington during the summer, and it was not until near the end of September that he commenced a forward movement, having Montreal as his objective point. Sir George Provost was in Upper Canada at the time, but leaving General de Rottenburgh in command there, he hastened down to meet the invader; he was, however, met and defeated by the brave Canadian militia under Lt.-Col. De Salaberry, without assistance from the commander-in-chief. Hampton's forces numbered over five thousand men, and he advanced by way of Odelltown on the 20th of September. The road from this point to the open country around St. Johns, had been so broken up by Col. de Salaberry's voltigeurs as to be impassable, and Hampton was forced to proceed by the headwaters of the Chateauguay, where he established his camp at Four Corners. Governor Prevost had, meanwhile, called out all the militia of the Montreal district, and the call was most promptly and cheerfully responded to. Col. de Salaberry was ordered to reconnoitre in the neighborhood of Hampton's camp at Four Corners, and on the 1st of October arrived near the camp, without being discovered. He had only about two hundred of his voltigeurs and one hundred and fifty Indians, but his presence being discovered by the incautious conduct of one of the Indians, he made two rapid attacks on Hampton's advance guard, which

General Hamp-
ton's invasion.



HON. THOS. B. COFFIN.



HON. JOS. E. CAUCHON.



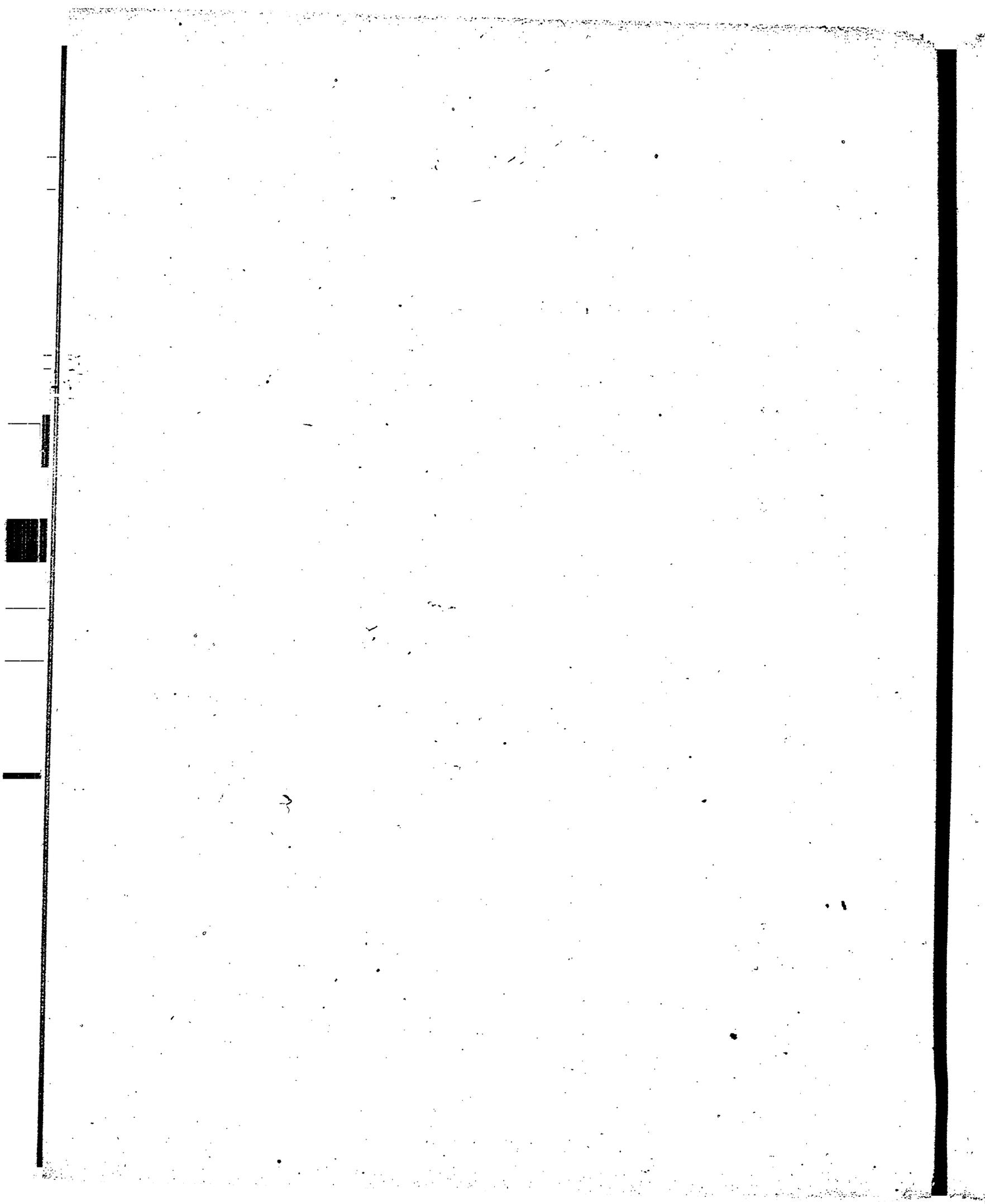
HON. EDWARD BLAKE.



HON. WM. MCDUGALL.



HON. A. CAMPBELL.



had the effect of throwing the whole camp into confusion, and then retreated, breaking up the road, and making himself acquainted with the route Hampton intended to take, which enabled him to ensconce himself in a very strong position on the left bank of the Chateauguay River about two leagues above the fork formed by its confluence with the English River. Col. de Salaberry had now had an opportunity of judging of his voltigeurs under fire, and had the utmost confidence in their coolness and courage.

12.—At this point he erected strong breastworks of felled logs along his front, with the river on his right and

a strong abattis on his left; although his whole force did not exceed 400 men, he

determined to contest the further progress of the American army, outnumbering him more than ten to one, and trust to the strength of his position and the bravery of his troops for the victory. General Hampton saw the necessity of reducing this position, and moved from his camp at Four Corners to its attack on 24th October. He had divided his army by sending Col. Purdy with 1,500 men through the woods during the night, to attack De Salaberry in the rear; but Purdy either lost his way, or was misled by his guides, and did not arrive as soon as Hampton expected. That general, on the morning of the 26th, sent the main body of his army, 3,500 strong, under command of General Izard, to attack De Salaberry in front. This officer had skilfully placed a small portion of his slender forces in advance of the abattis, and as the Americans advanced a heavy fire was poured into them, which they were unable to return effectively on account of the position of his men. A brisk fire was kept up for some time, and the Americans endeavored to carry the works at the point of the bayonet but in vain, the cool, steady fire of the Canadians drove them back, and Hampton had the mortification of seeing the flower of his army being held in check and slaughtered by a mere handful of men, protected by a few felled trees. But De Salaberry had soon a new danger to encounter; the firing had attracted the attention of Colonel Purdy, and he now appeared on the opposite bank of the river with his 1,500 men, and advanced towards the ford, where De Salaberry had posted a company under Captain Duchesney. The picket across the river, consisting of only 35 men, was driven in, and De Salaberry ordered Captain Daly to cross at the ford and re-occupy the ground vacated by them, which he did, but was also forced back by overwhelming numbers. Just then De Salaberry ordered a flanking fire to be opened from Captain Duchesney's concealed company, and this so surprised and astonished the Americans that they fled precipitately. General Hampton, seeing the rout of Colonel Purdy, drew off his men and left De Salaberry and his 400 Canadians masters of the field. The loss to the

Americans was about 50 killed and left on the field; to the Canadians five killed and twenty wounded. This, the most brilliant action of the war, closed the campaign in Lower Canada. Hampton retreated to his old position at Four Corners, and shortly afterwards went into winter quarters at Plattsburgh. Sir George Prevost and General De Watteville were present during the latter part of the engagement, and highly praised De Salaberry and his brave Canadians, who were afterwards thanked in general orders, and this brave leader was knighted by the Prince Regent. On the 17th November, Sir George Prevost dismissed the sedentary militia, with thanks for the loyalty and promptitude with which they had acted, and so ended the second year of the war, as far as concerns Lower Canada, with a complete triumph for the Canadians, and the thorough expulsion of the invader from their soil.

13—Parliament met on the 13th of January, 1814, when the governor congratulated the House on the satisfactory conclusion of the second year of the war, and thanked the militia for their gallant conduct. The House passed an act authorizing the issue of \$6,000,000 of army bills; and then proceeded to consider a bill disqualifying judges from holding seats in the Legislative Council. The bill was thrown out by the Legislative Council, as was also one to tax the salaries of officials. On motion of Mr. James Stuart a long string of charges were preferred against Chief-Justices Sewell and Monk, and a bill of impeachment against them passed. These charges were mostly based on the "Rules of Practice" adopted by the Court of King's Bench during Craig's administration, which the House held to be a breach of the privileges of that body. A sum of £2,000 was afterwards "tacked" on to a revenue bill to cover the expense of Mr. Stuart's going to England to sustain these impeachments; but the Council struck out the item, and the House, in a huff, refused to pass any part of the bill. The House presented the articles of impeachment to the governor and asked him to suspend the judges; but this he declined to do, unless the Council concurred in the accusations. Then the House vented its displeasure on the governor because he styled "articles of impeachment" "accusations," and passed a resolution that he had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House. The House also passed a bill appointing M. Bedard agent of the province in England, and after sending it to the Council, sent another address suggesting that the Council should add another name to that of M. Bedard. This the Council construed into a breach of the privileges of that body, and let the matter rest without taking any further action. It will, therefore, be seen that the Council and the House were fast getting on as bad terms with each other as the House had been on with Craig. On the 17th of March

De Salaberry's
brilliant victory at
Chateauguay.

Impeachment of
Judges Sewell and
Monk. The As-
sembly and Coun-
cil on bad terms.

the House was prorogued, which closed the seventh Parliament of Canada. The public accounts showed the revenue of the previous year to have been £99,602 currency, and the civil expenditure £183,033, out of which £121,366 was on account of the militia. Commerce showed a great falling off, there being only 198 vessels cleared from Quebec with an aggregate of 46,574 tons. Only nine vessels, with a tonnage of 2,658 tons, were built at Quebec.

14.—During the winter of 1813-14 very active preparations were made for the coming campaign, which it was felt would be a vigorous and decisive one. Large quantities of stores were forwarded on sleighs at great expense from Quebec and Montreal to Kingston; and the second battalion of the 8th regiment accomplished the exhausting march over the snow from Fredericton, N. B., to St. Lawrence, in the month of February. Two hundred and twenty seamen also came by the same route to reinforce the marine on the lakes. The New Brunswick Legislature and the city of St. John each voted £300 to assist in the conveyance of these reinforcements, as far as the roads would permit, in sleighs. In the month of March Quebec witnessed a sight it had not seen for many years, the assembling of a number of delegates from the Indian tribes to have a conference with the governor. There were representatives from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Shawnees, Delawares, Mohawks, Saiks, Foxes, Kickapoos and Winnebagoes. They complained of the conduct of the Americans who deprived them of their lands by violence, and hoped that no peace would be concluded without their rights being respected. They were entertained for some days and then loaded with presents and sent to prepare their tribes for the coming campaign. In a general order, dated 26th March, his excellency expressed the approbation of H. R. II. the prince regent at the affair at Chateauguay, and his "peculiar pleasure at finding that his majesty's Canadian subjects had at length had the opportunity of refuting, by their own brilliant exertions in defence of their country, the calumnious charge of disaffection and disloyalty with which the enemy had profaced his first invasion of the province." His Royal Highness also expressed his intention of forwarding five stands of colors for the five battalions of embodied militia, which pleased the Canadians very much.

15.—The Americans were anxious to begin the campaign of 1814, and, not waiting for spring, General Wilkinson sent a division of troops, under General Macomb, from Plattsburgh, to enter Lower Canada. They crossed Lake Champlain on the ice and took possession of St. Arnaud's, which was held for a few days and then evacuated by Macomb, in order that he might form a junction with Wilkinson, who was advancing towards

Odelltown, and preparing for an attack on a small fortified post held by the British at La Colle mill. The combined forces of Wilkinson and Macomb, on the morning of 30th March, when they advanced on LaColle mill, numbered about 5,000 men. The mill, which had been converted into a block-house, was a stone building about fifty feet long by thirty-five wide, two stories high, with walls eighteen inches thick, and an ordinary shingle roof. This had been further fortified by logs, pierced for musketry; and a small house at the end of a bridge which crossed the La Colle River, had also been strengthened, and served as a sort of outwork to the main building. Major Hancock commanded at the block-house and had one hundred and sixty men with him. He sent word to Isle-aux-Noix of the expected attack, and asked for assistance. All that could be spared was sent him, under command of Captain Blake, but it only amounted to two hundred men. About one o'clock the enemy deployed from the wood which sheltered them to within one hundred yards of the block-house, and advanced to carry it by storm; but a vigorous and well-directed fire of musketry soon drove the Americans back to shelter, where they brought up a twelve-pounder and for two hours and a half amused themselves by firing at the block-house; but so poorly was the gun served and so badly aimed that only four shots took effect, while the artillerymen, being within musket-shot of the British, were severely cut up by them. The successful resistance of five thousand men for so long a time by so small a body, made Major Hancock over confident; and when the grenadiers of the Canadian Fencibles and a company of the voltigeurs from Burtonville arrived to his assistance, he at once added to them the flank companies of the 13th and ordered an attack. The Americans stood firm until the British had advanced within twenty-five yards of their centre, and then opened a murderous fire of musketry which entirely disorganized the attacking companies and caused them to retreat. The Americans had spiked their twelve-pounder when the British moved to attack, and now being exhausted by cold and fatigue, and finding they could not reduce the block-house without heavier artillery than the state of the roads would permit them to bring up, they withdrew about five o'clock and retired to Plattsburgh. The British loss was ten men killed and four missing, and two officers and forty-four men wounded. The American loss was thirteen killed, one hundred and twenty-three wounded and thirty missing.

16.—The tide of war now rolled along the Niagara frontier and through Upper Canada for a while, and the Lower Province was almost entirely freed from the horrors of war. As the summer advanced the positions of the contestants began to be reversed, and the British, who had heretofore acted almost entirely on the defense, began to take the initiative and the war was car-

Arrival of small reinforcements. Council of Indian Chiefs.

Invasion of General Wilkinson. Repulse at La Colle mill.

Arrival of large reinforcements. Sir George Prevost assumes the offensive.

ried into the States with a vigor and severity which they had little calculated on. Up to this time England had been struggling against Napoleon ; but now the Corsican tiger was chained up in Elba, peace once more reigned in Europe, and England was now free to throw the whole weight of her victorious armies and unconquerable navy against the United States, whose treasury was bankrupt, whose people were disheartened at the reverses inflicted on their armies by the handfuls of British and Canadians opposed to them, and whose greatest cry now was for peace ; but the United States had refused peace when she could have had it, and Britain was now determined to punish her for her attacks on a peaceful colony, when the Mother Country was so thoroughly engaged elsewhere as to be almost forced to leave it to its own resources. Of the vigorous blockade of the American seaports, of the capture of Washington and burning of the capital, &c., it is not necessary to speak here ; we have only to do with the operations which took place in Lower Canada during the summer of 1814. During the summer about sixteen thousand British troops arrived at Quebec ; four thousand were sent to Upper Canada, under command of General Kempt, and then Governor Prevost concentrated nearly the whole of the remainder in the Richelieu district, preparatory to a descent on the State of New York by way of Lake Champlain. In order to do this the co-operation of the flotilla on the lake was necessary, and orders were given that it should be put in an efficient condition. Sir James L. Yeo, naval commander, assured the commander-in-chief that the navy was in an efficient state, but the event proved that he was mistaken. A new frigate, the *Confiance*, was hastily finished, but so hurriedly that it is said the carpenters were still at work on her when she went into action. The remainder of the squadron consisted of one brig, two sloops of war and twelve gunboats. The crew was a motley one, and the commander was changed at the last minute.

17.—On the first of September, Sir George Prevost crossed the line into the States at Odelltown, and occupied Champlain Town on the 3d, whence the army moved in two columns, commanded by Generals Power and Robinson, on the following day towards Plattsburgh, driving before them the American militia which fell back steadily on that place. Plattsburgh was defended by about fifteen hundred militia, and a fleet of fourteen vessels, all told. On the 7th the heavy artillery was brought up and placed in position, and the next three days were spent in waiting for Captain Downie to come up with his squadron, the commander-in-chief having decided that the attack must be made by land and water simultaneously. Great confidence was felt in the superiority of the British vessels, Captain Downie having declared that his vessel alone, the *Confiance*, was more than a match for the whole Ameri-

Combined attack on Plattsburgh by land and water. Defeat of the fleet.

ican squadron. At daybreak on the morning of the eleventh the *Confiance* rounded Cumberland Head and stood in to Plattsburgh Bay, towards the American squadron which was drawn up in line of battle. The other vessels of the English fleet were a long way behind the *Confiance*, and some of them never came into action at all. The *Confiance* laid well up to the American fleet, and was soon engaged in a lively exchange of broadsides. The *Finch* struck a rock and was of no service ; the *Chub* had her bowsprit, main boom and cables shot away, and drifting within the enemy's lines had to surrender. Captain Downie was shot early in the engagement, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant Robinson, who fought gallantly for some time, and was then forced to haul down his flag to the *Saratoga*, both vessels being greatly crippled. The *Linnet* also struck, and the gunboats escaped. The loss on both sides was heavy—that of the British was one hundred and twenty-nine killed and wounded, of which three officers and thirty-eight men were killed, and one officer and thirty-nine men were wounded on board the *Confiance* ; the Americans lost nearly as heavily.

18.—The land forces did nothing. We cannot do better than reproduce the following extract from Sir George Prevost's account of the affair to the Earl of Bathurst : " On the morning of the 11th our flotilla was seen over the isthmus which joins Cumberland Head with the mainland, steering for Plattsburgh Bay. I immediately ordered that part of the brigade under Major-General Robinson, which had been brought forward, consisting of four light infantry companies, 3d battalion, 27th and 76th regiments, and Major-General Power's brigade, consisting of the 3d, 5th, 1st battalion, 27th and 58th regiments, to force the ford of the Saranac, and advance, provided with scaling-ladders, to escalate the enemy's works upon the heights ; this force was placed under the command of Major General Robinson. The batteries opened their fire the instant the ships engaged.* * * Scarcely had his majesty's troops forced a passage across the Saranac and ascended the height on which stands the enemy's works, than I had the extreme mortification to hear the shout of victory from the enemy's works, in consequence of the British flag being lowered on board the *Confiance* and *Linnet*, and to see our gunboats seeking their safety in flight. This unlooked-for event depriving me of the co-operation of the fleet, without which the further prosecution of the service was become impracticable, I did not

* The British vessels consisted of the *Confiance*, 36 ; *Linnet*, 18 ; *Chub*, 10 ; *Finch*, 10 ; 12 gunboats, 16 ; making a total of 16 vessels, with 102 guns. The American squadron consisted of the ship *Saratoga*, 26 ; brig *Eagle*, 20 ; schooner *Ticonderoga*, 17 ; cutter *Preble*, 7 ; and 10 gunboats, 16 ; making a total of 14 vessels, with 86 guns. Although the Americans had the smaller number of guns, they had the heaviest weight of metal.—Ed.

hesitate to arrest the course of the troops advancing to the attack, because the most complete success would have been unavailing, and the possession of the enemy's works offered no advantage to compensate for the loss we must have sustained in acquiring possession of them." The general fell back on Chazy the same evening, destroying such ordnances and stores as he could not take with him, and continued his retreat to the lines, without much molestation on the part of the Americans.

19.—This conduct of Prevost's lost him all his military prestige; both officers and men felt the disgrace of retreating before an inferior force of militia, and so... of the former indignantly broke their swords, saying that they would never serve again; but Sir George Prevost knew the country and his own resources best; he felt that with McDonough in full possession of the lake the Americans could transport troops rapidly to his rear and cut off his retreat, while reinforcements were pouring in to Macomb rapidly, and he would speedily be outnumbered, besides which the Vermont militia had threatened to cross the lake and prevent his return to Canada. That he could have carried the works there is no doubt; but what advantage would it have been, with a hostile fleet in command of the lake, and a rapidly increasing enemy springing up around him to hem him in? He remembered the fate of Burgoyne and Cornwallis, and would not let pride cause him to uselessly sacrifice life, and risk the capture of his entire army. He was severely censured, and, on representations of Sir James Yeo, was recalled to undergo court-martial, but he died before the court met.

20.—Parliament met on 21st January, 1815, and Mr. J. L. Papineau was elected speaker, Mr. Parret, who had filed that position since the first Parliament (with the exception of one session), having been called to the Legislative Council. In this session we see more evidence of the advent of a progressive spirit than has heretofore been exhibited. The sum of twenty-five thousand pounds was granted for the purpose of opening a canal between Lachine and Montreal; eight thousand pounds were appropriated for improving the internal communications of the province, and one thousand pounds was granted for the encouragement of vaccination. Bills were also introduced to grant salaries of £1,000 per annum each to the speakers of the Assembly and Legislative Council; the former was passed, but the latter was thrown out by the Council, for what reason does not appear. A grant of £500 to Mr. Joseph Bouchette, surveyor-general of the province, was also made for his topographical map of the province. The subject of appointing a provincial agent was again taken up, and the Council failing to agree to the bill presented to them—on the ground that the governor was the proper authority through whom the Assembly should

address the Home government—an address was moved to his excellency praying him to ask the prince regent's consent to the measure. This measure was considered all the more necessary now as the Assembly was determined to go on with the impeachment of Judges Sewell and Monk, which must be done in England, as the appointments were imperial ones, and could not be as conveniently conducted without an accredited agent as with one. The revenues for the past year (1814) were £204,550 currency, and the expenditures £162,125 sterling, including £111,451 on account of the militia. The number of vessels cleared from Quebec was 184, with 38,605 tons, of which only seven were built at Quebec. A return of marriages, baptisms, and burials was made this year, which showed the totals in the Montreal, Quebec, and Three Rivers districts to be respectively, 2640, 13,317, 7895, the Montreal district showing considerably more than the other two put together.

21.—Whilst Parliament was sitting, news of the signing of the treaty of peace between England and the United States was officially announced Treaty of peace. by the governor on 1st March. The Departure of Sir embodied militia was disbanded, and George Prevost. the House, to show its appreciation of the services rendered, granted eighty days' pay to the officers, and an annuity of six pounds currency (\$24) to such voltigeurs and militiamen as had been rendered incapable of earning a living, by any hurt received while on service. A small provision was also made for the widows and orphans of those who had been killed, and an address was moved to the prince regent that a land grant should be made to the voltigeurs and militiamen who had served during the war. The House, in a very flattering series of resolutions, also voted a sum of £5,000 to Sir George Prevost, to buy a service of plate; the prince regent gave his assent to the measure, but the Legislative Council threw out the bill sent up next session authorizing the expenditure, and the matter fell through. His excellency prorogued the House on 25th March, and left for England by way of St. John, N. B., on 3d April. He was presented with addresses from Quebec and Montreal, but mostly from the French portion of the population. The British were greatly opposed to him on account of his conciliatory conduct towards the French, and the army was against him on account of the Plattsburgh affair, although what good would have come of storming the batteries and sacrificing hundreds of human lives is not very clear, especially as the batteries never fired a shot at the British fleet, and the latter was beaten simply because the American was a better fleet, better manned, and better fought. The Duke of Wellington and other high and impartial authorities, approved of his conduct, and the prince regent showed marks of favor to his family after his death; it is only to be regretted that his health, never very strong, suffered so much by the winter's journey across the open

Recall of Sir George Prevost to be tried by Court-Martial.

Appropriation for Constructing the Lachine Canal.

country between the St. Lawrence and St. Johns, on his way home, that he died on 5th January, 1816, just one week before the court-martial appointed to examine into his conduct was to have been convened. Christie gives the following very just estimate of his character: "A warm and unswerving friend to the Canadian population of French origin, he confided in and liberally patronized them from the commencement to the close of his administration; and they, it must be acknowledged, as generously responded to his confidence in them. No country or people ever exhibited greater unanimity or patriotism than did the people of Lower Canada, of both origins, in the war of 1812, by the United States against Great Britain—a stand the more to be remembered by her government, as these colonies, almost destitute of troops, wholly so of money, and scarcely possessing even a sufficiency of arms and other munitions of defence, owing to the more imperious calls from other quarters upon the Home government were, at the outset of the war, in a manner left to their own action and resources, and which they nobly exemplified single-handed, as it were, throughout the first two campaigns. The principles of loyalty and duty no doubt were deeply implanted in the bosom of the people; but he it was who exalted them into enthusiasm, and inspired the mass with a confidence in their own exertions and a reliance upon his wisdom fitting them for the emergency, and that bore them successfully through the contest. Whatever may be the opinion now established of his talents, by the military world, the impression which the inhabitants of French origin, in Lower Canada, universally retain of him is that of a conciliatory, wise, and able civil governor, and in all the relations of private life, an amiable and estimable man.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN COAPE SHERBROOKE.

1. REDEMPTION OF THE ARMY BILLS. NEW STEAMERS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.—2. SUDDEN DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—3. ARRIVAL OF SIR JOHN SHERBROOKE. HIS PROMPT MEASURES TO RELIEVE SUFFERERS FROM FAILURE OF THE CROPS.—4. RECOMMENDATION OF A CHANGE OF POLICY.—5. SUSPENSION OF THE CHARGES AGAINST JUDGES SEWELL AND MONK. SESSION OF 1817.—6. SESSION OF 1818. CHANGE IN FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE PROVINCE.

1.—Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond, the hero of Lundy's Lane, succeeded Sir George Prevost as

administrator of the affairs of Lower Canada, and assumed the reins of government on 5th April, 1815. His first act of any public importance was the calling in and redemption of the army bills issued during the war, by a proclamation dated 14th November. These bills were all met in full, and had circulated at a premium over gold, which was a strong contrast to the greatly depreciated currency of the United States, which was almost worthless, and reflected creditably on the great resources of Great Britain after a long and costly war. As these army bills were convertible into bills of exchange in London, they ranged for a considerable period at from 2½ to 5 per cent premium. One noticeable event, as showing the rapidly increasing trade between Montreal and Quebec, was the launching of another steamer at the former place during the summer of this year. She was named the *Molson*, and with the *Accommodation* and *Swiftsure* formed a very efficient line between the two towns; they all belonged to the Hon. John Molson, "the father of Canadian steam navigation," and were built at Montreal, at which point was also built, in the summer of 1815, the first opposition boat, *The Car of Commerce*, owned by an association of Montreal merchants.

Redemption of the army bills. New steamers on the St. Lawrence.

2.—The Legislature met on 26th January, 1816, and the speech from the throne and address in reply were both very cordial in tone; but the good feeling between the administrator and the House did not last long. On the second of February the administrator sent a message to the House informing it that H. R. H. the prince regent had dismissed the articles of impeachment found at last session against Chief-Justices Sewell and Monk. This action by the Home government was not wholly unexpected, but the House was very much offended at it nevertheless. A committee was appointed and a series of resolutions introduced, praying the Crown that the House be permitted to adduce proof of the charges made against the judges. This course had been provided against by the instructions of the Home government to the administrator, and he dismissed the Assembly on the 26th, before the resolutions had been passed. In announcing his determination he said: "The House of Assembly has again entered on the discussion of the subject, on which the decision of his royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, has already been communicated to them: and while I deeply regret that the Assembly should have allowed any consideration to overbear the respect which his royal highness's decision claimed, I feel it my duty to announce to you my determination to prorogue the present Parliament, and to resort to the sense of the people by an immediate dissolution."

Sudden dissolution of Parliament.

3.—The only bill passed and receiving the royal assent was one relating to contested elections; several other bills

Arrival of Sir John Sherbrooke. His prompt measures to relieve sufferers from failure of the crops.

were introduced but fell through on account of the sudden dissolution. The revenue for the year 1815 amounted to £150,273, currency; and the expenditure to £125,218 sterling. In this latter amount was included £16,555 for erecting the jail at Quebec; £26,439 on account of militia, and £35,325, proportion of duties allowed to Upper Canada for the year 1814. The departures from Quebec were 204 vessels, of 38,844 tons, including 10, of 1,462 tons, built there. The general elections were held during March, and resulted in the return of nearly all the old members. Sir Gordon Drummond left for England on the 21st of May, and the affairs of the colony were temporarily administered by Major-General Wilson until the arrival of the new governor-general, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, on 21st of July. Sir John Coape Sherbrooke was an officer of distinction who had assisted at the taking of Seringapatam, and acquitted himself creditably under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula. He had also administered the government of Nova Scotia, where he was well liked, and his first act after assuming the government of Lower Canada made him very popular with the people, especially in the country districts. There were very early and severe frosts this season in some of the districts below Quebec, which destroyed the wheat crop, and great fears of a famine were entertained. To relieve this fear Sir John threw open the public stores, sent large quantities of provisions to the distressed districts, and also advanced a considerable sum of money from the public treasury, on his own responsibility, to purchase such articles as were not in store. By his prompt action, all fears of famine or distress were removed, and the people always felt kindly disposed to him for his conduct.

4.—Sir John Sherbrooke was by no means disposed to follow the example of Craig and Drummond in summarily dismissing the Assembly; and, although the Home government still determined to support the chief-justices, he endeavored to ascertain the exact state of the public opinion on the subject, and for this purpose made a tour of the province, and submitted a very clear and exhaustive report on the subject, asking what course he should pursue in the event of the Assembly again considering the impeachment of the judges, which it was almost certain to do. He spoke of the extreme unpopularity of Chief-Justice Sewell, and of the effect of the late dissolution of Parliament having been exactly the reverse of what had been expected, as it had strengthened instead of weakening the opposition, and had tended to increase the general discontent. He suggested that so strong a measure as the dissolution of the House was not a wise course to pursue in Canada, and requested specific instructions. The Home government was loth to abandon the judges

Recommendation of a change of policy.

and disprove the late dissolution; instructions were, therefore, sent to the governor to endeavor to conciliate the Catholic Bishop and clergy, and through them to influence the people; and in the event of the Assembly continuing the attack on the judges, he was to dissolve Parliament again. To this the governor made a very full reply, pointing out the impossibility of gaining the aid of the Catholic clergy, as they were all most bitterly opposed to Judge Sewell, who was extremely unpopular even in the most distant parts of the province; he also deprecated another dissolution, and gave it as the opinion of well-informed and moderate men, that prorogation might succeed to prorogation, and dissolution to dissolution, but there would seem to be a revolution in the country, than in the feelings of its inhabitants on that point. He suggested that it would have been better to have allowed the House to produce proof of the charges made, as, even had the decision been the same, it would have given more satisfaction to have admitted the evidence; as, from Judge Sewell's being in England and defending himself, the decision of the Home government was looked on as an *ex parte* one. With a view to bringing the executive and the Assembly into great harmony, he recommended the appointment of an agent for the province in England; the admission of the speaker of the Assembly to the Executive Council and the pensioning off of Judge Sewell.

5.—The House met on the 15th of January, 1817, and Mr. L. J. Papineau was again chosen speaker. The governor and the House were evidently disposed to meet on as amicable a footing as possible, and the speech and address in reply were both couched in friendly terms. One of the first acts of the House was to appoint a committee of five to cultivate a good understanding with the Legislative Council, and that body having adopted a like course, the two Houses were on a more cordial footing during this session. The House very cheerfully voted the sum of £14,216 currency, to repay the advances made by the governor to relieve the distressed agriculturists, as also a further sum of £15,500 for their relief, and \$20,000 to purchase seed grain for those who were unable to procure it for themselves. At the recommendation of the government salaries of £1,000 each, currency, were voted to the speakers of the two Houses, which was, to some extent, a remuneration to Judge Sewell for the trouble and expense he had been put to by his impeachment, as he was speaker of the Legislative Council. A petition was presented against Judge Foucher, based on his having given advice in cases on which he was to adjudicate to favored counsel; articles of impeachment were prepared and adopted, and a petition moved to the prince regent. Towards the end of the session the question of the impeachment of Judges Sewell and Monk

Suspension of the charges against Judges Sewell and Monk. Session of 1817.

was again brought up and quietly shelved by the decisive vote of 22 to 10, a private arrangement to that effect having been arrived at between the government and the House. An annuity of £300, currency, was granted to the widow of the late speaker, M. Parret; and several large grants were made for internal improvements. The public accounts showed the finances to be in a flourishing condition, the revenue to 1st January, 1817, was £138,791 currency, and the expenditures £75,638 sterling, of which £24,495 was the proportion of duties refunded to Upper Canada. The year 1817 was marked by the establishment of the first bank in Canada, the Bank of Montreal, which had a capital of \$1,000,000 (now increased to \$12,000,000).

6.—Nothing of pressing public importance occurred from the prorogation of Parliament, on 22d March, 1817, until its reassembling, on 7th January, 1818. The governor in his speech announced that the efforts to relieve the distressed districts had been most successful, and that good crops had been the result of the timely assistance of seed grain. He also announced that the Home government had determined to accept the offer of the assembly (made during Sir James Craig's administration) to assume the whole civil list; and this measure occupied most of the attention of Parliament during the session. The mode of expenditure had not been by any means satisfactory. The revenue from the taxes imposed by the imperial Parliament to meet the expenses of the civil list had never been sufficient to do so, and the deficiency had, up to 1812, been supplied from the military chest. After that year the revenues derived by provincial acts had very largely increased, and the unappropriated money had been used to make up the deficiency in the civil list. These payments now aggregate about £120,000 of provincial funds which had been so used without the direct authority of the Assembly, and to avoid similar difficulties in the future it was proposed that the Assembly should, by a direct vote, appropriate a sufficient sum each year to meet the civil list; but the concurrence of the Legislative Council was also required. This proposal seemed fair and reasonable, but there were soon objectors to it in the Assembly, who claimed that that body, as the direct representatives of the people, had alone the right to appropriate the money raised from the people by taxation. When the civil list was brought down it was found to amount to £76,646 currency, of which only £33,383 was provided for by imperial statutes. The Assembly voted the deficiency, £43,263, but resolved that in future a detailed list, under separate heads, should be brought down, and not a lump sum asked for as was the custom. Bills for establishing night watches in Quebec and Montreal, and for lighting those towns, were passed, and another effort made to pay members of the assembly for

Session of 1818.
Change in financial
arrangements of the
Province.

their services, but the measure fell through. The revenues for 1817 amounted to £108,925 currency, and expenditures to £116,920, including £19,426 returned to Upper Canada for duties. The clearances from Quebec were 334,076,559 tons; and the value of merchandise, on which 2½ per cent duty was levied, was £672,876 currency. Sir John Sherbrooke's health was not very good, and he made that an excuse for requesting his recall; but he did not attempt to conceal his opinion that the vacillating policy of the Home government towards the colony would eventuate in serious difficulties, and render the position of governor of Canada anything but a bed of roses. He sailed for England on 12th August, 1818, and was succeeded by the Duke of Richmond.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

1. THE CAUSE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE ASSEMBLY.—2. SESSION OF 1819. THE GOVERNOR INVITES THE ASSEMBLY TO PASS THE CIVIL APPROPRIATIONS.—3. THE ASSEMBLY ASSUME THE RIGHT TO EXAMINE THE ITEMS IN THE CIVIL LIST—4. THE COUNCIL REJECTS THE HOUSE BILL OF SUPPLIES.—5. PROROGATION OF THE HOUSE. CENSURE OF THE GOVERNOR.—6. LARGE ENIGRATION. DEATH OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.—7. ANOTHER DISSOLUTION OF THE HOUSE. A USELESS ELECTION.

1.—The appointment of so distinguished a nobleman as the Duke of Richmond to the governor-generalship of Canada, caused general satisfaction; and from the able manner in which he had administered the affairs of Ireland as lord lieutenant, it was anticipated that his administration would be a popular one, and that by a wise and conciliatory course he would guide the affairs of the two Provinces so as to avoid the troubles which were evidently gathering in both, on account of the gradually widening breach between the Assembly and the other branches of the government as to the constitutional rights and privileges of each. Such hopes were, however, fallacious, and the short rule of the duke did not tend to improve the feeling between the Assembly and the Council. The difference between the Council and Assembly was, to a very great extent, one of finance, and it will be well here to consider for a moment how this difference arose. It will be remembered that the great principle involved which caused the revolt of the American colonies, was the right claimed by the British government to tax her

The cause of
difference between
the Governor and
the Assembly.

colonies, and the claim of the colonies was that there should be no taxation without representation; and that the people had not only a right, through their representatives to impose the taxes, but should also have a voice as to the manner in which those taxes should be spent. When civil government was introduced into Canada after the conquest, the imperial Parliament passed acts imposing duties to meet the civil expenditure; these acts never yielded sufficient revenue, and the deficit was made up by the Home government. The colony was not then in a position to declare itself self-supporting, and no objections were made to the mode of taxation; but after the passage of the constitutional act of 1791, as the colony became more prosperous, this mode of taxation began to be felt as an infringement of constitutional rights; the government held all the patronage of the colony in its hands, and dispensed it favors almost entirely amongst its own followers; or, to mark the difference more distinctly, nearly all the office-holders were English, whilst the Assembly was about four-fifths French, representing more than that proportion of the population. When the Assembly offered to assume the whole civil list, it also desired to control the patronage, by scrutinizing each item, cutting off those considered superfluous, and reducing those it thought excessive. This was resented by the governor as a breach of the royal prerogative; the executive claiming that the Assembly had nothing to do with the details, but had only to grant the amount demanded to meet the civil list, and the executive would spend the money as it saw fit. There were three distinct sources of revenue in the province, one from duties imposed by imperial act 1774; another from the sale of lands and lease of mines, also imposed by imperial act; and the third by duties and taxes imposed by the Assembly. The Crown, represented by the governor-general, held that the Assembly had only power to appropriate from the last-named source of revenue; the Assembly claimed that it had the right to appropriate from all three sources, and that the imperial Parliament had no right to impose taxes upon the people without the consent of the representatives of the people. This was the groundwork of the difference between the executive and the Assembly, and it took many years to settle it.

2.—The Duke of Richmond arrived on 29th July, 1818, accompanied by his son-in-law, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who was appointed lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. Nothing very important occurred until the meeting of Parliament on 12th of January,

Session of 1819. The Governor invites the Assembly to pass the civil appropriations.

1819. The governor informed the two Houses of the death of the queen, which had occurred on 10th November, and adjourned them for ten days as a mark of respect to her memory. On reassembling on 22d inst., his excellency, referring to the civil list, said to the Assembly: "His

Majesty having been pleased to accept the voluntary offer made by the representatives of the Commons of this province, to provide for the expenses of the civil government, measures were adopted by your late Governor-in-Chief, Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, during your last session, to carry the same into effect, which you cheerfully supported; but having, by his illness, been prevented from completing the appropriations required, I consider it necessary to call your immediate attention to this subject, by which his administration, so honorably conducted, may be in this respect closed; and for this purpose I shall order the accounts of the actual expenses of the civil government for the last year, and of the revenue collected during the same period, to be forthwith laid before you, in order that your course may be open to proceed on other financial objects. In like manner, the estimates of the expense for the present year, and of the amount of the revenue to be expected from the existing laws, will be prepared to be laid before you, that you may be able to attend to the whole of those measures which more peculiarly originate with your branch of the Legislature."

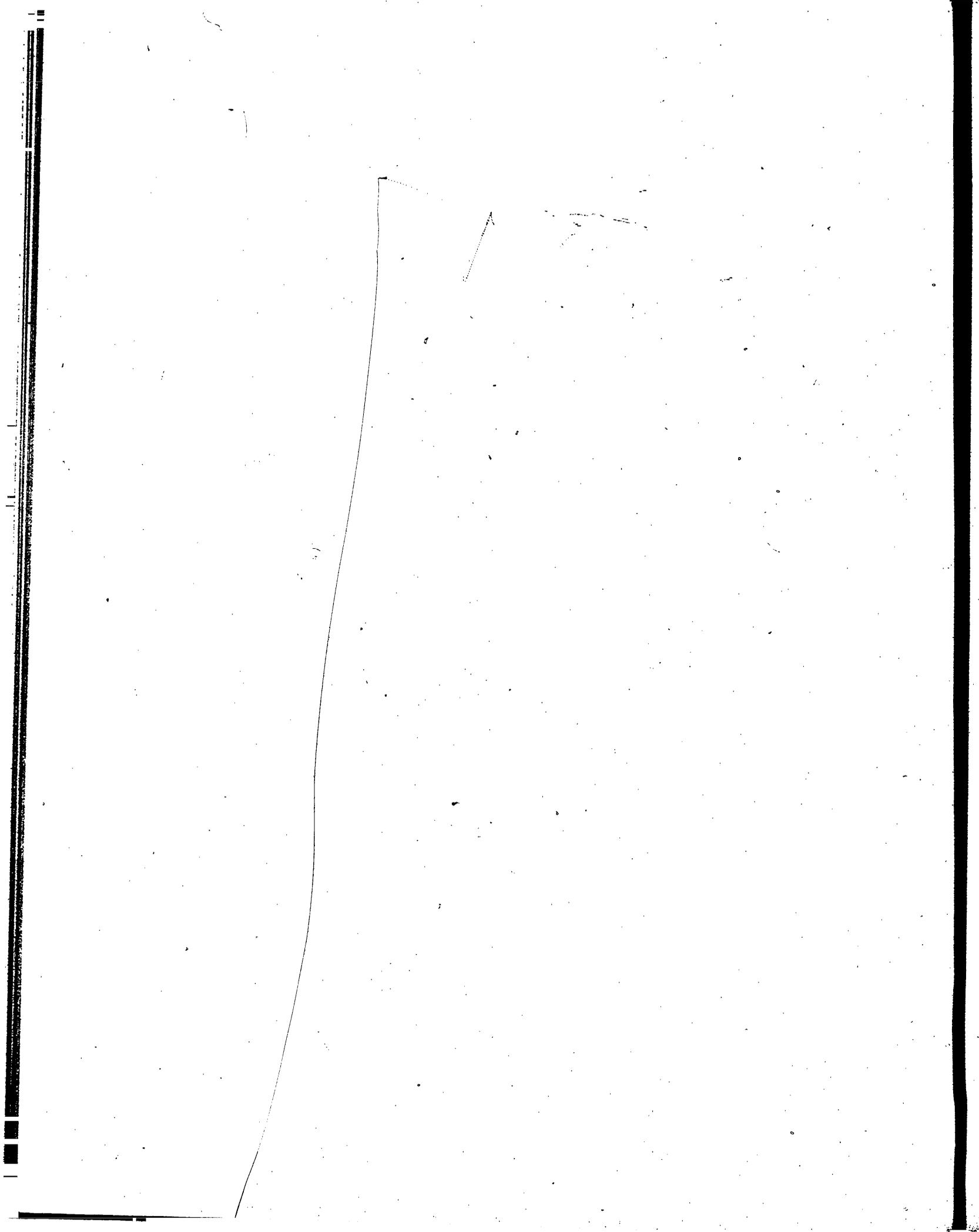
3.—The estimates for the current year (1819) caused considerable surprise and dissatisfaction, as they amounted to £81,432 sterling, being an increase of £15,000 on the last year's expenditures; and, embraced in this sum, was an amount of £8,000, to be granted in perpetuity, as "the pension-list at the disposal of his majesty's representative, for rewarding provincial services, and providing for old and reduced servants of the government and others." This sudden increase alarmed the House, and the estimates were referred to a select committee which, in very strong terms, reported in favor of retrenchment and economy. The report concluded: "Your committee are of opinion that this House, on making a suitable provision for such offices as are indispensably necessary, will also act in conformity with the desire and interest of the province at large, by making an unqualified reduction of those sinecures and pensions, which, in all countries, have been considered as the ground of iniquities, and the encouragement of vice; which, in the Mother Country have been, and still are, a subject of complaint, and which in this province will lead to corruption." The Assembly in committee of the whole, went over the civil list item by item, from the governor's salary (£4,500 a year) down to the lowest clerk, and cut down, or cut off, all that they thought too large or unnecessary. This reduced the amount about twenty-five per cent, and a bill based on this list was introduced and passed by a large majority.

The Assembly assumes the right to examine the items in the civil list.

4.—Some members of the Assembly were in favor of making a permanent provision for the civil list during the king's reign, the same as in England; others favored a medium course of making appropriations in bulk to departments, or

The Council rejects the House bill of supplies.





specific purposes, and leaving the distribution of it to the sovereign; but the majority held that as the total amounts depended almost entirely upon the frugality with which they were distributed, the House, as the representatives of the tax-payers, had a right to judge whether the disbursements were judiciously made. The Council promptly threw out the bill in indignant terms, and so the two Houses came to a dead-lock and no appropriations were passed. The resolution of the Council, throwing out the bill, ran: "That the mode adopted by the bill, for granting a supply to his Majesty, to defray the expenses of the civil list, is unprecedented and unconstitutional, and a direct assumption on the part of the Assembly of the most important rights and prerogatives of the Crown. That were the bill to be passed into a law, it would give to the Commons of this Province not merely the constitutional privilege of providing supplies, but the power also of prescribing to the Crown the number and description of its servants, and of regulating and rewarding their services individually, as the Assembly shall, from time to time, judge meet or expedient, by which means they would be rendered dependent on an elective body instead of being dependent on the Crown, and might eventually be made instrumental to the overthrow of that authority, which, by their allegiance, they are bound to support. That this House will proceed no further in the consideration of this bill."

5.—But little business was done at this session beyond granting £3,000 to survey lands granted to those who had served in the active militia during the late war, and the incorporation of a company to build a canal from Montreal to Lachine, which fell through, and the canal was subsequently built by provincial aid. Judge Bedard, former leader of the Opposition, and who had been imprisoned by Governor Craig, and afterwards raised to the bench by Sir George Prevost, was impeached by a lawyer practising in his court at Three Rivers; but a committee of the House threw out the charges; no further action was taken either with regard to the charges made against Judge Foucher, and the complaints against the judges having become very frequent, the governor recommended to the Assembly a consideration of the judicature act, but no action was taken on it. Parliament was prorogued on 24th April, his excellency severely censuring the House for its action with regard to the appropriations, and its want of action on the judicature act. The governor, shortly after prorogation, took the responsibility of authorizing the receiver-general to pay the civil list as sent down by him to the House. The gross revenue for the year was £89,673 currency, and the expenditures £1273,79 sterling, including £9,720 for relief of distressed parishes, and £45,270 on account of army bills and interest thereon. The number of vessels clearing from Quebec

Prorogation of the House. Censure of the Governor.

in 1818 was 409, of which 4 were built there; the total tonnage being 94,675 tons.

6.—Despite political wranglings the province continued to improve and increase in population and trade. From a census of the city of Quebec, published in the *Mercury* of 9th March, 1819, it appears that there were 2,000 houses, and a population of 15,257 souls in the city and suburbs; of these latter 11,991 were Catholics, and 3,266 Protestants. The pope this year erected Canada into an archdiocese, an event which caused some little grumbling in the strongly anti-Catholic press. A very large number of emigrants arrived this year at Quebec, mostly from Ireland; the total number was 12,434. Very many of them were in destitute circumstances, and relief had to be provided for them by the formation of a relief society by the citizens. The Duke of Richmond came to an untimely death on 28th August, 1819, at a little place named in honor of him, on the Ottawa, where he was bitten by a pet fox, which was not known to be rabid, and the duke expired soon after in great agony. His remains were taken to Quebec, and interred with great pomp and ceremony in the English cathedral.

Large emigration. Death of the Duke of Richmond.

7.—The government devolved on Mr. Monk, senior member of the Council, who appointed 29th February, 1820, for the meeting of Parliament. In the meanwhile, however, Sir Peregrine Maitland had been appointed as administrator-in-chief of the two provinces, and came from Upper Canada, where he was lieutenant-governor, on 7th February, but returned two days afterwards to open Parliament there, and on the same day that he left Mr. Monk issued a proclamation dissolving Parliament, and appointing the 11th April as the day on which writs were returnable, except for the county of Gaspé, where the time was extended to 1st June, the laws requiring one hundred days for the return of a writ for that county, on account of its remoteness and difficulty of access. The election, like all its predecessors under similar circumstances, was very unfavorable to the government, the opposition gaining several seats. Sir Peregrine Maitland returned to Quebec on 17th March, and the newly elected members having assembled on 11th April, in anticipation of an immediate session of Parliament, the administrator opened the session on that day. The House re-elected Mr. Papineau speaker, and then proceeded to consider whether they were legally constituted under the act, which made the number of members required to be elected fifty. It being made evident from the returns of the clerk of the crown in chancery that no representative had been elected from Gaspé, the House, by resolution, declared itself incomplete and incompetent to transact public business. The administrator sent a message to the House recommending the

Another dissolution of the House. An useless election.

renewal of certain acts; and also another on 20th April, regretting that public business should be hindered by this resolution, which he did not consider well founded. The House still continued to declare itself incompetent to transact business, and matters remained at a dead-lock until 24th April, when, news having arrived of the death of George III., the administrator had constitutional grounds for dismissing Parliament.

CHAPTER LXXV.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.

- 1.—MR. PAPINEAU'S OPINION OF ENGLISH RULE IN CANADA.—2. SESSION OF 1820. CONTINUED DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE ASSEMBLY.—3. CROWN LANDS. COMMENCEMENT OF WORK ON LACHINE CANAL.—4. CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE IN 1820.—5. SESSION OF 1821. THE BRITISH MINISTRY REQUIRES THE ENGLISH RULE OF VOTING SUPPLIES TO BE ADOPTED.—6. THE ASSEMBLY STILL REFUSES TO VOTE ANY SUPPLIES.—7. FIRST UNION PROJECT. FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES WITH UPPER CANADA.—8. UPPER CANADA 'APPEALS' TO THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.—9. PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSED UNION ACT.—10. SESSION OF 1823. MORE TEMPERATE ACTION OF THE ASSEMBLY. SUPPLY BILL PASSED.—11. SESSION OF 1823. DEFALCATION OF THE RECEIVER-GENERAL.—12. THE ASSEMBLY AGAIN REFUSES TO PASS THE SUPPLY BILL.—13. BUILDING OF LARGE SHIPS AT QUEBEC.—14. SESSION OF 1825. MISTAKE OF BOTH LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR AND THE ASSEMBLY. SUPPLY BILL PASSED.—15. EVENTS OF THE YEAR. ANOTHER DEAD-LOCK IN FINANCES. CENSUS RETURNS.—16. SESSION OF 1827. THE GOVERNOR DISSOLVES PARLIAMENT.—17. VIOLENT ABUSE OF THE GOVERNOR BY THE FRENCH PARTY.—18. THE GOVERNOR REFUSES TO ACKNOWLEDGE MR. PAPINEAU AS SPEAKER, AND DISSOLVES PARLIAMENT.—19. APPEAL OF THE ASSEMBLY TO THE HOME GOVERNMENT.—20. REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF HOUSE OF COMMONS. DEPARTURE OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

1.—Sir Peregrine Maitland was soon relieved from his duties as administrator by the arrival, on 18th June, 1820, of the newly-appointed governor-in-chief of Canada, George, ninth Earl of Dalhousie. He was a distinguished soldier, who had served during the Irish rebellion of '98, in the Egyptian campaign under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in the Dutch war, in the Peninsula,

Mr. Papineau's opinion of English rule in Canada.

and at Waterloo, and had been thanked by both Houses of Parliament for his gallant and distinguished services. The elections took place in June and July, and left the composition of the House very much as it was before dissolution. The most noticeable feature of the campaign was a speech made by Mr. Papineau, speaker of the House, who was returned without opposition for Montreal West, and which showed that, however much his views may have changed afterwards, he was just enough, at that time, to acknowledge the benefits received by the French Canadians under British rule. Mr. Papineau was for many years "the brains" of the French Canadian party, and could lead them as he willed. It is worthy of note, then, what he gave as his views in 1820. According to the *Quebec Gazette*, after referring in touching terms of the death of George III., which had caused the dissolution, he continued: "Under the French government (internally and externally, arbitrary and oppressive) the interests of this country had been more frequently neglected and mal-administered than any other part of its dependencies. In its estimation, Canada seems not to have been considered as a country which, from fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, and extent of territory, might then have been the peaceful abode of a numerous and happy population; but as a military post, whose feeble garrison was condemned to live in a state of perpetual warfare and insecurity, frequently suffering from famine, without trade, or with a trade monopolized by privileged companies; public and private property often pillaged, and personal liberty daily violated; when year after year the handful of inhabitants settled in this province were dragged from their homes and families to shed their blood, and carry murder and havoc from the shores of the great lakes, the Mississippi and the Ohio, to those of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay. Such was the situation of our fathers: behold the change. George the Third, a sovereign revered for his moral character, attention to his kingly duties, and love of his subjects, succeeds to Louis XV., a prince then deservedly despised for his debauchery, his inattention to the wants of the people, and his lavish profusion of his public moneys upon favorites and mistresses. From that day, the reign of the law succeeded to that of violence; from that day, the treasures, the navy and the army of Great Britain, are mustered to afford us an invincible protection against external danger; from that day, the better part of her laws became ours, while our religion, property, and the laws by which they were governed, remained unaltered: soon after, are granted to us the privileges of its free constitution—an infallible pledge, when acted upon, of our internal prosperity. Now, religious toleration; trial by jury—that wisest of safe guards ever devised for the protection of innocence; security against arbitrary imprisonment, by the privileges attached to the writ of

habeas corpus, legal and equal security afforded to all, in their person, honor and property; the right to obey no other laws than those of our own making and choice, expressed through our representatives; all these advantages have become our birthright, and shall, I hope, be the lasting inheritance of our posterity. To secure them let us only act as British subjects and freemen."

2.—Parliament met on 14th December, 1820, and the governor made a number of suggestions, amongst them

the consideration of the judicatory act, improvement of agricultural lands, permanent enactment of the revenue laws, settlement of waste lands, &c. The estimates were submitted early in the session, and were divided into six classes, the total being £44,877. The Assembly went over the list, item by item, and cut the amount down to £41,434, but they added £3,083 for pensions and £1,543 for the militia staff (which were not included in the estimates sent down by the governor), so that the total looked to be more than was asked for, as it was £46,060. This bill was divided into chapters, or classes, and submitted to the Legislative Council, by which body it was immediately thrown out, for the reasons that by one of the provisions of the bill the revenue derived from the Imperial Acts (over which the Council claimed the House had no control) had been appropriated, and also that the appropriation was only annual, and not a permanent one as signified to be his majesty's desire, by the speech from the throne. The Upper House also agreed to a set of standing orders to the effect that it would not entertain any civil service bills which did not emanate from the king's representative, or which was divided into chapters or clauses, unless such appropriation extended through the life of the sovereign. Thus matters came to a dead-lock again. The Council was strong in its determination to centralize power in the hands of the executive; and the Assembly was quite as obstinate in its desire to get control of the civil expenditures. The Assembly presented an address to the governor, stating the dead-lock between the two Houses, and tendering as much out of unappropriated funds as would cover the difference between the amount received from the imperial acts and the amount granted by them, £46,060. This was, virtually, asking the governor to acknowledge the right of the Assembly to appropriate the funds raised under the imperial acts; but this he declined to do, on the ground that in his opinion their proposal was quite ineffectual without the concurrence of the Legislative Assembly. So no supply bill was passed.

3.—The question of the distribution of Crown lands was taken up and referred to a committee. The inquiry lasted through several sessions, and will be referred to hereafter; suffice it to say that great abuses were shown, immense

Session of 1820. Continued difference between the Council and the Assembly.

Crown lands. Commencement of work on the Lachine Canal.

tracts, amounting in some instances to 60,000, 70,000 and even 80,000 acres had been granted to favorites (for nothing, or next to nothing), who had no intention of improving or settling them, and who only held them until the opening up of the country should make them valuable enough to sell. A bill was introduced to inquire into the state of the public funds in the hands of the receiver-general, who was suspected of being a defaulter to a large amount, and to prevent his engaging in trade, and to require him to make an annual return to the House. The bill, however, fell through in committee. A bill to remunerate members of the Assembly was again introduced, but voted down in the House, and one to appoint an agent in England was thrown out in the Council. An address to his excellency was adopted, calling attention to a number of sinecures and useless offices, and praying him to suspend payment of salaries until the incumbents came to the colony and performed their duties, or abolish the offices. Amongst these were the lieutenant-governor, who drew a salary of £1,500 a year, and had never been in the province, the secretary, and other officials whose duties were mostly performed by deputies, while they remained in England and drew their salaries. An important act, passed this session, was that building the Lachine canal at the expense of the province, the company incorporated for the purpose being unable to carry out their enterprise; and work was commenced on the 7th of July. Mr. Papineau was called to the Executive Council this session, as well as Messrs. Hale and Ready. The Houses were prorogued on the 17th of March, and the governor took a tour of military inspection through the Upper Province during the summer.

4.—The province had improved wonderfully during the past few years; the Eastern Townships, which at the opening of the century were almost a wilderness, were now being peopled with a thrifty and hardy class, mostly Scotch and Irish, who were turning its barrenness into a beautiful and blooming garden; immigration had been large, and the population was now estimated at about 400,000, while trade had flourished, especially that in lumber, which now gave annual employment to several hundred vessels. But the spirit of the people had not improved in proportion with the country. Party spirit was rife, and the two factions were fast galloping on to an open outbreak and a declaration of a war of races. The French were more than ever embued with the idea that Canada was made for the French Canadians, and that the British were intruders; the government which had brought them peace, plenty and happiness, was openly reviled and despised at the instance of loud-mouthed demagogues, who misled the ignorant peasants with their gross misstatements and wilful misrepresentations; already the cry of "*La Nation Canadienne*," was heard, and it was boldly urged that the

Condition of the Province in 1824.

sooner they threw off the British yoke the better—the throwing off process being always regarded as a very easy process. On the other hand the British were no better, in one way, for they insisted upon continuing to regard the French as a conquered people, despised their language, customs and religion, sneered at their ignorance, and aimed at the sole control in all matter of government; although comparatively few in numbers, they controlled nearly all the trade and commerce, monopolized almost all the public offices, and chafed because they could not control the Assembly as well as the Council, and exclude the French from power altogether.

5.—Parliament again met on the 11th of December, 1821, and his excellency, in very unqualified terms, made known the wishes of the Home government with regard to the civil list. In the speech from the throne he said: "It has been established in the British Parliament, as a principle of the constitution, that the civil list should be granted during the life of the king, and I am commanded to impress upon this occasion his majesty's recommendation that such principle of the constitution should be adopted and observed in future as the practice in this province." The Assembly,—as was generally the case with it now,—in the address in reply fenced the question, and under big-worded expressions of loyalty and desire to do anything that his majesty desired, avoided a direct answer as to whether they intended to follow the English constitutional manner of voting the civil list or not. The estimates were sent down on the 21st of December, and soon after the Assembly moved an address to the governor asking for detailed statements of the proper provision for the support of the civil government as fixed by the royal instructions in the years 1792, 1797, 1810, 1818. His excellency in reply said that he "felt it his duty to decline to lay the royal instructions, or any part of them, before the House for public discussion, considering them to be confidential instructions from his majesty to his representative for the time being." The House showed no disposition to take up the civil list, but Mr. Taschereau forced an expression of opinion by moving "that a permanent provision be made for the support of the civil government of the province, and of the honor and dignity of the Crown, during the life of his present most gracious majesty." This was negatived by a vote of thirty-one to five; but the Assembly passed very long-winded resolutions in apologetic explanation of their refusal. The idea of appointing an agent in England was again taken up, and this time it was decided to invite a member of the English Parliament to accept the position; accordingly a resolution appointing Joseph Marryat, Esq., agent, was adopted, and a copy of the resolution, with very voluminous instructions, were sent to that gentleman;

but the Council repudiated the appointment, and passed a resolution that the Assembly alone had no power to appoint an agent, and sent a copy to that gentleman, who, in his reply to the speaker, politely declined to receive the appointment of the Assembly alone, as it could not be constitutional without the approval of the other branches of the Legislature. This ended the matter for the present.

6.—In order to coerce the executive and "cut off the supplies," the Assembly resolved not to renew a revenue bill, which expired by limitation during the session, and also failed to provide for another, which would expire before the House met again. No appropriation for the current year was voted, the excuse being that there was no necessity for that, in view of the refusal of the House to make the appropriation permanent, and their address to his majesty on that subject. It was also said that the governor could again take the responsibility of paying the necessary amount of unappropriated funds of the province, although, in the opinion of the House, he was liable to be treated as a public dilapidator if he did so. It was also resolved to "hold personally responsible his majesty's receiver-general of the province, and every other person or persons concerned, for all moneys levied on his majesty's subjects, which may have legally come into his or their hands, and been paid over by him or them under any authority whatever, unless such payments be, or should be, authorized by an express provision of law." An answer to the address of complaints about absent and useless officials was received, which refused to remove any of them, but stated that the lieutenant-governor of the province had been ordered to reside within the province. The governor again applied for a provision to be made for the civil service, regretting that they had not passed the estimates, and saying that he would apply all the revenue under the imperial acts to that purpose, but the amount would fall short by some £30,000, which sum he asked the Assembly to vote. The Assembly refused, making as an excuse that the standing orders of the Council refusing to entertain any civil appropriation bill made in chapters or clauses, was an infringement of their privileges, and that they could not pass any such bill until those orders were rescinded. Seeing that further argument with the House was useless, the governor prorogued Parliament on 18th February, sarcastically informing them that their having recourse to the unusual proceeding of withholding the supplies would not interfere with his majesty's civil government, but would fall on the local establishments.

7.—The Assembly congratulated themselves on having now brought the government to a stand which would force it to submit to that body passing the civil estimates as they chose; for if they refused to renew the revenue

First union project. Financial difficulties with Upper Canada.

laws, they would all expire by limitation in a few years, and the wheels of government would be clogged by the mere want of funds to grease them; but the Assembly had not considered the whole subject, and were about to receive a very rude shock by discovering that the British Parliament had determined to reunite the two provinces, and so sweep away the obstinate French majority in the Assembly. Besides trying to control the governor and Legislative Council of Lower Canada, the Assembly had been endeavoring to regulate the finances of Upper Canada, by withholding a just proportion of the revenues received in the former, and the latter had protested against the unfair division. Commissioners had been appointed during the summer of 1821, and met at Montreal; but the Lower Canada Commissioners (appointed by the Assembly) could not agree with the Upper Canada commissioners (appointed by the executive, under an act of the Legislature), and no arrangement as to the division of the duties had been come to. The last arrangement made gave Upper Canada one-fifth of the receipts for duties, but this expired on 15th July, 1819, and had not been renewed, the Upper Province claiming a larger proportion, on account of its rapidly growing population, which was increasing at a much greater rate than that of Lower Canada, besides an arrearage of £30,000.

8.—Upper Canada took immediate measures to lay the matter before the imperial Parliament for redress, and at the session of 1821 an agent was appointed to go to England and solicit imperial legislation. The Lower Canada House was informed of this, but too late for action, as it was then on the eve of prorogation. The British Parliament promptly took the matter up, and considered the condition of both colonies. The failure of the constitutional act of 1791 was evident, and the wisdom of Fox's argument against the separation of the races was apparent; for some years past the Home government had been considering the advisability of re-uniting the provinces, and part of the mission of the Earl of Dalhousie was to ascertain whether such an union was desired by Upper Canada. The sentiment there being in favor of it, and the factiousness of the Lower Canada Assembly continuing, a bill to that effect was introduced into the English House of Commons during this session of 1821, and passed. This bill, afterwards known as "The Canada Trade Act," settled all outstanding disputes between the provinces, and provided against their recurrence in the future. By this act Upper Canada was virtually granted all she asked; all the laws of Lower Canada with regard to duties in which the Upper Province participated at the time of the last agreement (1819), including those allowed to expire by the Assembly, were renewed and made permanent, and the Assembly of the Lower Province was

Upper Canada appeals to the Imperial Parliament.

prevented from altering or amending them without the consent of the Legislature of the Upper Province; nor could the Lower Province impose any new duties on goods imported by sea, without the sanction of the Upper Province, or the imperial Parliament and the royal assent. The legislative Union of the two provinces was also provided for in the bill; but, meeting with some opposition in the House, that clause was held over until the wishes of the inhabitants of the two provinces on the subject could be ascertained. Another very important provision of the act was the power it gave of commuting, by transaction with the Crown, the seigniorial or feudal tenure into that of free and common soccage.

9.—The news of the passage of this bill caused consternation in the camp of the "national" party in the Assembly, and taught them that in striving to control the whole Legislature they ran great danger of being reduced to a small and insignificant part. The proposed Union was to be known as "The Legislative Council and Assembly of the Canadas." Under it the governor was authorized to erect the townships hitherto unrepresented into six counties, each to consist of not less than six townships, and to return a member to the Assembly. The number of representatives from each province was not to exceed 60. The qualification for members was placed at £500 sterling, over and above all encumbrances. The Assembly was to be quinquennial, and two members of the Executive Councils of either province were to be appointed by the governor to seats in it. The records of the Assembly were to be kept in English only, and, after fifteen years, that was to be the only language used in debate. The Roman Catholic religion was to be respected, subject to the king's supremacy and to the collation or induction into cures. These provisions greatly alarmed the French Canadians, who saw their power and their language slipping from them, whilst the clergy regarded the last clause as an infringement of their rights, the Catholic Bishop having been heretofore (as he is now) left to the privilege of induction into cures. Public meetings were held everywhere and union and anti-union addresses to Parliament prepared. The British were almost all unionists, and the French Canadians, nearly to a man, anti-unionists. The French were most methodical in their manner of preparing their address; meetings were held at Quebec and Montreal, and committees appointed, which agreed on an address and distributed it through the parishes for signature. There were over 60,000 names attached to it; but to show the dense ignorance of the people not one in ten could sign his name, but had to make a mark, just the same as one of the aborigines would have had to have done. Messrs. Papineau and Neilson were appointed to present the anti-union petition in England, and Mr. James Stuart the union petition. During all the excite-

Provisions of the proposed Union Act.

ment attendant on preparing these petitions, the governor, very wisely, held aloof and took no part whatever in the proceedings.

10.—The Legislature met on 10th January, 1823, and from the scare given them by the union act, the Assembly seemed disposed to be a little less self-asserting, and attend more to its own affairs and the public interest, leaving the other branches to manage their portions of the general business. The proposed union was early taken up in both Houses; in the Council a resolution against it was carried by a vote of fifteen to five, but six members afterwards put in a dissent urging that a union was necessary. In the Assembly a series of resolutions against the Union was carried by a vote of thirty to three, and these resolutions were embodied in two addresses to the king and the Parliament, the former being forwarded through the governor, the latter through Messrs. Papi-neau and Neilson, who were still in England. The question of the representation of the Eastern Townships, and of their being supplied with the requisite courts, which had been pending for some time, was taken up. A provincial judge, to reside in the District of St. Francis, as the new district was called, was appointed, having jurisdiction in actions not exceeding £20 sterling, and a court of Quarter Sessions established. The House was not quite so fair in the matter of representation, for whilst it made provision for the admission of six members from the English Eastern townships, it cut up a number of French districts so as to let in about 30 new French members, as a counterpoise to keep up the French majority in the House. This bill was rejected by the Council. The estimates were brought down on 5th February. The governor had had them closed in two schedules, one including the salaries of the governor, lieutenant-governor, and the officers more closely attached to them, being chargeable to revenues derived from the imperial acts which the governor thought would yield enough to meet the amount, £32,083; the second schedule contained the "local establishments," as they were called, the expenses of the Legislature, &c., and amounted to £30,225, which sum the Assembly was asked to vote. The Assembly relieved its feelings at the appropriation of the imperial resolution by a series of resolutions, and passed the bill for defraying the expenses of the "local establishments," the fear of the union bill preventing their doing more than ordering them "to be taken from and charged against the *general funds of the province*, arising from any act or acts in force therein, and from any of the revenues of his majesty, applicable to the purposes of the act." The underlined words were meant to imply that the Assembly still claimed control over the moneys raised by the imperial acts, and the Council so interpreted them by declaring that it would not concur in any more bills passed

Session of 1823.
More temperate
action of the As-
sembly. Supply
Bill passed.

in that way. £50,000 was voted for the Chambly Canal; £12,000 in addition to the previous vote for the Lachine Canal; £2,100 for encouraging agriculture; £800 for the Montreal General Hospital, and £2,000 for the Hotel Dieu; pensions were also granted to Judges Monk and Ogden. The House was prorogued on 22d March, and, on the whole, the session was the most satisfactory for many years.

11.—Shortly after prorogation His Excellency made an official announcement that the Imperial government had foregone, for the present, any intention of a union of the provinces, although still thinking it the best policy; after this his excellency went on a trip to Nova Scotia, leaving the government in the hands of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis N. Lurton. The Legislature was called together on 25th November, 1823, the session being made early on account of the failure of the receiver-general, Mr. Caldwell, who had been suspended from office. The defalcation of the receiver-general amounted to £96,117, about £40,000 of which he claimed to have been deficient when he took over the office from his father. Before a committee of the House Caldwell offered to surrender about £32,000 worth of private property and to allow £1,000 a year out of his salary until the amount of £45,000 was made up, provided he was kept in office at a fair salary. The remainder of the sum he claimed was due him as commissions by the province on the amount of collections, and should be so allowed. The committee refused to entertain the offer, and claimed that the imperial government was responsible to the province for the deficit, as the receiver-general was appointed by the Crown and not under the control or authority of the Provincial Legislature, to which he made no returns. In this position the House was undoubtedly in the right. Caldwell was only receiving a very small salary, £500 a year, and it was well known that he had been using the public funds for business operations and had been a defaulter for some time; still he had been kept in office. An address to the Crown praying that the province should be indemnified for the loss sustained by the defalcation of a Crown officer was prepared by the House and forwarded through the governor.

Session of 1823. De-
falcation of the Re-
ceiver-General.

12.—The supply bill was not sent down until late in the session, and was then made in two classes as in the previous year. The House had now lost its fear of the union act, and accordingly felt it could venture to again assert its own importance. It went carefully over all the items, reduced all salaries from the governor's down twenty-five per cent, and ordered that the total, £43,101, should be paid out of the revenue derived from the imperial acts and the deficit made up out of unappropriated moneys. This list was promptly thrown out by the Coun-

The Assembly
again refuses to
pass the supply bill.

oil, and so no supplies were passed again. The governor again applied for a reimbursement of the £60,000 advanced the receiver-general in the years 1823-4 from the military chest; but the House refused to entertain the proposal, holding that the loan could only have been a personal accommodation to the receiver-general, that with a large balance in his hands he ought not to have required aid, and that his asking for it showed he was a defaulter at the time, and he ought to have been removed instead of receiving accommodation. A discussion took place on the claims of the American government to the free use of the St. Lawrence, which was opposed; and a proposition from Upper Canada to increase the duties on certain articles was rejected on the ground that it was inexpedient to raise the duties in the then unsatisfactory state of trade. An address was also passed to his majesty praying that the "Clergy Reserves" be divided amongst all denominations, other than Roman Catholic, which proposal, emanating as it did from a Roman Catholic body, greatly offended the members of the Church of England. The House was prorogued on the 9th of March.

13.—The governor sailed for England on leave of absence, on 6th June, 1824, and the government devolved upon Sir Francis N. Burton, who visited Montreal and other parts of the Province in August. At Montreal he laid the corner-stone of the new French Parish Church, commonly known as "The French Cathedral," the largest and finest Catholic Church on this continent, with one exception. Amongst the noteworthy events of this year was the attempt to apply the Canadian *bateaux* to ocean navigation, and to Canada belongs the honor of having built the first "big ship" of modern times. Nowadays we are inclined to think nothing of steamers of 4, 5, or 6,000 tons, but over fifty years ago it was an immense undertaking to construct a vessel of 3,690 tons, yet such was the size of the *Columbus*, built at Quebec by a Mr. Wood, of Glasgow, for a firm in Scotland, and launched at the Isle of Orleans on 28th July, 1824. She was flat-bottomed, 301 feet 6 in. long, 50 feet 7 in. broad, and 24 feet 4 in. wide, and rigged with four masts. She was not a success, however; she took a load of timber to England, and was returning to St. John, N. B., when she became water-logged, and had to be abandoned at sea. Another vessel of the same class, but rather larger, the *Baron Renfrew*, was commenced shortly after the sailing of the *Columbus*, and also took a cargo of lumber to England. She stranded on the coast, however, and was afterwards blown over to the coast of France, where she became a total wreck. In this year the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was founded under the patronage of Lord Dalhousie, an institution which has done much towards preserving some of the most valuable records of the early history of Canada.

Building of large ships at Quebec.

14.—The Legislature met again on 8th January, 1825, when Mr. Papineau was again elected speaker by a large majority over Mr. Vailières. The late general election had not materially changed the complexion of the House, and that change had strengthened the opposition. Again a bill was passed appointing an agent in England, but was thrown out by the Council; and another for promoting the independence of judges, by appointing them for life and preventing them sitting in the Legislative or Executive Councils was introduced, but no definite action taken on it. The estimates were sent down in different shape than in former years, there being no distinction made between the permanent and local classes of officers. This was regarded by the Assembly as a tacit acknowledgment of their right to appropriate the crown revenues; but such was not the intention of Lieutenant-Governor Burton, and he was censured by Lord Bathurst for not following previous examples. The amount appropriated was estimated at £40,545, and the additional amount asked for £31,456. The Assembly took great pains in framing their bill so as to cover, without appearing to mention, its pretensions to having been conceded control of the Imperial revenues; the members, therefore, contented themselves with passing a bill "that in addition to the revenue appropriated for defraying the expenses of the administration of justice, and for support of the civil government of the province, there shall be supplied and paid from and out of the unappropriated moneys which now are, or hereafter may come into the hands of the receiver-general of the province for the time being, such sum or sums as may be necessary to make up and complete a sum not exceeding £58,074 2s. 11d. sterling, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the civil government of this province and of the administration of justice therein, and the other expenses for the said year." The bill was approved by the Council and lieutenant-governor, the latter of whom thought that the Assembly had waived their pretensions to the imperial revenues. Nothing of much importance was done this session, and the House was prorogued on 22d March, the executive and the House for once in mutual good humor, but from mistaken causes. A grant of £1,500 was passed to establish steam communication between Quebec and Halifax; and, for the first time since the establishment of the constitution, a census of the province was ordered to be taken.

15.—His Excellency Lord Dalhousie returned on 16th September, and Sir Francis Burton went to England the same month. A terrible fire having occurred at Miramichi, large subscriptions were taken up in Montreal and Quebec to aid the sufferers; the governor advanced £2,243 for provisions, clothing, &c., and a ship was also

Session of 1825. Mistake of both Lieutenant-Governor and Assembly. Supply bill passed.

Events of the year. Another dead-lock on finances. Census returned.

sent with about £6,000 worth of goods taken from the military stores. A judgment was this year rendered in the Court of King's Bench for £106,797 currency against Caldwell, the defaulting receiver-general. Two other events of note this year were the deaths of the first Protestant Bishop, Rev. Jacob Mountain and of the Roman Catholic Bishop M. de Plessis. The governor-in-chief opened Parliament on 21st January, 1826, and the accounts were submitted, divided again into two classes, as had been the rule before his departure. This caused a great outburst in the House, and after the usual long discussion, the supply bill was passed, item by item, and a committee appointed to frame a bill the same as last year. It was just at this juncture that Lord Dalhousie sent a message to the House enclosing Lord Bathurst's despatch to Sir Francis Burton, censuring him for approving last year's bill, and concluding, "as the bill is limited to one year, I shall not think it necessary to recommend to his majesty to disallow it, but confine myself to instructing his majesty's representative in the Province of Lower Canada not to sanction any measure of a similar nature." In spite of this the Assembly persisted in passing the bill in the same shape as last year, and sent it to the Council. There it was "amended" into the proper shape and sent back; but, of course, the House would not concur, and so no supplies were passed. The usual grants for schools and charities were passed and allowed, but all other money bills were reserved for his majesty's pleasure. The returns of the census taken last year were submitted, and showed the population of the province to be four hundred and twenty-three thousand six hundred and thirty souls.

16.—Nothing of importance occurred until the meeting of the Legislature again on 23d January, 1827. This

session was even more stormy than its predecessors. The accounts were submitted in a different form from that of any previous year. No mention was made of those officers who were judged to come under the provisions of the imperial acts; and the "local" departments were divided into classes and appropriations asked only for them. The fight between the executive and the Assembly now became more bitter and personal. The governor was heaped with abuse by the Assembly, and it was charged that he was acting on his own responsibility, contrary to the wishes of the Home government. Numerous addresses, motions, resolutions, &c., were passed, but the breach continued to widen; and at last the Assembly adopted a series of resolutions that it would not entertain the supplies in any other form than what it had already determined on; and that it must have entire control of the whole revenue. Seeing that it was useless to continue the session longer, the governor called the Houses together on 7th March, and, for the first time, had recourse

to a dissolution. One sentence in his speech of dismissal forcibly expresses the conduct of the Assembly during his administration. He said: "In my administration of the government, I have seen seven years pass away without any conclusive adjustment of the public accounts; thus accumulating a mass for future investigation, which must lead to confusion and misunderstanding. In the same years I have seen the measures of government directly applicable to the wants of the province thrown aside without attention and without any reason assigned. I have seen the forms of Parliament utterly disregarded; and in this session a positive assumption of executive authority, instead of that of legislative, which last is, alone, your share in the constitution of the state."

17.—Addresses to the governor were sent him from Montreal, Quebec, the Eastern townships and other places, congratulating him on his accession; but the French party were most violent in their abuse of him; both the press and platform afforded engines for loading him with abusive epithets, and in the election contests during the summer the speakers could find nothing too vile to say about him. Mr. Papineau was particularly personal and vindictive, and his abuse led to serious results, as will be seen later on. As an expression of the state of feeling exhibited by the stump-orators of the campaign, we cannot do better than quote Mr. Christie, who says: "It is impossible adequately to describe the seditious agitation in all quarters of Lower Canada, that followed the prorogation, and the absurd tales, improbable, palpable untruths resorted to by the agitators to excite the habitants (for whom, in their credulity and implicit faith in their leaders, nothing could be too gross), and beget a feeling of hatred against the government and towards the governor personally. He was represented as the most odious and oppressive of tyrants; he had, it was said, lawlessly interrupted the Legislature in its work, and prevented the representatives of the people from passing good and salutary laws in progress at the prorogation; he was plundering the public treasury, and illegally helping himself and satellites to large sums, at the expense of the province, whose people, '*La Nation Canadienne*,' their religion, their language, and their laws he was opposed to, hated, and was endeavoring to subvert. He was hoodwinking and deceiving the government at home, that he might the more easily enslave the people of the colony, whom it was said he would drive, if not speedily recalled, to a rebellion that would not fail to sweep away the little that remained of British power from the continent of North America; and in these extravagant imaginings several joined, of whom, knowing as they must have known the absurdity of those tales, better things were to have been expected."

18.—The elections, as were to have been expected from the ignorance of the voting masses and the violence

Violent abuse of the Governor by the French party.

The Governor refuses to acknowledge Mr. Papineau as Speaker, and dissolves Parliament.

of the partisan orators, were very unfavorable to the government, and its very slender support in the Assembly was still further reduced. Parliament met on the 20th November, 1827; and there was much speculation as to whether, should Mr. Papineau be again elected speaker, the governor would recognize him. Mr. Papineau, both in print and in his address to his constituents, had been so grossly and personally abusive of the governor, that it was thought the governor could not possibly overlook it. For once public opinion was right; the governor did not recognize him. After the Assembly, by a vote of 41 to 5, had elected Mr. Papineau, the House was summoned to the Council Chamber, and there informed by the speaker of the Council that the governor "doth not approve of the choice the Assembly have made of a speaker, and in his majesty's name 'his excellency doth accordingly now disallow, and discharge the said choice;" further adding that the governor would meet them on the 23d, if they had elected a speaker by that time. The Assembly was somewhat nonplussed at this; but persisted in selecting Mr. Papineau, and as there seemed no possibility of their abandoning their choice, the governor, on 23d inst., by proclamation prorogued Parliament.

19.—Popular excitement now grew more intense. Meetings were held everywhere. Addresses approving the governor's course were presented from Montreal, Quebec, Three Rivers, the Eastern Townships, and even from Upper Canada. On the other hand, anti-executive meetings were also freely held, and a resolution was taken to lay their grievances before the king and Parliament. A very long statement of the differences between the Assembly and the executive was made out, in which the blame was mostly laid on the Legislative Council for throwing out bills of supply and other useful bills, after they had been passed by the Assembly. These petitions were industriously circulated for signature, and so well did the agitators succeed that eighty-seven thousand names (which we may assume as being the whole male French population) were attached. Out of this large number, however, only nine thousand could sign their names, the others making marks, a clear indication of the ignorant state of the people, and the absence of schools. Messrs. John Neilson, of Quebec, and D. B. Viger and Austin Cuveillier, of Montreal, were appointed to take the petitions to England, and sailed early in February, by way of New York. Shortly after the departure of the delegation, Lord Dalhousie received information that he had been appointed to succeed Lord Combermere, as commander-in-chief of the forces in India, and that his successor would be sent out as soon as he was ready to leave the colony. A number of libel suits were entered

Appeal of the Assembly to the Home government.

at the March assizes at Quebec, growing out of the late excitement, but they were put off until next term, and finally abandoned on account of the departure of Lord Dalhousie.

20.—The British ministry determined to lay the complaints of the Canadians before Parliament, and, accordingly, on the 2d May, Mr. Huckisson, colonial secretary, moved for the appointment of a committee of twenty-one to inquire into the state of the civil government of Canada, and report their observations and opinions thereon. This committee reported on 22d July, substantially granting the prayer of the petitioners. They recommended the abolition of the seigniorial rights of the crown, the establishment of new electoral districts more in accordance with the progress of population, and the surrender of the whole public revenue to the Assembly—measures to be taken, at the same time, to render the governor, Executive Council, and the judges independent of an annual vote of supply. They recommended that the Canadians be allowed to have an agent in England; and reported adversely to the project of an union with Upper Canada. This report gave intense satisfaction in Lower Canada; the Assembly had got what it had been fighting for, "the spoils," and was content to be satisfied, for the present, until the vacillating policy of the English government gave them an opportunity of asking for more. So ended the first attempt to unite the two provinces. Lord Dalhousie did not remain in the province long enough to learn the result of the committee's investigation, and had not the mortification of viewing the exhibitions of the joy of his enemies at what was, to a certain degree, a condemnation of his policy. He sailed from Quebec on 2d September, 1828, in *H. M. S. Challenger*, and was succeeded in the government by Sir James Kempt, who was promoted from the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia, and arrived in the same ship which took home Lord Dalhousie.

Report of Committee of House of Commons. Departure of Lord Dalhousie.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR JAMES KEMPT.

- 1.—SESSION OF 1828. SUPPLY BILL PASSED BY DOUBLE VOTE OF JUDGE SEWELL.—2. WORK OF THE SESSION. USEFUL BILLS PASSED.—3. SESSION OF 1830. APPROPRIATIONS FOR INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—4. EXTENSIVE EMIGRATION. APPOINTMENT OF LORD AYLMER.

1.—Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt was an officer who had served with distinction, and had administered the affairs of Nova Scotia with satisfaction. His instructions were that he should be as conciliatory as possible towards the French Canadians, and endeavor to remove all sources of complaint. Parliament met on 28th November, 1828, and, at first, the difficulties between the executive and the House seemed to be in a fair way to be overcome. But the Assembly soon resumed its old hostile attitude, and in voting the supplies for 1828 and 1829 used the same terms as in the bill of 1825, claiming control over all the revenues and making no permanent provision for the salaries of the executive or judicial officers. The bill was passed in the Legislative Council by one vote, and that a very questionable one. Chief-Justice Sewell, who was president of the Council, first voted as a councillor, and then, on the vote resulting in a tie, claimed the right of voting as chairman which he did, and carried the bill; but the legality of the vote has been much questioned. A great deal of the time of the Assembly was taken up by the consideration of grievance petitions, complaining of the late administration; and more in considering charges against Attorney-General Stuart and Judges Kerr and Fletcher.

2.—The fight of the Assembly for absolute power was by no means over; the peace between it and the executive was but a hollow one, and it was anxious to visit on the supporters of the late government all manner of retaliation and vengeance for the outrages which, it was claimed, had been committed on the rights of the people as represented by the Assembly. One gentleman selected as an example was Mr. Robert Christie, who was elected member for Gaspé, and who was expelled the House because he had been a supporter of Lord Dalhousie's administration. The subject of the Jesuits' estates was again considered, and an address to the crown made that its revenues be applied to its original purpose—education. A new election bill was also passed and reserved for royal assent. This was based on the census of 1825, and made the number of counties forty-four, and of representatives eighty-four. There were seventy-two bills altogether passed, amongst them two granting certain privileges to the Jews and Wesleyan Methodists; these privileges, however, were only to permit the clergy of these denominations to keep registers of the births, marriages and deaths of their congregations. Some important bills were passed, such as for establishing lighthouses on the St. Lawrence, for the improvement of internal communication, and for the encouragement of elementary education—for all of which appropriations were made; but as far as the settlement of political difficulties was concerned, we may quote Mr. Neilson's *Quebec Gazette*

as fully stating the case in saying: "Nothing is settled; time is obtained for settlement; but nearly all the causes and elements of discord remain, and it may again burst forth like a destructive element or a devouring flame."

3.—Before Parliament met again, the bill providing for a redistribution of seats received the royal sanction, and an election was held in the Eastern Townships, which returned eight members. Parliament met on 22d January, 1830, and the relative attitudes of the executive and the Assembly underwent no material change. In submitting the supply bill his excellency said that no action had yet been taken by the Home government with a view to permanently settling the financial difficulties of the province, but promised that they should be considered as soon as possible, and on that understanding the bill was passed, after reducing it to £7,500. The bill had a narrow escape in the Council, and was carried, in the same manner as last year's bill, by the double vote of Judge Sewell. An address to the crown, complaining of the administration of the militia laws by the Earl of Dalhousie, which was in fact an impeachment of the ex-governor, was carried and forwarded by the governor to the Home authorities, but no action seems to have been taken on it. A militia bill, and one regulating the property qualification of judges, and requiring them to reside in their districts, were passed. One very important act of this session was "to provide for the improvement and enlargement of the harbor of Montreal, according to a plan made by Captain Piper, of the Royal Engineers." To this act Montreal owes the magnificent stone quay which makes that port one of the finest on this continent. £3,000 was voted for encouraging steam navigation of the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Halifax; £6,000 for a Custom House at Quebec; £25,000 for a jail at Montreal; £11,500 for the Marine Hospital at Quebec; £38,000 for improvement of roads, &c.; £8,000 for educational purposes, and several sums for charitable and other objects.

4.—Sir James Kempt had been appointed as a pacificator, and tried hard to be conciliatory; but although he was apparently successful, and there was no open breach between the executive and the Assembly during his administration, he felt that the hostile feeling of the latter only slumbered, and would soon break out again; he was, therefore, anxious to be relieved, and was, at his own request, ordered home, Lord Aylmer being appointed his successor. His lordship arrived on 13th October, 1830, and Sir James Kempt sailed on 30th idem. His term of office had not been long, and if he had not made many warm friends he had made few enemies, which was more than his immediate predecessors had been able to accomplish. The number of emigrants had steadily increased of late years, and reached 28,075 in

Session of 1828. Supply bill passed by double vote of Judge Sewell.

Session of 1830. Appropriations for internal improvements.

Work of the Session. Useful bills passed.

Extensive immigration. Appointment of Lord Aylmer.

1830, 17,596 of whom were from Ireland. Of these only about one-twelfth remained in Lower Canada, and of the others about 6,500 passed through to the United States. The number of vessels arriving from sea at Quebec this year was 967, and the tonnage 256,468 tons.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL LORD AYLMER.

1. SESSION OF 1831. INCREASED REPRESENTATION. A GRIEVANCE ADDRESS TO THE KING.—2. ASSEMBLYMEN VOTE TO PAY THEMSELVES \$2 A DAY.—3. IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE YEAR. LARGE IMMIGRATION.—4. CONCESSIONS MADE TO THE ASSEMBLY.—5. SESSION 1831. THE ASSEMBLY NOT YET SATISFIED.—6. PARTY SPIRIT. UNFORTUNATE ELECTION RIOT IN MONTREAL.—7. SESSION OF 1832. THE ASSEMBLY PETITION TO HAVE THE COUNCIL MADE ELECTIVE.—8. SESSION 1834. THE "NINETY-TWO" RESOLUTIONS.—9. APPOINTMENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON CANADIAN AFFAIRS.—10. SESSION OF 1835. NO BUSINESS TRANSACTED BY THE HOUSE.—11. APPOINTMENT OF A ROYAL COMMISSION TO VISIT CANADA.

1.—Shortly before the assumption of the government by Lord Aylmer, a general election had been held, in consequence of the death of King George IV., and the number of representatives increased to eighty-four, as provided for in the bill passed in 1829 and approved by the Home government. The complexion of the House was not materially changed, the members standing twenty-two English-speaking to sixty-two French, and the opponents of the government maintaining their large majority. Parliament met on 24th January, 1831, and the Assembly very speedily came in conflict with the executive. The governor sent down a message to the effect that a bill would be introduced into the Imperial House of Commons giving the Provincial Legislature control of the imperial revenues in the province, except the casual and territorial revenue, provided the Assembly would vote a permanent civil list of £19,500 per annum during the king's lifetime, as was the case in England and Upper Canada. This the House refused to do, and after passing many long resolutions, finally adopted an address to the king and Parliament, stating its grievances and complaining that the recommendations of the Canada committee had not been carried out.

Session of 1831. Increased representation. A grievance address to the King.

2.—The supply bill was passed for one year, in the usual form of taking the amount out of the whole revenue. A large number of bills were passed this session, amongst them one ^{Assemblymen vote to pay themselves \$2 a day.} for paying the members of the Assembly.

The amount to be paid was ten shillings for every day's attendance, and four shillings per mile for travelling expenses. Large sums were voted for public improvements, including £4,000 for improving the navigation of the Richelieu; £10,000 for improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence between the Cascades and Lake St. Francis; £10,000 for lighthouses on Anticosti; £10,000 for Montreal harbor improvements; £9,000 for repairing Parliament buildings, Quebec, &c.; £47,883 was voted for educational purposes and £13,000 for schools. A bill was also passed for taking a census of the province, and another granting all rights and privileges of British subjects to Jews born in the province. Montreal and Quebec were also incorporated as cities. The gross revenue for the year amounted to £201,422, and the net income to £149,468. The arrivals from sea were 1,016 vessels of 261,218 tons aggregate. The population of the two provinces this year, as estimated by the Quebec *Mercury*, puts that of Lower Canada at 624,000 and that of the Upper Province at 274,000.

3.—Amongst the important (but unfortunate) events of this year, was the re-establishment of *Le Canadien* newspaper, which had been suppressed by ^{Important events of the year. Large immigration.} Sir James Craig in 1810. It immediately began its anti-British policy, and was the mouth-piece of "*Le Nation Canadienne*" party, doing much to contribute to the outbreak of 1837. The steamer "*Royal William*," of 1370 tons, was launched at Quebec this year, and began her trips between that port and Halifax in August; she only ran two years and was then withdrawn, the enterprise not paying. The Chambly Canal was commenced this year as a government work, the company formed for the purpose of building it being unable to do so. The number of emigrants this season was very large, amounting to upwards of 50,000. The Quebec *Gazette*, of 11th November, 1831, in an article on the subject, says: "The effect of the transient emigration on the permanent inhabitants of Lower Canada this year, including the actual settlers of the description above mentioned, has been similar to the passage of an immense army, much exposed and ill-supplied, and leaving the inhabitants to take care of and provide for the sick, wounded and disabled, and bury their dead."

4.—The British ministry, in spite of the refusal of the Assembly to vote a permanent civil list, nevertheless introduced a bill this session relinquishing ^{Concessions made to the Assembly.} the revenues derived under Act 14, Geo. III., Chap. 88, with the expectation that being met in a liberal spirit, the Lower Canada Assembly would be dis-

posed to be equally liberal. All the grievances complained of in the numerous petitions were carefully considered, and, as far as possible, granted. Judges were disqualified from sitting in either the executive or Legislative Council, and their appointments made for life, thus removing them from the arena of political strife, and tending to purify and elevate the bench. The control of the Jesuit estate was handed over to the Assembly, so that their revenues could be devoted to educational purposes, as that body desired; and all the principal points the Assembly had contended for being granted, it was now hoped that the Assembly would be reasonable, and the affairs of the province conducted in a peaceable and orderly manner.

5.—Parliament met again on the 15th November, 1831, and the House at first seemed satisfied with the result of their petition of grievances, and disposed to meet the Home government in a conciliatory spirit; but its very first act put it in direct conflict with the Home authorities, and showed that it was far from having any intention of abating any of its pretensions. On passing the act providing for the independence of the judges by making their appointments for life, it was ordered that their salaries be paid out of the "casual and territorial" revenue which had not been conceded by the British Parliament, but reserved principally for meeting the pension list, and the support of the Church of England. The governor submitted a permanent civil list, fixing the amount at £5,900. This embraced the salaries of the governor (£4,500), his secretary (£500), provincial secretary (£400), attorney-general (£300), and solicitor-general (£200). The House considered the matter once in committee of the whole, and rose without reporting, which was tantamount to refusing to make any provision. The estimates for the year were passed, after being reduced about £9,000, and a bill to repeal so much of the constitutional act of 1791 as related to Clergy Reserves introduced, but not carried through. A bill was also passed imposing a tax on masters of vessels bringing out emigrants at the rate of one dollar per head, to pay for medical care, and to provide a fund to assist those who were in needy circumstances. The House was prorogued on 22d February, 1832, assent being given to sixty-three bills, and nine—including the supply bill, and the Independence of Judges Act—being reserved for his majesty's pleasure. The census returns laid on the table this year gave the population of the province as 564,598, of whom 270,149 were in the District of Montreal. During the session the Legislative Council caused the arrest and imprisonment during the term of the session of Messrs. Duvernay, of the *Miner*, and Tracey, of the *Vindicator*, newspapers, for publishing some articles reflecting on it. The action was generally looked on as most arbitrary and the Council condemned for it.

6.—The demon of party spirit was now more active than ever. Lord Aylmer, in proroguing Parliament, had slightly censured the Assembly for not passing the civil list, and this was made a ground of complaint as interfering with the privileges of the House. Both sides, French and English,—for it had come down to almost a strict difference of races,—were violent in denunciation, the former especially; they inveighed against everything English, and raised the national cry more than ever. Emigration this summer was very great, 51,728 landing, and as Asiatic cholera was then raging in England, it was brought over by the immigrants and spread with great rapidity carrying off thousands. This was made a grievance of by the French party, and the English were blamed for bringing over the cholera, and resolutions were passed at a meeting held at St. Charles, that England should be held responsible for the loss of life. The bitter feeling, which was daily growing stronger, unfortunately had an opportunity of displaying itself this summer in Montreal. There was an election to fill a vacancy in Montreal West, and Dr. Tracey and Stanley C. Bagg were the candidates; the excitement was most intense, and on the last day of the election, 21st May, 1832, the partisans of the two candidates grew so violent that the military had to be called out, and, after trying in vain to disperse the mob, fired on it, killing three and wounding two. This added fuel to the fire, and great efforts were made to have Lt.-Col. Macintosh, who commanded the troops, indicted for murder, but the Grand Jury brought in "no bill."

7.—Parliament met again on 15th November, 1832, and a message was shortly after sent down from the governor, embodying a dispatch from the Viscount Goderich, colonial secretary, giving the Royal assent to the supply bill of last session, and requiring that in future the supply bill should state all the *items* to which the amount asked for was to be applied. This was granting what the Assembly had been clamoring for for years. A petition to the crown was adopted, praying that the Council be made elective, which so incensed that House that it rejected the supply bill, and also memorialized the House against the petition of the Assembly. Lord Stanley, secretary of state for the colonies, was opposed to making the Council elective, and hinted that the existing dissensions in Lower Canada might lead to a change in the charter of that province. A number of grievance petitions from Richelieu, Chambly and other places were received, as also from Montreal, on the subject of the election riot, which occupied much of the time of the House. Information was also laid before the House that Chief-Justice Stuart had been removed, which caused great satisfaction in the Assembly. Several "passages at arms" between the Assembly and the Council and

Session 1831. The Assembly not yet satisfied.

Party spirit. Unfortunate election riot in Montreal.

Session 1832. The Assembly petition to have the Council made elective.

governor took place during the session, and it daily became more and more evident that the greater the concessions made to the former body by the Home government the greater would be its exactions.

8.—Parliament met again on 7th January, 1834, and it was at once evident that the House would attend to no other business but its "grievances;" and the half threat of Lord Stanley that the charter of the province might be changed, gave great offense, so that almost the whole session, which lasted to 18th March, was occupied in passing "ninety-two resolutions," chiefly drawn up by Papineau, which embraced every known and unknown grievance under which the Assembly labored, or fancied it did. Petitions based on these resolutions were presented to the king and Houses of Parliament, the one to the former through the governor, those to the latter through Mr. Viger. No supply bill was passed, but the usual appropriations made for public works, charities, &c. On the 23d January, this year, the Castle of St. Lewis, which had been used as the residence of the governors for upwards of one hundred and fifty years, was accidentally destroyed by fire, and has never been rebuilt.

9.—Canadian affairs again occupied the attention of the imperial Parliament at its next session, and "a select committee to inquire into, and report to the House, how far the grievances complained of in the year 1828, on the part of certain inhabitants of Lower Canada, had been redressed, and whether the recommendations of the committee which sat thereon had been complied with," was appointed, and as many as possible of the members of the previous "Canada Committee" re-appointed. The ninety-two resolutions, and all other matters relating to the existing difficulties in the province, were submitted to this committee, which number amongst its members Daniel O'Connell and Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer. The committee sat until 3d July, and reported, in effect, that every possible effort had been made by the executive to carry out the suggestions of the committee of 1828, but that it had failed on account of the differences between the Council and Assembly, and more especially on account of the factiousness of the latter. Meanwhile matters were rapidly approaching a climax in Lower Canada, and it was felt that it would be impossible to reach anything like a satisfactory solution of the difficulty without a resort to arms. The French press was most revolutionary in its tone; and the simple *habitans* were influenced in every way to increase their dislike to the British. The English, Scotch and Irish inhabitants, on their part, were equally active in forming associations, and whilst the Home government was still endeavoring to settle the differences amicably, both sides in Lower Canada were preparing to appeal to arms.

10.—The terms of Parliament having expired, the general elections took place in October and November, and resulted in still more sweeping majorities for the anti-executive party. The new Parliament (the last of Lower Canada) met on 21st February, 1835, and Mr. Papineau was again elected speaker. The governor explained that the reason Parliament was called together so late was that he had been awaiting instructions from the Home government; and he also announced that he had been instructed to advance £31,000 out of the military chest to pay judges, &c., who had been in great distress on account of no supply bills having been passed for two years, and he hoped the amount would be at once refunded by the Legislature. The Assembly, however, was in a more uncompromising humor than ever, and more exacting as to its privileges; it passed resolutions declaring the censure of the governor at the prorogation a breach of privilege; the advancing of funds out of the military chest by order of the Home government was declared another breach of privilege. The Assembly again asserted its right to control all the revenues of the province, and refused to pass the supply bill. An address was prepared declaring that the great bulk of the people desired the Council to be made elective, and as some more grievances had been found, some time was spent in preparing an address to the king and Parliament, specifying them and asking for their removal. No public business of any importance was transacted by the House, which adjourned several days for want of a quorum, and on 18th March, Lord Aylmer prorogued Parliament, regretting in his speech that the House had not kept together, as he expected some important communication from the Home government.

11.—Sir Robert Peel, on his accession to office in 1835, determined on appointing a commission to inquire into the alleged grievances in Lower Canada; but his term of office was so short he had not time to carry out his intentions, which were, however, fulfilled under the government of his successor, Lord Melbourne. The Lord High Commissioner appointed was the Earl of Gosford, and Sir Charles Grey and Sir George Gipps were appointed assistant commissioners, to proceed to Canada and make a full investigation into the actual state of affairs. Shortly afterwards Lord Aylmer was recalled and the Earl of Gosford appointed governor-in-chief in Canada. The Earl of Gosford and his brother commissioners arrived at Quebec in H. M. ship *Pique*, on 23d August; and Lord Aylmer departed in the same vessel on 17th September. His lordship was presented with addresses from the British residents of Quebec, Montreal, Eastern Townships and other places, and a grand banquet was given in his honor by the citizens of Quebec. His

Session 1834. The "ninety-two" resolutions.

Session of 1835. No business transacted by the House.

Appointment of a Parliamentary Committee on Canadian affairs.

Appointment of a Royal Commission to visit Canada.

lordship was greatly pleased with Canada, and showed his appreciation of the advantages of the climate and country by returning here and settling at Bourne, Eastern Townships, where he has a fine model farm.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF GOSFORD.

1. ARRIVAL OF LORD GOSFORD. MORE CONCILIATORY MEASURES.—2. THE ASSEMBLY REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE THE ROYAL COMMISSION. NO SUPPLIES VOTED.—3. SESSION 1836. THE ASSEMBLY RESOLVES NOT TO DO ANY BUSINESS UNTIL THE COUNCIL IS MADE ELECTIVE.—4. THE COMMISSIONERS REPORT ADVERSELY TO AN ELECTIVE COUNCIL.—5. LAST SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF LOWER CANADA.—6. THE ASSEMBLY PERSISTS IN ITS PRETENSIONS, AND PARLIAMENT IS DISSOLVED.—7. A RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE.

1.—The British ministry was still disposed to act in a conciliatory manner towards the French Canadian majority, and were willing to meet them considerably more than half way, if the Assembly, on its part, would make proper provision for the civil list; with this object in view Lord Gosford adopted a very moderate tone towards the leaders of the party; he invited Mr. Papineau and several other prominent men of the party to visit him, and endeavored personally to gain some insight into the alleged grievances. This cause neither conciliated the French nor pleased the British; and the party-leaders of the former had a meeting before the assembling of Parliament and determined to ignore the Earl of Gosford and the other commissioners entirely, on the ground that they were not appointed by Parliament but by the king, and that they would continue to urge their grievances before the British House of Commons. Parliament met on 27th October, 1835, and the governor, in a very conciliatory speech, assured the House that all its real grievances should be met and ameliorated. "The Home government was prepared," he said, "to surrender the control of all public revenue arising from any Canadian source, on condition of a moderate provision being made for the civil list. That plurality of officers should be abolished, and intelligent French Canadians have the paths to positions of honor and profit open to them, equally with the English-speaking races; that in future the fullest information with regard to the public accounts would be given the House; that no bills would be reserved for the royal assent, where

Arrival of Lord Gosford. More conciliatory measures.

it was possible to avoid it, and that all their complaints should receive due consideration."

2.—But the House was not to be conciliated. Mr. Papineau and his followers had a wonderful idea of establishing a French Republic, of which he was to be President, and no amount of concessions could please them. Accordingly the first act of the House was to ignore the Royal Commission and appoint Mr. Roebuck their agent in England, to press their grievances before Parliament. This bill was thrown out by the Council, which so exasperated Mr. Papineau that he openly declared himself a republican, and exclaimed, in debate, "The time has gone by when Europe could give monarchies to America; on the contrary, an epoch is approaching when America will give republics to Europe." This and other violent language of some of the Assemblymen alarmed the Constitutional party, and a volunteer rifle corps was formed in Montreal, but disbanded by order of the governor, although it was well known that the French Canadians were being armed and drilled. The Assembly only voted a supply bill for six months, which was thrown out by the Council, and again the executive was left without supplies. The session, which lasted until the 21st of March, was occupied, as usual, in passing long resolutions on grievances, and making inflammatory speeches; and the governor, in proroguing Parliament, expresses his regret at the failure of his mission. He said: "It is to me matter of sincere regret, that the offers of peace and conciliation, of which I was the bearer to this country, have not led to the result which I had hoped for. The consequences of their rejection, and of the demands which have been made to his majesty, I will not venture to predict."

3.—The Legislature met again on the 22d of September, 1836, but the Assembly was in no better humor, and the governor did not meet it in quite so conciliatory a manner; he simply said that the Home government desired to give the members another opportunity of reconsidering their action, and that he trusted that they would vote the supplies in the proper manner, and also make provision for the money advanced from the military chest. In the address in reply the Assembly did not refer to either the commission of inquiry or the supply bill, but contented itself with reiterating that the Legislative Council should be made elective. Early in the session a despatch from the colonial secretary was laid before the House, in which he stated that the principle of an elective Council could not be entertained; but that all reasonable demands had either been already granted, or would receive due consideration. The Assembly again indulged in resolutions against the Legislative Council, the executive and the judges, and at the same time virtu-

The Assembly refuses to recognize the Royal Commission. No supplies voted.

Session of 1836. The Assembly resolves not to do any business until the Council is made elective.

ally voted itself out of existence by a resolution that it would not transact any business until the Council had been made elective. Dissolution would have been of no use, as the same members would have been returned, and the governor simply prorogued Parliament, and matters remained at a dead-lock.

4.—The commissioners having made an elaborate and exhaustive report to the House of Commons, resolutions based thereon were introduced in that body on the 6th March to the effect "that it was unadvisable to make the Legislative Council of the province elective; but that it was expedient that measures be adopted for securing to that branch of the Legislature a greater degree of public confidence;" they also rejected several demands of the Assembly and authorized the executive to use the public money of the province for necessary expenses. This set the agitators fairly wild; the press teemed with revolutionary articles, and indignation meetings were held in various parts of the province at which Mr. Papineau and others made most inflammatory addresses. A proclamation was issued by the governor to stop these meetings, but it was openly laughed at and met with cries of "*Vive Papineau! Vive la liberté! point de despotisme!*" while resolutions tantamount to Declarations of Independence were passed and preparations for an armed outbreak made. On the other hand, loyal meetings were frequent, and equally loud in their demonstrations of attachment to the crown and Constitution. Excitement daily grew more intense, and although no actual outbreak had occurred, precautionary measures were taken; the few troops in the province were posted at convenient centres, and Sir John Colborne, who had just retired from the government of Upper Canada, was made commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America.

5.—Just at this juncture King William IV. died, and Queen Victoria ascended the throne on 20th June, 1837. Lord John Russell observed that the ministry did not desire to pass any coercive act at the commencement of a new reign, and that the resolutions with regard to Lower Canada would be laid over to next session; but he wished it to be distinctly understood that none of the organic changes demanded by the Canadian Assembly could or would be granted, and he trusted that the Assembly would be more reasonable on this next meeting. The Earl of Gosford, in conformity with instructions, convoked Parliament for the 18th August, 1837, in order to give the assembly one more chance to listen to reason; and on that day the last session of the last Parliament of Lower Canada was opened. The appearance of some of the members caused much amusement. In imitation of the Thirteen Colonies at the time of the revolution, the "Patriots," as they styled themselves, had passed resolu-

The Commissioners report adversely to an Elective Council.

on the 6th March to the effect "that it was unadvisable to make the Legislative

tions not to buy or wear imported articles, and many of them appeared in Quebec dressed in homespun, to the great amusement of the citizens, and the delight of the government press, which had an opportunity of ridiculing them.*

6.—The address of the governor was firm but conciliatory. He explained the object of the Home government to be to give them another opportunity of considering their action, before the passage of an act by the imperial Legislature which would deprive the provincial Legislature of that control over its own revenues, which it was desirable that it should have, "a result for the attainment of which her majesty's government would willingly make every sacrifice, save that of the honor and the integrity of the crown." The Assembly took eight days to determine on their address, and then adopted one which contained all their old demands, and was even more pronounced in its determination not to yield one iota of its pretensions. It even went further, and declared, "It is our duty, therefore, to tell the Mother Country, that if she carries the spirit of these resolutions into effect in the government of British America, and of this province in particular, her supremacy therein will no longer depend upon the feelings of affection, of duty and of mutual interest which would best secure it, but on physical and material force, an element dangerous to the governing party, at the same time that it subjects the governed to a degree of uncertainty as to their future existence and their dearest interests, which is scarcely to be found in the most despotic governments of civilized Europe." His excellency regretted the obstinacy of the Assembly, and dissolved the House by proclamation.

7.—So ended the Parliament of Lower Canada after an existence of forty-five years, an example of the double im-
politic policy of the British government, first, in granting representative government to a people who did not want it, and did not know how to use its advantages judiciously; and secondly, in yielding to the importunities of a few and building up two separate nationalities, by dividing the provinces, instead of endeavoring to fuse them together, and form one harmonious people. This would not have been impossible in 1791, and by a fair distribution of patronage to the intelligent French Canadians, the province

The Assembly persists in its pretensions, and Parliament is disbanded.

A retrospective glance.

* The Quebec Mercury, in an article on their appearance, says: "Mr. Rodier's dress excited the greatest attention, being unique, with the exception of a pair of Berlin gloves, viz.: frock coat of granite colored *étouffe du pays*: inexpressibles and vest of the same material, striped blue and white; straw hat and beef shoes, with a pair of home-made socks, completed the *outré* attire. Mr. Rodier, it was remarked, had no shirt on, having doubtless been unable to smuggle or manufacture one. Dr. O'Callaghan's 'rig out' was second only to that of Mr. Rodier, being complete, with the exception of hat, boots, gloves, shirt (*he had a shirt!*) and spectacles." The costumes of about a dozen more are given, but the above will do as a sample.

may have remained intact to-day to the mutual advantage of the English and French races. The division was a fatal error; it gave the French Canadians an idea that Lower Canada was intended wholly and solely for them; that the English, Irish and Scotch emigrants had no right there; that if they wanted to come to Canada at all they ought to go to Upper Canada, and leave the Lower Province entirely a French country, nominally under English rule, pretty much as the Acadians wanted to have Nova Scotia remain. The Union of the provinces which followed the events we are now about to relate, was equally a mistake; what could have been accomplished by time and good policy in 1791, could not be done by force and coercion in 1840, and the provinces drifted asunder just as naturally as they had been unnaturally forced together, until they reached that permanent dead-lock which fortunately eventuated in confederation in 1867, instead of rebellion, as in 1837.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

LOWER CANADA—THE REBELLION OF 1837.

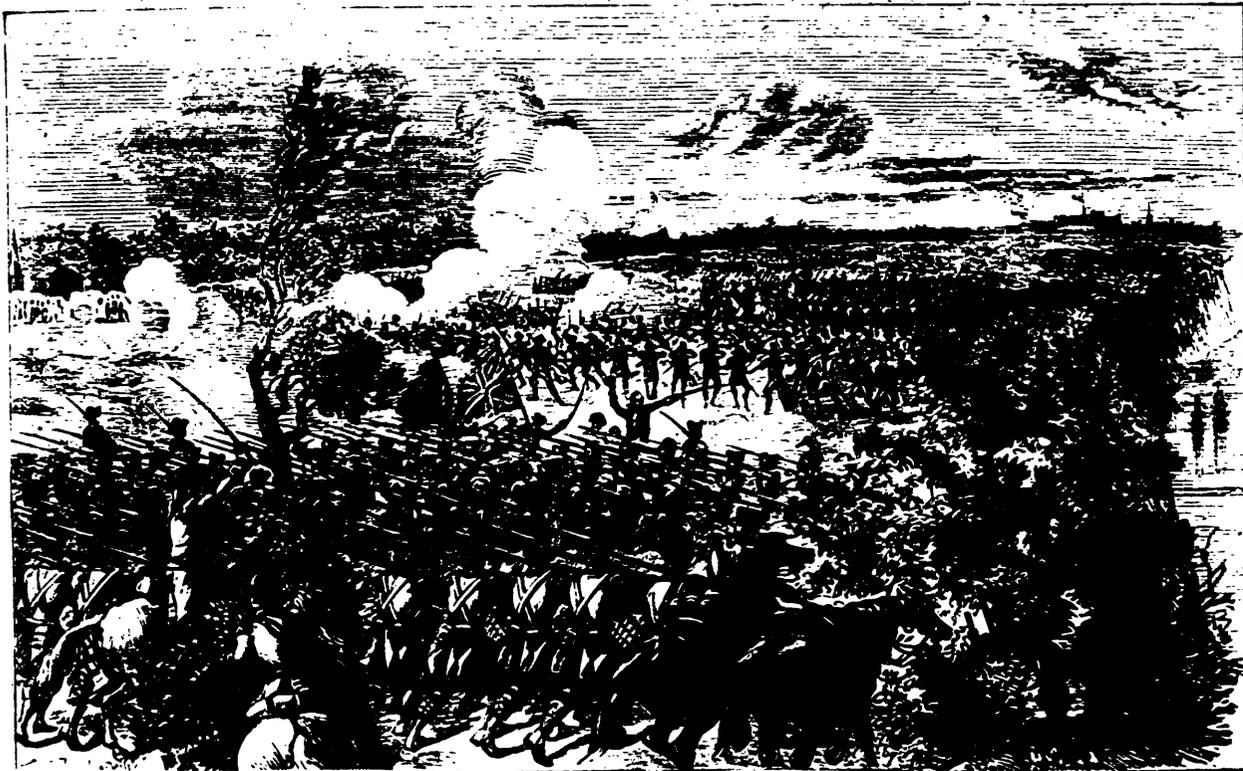
1. THE CLERGY OPPOSE THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.—2. THE BEGINNING OF THE STORM. FIRST COLLISION BETWEEN PATRIOTS AND CONSTITUTIONALISTS.—3. EXCITEMENT IN BOTH TOWN AND COUNTRY PARISHES.—4. WARRANT FOR THE ARREST OF PAPINEAU AND OTHERS ISSUED.—5. RESCUE OF TWO PRISONERS FROM THE MILITARY.—6. PREPARING TO ATTACK THE INSURGENT CAMPS.—7. THE FIRST ENGAGEMENT. VICTORY FOR THE REBELS.—8. MURDER OF LIEUTENANT WEIR.—9. WETHERELL DEFEATS THE REBELS AT ST. CHARLES.—10. VICTORY AT ST. EUSTACHE. DESTRUCTION OF THE PLACE.—11. THE REBELS PLEAD FOR MERCY AT ST. BENOIT. THE LAST ATTEMPT.—12. SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF LOWER CANADA.

1.—After the dissolution of Parliament there was little thought of a peaceful solution of the difficulties which the agitators had heightened to their greatest degree. Papineau and his followers had raised a storm which could not be allayed without the effusion of blood; and if the quantity shed was comparatively small, it was not for want of demagogic urgings to "lay down their lives on the altars of their country," that the French Canadians were spared, but because a greater power than Papineau was now arraying itself against him, and, also, because the leaders

The clergy oppose the revolutionary movement.

of the "National" party, like most demagogues, were the first to desert those they had incited to rebellion when the hour of real danger arose. Papineau counted on the material aid of the United States, as well as the insignificance of the number of troops in the province, which amounted to about 2,000, and also to the non-interference of the other provinces. In all these calculations he was mistaken, and his wild scheme was virtually defeated before it had actually culminated in open rebellion. During the early portion of the agitation the clergy had favored the movement, not always openly, but no determined stand had been taken against it; but now, when the priests fully realized the extent to which the party leaders were hurrying the people, their calmer judgment prevailed, and they began to throw their weight and influence against the movement. The openly avowed republican principles of republicanism, and possible annexation with the United States, alarmed the ecclesiastics who had no love for republics and but little confidence in the honest intentions of the Americans, and they thought it better policy to remain as they were, protected in their rights and liberties, than to risk both by fostering and encouraging a movement, the ultimate result of which they could not clearly see. On the 24th October, Mgr. Lartigue, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Montreal, issued a mandament to his diocese in which he strongly condemned any insurrectionary movement, and urged submission and obedience to the sovereign. This had considerable effect, and the partisans of Papineau visibly cooled in their ardor under its influence.

2.—All through the late summer and early fall agitation and preparation continued. "Sons of Liberty" were enrolled in Montreal and other places, and met for drill; whilst the British were not idle, and numerous "Constitutional" organizations were formed. The laws were virtually suspended, for the judges and magistrates dared not perform their functions, and it would have been impossible, almost, to procure an impartial jury. Numbers of magistrates, militia officers, and others holding small positions, or commissions under the crown, were intimidated into resigning; and to be suspected of being a "bureaucrat"—as the adherents to the British party were called—was as bad as to be suspected of being a Tory was at the time of the American revolution. Still the government remained passive; argument was no longer possible; but it did not like to take initiative measures to put down the rebellion before it had actually broken out, and some act of hostility had been committed. The wait was not a long one. On the 6th November the contending factions came into actual collision in the streets of Montreal, and the outbreak really began. A large meeting of the "Sons of Liberty" was being held in a yard adjoining a saloon on St. James Street; and as the "Sons" were leaving—full of patriotism and beer—they



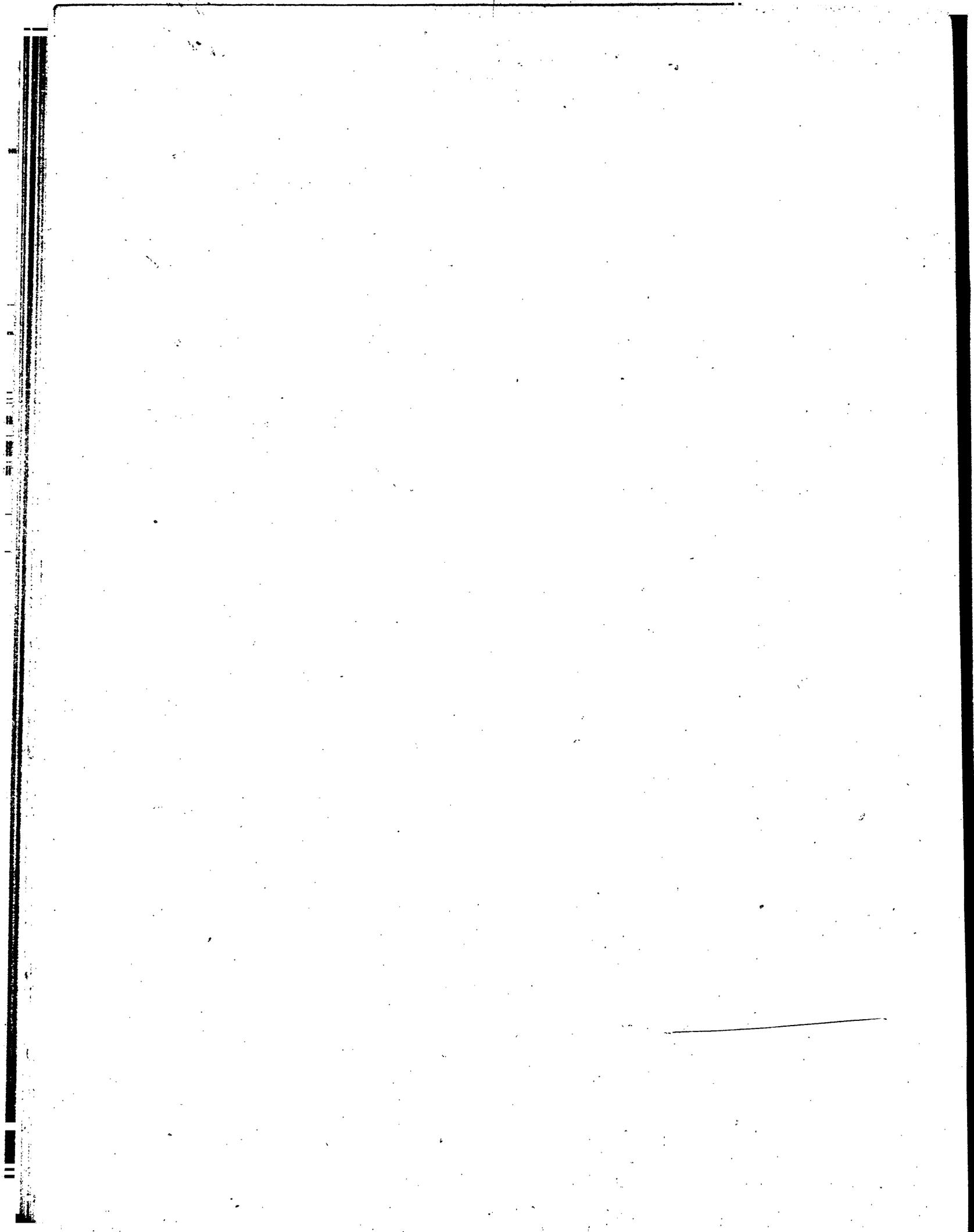
Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

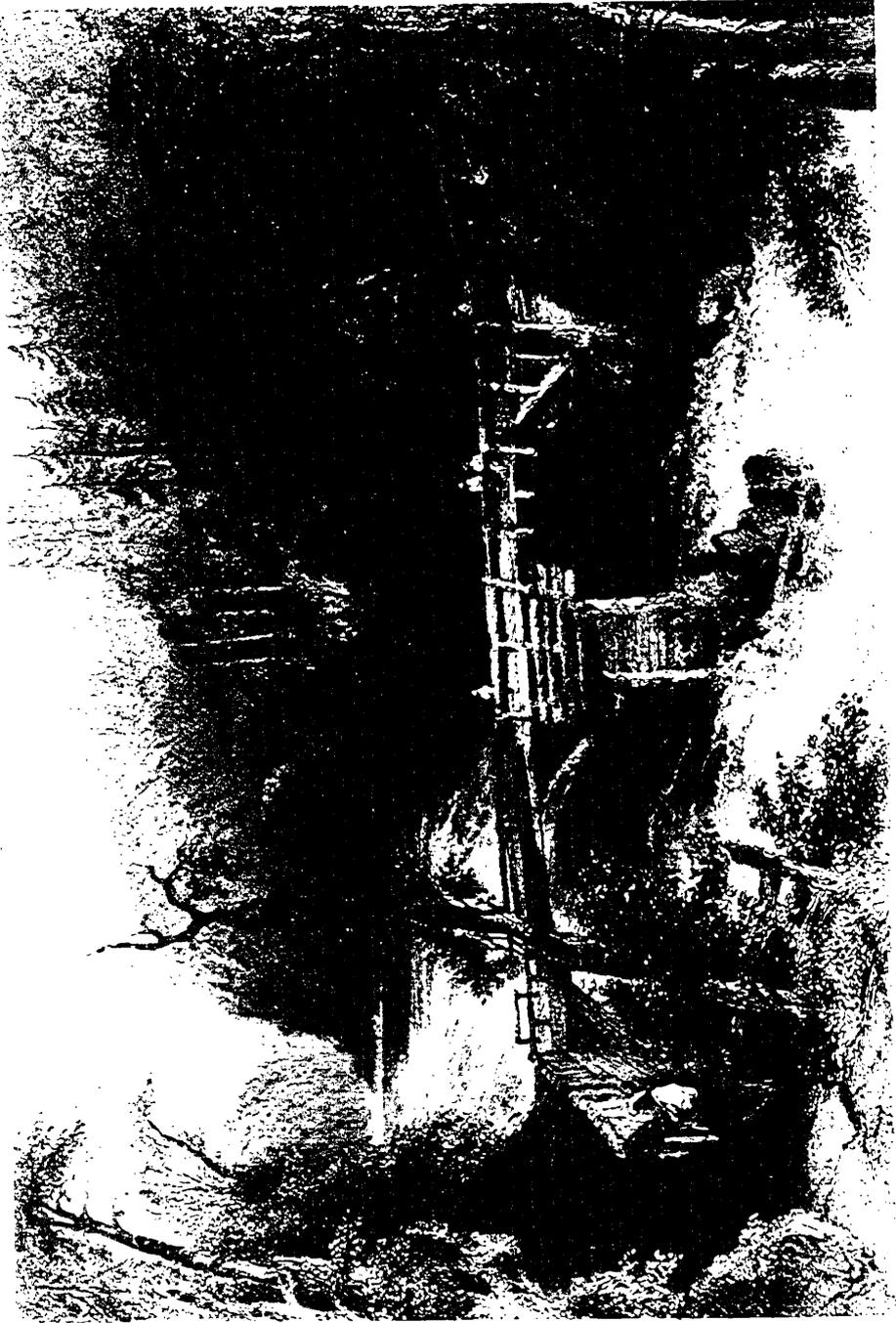
BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM, SEPTEMBER 13th, 1759.



Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

BATTLE OF ST. FOYE, APRIL 28th, 1760.







encountered a small body of the Doric Club, and a free fight ensued, in which sticks and stones were freely used, and a few pistol shots fired. At first the Sons of Liberty, who were more than twenty to one against their opponents, drove the Doric Club before them into the St. Lawrence Suburbs; but the latter, being reinforced, returned to the fight, when the Sons of Liberty quickly disappeared.

3.—Anxious for retaliation, the Dorics now entered the house of a Mr. Idler, where the Sons of Liberty met, and took from thence three guns and the flag of the Society. Mr. Papineau's house was considerably damaged, and the office of the *Vindicator* completely sacked. The troops were all ordered under arms, and the riot act read; but no other act of violence occurred then, and the feeling subsided a little. Although the excitement was not so great in Quebec as in Montreal and in the country parishes along the Richelieu, still it was considerable, and on the 11th November the governor caused the arrest of several persons for seditious practices. Three or four were confined in jail for a few days, and then liberated on bail. The magistrates of Montreal issued a proclamation forbidding the assembling together of bodies of men for drill, and prohibiting "all public meetings and processions which are of a nature to disturb the public peace, and calling on all loyal and well-disposed citizens to abstain from acts which are likely, in the present excited state of public feeling, to endanger the peace of the city." The magistrates of Quebec shortly after issued a similar proclamation; and a new commission of the peace was issued for the district of Montreal, which removed sixty-one magistrates who were suspected of either favoring the rebel cause, or of being rather lukewarm towards the government.

4.—About this time bodies of armed men began to assemble in the Montreal district, principally in the neighborhoods of St. Johns and Chambly; and Sir John Colborne, who had spent the summer at William Henry, fixed his head-quarters for the winter in Montreal, at which point all the troops that could be spared were being concentrated, including those sent down from Upper Canada by Sir Francis Head, who, although expecting a rebellion in his own province, determined to trust entirely on his militia, and let the few regulars go to the assistance of the sister province. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also lent all their assistance, and volunteer troops of cavalry, artillery and riflemen were formed at Montreal, with the consent of the governor, and their ranks speedily filled up. The governor now determined to take action against some of the ringleaders amongst the "Patriots," and, on 16th November, warrants were issued for the arrest, on a charge of high treason, of Messrs. André Quimet, J.

Dubuc, François Tavernier, George De Boucherville, Dr. Simard, J. Leblanc, L. J. Papineau, Dr. O'Callaghan, T. S. Brown, Rodolphe Des Rivières and Ovide Perrault. The five last got information of the issue of the warrants and made good their escape, going in the direction of the Richelieu district,—where the masses were ready for instant rising,—and the others were arrested and put in jail.

5.—On the evening of this same day, 16th November, the first armed resistance to the law was made. Lieutenant Ermatinger, with eighteen men of the volunteer cavalry was despatched to St. Johns to arrest two men named

Rescue of two prisoners from the military.

Davignon and Demaray, which purpose they accomplished, and arrived at about a mile from Longueuil with their prisoners, when they came on a body of about two hundred and fifty men, part of whom were armed with rifles and muskets, posted behind a fence, who opened fire on them, and, after wounding the leader and five men, succeeded in rescuing the prisoners. This rescuing party was under command of Dr. Kimber and Mr. B. Viger, of Chambly, and its success greatly elated the insurgents, who now thought themselves invincible, and flocked in great numbers to the villages of Debartzch (St. Charles) and St. Denis, where Mr. T. S. Brown and Dr. Wolfred Nelson commanded. These posts were selected on account of their favorable position for keeping open communication with the United States, from whence Papineau expected a great deal of assistance, partly on account of the ill-feeling existing between England and the United States about the Maine boundary question, and also on account of the large number of men out of employment in the latter country caused by the panic of that year.

6.—Meanwhile the loyal inhabitants in the cities were flocking to arms; the Montreal *Herald* of 25th November says: "The news from the country has converted this city into a barrack. All the wards are armed, and the volunteer brigades have pretty well completed their organization." To show that no half measures were proposed, we quote the following extract from an editorial in the same paper: "For a state of peace to be maintained, we must make a solitude;—the French Canadians must be swept from the face of the earth. * * * It is sad to reflect on the terrible consequences of rebellion! to think of the utter ruin of so many human beings, let them be innocent or guilty. Nevertheless, a necessity exists that the law's supremacy be maintained, that the integrity of the empire be respected, and that peace and prosperity be assured to the British race, even at the cost of the entire French-Canadian people." In Quebec the loyal feeling was also very strong, and two companies of light infantry and two of rifles were formed. A forward movement was now determined on by Sir John Colborne, and Colonel Gore was ordered from Montreal with two hun-

Preparing to attack the insurgent Camps.

Warrants for the arrest of Papineau and others issued.

Excitement in both town and country palpable.

dred infantry, a party of volunteer cavalry and three guns to attack St. Denis; while Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherell, was directed to move down the Richelieu from Chambly against St. Charles. The two points of attack were about seven miles apart.

7.—The troops under Colonel Gore were conveyed from Montreal to Sorel by boat on 22d November, and landed about ten o'clock at night, when they at once advanced towards St. Denis, a distance of sixteen miles.

The first engagement. Victory for the rebels.

The road was very bad, the weather rainy, with sleet and a little snow; the mud and slush was more than ankle deep, but all night the men kept on, and about half-past nine o'clock found themselves near St. Denis. Dr. Nelson had been apprised of the intended movements of Gore and Wetherell, by the capture of Lieutenant Weir, who was taking dispatches to Wetherell, on the previous night. The doctor showed both skill and courage as a revolutionary leader—which is more than can be said of Papineau, for he ran away from St. Denis as soon as the red-coats appeared, and left his countrymen to bear alone the penalty of the folly into which he had led them. Nelson posted his men very advantageously in a large three-story stone building, which had been used as a distillery, and which was flanked by other houses filled with armed men. The insurgents had not a sufficient number of muskets for all the men, and were short of ammunition; but they fought bravely and determinedly, and with better leaders might have given much more trouble than they did. Captain Markham, commanding the skirmishing party (light company of the 32d), commenced firing at at the stone house about 10 o'clock, and his fire was warmly returned. In a quarter of an hour he had received four wounds, and several of his men were also wounded; Colonel Gore then ordered up a light brass field-piece he had with him, and opened fire on the stone house, but with little effect, and, about half-past two he ordered a retreat on Sorel, having lost six men killed and ten wounded. The loss of the insurgents was thirteen killed and a number wounded. This second and decisive victory caused general rejoicing among the rebels, and many flocked to the banners of their chiefs. The rapidly approaching close of navigation, and the impossibility of any large body of troops arriving from England before spring, together with the certainty of assistance from the United States, raised their hopes greatly, and they fondly trusted to establish "*La Nation Canadienne*" before the winter passed away. Hopes which were to be very short-lived, however.

8.—In his retreat Colonel Gore was forced to abandon his field-piece and five of his wounded; the latter were taken care of by Dr. Nelson, who treated them with the utmost kindness. Very different, however, was the fate of Lieu-

Murder of Lieutenant Weir.

tenant Weir, of the 3d regiment, who was most foully and cruelly murdered on the morning of the attack on St. Denis. The following account, by Lieutenant Griffin, of the same regiment, relates the story as he learned it on the spot, when he recovered the body on 4th December: "Lieutenant Weir was sent by land, from Montreal to Sorel, at daylight on the morning of the 22d November, with despatches for the officer commanding at that post, directing him to have the two companies of the 66th regiment, under his command, in readiness to meet a force which was to be sent from Montreal by steamboat, at 2 P. M. on the 22d, under the command of Colonel Gore, to arrest some individuals at St. Charles. The roads were so bad that Lieutenant Weir, who travelled in a calèche, did not arrive at Sorel until half an hour after Colonel Gore had arrived from Montreal, and marched off with his whole force to St. Charles *via* St. Denis. Finding this to be the case, Lieutenant Weir hired a fresh calèche at Sorel, with a driver named Lavalée (whose deposition has since been received), and started to join the troops. There are two parallel roads to St. Denis, which converge four miles from St. Ours. By mistake Lieutenant Weir took the lower road (the troops having marched by the upper), thus he passed beyond the troops on their line of march, without seeing them, and arrived at St. Denis about 7 A. M. His expression of surprise at not seeing any soldiers on his arrival at the village, was, I am told, the first intimation Dr. Nelson had that they were on their march in that direction. Preparations were then made to oppose their entrance into the village of St. Denis (where, in fact, no opposition had been expected); the result is known. Lieutenant Weir was made a prisoner and closely pinioned. When the attack was commenced he was ordered under guard, consisting of Captain Jalbert, two men named Migneault, one named Lecour, and a driver, a lad named Augustin, in Doctor Nelson's wagon, to be taken to St. Charles. On arriving opposite Madame Nyotte's house, in the outskirts of the village, the bands with which Lieutenant Weir was fastened became so painful, and his hands so much swollen therefrom, that he insisted, as much as lay in his power, on their being loosened. This irritated his brutal guardians, and he jumped out of the wagon and sought refuge under it; he was then shot twice with pistols, which took effect in his back and groin, and stabbed with a sabre through the wheels of the wagon, in various parts of the body; he was then dragged from beneath the wagon by the straps which confined his arms, and finally butchered."

9.—The victory at St. Denis greatly elated the insurgents, and numbers flocked to St. Charles, where "General" Thomas Storrow Brown had entrenched himself, and where from one thousand to fifteen hundred men joined

Wetherell defeats the rebels at St. Charles.

him. Brown, in an account written fourteen years afterwards, says there were "one hundred and nine;" but as he ran away before the action begun, and as there were upwards of one hundred and fifty killed, and over three hundred and fifty wounded, Mr. Brown's memory must have been as treacherous as his legs. The camp was an entrenched one, defended by felled trees and a large stone house, and formed only a rude field work. Colonel Wetherell, with about five hundred men and two field pieces, advanced from Chambly on 22d, but owing to the bad state of the roads, the bridges being down, and a halt at St. Hilaire to await Colonel Gore—who had been repulsed, as we have seen—he did not reach St. Charles until the morning of the 25th. A few rounds from the guns breached the slight defences, and then Wetherell charged with the bayonet. The slaughter was immense, the soldiers scarcely giving any quarter; and the village was burned, with the exception of the house of Mr. Debartzch. The loss of the British was three killed and eighteen wounded. The next day Wetherell dispersed a small force at Point Olivier; and the rebellion may be said to have been put down, along the Richelieu, all the leaders being in full flight.

10.—Martial law was proclaimed in the Montreal district on 5th December, and the whole country swept by troops, whilst the loyal militia of the Eastern Townships turned out, and intercepted many insurgent fugitives who were endeavoring to escape to the States by that route, amongst them Dr. Wolfred Nelson. A body of refugees assembled at Swanton, Vermont, under command of R. M. S. Bouchette and others, and invaded Canada by way of St. Armands, but were promptly met and driven back by the Missisquoi militia, under command of Captain Kempt, and Bouchette captured. Meanwhile a large number of insurgents had assembled at St. Eustache, nineteen miles north-west of Montreal, under command of one Amary Girod, who had been appointed by Papineau to command "the army" north of the St. Lawrence. This band of rebels committed many depredations upon the loyal inhabitants of the district, who had to flee to Montreal, and whose property the "patriots" appropriated. The rebellion on the south side of the St. Lawrence being now subdued, Sir John Colborne had time to attend to these northern rebels, and accordingly, on 13th December he marched out of Montreal with about two thousand regulars and militia, and, crossing the Ottawa on the ice next morning, advanced towards St. Eustache, where about one thousand rebels had assembled. They were posted in the church and neighboring buildings, and made a stout resistance; but a few round shot breached the barricade surrounding the church, and it was then carried at the point of the bayonet. The insurgents lost over one hundred killed, about the same number wounded, and over one

hundred were taken prisoners. The church was set fire to, and a high wind springing up, the flames spread to the parsonage and other buildings, about sixty of which were consumed. Girod, the commander, followed the example of Brown at St. Charles, and ran away, but shot himself four days afterwards at Pointe-aux-Trembles.

11.—From St. Eustache Sir John Colborne proceeded to St. Benoit, which had been the hotbed of rebellion, but whose inhabitants were now "the most loyal of the loyal." All along the route white flags were hung out, and on reaching the village he found two hundred and fifty men, each with a white flag drawn up in line, anxious to submit and beg for pardon. This was readily granted to all but the ringleaders, who were sent to jail in Montreal. Small bodies of insurgents in other parts of the district were dispersed, and Sir John Colborne returned to Montreal on 19th December. A number of meetings were now held in the lately disaffected districts, and the simple people, now directed by their priests, made protestations of most unbounded loyalty. Meanwhile the fugitives in Vermont collected for the purpose of invasion, and on 28th February, 1838, about six hundred crossed the frontier, under the leadership of Robert Nelson, brother of the doctor, and a Dr. Coté. They had fifteen hundred stands of arms and three field-pieces, and endeavored to incite another outbreak; but they were speedily driven back by the militia and some regulars, and the United States general, Wool, compelled them to lay down their arms.

12. Lord Gosford had asked to be recalled, and his request was granted, he leaving Quebec on 13th January for Boston, and Sir John Colborne administered the civil as well as the military power until the appointment of another governor. An act suspending the constitution of Lower Canada was passed in the imperial Parliament early in February, and at the same time the Earl of Durham was appointed governor-in-chief and "her majesty's high commissioner for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada." The suspensory act provided for the appointment of a "Special Council" to take the place of the two Houses of Parliament, and this Council—composed of equal numbers of French and English—was appointed on 5th April and summoned to meet at Montreal on 18th. Their first order was that all their decrees should take effect immediately as they were passed, and their next to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act until the 14th August, to allow the Earl of Durham to adopt more summary measures with the insurgents, if he saw proper to do so. The districts being now all perfectly quiet, the militia was allowed to return home, and on 3d May a proclamation was issued abolishing martial law.

Victory at St. Eustache. Destruction of the place.

The rebels plead for mercy at St. Benoit. The last attempt.

Suspension of the constitution of Lower Canada.

CHAPTER LXXX.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DURHAM.

1.—THE MISSION OF THE EARL OF DURHAM.—2. ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS. INQUIRY INTO THE DISPOSAL OF CROWN LANDS.—3. BANISHMENT OF EIGHT PARTICIPANTS IN THE LATE REBELLION.—4. LORD DURHAM'S COURSE DISAPPROVED. HE RESIGNS.

1.—The Earl of Durham arrived at Quebec on the 27th of May, 1838, and at once assumed the reins of government. His proclamation clearly set forth his intended policy. He said: "The honest and conscientious advocate of reform and of the amelioration of defective institutions will receive from me, without distinction of party, races, or politics, that assistance and encouragement which their patriotism has a right to command, from all who desire to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the parent state and these important colonies; but the disturbers of the public peace, the violators of the law, the enemies of the crown and of the British Empire will find in me an uncompromising opponent, determined to put in force against them all the powers, civil and military, with which I have been invested. In one province the most deplorable events have rendered the suspension of its representative Constitution, unhappily, a matter of necessity; and the supreme power has devolved on me. The great responsibility which is hereby imposed on me, and the arduous nature of the functions which I have to discharge, will naturally make me most anxious to hasten the arrival of that period when the executive power shall again be surrounded by all the Constitutional checks of free, liberal and British institutions. In you—the people of British America—on your conduct and on the extent of your co-operation with me, will mainly depend whether that event shall be delayed or immediate. I therefore invite from you the most free, unreserved communications. I beg you to consider me as a friend and arbitrator, ready at all times to listen to your wishes, complaints, and grievances, and fully determined to act with the strictest impartiality. If you, on your side, will adjure all party and sectarian animosity, and unite with me in the blessed work of peace and harmony, I feel assured that I can lay the foundations of such a system of government as will protect the rights and interests of all classes, allay all dissensions, and permanently establish, under Divine Providence, the wealth, greatness and prosperity of which such inexhaustible elements are to be found in these fertile countries."

The mission of the Earl of Durham.

2.—Immediately after the opening of navigation considerable reinforcements began to arrive from England; the 2d battalion of the Grenadier Guards, the 2d battalion of the Coldstream Guards, and several other detachments of troops were sent out, so that all hope of successful rebellion would seem to be chimerical; yet some of the more violent partisans hoped for another rising which would prove more fortunate than the first, and the rebels who had fled to the United States, and who were joined by many Americans, continued to cause a feeling of anxiety along the frontier. His excellency at once turned his attention to the number of prisoners arrested in connection with the late troubles, and with whom the jails were overflowing. He caused a return of all such parties to be made to him, with the depositions on which they had been arrested; and also a report of the names of all parties against whom warrants had been issued but who had escaped. He next dissolved the old Executive Council and the Council lately appointed under the Suspension Act, and appointed a new Executive Council, consisting of five members. On the 21st of June the governor appointed a commissioner to inquire into the mode of disposing of crown lands, in which department there had been many abuses, in the way of granting large tracts to government favorites, who never improved nor intended to improve them, and who afterwards endeavored to dispossess those who had "squatted" on and improved them, under the impression that they were wild lands. The report favored the squatters, and recommended that they should be allowed the right of pre-emption.

Arrival of reinforcements. Inquiry into the disposal of Crown Lands.

3.—The question of what to do with the large number of prisoners in jail on account of the late disturbances was a most embarrassing one, no French jury would have convicted them—no matter what the evidence (as was shown in the cases of the trials of the murderers of Lieutenant Weir, and a French Canadian named Chatrand, the juries acquitting in both cases); no mixed jury would have agreed, and, it is exceedingly doubtful whether any English jury would have done anything but condemn. To try by court-martial was contrary to the mission of Lord Durham, which was to restore the civil authority; and in the dilemma the earl had recourse to what was, undoubtedly, a very doubtful policy, but one which gave satisfaction to the province. He induced some of the ringleaders to confess to having been engaged in rebellion, and to place themselves at his disposal, waiving all right to a trial. It was determined by the governor and Council to pardon all the minor offenders, banish eight of the principal offenders to Bermuda under a penalty of death for returning to Canada, and to threaten death to Papineau and others if they returned to Canada. Accordingly, on 28th June, a proclamation was issued ban-

Banishment of eight participants in the late rebellion.

ishing R. S. M. Bouchette, Wolfred Nelson, R. Des Révères, L. H. Masson, H. A. Gauvin, S. Marchessault, J. H. Goddu, and B. Viger, and releasing the other prisoners. The banished eight were taken from the Montreal jail on 7th July, conveyed to Quebec by the steamer *Canada*, and thence transported to Bermuda on H. M. S. *Vestal*.

4.—The high-handed measure was approved by the English ministry, and generally endorsed by the people of the province, some of whom feared more violent measures; but it was strongly disapproved by the English Parliament, as a despotic assumption of power which was both illegal and unjust. Lord Brougham, in particular, strongly denounced it, and Parliament finally annulled the ordinance, although it, at the same time, passed a bill of indemnity, shielding the governor and his Special Council from any proceedings on account of their action, which it was felt had been prompted by the best motives, and with a strong desire for the public welfare. The earl paid a visit to the Upper Province during the summer, and on his return received the governors of the Lower Provinces, when the project of a confederation of all the provinces—somewhat on the plan of the policy adopted in 1867—was considered, but not then acted on. His lordship was extremely sensitive, and the censure passed on him by the English Parliament for his ordinance of banishment, greatly affected him; he at once sent in his resignation, and returned to England on 3d November, leaving Sir John Colborne as administrator.

Lord Durham's course disapproved. He resigns.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

LOWER CANADA—THE REBELLION OF 1838.

1. THE OUTBREAK OF 1838. CAPTURE OF THE HENRY BROUGHAM AT BEAUHARNOIS.—2. REPULSE OF THE INSURGENTS BY THE LAPRAIRIE INDIANS.—3. NELSON ADVANCES TO NAPIERVILLE. PROCLAIMS HIMSELF PRESIDENT.—4. REPULSE OF THE REBELS AT LACOLLE MILL.—5. VICTORY OF THE MILITIA AT CDELLTOWN.—6. THE REBELLION SUPPRESSED. RETALIATING ON THE INSURGENTS.—7. EXECUTION OF TWELVE OF THE REBELS.

1.—The mild policy pursued by the British government with regard to the rebels of 1837, so far from causing any feelings of gratitude, had rather the reverse effect; and the very leniency with which they had been treated made

The outbreak of 1838. Capture of the Henry Brougham at Beauharnois.

the most violent partisans still entertain hopes of further resistance, and fancy that the government was afraid to punish them. This desire for another outbreak was fostered by a portion of Americans living along the border, and although proclamations had been issued by the governors of some of the States, no action against the rebels was taken, and they were allowed to continue their annoyance of the people of a friendly power. Secret associations were formed and a more thoroughly organized insurrection than that of 1837 planned; the principal movers being Mr. Robert Nelson and Dr. Coté. The departure of the Earl of Durham seems to have been the signal for the outbreak, and on the evening of the day he left Quebec (3d November) the first act of open hostility took place in the seizure of the steamer *Henry Brougham*, at Beauharnois, by about four hundred rebels, who made her passengers prisoners, and disabled part of her machinery to prevent her proceeding to Lachine. The rebels also took possession of the house of Mr. Ellice, made the inmates prisoners, and captured sixteen stands of arms.

2.—The rising was general throughout the whole Montreal district; a Mr. Walker was killed at La Fortue, near Laprairie, and the track of the St. Johns railway torn up for some distance while carriages and mail carts were stopped. On the following morning (Sunday, 4th) a party left Chateauguay for the purpose of making a descent on Laprairie to seize the arms and stores there; but the Indians were thoroughly loyal, and, on the alarm being given by a woman who had gone into the bush to look for a stray cow, that some strange men were approaching the village, the men, who were at church at the time, sprang to arms and rushed out to meet the intruders, who needed nothing more than the war-whoop of the Indians to put them to flight, and sixty-four of whom were captured and taken to Montreal. Martial law was declared on 4th, and at a meeting of the Special Council, held on 9th November, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. A number of arrests were made and the jail at Montreal was speedily full.

Repulse of the insurgent by the Laprairie Indians.

3.—At the time of the rising Dr. Robert Nelson, who commanded the marauders from the United States, established his headquarters at Napierville, where he issued a "Declaration of Independence, and proclaimed himself Provisional President of the Republic of Lower Canada."*

* As the document may prove interesting as a curiosity, we give it complete:

"CANADA DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

"Whereas the solemn covenant made with the people of Lower Canada, and recorded in the statute book of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as the 31st chapter of the Acts passed in the 31st year of the reign of King George the third, hath been continually violated by the British Government, and our rights usurped; and whereas our humble

About two thousand rebels joined Nelson. Dr. Côté and other insurgents did not enter Canada, but kept within the United States, remaining at Rouses Point, about twenty miles from Napierville, where the American

petitions, addresses, protests and remonstrances against these injurious and unconstitutional interferences have been made in vain, and the British Government hath disposed of our revenue without the constitutional consent of the Local Legislature, pillaged our treasury, arrested great numbers of our citizens, and committed them to prison, distributed through the country a mercenary army, whose presence is accompanied with consternation and alarm, whose track is red with the blood of our people, who have laid our villages in ashes, profaned our temples and spread terror and waste through the land. And whereas we can no longer suffer the repeated violations of our dearest rights, and patiently support the multiplied outrages and cruelties of the Government of Canada,—we in the name of the people of Lower Canada, acknowledging the Divine Providence which permits us to put down a government which hath abused the object and intention for which it was created and to make choice of that form of government which shall re-establish the empire of justice, assure domestic tranquillity, provide for common defence, promote general good, and secure to us and our posterity the advantages of civil and religious liberty;

“SOLEMNLY DECLARE;

“1. That from this day forward, the people of Lower Canada are absolved from all allegiance to Great Britain and the political connection between that part and Lower Canada is now dissolved.

“2. That a Republican form of government is best suited to Lower Canada, which is this day declared to be a Republic.

“3. That under the free government of Lower Canada all persons shall enjoy the same rights; the Indians shall no longer be under any civil disqualification, but shall enjoy the same rights as any other citizens of Lower Canada.

“4. That all union between Church and State is hereby declared to be dissolved, and every person shall be at liberty freely to exercise such religion or belief as shall be dictated to him by his conscience.

“5. That the feudal or seigniorial tenure of land is hereby abolished as completely as if such tenure had never existed in Canada.

“6. That each and every person who shall bear arms, or otherwise furnish assistance to the people of Canada in this contest for emancipation, shall be, and is, discharged from all debts, dues, or obligations, real or supposed, for arrearages in virtue of seigniorial rights heretofore existing.

“7. That the *donaire coutumier* is for the future abolished and prohibited.

“8. That imprisonment for debt shall no longer exist, excepting in such cases of fraud as shall be specified in an act to be passed hereafter by the Legislature of Lower Canada for this purpose.

“9. That sentence of death shall no longer be passed or executed except in cases of murder.

“10. That mortgages on landed estate shall be special, and to be valid, shall be registered in offices to be created for this purpose by an act of the Legislature of Lower Canada.

“11. That the liberty and freedom of the press shall exist in all public matters and affairs.

“12. That trial by jury is guaranteed to the people of Lower Canada in its most extended and liberal sense, in all criminal suits and in civil suits above a sum to be fixed by the Legislature of the State of Lower Canada.

“13. That as general and public education is necessary, and due by the government to the people, an act to provide for the same shall be passed as soon as the circumstances of the country will permit.

“14. To secure the elective franchise, all elections shall be had by ballot.

“15. That with the least possible delay the people shall choose delegates, according to the present division of the country into counties, towns, and boroughs, who shall constitute a convention or a legislative body, to establish a Constitution according to the wants of the country, and in conformity with the disposition of this declaration, subject to be modified according to the will of the people.

“16. That every male person of the age of twenty-one and upwards shall have the right of voting as herein provided, and for the election of the aforesaid delegates.

“17. That all *Crown Lands*, also such as are called *Clergy Reserves*, and such as are nominally in possession of a certain company of landowners in England, called “The British North American Land Company,” are of right the property of the State of Lower Canada, except such portion of the aforesaid lands as may be in the possession of persons who hold the same in good faith, and to whom titles shall be secured and granted

sympathizers with the rebels formed a depot for supplying arms, ammunition, &c. It was very important to Nelson that his communication with Rouses Point should be kept open, and it was with no little alarm that he saw the loyal volunteer militia of Odelltown take possession of the steam mill at La Colle, which cut him off from communication with Dr. Côté.

4.—Dr. Cote fully appreciated the importance of getting possession of Lacolle Mill, and determined to make an attempt to dislodge the Odelltown men. On the night of the 5th ^{Repulse of the rebels at Lacolle Mill.} a schooner came down the lake, and landed a small cannon and about two hundred and fifty muskets at Rouses Point, and the same night about four hundred Canadians crossed the Richelieu River at Alburgh, and took up their quarters between Champlain and Odelltown, and thence to Lacolle and Napierville. About nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th this force, under Dr. Cote and Gagnon, advanced against the militia-men posted in the mill at Lacolle. Colonel Odell, who commanded the militia, notified Major Schriver, of the Hemmingford militia, of the intended attack, and he came to his assistance. The rebels were speedily repulsed with a loss of eleven killed and eight prisoners; there were a number wounded, but they escaped across the lines when the main body retreated. About four hundred stands of arms, a quantity of ammunition, and the one gun used by the rebels were captured.

5.—Meanwhile Sir John Colborne had been taking active measures for an advance in force, and on the 6th left Montreal with the 15th, 24th, 71st, ^{Victory of the militia at Odelltown.} 73d, and part of the 93d regiments, the Dragoon Guards, the Hussars, about 400 Indians, 500 militia, and eight field-pieces to advance on Napierville. The rebels still held Beauharnois, but Sir John left that point to be attended to by two regiments of Glengarry militia which were coming down, under command of Colonels Fraser and McDonald, and proceeded against Nelson. The “President of the Republic of Lower Canada” now found himself in a tight place; the victorious militia held Lacolle Mill and Odelltown in his rear, thus cutting off retreat, and Sir John Colborne was advancing on him with an overwhelming force. He determined to keep his communication open with the

by virtue of a law which shall be enacted to legalize the possession, and a title for such entitled lots of land in the townships as are under cultivation or improvement.

“18. That the French and English languages shall be used in all public affairs.

And for the fulfilment of this declaration, and for the support of the patriotic cause in which we are now engaged, with a firm reliance on the protection of the Almighty, and the justice of our cause, we by these presents solemnly pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

“By order of the Provincial Government,

“ROBERT NELSON,

“President.”

States, and for this purpose marched against the militia at Odelltown on the morning of the 9th, having with him 800 men who were armed with muskets, firelocks, &c., and about 250 who had only pikes, &c. The force of militia at Odelltown was only 200, but they had the small field-piece captured at Lacolle, and were commanded by a brave and experienced officer, Lt.-Col. Taylor. This officer posted his men in and near the Methodist Church, and made a gallant defense. The captured gun was in the square in front of the church and did great execution as the rebels advanced, but the militia were forced to abandon it, and retreat to the church. The rebels made several gallant efforts to capture this gun, but the heavy and steady fire of musketry from the church drove them back. The fight lasted two hours and a half, when a reinforcement of 100 militia coming up, the rebels broke and fled, part back to Napierville, and the remainder across the lines. With the latter went Nelson—or rather a little ahead, for like the gallant Brown, Papineau, and other rebel leaders, he thought “discretion is the better part of valor,” and took the earliest opportunity to run away.

6. Sir John Colborne entered Napierville on 9th, but the rebels had already evacuated it to attack Odelltown.

The rebellion suppressed. Retaliation on the insurgents.

On the same day as the attack on Odelltown, about 1,000 of the Glengarry militia, with some companies of the 7th regiment, crossed the St. Lawrence and advanced on Beauharnois, where they dispersed a small body of rebels, and released the prisoners captured on board the *Henry Brougham* on 3d inst. The only body of rebels now in arms were posted at the house of M. Bruneau, about half way between Boucherville and Chambly, and they were quickly dispersed by two companies of the 66th regiment, and so the second rebellion was suppressed in just one week after its outbreak. But the feelings of the loyal inhabitants had been too much outraged by two rebellions within twelve months to rest satisfied with a mere dispersal of the rebels. Cries for revenge and reprisals were heard; many of the loyalists had suffered much insult and injury from the rebels, and some loyal blood had been shed in putting down the revolt. Sir John Colborne tried to prevent outrages and excesses; but he could not restrain the militia; nearly the whole male population of Laprairie County had joined the insurgents, and bitterly were they made to repent it, for the torch was freely applied to the houses and barns of suspected rebels, and homes and provisions swept away. Whole families were suddenly reduced to ruin, and the blackened and deserted remnants of what had been happy homes for years bore terrible evidence of the ravages of civil war.

7.—But even this was not sufficient. The loyal people felt that to the misplaced clemency of the Earl of Durham in banishing Dr. Nelson, Bouchette and

others, instead of having them tried by court-martial and hung for high treason, as they deserved to be, was due, to a very great extent the second rising; and it was now demanded that at least a few examples should be made. Trial by jury was out of the case; but the district was still under martial law, and, accordingly, a court was opened at Montreal on 10th November, and a number of persons tried for participation in the late revolt. Twelve were condemned to death, and were afterwards hung, and a number were transported. Those executed were, for the most part, prominent in the last outbreak, but some had been concerned in the rebellion of the previous year, and been pardoned for that offense, a clemency which they repaid by again taking up arms at the first opportunity. It is to be regretted that while some of the dupes suffered the extreme penalty of the law, the ringleaders escaped, and some of them lived to be rewarded in after years by snug appointments under the very government they had conspired to subvert.

Execution of twelve of the rebels.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

LOWER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD SYDENHAM.

1.—ARRIVAL OF MR. C. POULETT THOMSON. AN UNION OF THE PROVINCES AGREED TO.—2. THE ACT OF UNION PASSED BY THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS. 3. THE CONDITION OF PARTIES AT THE TIME OF THE UNION. LORD SYDENHAM.—4. NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCE OF LOWER CANADA.

1.—The report of the Earl of Durham on the condition of Canada, now claimed attention. It was a statesman-like document, recommending a federation of all the provinces, and the building of an International Railway; or, in the event of this project being too remote, the immediate union of Upper and Lower Canada, and the introduction of responsible government. The British Ministry had by this time pretty well made up their minds as to the union of the provinces, and Mr. Poulett Thomson was appointed governor-in-chief to carry out the project. He arrived at Quebec on 17th October, 1839, and was well received, although he was engaged in the Baltic timber trade, and was not supposed to be a very warm friend to Canadian interest. He proceeded at once to Montreal and convened the Special Council, which met on 11th November. The plan of union was proposed, and after some little discussion resolutions were adopted to the effect that a union of the provinces was the best remedy which could be found for

Arrival of Mr. C. Poulett Thomson. A union of the Provinces agreed to.

the existing difficulties in Lower Canada. This was, undoubtedly, the opinion of the British minority; but just as undoubtedly it was the reverse of what the French Canadian majority desired; but that had now no voice in the control of the government of the province; Mr. Papineau and his colleagues had attempted to assume the entire government of the province, had appealed to arms to sustain their demands, and had lost, and so the French Canadian party had no voice in the councils which decided on a re-union of the provinces.

2.—Having so easily accomplished his object in Lower Canada, the governor proceeded to the Upper Province, where the Assembly favored a union, but the Legislative Council opposed it. By some little management, however, the Council was persuaded that it was the measure most suited to the interests of both provinces, and a bill was therefore introduced and passed. Immediately on the receipt of information of the passing of resolutions agreeing to union, by the Council of Lower Canada and the Legislature of Upper Canada, Lord John Russell introduced a bill into the imperial Parliament to give the plan effect. The bill, as introduced, provided for the creation of municipal councils; but it being objected that that was a local matter and should be left entirely to the local Parliament, the clauses were stricken out. The principal provisions were the assumption by the new province, which was to be known as "The Province of Canada," of the large debt of Upper Canada, on the ground that they were public works which would greatly benefit Lower Canada; an equality of members for each province, and a permanent provision for a competent civil list. The bill received the royal sanction on 23d July, 1840; but did not go into effect until the 10th February, 1841, which, by proclamation dated the 5th idem, was declared to be the day on which the two provinces, after a separation of fifty years, became one again.

3.—Canada was now to enter on her fourth experiment in government since the Conquest; first, military rule; second, the Quebec act of 1774; third, the Constitutional act of 1791, and division of the province; and now a re-uniting of the province to try whether the Constitutional Act, which had worked badly in both provinces separately, would not do better if tried on the province reunited. The experiment pleased some parts of the population of both provinces, but it was not at all acceptable to the French, who saw their great majority in the Assembly gone, and their only hope of power rest in a coalition with the disaffected Opposition of Upper Canada. The Hon. Charles Poulett Thomson was this year raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Sydenham, of Kent and Toronto. During the summer he paid a visit to the Low-

er Provinces and was well received everywhere, especially in New Brunswick, where only a few years before, when he was chairman of the Board of Trade, he was burned in effigy in St. John and Fredericton, because he favored the abrogation of the duties on timber from the Baltic. But then he was only plain Mr. Thomson, now he was Lord Sydenham, and governor-in-chief of her majesty's possessions in British North America. All the difference in the world; and instead of burning him, the people of St. John and Fredericton dined and wineed him.

4.—As this chapter closes the existence of the Province of Lower Canada as a separate Province, until after the Confederation of 1867, we will close this portion of our subject with a list of the governors who administered the affairs of the province during its existence.

Colonel Clarke, Lieut.-Gov.	1791.
General Robert Prescott	1796.
Sir R. S. Milner	1799.
Hon. Thos. Dunn, Prest.	1805, 1811.
Sir J. H. Craig	1807.
Sir George Prevost	1811.
Sir G. Drummond, Adminst.	1815.
Gen. John Wilson, Adminst.	1816.
Sir J. Coape Sherbrooke	1816.
Duke of Richmond	1818.
Sir James Monk, Prest.	1819.
Sir Peregrine Maitland	1820.
Earl of Dalhousie	1820, 1825.
Sir F. N. Burton, Lieut.-Gov.	1824.
Sir James Kempt, Adminst.	1828.
Lord Aylmer, Adminst.	1830.
Earl of Gosford	1835.
Sir J. Colborne	1838.
Earl of Durham	1838.
C. Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham).	1839.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF COLONEL J. G. SIMCOE.

- 1.—UPPER CANADA, 1791—2. THE INDIAN SETTLERS. THE FIRST CHURCH BELL IN UPPER CANADA.
- 3. APPOINTMENT OF COLONEL J. G. SIMCOE AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR. FIRST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.—4 USEFUL ACTS PASSED. RE-NAMING THE DISTRICTS.—5. PROROGATION. VISIT OF THE DUKE OF KENT.—6. GOVERNOR SIMCOE, SEEKING A SITE FOR THE CAPITAL, DECIDES ON TORONTO.—7. RAPID INCREASE OF POPULATION.—8. GOVER-

The Act of Union passed by the British House of Commons.

Names of the Governors of the Province of Lower Canada.

The condition of the parties at the time of the Union. Lord Sydenham.



HON. GEO. BROWN.



HON. JOHN S. MACDONALD.



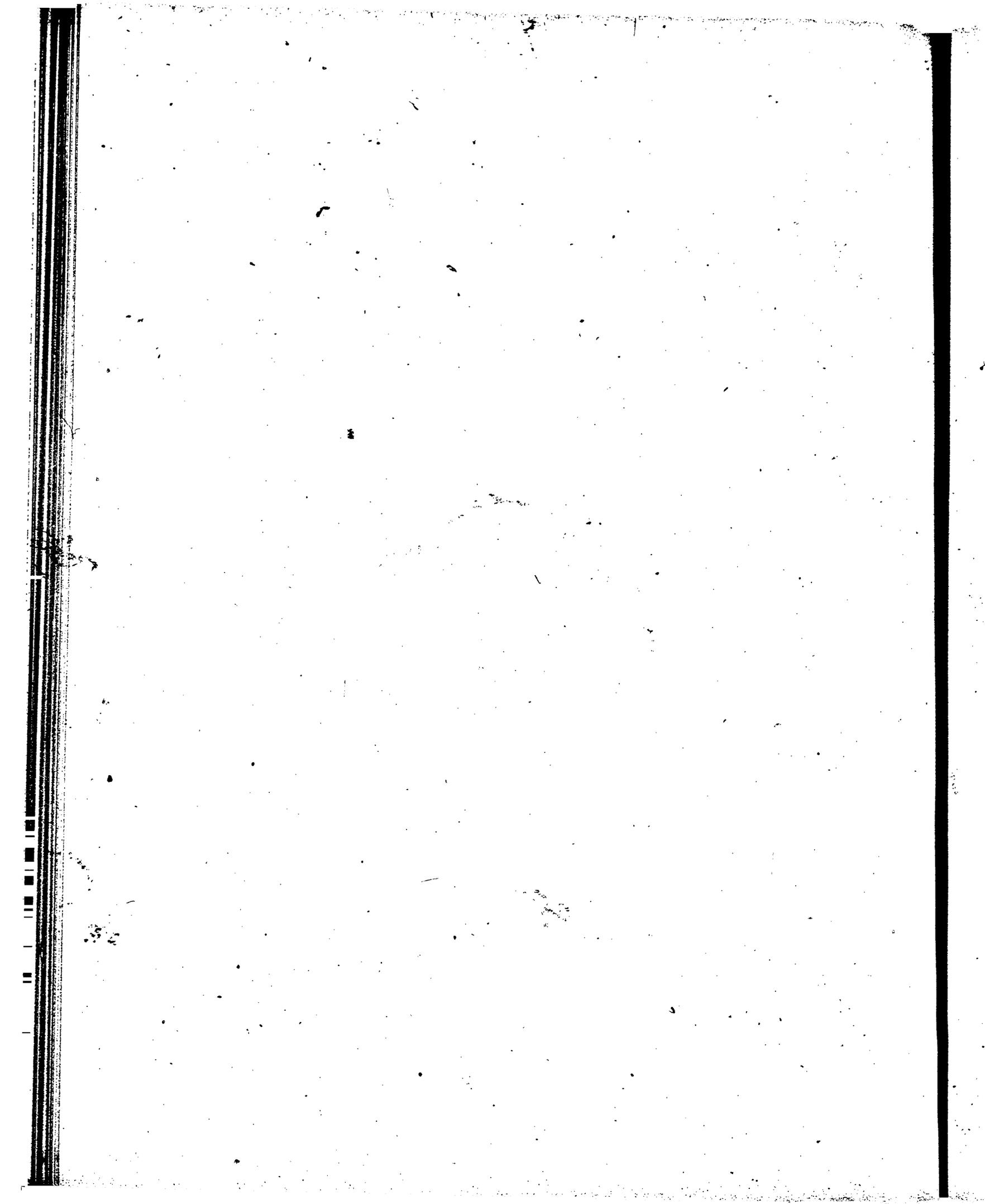
LORD MONCK.



COL. HON. JOHN H. GRAY.



HON. THOS. D'ARCY MCGEE.



NOR SIMCOE DESIRES TO MAKE LONDON THE CAPITAL. LORD DORCHESTER REFUSES.—9. SECOND SESSION OF PARLIAMENT. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—10. RECALL OF GOVERNOR SIMCOE.—11. ADMINISTRATION OF HON. PETER RUSSELL. ABUSES IN THE CROWN LANDS DEPARTMENT.

1.—We now turn back fifty years in our history and look at Upper Canada as it was on the 26th December, 1791, when the proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Alured Clarke declared the old "Province of Quebec" divided into Upper and Lower Canada. The population of Upper Canada at this time numbered scarcely ten thousand souls; there were no towns or large settlements, and the inhabitants were generally scattered in little groups or almost entirely isolated. The new immigrants had come to the wilderness to hue homes out of the primeval forest; nothing but hard work could do it, and manfully and cheerfully they set to work to build up their fortunes. The eight years which had elapsed since the first instalments of United Empire Loyalists were driven from their homes in the States into the wilderness, had already worked great changes in the face of the country. Then the vast solitude was wholly unbroken; the eternal forest raised its towering head to the ambient sky in undisturbed and undisputed magnificence; now the head of the forest king was bent low before the swinging axe of the woodsman; the rude log cabin and the modest clearing gave evidence of human life; the growing crops gave evidence of human industry, and the little gatherings together of houses at Kingston, Newark, Amherstburg and other places gave evidence of human prosperity.

2.—A thrifty and industrious people were the pioneers of Upper Canada, who fought as bravely and constantly against dangers, difficulties and privations as they had erstwhile done in the loyal ranks of the king they loved, to put down the rebellion against his authority. Nor were the Indians who emigrated much behind their white brothers. Almost the entire Mohawk tribe, under their chief, Joseph Brant, followed the fortunes of the United Empire Loyalists, and settled on their reservation along the Grand River. Brant was a fine specimen of a Christian Indian, and tried to lead his people as well in peaceful pursuits as on the war-path. He was a member of the Church of England, and built a church in his settlement in 1786, in which was set the first church bell ever heard in Upper Canada. He built a fine house for himself on Burlington Bay a short time before his death, which took place in 1807, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

3.—Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, had commanded

the Queen's Rangers (Hussars) during the American revolutionary war, and afterwards entered the British House of Commons, where he supported the Constitutional Act of 1791, and afterwards accepted the position of lieutenant-governor of the new province created by that act. On the 8th July, 1792, he arrived in the new country, and was for sometime puzzled to find a suitable place for a capital; but finally decided to select Newark, on the Niagara River; and here he built a small frame house which had to do duty as the Parliament building and governor's residence combined. The first Parliament of Upper Canada met on 17th September, 1792, and consisted of three branches, as in Lower Canada; the Assembly, consisting of sixteen members, elected by the people; the Legislative council, comprising seven members, appointed by the crown, and the lieutenant-governor, who was also assisted by an Executive Council, nominated by the crown, and who were generally officers of the crown or Legislative Councillors.

4.—The first Parliament of Upper Canada formed a strong contrast to that of Lower Canada in that its session was very much shorter; for whilst the polite old French seigniors took five months to pass eight bills, the farmers and merchants of Upper Canada took only the same number of weeks to pass as many bills; and yet they were plain, useful, sensible acts, with no evidence of haste or hurry about them. By one English law was introduced; trial by jury by another; the rate to be charged by millers for grinding and bolting grain was limited to one-twelfth of the quantity ground; the names of the four districts into which Lord Dorchester had divided the province were changed to Eastern, or Johnstown district; Middle, or Kingston district; Home, or Niagara district; and Western, or Detroit district; and these districts were again divided into twelve counties. An act was also passed to provide a jail in each of the districts.

5.—The first session of Parliament was closed on 15th October, and Governor Simcoe in his prorogation speech complimented both Houses on their business-like promptitude. He concluded by saying: "I cannot dismiss you without earnestly desiring you to promote, by precept and example, among your respective counties, regular habits of piety and morality, the surest foundations of all private and public felicity; and, at this juncture, I particularly recommend to you to explain, that this province is signally blessed, not with a mutilated constitution, but with a constitution which has stood the test of experience, and is the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain; by which she has long established and secured to her subjects as much freedom and happiness as is possible to be enjoyed under the subordination necessary to civilized

Appointment of Colonel J. G. Simcoe as Lieutenant-Governor. First Session of Parliament.

Useful acts passed. Re-naming the districts.

Prorogation. Visit of the Duke of Kent.

Upper Canada in 1791.

The Indian settlers. The first Church bell in Upper Canada.

society." As one of the incidents of the year may be mentioned the visit of the Duke of Kent (father to her majesty Queen Victoria) who travelled through both provinces, and visited Governor Simcoe at Newark.

6.—When Governor Simcoe selected Newark as his capital he was under the impression that the fort on the opposite side of the river would be ceded to England and occupied by a strong British force; but when he found that the Niagara River was to be the boundary line, and that the United States were to retain the fort, he decided to move his capital. "The chief town of a province must not be placed under the guns of an enemy's fort," he said, and accordingly began to look for a more eligible site. In the summer of 1793 he coasted about Lake Ontario, visiting several spots which seemed eligible, but at last selected the site of the old French fort of Toronto, which was now abandoned, and he only found a solitary wigwam to represent the once numerous and powerful Huron tribe. The situation suited him well; the broad width of Lake Ontario—thirty-six miles across at this point, stretched between a bold neck of land jutting out into the lake, and the American shore on the other side. The bay was commodious and secure, and the vast forests of beech and maple gave evidence of great fertility. Governor Simcoe determined that this should be the site of his new capital, and so anxious was he to complete the new settlement that he moved there before there was a single house, and lived in a large tent. He was accompanied by the Queen's Rangers, who built the military road, now known as Yonge Street, Toronto, and which runs in a straight line from the city to Lake Simcoe, a distance of thirty miles. The infant city, which was then called York, did not thrive very rapidly, as in 1795 it only contained twelve houses.

7.—The liberal grants of land offered by the government speedily began to attract settlers, especially from the States. Many of the original immigrants had now got into somewhat comfortable circumstances; their lands were pretty well cleared, were productive, and on the whole they were happy and comfortable. It must be remembered that these settlers had nearly all either been driven from their homes by political persecution, or had left voluntarily to maintain their connection with the British crown. Now that time had brought peace, and the new and old nations were on amicable terms, it was natural that many of the United Empire Loyalists should revisit their old homes in New York, Vermont, Massachusetts and other States; and it was also very natural that their favorable accounts of the fertility of the country and the generous terms on which land was granted, should induce numbers, who were not quite enamored of Republican rule, to emigrate to the new forest homes of the west, and

so the population of Upper Canada grew so rapidly that in 1795 its population was estimated at thirty thousand.

8.—This influx of Americans was not very pleasing to the governor, who was a staunch old Tory; and although they were quiet, peaceable, hard-working citizens, he was afraid that they might have been imbued with Republican principles and, some day, forget their loyalty; so he wanted to move the capital further away from the frontier and the American population, and proposed a site on the river De la Trenche—which he re-christened the Thames—where the city of London now stands, as a suitable place for the new capital; but Lord Dorchester, who was governor-general did not like the location; and as he had already named Kingston as the principal naval and military depot on Lake Ontario, and did not wish the capital removed, the project of building a city on the Thames was abandoned, and was not revived until forty years after, when Sir John Colborne built extensive barracks on the site governor Simcoe had selected, and a town grew into existence as if by magic, until we have the London of to-day with its thirty thousand inhabitants, the railroad centre of a vast and fertile region.

9.—The second session of the first Parliament of Upper Canada was opened at Newark, on 31st May, 1793, and was remarkable for two acts, one abolishing slavery, and the other allowing the members two dollars a day for each day of their attendance, in both of which measures they were considerably ahead of Lower Canada; for although a bill to abolish slavery was introduced at the first session of the Parliament of that province (1792-3), it was not passed, and it was not until ten years after (1803) that, by a decision of Judge Osgood at Montreal, slavery was declared inconsistent with English law. In April, this year, appeared the first newspaper printed in Upper Canada, *The Upper Canada Gazette*; it was printed at Newark, but removed to York (Toronto) when the government was transferred there. The press in those days was not very enterprising, and but little insight into the manners of the times can be gained from the columns of the *Gazette*.

10.—The history of the first few years of the existence of Upper Canada is a history of peace and industry, and the impress of the years leave but light marks for the pen of the historian. The sessions of Parliament were still held at Newark, as York was not completed, and nothing seems to have disturbed the harmony of the province except some complaints made by the American government that Governor Simcoe was exciting the Iroquois, both in Canada and Western New York, against it; and as the governor's policy was not endorsed by either Lord Dorchester or the British ministry, he was recalled in 1796, and

Governor Simcoe, seeking a site for a capital, decides on Toronto.

Governor Simcoe desires to make London the capital. Lord Dorchester refuses.

Second session of Parliament. Abolition of slavery.

Rapid increase of population.

Recall of Governor Simcoe.

the Hon. Peter Russell, senior member of the Executive Council, assumed the administration of affairs.

11.—Mr. Russell administered the affairs of the province for two years, during which time no events of very great public importance occurred, except the removal of the seat of government from Newark to Toronto, where the second session of the second Parliament was opened on 1st June, 1797. During Colonel Simcoe's administration he had been exceedingly careful with regard to the distribution of lands; but immediately on his departure irregularities began to creep into the crown land department, just as it had in Lower Canada, and great injustice was done to the actual settlers. Large tracts of the most eligible sites were seized upon by government officials and speculators, and the actual settlers found themselves, in many instances, thrust into out-of-the-way corners, and cut off from intercourse with any near neighbors for want of roads. This "land grab" continued to be a source of great annoyance in Upper Canada for some years.

Administration of Hon. Peter Russell. Abuses in the Crown lands department.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL PETER HUNTER.

- 1.—GROWTH OF THE PROVINCE. ESTABLISHMENT OF PORTS OF ENTRY ON THE LAKES.—2. AN ACT PROHIBITING THE SALE OF SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS TO THE INDIANS.—3. ENCOURAGING THE CULTURE OF HEMP.—4. THE FOUNDATION OF "THE FAMILY COMPACT."—5. UNSATISFACTORY CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE POLITICALLY.

1.—Major-General Peter Hunter was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1799, and arrived at the seat of his government the same year, and met Parliament at Toronto on the 2d of June, 1800. The growth of Upper Canada had been rapid, and its population now numbered about sixty thousand. Cut off from the seaboard, and with only imperfect water communication with Lower Canada, on account of the numerous rapids of the St. Lawrence, the trade of the new province naturally sought those points which in the old days had attracted the bulk of the fur trade, despite the most vigorous efforts of the French traders at Albany and New York. Western New York was then as great a wilderness as Upper Canada, and only a few settlements existed on Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, the Niagara and Upper St. Lawrence. Both new settlements grew fast, and a trade across the lakes and rivers

Growth of the Province. Establishment of Ports of Entry on the Lakes.

soon began to spring up, the trade of Upper Canada finding its way to and from the sea more conveniently by way of New York than by way of Quebec. Ports of entry were now established at Cornwall, Brockville, Newcastle, Toronto, Niagara, Queenston, Fort Erie, Turkey Point, Amherstburg and Sandwich, the duties being the same as those charged on goods brought from England.

2.—The revenue from these importations was handed over to his majesty, for a certain sum, to help defray the expenses of the civil list; and the governor was empowered to appoint collectors at salaries not exceeding £100 currency; but if the amount of duty collected did not exceed that sum they were allowed one-half the actual collections in lieu of salary. At this session an act was also passed prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians. Emigration continued large; numbers of Americans continued to cross over to Canada; and the troubles of '98 in Ireland caused many thousands of Irishmen to seek homes in a new country, where they would be free from the grievances which oppressed them at home. A considerable number of Scotch also came and a few English; but the Irish and Americans predominated. This led, in 1802, to the formation of new districts and the opening of more ports of entry to meet the requirements of the growing population.

An act prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians.

3.—At the session of 1802 an act was passed appropriating £750 for the encouragement of the growth of hemp. A similar act was passed in Lower Canada, the idea being that Canada could be made to take the place of Russia towards England in supplying the hemp for cordage for the navy, as she was fast supplying the timber to build the ships. Mr. Hunter's administration was not marked by any remarkable events; but his easy manner and the willingness of the Assembly to leave the government practically in the hands of the Executive Council, led to many after abuses. Party spirit was unknown; the Assembly passed bills, and the Executive Council carried them out or not, just as it pleased. The Assemblymen went home feeling satisfied, quite willing not to bother their heads about law making until next session. Now amongst the United Empire Loyalists and other early settlers, there were a large number of poor gentlemen—men who had either lost their fortunes by the war of independence, or who had squandered their means and were quite willing to be supported in a new country, provided they did not have to work very hard.

Encouraging the culture of hemp.

4.—This class, which was the educated and more polished class, gradually became centred round the governor, and through him really ruled the province. These leading families held seats in the executive and Legislative councils for life; they filled all the public offices, and all posts of honor or profit; they intermarried, and formed

The foundation of "The Family Compact."

an oligarchy commonly known as "The Family Compact," which it took many years' agitation, and even bloodshed, to break down. But there was another class of poor gentlemen who, instead of striving for office, and making the means of luxurious living by dishonorable speculations in lands and other dirty "jobs," preferred to take up and work their own lands, learning to be farmers, while by their superior education and accomplishments they set an example to the rougher class of farm hands and laborers, who needed sadly some redeeming and refining influences in the rough life they were forced to lead, without the aid of either church or school in many instances; and these poor gentlemen, who did not become placemen or office-seekers, but sought fortune out of the lap of the bountiful earth, were in most instances amply repaid, and their descendants are to-day to be found amongst the leading men in Ontario.

5.—For twenty years the evil had been growing, and the oligarchy gaining strength and confidence; but taxes were light, the farmers busy with their clearings and their crops, and, half unconsciously, the right and power of governing the whole province, and of filling all the public offices, fell into the hands of a few families, who showed every disposition to keep all they had got and ask for more. The condition of the province in 1805, was all that could be desired as far as settling and clearing the land was concerned; but politically it was in a very bad way. The issuing of patents for land was greatly disabused; frequently a *bona fide* settler was refused a grant for a special piece of land, and it would afterwards be granted to some favorite who would speculate in it. Great abuses also existed in the Indian Department, which cost upwards of £60,000 per annum, a large percentage of which, however, found its way into the pockets of some of the members of the Family Compact. The judiciary was by no means what it ought to have been; the judges were not appointed for life, but only during the pleasure of the crown, which greatly interfered with their independence of action, and brought them directly under the influence of the members of the Family Compact. Such was the condition of affairs when Mr. Thorpe, an English barrister of good reputation, was appointed one of the judges of King's Bench for Upper Canada; and in the following year, 1806, Mr. Hunter was replaced by Mr. Francis Gore, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor.

Unsatisfactory condition of the Province politically.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF MR. FRANCIS GORE.

1. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST OPPOSITION NEWSPAPER.—2. THE FIRST OPPOSITION EDITOR TURNS TRAITOR. ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS.—3. PARTIAL APATHY OF THE BULK OF THE PEOPLE.—4. HAPPY CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—5. WANT OF A CIRCULATING MEDIUM. THE SHADOW OF WAR.

1.—The year 1807 was marked by the first appearance of an Opposition paper in Upper Canada, the *Upper Canada Guardian*, the *Upper Canada Gazette* being a strong government paper. The establishment of this paper was, to a great extent, due to the candidature of Judge Thorpe for a seat in the Assembly. He was strongly opposed by the governor, and bitterly abused by the *Gazette*, and after his election it was determined that the small Opposition, then coming into life, as it were, should have an organ through which to express its opinions; so party-political warfare began, and soon grew hot. Judge Thorpe grew very popular, and as he increased in favor with the people, he fell into disgrace with the governor and the oligarchy, and was finally removed from his judgeship and recalled by the Home secretary.

Establishment of the first Opposition Newspaper.

2.—The editor of the *Guardian*, a Mr. Wilcocks, soon made himself popular and was elected to the Assembly, where he strongly opposed the Family Compact. He, however, published ~~some of the proceedings of the House,~~ ^{The first Opposition Editor turns traitor.} and was promptly committed to jail ^{Establishment of schools.} for a breach of the privileges of the House. This rather increased his popularity, and he continued to attack the government until the war of 1812 broke out, when he gave up his paper and served as a volunteer at Queenston; but he soon turned traitor and carried over a few Canadians with him to the Americans. He was afterwards shot at Fort Erie. In the session of 1807, provision was made for the appointment of eight masters of grammar schools, one for each district, at salaries of £100 currency each. One hundred pounds per annum was an object, in those days, and the offices were mostly filled with retired officers and gentlemen in reduced circumstances, who, although lacking any experience or perhaps capacity, had still some learning, and were about as good instructors as could then be got in a young country.

3.—It must not be supposed that the people, as a whole, were discontented; it was quite the reverse; the bulk of the people were firm in their allegiance to Great Britain, were ^{Partial apathy of the bulk of the people.}

happy and contented, and very much disposed to regard the "agitators" who attacked the oligarchy as dangerous people whom it was not safe to have anything to do with. There was some excitement at the time of Thorpe's election over his exposure of arbitrary acts of the governor, and some extortions made by law officers; but a few timely concessions soon smoothed over any difficulty from that quarter. The people, really, had very little to complain of, and they did not; in after years we shall see much bitterness over this "Family Compact," the centring of power in an irresponsible government, appointed for life and constantly growing more exacting in its acquisitiveness of place and power; but at the time of which we write it gave little uneasiness, and so grew up, almost unconsciously, until the Family Compact "ring" had assumed very large proportions.

4.—The province was speedily progressing. The duties were very light, and there were no other taxes.

Happy condition of the people. The people were industrious, and imported nothing they could make, so that it was mostly wines, spirits and groceries that passed through the Custom-Houses, nearly all the wearing apparel being made in the colony. Writing of this year (1809), Mr. McMullen says: "No civilized country in the world was less burdened with taxes than Canada West at this period. A small direct tax on property, levied by the District Courts of Session, and not amounting to £3,500 for the whole country, sufficed for all local expenses. There was no poor-rate, no capitation tax, no titles or ecclesiastical rates of any kind. Instead of a road tax, a few days' statute labor annually sufficed. Nowhere did the workman find the produce of his labor so little diminished by exactions of any kind. Canada West literally teemed with abundance; while its people, unlike the early French or American settlers, had nothing to fear from the red-man, and enjoyed the increase of the earth in peace."

5.—One great drawback the province experienced was the want of a circulating medium; paper money there was none, and of gold and silver very little, so that a species of barter had to be resorted to between the merchant and the farmer, which generally operated to the detriment of the latter. Religion and education were both neglected; in 1809 there were only four ministers of the Church of England in Upper Canada, and about the same number of other denominations; whilst there was but one public school to each district. Still the people, as a whole, were steady, sober, industrious and moral, although the backwoodsmen would, sometimes, take a drop too much and give vent to their pugilistic propensities. The sessions of 1810 and 1811 were quiet and uneventful; but the shadow of a war with the United States was now strongly cast over the country, and by way of preparation Major-

General Isaac Brock succeeded Mr. Gore as lieutenant-governor, the latter having received leave of absence to visit England.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

UPPER CANADA—THE AMERICAN WAR—1812.

1.—HOPES OF THE AMERICANS IN INVADING CANADA.—2. GENERAL HULL'S BOASTFUL PROCLAMATION.—3. CAPTURE OF FORT MICHILLIMACKINAC BY THE BRITISH.—4. REPULSE OF THE AMERICANS AT THE RIVER CANARD.—5. BROCK'S PROMPTITUDE.—6. HULL'S RETREAT TO DETROIT. EFFORTS TO KEEP HIS COMMUNICATIONS OPEN.—7. SURRENDER OF DETROIT.—8. REJOICING OVER BROCK'S BRILLIANT CAMPAIGN.

1.—We now come to the period of the war with the United States. The causes which led to it we have already traced, as well as related the events which occurred in Lower Canada after the declaration of war on 18th June, 1812, and we shall now confine ourselves to the occurrences which transpired in Upper Canada during the period of conflict. The Americans, in invading Canada immediately after declaring war with Great Britain, were impressed with the idea that the bulk of the people in both provinces desired to shake off British rule. This was a mistake. The little dissatisfaction which existed at the monopoly of places and preferment by a favored few, they mistook for preparation for open rebellion, and were rather surprised at being received with cold steel instead of open arms, in both Upper and Lower Canada. Another point on which the Americans counted was the co-operation of the Indians, or, at least their neutrality; but here again they were mistaken; for the Indian tribes had already suffered much from the encroachments of the Americans in the West, and had during the previous year (1811) made a gallant but ineffectual effort, under Tecumseh, to check the onward march of civilization; and when war was once declared, and the first victories were on the side of the British, all hope of an alliance of the Indians with the Americans was gone, and the former were loyal and true in their attachment to the British cause throughout the war, rendering most efficient service, especially at the commencement of the war, before the Canadian militia was mobilized, or any reinforcements had arrived from Great Britain.

2.—The first act of aggression was committed by the Americans. For some time previous to the declaration

of war, the United States had been massing troops in the Michigan territory for the purpose of making a sudden descent on Upper Canada immediately after the two nations were actually at war. About twenty-five hundred men were so assembled, under command of General Hull; and that officer, thinking he had a sufficient force to easily overpower Upper Canada, crossed from Detroit to Sandwich on the 12th July, 1812, and occupied British territory, thus committing the first act of hostility. General Hull immediately issued a long and bombastic proclamation; and then sat down to await the general uprising of the Canadians which he, together with many more Americans, seems to have confidently expected.* But although a

* This proclamation of General Hull's is a superior piece of what the Americans term "hifalutin," and we give it entire for the gratification of the curious in that style of composition:—

"By William Hull, Brigadier-General and Commander of the North-Western Army of the United States.

" A PROCLAMATION.

"Inhabitants of Canada! After thirty years of peace and prosperity the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance, or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country, and the standard of UNION now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you. Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, nor interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice, but I do not ask you to avenge the one or redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford you every security consistent with their rights, and your reputation. I tender you the invaluable blessings of civil, political and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity—that liberty which gave decision to our counsels and energy to our conduct in our struggle for independence, and which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the Revolution. That liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world, and which has afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people. In the name of my country and by the authority of my Government, I promise protection to your persons, property and rights. Remain at your homes, pursue your peaceful and customary avocations, raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is but the vanguard of a much greater. If contrary to your own interests, and the just expectation of my country, you will be considered and treated as enemies, the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner—instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no law, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness; I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace,

very general uprising of the Canadians did take place, it was not exactly what General Hull expected, for it was for the purpose of expelling the invader, not to welcome him with open arms.

3.—While Hull was issuing his boastful proclamation, an unexpected and disagreeable surprise was being prepared for him in his rear. On the receipt of information of the declaration of war, Major-General Brock issued orders, on 26th June, to Captain Roberts, commanding a small post at St. Joseph, situated on an island in Lake Huron, forty-five miles north-west of Michillimackinac, to capture that fort if possible; but if he was not strong enough to do that, to either defend his own post or retreat to St. Mary's in case of attack. Roberts thought he was strong enough to capture Michillimackinac, and, on 15th July, set out in a flotilla of boats and canoes, accompanied by the brig *Caledonia* belonging to the North-West Company, to effect his purpose. His force consisted of thirty regulars, two artillerymen and one sergeant, and one hundred and sixty Canadians, employes of the North-West Company; he had also two small iron cannon, but they were not in a very efficient condition. On the morning of the sixteenth he appeared before Michillimackinac and summoned the garrison to surrender, which, after a short delay it did, thus giving the British the first success of the war, without firing a shot. The garrison numbered seventy-five, and large quantities of stores, and of goods suitable for the Indian trade, were found in the fort.

4.—This brilliant achievement thoroughly secured the support of the Indians, and greatly interfered with the projected advance of General Hull. This general appears to have been impressed with the idea that he had only to appear on British soil and issue a proclamation to cause the whole of Upper Canada to surrender to him; but he was most grievously disappointed, for General Brock was taking the most prompt measures to expel him, and the Canadian militia were fast flocking to the British standard, while the Indians were all offering their services. Eighteen miles from Hull's head-quarters at Sandwich was Amherstburg, defended by Fort Malden, which was garrisoned by three hundred regulars, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. George. The fort was in a very poor state of defence, and had Hull advanced boldly, there is every probability that he would have captured it;

liberty, and security. Your choice lies between these and war, slavery and destruction. Choose then, but choose wisely; and may He who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hands the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and prosperity.

"By the general,

W. HULL,

"A. F. HULL,

"Captain 13th Regt., U. S. Inf., and Aid-de-Camp

"HEAD-QUARTERS, Sandwich, July 12, 1812."

Capture of Fort Michillimackinac by the British.

Repulse of the Americans at the river Canard.

but he delayed for five days, and gave Colonel St. George time to fortify the river Canard, which Hull would have to cross, and also for the Indians to come in, and the British sloop of war *Queen Charlotte*, eighteen guns, to arrive off the mouth of the river, which she effectually protected. On the 17th Hull attempted to cross the river Canard about three miles below Amherstburg, but was beaten back by some companies of the 41st regiment and a few Indians; the attempt was repeated on the 18th and 20th with a like result. On the latter occasion about two hundred attempted a ford higher up the river, but a small party of twenty Indians, who were ambushed on the other side, rushed out at them, and so terrified were the Americans at the sound of the war-whoop that they threw away their arms and fled precipitately.

5.—Meanwhile General Brock had been exceedingly active. On the invasion of Hull he sent Colonel Proctor with all the troops and militia he could raise to the assistance of Colonel St. George; and, on 22d July, issued a very sensible proclamation to the people of Canada, telling them that the United States only wanted to conquer Canada to hand it over to the despotic sway of Napoleon, and calling on them to defend their homes. He next convened the Provincial Parliament at York, on 28th, and after a short session, at which the Assembly voted all the men and money it could raise to carry on the war, Brock prorogued Parliament and advanced himself by forced marches against Hull. That general now began to be encumbered with sick and wounded, and to suffer from the want of hospital stores, the vessel conveying which from the Miami River to Detroit had been captured by Lieutenant Rolette, of the sloop of war *Hunter*. Hull was now beginning to suffer from want of supplies; the fall of Michillimackinac in his rear and the control of the lake by the British fleet had almost cut him off from his base of supplies; and, to add to his difficulties, a small party of the 41st regiment, under Captain Tallon and a body of Indians under Tecumseh, pushed across the river on 5th August, routed two hundred and fifty Americans under Major Vanhorn, who were proceeding from Detroit to the river Rasin, and captured a large quantity of provisions and General Hull's despatches, which showed his army to be in a very demoralized condition. Hull received intelligence from General Hall, commanding on the Niagara frontier, that he could not receive any assistance from him, and at the same time he heard that Brock was advancing against him.

6.—Under the circumstances there was nothing for the American general, who had "a force which will look down all opposition," but to retreat to Detroit, and endeavor to reopen communication with the Miami and Rasin Rivers, through which he received all his

Hull's retreat to Detroit. Efforts to keep his communication open.

supplies; and, accordingly, during the night of the 7th and morning of the 8th he recrossed the river with the bulk of his army, leaving two hundred and fifty men to guard a small fort he had erected at Sandwich, and retreated to Detroit. Hull's great anxiety was now to reopen communication with the Miami River, and, accordingly, on the 9th he dispatched Colonel Miller, with six hundred men, to dislodge the British at Brownstown. The British force under Major Muir, numbering about three hundred, met the Americans at Magagua, and after a sharp engagement were forced to retreat, but not before they had inflicted a loss of seventy-five men on the Americans, while the British loss was trifling. This trifling reverse to the British was, however, counterbalanced by the capture on the previous day, by Lieutenant Rolette, with the boats of the *Hunter* and *Queen Charlotte*, of a large convoy of boats and batteaux with fifty-six wounded Americans and two English prisoners on their way to Detroit.

7.—While hesitating what to do, Hull was surprised on the morning of the 15th at receiving a peremptory demand from General Brock for the surrender of Detroit. That officer had, by great exertions, reached Amherstburg on the 13th, and after a conference with Tecumseh and the other Indian chiefs, and hearing the straightened circumstances Hull was in, his men suffering from sickness and want of proper supplies, he determined to take the offensive; and on 15th, having erected a battery of three guns and two howitzers on the side of the river opposite Detroit, summoned the garrison to surrender. Hull refused; and immediately Brock ordered fire to be opened, and crossed the river with all of his force, consisting of about seven hundred regulars and militia and six hundred Indians, on the morning of the sixteenth and advanced to the fort, into which the American army had retreated. But Hull did not wait for an attack; as soon as the British had advanced to within a mile of the fort, he hung out a white flag, and sent a message to offer to capitulate. The terms were soon agreed to, and by them the whole American army in the Michigan territory, numbering over twenty-five hundred men, surrendered, together with the fort and a large quantity of munitions of war. The fort was defended by twenty-five iron and eight brass cannon, and with very little courage could have been easily defended against Brock's small force; but Hull was better at writing bombastic proclamations than at fighting, and so disgracefully capitulated. He was afterwards exchanged for thirty British prisoners, and tried by court-martial for treason and cowardice; he was acquitted of the former, but found guilty of the latter and sentenced to be shot, but was pardoned by the president on account of his services during the revolutionary war.

8.—General Brock issued a proclamation to the inhab-

itants of Michigan, guaranteeing them the possession of their property, and the free exercise of their laws and religion, and leaving General Proctor in command at Detroit, he returned to Toronto, having in the short space of twenty days convened the Legislature, transacted all the business of the province, executed a long and tiresome march, expelled an enemy more than double his own strength, followed him into his own country and forced him to surrender, and gained for the British crown a territory almost as large as the whole of Upper Canada; it is no wonder that the people were enthusiastic over his gallant exploits, and that he was received on his return to Toronto with every demonstration of delight. Brock would have followed up his victory over Hull by attacking Van Rensselaer, who was threatening the Niagara frontier, but he was restrained by orders from Sir George Prevost, who had proposed an armistice which he thought would be followed by peace; but the American government refused to listen to any terms which Sir George was authorized to entertain, and hostilities were resumed in September.

Rejoicing over Brock's brilliant campaign.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

UPPER CANADA—THE AMERICAN WAR—1812.

- 1.—CAPTURE OF THE GUERRIÈRE.—2. THE AMERICANS OCCUPY QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.—3. DEATH OF GENERAL BROCK WHILE ATTEMPTING TO RETAKE THE HEIGHTS.—4. THE AMERICAN MILITIA REFUSE TO CROSS THE RIVER.—5. UTTER ROUT AND SURRENDER OF THE AMERICANS.—6. GENERAL MOURNING AT THE DEATH OF BROCK.—7. GENERAL SHEAFFE ASSUMES COMMAND.—8. AMERICAN SUCCESS ON LAKE ONTARIO. GENERAL SMYTH'S BOMBASTIC PROCLAMATION.—9. REPULSE OF THE THIRD ATTEMPT TO INVADE UPPER CANADA.—10. DISGRACE OF GENERAL SMYTH. END OF THE CAMPAIGN.

1.—The American government was greatly humiliated at the cowardly surrender of General Hull, but his disgraceful conduct only stimulated it to fresh efforts to wipe out the stain on the American arms. On the other hand, the policy of the British government was one of forbearance and defence. Brock desired to follow up his success at Detroit by an attack on the Niagara frontier, but Sir George Prevost had proposed an armistice, with a view to peace, and pending its rejection by the United States secretary of war, nothing was done. On the lakes the British still held supremacy; but the Americans were fast construct-

Capture of the *Guerrière*.

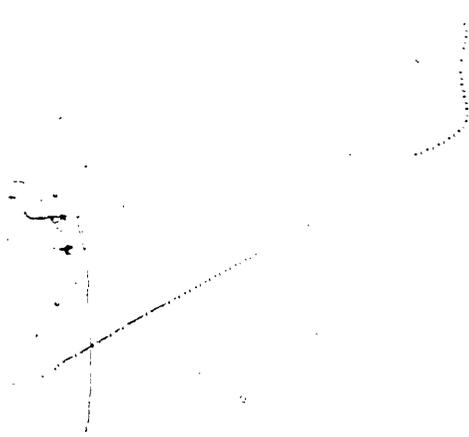
ing larger and more heavily armed vessels which threatened to change the aspect of affairs on the inland seas. The Americans also obtained some consolation by the capture of *H. M. S. Guerrière* by the U. S. S. *Constitution*. The United States naval establishment at Sackett's Harbor, under command of Commodore Chauncey, was being, meanwhile, greatly increased, and the Americans promised very speedily to attain supremacy on Lake Ontario. In September a party of one hundred and fifty Americans, commanded by Captain Forsyth, crossed from Gravelly Point to Gananoque, surprised and captured a small party of fifty militia, and destroyed a quantity of stores and provisions; and an attempt of Colonel Letheridge to dislodge the Americans at Ogdensburgh, from which place they were seriously interrupting the communications between Upper and Lower Canada, was repulsed with a loss of three killed and four wounded.

2.—While these minor operations were in progress the Americans had been massing a large army on the Niagara frontier, under General Van Rensselaer; to act in concert with the force, under General Dearborn, on Lake Champlain in a simultaneous descent on both Upper and Lower Canada. General Harrison was also actively employed on the river Rasin endeavoring to collect a sufficient force of militiamen from Ohio and Kentucky to retrieve Hull's cowardice by recapturing Detroit, and General Brock's attention was very much divided between the two armies, not knowing in which quarter to expect an attack first. Early in October Van Rensselaer was informed by a spy that General Brock had moved the main strength of his army towards Detroit for the defence of that place; and, accordingly, a descent of the Americans in Queenston was determined on. The American forces were concentrated at Lewiston on the morning of the 11th, but as no boats had been provided no attempt to cross could be made. On the following day, Van Rensselaer collected a sufficient number of boats, and early on the morning of the 13th a force of about one thousand men was embarked, and, under cover of a few gun batteries, commenced to make the passage. Captain Dennis, of the 49th regiment, with about one hundred regulars and an equal number of militia, at once descended the bank to the landing-place and held the enemy in check for a considerable time, being aided by an eighteen-pound gun on the heights, and another gun about a mile further down the river. The leading detachment of the enemy, however, under command of General Van Rensselaer, succeeded in landing above and under cover of the heights, and scaling them, captured the eighteen-pounder and forced Dennis to withdraw to the north end of the village, after having suffered considerable loss.

The Americans occupy Queenston Heights.

3.—Meanwhile Brock, who heard the cannonade at Niagara, galloped up with his aides, Colonel McDowell and





Death of General Brock while attempting to retake the Heights.

Major Glegg, and met Dennis while he was withdrawing his men. Brock at once perceived the importance of regaining possession of the heights, and dismounting from his horse put himself at the head of the grenadier company of the 49th and the York volunteers, and charged up the hill. But the Americans had been reinforced by fresh arrivals from the other side of the river, and poured a heavy fire down on the British, principally from riflemen, one of whom singled out Brock and struck him in the region of the heart, killing him almost instantly. The British made a fierce attempt to revenge the death of their general, and succeeded in temporarily dislodging the Americans, but reinforcements to the latter were fast arriving, and after a stubborn resistance the British were forced to retire to the one-gun battery already mentioned and stationed a mile below Queenston, leaving over one hundred dead, wounded and prisoners out of a total force of less than three hundred. They formed at this battery, and awaited the reinforcements which were coming up from Niagara.

4.—The Americans had now for the second time effected a lodgement on Canadian soil; but their triumph was to be more short-lived than Hull's, and their defeat as complete, but not as disgraceful. Van Rensselaer, who was a

The American militia refuse to cross the river.

chivalrous and courageous soldier, did not, like Hull, issue a bombastic proclamation; but, having established his men on Queenston Heights, left General Wadsworth in command, with orders to form an entrenched camp, and recrossed the river to bring up reinforcements. Van Rensselaer knew that reinforcements for the British were advancing from Niagara and Chippewa, and endeavored to get the embodied militia to cross the river to the assistance of their comrades on the other side; but they had seen enough of fighting from the safe side of the river, and suddenly had conscientious scruples about invading Canadian territory, and very few of them crossed—still the Americans on Queenston heights numbered considerably over twelve hundred men. Finding the militia were not disposed to fight, General Van Rensselaer sent a note to General Wadsworth to use his discretion as to whether it would be best to entrench or to recross the river. At the same time Colonel (afterwards general) Winfield Scott came over and assumed command.

5.—But General Wadsworth was not to be allowed much discretion in the matter. All the British troops

Utter rout and surrender of the Americans.

from Niagara and Chippewa had been ordered to advance as soon as it was known that the Americans were crossing at Queenston; and Major-General Sheaffe,—an American by birth,—who assumed command on the death of Brock, soon found himself at the head of about five hundred regulars, principally from the 41st regiment, and nearly

an equal number of Canadian militia and Indians, the latter under command of young Brant. Leaving Lieutenant Holcroft of the royal artillery, with two guns and thirty men to defend the village of Queenston, Sheaffe made a long detour to the rear of the heights and suddenly attacked the Americans. The first attack was made by the Indians, whose terrible war-whoop, joined to the hearty cheers of the British as they advanced with fixed bayonets at the double quick, so demoralized the Americans that they fled in all directions after a very brief resistance; many rolled down the cliff and were either killed by the fall or drowned in attempting to swim the river, whilst the Indians inflicted cruel slaughter on great numbers. The success was immediate and complete; and Scott, cut off from his boats, sent a white flag offering an unconditional surrender. This General Sheaffe assented to, and immediately withdrew the Indians. General Wadsworth, Colonel Scott, and about nine hundred and fifty officers and men surrendered, and the killed and wounded amounted to nearly four hundred more. The loss to the British in this second battle of Queenston Heights was about twenty killed and sixty wounded; and amongst the captures were one field-piece and one stand of colors.

6.—Signal as had been the victory, it was dearly bought by the death of the gallant General Brock, whose death caused deep and general mourning throughout the whole of Canada, and especially in the Upper Province, where

General mourning at the death of Brock.

his memory is still tenderly revered. General Sir Isaac Brock was born in the island of Guernsey in 1769—the same year which saw the birth of Wellington and Napoleon. He entered the army at the early age of fifteen, and served with distinction in many of the European campaigns, especially under Sir Ralph Abercromby in Holland, and under Lord Nelson at Copenhagen. He came to Canada in 1802 and served at Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and Niagara, gaining the love and respect of all by his gallantry as a soldier, and his justice and humanity as a civil governor. Christie justly says of him: "He was one of those men who seem born to influence mankind, and mark the age in which they live. As a soldier he was brave to a fault, and not less judicious than decisive in his measures. The energy of his character was expressed in his robust and manly person. As a civil governor, he was firm, prudent, and equitable. In fine, whether viewed as a man, a statesman, or a soldier, he equally deserves the esteem and respect of his contemporaries and of posterity. The Indians, who flocked to his standard, were enthusiastically attached to him. He fell at the early age of forty-two years. The remains of this gallant officer were, during the funeral service, honored with a discharge of minute guns from the American as well as British batteries, and with those

of his aid-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell, interred in the same grave at Fort George, on the sixteenth October, amidst the tears of an affectionate soldiery and a grateful people, who will revere his memory, and hold up to their posterity the imperishable name of Brock."

7.—Major-General Sheaffe assumed civil and military command in Upper Canada on the death of Brock, and granted an armistice of three days to Van Rensselaer to bury his dead. The latter general was disgusted with the conduct of the militia in refusing to cross the river to Scott's support, and tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and General Smyth replaced him in command on the Niagara frontier on 18th October. General Wadsworth and most of the militia officers were paroled, and the militia allowed to return to their homes on condition of their not serving again during the war. Scott and the regulars were sent down to Montreal and Quebec. Scott refused to be paroled on account of twenty-three men who were captured, and who acknowledged that they were British subjects, being ordered to be sent to England for trial as traitors. This led to an order of retaliation on the part of the American government, which threatened to hang the same number of British prisoners if harm came to these men; but Sir George Prevost threatened to hang twice that number of American officers and men if the British prisoners were harmed, and the matter was finally ended by the prisoners sent to England being released.

8.—On the assumption of command of the American forces by General Smyth he proposed to General Sheaffe an armistice of thirty days, which was agreed to, the latter hoping to obtain reinforcements during that time. This armistice, which continued until 20th November, proved of great advantage to the Americans, as it afforded them an opportunity of transporting by water large quantities of naval stores from Black Rock to Presque Isle, as well as giving them time to complete the construction of their ships which was to give them supremacy on the lakes. On the 9th of November Commodore Chauncey, with a fleet of seven American vessels, chased the *Royal George* into Kingston harbor, but was beaten off by the batteries. On the following day the fleet captured two British schooners, in one of which was the plate of the late General Brock, which Chauncey generously gave up, also releasing on parole Captain Brock, brother of the late general, who was in charge of it. General Smyth was at the same time preparing for another attempt on the Niagara frontier, and on 17th November issued a proclamation to his army which is almost as wonderful a piece of composition as Hull's address to the Canadians, issued at Sandwich.*

* "TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTRE.

"Companions in arms. The time is at hand when you will cross the

9.—General Smyth's proclamation was, however, not very heartily responded to by his men, and his performances were by no means in accordance with his promises. On the morning of ^{Repulse of the third attempt to invade Upper Canada.} the 28th November fourteen boats, containing about four hundred men, crossed the river, and a landing was effected on the upper end of Grand Isle, between Fort Erie and Chippewa. The landing was steadily opposed by sixty-five men of the 49th regiment, under Lieutenants King, Lamont and Bartley, who had four guns. After a very spirited resistance the guns were spiked, and Lieutenants King and Lamont, with about thirty men, were forced to surrender. They were removed to the other side of the river, and nearly all the Americans retired with them, only about forty remaining, who were shortly after compelled to surrender to Major Ormsby, who had arrived from Fort Erie. Later in the

streams of Niagara to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier. You will enter a country that is to be one of the United States. You will arrive among a people who are to become your fellow-citizens. It is not against *them* that we come to make war. It is against that government which holds them as vassals. You will make this war as little as possible distressful to the Canadian people. If they are peaceable, they are to be secure in their persons, and in their property, as far as our imperious necessities will allow. Private plundering is absolutely forbidden. Any soldier who quits his ranks to plunder on the field of battle, will be punished in the most exemplary manner. But your just rights as soldiers will be maintained; whatever is *booty* by the usages of war, you shall have. All horses belonging to the artillery and cavalry; all wagons and teams in public service, will be sold for the benefit of the captors. Public stores will be secured for the service of the United States. The government will, with justice, pay you the value. The horses drawing the light artillery of the enemy are wanted for the service of the United States. I will order TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS for each to be paid to the party who may take them. I will also order FORTY DOLLARS to be paid for the arms and spoils of each savage warrior who shall be killed.

"*Soldiers!* You are amply provided for war. You are superior in number to the enemy. Your personal strength and activity are greater. *Your weapons are longer.* The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you,—you, who charge with the bayonet. You have seen Indians, such as those hired by the British to murder women and children, and kill and scalp the wounded. You have seen their dances and grimaces, and heard their yells. Can you fear them? No, you hold them in the utmost contempt.

"*Volunteers!* Disloyal and traitorous men have endeavored to dissuade you from your duty. Sometimes they say, if you enter Canada you will be held to service for five years; at others, they say you will not be furnished with supplies. At other times, they say that if you are wounded, the government will not provide for you by pensions. The just and generous course pursued by government towards the volunteers who fought at Tippecanoe furnishes an answer to the last objection. The others are too absurd to deserve any. *Volunteers!* I esteem your generous and patriotic motives. You have made sacrifices on the altar of your country. You will not suffer the enemies of your fame to mislead you from the path of duty and honor, and deprive you of the esteem of a grateful country. You will shun the *eternal infamy* that awaits the man who, having come within sight of the enemy, *basely* shrinks in the moment of trial.

"*Soldiers of every corps!* It is in your power to retrieve the honor of your country and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honors await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards.

"*Companions in arms!* You come to vanquish a vallant foe. I know the choice you will make. Come on, my heroes! And when you attack the enemy's batteries let your rallying word be, "The cannon lost at Detroit or death!"

"ALEXANDER SMYTH,

"Brigadier-General Commanding.

"Camp near Buffalo, 17th Nov. 1812."

morning an attempt to cross in eighteen boats was made; but Colonel Bishopp having arrived by that time from Chippewa with a force of nearly eleven hundred men, the attempt was easily repulsed, the Americans having two boats sunk by a six-pounder, and the others thrown into confusion by the steady fire of muskets. A display of force was made during the day on the American side of the river, and a bombastic demand for the surrender of Fort Erie made by Smyth, to which Colonel Bishopp laconically replied, "Come and take it;" but Smyth had had enough fighting and declined the invitation. On the first of December another effort was made to cross the river, but it miscarried through mismanagement, and no further attempt was made that year, the Americans soon after going into winter-quarters.

10.—The failure and disgrace of the three attempts to invade Upper Canada, and the one on Lower Canada, was most complete. With immense Disgrace of General Smyth. End of the campaign. back at every point by mere handfuls of men, and the people of the States felt the humiliation deeply. Their generals had done nothing but issue bombastic proclamations which exposed them to ridicule, and had not seriously attempted to carry out any of the grand professions they had made. Smyth especially became the object of attack; he was popularly nicknamed "General Von Bladder," and he soon became so unpopular in his army that he was forced to fly from it, for fear of punishment. The United States government cautioned him, and the tavern keepers of Buffalo shut their doors in his face. The disastrous close of the campaign of 1812 strengthened the peace party in the States, and there was great indignation expressed at the continued prosecution of the war; but the Democracy had still a majority in Congress, and it was determined to begin the campaign of 1813 with great vigor.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

UPPER CANADA—THE AMERICAN WAR—1813.

1. THE SITUATION IN THE WEST AT THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN.—2. VICTORY OF THE BRITISH AT FRENCHTOWN.—3. CRUELTY OF THE INDIANS. RETALIATORY MEASURES THREATENED.—4. DESTRUCTION BY THE BRITISH OF OGDENSBURGH.—5. MEETING OF THE LEGISLATURE.—6. PREPARING FOR THE SPRING CAMPAIGN.—7. THE AMERICANS ATTACK TORONTO.—8. GENERAL SHEAFFE RETREATS AND TORONTO IS CAPTURED.—9. CAPTURE OF FORT GEORGE BY THE AMERICANS. RETREAT OF GENERAL

VINCENT.—10. SIR GEORGE PREVOST DETERMINES TO ATTACK SACKETT'S HARBOR.—11. CAPTURE OF TWELVE AMERICAN BATTEAUX.—12. REPULSE OF THE BRITISH AT SACKETT'S HARBOR.—13. GENERAL PROCTOR INVESTS FORT MEIGS.—14. DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS AT FORT MEIGS.—15. SUCCESSFUL NIGHT ATTACK ON THE AMERICANS AT STONY CREEK BY COLONEL HARVEY.

1.—The campaign of 1813 opened in the West, as had that of 1812, and almost as unsuccessfully for the Americans. After the capture of Detroit, Colonel Proctor had been left in command of that fort, with a force of The situation in the West at the opening of the campaign. about six hundred regulars and a number of Indians. The American general, Harrison, who succeeded Hull in command in the West, organized a large force, principally Ohio and Kentucky men, and, by the end of 1812, had his army number over five thousand. Proctor had thrown out several small outposts in the vicinity of Detroit, one of which was at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, twenty-six miles from Detroit, and consisted of thirty of the Essex militia, under Major Reynolds, and about two hundred Indians. On the 17th January, 1813, Brigadier-General Winchester, commanding a division of the American army, sent Colonel Lewis, with a strong force, to dislodge the British, which he succeeded in doing after a sharp encounter, in which the Americans lost twelve killed and fifty wounded. Reynolds retreated to Brownstown, sixteen miles in his rear, and gave information to Proctor of the advance of Winchester's Brigade, which now occupied Frenchtown and was over one thousand strong.

2.—Proctor knew that his only chance of success was, by prompt action, to beat the enemy in detail before Harrison could bring his whole force to bear on Detroit; he therefore hastily Victory of the British at Frenchtown. assembled all his available force at Brownstown, and, on the 21st, pushed on to attack the American camp at Frenchtown, with about five hundred regulars, sailors, and militia, and six hundred Indians. On the morning of the 22d a determined assault was made on the American camp; and the Indians, under the Wyandot chief Roundhead, speedily turned the enemy's flank and caused him to retreat, General Winchester being captured. About five hundred of his men had, meanwhile, thrown themselves into the houses, where they were making a desperate resistance, impelled by the fear of falling into the hands of the Indians, who were killing and scalping the wounded and acting with great barbarity. Proctor informed General Winchester that the houses would be set on fire, and that he would be utterly unable to restrain the Indians unless the Americans surrendered. This they did on being assured that they would be pro-

tected from the Indians, and thirty-two officers and over five hundred men were taken prisoners. The loss on both sides was very heavy; that of the British being twenty-four killed and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded; whilst the Americans had between three and four hundred killed, most of whom fell victims to the savage fury of the Indians.

3.—The cruelty of the Indians in this action was very great, and President Madison in his address to Congress on 4th March, charged the British with it on account of employing such savage allies—forgetful of the fact that the Americans were constantly holding out inducements to the Indians to join them, and were annoyed that the latter could not be tempted to forsake the British flag. This led to many acts of retaliation on the part of the Americans, and afterwards of the British, and caused the war to assume a much more savage aspect. The prompt and vigorous action of Proctor, and its success, entirely frustrated any further aggressive movement for the present by General Harrison; and but little fear was felt that any immediate attempt would be made by the Americans to recapture Detroit and regain possession of the Michigan territory. Immediately on the receipt of information of Proctor's gallant exploit, Sir George Prevost, commander-in-chief in British North America, promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general, and the Legislatures of both Upper and Lower Canada passed resolutions thanking him and his men for their courageous conduct.

4.—After winter had fairly set in and the St. Lawrence was frozen over, the Americans on several occasions sent marauding parties across the ice to pillage and destroy the Canadian settlements. On the night of the 6th of February two companies of riflemen from Ogdensburgh, under command of Captain Forsythe, made a descent on the village of Brockville, wounded a sentry, fired several houses, and carried off a quantity of plunder, together with fifty of the inhabitants, the greater portion of whom were, however, released in a few days. Several other inroads from Ogdensburgh were made, and the British were anxious to retaliate. On the 21st February Sir George Prevost arrived at Prescott on his way to the forts in Upper Canada on a tour of inspection. He instructed Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell to make a demonstration against Ogdensburgh, which was to be turned into a real attack if he thought the opportunity favorable. On the morning of the 22d (Washington's birthday), McDonnell, with about five hundred regulars and militia, crossed the ice, and, finding that he had sufficient force to effect his purpose, attacked the enemy's position. The Americans had about the same force as the British and defended their position for about an hour, when they were driven from the village and

Cruelty of the Indians. Retaliatory measures threatened.

Destruction by the British of Ogdensburgh.

fort and retreated across the Oswegatchie River, leaving twenty dead and a number of wounded and prisoners. The British loss was seven killed and forty-eight wounded, seven of the latter being officers, amongst whom was Lieutenant-Colonel McDonnell. Eleven pieces of artillery, two gunboats, two schooners, several hundred stands of arms and a large quantity of stores fell into the hands of the victors, who burned the vessels and removed the arms and stores to their own side of the river. This brilliant achievement prevented any further forays on the Canadian frontier from Cornwall to Gananoque during the remainder of the winter.

5.—On the 25th of February the Legislature met at Toronto, and Major-General Sheaffe, in opening Parliament, congratulated the province on the successful resistance to American invasion so far made, at the same time paying a graceful tribute to the memory of the gallant Brock. The House passed an act to facilitate the circulation of the army bills issued at Quebec, making them a legal tender in all public offices. Another act was passed granting pensions to the widows and orphans of militiamen killed during the war; and one to prohibit the sale of liquor to the Indians. The crop had not been very favorable, and the Legislature passed an act prohibiting the exportation of grain, or its use for distillation, fearing a scarcity of food. Several other useful acts were also passed, amongst them bills providing for war expenses.

6.—All through the winter the Americans were active in their preparations for the conquest of Canada in the spring, and their armies were strengthened, while a number of new ships were built at Sackett's Harbor and other naval depots. The British were also active, and made every possible exertion for defence; but few reinforcements had as yet arrived, and the Canadians were left almost entirely to their own resources, England being too much engrossed with her European wars to afford much assistance to the colonies. Nearly all the troops were withdrawn from the Lower Provinces, and the King's regiment of New Brunswick was mustered into the regular army as the 104th regiment, and sent to Canada for active service. This regiment was first formed amongst the loyalists who had settled in York County in 1784, and on its voluntary enrolment in the regular army the legislature passed complimentary resolutions to the officers and men, and presented the regiment with a handsome silver trumpet. A portion of this regiment was conveyed to Quebec by sea, but several companies made a very trying march, on snow shoes, through an unbroken country, during very cold weather, to arrive in Canada in time for the opening of the spring campaign.

7.—The plan of the American campaign for 1813 was that a large army under General Dearborn was to threaten

Meeting of the Legislature.

Preparing for the spring campaign.

The Americans
attack Toronto.

Lower Canada whilst a determined effort was made to retake the Michigan territory, capture the forts on the Niagara frontier, and thus reduce the whole of Upper Canada. This accomplished, all the armies were to make a joint descent on Montreal and Quebec, which would be followed by the occupation of the Maritime Provinces, and thus the British would be driven from the American continent. The first attempt of the Americans was made against Toronto, which it was difficult to defend. On the 25th April the American fleet, consisting of fourteen armed vessels under command of Commodore Chauncey, and having on board seventeen hundred troops, commanded by Generals Dearborn and Pike, sailed from Sackett's Harbor, and on the following evening appeared before Toronto. General Sheaffe, who commanded the British forces, had about seven hundred regulars and militia under him, and the defences were in a very bad condition. On the morning of the 27th the Americans, under General Pike, landed about three miles west of the city, although strongly opposed by the British. The fire from the American fleet quite overpowered the shore batteries, and enabled Pike to carry the first line of defences easily. The Americans advanced at once on the main works, when a mine was exploded by an artilleryman, and about two hundred of them killed; amongst these was General Pike, who was greatly esteemed by his men.

8.—General Sheaffe now concluded that he could not successfully defend Toronto against the fleet and superior land force of the enemy, and retreated with all his regulars towards Kingston, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Chewitt, with about 200 militia, to make the best terms possible for surrender. Before leaving Sheaffe blew up the magazine, set fire to a ship on the stocks which was almost completed, and destroyed some of the public stores. Chewitt capitulated about two o'clock, the militia being made prisoners of war on condition that all private property should be respected. The armed schooner *Duke of Gloucester*, which was undergoing repairs, also fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss to the British in killed and wounded was 130, and to the Americans rather more. The latter did not attempt to permanently hold Toronto; but having taken on board their ships all the public stores that could be removed, destroyed the remainder, and embarking on 2d May sailed for the head of Lake Ontario, the next point of attack being Fort George. General Sheaffe suffered much in the public estimation on account of his failure in defending Toronto, and of his retreat before the enemy. He was shortly afterwards superseded in the chief command in Upper Canada by Major-General De Rottenburg.

9.—The American troops were landed at Niagara, and Commodore Chauncey returned with the sick and wound-

ed to Sackett's Harbor to bring up reinforcements. This he succeeded in doing by the 25th May, and on that day the whole American fleet, with the exception of two vessels left to cruise off Kingston, had assembled before Fort George. The fort was by no means strong, the guns being small and the quantity of ammunition deficient, on account of the obstruction of navigation on the lake by the American fleet, and the difficulty of transporting supplies by land. On the 26th, Fort Niagara, on the American side of the river, opened a heavy fire which considerably damaged Fort George, and on the following morning the American fleet was formed in the shape of a crescent around the fort and opened a tremendous fire of shot and shell, under cover of which the landing of the enemy was attempted. This was gallantly resisted by General Vincent, who had about 1,000 men under him, for three hours; but after Colonel Winfield Scott had effected a landing, with 800 riflemen at Two Mile Creek, and General Lewis had established himself with 2,000 men on the beach below the fort, General Vincent, having the fort knocked almost to pieces, deemed it prudent to retreat with what force he had left. He accordingly caused the guns to be spiked, the magazine to be blown up, and retreated in excellent order towards Queenston, leaving the Americans to take possession of the shattered remnants of the fort. The British loss was 52 killed and about 300 wounded and missing; that of the Americans was 39 killed and 111 wounded. Vincent, having withdrawn the garrisons from Fort Erie and other points, retreated to Burlington Heights at the head of Lake Ontario, where he assembled a force of 1,500 men, thus leaving the Americans in possession of the Niagara frontier.

10.—The British meanwhile had not been idle in establishing a fleet on Lake Ontario; but as the British government seemed to ignore the fact that there were mechanics in Canada, and as fine timber as ever grew, and preferred to send men and half-built ships from England, the construction of the vessels was slow, and when they were built they were not as effective as the American vessels. On the 5th of May Sir George L. Yeo, a naval officer of some distinction, arrived at Quebec with nearly 500 English sailors and artisans, and at once proceeded to Kingston, where the fleet was put in an efficient state. The absence of the American fleet from Sackett's Harbor, on its expedition against Toronto and Lake George, was thought to be a favorable opportunity for a descent on Sackett's Harbor, which was the chief American naval depot on the lake, and the destruction of which would have been a very decisive blow at their supremacy in the inland seas. Sir George Prevost went from Montreal to Kingston, and after a conference with Sir George L. Yeo, a joint attack by land and water was decided on.

Capture of Fort
George by the
Americans. Re-
treat of General
Vincent.

General Sheaffe
retreats, and To-
ronto is captured.

Sir George Prevost
determines to
attack Sackett's
Harbor.

On the 27th of May the British fleet, consisting of the *Wolfe*, 24 guns; *Royal George*, 24; *Earl of Moira*, 18, and four schooners of ten guns each, left Kingston, having on board Sir George Prevost and about 1,000 men.

11.—At noon on the following day the fleet arrived opposite Sackett's Harbor, and the troops being transferred to batteaux, proceeded to land under an escort of two gunboats. About forty Indians who had pushed on ahead landed near Stony Point, and shortly after a convoy of boats from Oswego, bearing reinforcements to Sackett's Harbor, was discovered, and the Indians fired on them. The British boats bore down on them and succeeded in capturing twelve, containing about one hundred and fifty men, the remainder making good their escape into Sackett's Harbor. Sir George Prevost now suddenly determined that his force was not strong enough to carry the enemy's works, and returned to the fleet, thus losing an excellent opportunity for achieving an important victory, for the enemy was so weak, and had so little confidence in a successful resistance, that he was prepared to surrender almost at the first summons.

12.—The Americans immediately raised the alarm; the militia from all quarters came in in large numbers, and the regulars on Horse Island were withdrawn to the mainland. On the following morning (29th) Sir George Prevost changed his mind, and determined to land and assault the works. The landing was warmly contested, but Adjutant-General Baynes, effecting a landing, ordered his men to charge with the bayonet, and speedily drove the Americans to their fort and block-houses, while the British following set fire to the barracks which contained all the plunder taken from Toronto, and which was consumed by the flames, together with the buildings. At this point the American militia gallantly ran away, and raised such a dust in doing so that Sir George Prevost thought large reinforcements were arriving, and decided on a retreat, as the light winds had prevented the fleet from getting near enough to render any assistance, and he doubted his ability to carry the fort and block-houses without the help of heavy artillery. General Brown, who by the flight of the militia was left with only about four hundred men, had decided to abandon his position as untenable, and fired the store-houses, hospital, barracks, and a partially completed frigate on the stocks, preparatory to retreating. Indeed a portion of his men had already commenced to retire when it was discovered that the British were retreating, and the Americans returned in time to save their frigate; but the buildings and their contents were destroyed. The loss to the British was one officer and forty-seven men killed, and about two hundred wounded and missing. The American loss was also very heavy. The conduct of Sir George Prevost in retreating at the

moment when victory was within his grasp.—had in fact been won,—was severely criticised, and his military reputation received a shock from which it never recovered.

13.—While these reverses to the British arms were taking place on the Niagara frontier, and only Vincent's small force at Burlington Heights was left to oppose Dearborn's large army, the Americans were suffering another defeat in the west. Harrison, undeterred by the defeat of Winchester's division, persevered in his attempt to recapture Detroit and recover the Michigan territory; and early in the spring established himself at Fort Meigs, at the foot of the rapids on the Miami River, where he erected a number of block-houses and batteries, and awaited reinforcements before making a forward movement. But Proctor had no idea of allowing Harrison time to collect an overpowering army, and decided to attack him at once; accordingly on the 23d of April he advanced against the enemy, having with him five hundred and twenty regulars, four hundred and sixty militia, and about fifteen hundred Indians, with a few pieces of light artillery. The roads were exceedingly heavy, and it was not until the 1st of May that Proctor arrived before Fort Meigs and opened fire. It was soon found that his guns were too small to seriously damage the fort, and he did not have enough force of regulars to venture an assault, he therefore invested the place for a siege.

14.—On the morning of the 5th a body of Americans under Brigadier-General Clay, about twelve hundred strong, descended from Fort Defiance—a few miles above Fort Meigs—and attacked one of the British batteries, which they carried; but in pursuing the Indians, who retreated very steadily, they gave an opportunity to Proctor to push his main body between them and the river, thus cutting off their retreat. Hemmed in thus by the Indians in front and British in rear, the Americans made a determined resistance, losing about two hundred men before they surrendered. Above five hundred surrendered, some of whom were killed by the Indians, whose ferocity was with difficulty restrained; and one British soldier was killed and several wounded in their efforts to prevent the Indians from slaughtering the defenceless prisoners. The British loss was fifteen killed and forty-six wounded. A portion of the Canadian militia now murmured at having to undergo the fatigue of a siege; and the Indians declared their intention of taking their booty home, as was their custom after a successful fight, so that Proctor thought it most prudent to raise the siege, knowing that the Americans were now in too crippled a condition to undertake any offensive operations against Detroit; he therefore withdrew to Sandwich, taking with him all his guns and stores, and waited for further action on the part of Harrison.

Capture of twelve American batteaux.

Repulse of the British at Sackett's Harbor.

General Proctor invests Fort Meigs.

Defeat of the Americans at Fort Meigs.

15.—The fall of Toronto and Fort George, with Vincent's retreat to the head of the lake and Commodore Chauncey's powerful fleet commanding its waters, gave, General Dearborn's large army almost undisputed possession of the Niagara frontier. Shortly after the capture of Fort George, he dispatched three thousand infantry, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and nine field-pieces in pursuit of General Vincent, and the force encamped at Stony Creek on the 5th of June. Vincent had no intelligence of the advance of this formidable force until his pickets retreated, when he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He reported that the American camp was very much extended, the pickets few and careless, and recommended a night-attack, despite the great disparity of numbers, the British being barely seven hundred strong. Vincent agreed to this and placed Harvey in command, who moved to the attack about midnight, having just seven hundred and four men of the 8th and 49th regiments. The outlying pickets were surprised and captured without disturbing the main body, and Harvey threw his small force against the American centre, taking it entirely by surprise, and scattering them in all directions. Brigadiers Chandler and Winder and one hundred and twenty others were made prisoners, and the loss in killed and wounded was very heavy. Four guns and three tumbrels were also captured, and Harvey wisely withdrew his men in the darkness before their scanty numbers could be ascertained. The British loss was also heavy, being one officer and twenty-two men killed, and twelve officers and one hundred and seventy men wounded and missing. This brilliant exploit changed the American advance into a retreat; and on the following morning they destroyed all their incumbrances and fell back rapidly on Forty-Mile Creek, ten miles in the rear, where they were met by General Lewis with a strong detachment of the army from Fort George.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

UPPER CANADA—THE AMERICAN WAR—1813.

- 1.—VINCENT'S ARMY REINFORCED BY COMMODORE YEO.
- 2. DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS AT BEAVER DAMS.
- 3. DESTRUCTION OF FORT SCHLOSSER BY THE BRITISH.—4. UNSUCCESSFUL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST FORT GEORGE BY THE BRITISH.—5. OPERATIONS ON THE LAKE. SECOND BURNING OF TORONTO.—6. OPERATIONS OF THE FLEETS ON LAKE ONTARIO DURING THE SUMMER.—7. REPULSE OF THE BRITISH AT FORT STEPHENSON.—8. CAPTURE BY THE AMERI-

CANS OF THE BRITISH FLEET ON LAKE ERIE.—9. PROCTOR FORCED TO RETREAT.—10. DEFEAT OF PROCTOR AT MORAVIAN TOWN.—11. RETREAT OF THE BRITISH FROM BEFORE FORT GEORGE.—12. THE AMERICANS PREPARE TO INVADE LOWER CANADA.—13. DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS AT CHRYSLER'S FARM.—14. THE AMERICANS GO INTO WINTER-QUARTERS.—15. BURNING OF NEWARK BY THE AMERICANS.—16. DESTRUCTION OF LEWISTON, BLACK ROCK AND BUFFALO BY THE BRITISH.—17. END OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

1.—While these military events had been progressing, Commodore Yeo had been making every effort to increase the efficiency of the fleet on Lake Ontario, and was at length enabled to ^{Vincent's army reinforced by Commodore Yeo.} show so formidable a force that the American fleet was forced to retire to Sackett's Harbor. Advantage was at once taken of this to reinforce Vincent's army, and on the 3d of June Commodore Yeo sailed with his squadron for the head of the lake, having on board two hundred and eighty men of the Eighth regiment and a quantity of provisions and clothing. He arrived off Forty-Mile Creek on the evening of the seventh, and summoned the Americans to surrender, on which they retreated precipitately to Fort George, leaving their wounded, tents, provisions, &c., behind them. Twelve boats laden with baggage were also captured. Dearborn's army was now reduced by sickness, desertions, and killed or captured in battle, to about five thousand men, who were concentrated at Fort George; but the men were undisciplined and dispirited, and although the British force was not one third of their number, they were now acting more on the defensive than the offensive.

2.—Dearborn's misfortunes were not yet ended. The British had established a post at Beaver Dams, a few miles from Queenston. The post was ^{Defeat of the Americans at Beaver Dams.} commanded by Lieutenant Fitzgibbon with about fifty men. On the 8th, Dearborn despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler with six hundred men and fifty cavalry to dislodge the British. By some means a Mrs. Secord, of Chippewa, whose husband had been wounded at Queenston, and whose house had been burned by the Americans, got information of the intended attack, and during the night walked nineteen miles to Beaver Dams to warn Lieutenant Fitzgibbon.* That officer lost no time in apprising Captain Ker, who with thirty-four men of the 104th, and about two hundred Indians, was in the neighborhood; and sending information to Major DeHaren, who with the light company of the 8th, two flank companies of the 104th, and a small body of

* When H. R. H. the Prince of Wales visited Canada in 1860, he saw Mrs. Secord and caused her to be presented with one hundred pounds as a token of his appreciation of her noble conduct.

Provincial militia, was in his rear. The advance of the Americans was checked by Captain Ker and his Indians, and a sharp action of about two hours' duration ensued, when the Americans commenced to retreat. Just then Lieutenant Fitzgibbon came up with his forty-six men and summoned Boerstler to surrender, which he did, very much to the surprise of the British officer, whose force, including Indians, did not number three hundred men, while the Americans surrendered five hundred and twelve men, two field-pieces, and a stand of colors. This last disaster completely ruined Dearborn's military reputation; and he was shortly after superseded by Major-General Wilkinson.

3.—The Americans, although still numbering two to one of the British, were now penned up in the neighborhood of Fort George, the British forming a line from Twelve-Mile Creek, on Lake Ontario, across to Queenston, on the Niagara River. The dispirited condition of the Americans gave the British several opportunities of crossing the boundary and inflicting punishment on the Americans in their own territory. On the night of the 4th July the small American post of Fort Schlosser was surprised by Colonel Clark, of the militia, and the guard, a brass field-piece, fifty stands of arms, a quantity of stores and a gun-boat captured. Just that day week Lieutenant-Colonel Bishopp, with two hundred and forty men of the 8th, 41st and 49th regiments, crossed to the American side and surprised the post of Black Rock, destroying the barracks, store-houses, dock-yard with one vessel in it, and block-houses, and capturing and carrying off seven pieces of ordnance, two hundred stands of arms and a large quantity of stores. General Porter, however, collected a large force of American militia and endeavored unsuccessfully to obstruct the British retreat; but in the skirmish Colonel Bishopp and twelve men were killed and a number wounded.

4.—During the greater part of August the two armies remained within a short distance of each other without any further encounters, until the arrival of Sir George Prevost, when it was confidently expected that the American position at Fort George would be assailed and the invader driven from Canadian soil. On the 24th Sir George made a demonstration against the fort with the avowed intention of drawing the enemy out; but although Wilkinson had four thousand men, and was supported by batteries on the other side of the river, he declined to leave his intrenchments, and Sir George Prevost not deeming the recovery of the place worth the risk, decided not to venture an attack, but contented himself with a close investment of the place, although the whole British force in the neighborhood did not exceed two thousand men. His action, however, was very distasteful to the army and the public, who had be-

come so accustomed to see large bodies of Americans held in check, or defeated, by such inferior numbers of British and Canadian militia, that they considered two to one no odds at all, or rather that the odds were in their favor, and the refusal of Sir George Prevost to attack Fort George sunk his reputation as a soldier greatly in public estimation, where he had already suffered greatly on account of his unsuccessful attack on Sackett's Harbor in May.

5.—Commodore Yeo, meanwhile, swept Lake Ontario with the British fleet, and furnished Vincent's army with a good supply of provisions; while Commodore Chauncey remained at Sackett's Harbor, busily engaged in completing his new ship, the *Pike*, which was very large and formidable, and would give him a superiority on the lake. Early in July Yeo fitted out a boat expedition to enter Sackett's Harbor at night and destroy this vessel; but the project failed through two deserters giving information to the Americans, and the British were obliged to return to Kingston without having accomplished their object. By the end of July Chauncey had completed the *Pike*; and, the American navy being now superior to the British, an attack on Burlington Heights was determined on. Colonel Winfield Scott, with a company of artillery and a considerable body of troops was embarked and proceeded to Burlington Heights, which was the main depot of Vincent's army. The intention of the enemy being suspected, Lieutenant-Colonel Battersly with the Glengarry regiment advanced from Toronto, thus leaving that point undefended. The Americans, finding their design on Burlington Heights frustrated, and learning that the troops had been withdrawn from Toronto, proceeded to that place, and landing the troops without opposition, burned the public store-houses and barracks, liberated the prisoners in the jail, and after ill-treating some of the inhabitants re-embarked for Niagara.

6.—The American fleet on Lake Ontario now numbered two ships, one brig and eleven schooners, and were more heavily armed and better manned than the British fleet, which only numbered six vessels, with a total of ninety-seven guns; yet the American commander, Commodore Chauncey, did not endeavor to force an engagement, and although some minor encounters, which we shall briefly summarize, took place, no general engagement occurred; Commodore Yeo, on his part, was equally cautious, and both commanders appeared to be afraid to risk a general encounter without being well assured of victory, the importance of having means of water communication being well appreciated by both Chauncey and Yeo. The British fleet sailed from Kingston on the last day of July, with supplies for the army at the head of the lake, and on the 8th of August looked into Niagara, where the enemy's

Destruction of Fort Schlosser by the British.

Operations on the Lake. Second burning of Toronto.

Operations of the Fleet on Lake Ontario during the summer.

fleet lay moored. The latter hove up, and bore down upon the British fleet, with which they manœuvred until the 10th, on which day the *Julia* and *Growler*, two small vessels of forty men each, were cut off and captured by the British. Commodore Chauncey, somewhat disheartened with the loss of these, and two other small vessels, the *Scourge* and *Hamilton*, of eight and nine guns respectively, upset by a press of sail while attempting to escape the British, with the loss of all hands, except sixteen men picked up by the British, bore up for Niagara, from whence the Americans sailed almost immediately for Sackett's Harbor, where their fleet arrived on 13th August. Commodore Chauncey here provisioned his fleet, and instantly made sail for Niagara, where he remained at anchor until the British fleet appeared off that harbor, early in the morning of the 7th September, when the American fleet again weighed and bore down upon the British, with whom they manœuvred until the 12th, when the latter retired to Amherst Bay, near Kingston. During these five days but few shots were exchanged between the large ships, and without any injury to either side. The Americans, however, had much the advantage in weight of metal and long guns. The fleets again met on 28th September, off York, when an engagement ensued for nearly two hours, in which the *Wolfe*, commanded by Sir James Yeo, lost her main and mizen top-masts, and would probably have been captured had not the *Royal George*, commanded by Captain Mulcaster, run in between the *Wolfe* and the *Pike*, taking the latter in a raking position, so as to afford the *Wolfe* an opportunity of falling off and clearing away the wreck. This affair terminated in the retreat of the British fleet under Burlington Heights, whither the Americans did not think proper to pursue it; a resolution which, if adopted by the American commander, would probably have been fatal to the British fleet on Lake Ontario. On the first of October the American fleet set sail from Fort George with a convoy of troops for Sackett's Harbor, where an expedition was preparing whose destination was as yet unknown. The British fleet left their anchorage under Burlington Heights on the next day, and came in sight of the enemy, but no attempt was made to bring on a general engagement. The American fleet, on their way to Sackett's Harbor, fell in with and captured five small vessels out of seven, with upwards of two hundred and fifty men of DeWatterville's regiment, from York, bound for Kingston, where an attack was apprehended. This loss, though apparently trifling in itself, was severely felt. For the remainder of the season nothing of moment occurred on this lake.

7.—Affairs during the summer assumed a threatening aspect for the British in the Michigan Territory. Both

Repulse of the British at Fort Stephenson.

British and Americans were exerting themselves to obtain the naval supremacy on Lake Erie, while Harrison's

army, now numbering about six thousand men, threatened Proctor's army. An attempt to surprise Fort Meigs was made at the end of July, but the effort was abandoned when it was found that the enemy was on the alert. Another attack was made on the British on the second of August, this time on Fort Stephenson (Lower Sandusky), on the Sandusky River, which Proctor attempted to take by storm. After a brisk cannonade and a sharp encounter, Proctor was forced to retreat, having lost three officers and fifty-two men killed, or captured, and forty-one wounded. Proctor, finding that his guns were not of sufficiently heavy calibre to overpower the fire of the Americans, and also fearful of a general advance of the whole of Harrison's army, withdrew towards Amherstburg.

8.—General Harrison was only awaiting the completion of the fleet which the Americans were fitting out at Presqu' Isle, under command of Commodore Perry, before attacking Proctor, and attempting to recapture Detroit

Capture by the Americans of the British fleet on Lake Erie.

and regain the Michigan Territory. Captain Barclay, who had early in the summer assumed the command of the British squadron on Lake Erie, blockaded the American fleet at Presqu' Isle, which he could easily do, as the sand-bar across the harbor made it difficult for the enemy to get out without unshipping his guns. This was easily accomplished until the end of August, when Barclay had to go to Long Point for supplies, and the American fleet at once took advantage of the opportunity to get out of the harbor. Barclay, on his return, finding the enemy ready for the lake, and too powerful for his small squadron, bore away for Amherstburg, to await the equipment of the *Detroit*, recently launched. Commodore Perry sailed shortly after him for the head of the lake, and appeared at the commencement of September, for several days successively, off Amherstburg, in defiance of the British squadron, retiring every evening to his anchorage at Put-in-Bay. The forces under Proctor falling short of supplies, for which they depended solely upon the fleet, Captain Barclay had no other alternative than to risk a general engagement. With this resolution he made sail from Amherstburg on the 9th of September, his small fleet being most ineffectually manned, less than sixty of the crews being seamen, of whom thirty-six were sent by Sir James Yeo from Lake Ontario. Detachments of the 41st and Royal Newfoundland regiments acted as marines. On the morning of the 10th the enemy's fleet were descried at anchor in Put-in-Bay; and immediately weighed anchor and bore down on the British squadron, while a light wind from the south-west, veering round to the south-east, gave the enemy the weather gauge. At a quarter before twelve the British opened fire, which was returned by the enemy in about ten minutes, and he then bore up for close action. The engagement continued with

unabated fury for two hours and a half, when the American flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, being rendered unmanageable. Commodore Perry left her in charge of his first lieutenant, Yarnal, and hoisted his pennant on board the *Niagara*. Soon after Perry left the *Lawrence* she struck her colors, but the British had not a boat with which to take possession of her. At this juncture fortune seemed to favor the British, and even Perry gave up all hopes of victory; but a breeze springing up gave Perry an opportunity to redeem the fortunes of the day, of which he did not fail to avail himself. Finding that the *Niagara* had suffered very little in the engagement, he shot ahead of the *Lady Prevost*, *Queen Charlotte* and *Hunter*, raking them with his starboard guns, and engaged the *Detroit*, which vessel soon became unmanageable. The *Niagara* then wore round ahead of the *Queen Charlotte*, and, hauling up on the starboard tack, engaged that ship, giving at the same time a raking fire with her larboard guns to the *Chippewa* and *Little Belt*, while the smaller American vessels closing to grape and canister distance, maintained a tremendous and most destructive fire. This masterly and successful manœuvre decided the contest. Captain Barclay being severely and dangerously wounded, Captain Finnis, of the *Queen Charlotte*, killed, and every commander or second in command either dead or wounded, the British were forced to surrender, and the whole fleet fell into the hands of Commodore Perry, thus giving the Americans entire control of the lake.

The effect of this defeat of the navy was soon felt by Proctor, who was thus left without means of obtaining supplies, and he was forced to abandon Detroit, and fall back on Burlington Heights, withdrawing what forces there were at Amherstburg and other posts in the west. His retreat commenced on 26th September, when he evacuated Detroit, after having destroyed the public stores, and his line of march lay along the river Thames. His force numbered less than one thousand men, and he was accompanied in his reverses by the brave and faithful Tecumseh and about five hundred Indians. Proctor's reverses seem to have demoralized him, and he showed more bad qualities as a general than could have been suspected of an officer of his tried courage and ability. He over-encumbered himself with unnecessary baggage, and committed the great fault of neglecting to break down the bridges in his rear, so that Harrison, with his powerful and well-equipped army, could follow him easily. The American general was not slow in following the retreating British, and thanks to Proctor's negligence in leaving the bridges standing, came up with the rear-guard on the 4th October, and captured the whole of the ammunition and stores.

10.—Proctor was now compelled to risk a battle, although the enemy was more than four to one against

all the force he could bring together to oppose him, including Indians. He accordingly halted at Moravian Town, an Indian village on the Thames, and awaited Harrison's coming. But here again his usual judgment seemed to forsake him, for his battle-field was not well chosen, and he did not attempt to strengthen his position by erecting any breast-works. His left, supported by one field-piece, rested on the right bank of the Thames, his right on a swamp about three hundred yards from the river, flanked by the whole Indian force. The intermediate ground was dry and somewhat elevated, and well covered with trees. General Harrison crossed the river early on the morning of the 5th, and on coming up with Proctor's army formed his men into two lines, and then commenced the battle by ordering a charge of his Kentucky horsemen, who rode easily amongst the trees and broke the British line. Proctor and a number of his officers and men ran away and made for Burlington Heights, when about two hundred and fifty joined Vincent's army; the remainder of the British, numbering over six hundred, were made prisoners of war. The loss in killed and wounded was—British, twelve killed, twenty-two wounded; Americans, seven killed, twenty-two wounded. The Indians fought with the utmost desperation until the death of their gallant chief Tecumseh, when they retreated, leaving thirty-three dead on the field. They, however, speedily rallied and greatly harassed the American rear as Harrison retreated to Detroit and Sandwich after Proctor's discomfiture. General Proctor was court-martialled at Montreal, in December, 1814, for his conduct on this occasion, and sentenced to be publicly reprimanded, and to be suspended from rank and pay for six months.

11.—The British still retained possession of Michillimackinac, and Harrison did not think it worth his while to reduce that post, as, isolated as it was, it must eventually capitulate if the Americans occupied the whole of Upper Canada, as they now confidently expected to do; he therefore sent all his disposable force to Niagara and Fort George. After Proctor's defeat, and the consequent advance of Harrison's army, General Vincent felt that he could no longer safely maintain the blockade of Fort-George, and he therefore withdrew to Burlington Heights, fearing the enemy, having possession of the lake, may land a body of troops at that important point and so cut off his retreat altogether. Early on the morning of the ninth October, the main body, with the baggage, retired from Fort George, leaving the pickets in position, so that it was not until the evening when the latter retired that the enemy knew that the British had raised the siege. A force of fifteen hundred men, under Brigadier-Generals McClure and Porter, was despatched in pursuit, but Colonel Murray, who commanded the rear-guard of the British, com-

Defeat of Proctor
at Moravian
Town.

Proctor forced to
retreat.

Retreat of the
British from be-
fore Fort George.

posed of seven companies of the 100th regiment and the light company of the 8th, effectually protected the retreat; and when Murray drew up his men at the already famous Stony Creek and offered battle, McClure did not think it prudent to attack him, and the retreat was effected in good order.

12—The success of Harrison, and the retreat of Vincent from Fort George, greatly elated the Americans, and they prepared for a general descent

The Americans prepare to invade Lower Canada.

upon Lower Canada, boasting that they would winter in Montreal. Wilkinson's army was to proceed down the St. Lawrence, while Hampton's army was to advance from Lake Champlain. About the end of October Wilkinson's army, numbering about nine thousand men, rendezvoused at Grenadier Island, near Kingston, and, on the 3d November, he commenced the descent of the St. Lawrence in about three hundred boats and batteaux escorted by gunboats. The British general, De Rottenburgh, who was in command at Kingston, and who expected an attack on that place, finding that the enemy proposed passing him and attacking Montreal, despatched a force of about eight hundred men, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, in pursuit of the enemy, with whom he came up on the eighth at Point Iroquois. On the previous day General Wilkinson had ordered Colonel Macomb to land, with twelve hundred men, on the British side of the river, and dislodge some militiamen who were posted there. Macomb's force was afterwards strengthened by Brown's, and a further body of men was landed at the foot of the Long Sault, the whole being under the command Brigadier-General Boyd. On the eleventh Morrison had pressed so close on Boyd's rear as to force him to give him battle, which he did at Chrysler's farm. This was "a square stand up fight," neither party having any advantage of ground or position, except that the Americans numbered two to one, as it was proved at the court-martial of General Wilkinson, which followed his retreat, that the Americans had over two thousand men engaged, while the British force did not number eleven hundred.

13—The most accurate description of the battle is the following extract from the official despatch of Lieutenant-

Defeat of the Americans at Chrysler's farm.

Colonel Morrison: "The enemy's force, consisting of two brigades of infantry, and a regiment of cavalry, amounting to between three and four thousand men, moved forward about two o'clock in the afternoon, from Chrysler's Point, and attacked our advance, which gradually fell back to the position selected for the detachment to occupy, the right resting on the river, and the left on a pine wood, exhibiting about seven hundred rods. The ground being open, the troops were thus disposed—the flank companies of the 49th regiment, the detachment of the Canadian regiment with one field-piece under Lieutenant-Colonel Pear-

son on the right; a little advanced on the road, three companies of the 89th regiment under Captain Barnes, with a gun formed in *echelon*, with the advance on its left, supporting it. The 49th and the 89th thrown more to the rear, with a gun, formed the main body and reserve, extending to the woods on the left, which were occupied by the voltigeurs, under Major Herriott, and the Indians under Lieutenant Anderson. At about half-past two the action became general, when the enemy endeavored, by moving forward a brigade from his right to turn our left, but was repulsed by the 89th regiment forming *en-potence* with the 49th regiment, and by moving forward, occasionally firing by platoons; his efforts were next directed against our right, and to repulse this movement, the 49th regiment took ground in that direction, in *echelon*, followed by the 89th. When within half musket shot the line was formed under a heavy but irregular fire from the enemy. The 49th was directed to charge their guns, posted opposite to ours, but it became necessary, when within a short distance of them, to check this forward movement, in consequence of a charge from their cavalry on the right, lest they should wheel about and fall upon the rear; but they were received in so gallant a manner by the companies of the 89th, under Captain Barnes, and the well-directed fire of the artillery, that they quickly retreated, and by a charge from those companies, one gun was gained. The enemy immediately concentrated his force to check our advance, but such was the steady countenance and well-directed fire of the troops and artillery, that about half-past four they gave way at all points from an exceeding strong position, endeavoring by their light infantry to cover their retreat, and were soon driven away by a judicious movement made by Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson. The detachment, for the night, occupied the ground from which the enemy had been driven."

14.—The battle Chrysler's farm is generally regarded as the most scientific display of the war, and its effect on the American cause was very great, as, ^{The Americans go into winter-quarters.} coming close on the repulse of Hampton by DeSalaberry at Chateauguay, it checked the threatened invasion of Lower Canada and relieved the people of that province from any further fear of attack that season. The loss of the British in this action was twenty-four killed and one hundred and forty-five wounded, while the Americans had one hundred and two killed and one hundred and thirty-seven wounded. After their defeat the Americans hastily re-embarked and followed the division of General Brown to Cornwall, who, unaware of the defeat, had continued his march to that place. Here Wilkinson expected to hear from Hampton; but when he learned of the repulse of that general's five thousand men by DeSalaberry's five hundred, he deemed it prudent to give up the idea of invasion, and crossing the river he retreated to French Mills, on the Salmon River,

where his boats and batteaux were scuttled, a number of wooden huts hastily erected, and the troops went into winter-quarters. Thus ended in defeat and disgrace the combined attempt to invade Lower Canada and capture Montreal.

15.—The scene shifts again to the Niagara frontier. On hearing of the reverses to Hampton and Wilkinson, the

Burning of Newark by the Americans.

American commander at Fort George, General McClure, determined to abandon that post and retreat to the American side of the river to go into winter-quarters; but he first—by order of General Armstrong, the United States Secretary of War—committed an act of fiendish cruelty and wanton destruction which has seldom been excelled in modern warfare. The winter had set in, and was unusually cold for December, yet on the tenth of that month General McClure ordered the peaceful inhabitants of Newark (Niagara) out of their homes, and set fire to the flourishing village, destroying about one hundred and fifty houses and rendering upwards of four hundred women and children houseless. Only one house in Newark escaped the flames. McClure then retreated to Fort Niagara, and the British, under Colonel Murray, occupied Fort George. The barbarity of the Americans in driving so many helpless women and children out into the severity of a Canadian winter inflamed both the army and the Canadians, and a cry of vengeance was raised. Lieutenant-General Drummond, who had succeeded Major-General DeRottenburgh in command, was not slow to respond to the call, and determined to carry the American fort at Niagara by surprise. Colonel Murray, at the head of five hundred and fifty men, crossed the river on the night of the eighteenth, and surprising the fort early on the morning of the nineteenth, carried it after a slight resistance. The American loss was sixty-seven killed, twelve wounded, and over three hundred prisoners, while the British had only six killed and five wounded. Twenty-seven pieces of ordnance, three thousand stand of arms, and an immense quantity of commissariat stores were captured.

16.—Immediately after the crossing of Murray, General Riall, with all the western Indians, and the 1st battalion of Royal Scots and the 41st regiment also crossed over to support the attack on Fort Niagara; but finding that so easily reduced he turned his attention to Lewiston, where the Americans had established a force and erected batteries with the avowed purpose of destroying the town of Queenston on the other side of the river. On the advance of the British the Americans fell back towards Black Rock and Buffalo, and Riall took possession of Lewiston, where he found two guns and a large quantity of stores. In retaliation for the wanton destruction of Newark, Lewiston was set on fire, as was also the village of Manchester, and other places on the frontier. Drum-

Destruction of Lewiston, Black Rock and Buffalo, by the British.

mond now determined to drive the Americans entirely from the Niagara district; and McClure on his part called out the local militia, but fearing to meet the storm he had raised by his wanton destruction of Newark, he resigned his command to General Hall, who soon found himself at the head of about two thousand men, and proceeded to make the best defense of Buffalo that he could. On the 28th December Drummond was at Chippewa, and on the night of the 30th General Riall, with about six hundred regulars and militia and one hundred Indians, crossed the Niagara River two miles below Black Rock, which post he attacked on the following morning. The Americans made a spirited resistance, but were driven from their position at Black Rock, as well as from Buffalo, and both places were burnt by the British; at the latter place three vessels belonging to Commodore Perry's squadron were also destroyed. The loss of the Americans in these engagements was nearly four hundred killed and wounded and one hundred and thirty prisoners, while the British lost thirty-one killed, and eighty-one wounded and missing.

17.—So ended in defeat and disgrace the American campaign of 1813. The fortunes of war had fluctuated a great deal during the year, but on the

whole the success was largely with the

End of the campaign of 1813.

British; the defeat of Proctor was more than counterbalanced by the driving of the Americans from the Niagara frontier, and the repulse of Hampton's and Wilkinson's combined attempt on Lower Canada, by a vastly inferior force, reflected great credit on the British arms. The inhuman style of warfare inaugurated by the Americans by the burning of Newark had been amply revenged; and although this wanton destruction of private property is always to be deplored, yet it must be admitted that the Americans had brought it on themselves. On the 14th January, 1814, Sir George Prevost issued a proclamation in which, after referring to the conduct of the American forces while occupying Canadian territory, and contrasting it with that of the British in the Michigan Territory, he says: "It will hardly be credited by those who shall hereafter read it in the pages of history, that in the enlightened era of the nineteenth century, and in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation calling itself civilized and Christian, had wantonly, and without the shadow of a pretext, forced 400 helpless women and children to quit their dwellings, and to be the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them. Yet such was the fate of Newark on the 10th December, a day which the inhabitants of Upper Canada can never forget, and the recollection of which cannot but nerve their arms when again opposed to their vindictive foe. On the night of that day, the American troops under Brigadier-General McClure, being about to evacuate Fort George, which they could no longer

retain, by an act of inhumanity disgraceful to themselves and to the nation to which they belong, set fire to upwards of one hundred and fifty houses, composing the beautiful village of Newark, and burned them to the ground, leaving without covering or shelter those 'innocent, unfortunate, distressed inhabitants,' whom the officer, by his proclamation, had previously engaged to protect. His excellency would have ill consulted the honor of his country, and the justice due to his majesty's injured and insulted subjects, had he permitted an act of such needless cruelty to pass unpunished, or had he failed to visit, whenever the opportunity arrived, upon the inhabitants of the neighboring American frontier, the calamities thus inflicted upon those of our own. The opportunity has occurred, and a full measure of retaliation has taken place, such as it is hoped will teach the enemy to respect in future the laws of war, and recall him to a sense of what is due to himself as well as to us. In the further prosecution of the contest to which so extraordinary a character has been given, his excellency must be guided by the course of conduct which the enemy will hereafter pursue. Lamenting as his excellency does, the necessity imposed upon him of retaliating upon the subjects of America the miseries inflicted upon the inhabitants of Newark, it is not his intention to pursue further a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings, and so little congenial to the British character, unless the future measures of the enemy should compel him again to resort to it."

CHAPTER XC.

UPPER CANADA—THE AMERICAN WAR—1814.

1.—CAPTURE OF OSWEGO BY THE BRITISH.—2. UNSUCCESSFUL BOAT ATTACK.—3. THE AMERICANS AGAIN INVADE UPPER CANADA.—4. DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH AT CHIPPEWA.—5. VICTORY OF THE BRITISH AT LUNDY'S LANE.—6. REPULSE OF THE BRITISH BEFORE FORT ERIE.—7. OPERATIONS IN THE WEST.—8. CLOSE OF THE WAR.

1.—The military operations during the winter were not of a very serious nature, being confined to a few small excursions into the enemy's territory.

Capture of Oswego by the British. The campaign of 1814 opened in Lower Canada, where, as we have already seen, General Wilkinson was repulsed by the British at LaColle mill on 30th March. On the fourth of May General Drummond sent an expedition of about twelve hundred men against Oswego, which was the principal depot of the Americans on the lake. The place was defended by a fort and about three hundred troops, but was easily

captured, the fortifications destroyed and a large quantity of stores either burned or carried off. The loss to the British was twenty-two killed and seventy-three wounded. The Americans lost about sixty men. The British retired to Kingston after this exploit, and remained there until the end of the month, when the fleet, which was now more powerful than the American, blockaded Sackett's Harbor, in order to intercept the supplies necessary for the completion of some new vessels being built there, which were being forwarded from Oswego. On the 29th May a boat loaded with two twenty-four pound guns and some cordage was captured by the British, and it was ascertained that she formed part of a fleet of sixteen boats which had left Oswego for Sackett's Harbor, laden with naval and military stores.

2.—Captains Popham and Spilsbury, with two gunboats and five barges, were despatched in search of the enemy's boats, which were ascertained to have taken refuge in Sandy Creek. Thither Unsuccessful boat attack. the British pursued them, and on the morning of the 31st the boats from the British squadron reconnoitred the enemy's position, and Captains Popham and Spilsbury decided on risking an attack, although they knew that it was dangerous, as the enemy was numerous and in good position. The boats advanced cautiously up the creek to within half a mile of the enemy, when parties were landed on each bank, thus flanking the gunboats. The advance was successfully conducted until a bend in the creek was reached which exposed the enemy's boats to view, when the sixty-eight pound bow gun of one of the British gunboats became disabled and it was necessary to pull the vessel round so as to bring her stern gun to bear. This movement was taken by the Americans as an indication of a retreat, and they immediately advanced their whole strength, consisting of one hundred and fifty riflemen and two hundred Indians, supported by a strong body of cavalry and militia. The British force numbered about two hundred, and, being unable to re-embark, was forced to surrender after eighteen had been killed and fifty wounded. Captain Popham acknowledged in his official report that he was under great obligations to Major Appling, who commanded the riflemen, for saving the lives of many of his officers and men who were being killed by the Indians.

3.—The American army on the Niagara frontier, commanded by General Brown, began early in the summer to concentrate at Buffalo, Black Rock, and other points; and on the morning of the The Americans again invade Upper Canada. 3d of July, two brigades, under command of Brigadier-Generals Scott and Ripley, crossed the river and landed without opposition, near Fort Erie, one brigade landing about a mile above, and the other a mile below the fort. Major Buck, with about seventy men of the 8th regiment, commanded the fort, which had been put in a

good state of defense, with a view of delaying the enemy in the event of his crossing at that point; but Major Buck was too careful of himself and his men, and abandoned the fort without firing a shot. This error of Buck's was fatal to the British; for although Fort Erie could not have been held for any length of time, still a few hours' defense would have enabled General Riall to concentrate his forces and attack the Americans before they were firmly established on Canadian soil. As it was, the Americans were permitted to occupy this important post without opposition, and transfer all the troops they pleased to the Canadian side of the river unmolested. On the following day, General Brown advanced his whole force, over four thousand men, to the Plains of Chippewa, with the intention of taking possession of that place.

4.—On the 5th, General Riall, having been reinforced from Toronto, and having fifteen hundred regulars, six hundred militia, and three hundred Indians under his command, determined to attack Brown, whose force was upwards of four thousand men. Brown showed more generalship than any of the previous American commanders, and took up a strong position; his right, supported by artillery, rested on some stone buildings near the river, while his left extended to a wood, and was flanked by a strong body of riflemen and a number of Indians. The battle commenced about four o'clock in the afternoon, by an attack by the militia and Indians on the American riflemen, which was repulsed, and the action then became general. Again and again Riall attempted to break the American line, but was each time beaten back with heavy loss, and was finally forced to retreat, after losing one hundred and forty-eight killed, three hundred and twenty-one wounded and forty-six missing. The Americans stated their loss at seventy killed, two hundred and fifty wounded and twenty missing. This was the most stubbornly contested fight which had so far occurred, and showed that the Americans were improving in discipline, they fighting with great steadiness and bravery.

5.—Riall retreated towards Burlington Heights, throwing as strong garrisons as he could spare into Forts George, Niagara, and Mississauga, and was leisurely followed by Brown, who occupied Queenston, and made demonstrations against Forts George and Mississauga, but did not attack them, as he found them strongly defended and the American navy on the lake was not in a condition to co-operate with him. On the 25th July Brown retreated towards Chippewa, after burning the village of St. David's. Riall pushed on in pursuit, when the Americans halted at Lundy's Lane (called Bridgewater by the Americans), and the most stubborn fight of the war ensued. We cannot do better than quote the report of General Drummond, who had arrived from Toronto that morning and taken command; he says:

"I embarked on board his majesty's schooner *Nelley*, at York, on Sunday evening the 24th instant, and reached Niagara at daybreak the following morning. Finding from Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker that Major-General Riall was understood to be moving towards the Falls of Niagara to support the advance of his division, which he had pushed on to that place on the preceding evening, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, with the 89th regiment, and a detachment of the Royals and Kings drawn from Forts George and Mississauga, to proceed to the same point, in order that with the united force I might act against the enemy (posted at Street Creek, with his advance at Chippewa) on my arrival, if it should be found expedient. I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker at the same time to proceed on the right bank of the river with three hundred of the 41st, and about two hundred of the Royal Scots and a body of Indian warriors, supported (on the river) by a party of armed seamen, under Captain Dobbs, R. N. The object of this movement was to disperse or capture a body of the enemy which was encamped at Lewiston. Some unavoidable delay having occurred in the march of the troops up the right bank, the enemy had moved off previous to Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker's arrival. I have to express myself satisfied with the exertions of that officer. Having refreshed the troops at Queenston, and having brought across the 41st Royals and Indians, I sent back the 41st and 100th regiment to form the garrisons of Forts George, Mississauga and Niagara, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker, and moved with the 89th, and detachments of the Royals and Kings, and light company of the 41st, in all about eight hundred men, to join Major-General Riall's division at the falls. When arrived within a few miles of that position, I met a report from Major-General Riall, that the enemy were advancing in great force. I immediately pushed on and joined the head of Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison's column, just as it reached the road leading towards the Beaver Dam, over the summit of the hill at Lundy's Lane. Instead of the whole of Major-General Riall's division, which I expected to have found occupying this position, I found it almost in the occupation of the enemy, whose columns were within six hundred yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding woods filled with his light troops. The advance of Major-General Riall's division, consisting of the Glengarry light infantry and incorporated militia, having commenced their retreat upon Fort George, I countermanded these corps, and formed the 89th regiment and the Royal Scots detachments, and 41st light companies, in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the great road; my two twenty-four pounder brass field guns a little advanced in front of the centre on the summit of the hill; the Glengarry light infantry on the right, the battalion of incorporated militia, and the detachment of the King's regiments on the left of the great road; the

Defeat of the British at Chippewa.

Victory of the British at Lundy's Lane.

squadron 19th light dragoons in the rear of the left, on the road. I had scarcely completed this formation when the whole front was warmly and closely engaged. The enemy's principal efforts were directed against our left and centre, and after repeated attacks, the troops on the left were partially forced back, and the enemy gained a momentary possession of the road. This gave him, however, no material advantage, as the troops which had been forced back formed in the rear of the 89th regiment, fronting the road, and securing the flank. It was during this short interval that Major-General Riall, having received a severe wound, was intercepted as he was passing to the rear, by a party of the enemy's cavalry, and made prisoner. In the centre, the repeated and determined attacks of the enemy were met by the 89th regiment, the detachments of the Royals and King's and the light company of the 41st regiment, with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and the enemy was constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. In so determined a manner were these attacks directed against our guns, that our artillerymen were bayoneted by the enemy, in that act of loading, and the muzzle of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of ours. The darkness of the night, during this extraordinary conflict, occasioned several uncommon incidents; our troops having for a moment been pushed back, some of our guns remained for a few minutes in the enemy's hands; they were, however, not only quickly recovered, but the two pieces, a six-pounder and a five-and-a-half-inch howitzer, which the enemy had brought up, were captured by us, together with several tumbrils; and in limbering up our guns at one period, one of the enemy's six-pounders was put, by mistake, upon a limber of ours, and one of our six-pounders limbered on one of his; by which means the pieces were exchanged; and thus, though we captured two of his guns, yet, as he obtained one of ours, we have only gained one gun. About nine o'clock (the action having commenced at six) there was a short intermission of firing, during which it appears the enemy was employed in bringing up the whole of his remaining force, and he shortly afterwards renewed his attack with fresh troops, but was everywhere repulsed, with equal gallantry and success. About this period the remainder of Major-General Riall's division, which had been ordered to retire on the advance of the enemy, consisting of the 103d regiment, under Colonel Scott, the head-quarter division of the Royal Scots, the head-quarter division of the 8th (or King's), flank companies 104th, some detachments of militia, joined the troops engaged; and I placed them in a second line, with the exception of the Royal Scots, and flank companies of the 104th, with which I prolonged my front line on the right, where I was apprehensive of the enemy's outflanking me. The enemy's efforts to carry the hill were continued until about midnight, when he had suffered so severely from the superior steadiness and dis-

cipline of his majesty's troops, that he gave up the contest, and returned with great precipitation to his camp beyond the Chippewa. On the following day he abandoned his camp, threw the greatest part of his baggage, camp equipage and provisions into the rapids, and having set fire to Street's mills, and destroyed the bridge at Chippewa, continued his retreat in great disorder towards Fort Erie. My light troops, cavalry, and Indians, are detached in pursuit, and to harass his retreat, which, I doubt not, he will continue until he reaches his own shore. The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action, cannot be estimated at less than fifteen hundred men, including several hundred prisoners left on our hands; his two commanding generals, Brown and Scott, are said to be wounded; his whole force, which has never been rated at less than five thousand, having been engaged. Enclosed, I have the honor to transmit a return of our loss, which has been very considerable. The number of troops under my command did not, for the first three hours, exceed sixteen hundred men; the addition of the troops under Colonel Scott did not increase it to more than two thousand eight hundred, of every description."

6.—This was the bloodiest battle of the campaign, the Americans owning to a loss of nine hundred and thirty killed and wounded and three hundred prisoners, while the British loss was eight hundred and seventy. The Americans ^{Repulse of the British before Fort Erie.} claim Lundy's Lane as a victory, but as the British held their position and Brown was forced to retreat, to be afterwards cooped up in Fort Erie by an army not half his strength, it is hard to tell on what basis the claim of a victory rests. Both the Americans—Brown and Scott—were wounded, and the command devolved upon Brigadier Ripley, who retreated to Fort Erie, the defenses of which he greatly strengthened; and General Gaines left Sackett's Harbor and assumed command of the American forces at Fort Erie. Drummond immediately invested the fort, although his army was not one half the strength of the Americans. On the night of the 12th August two American schooners, each carrying three guns, which were stationed near the fort to flank and advance against it, were captured by Captain Dobbs, R.N., who had some boats and batteaux brought overland from Niagara for the purpose. This elated the British, and Drummond opened fire on the 13th against the fort with such good effect that it was determined to attempt to take it by storm on the following night. Accordingly on the night of the 14th the British force was divided into three columns and moved silently to the attack, which was commenced early on the morning of the 15th. The two first columns succeeded in effecting a lodgment in the fort and held it for some time; but the third column failed to co-operate on account of the stubborn resistance of the enemy, and the explosion of a magazine in the portion of the fort held by the British,

killing and wounding great numbers, they were forced to retreat, leaving large numbers of dead and wounded and prisoners. The loss to the British in this unsuccessful attempt was very severe, one hundred and fifty-seven killed, three hundred and eight wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners; while the American loss was only eighty-four men in killed, wounded and missing. Drummond shortly after received reinforcements of two regiments, which scarcely more than covered his recent losses, but enabled him to hold the enemy penned up in Fort Erie.

7.—Meanwhile some slight operations had been taking place in the far west. Contrary to the expectation of the Americans, Fort Michillimackinac had been reinforced by Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald on 18th May, and early in July that officer despatched Lieutenant-Colonel McKay, with about six hundred men, to reduce Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, before which place he arrived on 17th, and summoned the garrison, consisting of seventy-five men, to surrender. This was at first refused, but after an American gunboat which guarded the fort had been forced to cut her cable and run from the fire of the British guns, the garrison saw further resistance was useless, and surrendered on the 19th. This was a most important trading-post, and its capture strengthened English influence with the Indians. A force of nine hundred men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, was sent to reduce Michillimackinac, but met with so warm a reception on its landing on 4th August that the Americans re-embarked, leaving seventeen men dead on the beach. Shortly after this the *Tigress* and *Scorpion*, two small American schooners who had been intercepting supplies, were captured, and no further demonstration was made against Michillimackinac during the war.

8.—The arrival of large reinforcements from England, amounting to about sixteen thousand men, enabled Sir George Prevost to assume the offensive. late in the summer, and with the unfortunate result of his attack on Plattsburgh we are already acquainted. The enemy at Fort Erie, on hearing of the British reverses at Plattsburgh, and aware that General Drummond had not been reinforced, made a sortie on the night of the seventeenth of September, and attacked the British lines with his whole force of nearly five thousand men. The attack was at first successful, and two batteries captured; but reinforcements arriving, the Americans were finally repulsed and driven back to the fort with a loss of five hundred and nine men killed wounded and missing; the British loss being about one hundred more. Drummond shortly after raised the siege of Fort Erie and retired to Chippewa; and on the 5th November General Brown, finding that the American fleet on the lake could not co-operate with him, destroyed the works at Fort Erie and retired to his own territory,

leaving the upper province once more in peace. The armies on both sides soon after went into winter-quarters, and before another campaign had been opened peace had been declared, and a most unnecessary and unprovoked war put an end to.

CHAPTER XCI.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF FRANCIS GORE, ESQ.

1. CONDITION OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.—2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF EMIGRATION. — 3. ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMON SCHOOLS. PREVIOUS EFFORTS TOWARDS EDUCATION. —4. ESTABLISHMENT OF A PARLIAMENTARY LIBRARY. —5. SUDDEN PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT BY MR. GORE.—6. DISSATISFACTION AT THE ARBITRARY CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR.—7. ARRIVAL OF MR. GOURLAY. HIS THIRTY-ONE QUESTIONS.—8. CONVENTION OF DELEGATES HELD AT TORONTO. RECALL OF MR. GORE.

1.—Peace was hailed with delight in both Canada and the United States. In the latter country the war may be said to have entirely ruined its trade and commerce. In spite of some brilliant naval victories, the British navy had driven American shipping from the ocean; over three thousand merchant vessels had been captured, the entire seaboard blockaded, and that so effectually that the exports in 1814 only amounted to a million and a half pounds, as against twenty-two millions in 1811, while the imports had dwindled from twenty-eight millions to three; more than half the merchants and traders were bankrupt, and taxation had increased to an enormous extent, while thousands of lives had been sacrificed and many flourishing homes made desolate. The war party of the United States, actuated by a desire of conquest and a wish to be revenged on England for fancied wrongs, took advantage of her being engaged in a European war, to endeavor to wrest Canada from her; but so thoroughly did they fail that in the treaty of peace signed at Ghent, on 24th December, 1814, not one word was said about the "right of search," which was the ostensible cause of the war, and not one foot of land did the States gain for all their wasted blood and treasure. On the other hand, the war had done much good to Canada. Of course, many homes were made desolate; there was mourning throughout the land for the loved ones who had poured out their life's blood to defend their homes, and the flow of emigration and the material prosperity had been checked; but still

Condition of Canada and the United States at the close of the war.

Close of the war.

the war had had a good effect on Canada, inasmuch as it tended to cement the people together, and to increase their devotion not only to the land of their adoption, but to the Mother Country. French, English, Irish, Scotch and Americans had all sunk their petty national jealousies, and become Canadians; and it was one of the most noticeable features of the war that amongst the most loyal class were the Americans who had settled in Canada, not the United Empire Loyalists alone, but those who had emigrated since the independence of the United States, of their own accord, and not on account of political persecution. In fact the Canadians of all classes seemed to be impressed with the idea that there was room enough on this continent for two nations, and fought for their idea with more stubbornness and determination than the Americans did for their idea that America was made for the Americans, and that no other flag than the stars and stripes had any right to float over any portion of this continent. Financially, Canada flourished during the war; thanks to the supremacy of the British on the ocean, her trade and commerce was not materially affected, although agriculture was, of necessity, somewhat neglected on account of the embodiment of so many of the militia, and the frequent mobilization of the sedentary corps. Money was plentiful, and many fortunes were made, while taxes were not exorbitantly increased, as was the case in the United States, as the Mother Country paid nearly all the expenses of the war. Still the close of the war left Canada—especially the Upper Province, which had borne the brunt of it—greatly exhausted, and it took some time before her inhabitants could fall back into their old habits, and thoroughly resume their peaceful pursuits.

2.—Sir Gordon Drummond being called to the Lower Province to administer the government on the departure of Sir George Prevost, the affairs of Upper Canada were administered from April to July, 1815, by Lieutenant-General Sir George Murray, and from July to September, by Major-General Sir Frederick Robinson, when the Honorable Francis Gore, lieutenant-governor, returned. As soon as the province began to recover from the shock of war, one of the first subjects to attract attention was the importance of encouraging emigration, as well to replenish the loss caused by the war as to reclaim and cultivate the wild lands. The first practical step was taken in Edinburgh, where a proclamation was issued on 22d February, 1815, offering a free passage to emigrants of good character, with a grant of one hundred acres of land, and an additional hundred acres for each child on coming of age; provisions for a year were also given gratis, and all the requisite farming implements provided at half of first cost. As a guarantee of good faith on the part of the emigrants, a deposit of £16 was required to be made with the government agent, which was returnable as soon as the emigrant

had actually settled on the land. A large number of Scotch took advantage of this offer, and settled in the county of Lanark; but the emigration was not as great as was desired, and it was regarded as bad policy on the part of the government that it now discouraged emigration from the United States, refusing grants of land, and throwing other obstacles in the way of intending emigrants. This policy was particularly a short-sighted one in view of the extreme loyalty shown by the American settlers during the war, even amongst those who had not taken the oath of allegiance.

3.—On the 6th February, 1816, the lieutenant-governor met the Legislature, and one of the most important sessions ever held in Upper Canada was opened. We say most important, because Establishment of Common Schools. Previous efforts towards education. at this session was laid the nucleus of the present common-school system, the pride and glory of Ontario and the secret of her rapid and wonderful progress. This bill granted £600 a year for the payment of teachers and purchase of books, and although simple and direct in its provisions, served as the foundation on which has been built up the present common-school system of Canada; a system which received public acknowledgment from the world by bearing off the first prize at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia last year (1876): the prize of which Canada has most reason to be proud out of all the many prizes she took. As this is a most important turning-point in the history of Upper Canada, we will pause here for a moment to briefly epitomize the previous efforts which had been made in the matter of education. Six years after the establishment of the province, the first effort was made, in the shape of a memorial to Lord Dorchester, then governor-general, praying for the establishment of a public school at Kingston, or some other central place; and in compliance with this request a tract of wild land was set apart for school purposes; but nothing was ever realized from the land and no school built. In 1797, the Legislature addressed a memorial to His Majesty George III. on the subject of education; and in the following year the colonial secretary directed an endowment for free grammar schools and colleges to be created out of the sale of wild lands set apart for the purpose; but the revenue not proving sufficient, the Legislature in 1806 established a free grammar school in each of the eight districts into which Upper Canada was then divided. No further attempts at public education were made until the passage of the act referred to, at the opening of this paragraph.

4.—That public education engrossed a great deal of the attention of Parliament this session is also evidenced by the fact that an act was passed appropriating £800 for the purchase of a library Establishment of a Parliamentary Library. for both Houses, the foundation of the present very excellent Parliamentary Library of Ontario.

Amongst many other useful acts passed was one appropriating £1,000 to be used, in the way of bounties, in encouraging the cultivation of hemp. An act also passed granting salaries of £200 a year each to the speakers of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly. As we have already mentioned, England paid the expenses of the war, and the Legislature, in gratitude, passed an act appropriating £2,500 per annum towards defraying the expenses of the civil list, which was still a burden on the crown. But although the session was harmonious, the reaction which inevitably follows a state of war had begun to be felt, and soon showed itself in feelings of restlessness and uneasiness amongst the people. Three years' military experience had unsettled many for peaceful pursuits; and the sudden scarcity of money, caused by the cessation of the inflow from Great Britain to meet the war expenses, caused some discontent, and, as is usual, the people began to blame the administration.

5.—Unfortunately there was only too good ground for complaint against the government at this time. A little

Sudden prorogation of Parliament by Mr. Gore.

oligarchy of officeholders and government favorites ruled the province more for their own than the general good, and they, from self-interest, opposed anything which tended to decrease their own importance or detract from their profits, positive and prospective. The granting of public lands had been greatly abused; large tracts had been given to favored individuals who held them until actual settlers in the neighborhood made them valuable; and the people now turned their attention towards this as an abuse of power. Another cause of complaint was the Clergy Reserves. The Clergy Reserves act of 1791 set apart one seventh of what was then "the Province of Quebec" for "the support of a Protestant Clergy." The quantity of land thus reserved in Upper Canada amounted to about two millions and a-half of acres, and the members of the Church of England claimed the whole of this as the established Church of Canada. The Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and other denominations objected to this, and the question soon began to attract attention. The Parliament met on the 4th February, 1817, and the condition of the province soon occupied the attention of the Assembly. On the third of April, the House went into committee of the whole on the condition of the province, which it was intended to consider under four heads—the bad policy of throwing obstructions in the way of emigration from the United States; the insufficiency of the postal arrangements; the hindrance to the settlement of wild lands by the Church reserves, and the advisability of granting lands to the embodied militia who had served during the war. The discussion of these subjects was not at all palatable to the Family Compact party, which ruled the executive; and no sooner had the House passed three preliminary resolutions, than the lieutenant-governor

suddenly summoned it to the Council chamber and prorogued Parliament, curtly informing the Assembly that it had sat long enough and transacted all the business that was of any importance, and that he thanked it for the supplies granted to help pay the civil service list.

6.—This high-handed measure not only greatly astonished the Assembly, but aroused the indignation of the people, and caused much discussion. The Dissatisfaction at the arbitrary conduct of the Governor. matters which the Assembly were about to discuss were of the utmost importance to the general welfare of the province, and this sudden choking off of discussion on such serious subjects caused much dissatisfaction. The intended resolutions relating to Crown and Clergy Reserves affirmed that these being scattered in large tracts about the country, retarded settlements, as it prevented the formation of continuous townships which was so necessary for opening roads and keeping them in repair; and also recommended the sale of Crown lands instead of leasing them, as was their custom. The resolution relating to Clergy Reserve lands condemned the appropriation of one-seventh of all the lands as too much, and suggested that the imperial Parliament be petitioned to sell a portion of them, and retain a smaller quantity in future. Another of the resolutions dealt with the subject of emigration from the United States, which it was urged should rather be encouraged than discouraged by the government. There is little doubt but that these resolutions embodied the opinion of the majority of the community, but they smacked rather too much of "republicanism" to suit the high-tory oligarchy, and the discussion of them was promptly suppressed.

7.—While discontent was yet being felt at the summary dismissal of Parliament, Mr. Robert Gourlay, who was destined to figure somewhat prominently as a demagogue and agitator, arrived in the province in July, and soon contrived to get himself into hot water. Arrival of Mr. Gourlay. His thirty-one questions. Mr. Gourlay was a Scotchman whose father had possessed considerable property, but becoming bankrupt, his son leased a farm in England and went to some expense in improving it. It was not long, however, before he became involved in a number of lawsuits, and to avoid the trouble he had caused for himself he came to Canada with the idea of judging of its capacity, and, if he was satisfied, of ultimately settling there. Mr. Gourlay had distinguished himself in England as an agitator, and as he was fond of hunting up abuses, he soon found an opportunity to attack the administration here. Having determined to become a land agent, he set about acquiring some statistical knowledge of the country; and in order to do so proposed a series of thirty-one questions to the principal inhabitants of each township, thirty of which had reference to agriculture, &c., but the thirty-first had a decided political tendency, as the question was, "What, in your opinion, retards the im-

provement of your township in particular, or of the province in general; and what would most contribute to the same? Mr. Gourlay was severely attacked by the government party, and a large number of landholders were influenced not to reply to his questions at all, while others replied to all but the thirty-first. Still he received numerous replies, and the Crown and Clergy Reserves, and the wild land held by government favorites (which was not taxable until improved), were generally referred to as the main drawbacks to prosperity.

8.—The next session of Parliament was dismissed as summarily as the last by the governor, the moment a vote of inquiry into the state of the province was voted by the Assembly. This action again aroused the indignation of the people, and afforded an opportunity for Mr. Gourlay to find a grievance, which he was fond of doing. That gentleman was by no means silenced by the rebuff he had received with reference to his thirty-one questions; but had furnished numerous letters to the various newspapers—of which there were now seven in the province—in which he roundly abused the government. He now proposed that the different townships should elect deputies to meet in convention at Toronto, to draft a petition to the imperial Parliament to investigate the affairs of the province; and to employ an agent in England to support their views. This was virtually giving the province two Assemblies; but the convention met, and it was only by the strong opposition of government that no decisive action was taken on the resolution prepared by Mr. Gourlay. These he had published in advance, and the government, now thoroughly determined to get rid of so troublesome a customer as Mr. Gourlay, seized on one passage as highly libellous and had him indicted for criminal libel. The passage accused the colonial secretary of gross ignorance of the requirements of the province; denounced the general system of patronage and favoritism, and declared all the Canadian officials to be terribly corrupt. On this latter head he was exceedingly severe and sweeping in his charges, saying: "Corruption, indeed, has reached such a height in this province, that it is thought no other part of the British Empire witnesses the like. It matters not what characters fill situations of public trust at present; all sink beneath the dignity of men, and have become vitiated and weak." In the meanwhile Mr. Gore had been recalled, and after the affairs of the province had been administered for about a year by the Honorable Samuel Smith, Sir Peregrine Maitland was appointed lieutenant-governor and arrived in August, 1818.

CHAPTER XCII.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND.

1. ARREST OF MR. GOURLAY. HIS ACQUITTAL.—
2. PARLIAMENT PASSES AN ACT PROHIBITING ANY MORE CONVENTIONS.—
3. ARREST OF MR. GOURLAY UNDER THE ALIEN ACT.—
4. MR. GOURLAY IS EXPELLED FROM CANADA.—
5. SESSION OF 1820. PASSAGE OF IMPORTANT ACTS.—
6. BISHOP STRACHAN.—
7. SESSION OF 1821.—
8. REVENUE DIFFICULTIES WITH LOWER CANADA. THE CASE OF BARNABAS BIDWELL.—
9. REVIEW OF THE CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE IN 1822.—
10. EFFORTS TO BUILD THE WELLAND CANAL.—
11. PETITION TO IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT THAT PART OF CLERGY RESERVES BE GIVEN TO PRESBYTERIANS.—
12. DEFEAT OF THE FAMILY COMPACT PARTY.—
13. WANT OF HARMONY BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE ASSEMBLY.—
14. WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE. SHORT SKETCH OF HIS CAREER.—
15. BREACH BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE ASSEMBLY. THE CASE OF FORSYTH.—
16. THE HOUSE ASSERTS ITS DIGNITY. AGITATION ON THE QUESTION OF CLERGY RESERVES.—
17. IMPRISONMENT OF THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN FOR LIBEL.

1.—The arrival of a new governor was too good an opportunity for Mr. Gourlay to lose, and he immediately addressed a letter to Sir Peregrine in which he informed him that he (Gourlay) had been a year in the province, that he was under an indictment for libelling the government, and that he would be most happy to call on him and give him the advantage of his experience. Sir Peregrine did not avail himself of the offer, and four days after it was made Gourlay was arrested and imprisoned in Kingston jail, where he remained until the 20th of August, when he was tried and acquitted. The government had him re-arrested and tried in Brockville ten days afterwards, on another charge of libel based on the same petition, but he again succeeded in defeating the government, and became, for the moment, quite a popular person. But his success was short-lived, and he soon had not only the government but the Assembly against him, for that body looked on the meeting of the convention as an infringement of their privileges, and besides, they did not like the term "convention," as it was an American phrase and sounded too much like republicanism to suit so loyal an assembly.

2.—Parliament met on the 12th October, 1818, and the lieutenant-governor in opening the Houses brought

Parliament passes an act prohibiting any more conventions.

the matter directly under the notice of the Assembly. He said: "In the course of your investigations you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to excite discontent, and to organize sedition. Should it appear to you that a convention of delegates cannot exist without danger to the constitution, in framing a law of prevention your dispassionate wisdom will be careful that it shall not unwarily trespass on the sacred right of the subject to seek a redress of his grievances by petition." The Assembly was quite in the humor to meet the views suggested by the governor, and said in their reply to the address: "We remember that this favored land was assigned to our fathers as a retreat for suffering loyalty, and not as a sanctuary for sedition. We lament that the designs of one factious individual should have succeeded in drawing into the support of his vile machinations, so many honest men and loyal subjects of his majesty." To show that the Assembly was in earnest, Mr. Jonas Jones, of Brockville, introduced, on the 28th October, "an act for preventing certain meetings within this province," in which assemblages of a nature resembling the convention were prohibited; and, out of a House of thirteen, only one member voted against it. This act remained in force two years, and, singular to say, when its repeal was moved, only one member, Chief-Justice Robinson, voted in the negative.

3.—Public opinion now turned a little against Mr. Gourlay; but he was over-elated at his triumphs over the government, and prepared to settle permanently as a land agent. The executive, however, was determined to get rid of so obnoxious a person by fair means or foul, and a scheme was soon formed to force him to quit the country. The alien act of 1804, which had not been repealed, provided for the summary expulsion of any persons who had not been residents of the province, and who had given utterance to any seditious speeches, or been guilty of any seditious practices. Mr. Isaac Swaize, a member of the Assembly, swore that Mr. Gourlay had not resided in the province six months, and that he was a seditious person, upon which Mr. Gourlay was served with a notice, on the 21st December, to quit the province before the end of the year. This he refused to do, and was arrested and placed in jail at Niagara. He still had many friends, who were indignant at his treatment, and in February, 1819, he was brought before Chief-Justice Powell, at Toronto, on a writ of *habeas corpus*; but the judge refused to allow him to be released on bail and he was re-committed to prison.

4—The Assembly met again June, 1819, when the lieutenant-governor informed the Houses that he had received instructions from the Home government to grant wild lands to the embodied militia during the war; but added that he had

Mr. Gourlay is expelled from Canada.

taken it upon himself to refuse the grants to such persons as had taken part in the late convention. It was generally expected that the Assembly would take exception to this arbitrary assumption of power; but after a long debate it was endorsed by the casting vote of the speaker, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the people, who were strongly opposed to it, and determined to alter the complexion of the House at the next election. This was a fresh grievance for Mr. Gourlay, and he wrote several letters bitterly abusive of the executive, which appeared in the *Niagara Spectator*; this caused him to be treated with great unkindness in jail, and the paper was suppressed. As there was only one court a year held at Niagara, Gourlay was kept in prison a long while, and was so reduced by confinement and ill-usage that he was almost unconscious during his trial. He was not tried for sedition, but only for refusing to quit the country, which was a misdemeanor under the alien act, found guilty, and shortly afterwards compelled to go to the United States, where he remained a short time and then returned to England. In 1822, he published, in London, three volumes on Canada, which contains some useful information, mixed up with a great deal of abuse of individuals, self-conceit and intemperate language, which suggest that the temporary insanity which overcame him in 1824, was then in an incipient state. He continued his erratic career in England, after his recovery, and was imprisoned for striking Lord Brougham in the lobby of the House of Commons. He returned twice to Canada, and finally settled in Hamilton, in 1854, where he died, and where his family still reside. We have devoted considerable space to his case for two reasons; first, because although he was undoubtedly a very meddlesome and troublesome person to whatever government he lived under, still he was very harshly treated, and his persecution showed how despotic the government could be if opposed; and secondly, because his exertions bore good fruit by calling the attention of the people to the unconstitutional acts of the irresponsible executive and preparing their minds to demand responsible government. Mr. Gourlay's views were not all wild and visionary, for while he was in prison at Niagara he proposed the very check to extravagant speculation in wild land which was afterwards adopted, viz., taxation; and he also advocated, in the *Niagara Spectator*, the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence.

5.—As a general election would take place in the summer, and the population had increased to about one hundred and twenty thousand, it was deemed expedient to increase the number of representatives, and Parliament was accordingly convened on the 21st February, 1820, and an act passed which nearly doubled the number of representatives. At this session the bill prohibiting the Assembly of deputies in convention was repealed; it was an unpopular act, and

Session of 1820.
Passage of important acts.

the members did not like to face their constituents with it on the statute-book. An act regulating commerce with the United States was also passed, and the school act amended. The agitation caused by the attacks of Mr. Gourlay on the mal-administration of the public lands had borne fruit; and a bill was passed taxing these lands, which had the effect of checking speculation, as few of those who bought them had the means to carry them for any length of time, except they did so tax free. Parliament was dissolved on the 17th of March, and writs issued for a new election which took place in the summer, and caused some excitement, as the Reform party was now making vigorous efforts to break up the Family Compact. In this, however, they were unsuccessful, as when the House met for business on the 31st of January, 1821, the vote on the address showed that the Family Compact had held its own, and still possessed a majority in the Assembly, besides controlling the Legislative Council and the executive. Shortly before Parliament met, a proclamation in the *Upper Canada Gazette* announced that five new members had been called to the Legislative Council, one of whom was destined to play a conspicuous part in Canadian politics for some years to come,—this was the late Bishop Strachan, of Toronto.

6.—Bishop Strachan deserves more than a passing notice, and we will give a short sketch of his career here.

Born of poor peasant parents in Scotland, Bishop Strachan. he was at an early age thrown on his own resources, and having picked up a little classical knowledge in Aberdeen, he at the age of eighteen got a position as schoolmaster, and served in that capacity for about three years in Fifeshire, on a salary of £30 per annum. At the same time he was studying as an irregular scholar at St. Andrew's College, and intended entering the Presbyterian Church. In 1799 he accepted the position of tutor to the children of Mr. Cartwright, of Kingston, and came to Canada. Leaving this place he took charge of a district school at Cornwall, and there married a widow who possessed some means. He was still a Presbyterian, and was at this time in treaty with the congregation of St. Gabriel's Church, Montreal, for the pastorate, he agreeing to go home to Scotland to be ordained. The congregation, however, could not afford the salary he demanded,—£300 a year,—and he soon after turned his attention to the Church of England, which at that time enjoyed all the Clergy Reserves, and bid fair to become one of the richest church corporations in the world. He was ordained a deacon in May, 1803, by Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, made a priest the following year, and appointed to the mission of Cornwall, from whence he was promoted to the rectory of Toronto, and was for some years chaplain to the Legislative Council until appointed a member of that body. He was an ardent politician, a strong supporter of the Family Compact, and one of its

most devoted adherents until its final overthrow. Bishop Strachan died at Toronto on 2d November, 1867, at the age of eighty-nine. Speaking of his career McMullen, in his *History of Canada*, says: "The very education of Bishop Strachan prevented him from understanding the true temporal policy of the Church of England. He knew nothing originally of its literature. From the time that he attached himself to its ministry, his life was that of the bustling politician, rather than the scholastic divine, or the distinguished savan. He was felt in his own generation, to be forgotten by posterity. In an old and settled form of society he would never have emerged from the average mass of humanity. Sharp, practical, and clever, Canada was his true element. Everybody was beginning life; there was nothing to keep him down; where learning was a scarce article, a little went a long way. From the poor family tutor, he rose to be the district schoolmaster; another step, and he was enveloped in the surplice of the Episcopal minister. By being a clergyman, he became a politician; by being a politician, he became a bishop. His elevation did not take place because he was a distinguished author, or an illustrious divine. Yet even as a politician he was neither original nor profound. He did not create a system, nor originate a new era. He attached himself to a body already formed, and can only be regarded as an active partisan. As a partisan his influence was secret and secure, rather than open and exposed—of a depressing, rather than of an elevating character. Half a century must at least elapse before the Episcopal Church can have recovered from the evils of his impolitic sway. Whatever advantages it may have derived by his worldly shrewdness, or business sagacity, have been more than counterbalanced by the fact of its bishop having been a politician, and lacking that distinguished position, in scholarship and literature, which its principal divines have almost invariably arrived at."

7.—Sir Peregrine Maitland was not a very popular governor; he was too much influenced by the members of the Family Compact, and his cold, haughty and overbearing manner was better suited Session of 1821. to a martinet than to a civil governor; the fact also that he had eloped from Paris with the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, and that he was only appointed so as to provide for him, did not increase his popularity; and although the Assembly supported the executive, the feeling between the two branches of the Legislature was not a very cordial one. The speech from the throne was a very formal affair, and contained little beyond a formal announcement of the accession of George IV., a statement that emigration had improved, and forty new townships had been laid out in the past two years; another that the finances of the province were not in a very satisfactory condition, and a recommendation to protect the interests of true religion. Parliament was pro-

rogued on the 14th April, after having passed several useful bills, amongst them one granting an appropriation to aid the Rideau Canal; another establishing a uniform currency in the province, a third to the effect that no tithes or other ecclesiastical dues should ever be levied in Upper Canada. Nothing of special importance occurred during the summer. The lieutenant-governor made a tour through the provinces, and was well but not enthusiastically received. Business was dull, but money continued scarce, although the Bank of Upper Canada had been established, and agricultural produce sold very low on account of the want of means of transportation to take the surplus to the seaboard, flour being only worth about three dollars and a half to four dollars a barrel.

8.—The Houses were convened again on 21st November, 1821, and the governor in his speech referred to the Revenue difficulties with Lower Canada. The case of Barnabas Bidwell. difficulties which had arisen with the Lower Province with regard to the division of the customs duties, which were all collected in that province and afterwards divided as already stated in our chapters on Lower Canada. The House promptly took action on the suggestion of the governor, and appointed Attorney-General Robinson the agent of the province in England to urge their case before the imperial Parliament, and voted £2,000 to defray his expenses. A very novel case occurred this session. There had been an election to fill a vacancy in Lennox and Abbingdon, and a Mr. Barnabas Bidwell was returned. He had formerly resided in Massachusetts before the war of independence, and remaining there at its close took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and became attorney-general of the State of Massachusetts, treasurer of Berkshire County and member of Congress. In 1810 he was accused of embezzling the public funds and forging documents to cover up his defalcation; he did not await investigation, but fled at once to Canada, when, after a residence of twelve years he thought that the scandal had blown over and allowed himself to be nominated for the Assembly. He was a reformer and a personal friend of Gourlay's, and was easily returned, but his election was petitioned against on the ground that he was an immoral person, a fugitive from justice, and that he had taken the oath of allegiance to a foreign power. He was heard in defence in the House, but was expelled, although only by one vote, seventeen voting for his expulsion against sixteen. This was a new case, and to prevent its repetition the House passed an act rendering persons in his position ineligible to a seat in the Assembly. This act was found to be oppressive to American emigrants, and was repealed in 1824.

9.—The year 1822 was an uneventful one for Upper Canada. Emigration continued steady, new lands were Review of the condition of the Province in 1822. being continually taken up, and, although money still continued very scarce, both

agriculture and commerce flourished. Steamboats now ploughed the waters of all the main rivers and lakes; but the want of navigation of the St. Lawrence between Prescott and Montreal was sadly felt, and no other means of descending the rapids had yet been found than the old flat-bottomed batteaux used by the Indians and French nearly two centuries before. No canals yet afforded the means of ascending the rapids, and no steamer had yet been daring enough to attempt their descent. Farming continued to be of the most primitive style, no labor-saving machines being used, and the farmer literally earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. Smuggling from the United States was very common, and large quantities of lumber, tobacco, and other commodities were brought in without payment of duty. Attempts had been made to nullify the scarcity of a circulating medium by the establishment of banks in the large cities, with branches in the smaller towns; but faith in the bills issued by them had been greatly shaken by the "enterprise" of our American cousins, who counterfeited the new bills as fast as they came out, and flooded the country with them to the great disgust of the inhabitants and to the injury of the credit of the banks. The only event which caused any excitement was the proposed legislative union of the two provinces, which was mooted in the imperial Parliament, and to which reference has already been made. The scheme generally met with favor in the Upper Province, except the clause which raised the qualification of members from £80 to £500.

10.—The Legislature met on 15th January, 1823, and the Lenox and Abbingdon election again attracted a considerable attention. On Mr. Bidwell's Efforts to build the Welland Canal. expulsion a new election had been ordered, and a Mr. Clark elected by one hundred and twenty-eight votes, Mr. Marshall Spring Bidwell (son of Mr. Barnabas Bidwell), who opposed him, being declared ineligible on the ground that he was an alien. At the opening of the session a petition to set aside the election was presented, setting forth that Mr. Marshall Spring Bidwell, having been born in Massachusetts when that State was a British province, and never having taken the oath of allegiance to any foreign power, was a British subject, and could not be debarred from the Assembly on the ground that he was an alien. The House by a large majority declared the election null, and a new election was held, at which young Bidwell was again a candidate; but was defeated by Mr. G. Ham, a supporter of the Family Compact. The Legislature was adjourned on 19th March, without any bills of very particular interest having been passed. For some little time past the project of the Welland Canal had been mooted, but during this summer it was put before the public in tangible shape, principally at the instance of Hon. W. H. Merritt, of Niagara, to whose energy and perseverance



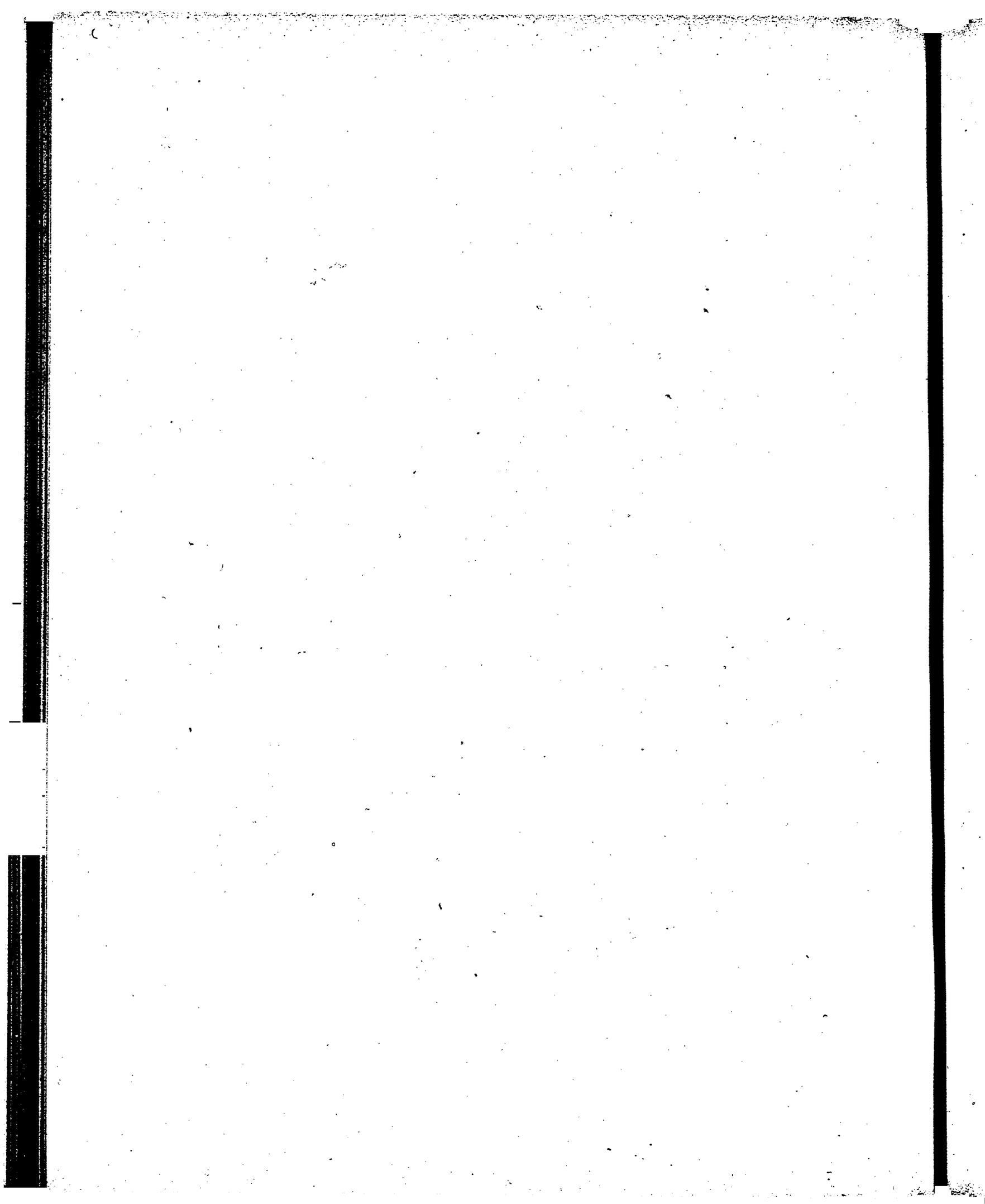
Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

ATTACK ON QUEBEC BY GENERAL MONTGOMERY, MORNING OF 31st DECEMBER, 1775.



Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

DEATH OF GENERAL BROCK AT THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, OCTOBER 13th, 1812.



Canada is mainly indebted for this great work which has played so important a part in the development of the country. Nothing of importance occurred during the summer; but as the fall approached there began to be some little excitement with regard to the general election to take place the following year, when it was expected that a vigorous effort against the Family Compact would be made by the Reform party.

11.—Parliament met again on 11th November, 1823, and from the lieutenant-governor's speech it would appear that the province had not yet quite recovered from the effects of the war; and that the revenue was still in an unsatisfactory condition. The most important bills occupying the attention of the House were those relating to religious matters; one was to allow Methodist ministers to solemnize marriages, which was passed by the Assembly, but rejected by the Legislative Council; another was with regard to the Clergy Reserves. We have already stated that considerable dissatisfaction prevailed on account of the Church of England claiming the whole of the Clergy Reserves; and the dissatisfaction now took a practical shape in the form of an address to the imperial Parliament,—which alone had jurisdiction in the matter, as the reserves were created by imperial statute,—praying that a portion of the reserves be appropriated to the Presbyterians, as the act set the lands apart for the benefit of Protestants, and the statute book of England, recognizing the Church of Scotland as a Protestant Church, the Presbyterians were entitled to a share of the fund. An effort was made this session to get a bill passed prohibiting Orange processions, but it failed; there was some strong feeling against these processions as tending to perpetuate religious ill-feeling, but they had, so far, been conducted with good order, and Dr. Strachan acted as chaplain of the organization. The House was prorogued on 19th January, 1824, and dissolved on 24th June, the election taking place on 19th August. During the summer the Canada Land Company was started under imperial charter for colonization purposes. The company purchased large lots of Clergy Reserve and crown lands and then resold them in small lots at considerable advance.

12.—Early in January, 1825, the Parliament building in Toronto was burned, but fortunately the library and furniture were saved. The loss was about £2,000. Parliament met on the 11th January, and great interest was manifested in the election of a speaker, as it was known that the parties were very evenly balanced. Mr. John Wilson, of Wentworth, was nominated by the reformers, and elected by a vote of twenty-one to nineteen, and for the first time the supporters of the Family Compact found themselves in a minority. The reformers were modest in their victory,

however, and attempted no violent reforms at first, and the session passed off quietly, there being plenty of talking but very little work, for after sitting three months the House had only passed seven bills; no supply bill was passed this year, as the Assembly cut down some of the items and the Council refused to concur in the bill. The reformers did not gain much popularity by their first session, as it was longer and more expensive than usual, and there was less done, facts which the press of the Family Compact did not fail to remind them of. One useful thing they did was to inquire into the management of the Post Office, and it was shown before a committee that many irregularities existed, that the bags were often filled with goods for private parties, that letters were frequently opened, and many missent through ignorance or carelessness. The committee advised that the department should be placed under provincial instead of imperial management.

13.—Nothing worthy of notice occurred during the summer, and Parliament met again on the 7th November. The opening speech and address in reply were longer than usual, but gave general satisfaction. In accordance with instructions from the Home office, the governor sent down a message recommending the passage of an act making more liberal provision for the naturalization of foreigners of all descriptions, and such a bill was passed by the Assembly but thrown out by the Council. An address to the king was also moved on the expediency of excluding judges from the executive council and of making them independent of the executive by making their appointments for life or during good conduct. A bill was also passed granting a bounty of £125 to any person who established a paper mill in the province; and altogether thirty-one bills were passed, eighteen of which, however, were rejected by the Council, which was still entirely under the control of the members of the Family Compact. Amongst these rejected bills was one repealing the Alien Act under which Gourlay had been banished. This division between two branches of the Legislature caused considerable dissatisfaction, and the people were beginning to feel restless and uneasy, a feeling which was carefully fostered by the partisan press, foremost amongst which stood the *Advocate*, edited by William Lyon Mackenzie, destined to play so prominent a part in Canadian affairs a few years later. The estimates for the current year amounted to £30,354, while the revenue was £33,560, so that at last Upper Canada could meet her civil list and leave a balance. The Legislature was prorogued on 30th January, and a few weeks after the governor went on a tour through the province, being very cordially received everywhere, although the Reform press claimed that the "loyal addresses," &c., did not express the real sentiments of the people.

Petition to Imperial Parliament that part of Clergy Reserves be given to Presbyterians.

Want of harmony between the Council and the Assembly.

Defeat of the "Family Compact" party.

14.—We now come to a circumstance which brought William Lyon Mackenzie more prominently into public notice than he had hitherto succeeded in thrusting himself, although he had tried hard to attain a notoriety somewhat of the Gourlay stamp; we shall, therefore, pause for a moment and devote a paragraph to introducing Mr. Mackenzie. William Lyon Mackenzie was the son of poor Scotch parents, and was born at Dundee in March, 1795. After leaving school he was apprenticed to a linen draper in Dundee, but soon changed to the office of a timber merchant, and before he was nineteen he had opened a small odds-and-ends shop in Alyth, where he failed in three years. In the spring of 1817 he went to England, and after serving as a clerk for some time came to Canada, in 1820. Here he first obtained employment with a surveying party on the Lachine Canal, afterwards opening a drug store in Toronto, next a general store in Dundas, and after that a similar store in Niagara. Never steady at anything, he soon became tired of his store, and having little education and less power or force as a writer, he thought himself just the person to conduct a newspaper, and, accordingly, on the 18th May, 1824, he published the first number of the *Colonial Advance*. He set himself up as self-appointed critic of everybody and everything from the governor downwards, reviewing most things with an unfavorable eye. He soon grew more pronounced in his opposition to the government, and was denounced by the organ of the Family Compact as disloyal, and his banishment demanded. But the government had had enough of that mode of proceeding in Gourlay's case, and Mackenzie was not interfered with. In November, 1824, he removed the office of the *Advocate* to Toronto, and set himself to work hunting up abuses in the various public departments. The *Advocate* had a very precarious existence—until the summer of 1826, and Mackenzie had determined on discontinuing it and removing either to Montreal or the United States, when, during his absence from home, a body of very respectable citizens, who felt outraged at the scurrilous articles he was in the habit of publishing, broke into his office, and completely wrecked his press, types, &c., while two magistrates stood coolly looking on. This gave him a momentary notoriety, and might have converted him into a martyr if the governor had countenanced the act in any way, but he did not. Sir Peregrine Maitland was on his summer tour at the time, but on his return he dismissed a clerk in his own office who had been concerned in the outrage, and left the law to take its course with the other offenders who had been arrested. The prompt action of the governor made him quite popular for the moment, and sympathy for Mackenzie died out a little. He sued the parties arrested for £2,000, and on 30th October, at Toronto, recovered judgment against them £650, the bulk of which was raised by subscription amongst the friends

William Lyon Mackenzie. Short sketch of his career.

of the Family Compact. The publication of the *Advocate* was resumed at the end of the year.

15.—Parliament met again on 5th December, 1826, and the governor congratulated the province on the advanced state of the public works, which he had visited during the summer. The Assembly, however, was in a bad humor, and in the address in reply censured the governor for receiving during his tour addresses which reflected on that body. The governor replied shortly that the assembly was disrespectful, and that he had acted correctly. Here the matter rested for the present; but this was the first time the Assembly had come into direct collision with the governor, and the breach was destined to widen. A number of useful bills were enacted, and also a Naturalization Bill, which was reserved by the governor for his majesty's pleasure, and afterwards rejected, much to the gratification of the people, who considered its provisions very illiberal. The question of the Clergy Reserves continued to attract attention, and the right of the Presbyterians to a portion of them was warmly urged in the press, and at public meetings. A very small affair occurred at Niagara in May, which, trifling as it was in itself, went far to show how anxious the Reform party was to find something to find fault with the governor about. A reserve of one chain in breadth along the bank of the river had been reserved by the government for military purposes, and this reservation was clearly expressed on all bills of sale. A Mr. Forsyth, who kept an inn near the Falls, and owned some property there, in fencing in his grounds included the government property, and as this prevented a view of a portion of the Falls, except by going through Mr. Forsyth's house, his neighbors petitioned the governor to have the fence removed. He at once ordered Captain Phillpots to notify Forsyth to remove the fence, which he did, and after Forsyth had several times refused to do so, Phillpots had the fence pulled down. This the Reform press magnified into a heinous offense on the part of the governor, and his unpopularity considerably increased.

Breach between the Governor and the Assembly. The case of Forsyth.

16.—The last session of the eighth Parliament of Upper Canada assembled on 15th January, 1828, but most of the members were so busy canvassing for the oncoming general election that it was the 18th before a quorum was gathered for despatch of business. The ill-feeling between the Assembly and the governor rapidly increased; his appointment of a clerk to the Assembly was considered a breach of the privileges of the House; and when Mr. Forsyth presented a petition for redress, the Assembly and the governor came into direct antagonism. The Assembly summoned Adjutant-General Coffin and Colonel Givens, Superintendent of Indian Affairs to give evidence in the Forsyth case, whereupon the governor ordered them

The House asserts its dignity. Agitation on the question of Clergy Reserves.



HON. A. J. SMITH.



HON. W. B. VAIL.



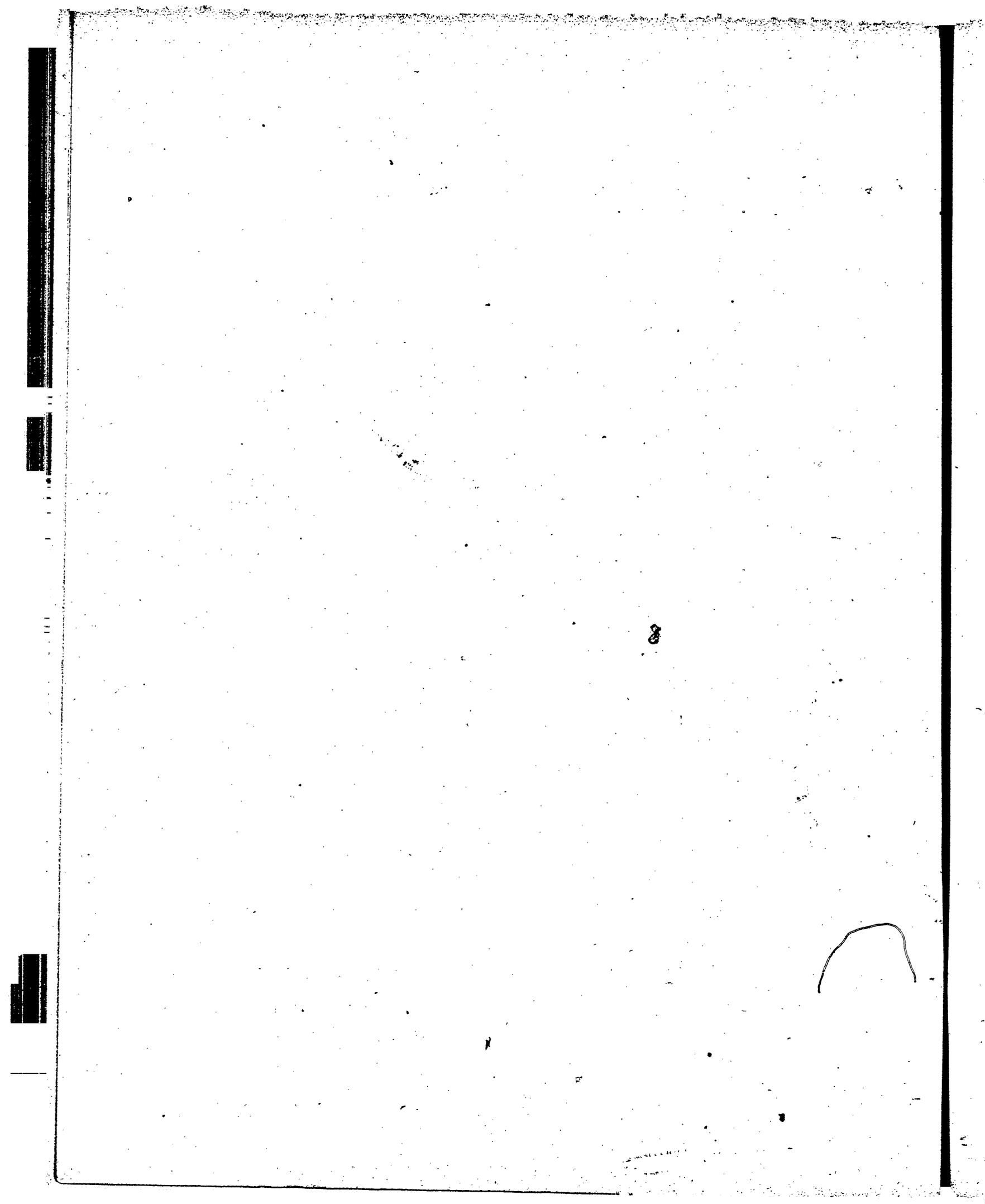
SIR JOHN ROSE.



HON. JAMES FERRIER.



HON. ISAAC BURPEE.



not to go, saying that the summons should have come through him as superior military officer. The Assembly ordered the sergeant-at-arms to arrest Coffin and Givens, which he did, after some trouble, and brought them to the bar of the House. But here a new difficulty occurred, for both officers refused to give evidence and were committed to jail until the House was prorogued. The committee reported in favor of Forsyth's petition, and censured the conduct of the governor as arbitrary and unjust. The question of the Clergy Reserves was again under discussion, and a good deal of bitter feeling was shown, the feeling against the Church of England appropriating the whole amount growing stronger and stronger. Another Naturalization bill was passed which met the royal assent, and so one long-standing cause of complaint was removed. After voting the supplies and passing a few useful bills, Parliament was prorogued on 25th March.

17.—As the elections grew nearer party spirit greatly increased, and the press became more bitter in its attacks.

Two libel suits were commenced by the governor against Mackenzie of the *Advocate*, and Collins of the *Canadian Freeman*, at the spring term. These cases were not pushed on account of Sir Peregrine Maitland's being transferred to the governorship of Nova Scotia; but Mr. Collins, not content with one libel suit, attacked Attorney-General Robinson on grounds connected with the case, and the attorney-general shortly after prosecuted Collins for libel. The case was tried at the Fall term and Collins was found guilty and sentenced to a year's imprisonment, to pay a fine of £50, and to find security for his future good conduct. Sir Peregrine Maitland was now rapidly growing very unpopular, and the feeling was increased by his treatment of Judge Willis, who had recently been appointed, and who had refused to join the Family Compact party. Judge Willis refused to sit in term in Toronto in June, and was immediately suspended and Mr. Hagerman appointed, temporarily, by the governor; the Home authorities did not, however, confirm Mr. Hagerman, but appointed Mr. Macauley. Sir Peregrine Maitland having left for Nova Scotia, Sir John Colborne assumed the reins of government in November, 1828.

CHAPTER XCIII.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

1. FIRST RETURN OF MACKENZIE TO PARLIAMENT.—
2. THE GOVERNOR REFUSES TO PARDON COLLINS.—
3. OPENING OF THE WELAND CANAL.— 4. SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS FOR LOSSES DURING THE WAR.— 5. GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN UPPER CANADA.—
6. RETURN TO POWER OF THE FAMILY COMPACT

PARTY. PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF THE CIVIL LIST.—7. ORGANIZED AGITATION FOR REFORM.—8. EXPULSION OF MACKENZIE FROM THE HOUSE. POPULAR FEELING IN HIS FAVOR.—9. CHOLERA. MACKENZIE AGAIN EXPELLED. JUDGES MADE INDEPENDENT OF THE CROWN.—10. RETURN OF THE REFORM PARTY TO POWER. THE "SEVENTH GRIEVANCE" REPORT.—11. ENDOWMENT OF FIFTY-SIX RECTORIES. RECALL OF SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

1.—The general election resulted in the return of a Reform majority, and amongst the new members was William Lyon Mackenzie, elected for the first time to represent the county of York. First return of Mackenzie to Parliament. The new Parliament met on the 9th January, 1829, and the first division showed that it was almost wholly Reform. Marshall Spring Bidwell was elected speaker, and the House, in its address in reply to Sir John Colborne's opening speech, very clearly censured the executive—except the governor, who was a new-comer and was expected to favor the Reform party. The address read: "We, his majesty's faithful commons, confiding in the candor of your excellency, and in your readiness to recognize us as constitutional advisers of the crown, do humbly pray your excellency against the injurious policy hitherto pursued by the provincial administration; and although we at present see your excellency unhappily surrounded by the same advisers as have so deeply wounded the feelings and injured the best interests of the country, yet in the interval of any necessary change, we entertain an anxious belief, that under the auspices of your excellency the administration of justice will rise above suspicion; the wishes and interests of the people be properly respected; and the revenues of the colony be hereafter devoted to objects of public improvement, after making provision for the public service on a basis of economy suited to the exigencies of the country." Sir John Colborne, whose speeches were always of the briefest, answered this address in a manner which pleased the Reform party, as it was thought to favor it; but that was a mistake; what he said was—"It is less difficult to discover the traces of political dissensions and local jealousies in this colony than to efface them. I anticipate that the principles of the constitution being kept steadily in view, and the good sense of the people, will neutralize the efforts of any interested faction;" which cautious reply could be interpreted two ways.

2.—The first clash between the governor and the Assembly occurred early in the session. Collins, who had been imprisoned for libel, had The Governor refuses to pardon Collins. a young family dependant on him for support, and the Assembly petitioned the governor to extend the royal clemency to him. Sir John replied that he regretted exceedingly that the obligation he was under to support the law, and his duty to society, would not permit

of his granting the request. This nettled the Assembly, and it passed a resolution to the effect that it had not merited the imputation conveyed in his excellency's message, and that this request was not inconsistent with the due support of the laws, and their duty to society. The refusal of the governor to exercise the royal clemency in favor of Collins met with general disapproval, which was increased during the summer, when, in answer to a petition from the Assembly, George IV. not only ordered Collins released, but also that his fine should be refunded to him. In Hamilton the indignation against the governor was so great that he was burned in effigy. The House, like that of Lower Canada, now began to busy itself with trying to get possession of the casual and territorial revenue, so that it could control the civil list, and strong resolutions were passed to the effect that the House ought to have control of all the revenues of the province. Upper Canada was in quite a different position from the Lower Province; in the latter the casual and territorial revenue, was not sufficient to meet the civil list, and the House could, as it frequently did, resort to the expedient of cutting off part of the supplies by not voting the difference between the revenue and amount required; but in Upper Canada the executive was wholly independent of the House; for not only did the casual and territorial revenue amount to more than the civil list, but the Assembly had at the war generously voted £2,500 a year to assist defraying the civil list, which the casual and territorial revenue did not then cover, and, as the law had never been repealed, an attempt to do so was made at this session, but the Legislative Council threw out the bill, together with twenty others to which it refused its consent. An address to the crown was moved, praying that judges should be made independent, and setting forth the maladministration of justice in the province. During the session of the imperial Parliament, Mr. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, presented a petition from three thousand inhabitants of Toronto, praying that judges should be put on the same footing as they were in England, and in this petition is expressed the first desire for "responsible government," that is, a government where the ministry is responsible to the representatives of the people, and a lack of a majority in the Lower House forces the ministry out of office.

3.—The elevation of Attorney-General Robinson to the chief-justiceship, in July, caused a vacancy for Toronto

Opening of the
Welland Canal.

which was filled by the election of Robert Baldwin, who was destined to become a prominent figure in the struggle for responsible government. Sir John Colborne made a tour of inspection through the province during the summer, and was generally well received. The great event of the year, not only to the whole of Canada, but also northern New York, was the opening of the Welland Canal, on 30th November, for navigation, whereby small vessels could

pass from Lake Erie to Ontario. This extensive work was undertaken when the province was but sparsely peopled, and could hardly bear the great cost of its construction; but it has paid for itself a hundred times over by the immense help it has been in developing the province. The work on the Rideau Canal was being rapidly pushed forward, and ere long it was expected that steamers would be able to pass up from Montreal to the great lakes. One noticeable event of the year was the establishment of the first religious newspaper published in Upper Canada, the *Christian Guardian*, published by Mr. Edgerton Ryerson, in the interests of the Wesleyan Methodists. This made the fourteenth newspaper now being published in the province.

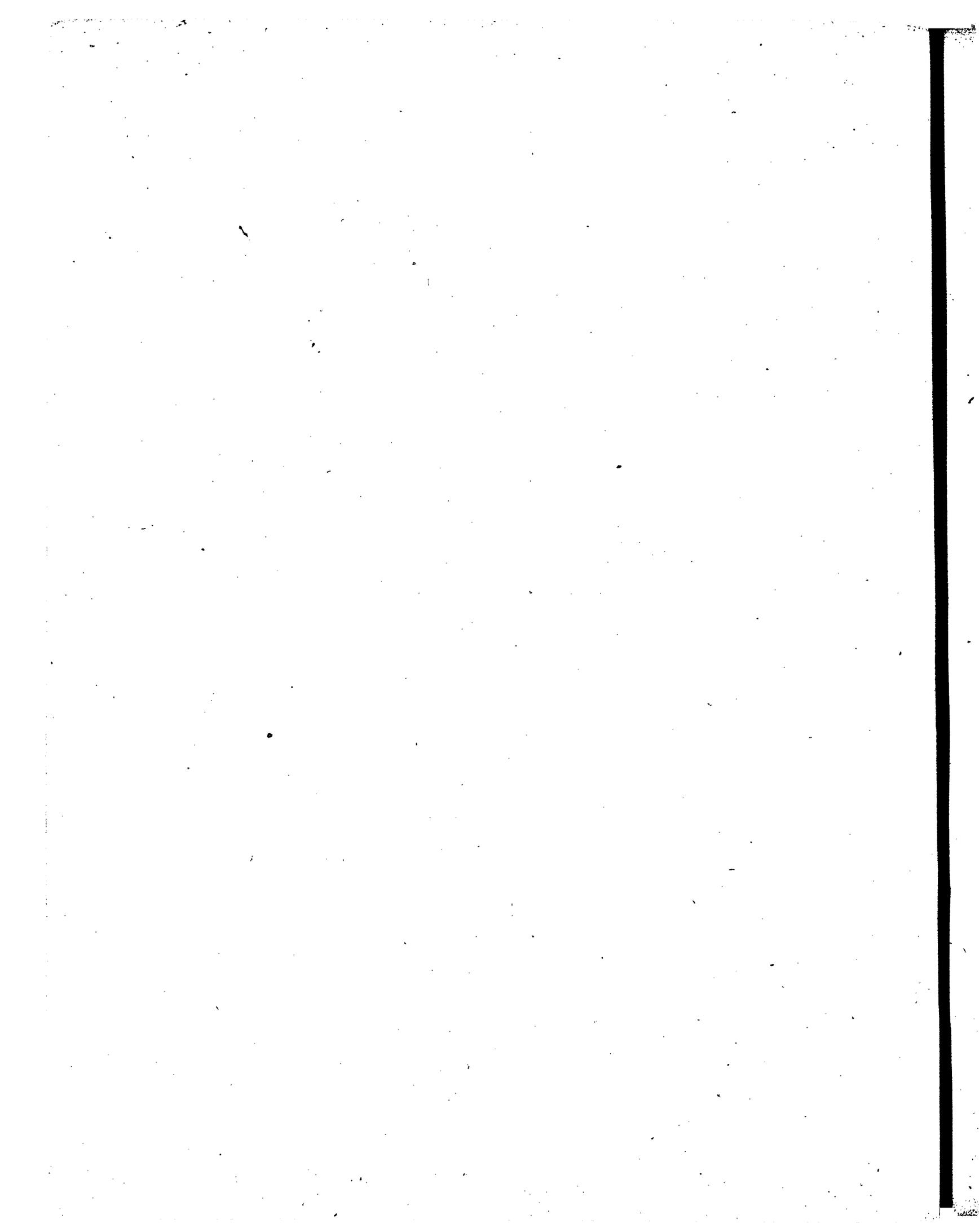
4.—The Legislature met on 8th January, 1830, when the governor informed the House that the casual and territorial revenues had not only been sufficient to meet the civil list, but to leave a surplus; to this the House replied, claiming control of all moneys raised by taxation in the province; and also urged upon him the necessity for a purer administration of justice. To this the governor replied with even more than his customary brevity: "Gentlemen of the House of Assembly, I thank you for your address. One of the acts passed at this session provided for the settlement of claims for losses during the war, and settled a subject which had for many years been attracting public attention. Some other useful bills were passed, including one granting a loan for the completion of the Welland Canal, which, although open the previous fall, was found to be defective, some of the locks having given way. There was nothing remarkable about this session except the large number of bills passed which were rejected by the Legislative Council, no less than forty experiencing that fate, which shows to what an almost perfect dead-lock the two Houses had got. The only noteworthy occurrence during the summer was the formation of numerous agricultural societies, showing that the people had quite recovered from the war, and were not bothering themselves about politics. In the fall, however, came a change, for the death of George IV. dissolved the Assembly and a general election was ordered for October, which caused great excitement in the political world, and soon set party spirit strongly at work. The Family Compact was glad of the chance of regaining this lost majority in the Assembly, while the Reformers were confident of increasing their strength, so that both sides went hopefully into the contest.

Settlement of
claims for losses
during the war.

5.—It will be well here to consider the growth of parties in Canada; and we cannot do better than quote McMullin on the same subject, his remarks being, to a great extent, based on the Earl of Durham's report. "Prior to the war of 1812, what might properly be called political parties,

Growth of political
parties in Upper
Canada.





did not exist in the province. The existence of a Reform party proper cannot be traced further back than 1820, when it had its origin in the endeavor to remove existing abuses, the desire to procure the promised grants of land for the militia, and the agitation aroused by the advent of the eccentric Gourlay. During the next ten years the line of demarkation between the Family Compact and the Reform party was distinctly and broadly drawn.

From the close of Simcoe's administration to 1820, the Compact held a firm and almost unquestioned grasp of the administrative power of the province. Receiving at times fresh accessions to their numbers, they established themselves in nearly all the highest public offices, maintained a decided influence in the Executive Council, and by wielding the whole powers of government and thus having the patronage of all the petty posts throughout the province, they long pursued this influence in both branches of the Legislature, but particularly in the Upper House, and where until the Union they continued to hold supreme sway. From Hunter to Colborne successive governors in their turn either at once submitted to their influence or were compelled to do so after a short and unavailing struggle. The bench, the magistracy, the high officers of the Church of England, were filled by their adherents, who were also numerous among the members of the bar. By grants or purchase this party had likewise acquired the bulk of the best located wild lands, and were all-powerful in the charter banks, in which they shared among themselves nearly all the offices of trust and profit. For a period of over thirty years the prominent characteristics of the Family Compact had varied very little if at all. Originally formed by the majority of the leading men of the U. E. Loyalist emigration, by half-pay British officers, and by other settlers of the same aristocratic pretensions, they continued to admit fresh accessions to their numbers of this description of persons only, and thus preserved their exclusive character. While they desired to acquire adherents among what they deemed the common people, they did so merely for the purpose of strengthening and perpetuating their own position, and carefully excluded them from their inner circle, and from participation in all real power. Devotedly loyal to the crown, attached to monarchical institutions as the source from whence sprung their own oligarchical position. Originally better educated and possessed of more talent and more wealth than the rest of the community, they presented the aspect of an exclusive Tory school, long scouted in Great Britain for its illiberality, and consigned to merited political oblivion. On the other hand, the Reform party was at first composed of a part of the U. E. Loyalists and the bulk of the immigrants from the United States who had settled in the province before the war of 1812 to escape high taxation and improve their fortunes. Many of the latter were shrewd, practical men, familiar with the disputes which

led to the American war of Independence, and soon desired a larger measure of Constitutional liberty than existed in the land of their adoption. Few, if indeed any, of these had left the United States because they disliked their constitution; and not finding political matters suited to their wishes in this country, they naturally considered that a monarchical form of government must be necessarily arbitrary, regarded republican institutions as the only liberal ones, and desired to see them established in Canada. Up to 1826 this class of persons formed fully one-third of the Reform party, and consequently in many of its movements a covert though very guarded leaning to Republicanism can distinctly be traced. Like the Family Compact it also betrayed in its political conduct a jealousy of the new immigrants and a wish to maintain the powers of office and the emoluments of the professions in the hands of persons born, or long resident in the colony. Subsequent to 1826 the large British immigration which poured continuously into Upper Canada, and which, in 1831, had swelled its population to over a quarter of a million, produced a complete change in political parties. While the recent immigrants took different sides in politics—while one class, among whom was a large proportion of the Irish Roman Catholics, arrayed themselves on the side of Reform; and another class, which embraced the great bulk of Irish Protestants, stood up in partial opposition, all as a rule were decidedly British in their feelings and predilections, and had little sympathy with the Republican institutions of the United States. This immigration did not strengthen the Reform party as speedily as it did their opponents. They had a more decided dislike to strangers, and as they considered they had still a majority of votes in the different electoral districts, they were unwilling to unite themselves closely to, or avail themselves of, the aid of Irish reformers. On the other hand, the sturdy and independent conduct of Sir John Colborne made the members of the Family Compact tremble for this influence; and they saw that unless they obtained a majority in the Assembly, and thus showed they were popular with the people, they could not long hope to preserve their influence in the Legislative and Executive Councils. They accordingly disguised their dislike of immigrants and courted their support. But Irish and English Protestants were a well-informed body of persons; few who could not read and write; they loved constitutional liberty as a general principle, while they eschewed Republicanism in the abstract; were not opposed by any means to rational reform; and had not forgotten the revolution of 1688, which freed them from Toryism of the extreme school. Hence they did not feel very much disposed to support the undue pretensions of the Family Compact. They had leaders of their own too, who declined to be the tools of the men in power, and sought place and power for themselves by the suffrages of immi-

grants like themselves; and who, if they served the old Tory party of Canada, expected that the old Tory party should serve them in turn. From these causes gradually arose the Conservative party of Canada West, and which soon absorbed the entire Family Compact in its ranks, or pushed it out of the way. Thus, we see that during the period between 1826 and 1831 the two great political parties of this country were completely reconstructed, and the Republican element in the Reform party reduced to a mere fractional proportion. From that day to this the causes which produced this change have been constantly at work. Immigration has steadily continued to flow into Canada from the Mother Country, and the great mass of its people are now sincerely attached to constitutional monarchy. Settlers from the United States find every liberty they can desire, soon learn to pray for queen and constituted authorities, are fused into the great mass of the people, and as a rule become excellent citizens. After 1826 reformers and conservatives of talent and education poured into the province from all directions. The press grew able and enlightened; both parties became more national, more patriotic, and more conducive to the development of rational liberty. The full force of progress and intelligence swept away monopolies and abuses one after another, and made Canada what she is to-day, one of the finest and most contented countries in the world.

6.—The new House met on 8th January, 1831, and it was found at once that the Family Compact was again in power. Mr. Archibald McLean, of Stormont, one of the supporters of the Compact, being elected speaker by a vote of twenty-seven to fifteen. One of the causes of grievance was removed during this session by the imperial government giving up the casual and territorial revenues, on the House voting in perpetuity the sum of £6,500 per annum to pay the lieutenant-governor, three judges, the attorney and solicitor-general, and the five members of the Executive Council. The revenue relinquished by the imperial government amounted to upwards of £11,800 per annum; and although the Reform press tried to get up a cry that the appropriation ought to have been voted yearly and not permanently, the people generally were well pleased with the action of the House. The session was principally noticeable for the attempts of Mackenzie to force something like responsible government on the party in power, and keep them to a close account on all items of expenditure; he also attacked the Bank of Upper Canada and forced the Family Compact party to agree to have regular returns of its condition published. He also moved for a committee of inquiry into the state of the legislative representation, and carried his point, after an animated debate, in which he showed that great injustice was done to some constituencies by the manner of

election. So persistent was he in his attacks that efforts were made to get rid of him. Mackenzie was printer to the House, and gave away some copies of the journal he had printed. This was reported as a breach of privilege—although reports of the proceedings were published in the Toronto papers—and a motion was made to expel him from the House, which was, however, defeated by a vote of twenty against to fifteen for.

7.—After the prorogation of Parliament Mackenzie began an organized system of agitation for reform; and in July issued a call for public meetings to be held throughout the province to petition the king and imperial Parliament to redress the grievances of the province. He attended most of these meetings, and although not a good speaker, made some telling attacks on the Family Compact. A petition was adopted in Toronto which served as the basis for all others, and an aggregate of about twenty-five thousand signatures was obtained. The petition clearly, but temperately, set forth the grievances under which the province labored, and asked for responsible government as a remedy; it also asked that the Legislative Assembly should have full control of all the revenues, and the disposal of public lands; that the Clergy Reserves should be secularized; that municipal councils be established; reforms be made in the administration of justice, that power be given the House to impeach public servants; that judges and clergymen should be excluded from Parliament, and that the law of primogeniture be abolished. All these things have since been done, but it took years, much agitation and some bloodshed to accomplish them.

8.—The Legislature met again on the 17th November, 1831, and on the 12th December Mackenzie was expelled the House by a vote of twenty-four to fifteen, on account of an article he had published in the *Advocate* in which he reflected very severely on the character of the majority of the House. This was voted to be a "gross, scandalous and malicious libel," and he was expelled. Public opinion was almost entirely with Mackenzie, and several petitions were sent to the governor asking him to dissolve a House which had shown such judicial partiality. On the very day Mackenzie was expelled nearly one thousand citizens waited on the governor to receive his reply to the petitions; but he gave then no reply further than to say he had received the petition. He had, however, taken the precaution of having the troops under arms in the event of a riot; but the people contented themselves with groaning opposite the Parliament building and serenading Mackenzie at his house. The majority now began to be alarmed at the growing popularity of Mackenzie, and, as a sedative to the public, adopted an address to the king praying that the Clergy Reserves be

Return to power of the Family Compact. Permanent settlement of the civil list.

Stormont, one of the supporters of the Compact, being elected speaker by a vote of twenty-seven to fifteen.

Organized agitation for Reform.

Expulsion of Mackenzie from the House. Popular feeling in his favor.

sold and the proceeds used for educational purposes. The new election in York took place on 2d January, 1832, and in an hour and a half after the polls had been opened nineteen hundred votes had been polled for Mackenzie, and only one recorded for his opponent, Mr. Street, who then retired. After the election Mackenzie was presented by his admirers with a handsome gold medal, valued at sixty pounds. An immense crowd accompanied Mackenzie to the Parliament House, but only to hear a motion for his re-expulsion, which was, however, defeated by a majority of four. Mackenzie's stay in the House was, however, very brief; three days afterwards fresh cause was found in an article published in the *Advocate*, and he was expelled and declared ineligible to serve in the sitting Assembly. The excitement now became intense; public meetings were held and resolutions favoring the liberty of the press passed; while Mackenzie became a martyr to the cause of freedom, the people's idol, and by far the most popular man in the province. The Legislature was prorogued on 28th January, and just a week afterwards Mackenzie was again elected for York by a large majority over two other candidates. Shortly after he was appointed agent to England to deliver another petition to the king which had been adopted at a very large meeting at Toronto. This petition prayed that a new general election should take place, as the present House did not represent the feeling of the people; that the Legislative Council be made elective; that the lieutenant-governor be recalled, that the Bank of Upper Canada be prevented from becoming a moneyed monopoly dangerous to popular liberty, and that a favorable answer be made to the previous petition. Mackenzie sailed on his mission in April and arrived in England on 1st May.

9.—The summer of 1832 was a sad one for Canada, for "the angel of death spread his wing on the blast, and thousands of homes were rendered desolate by the scourge of Asiatic cholera, which was brought over by the emigrants, and not only decimated them, but spread with great virulence through both provinces, turning the gay summer into a time of mourning, and it was not until cold weather set in that the disease entirely disappeared. The Legislature opened again on 31st October, 1832. And the governor congratulated the country on the completion of the Rideau Canal, the rapid increase of population by immigration, and the disappearance of Asiatic cholera. One of the first acts of the House was to again expel Mr. Mackenzie, who was still absent in England; and the people of York testified their favorite by promptly re-electing him. Mr. Mackenzie was expelled five times altogether, and as often re-elected, and the Home government disapproved of the action of the House. The Parliamentary session of 1834 was marked by the granting by the Legislature of two of the reforms demanded; judges were

made independent of the crown and appointed for life, unless impeached for misconduct; and both branches of the Legislature were declared a competent court to try impeachments against judges, the right of appeal to the king in council being allowed. Mackenzie returned from his mission to England only partially successful. Lord Goderich, then colonial secretary, was not disposed to grant all that was asked, but promised some reforms; and meanwhile Mackenzie's personal pride was gratified by the removal of Attorney-General Boulton and Solicitor-General Hagerman for the parts they had taken in his expulsion from the House. In November of this year Mackenzie discontinued the publication of the *Colonial Advocate*.

10.—The general election which took place this fall was the most exciting that had ever been held in Upper Canada; both parties worked hard, but the Family Compact party, in striving to kill Mackenzie, had received its own death-blow, and the Reform Party to power. The result of the election was shown when Parliament met on 14th January, 1835, by the election of the Reform candidate for speaker, Marshall S. Bidwell, and the reformers could count on a majority of ten out of a House of fifty-eight. Mackenzie was again returned for York, and this time the Family Compact had not the power to expel him. This election was the death of the Family Compact, although it still controlled the Council, and from its ashes arose the Conservative party, which, retaining what was good in the old party, discarded its greed for place, and holding that preferment should be open to all men of talent, strove to steer a middle course between the extreme Radicalism of the Reform party and the selfish greed of the Family Compact, which soon caused it to be a power in the land. The principal feature of the first session of the twelfth Parliament of Upper Canada was the presentation of the Seventh Grievance Report, which was prepared by Mackenzie and Dr. Morrison. It is a temperate and lucid statement of the grievances of the province, and had Mackenzie been content to persist in the use of constitutional means only, there is the little reason to doubt but that all, or very near all, the demands would have been granted in time, without his wicked and unnecessary appeal to arms.

11. About this time the executive, fearing that the great change in political feeling which was taking place in England would not much longer permit the Church of England party to retain the whole of the Clergy Reserves, determined to make provision for the Church while it had the power, and fifty-seven rectories were set apart and put in the possession of ministers, which it was supposed would prevent the lands being used for other purposes by future legal enactments. This action caused great discontent amongst the Opposition, and great indignation was felt and expressed against the executive. In

Cholera. Mackenzie again expelled. Judges made independent of the Crown.

thousands of homes were rendered desolate by the scourge of Asiatic cholera, which was brought over by the emigrants,

Return of the Reform Party to power. The "Seventh Grievance Report."

Endowment of fifty-six Rectories. Recall of Sir John Colborne.

the city of Toronto, of which Mackenzie was mayor, some quarrels arose between the soldiers and some members of the Reform party, and a general feeling of disquiet and unrest prevailed; still there was no thought of rebellion yet. Sir John Colborne had asked to be relieved from the government, and Sir Francis Bond Head was appointed in his place and arrived in January, 1836. It was supposed that the British ministry was in a conciliatory mood, and that Sir Francis would favor Reform and the redress of the grievances complained of; he was, therefore, received with joy and expectancy; but those who hoped for reform were doomed to disappointment.

CHAPTER XCIV.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR F. B. HEAD.

1. SIR FRANCIS HEAD'S ACCOUNT OF HIS PAST POLITICAL EXPERIENCE.—2. SIR FRANCIS'S ECCENTRIC INTRODUCTION OF HIMSELF TO PARLIAMENT.—3. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—4. SIR FRANCIS PITS HIMSELF AGAINST THE REFORM PARTY.—5. DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT. DEFEAT OF THE REFORM PARTY AT THE POLLS.—6. LORD DURHAM'S REPORT ON THE CAUSE OF THE DEFEAT OF THE REFORMERS.—7. SIR FRANCIS OFFERS TO RESIGN RATHER THAN HAVE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.—8. THE PANIC OF 1837. ACTION OF THE BANKS.—9. MACKENZIE PREPARES FOR REBELLION. ALL TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM UPPER CANADA.—10. THE OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLION IN UPPER CANADA.—11. THE REBELS ADVANCE ON TORONTO. THE FIRST BLOODSHED.—12. DEATH OF COLONEL MOODIE. MACKENZIE DEMANDS INDEPENDENCE.—13. ARRIVAL OF "THE MEN OF GORE." ROUT OF THE REBELS.—14. MACKENZIE'S MISTAKE AS TO THE LOYALTY OF THE PEOPLE.—15. MACKENZIE ORGANIZES AN INVASION FROM BUFFALO.—16. THE REBELS OCCUPY NAVY ISLAND.—17. DESTRUCTION OF THE *Caroline* BY THE BRITISH.—18. SUTHERLAND'S UNSUCCESSFUL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST AMHERSTBURG.—19. ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT REBEL INVASION FOILED.—20. DEFEAT OF THE REBELS AT POINT PELE ISLAND.

1.—Sir Francis Bond Head was a half-pay major in the army who had made a slight reputation as an author, and had acquitted himself creditably as an assistant poor-law commissioner; but his selection for the difficult and delicate

Sir Francis Head's account of his past political experience.

task of conciliating a dissatisfied community and allaying their irritation was a most unfortunate one; and by his incautious and erratic conduct he greatly added to the discontent of the Reform party, and undoubtedly was, unconsciously, instrumental in causing the rebellious rising in Upper Canada. Of the history and requirements of Canada he knew nothing whatever, except what he learned after his appointment, from Mackenzie's Grievance Book, and Lord Glenelg's instructions. His past experience in politics is best described in his own words, quoted from his narrative of his administration, when he speaks of his entry into Toronto. He says: "As I was no more connected with human politics than the horses that were drawing me; as I never had joined any political party; had never attended a political discussion; had never even voted at an election, nor taken any part in one, it was with no little surprise I observed the walls placarded with large letters which designated me as Sir Francis Head, a tried Reformer."

2.—Sir Francis arrived in Toronto at the end of January, 1836, while Parliament was in session, having been convened on the 14th inst. Sir Francis started with the idea that Mackenzie's Grievance Book contained all that the reformers wanted, and that Lord Glenelg's instructions—which were similar to those given Lord Gosford—contained the proper remedy; but he was soon undeceived on both points. On his arrival he had an interview with Mr. Bidwell, the speaker of the House, and that gentleman stated "that there were many grievances not detailed in that book, which the people had long endured with patience: *that there was no desire to rebel*, but a morbid feeling of dissatisfaction was daily increasing. The fact that Sir Francis Head was the bearer of new instructions, had alone induced him and his friends to alter their determination never to meet in the Assembly again." Mackenzie was equally candid, and Sir Francis, thus "let behind the scenes," saw that the Reform party had some ulterior object in view, and that while nominally demanding only reformers, it was really arriving at independence, and his loyalty at once became alarmed, as he was by no means so disposed to be friendly towards the reformers as he was on his arrival. His first act was an eccentric one, and caused some surprise and comment. As we have said, Parliament was in session when he arrived, and instead of announcing by message, as was usual, the fact of his having assumed the reins of government, he proceeded to the Council chamber, summoned the House of Assembly, and made a second speech from the throne, greatly to the astonishment and embarrassment of the House. In his speech he referred to a communication he had to make to the House (referring to Lord Glenelg's instructions to himself), and said: "This communication I shall submit to you in a message, which will at once inform you of the

Sir Francis' eccentric introduction of himself to Parliament.

difficult and most important duties about to devolve upon me as well as yourselves. As regards myself, I have nothing either to promise or profess; but I trust I shall not call in vain upon you to give me that *loyal*, constitutional, unbiassed, and fearless assistance, which your king expects, and which the rising interests of your country requires." He shortly after sent down the message containing a copy of Lord Glenelg's instructions to him, which showed the reformers that the Home government was not disposed to grant responsible government, nor to make the Council elective; and although a disposition was shown to redress all other grievances, the majority of the House was greatly dissatisfied, and showed its ill-temper by appointing a committee to inquire whether the governor had not committed a breach of the privileges of the House in making them a speech instead of sending them a message. A precedent for it was found, however, in English Parliamentary practice, and no further action was taken.

3.—Three of the old Executive Council having been dismissed, an effort was made by the Family Compact party to have the new councillors appointed from their ranks, but Sir Francis would not comply, and offered the seats to three prominent reformers. Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn, receiver-general. These gentlemen first refused unless the governor would dismiss the three councillors, who were all members of the Legislative Council and all office-holders, but this he would not accede to, and Mr. Baldwin and his confreres finally accepted. Sir Francis' idea of having three Tories and three reformers in the Council was that he would thus retain all power in his own hands, and he soon began to exercise that power by appointing some members of the Family Compact to vacant offices. The Council remonstrated at appointments being made in that way, as they were supposed to advise the executive, and Sir Francis replied to them in such terms that they felt no course was left them but to resign. Four new councillors were at once appointed who seemed likely to prove more pliant. The Assembly was very indignant at the conduct of the governor, and by a vote of fifty-one to two passed a resolution of censure on the governor and strongly advocating responsible government. An address based on this resolution was sent to the governor on the 24th March, regretting his action in dismissing the old Council, and declaring a want of confidence in the recent appointments.

4.—This put Sir Francis on his mettle; he smelt revolution in the attempt of the Assembly to find fault with the governor, and, disregarding the instructions of Lord Glenelg, he took his own way to settle the grievances of the province by settling the party in the Assembly which represented the grievances. He now became a violent

Difference between the Governor and Executive Council.

Sir Francis puts himself against the Reform party.

opponent of the Reform party, and appealed by speeches, addresses and proclamations to the loyalty of the people. As he was a fluent writer and fair speaker he soon turned the tide of popular feeling against the reform leaders—some of whom were in treaty with Papineau and the Lower Canada "Patriots," and were secretly plotting an appeal to arms and a severance of the bonds which held them to the Mother Country. But the stout peasantry of Upper Canada were not prepared for that; as long as Mackenzie strove for reform by constitutional means they would support him; but when they were told that the reform of the so-called reform leaders meant revolution, then the reform leaders speedily found themselves without any party to lead. The breach between the executive and the House was constantly widening, and at last the Assembly adopted a petition to the crown praying for the removal of the governor, who was charged with many misdemeanors, and in the debates in the House he was stigmatized as a tyrant and his veracity impugned. The action of the speaker, Mr. Bidwell, in laying before the House Papineau's seditious letter advocating open rebellion, opened the eyes of the general public to the desperate lengths to which the reform leaders were prepared to go, and the popularity of the governor was increased in proportion as that of the agitators decreased. Sir Francis took advantage of this letter to issue an address in which he quoted Papineau's senseless threat that in the event of a rebellion there would be ample assistance from the United States, and said: "In the name of every regiment of militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate, Let them come if they dare." This pleased the martial spirit of the people, remembering as they did the rough handling the Americans had received in the last war, and the governor's popularity was increased.

5.—The Assembly grew more and more abusive of the governor, and showed the extent of their ill-humor by cutting off the supplies, thinking thus to bring Sir Francis to terms; but they had mistaken their man. In reply he refused his assent to any money bills whatever, so that the assemblymen had no sessional allowance to draw, and there was nothing to pay the current expenses of the House with. The Assembly had not counted on this move, and before it could recover from its astonishment Sir Francis came down to the House and prorogued Parliament on 20th April in a speech in which he animadverted very severely on the course pursued by the House, and sent the members home like a lot of bad school-boys who had received a good scolding and had their pocket-money stopped for being naughty. Sir Francis had scarcely been three months in the country, and, considering his admission on his arrival that he knew nothing of politics, government or Canada, he had made wonderful progress in so short a time and caused

Dissolution of Parliament. Defeat of the Reform party at the polls.

more excitement than all his predecessors put together, and called out the loyal sentiment of the people in such unmistakable terms as should have convinced the extreme leaders of the Reform party that any appeal to arms must end in disgraceful failure; but Mackenzie was not to be warned, and the struggle had to come. The bulk of the people heartily disapproved of the revolutionary tactics of Papineau and Mackenzie, and showed it by numerous petitions to the governor to dissolve the House. This was done by proclamation on 28th May, and writs were issued for a new election. The people were now thoroughly aroused to the extreme lengths to which the reformers were endeavoring to lead them, and the result was the defeat of the Reform party, and the rejection by the electors of nearly all its leaders. Even the late people's idol, Mackenzie, was beaten by a hundred votes out of a total poll of less than nine hundred, and Bidwell, Perry and many others were badly beaten.

6.—The following extract from the report made by Lord Durham, gives a very calm and dispassionate view of the state of public opinion, and the causes which led to the complete overthrow of the Reform party; he says: "The contest which appeared to be thus commenced on the question of the responsibility of the Executive Council, was really decided on very different grounds. Sir F. B. Head, who appears to have thought that the maintenance of the connection with Great Britain depended upon his triumph over the majority of the Assembly, embarked in the contest with a determination to use every influence in his power in order to bring it to a successful issue. He succeeded at first in putting the issue in such a light before the province that a great portion of the people really imagined that they were called upon to decide the question of separation by their votes. The dissolution, on which he ventured when he thought the public mind sufficiently ripe, completely answered his expectations. The British, in particular, were roused by the proclaimed danger to the connection with the Mother Country; they were indignant at some portions of the conduct and speeches of certain members of the late majority which seemed to mark a determined preference to American over British institutions. They were irritated by indications of hostility to British immigration which they saw, or fancied they saw, in some secret proceedings of the Assembly. Above all, not only they, but a great many others, had marked with envy the stupendous public works which were at that period producing their effect in the almost marvellous growth of the wealth and population of the neighboring State of New York; and they reproached the Assembly with what they considered an unwise economy in preventing the undertaking or even completion of similar works, that might, as they fancied, have produced a similar development of the

Lord Durham's Report on the cause of the Defeat of the Reformers.

resources of Upper Canada. The general support of the British determined the elections in favor of the government; and though very large and close minorities, which in many cases supported the defeated candidates, marked the force which the reformers could bring into the field, even in spite of the disadvantages under which they labored from the momentary prejudices against them, and the unusual manner in which the crown, by its representatives, appeared to make itself a party in an electioneering contest, the result was the return of a very large majority hostile in politics to that of the late Assembly."

7.—On the 4th July (the anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence) Mackenzie issued the first number of a newspaper called the *Constitution*, in which he rigorously attacked the government, and tried all he could to excite rebellion. This sheet was continued until the outbreak of the rebellion. The Reform party, not fully comprehending the reason of their overwhelming defeat at the polls, tried to raise the then somewhat new but now quite hackneyed cry of "bribery and corruption," and accused Sir Francis of issuing patents for lands so as to create votes, and other corrupt practices, and Dr. Duncombe proceeded to England to press the charges against him, but without success, as nothing was ever proved against him. During the summer Sir Francis made a tour through the province and was everywhere well received. The colonial office had now decided on granting responsible government, owing most probably to the representations of the Gosford Commission; and during the summer instructions were sent to Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of New Brunswick, to surrender the casual and territorial revenues and form a responsible executive. This Sir Alexander refused to do, and resigned; but meanwhile the colonial office, seeing that what was granted to one colony must eventually be granted to all, instructed Sir Francis B. Head, on 20th September, to consider the instructions issued to the Governor of New Brunswick as applicable to Upper Canada. But Sir Francis had by this time become too good a Tory, and had been too much imbued with the teachings of the Family Compact party to entertain favorably the idea of responsible government, and he tendered his resignation in preference to carrying out his instructions; and the colonial office allowed the matter to remain in abeyance for some time.

Sir Francis offers to resign rather than have Responsible Government.

8.—Parliament met on the 8th November, and amongst the bills passed was one establishing the first court of chancery in Upper Canada. The fear of immediate rebellion being allayed, the constant agitation kept up by Mackenzie and his followers began to react on the public mind, and the Conservative party began to fear that if the death of the king, which was then expected, should occur speedily

The panic of 1837. Action of the Banks.

they would not be enabled to maintain their majority at the polls, they therefore resorted to the extraordinary expedient of passing an act providing that the death of the king should not dissolve Parliament, being the only Parliament that ever passed such an act except the one which beheaded Charles the First. The House was prorogued on 4th March, after having passed many useful bills. The storm of commercial disaster which broke over the United States early in 1837, causing the repudiation of State debts, the suspension of banks, the general failure of business houses, and carrying distress and suffering into almost every family, soon extended to Canada, and the banks of Lower Canada followed the example of those in the States and suspended specie payments. In Upper Canada the governor wisely set his face against such a course, but thought it prudent to call an extra session of the Legislature, which met on 19th June, and Mr. Allan McNab was elected speaker in place of Mr. McLean, who had resigned. At first the House was disposed to favor the popular idea of suspending specie payments and continuing the inflated system of excessive discounts; but the better policy of the governor to continue specie payments and restrict discounts finally prevailed; and although the banks were hard pressed for a time, they finally weathered the storm and preserved the credit of the province.

9.—During the summer and fall Mackenzie continued his preparations for rebellion, although comparatively few thought that even the extreme reformers would take other than constitutional means to obtain a redress of the grievances of the province. But Mackenzie had now given up all idea of obtaining redress, and was in correspondence with Papineau, planning a simultaneous rising in the two provinces and a declaration of independence. The agitation in the press was kept up; public meetings were held in various parts of the province, but especially in the Home district, at which inflammatory speeches were made and resolutions denunciatory of the executive adopted. Vigilance committees were formed and every preparation made for a rising as soon as the rebellion should be ripe in Lower Canada. Meanwhile the governor felt perfectly secure in the loyalty of the people, and when the growing uneasiness in Lower Canada rendered it necessary for Sir John Colborne to concentrate most of the troops in Canada in that province, Sir Francis refused his offer to have two companies to guard the public stores and about four thousand stands of arms which were in Toronto, and even advised the removal of the troops from Kingston, while he neglected to embody any of the militia, so that the province was left entirely unprotected. The withdrawal of the troops was the signal for more active preparations on the part of Mackenzie; and although Sir Francis Head was re-

peatedly informed that seditious meetings were being held near Toronto, and arms secretly brought over from the States, he paid no attention to the warning, but quietly allowed the rebellion to come to a head without making an effort to check it, at a time when prompt action might have prevented much after bloodshed.

10.—The outbreak in Lower Canada was the signal for Mackenzie to throw off the mask of Constitutional agitation, and show himself in his true colors as a rebel; and on the governor's last taking alarm and notifying colonels of militia to hold themselves in readiness, Mackenzie published a list of nineteen successful revolutions, and called on his followers to imitate the glorious example set them. At the instance of the attorney-general, the governor now issued a warrant for Mackenzie's arrest for treason; but, like Papineau, he got timely warning, and making good his escape was soon advancing on Toronto with a number of his followers to capture that place and the large quantity of arms stored there, which he could undoubtedly have done had he been prompt and decided, as there was not a soldier in the place and the militia had not yet been called out; but weak and vacillating in everything, Mackenzie was weak and vacillating in this, and let slip the opportunity, and gave time for Sir Francis Head, now thoroughly alarmed, to call out the militia, and prepare to take rigorous steps to suppress the outbreak.

11.—A secret meeting had been held at Toronto on 18th November, at which Mackenzie, Rolph, Morrison, and others had decided that all this available force should rendezvous at Montgomery's tavern, four miles from Toronto, on Yonge Street, on the 7th December, and attack the town, the hour of meeting being between six and ten o'clock.*

* The following account of the insurrectionary movements in the neighborhood of Toronto was written by Mr. Mackenzie while he was in possession of Navy Island, on 14th January, 1838, and published in the *Wartown Jeffersonian*. It will be found very interesting, and will well repay perusal.

NARRATIVE.

On the 31st July last, the reformers of Toronto responded to the request of their fellow-sufferers in Lower Canada, by appointment of ward committees of vigilance, the passage of resolutions of sympathy and co-operation, and the adoption of a declaration of rights and grievances, which only differed from your great declaration of 1776, in that it did not at once proclaim the province Independent, nor enumerate, in all cases, the same complaints. The reformers had taken great pains to inform the British government of the true state of affairs in Upper Canada; and many believed that Sir Francis Boud Head would do what he could to remove the chief cause of discontent, until the proceedings of the executive previous to and at the last general election of the House of Assembly, convinced them that nothing but a revolution would relieve the country. This opinion I was confirmed in by observing that when the Assembly of Lower Canada deferred granting supplies until their wrongs be redressed, the House of Commons of England, by a vote of about ten to one, and the Lords unanimously (Lord Brougham alone dissenting), resolved that the proceeds of the revenue raised in that colony, both by provincial and British statutes, should be expended without the consent of the representatives of the people, or the form of law in keeping up a costly foreign gov-

The outbreak of the rebellion in Upper Canada.

The rebels advance on Toronto. The first bloodshed.

Dr. Rolph, who was the "executive" referred to in the narrative of Mackenzie given below, got alarmed, while the latter was stumping the country calling on the revolutionists to meet at Montgomery's on the 7th, and changed

information, placed a guard on Yonge Street, the main northern avenue to Toronto, at Montgomery's, and another guard on a parallel road, and told them to allow none to pass to the city. I then waited some time expecting the executive to arrive, but waited in vain—no one came, not even a message. I was therefore left in entire ignorance of the condition of the capital, and instead of entering Toronto on Thursday, with four thousand or five thousand men, was apparently expected to take it on Monday with two hundred, wearied after a march of thirty or forty miles through mud, and in the worst possible humor at finding they had been called from the very extremity of the county, and no one else warned at all. About eight or nine o'clock I accompanied Captain Anderson, of Lower Town, Mr. Shephard, and two others, on horseback down Yonge Street, intending if no one came with tidings from the city, to go there and ascertain how far an attack and seizure of muskets and bayonets we much needed, was practical. There were warrants out for my apprehension, but I did not mind them much. We had not proceeded far when we met Alderman John Powell (now the mayor) and Mr. Archibald McDonald, late of Kingston, on horseback, acting as sort of patrol. I rode up to them, presented a double-barrelled pistol, informed them that the Democrats had risen in arms, that we wished to prevent information of that fact from reaching the city, and that they would have to go back to Montgomery's as prisoners, where they would be well treated, fed and lodged, and in no way injured in person or in purse—but they must surrender to me their arms. They both assured me they had none, and when I seemed to doubt, repeated the assurance; on which I said, "Well, gentleman, as you are my townsmen and men of honor, I would be ashamed to show that I question your words by ordering you to be searched," and turning to Messrs. Shephard and Anderson, I bade them place the gentlemen in the guard-room, and see that they were comfortable, after which I proceeded again towards the city. Not many minutes afterwards I was overtaken by Alderman Powell, riding in great haste. I asked what it meant, and told him he must not proceed except at his peril. He kept on, I followed and fired over my horse's head, but missed him. He slackened his pace till his horse was beside mine, and while I was expostulating with him, he suddenly clapped a pistol quite close to my breast, but the priming flashed in the pan, and thus I was saved from instant death. At this moment McDonald rode back seemingly in great affright, and Powell escaped from me by the side bar, and by a circuitous route reached Toronto. McDonald appeared unable to explain; I therefore sent him back the second time, and being now alone, judged it most prudent to return to Montgomery's, on my way to which I encountered the murdered remains of the brave and generous Captain Anthony Anderson, the victim of Powell's baseness. His body was stretched in the road, but life was extinct. The manner of his death was as follows: Shephard and Anderson were accompanying Powell and McDonald on their way to their guard-room at Montgomery's, when Powell was observed to slacken his horse's pace a little—by this means he got behind Anderson, and taking a pistol from his pocket, shot him through the back of the neck, so that he fell and died instantly. Shephard's horse stumbled at the moment. Powell rode off and McDonald followed. Whether Powell is or is not a murderer let the candid reader say. I give the facts. On arriving at Montgomery's, I was told by the guard that Colonel Moodie of the army had attempted to pass the barrier, that they had told him what guard they were, that he had persisted in firing a pistol at them, on which one of the men levelled his rifle and shot him. He died in an hour or two after. I find it stated in many papers that I killed Colonel Moodie, although at the time of his death I was several miles distant, as those then present well know. But I fully approve of the conduct of those who shot him. Sir Francis Head admits that he was entirely ignorant of our intended movement until awaked out of his bed that night. His informant I believed to have been Captain Bridgefort. He had the bells set a-ringing, took up his abode in the City Hall, delivered out a few rusty guns, made speeches, and was in great trouble. Of all which particulars our executive neither brought nor sent us any account whatever. About midnight our numbers increased. And towards morning I proposed to many persons to march to Toronto, join such of the reformers there as were ready, and endeavor to make ourselves masters of the garrison and muskets. To this it was objected, that I was uninformed of the strength of the fortress; that the other townships had not yet joined the men from the upper country; that we were ignorant of the state of the city, and that gentlemen who had advised and

the date to the 4th, which quite upset Mackenzie's arrangements. Rolph's "change of base" was caused by an idea that Sir Francis Head was aware of the intention of the reformers to resort to arms and attack Toronto, while

information, placed a guard on Yonge Street, the main northern avenue to Toronto, at Montgomery's, and another guard on a parallel road, and told them to allow none to pass to the city. I then waited some time expecting the executive to arrive, but waited in vain—no one came, not even a message. I was therefore left in entire ignorance of the condition of the capital, and instead of entering Toronto on Thursday, with four thousand or five thousand men, was apparently expected to take it on Monday with two hundred, wearied after a march of thirty or forty miles through mud, and in the worst possible humor at finding they had been called from the very extremity of the county, and no one else warned at all. About eight or nine o'clock I accompanied Captain Anderson, of Lower Town, Mr. Shephard, and two others, on horseback down Yonge Street, intending if no one came with tidings from the city, to go there and ascertain how far an attack and seizure of muskets and bayonets we much needed, was practical. There were warrants out for my apprehension, but I did not mind them much. We had not proceeded far when we met Alderman John Powell (now the mayor) and Mr. Archibald McDonald, late of Kingston, on horseback, acting as sort of patrol. I rode up to them, presented a double-barrelled pistol, informed them that the Democrats had risen in arms, that we wished to prevent information of that fact from reaching the city, and that they would have to go back to Montgomery's as prisoners, where they would be well treated, fed and lodged, and in no way injured in person or in purse—but they must surrender to me their arms. They both assured me they had none, and when I seemed to doubt, repeated the assurance; on which I said, "Well, gentleman, as you are my townsmen and men of honor, I would be ashamed to show that I question your words by ordering you to be searched," and turning to Messrs. Shephard and Anderson, I bade them place the gentlemen in the guard-room, and see that they were comfortable, after which I proceeded again towards the city. Not many minutes afterwards I was overtaken by Alderman Powell, riding in great haste. I asked what it meant, and told him he must not proceed except at his peril. He kept on, I followed and fired over my horse's head, but missed him. He slackened his pace till his horse was beside mine, and while I was expostulating with him, he suddenly clapped a pistol quite close to my breast, but the priming flashed in the pan, and thus I was saved from instant death. At this moment McDonald rode back seemingly in great affright, and Powell escaped from me by the side bar, and by a circuitous route reached Toronto. McDonald appeared unable to explain; I therefore sent him back the second time, and being now alone, judged it most prudent to return to Montgomery's, on my way to which I encountered the murdered remains of the brave and generous Captain Anthony Anderson, the victim of Powell's baseness. His body was stretched in the road, but life was extinct. The manner of his death was as follows: Shephard and Anderson were accompanying Powell and McDonald on their way to their guard-room at Montgomery's, when Powell was observed to slacken his horse's pace a little—by this means he got behind Anderson, and taking a pistol from his pocket, shot him through the back of the neck, so that he fell and died instantly. Shephard's horse stumbled at the moment. Powell rode off and McDonald followed. Whether Powell is or is not a murderer let the candid reader say. I give the facts. On arriving at Montgomery's, I was told by the guard that Colonel Moodie of the army had attempted to pass the barrier, that they had told him what guard they were, that he had persisted in firing a pistol at them, on which one of the men levelled his rifle and shot him. He died in an hour or two after. I find it stated in many papers that I killed Colonel Moodie, although at the time of his death I was several miles distant, as those then present well know. But I fully approve of the conduct of those who shot him. Sir Francis Head admits that he was entirely ignorant of our intended movement until awaked out of his bed that night. His informant I believed to have been Captain Bridgefort. He had the bells set a-ringing, took up his abode in the City Hall, delivered out a few rusty guns, made speeches, and was in great trouble. Of all which particulars our executive neither brought nor sent us any account whatever. About midnight our numbers increased. And towards morning I proposed to many persons to march to Toronto, join such of the reformers there as were ready, and endeavor to make ourselves masters of the garrison and muskets. To this it was objected, that I was uninformed of the strength of the fortress; that the other townships had not yet joined the men from the upper country; that we were ignorant of the state of the city, and that gentlemen who had advised and

the fact was that the governor knew nothing at all of Mackenzie's plots and plans, and would listen to no warning on the subject, being egotistically wrapt in the idea that the "moral" support of the majority of the well-disposed in-

urged on the movements, and even the executive who had ordered this premature Monday rising, stood aloof, and had neither joined us nor communicated with us. Next day (Tuesday) we increased in number to eight hundred, of whom very many had no arms, others had rifles, old fowling-pieces, Indian guns, pikes, &c. Vast numbers came and went off again when they found we had neither muskets or bayonets. Had they possessed my feeling in favor of freedom, they would have stood by us even if armed but with pitchforks and broomhandles. About noon we obtained correct intelligence that with all his exertions, and including the college boys, Sir Francis could hardly raise a hundred and fifty supporters in town and country; and by 1 P. M. a flag of truce reached our camp near the city, the messengers being the Honorable Messrs. Rolph and Baldwin, deputed by Sir Francis to ask what would satisfy us. I replied, "Independence;" but sent a verbal message that as we had no confidence in Sir F.'s word, he would have to send his message in writing, and within one hour. I then turned round to Colonel Lount, and advised him to march the men under his command at once into the city, and take a position near the Lawyer's Hall, and rode westward to Colonel Baldwin's, where the bulk of the rebels were, and advised an instant march to Toronto. We had advanced as far as the College Avenue, when another flag of truce arrived by the same messengers, with a message from Sir F. Head declining to comply with our previous request. We were proceeding to town, when orders from the executive arrived, that we should not then go to Toronto, but wait till six o'clock in the evening, and then take the city. True to the principle on which the Compact was made for our rising, the order was obeyed, and at a quarter to six the whole of our forces were near the toll-bar on Yonge Street, on our way to the city. I told them that I was certain there could be no difficulty in taking Toronto; that both in town and country the people had stood aloof from Sir Francis; that not one hundred and fifty men and boys could be got to defend him; that he was alarmed and had sent his family on board a steamer; that six hundred reformers were ready to join us in the city, and that all we had to do was to be firm, and with the city would at once go down every vestige of foreign government in Upper Canada. It was dark, and there might have been an ambush of some sort, I therefore told six riflemen to go ahead of us a quarter of a mile on the one side of the street, inside the fences, and as many more on the other side, and to fire in the direction in which they might see any of our opponents stationed. When within half a mile of the town, we took prisoners the captain of their artillery, a lawyer, and the sheriff's horse. Our riflemen ahead saw some twenty or thirty of the enemy on the road, and fired at them. The twenty or thirty, or some of them, fired at us, and instantly took to their heels and ran towards the town. Our riflemen were in front, after them the pikemen, then those who had old guns of various kinds, and lastly those who carried only clubs and walking sticks. Colonel Lount was at the head of the riflemen, and he and those in the front rank fired, and instead of stepping to our side to make room for those behind to fire, fell flat on their faces, the next rank fired and did the same thing. I was rather in front when the firing began, and stood in more danger from the rifles of my friends than the muskets of my enemies. I stepped to the side of the road and bade them stop firing, and it appeared to me that one of our people who was killed was shot in this way by our own men. Certainly it was not by the enemy. Some persons from town, friendly to us, but not very brave, had joined us during the march, and they, unknown to me, told awful stories about the preparations the Tories had made in several streets to fire out of windows at us, protected by feather beds, mattresses, &c. These representations terrified many of the country people, and when they saw the riflemen in front falling down, and heard the firing, they imagined that those who fell were the killed and wounded by the enemy's fire, and took to their heels with a speed and steadiness of purpose that would have baffled pursuit on foot. In a short time not twenty persons were to be found below the toll-bar. This was almost too much for human patience. The city would have been ours in an hour probably without firing a shot; hundreds of our friends waited to join us at its entrance; the officials were terror-struck; Governor Head had few to rely on; the colony would have followed the city; a convention and a Democratic Constitution been adopted, and a bloodless change from a contemptible tyranny to freedom accomplished. But it had happened the wrong way. I rode hastily back until I got in the rear of the main body, stopped a number of them, and implored them to return. I explained matters to them, told them to fear nothing,

habitants of the province would be sufficient to deter the would-be revolutionists from carrying their mad design into execution. In this he was mistaken, as he afterwards discovered, and the "moral" support on which he had to rely

offered with half a dozen men to go between them and all danger, and reminded them that the opportunity of that night would be their last, that the moment it was known in the country that the reformers were timid without cause, Sir Francis would instantly gain numbers, but it was of no use. To successive groups I spoke in vain. Neither threats nor coaxing could induce them to go to the city. I tried to find even forty or fifty to go to town, but the reply was, "We will go in the light, but not in the dark." Of these many went home that evening, and although about two hundred joined us during the night, we were two hundred less numerous on Wednesday morning. With the steamers in the hands of the government, the city, four thousand muskets and bayonets, perhaps sixty experienced military officers, the well paid officials and their sons and dependants, abundance of ammunition, a park of artillery well served, the garrison and the aid of all who are prejudiced in favor of colonial government, it had become a difficult task for a collection of undisciplined and half-armed countrymen, without cannon, scarce of gunpowder, not possessed of a single bayonet nor even of guns or pikes for half their numbers to contend successfully against the enemy for the city; we therefore stood on the defence on Wednesday. Gentlemen of influence who were pledged to join us, and even the executive who commanded us to make the premature and unfortunate movement, neither corresponded with us nor joined us. To explain their conduct was beyond my power. It discouraged many, and thinned our ranks. On Wednesday forenoon I took a party with me to Dundas Street, intercepted the Great Western mail stage and took a number of prisoners, with the stage, mails and driver, up to our camp. The editors state that money was taken from the mail, which was not the case; but the letters of Mr. Sullivan, president of the Executive Council, Mr. Buchannon, and others, conveyed useful information. We found they expected soon to have strength enough to attack us in the country, and I wrote to the executive in the city to give us timely notice of any such attack. Some of the leading reformers in the city had left it, *out not to join us*; others seemed to have lost their energies; neither messenger nor letters reached our camp; the executive was not there. One man on horseback told us we might be attacked on Thursday. My chief hope lay in this, that if we were not attacked until Thursday night, vast reinforcements would join us from the outer townships, and that reformers at a distance would march to our aid the moment they heard that we had struck for self-government. With this view I sought to confine the attention of the enemy to the defence of the city, and on Thursday morning selected forty riflemen and twenty others to go down and burn the Don bridge, the eastern approach to Toronto, and the house at its end, to take the Montreal stage and mails, and to draw out the forces in that quarter if possible. I also proposed that the rest of our men who had arms should take the direction to the right or left, or to retreat to a strong position as prudence might dictate. At this moment Colonel Van Egmond, a native of Holland, owning thirteen thousand acres of land in the Huron tract, a tried patriot, and of great military experience under Napoleon, joined us, and one of the captains desired a council to be held, which was done. Colonel V. approved of my plan, a party went off, set fire to the bridge, burnt the house, took the mails, and went through a part of the city unmolested. But the counselling and discussing of my project occasioned a delay of two hours, which proved our ruin, for the enemy having obtained large reinforcements by the steamers from Cobourg, Niagara and Hamilton, resolved to attack us in three divisions, one of them to march up Yonge Street, and the others by way about a mile to the right and left of the road. Had our forces started in the morning, the party at the bridge would have interfered with and broken up the enemy's plan of attack, and we would have been in motion near Toronto, ready to retreat to some of the commanding positions in its rear, or to join the riflemen below and then enter the city. We were still at the hotel discussing what was best to be done, when one of the guards told us that the enemy was marching up with music and artillery and within a mile of us. Our people immediately prepared for battle; I rode down towards the enemy, doubting the intelligence, until when within a short distance I saw them with my own eyes. I rode quietly back, asked our men if they were ready to fight a greatly superior force, well armed, and with artillery well served. They were ready, and I bade them to go to the woods and do their best. They did so, and never did men fight more courageously. In the face of a heavy fire of grape and canister, with broadsides of musketry in steady and rapid succession, they stood their ground firmly and killed and wounded a large number of the enemy, but were at length com-

was the bayonets of "the men of Gore" who came to his assistance. On the night of the 3d December Mackenzie returned from his tour through the province, and on arriving at the house of Mr. Gibson learned that Rolph

pelled to retreat. In a more favorable position, I have no doubt but they would have beaten the assailants with immense loss. As it was, they had only three killed and three or four wounded. I felt anxious to go to Montgomery's for my portfolio and papers, which were important, but it was out of the question, so they fell into the hands of the enemy. All my papers previous to the event of that week I had destroyed, except a number of business letters, and these it took my family upwards of an hour and a quarter to burn. But with all my caution, some letters fell into their hands to the injury of others.

The statement has been made that the prisoners were ill-treated, but nothing could be further from the truth. They had the largest and best rooms in the hotel, twelve bedchambers were appointed to their special use, and bedding, while our volunteers lay in their wearing clothes on the floor of the barn and other apartments—they fared as we fared; and for their amusement I sent them up European, American and Canadian papers, often without reading them myself. Mr. McDonald wrote to his family that he was kindly treated, and it is unjust for any British officer to allow such slanders as have appeared in the newspapers to go uncontradicted. As to Sir Francis Head's story of ten thousand men instantly making for the capital to support him, it is a sheer fabrication. If that were true, why has law become necessary since to suspend the trial by jury? Why were his family confined for two days on board a steam-boat? Why did he send us a flag of truce on Tuesday, when all the force he could muster was one hundred and fifty men and boys out of a population of twenty thousand in and near Toronto? The truth is, that thousands were on their way to join us on Thursday evening, that being the regular time for which the town had been summoned; and they, on learning that we were dispersed, made a virtue of necessity, and professed that they had come to aid the Tories!! Sir Francis in his speech says they were, generally speaking, without arms, and in fact most of them had none to bring. That was the grand difficulty; and would have been remedied had our movements been delayed till Thursday, as agreed on. Very few militiamen in Upper Canada had been entrusted with arms, and of these few the government had endeavored, through Captain McGrath and others, to deprive them previous to the outbreak. The burning of Mr. Gibson's house, stables and outhouses, by order and in the presence of Governor Head, was highly disgraceful to him, and is a stain upon his reputation. Dr. Horne's premises was head-quarters to the spies and traitors who infested our camp and used for the purpose of the enemy, but this was not the case with those of Mr. Gibson. Yet government destroyed them and carried off his cattle, horses, grain, and property, and used or sold it, and kept the money. The movables of hundreds of others were taken in the same way. Sir Francis' advisers may live to see this example followed more extensively than they desire. When the reformers destroyed the house of Doctor Horne, they did not carry off the value of one farthing of his effects. As to Sheriff Jarvis' premises, they would have been burned but for two reasons—first, we had no proof that the sheriff's house was used as rendezvous for our enemies; and second, there were sick people in it, whom we did not wish to make war upon. About three thousand five hundred persons joined us during the three days on which we were behind Toronto. My large and extensive bookstore, the newest and most valuable printing establishment in Upper Canada, and my binkery, were entered by Alderman Powell and others on Tuesday, the types upset, the work destroyed, and everything on the premises either rendered useless or carried off. The American people will understand the state of society in the Canadas when informed that martial law obtains in Montreal, and that the habeas corpus act is suspended in Toronto; that the opposition presses are all destroyed or silenced, and their editors expatriated, and that liberty of speech and of the press is enjoyed in an equal degree in conquered Poland and in conquered Canada. There may be errors in the preceding narrative, and if so I shall be thankful for their correction. My motives having been impeached by some, I cheerfully refer to those of all parties who have had the best means of observing my public and private conduct for many years past. Whether I am deserving of blame as one who recommended a movement which has been unsuccessful, or for a lack of discretion or energy so far as concerned in its execution, are questions which, if worth while, the public have the facts before them to determine. Being of opinion that a vast majority of the people of Upper Canada earnestly desire independence, and firmly persuaded that with perseverance they will attain it, I intend to continue to

had changed the day of attack from the 7th to the 4th, and that numbers of the disaffected were already on the march. About one hundred arrived that night, and further reinforcements came in next morning, when Mackenzie advised an advance on the city, but overruled by others, and anxiously awaiting information from Rolph, he, with four others, proceeded towards the city. When within a short distance of the city they were met by Alderman Powell and Mr. Alexander McDonald, and arrested them, ordering them to be taken to head-quarters at Montgomery's. Two men, named Anderson and Shephard, were detailed to escort the prisoners, but after going a short way Alderman Powell suddenly drew a pistol, shot Anderson dead, and started on his way back to Toronto. He was again met by Mackenzie, who fired at him but missed him, when the alderman riding close up to the rebel put his pistol to his heart and pulled the trigger: but the priming had got shaken out of the old-fashioned flint-and-steel pistol and it did not go off, so that Mackenzie escaped with a good scare and the alderman continued on his way to Toronto, where he gave the alarm. Sir Francis Head, who had gone to bed with a sick headache, was suddenly aroused, and at last convinced that his "moral" influence was not sufficient to check the insurgents, hastily called for volunteers, and sent messengers into the surrounding country to summon the military, knowing that the men of Toronto were not to be wholly relied on; and at night the ringing of the alarm bells told Mackenzie that his scheme was known, and that if he wanted to take his rebels into Toronto, he must do it quickly, or be prepared to fight his way there.

12.—The winter being unusually mild and open, navigation had not yet closed, and the governor's family was placed on board of a steamer to be ready for removal in the event of an attack requiring it necessary. The alarmed citizens fled to arms and were served with muskets from the store of four thousand in the City Hall,—which Sir Francis made his head-quarters—and pickets were established. Shortly after the death of the rebel Anderson, the first loyalist who met his death was Lieutenant-Colonel Moodie, an officer who had served with distinction in the Peninsula under Wellington, who had distinguished himself during

devote my very humble efforts towards hastening the happy time when colonial vassalage will be exchanged for freedom and peace. The Canadian people owe to their American brethren a large debt of gratitude, and will, I trust, ever remember the kindness and sympathy extended towards them. The freemen of this frontier have lost sight of the political and party divisions of the hour, and enthusiastically cheered our aspirations for liberty, indulging a lively hope that Heaven would speedily bless their efforts, and hasten the day in which they will be enabled to burst the bonds of ages of tyranny, attain liberal political institutions, and become prosperous and free. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

W. L. MACKENZIE.

the American war, especially at Queenston, and who had afterwards retired on half pay and settled on Yonge Street, some miles out of Toronto. He saw a number of rebels under command of a blacksmith named Lount, pass his house, and guessing that they intended to attack Toronto, determined to warn the authorities; and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he, with Captain Stewart of the royal navy and three other friends, proceeded towards the city. At Montgomery's tavern the party was stopped by the guard posted there by Mackenzie, and on his firing his pistol he was instantly shot by an Irishman name Ryan, and died about two hours afterwards in the hotel. During Monday night and Tuesday reinforcements continued to arrive at Montgomery's until Mackenzie had about eight hundred men at his command. Sir Francis, being informed of the accession to the rebel force, having received no help from the country militia, and unable to depend on the Toronto men, who were generally disaffected, desired to gain time, and sent two messengers, with a flag of truce, to the insurgents to know what they wanted. The messengers were Dr. Rolph and Robert Baldwin, both reformers, and the former the "executive" in Toronto of the rebels, who added the character of coward to that of traitor, and ran away to the States at the earliest opportunity, leaving his friends to suffer the penalty of the misconduct he had been so instrumental in bringing about. To the demand of the messengers as to what the insurgents wanted, Mackenzie vauntingly replied, "Independence," and added the insult that he could not believe Sir Francis Head's word, and must have any proposition from him in writing and within an hour. This suited Sir Francis well enough, as it gave him the only thing he wanted, time, and about two o'clock the same two messengers were sent back to Mackenzie to inform him that his demand could not be complied with. At the same time Rolph secretly instructed Mackenzie not to make the attack until six o'clock, when the Toronto sympathizers would meet him.

13.—By Tuesday evening the rebels numbered over eight hundred, and about six o'clock advanced on the city. When about half a mile from the city, they came upon a picket of about twenty men, who fired at them and then retreated. But they need not have done that, for that one volley knocked all the pluck out of the rebels, and they ran away without waiting to see who or how many assailed them. To use Mr. Mackenzie's own words, they "took to their heels with a speed and steadiness of purpose that would have baffled pursuit on foot." All attempts to rally them were in vain; they flatly refused to make a night attack, but promised to be more courageous by daylight. On this same Tuesday, however, events were transpiring which were very speedily to change the complexion of affairs; about two o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Allan McNab, commanding the militia at Gore (now Hamilton),

Arrival of "the men of Gore." Rout of the rebels.

heard of the threatened attack on Toronto, and he immediately seized a steamer lying at the wharf, put a guard on board of her, and sent messengers out in all directions summoning all loyal men to come to the rescue, and by five o'clock more men than the steamer could accommodate had come in, and a few hours after the heart of Sir Francis Head was made glad by the news that "the men from Gore" had arrived, and that there were more to follow," and they did follow; all that night and the following day loyal men from all the surrounding country poured into Toronto, so that by Thursday Sir Francis found himself strong enough to take the offensive and drive the rebels from their head-quarters at Montgomery's tavern. The rebels had also been reinforced, and according to Mackenzie about thirty-five hundred men joined him while he was at Montgomery's, or Gallow's Hill, as the place was called, but most of them went away again, and only about four hundred remained when the militia marched against them. Von Egmond, an ex-officer under Napoleon, who had settled in Canada, was appointed generalissimo of the rebels, and joined them on Thursday morning. By his advice a party of sixty men was sent to burn the Don bridge and capture the Montreal mail, which was done; but the bridge was not destroyed, as the flames were easily extinguished after the rebels left. About eleven o'clock the forces from Toronto moved forward to the attack, the main body of six hundred men led by Colonel McNab, while about three hundred more endeavored to flank the rebels who were posted in a small wood near the road. The few who remained faithful to Mackenzie were for the most part poorly armed or not armed at all and they scarcely made any defence, flying in every direction as soon as a few rounds of grape and canister were fired at them from the two field-pieces the militia had with them. The rebels lost thirty-six killed and fourteen wounded, while the militia had only one man wounded. But little mercy was shown, and only two prisoners were made. Mackenzie took an early opportunity of leaving, and made good his escape to the States, where he continued plotting for another rebellion of which we shall speak by and by. £1,000 reward had been offered for his arrest, and £500 each for several other rebel leaders. Rolph and Bidwell had both fled, and the former aired his eloquence shortly after at Lewiston in favor of rebellion.

14.—So ended Mackenzie's wild attempt to turn Upper Canada into a republic, an attempt so absurd that one can scarcely credit any one but a Mackenzie's mistake as to the loyalty of the people. crazy man undertaking it, and the more prudent of the Reform party, like Baldwin, showed their good sense by having nothing to do with the scheme, but waited, like sensible men, until the opportunity came for them to obtain by constitutional means the constitutional reform they demanded. Mac-

kenzie never had the slightest chance of success, not near so much as Papineau had, and his chances were small enough, for in Lower Canada the French were unanimous in favor of "*Le Nation Canadienne*," and were only restrained by the priests from rising *en masse*; but in Upper Canada the case was very different; out of a population of nearly half a million not one fifth favored Mackenzie's scheme, and although the capture of Toronto would undoubtedly have brought many of the doubting and hesitating to his standard, and have caused much more bloodshed and loss of property, there was no question about the ultimate result; England was not at all likely to allow so valuable a colony as Canada to be wrested from her without a struggle, and the people of the United States, although they were ready enough to aid and encourage the rebels, knew what was good for them too well to risk another war with England, especially at a time when the national treasury was empty, commercial ruin staring almost every other man in the face, and the whole country nearly bankrupt. During the time Mackenzie was in possession of Montgomery's tavern he took fifty-four prisoners, and although there were some complaints of ill-usage, he appears to have treated them as well as circumstances would permit him to. Sir Francis Head ordered the destruction of Montgomery's tavern and also the house of Mr. Gibson, for whose arrest £500 was offered.

15.—The greatest excitement now prevailed throughout the province; thousands hurried to Toronto, and Sir Francis Head soon found that he could command ten thousand men if needed. Indeed so many came that he was obliged to say he did not want any more, and he sent the Gleggarr militia and those others near the borders of the two provinces home, with instructions to go to the assistance of Sir John Colborne if he needed their services. Dr. Duncombe tried to get up a small rebellion in the London district, and Colonel McNab, with five hundred men, was sent to suppress it; but Duncombe, like Mackenzie, Papineau, Rolph, Brown and other heroes had a great regard for his own safety, and ran away as soon as he heard the militia were coming. His followers, left without a leader, were quickly dispersed, the bulk being disarmed and pardoned, while the ringleaders were made prisoners and sent to Hamilton for trial. Mackenzie had not, however, abandoned his wild scheme, and was soon hard at work in Buffalo, with Rolph and others, who formed the "executive committee," organized an invasion of Canada which the United States government not only permitted to be done openly, but the officials either assisted the rebels or winked at their doings. Buffalo has always been noted for having a large floating population of very questionable characters, and Mackenzie had no difficulty in attracting to his standard a number of vagabonds

who were "ready to cut any man's throat for a dollar," as a Buffalo paper described them, and a worthless scamp named Van Rensselaer was appointed commander-in-chief.

16.—Mackenzie next looked about for a convenient place to make his head-quarters, and selected Navy Island, a small island in the Niagara River about two miles above the Falls and opposite The rebels occupy Navy Island. Chippewa, where Van Rensselaer took up his abode and was joined by about one thousand adventurers who had been induced to enter on the speculation on promises of large tracts of land. Wealthy American citizens furnished the capital necessary, provisions and ammunition, and to show how the American government favored the rebels, thirteen guns were taken out of the State arsenals of the frontier towns and mounted on the island. The winter was most unusually mild and open, the ice had not formed on the lakes yet, and it was easy to obtain stores and ammunition from Buffalo. As soon as he heard of the occupation of Navy Island, Sir Francis Head promptly sent Colonel Cameron and a body of militia to Chippewa, and Colonel McNab followed soon after, and speedily found himself at the head of twenty-five hundred men. He formed a camp ~~at~~ Navy Island, and began to remonstrate with the American authorities for permitting the lawless gang of ruffians on Navy Island to be supplied with provisions from Buffalo, representing that if this was done they would soon be starved into submission, which would prevent bloodshed, a thing he was anxious to avoid; but the American authorities paid no attention, and supplies were publicly sent, the steamer *Caroline* was cut out of the ice at Buffalo in broad daylight and loaded with provisions and ammunition for Navy Island, without the government interfering, and seventeen prominent American citizens signed a bond to the owner to indemnify him in the event of capture, and the collector of customs gave her a clearance.

17.—Fire had, meanwhile, been opened from the batteries on the island on the Canadian shore; but beyond putting a few shot through a house and killing a horse, no damage was done. Destruction of the Caroline by the British. Near the end of the year Sir Francis Head visited Chippewa, and Colonel McNab advocated an attack on Navy Island, feeling confident that he could easily capture it; but Sir Francis was reluctant to risk the lives of the militia, and refused his consent, although he agreed to a proposition to capture the *Caroline*, which was now openly engaged in furnishing the island with provisions. Up to this time the Canadians had not fired a shot, although they had been fired on not only from Navy Island, but also from Grand Island, belonging to the United States, and from the American Fort Schlosser. The execution of the plan to capture the *Caroline* was entrusted to Lieutenant Drew, of the royal navy, who

cleverly cut her out of Fort Schlosser, where she was laid up for the night, on the 28th December, without the loss of a man and only three wounded, while the rebels lost five killed and had a number wounded. As it was found impossible to take the *Caroline* across the river on account of the swiftness of the current, she was set on fire and allowed to drift down over the Falls of Niagara, forming a magnificent spectacle as she came rushing down that mighty rapid, wrapped completely in one sheet of flame, and took that awful leap into space and darkness. This capture raised a great hubbub in the United States, and the papers teemed with terrifically warlike articles demanding an instant attack on Canada for this outrage on American territory, the vessel being in American water when she was taken, ignoring the fact that she was actually engaged in making war upon the people of Upper Canada, and that the guns used on Navy Island were taken from the arsenals of the State of New York, and that the commissary-general of the State either could not or would not recover possession of them, although ordered to do so by Governor Marcy, at the instance of Sir Francis Head. This subject of the capture of the *Caroline* was a source of much correspondence between the two nations for several years, and was not finally settled until 1842, when Great Britain apologized. The piratical band of Americans and rebels did not occupy Navy Island very long after the capture of the *Caroline*; Sir John Colborne having put down the rebellion in Lower Canada now turned his attention to the Upper Province, and despatched a body of men with heavy artillery and mortars to the assistance of Colonel McNab. As soon as the guns were got in position they opened fire on Navy Island, and soon rendered it untenable, so that on 14th January, 1838, Van Rensselaer withdrew his forces to the American mainland. The casualties of the Canadians during the whole of the operations against Navy Island, were one killed and one wounded.

18.—The Legislature met on 28th December, 1837, but nothing of importance was done beyond providing for the contingencies that might arise out of the rebellion and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. While these events were transpiring on the Niagara frontier an attempt was being made to invade the far west of Upper Canada from the State of Michigan. Late in the year an American citizen named Sutherland, who styled himself "General of the 2d Division of the Patriot Army," left Buffalo for Cleveland, where a descent on Amherstburg was planned. On the 7th January, 1838, the marauders, under command of a man named Dodge, took possession of the Canadian island of Bois Blanc, in the Detroit River opposite Amherstburg, where about one thousand Americans and Canadians were shortly as-

Sutherland's successful demonstration against Amherstburg.

sembled, and Sutherland, who had joined Dodge at Gibraltar Village with three field-pieces, two hundred and fifty stands of arms, and a large supply of provisions, took command. The help and support given by the Americans was most open, and in clear violation of the treaty of peace existing between Great Britain and the United States. A large schooner named the *Anne* was loaded at Detroit with cannon and small arms taken from the Michigan State arsenal, and no effort was made by the United States Marshal to stop her. At this time Amherstburg was entirely without a garrison, and there were not even arms for the militia who hastily assembled to the number of about three hundred, many of whom were armed with old fowling-pieces and pitchforks. On the 8th it was reported at Amherstburg that Sutherland was advancing from Sugar Island, on the American side of the river, to Bois Blanc, and the latter island was at once taken possession of by the Canadian militia. Sutherland had now two vessels, the *Anne* and the *George Strong*, with a number of boats and a total force of about six hundred men. He bore down to Bois Blanc, but being met by a steady discharge of musketry from the militia, he sheered off and made for the American shore, and the militia, fearing that he might attempt to attack Amherstburg, returned to the mainland to defend that place, and Sutherland soon after took possession of the island on the following day. On that day the *George Strong* was captured by the militia, and the *Anne* opened fire on Amherstburg, but without doing much damage. The *Anne* was above the town, and her commander, Theller, knowing that the Canadians had no artillery, determined to run past the town; but such a fire of musketry was kept up that the vessel's sails and rigging were cut to pieces and she drifted helplessly on the shore, where the militia boarded and captured her, after killing three of the crew and wounding twelve. Twenty-one prisoners were taken, with three guns and upwards of three hundred stands of arms. Sutherland immediately withdrew to Sugar Island, where he was visited by the governor of Michigan, and his men dispersed, Sutherland himself being arrested and tried, but as was to be expected, was acquitted. This ended Sutherland's attack on the west. Two of the guns taken from the *Anne* were mounted on Fort Malden, and the muskets were extremely acceptable to the militia, who sadly needed them. The third gun was placed on a small schooner fitted up by Captain Vidal, an ex-navy officer who had settled in the neighborhood.

19.—Fully four thousand militia had by this time assembled along the frontier, amongst whom were about two hundred Delaware Indians and a body of colored men who had escaped from the South and sought in Canada that freedom for which they were now willing to fight. Although utterly foiled at every point, Mackenzie still

Another attempt at rebel invasion foiled.

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continued his mad design of causing more bloodshed and ruin in Canada, and, moving his head-quarters to Watertown, set himself to work during the winter to form Hunter's Lodges, a secret treasonable society something like the Fenian Organization which in later years the United States government allowed to openly plan an attack on Canada without the least attempt at interference. As it was in 1867, so it was in 1838, and Mackenzie was allowed to plot against a friendly power quite as undisturbedly as Stephens, O'Mahony and others were permitted in 1867. Early in February, 1838, Mackenzie determined on a continued attack on Canada from four points,—Detroit, Sandusky, Watertown and Vermont,—the last we have already dealt with in our history of Lower Canada. The demonstration from Watertown was a *fiasco*. The "Patriots," as they termed themselves, to the number of about two thousand, under command of Van Rensselaer, of Navy Island celebrity, and a rough named Bill Johnson, assembled at French Creek, on the St. Lawrence; but finding that the garrison and militia of Kingston were prepared to give them a warm reception, they did not cross over, and soon dispersed. The party from Detroit, under command of McLeod, took possession of a small island in the Detroit River, but were easily dislodged by artillery and retreated to the American shore, where the force was quietly disarmed and dispersed by the American government, now fully alive to the fact that it could no longer remain an idle spectator of these outrages on a friendly power.

20.—The marauding horde from Sandusky was under command of Sutherland, who with about five hundred men established himself on the small Canadian island of Point Pele, about forty miles from Amherstburg, and twenty from the mainland. Meanwhile a number of regulars had arrived at the Detroit frontier, and Colonel Maitland, of the 32d regiment, determined on dislodging the marauders from Point Pele Island. The ice had now taken firmly, and he crossed his men on it and posted a portion of them so as to cut off the rebel retreat to the American shore. When the rebels found they were surrounded, they fought stubbornly, and the main body succeeded in fighting its way to the American shore, after having lost thirteen in killed, forty wounded, and a number of prisoners. The British loss was two killed and twenty-eight wounded. So ended all these new attacks in failure and disgrace. During this period Sir Francis Head had been growing in disfavor with the Home government; his administration was not popular, and his recall was determined on. His successor was Sir George Arthur, who had been governor of the penal settlement of Van Diemand's Land, and who arrived in Toronto on 23d March, 1838, shortly after Sir Francis had opened the Legislature. That gentleman left almost immediately for England by way of

New York, and very narrowly escaped assassination at Watertown, N. Y., where he was recognized by some of the Mackenzie sympathizers, and only escaped by reason of his good horsemanship.

1866

CHAPTER XCV.

UPPER CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE ARTHUR.

1. THE "CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMERS" ASK MERCY FOR THE REBELS.—2. DEFENCES OF THE PARTIES STRENGTHENED. MERCIFUL POLICY TOWARDS THE REBELS.—3. SEIZURE AND BURNING OF THE *Sir Robert Peel* BY THE REBELS. OTHER OUTRAGES.—4. THE LAST REBEL INVASION.—5. THE REBELS ATTACK PRESCOTT. DEFEAT AND CAPTURE AT WINDMILL POINT.—6. THE LAST EFFORT OF THE REBELS. EXECUTIONS AND BANISHMENTS.—7. END OF MACKENZIE'S CAREER.—8. THE ASSEMBLY ADOPT RESOLUTIONS FAVORING UNION. THEY ARE REJECTED BY THE COUNCIL.—9. PASSAGE OF THE UNION BILL BY BOTH HOUSES.—10. CLERGY RESERVES. LAST PARLIAMENT OF UPPER CANADA.—11. THE UNION ACT PASSED BY THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

1.—No further attempts were made by the rebels during the month of March and April; but the Hunter's Lodges were kept up and Mackenzie was still preparing for another attack. Meanwhile the jails at Hamilton and Toronto were filled to overflowing, having upwards of five hundred prisoners in them awaiting trials, which were now progressing before a Special Commission at Hamilton and a court-martial at Toronto. That portion of the Reform party which had been too cautious, or too timorous, to join Mackenzie in open revolt, now styled themselves "Constitutional Reformers," and took advantage of the arrival of Sir George Arthur to present him with a numerously signed petition praying mercy for the five hundred political offenders who were awaiting trial. But Sir George Arthur's experience in a convict settlement was not such as would predispose him to lean towards the side of mercy; he briefly replied that he had no intention of interfering with the course of justice; and retorted on the "Constitutional Reformers" by reminding them that it was under the guise of reform that all the atrocities for which these men were to be tried had been committed, and that in the face of the bloodshed and ruin brought on the country by the "Reform" party, he thought it very improper to adopt

Defeat of the rebels at Point Pele Island.

The "Constitutional Reformers" ask mercy for the rebels.

such a title at that time; which well-merited rebuke made him unpopular with the leaders of the party; but they had to be patient; the people, whose homes had been ruthlessly invaded, whose friends or relations had been murdered, and who had been made to suffer all the trials and privations of a winter campaign, were in no humor to be trifled with, and the party leaders were wise enough to see that the less said about reform just then, the better it would be for them in the end.

2.—The signs of the times were now undoubtedly indicative of war. The dissatisfaction felt in the States with regard to the Maine boundary question, and the excitement kept up by the press over the destruction of the *Caroline*, made it highly probable that war might be declared at any moment, while the strong sympathy shown the rebels by the Americans, and their repeated acts of hostility towards Canada, made the Canadians rather desirous of having an enemy whom they could fight fairly than a nominal friend who was frequently administering a stab in the back. In view of the threatening aspect of affairs Sir John Colborne, commander-in-chief, put the whole frontier in as efficient a state of defence as possible; the works at Kingston were strengthened; Fort Wellington, at Prescott, rendered impregnable; Fort Malden, at Amherstburg was repaired and strengthened; large barracks were built at London, while those at Toronto were enlarged, and Fort Mississauga, at Niagara, was put in a thorough state of defence, while competent engineers were sent to all points where fortifications were required. As spring advanced and navigation opened, large reinforcements from England arrived at Quebec, and were mostly forwarded to the Upper Province and distributed along the frontier; these, backed up by forty thousand effective militia, enabled Canada to show a stronger front than she had ever done before. The government had been temperate in its treatment of the political prisoners, only two, Lount and Mathews, had been executed for treason, all the others found guilty had had their sentences commuted to imprisonment; some were acquitted for want of proof, and a large number of the "small-fry" had been released on their giving security for future good conduct.

3.—The excitement attending the events of the winter was somewhat subsiding, and it was not expected that Mackenzie would again attempt to disturb the province; but that misguided man had not yet seen the utter hopelessness of his wild scheme, and so long as the United States tolerated him he continued to plot against the peace of Canada. About May it began to be freely rumored that another attempt was to be made by the rebels and their American friends; but the frontier was now so well protected that no anxiety was felt. The first act of the new drama of

war and bloodshed was played on the 29th May, when the notorious Bill Johnson and fifty men boarded and captured the steamboat *Sir Robert Peel*, one of the finest vessels in the St. Lawrence, while she was taking in wood at Wells Island, on the American side of the river, about seven miles from French Creek. The vessel was boarded near morning, the crew and passengers, amongst whom were several ladies, sent on shore in very inclement weather, the vessel pillaged and burned, Johnson and his gang then making good their escape to the American side of the river, Governor Marcy, of New York, took prompt measures to redress this outrage, and offered a reward for the arrest of Johnson, but that worthy made good his escape to the Thousand Islands, and managed to evade the hands of justice. Here he and part of his gang reorganized, and on the 7th June made a descent on Amherst Island, near Kingston, burned their farm-houses, and carried off money and valuables; shortly after which he had the impertinence to issue a proclamation acknowledging that he had burned the *Robert Peel*, and threatening further outrages. Sir John Colborne sent a body of sailors and marines to scour the Thousand Islands and strengthen the posts along the frontier, while the American government sent a body of troops to the front to prevent the organization of any more armed bands for making inroads into Canada. Notwithstanding these precautions a body of ruffians, under a man named Morrow, crossed the Niagara frontier, overpowered a few lancers and plundered a house at the Short Hills of a large sum of money and valuable property. Thirty of this gang, with their leader, were captured in a swamp where they had taken refuge, and Morrow was subsequently tried and hung. Other outrages occurred at Delaware and at Goderich, where shops were plundered; and Sir George Arthur issued a proclamation forbidding any person travelling in the province without a proper passport.

4.—As summer progressed the feeling of anxiety began to be allayed. The American authorities were now actively exerting themselves to prevent the fitting out of hostile expeditions in their territory, and some attempts to form filibustering parties were suppressed. The tour of Lord Durham through the province gave the people something besides rebellion to think and talk about, and the reform press again began to discuss the question of constitutional reforms. Some excitement was caused by the escape of some prisoners from Kingston, which was increased by the escape from Quebec of Theller and Dodge, who had been captured in the *Ame*; but matters were gradually assuming their normal condition. This lasted until the fall, when Sir John Colborne received accurate information of another intended invasion, and part of the militia was called out by Sir George Arthur on 23d October. This last attempt to invade Canada by the rebels was based on the usual

Defences of the frontier strengthened. Merciful policy towards the rebels.

The last rebel invasion.

Seizure and burning of the *Sir Robert Peel* by the rebels. Other outrages.

plan of three simultaneous attacks at different points; Robert Nelson was to invade Lower Canada by way of Napierville, while attacks were to be made on Fort Wellington at Prescott and Fort Malden, at Amherstburg; but Sir John Colborne was so well informed of the proposed movements and was so well able to meet them, that this last attempt was even more hopeless than any of the previous ones.

5.—The 10th of November was the date selected by the rebels for their next attack, and on that day a number of armed men embarked on the steamer *United States* at Oswego, amid the cheers of their friends and sympathizers. On her way down the river she took in tow two schooners filled with rebels, which were cast off near Prescott, and they anchored about midway between that place and Ogdensburgh. On the morning of the 12th they were attacked by the armed steamer *Experiment*, which also fired into the steamer *United States*, which came out of Ogdensburgh to take the schooners in tow. The *Experiment* having injured one of her two guns had to run into Prescott to refit, and the rebels took advantage of her absence to land about two hundred and fifty men at Windmill Point, near Prescott, but out of the reach of the guns at Fort Wellington. The rebels were commanded by a Polish refugee named Von Schultz, and the position they assumed was a very strong one. The windmill was large and strongly built, and was flanked by several stone houses and stout walls, which position the rebels still further strengthened by throwing up earthworks. Here they awaited the arrival of the country people they expected to join them, but they were wofully disappointed, for none came, but on the contrary nearly five hundred militia hurried to Prescott at once, and on the morning of the 13th, Major Young, supported by the *Victoria* and *Cobourg*, armed steamers, moved to the attack of the rebels. The rebels, finding they could not escape, fought desperately, but were finally forced to retreat to the stone dwellings, where they were allowed to remain for the night, as the militia had no artillery and the guns of the schooners were too light to seriously damage the houses. The Canadian loss was eight killed and forty-two wounded; while the rebels had thirteen men killed, a number wounded and thirty-two prisoners. The battle was witnessed by a large crowd on the American shore, and several attempts to send over assistance were made but prevented by the armed steamers. About this time the United States marshal also asserted himself and took possession of the two rebel steamers and the tug *United States*, so that the rebels in the windmill were left without means of escape and abandoned to their fate. The next two days were spent in getting up heavy artillery from Kingston, the militia and the armed schooners preventing any hope of escape or reinforcements for the

The rebels attack Prescott. Defeat and capture at Windmill Point.

rebels. On the 16th, the heavy guns having arrived, fire was opened on the stone houses, which were quickly set on fire, and the rebels retreated to the windmill, but finding further resistance useless they surrendered at discretion, one hundred and thirty giving themselves up; about fifty were killed, many of whom were burned in the houses. The Canadian loss was one killed and five wounded.

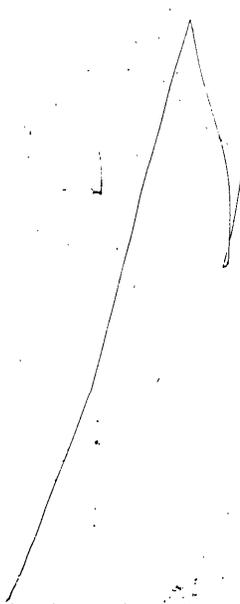
6.—The last attempt of the rebels was made against Amherstburg. On the morning of the 4th December about four hundred and fifty rebels crossed from Detroit to Windsor, captured the small militia guard there, burned the steamer *Thames* and two houses, murdered a negro who refused to join them, and marched for Sandwich, two miles distance on the road to Amherstburg. While on the march, however, the militia managed to escape, and the rebels, in revenge, brutally murdered Surgeon Hume, who happened to meet them, and brutally mutilated his body. Shortly after the rebels were attacked by Colonel Prince, with about two hundred militia, and totally routed, twenty-one being killed. Four prisoners were taken, whom Prince had shot, but twenty-six more captured afterwards were reserved for trial. The loss to the Canadians was one killed and two wounded. The rebels were still strongly posted at Windsor, and Prince thought it prudent to retire to Sandwich until he received reinforcements; and having been joined by some regulars and a field-piece, he again advanced towards Windsor. But the rebels had by this time made up their minds that their cause was hopeless, and most of them crossed to Detroit, while a few took to the woods, where nineteen of them were found a few days afterwards frozen to death. So ended the last invasion by the rebels; but the carnival of blood was not yet over. The clemency of the government the previous year having been abused, the policy of mercy was abandoned and stern justice meted out to those taken in arms. Courts-martial were held at Kingston and London, and numbers found guilty of treason; of these Von Schultz and nine others, chiefly Americans, were executed at Kingston; three were executed at London, and a large number were transported to the penal settlements at New Holland. A number of boys taken at Prescott were pardoned and allowed to go to their homes.

7.—Meanwhile the prime mover in all this scene of blood and carnage was at large and likely to remain so, although a large reward was offered for his capture; but Mackenzie was too wary to run the risk of the fate which he knew would inevitably meet him if he was captured, and kept out of the way, going first to New York, where he attempted to start a newspaper but failed; he next tried Rochester, but the people there speedily grew tired of him, and he was arrested, tried and convicted of

The last effort of the rebels. Executions and banishments.

End of Mackenzie's career.





promoting armed incursions into Upper Canada, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in Monroe County jail and a fine of ten dollars. He defended himself, and tried to gain the sympathy of the Americans by pandering to their anti-British feeling and abusing the queen; he declared that Upper Canada was in a state of anarchy at the time of the rebellion, and that there was really no government to rebel against; of her majesty he said: "I affirm that the girl has forfeited all right to rule over any part of what she claims as her dominions. I was born in the reign of her uncle, and have long been tired of their usurped tyranny." Still, to show his consistency, after his release from jail he went to England, after being pardoned for his political offences, and returned to Canada in 1850, when he was again elected to the House of Assembly, where he served until 1858, when he resigned. He died of softening of the brain in 1861.

8.—The Legislature met on 27th February, 1839, and Sir George Arthur, in opening the session reviewed the rebellion and pointed out what measures it would be proper to adopt. He called attention to the questions of Clergy Reserves, common schools, and the resumption of specie payments by the banks, who had suspended during the rebellion. Referring to the financial condition of the province he said it still remained in a most unsatisfactory condition; but still he hoped the House would make provision for the large amounts he had been forced to spend in the defence of the province. Upper Canadian finances at this time were in anything but a healthy condition. The last public works which had been engaged in had run up a debt of over £1,000,000, the interest on which was about £63,000 per annum. The civil expenditure of the preceding year was £20,000 larger than the usual amount; and the deficiency in the resources of the province for the current year would be about \$350,000; it was, therefore, evident that unless some means was taken to remedy this state of affairs the province must eventually become bankrupt, as it could not go on borrowing forever. One means of relief was in a union of the provinces and the assumption of the debt by the joint province; this plan became popular after the report of the Earl of Durham was published in the spring, and resolutions in favor of the union were passed by the Assembly, but rejected by the Legislative Council—where the Family Compact still had control—by a majority of two. Parliament was prorogued on 14th May, about the most important work of the session being the assumption by the government of the Welland Canal. During this year the various military works in progress were completed, and the defences along the frontier put in most complete order, so that Canada was never in a better position to repel an attack from the only enemy she is ever at all likely to come in contact with, our neigh-

The Assembly adopt resolutions favoring Union. They are rejected by the Council.

bors to the south; and it is pleasing to think that an outbreak with them now is one of those events which do not come within the scope of probability.

9.—Sir John Colborne having been recalled, Mr. C. Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham) was appointed governor-general, and after having met the special Council of Lower Canada, and received from them their consent to the projected union, he visited the Upper Province, arriving in Toronto on 21st November, and assumed temporary charge of the administration. Parliament met on the 3d December, and his excellency in opening the session informed the members that the project of a reunion of the provinces would be at once laid before them. Mr. Thomson was well aware when he came to Canada that there would be opposition to the union scheme to be encountered from the Legislative Council. In Lower Canada the constitution had been suspended and a special council partially filled the place of the Assembly and Legislative Council; about the consent of this body to the union there was no doubt; the Assembly of Upper Canada had at its last session declared itself in favor of the union and, therefore, little difficulty need be expected from that quarter; but with the Council it was different, that was the best stronghold of the Family Compact, and with the union, away would go the power of the oligarchy. Still the majority against the measure was not large, and by judicious management and the production of a dispatch from Lord John Russell, which made the union bill a government measure, the staunch loyalty of the high old Tory Family Compact was put to the test, either it must vote for the bill or resign—and the majority preferred to vote for the bill and it was accordingly passed. On the 7th December his excellency sent a message to the Assembly embodying the terms on which the union was proposed to be based, and after some dissension the House adopted four resolutions embodying the propositions contained in the governor's message, and the union of the provinces was an accomplished fact as far as the Legislatures of the provinces themselves were concerned, and only awaited the action of the imperial Parliament.*

* The governor in his message to the House after giving as the reasons for the union the facts that the constitution of Lower Canada had been suspended and that it was only by a union that representative government could be re-granted to her; and that Upper Canada, by her vast expenditure in public works had become so financially embarrassed that she could not meet her obligations unaided, proceeded to explain the proposed basis of Union as follows:

"The first of the terms of reunion, to which the governor-general desires the assent of the House of Assembly, is equal representation of each province in a united Legislature. Considering the amount of the population of Lower Canada, this proposition might seem to place that province in a less favorable position than Upper Canada, but, under the circumstances in which this province is placed, with the increasing population to be expected from immigration, and having regard to the commercial and agricultural enterprise of its inhabitants, an equal appointment of representation appears desirable.

"The second stipulation to be made is the grant of a sufficient civil list.

10.—The next question which occupied the attention of the House, after the consideration of the union bill was the vexed one of the Clergy Reserves: Clergy Reserves. Last Parliament of Upper Canada. and early in January, 1840, Solicitor-General Draper introduced a bill empowering the governor to sell the Reserves, the proceeds to be disposed of as follows: part of the proceeds to be applied to the payment of those clergymen of the Church of England to whom the crown was pledged; of the remainder one half to go to the churches of England and Scotland in proportion to their numbers; and the remaining half to be distributed amongst the other recognized Christian churches in proportion with their annual private contributions for the support of their ministers. The bill was passed by a majority of eight, but it by no means satisfied the Reform party, and the clergy revenues continued to give a good deal of trouble for many years to come. During this session a distinct expression of opinion was elicited from the governor on the subject of responsible government. In reply to an address from the House he replied "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." Shortly after this Attorney-General Hagerman, who had voted against the union bill, was raised to the bench, Solicitor-General Draper was made attorney-general, and Mr. Robert Baldwin was appointed solicitor-general. The last session of the last Parliament of Upper Canada was prorogued by the governor on 10th February, who congratulated the House on the amount of good and useful work it had done.

11.—The consent of the provincial Legislatures to the union having been received in England while Parliament was in session, Lord John Russell immediately introduced a bill providing for the union which passed both Houses and received the royal assent on 23d July, 1840, but by a suspensory clause it did not go into effect until the 10th February, 1841. The conduct of Mr. Thomson gave great satisfaction to the Home government, and he was

The propriety of rendering the judicial bench independent alike of the executive and the Legislative, and of the furnishing the means of carrying on the indispensable services of the government, admits of no question, and has been affirmed by the Parliament of Upper Canada in the acts passed by them for effecting those objects. In determining the amount of the civil list, the House of Assembly may be assured that the salaries and expenses to be paid from it will be calculated by her majesty's government with a strict regard to economy and the state of the Provincial finances.

"Thirdly, the governor-general is prepared to recommend to Parliament that so much of the existing debt of Upper Canada as has been contracted for public works of a general nature, should, after the union, be charged on the joint revenue of the united provinces. Adverting to the nature of the works for which this debt was contracted, and the advantage which must result from them to Lower Canada, it is not unjust that that province should bear a proportion of their expenses."

raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Sydenham and Toronto, and appointed governor of the Province of Canada. As soon as the passage of the bill in the Imperial Parliament was known, both parties began preparing for the elections, writs for which were issued immediately after the proclamation of the union on 10th February, and made returnable on 8th April. A new Executive Council, consisting of Messrs Sullivan, Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin and Day was also summoned. The elections were well contested and resulted in the return of a small reform majority, the conservatives returning a very respectable minority and the Family Compact only securing seven seats; it was thus evident, from the two great parties in Upper Canada being so evenly matched, that the French Canadian members from Lower Canada could hold the balance of power in their hands. Kingston had been selected as the new seat of government for the United Province, and the first session of the first Parliament of the Province of Canada was summoned to meet there on 13th June, 1841. The union of the provinces abolished the office of lieutenant-governor for Upper Canada, and Sir George Arthur was therefore relieved from office. As a fitting termination of the history of the Province of Upper Canada we give a list of its governors and administrators during the fifty years of its existence:

Col. J. G. Simcoe, Lieut. Gov.	1792
Hon. Peter Russell, President	1792
General Peter Hunter	1799
Hon. Alex. Grant, President	1805
Hon. Francis Gore	1806 and 1815
Sir Isaac Brock, President	1811
Sir R. H. Sheaffe, President	1813
Baron F. D. Rottenburg, President	1813
Sir Gordon Drummond	1813
Sir George Murray	1815
Sir Frederick P. Robinson	1815
Hon. Saml. Smith, Adm.	1817 and 1820
Sir Peregrine Maitland	1818 and 1820
Sir John Colborne	1828
Sir F. B. Head	1836
Sir George Arthur	1838

CHAPTER XCVI.

NOVA SCOTIA—FROM 1784 TO 1816.

1. VISIT OF PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY. IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGES.—2. ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF KENT. LOSS OF H. M. SHIP *La Tribune*.—3. THE MAROONS. A SKETCH OF THEIR HISTORY.—4. RE-

VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN WENTWORTH.—5. GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST. COMMENCEMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL BUILDING.—6. CAPTAIN BROKE PREPARING TO FIGHT ANY AMERICAN FRIGATE.—7. BROKE'S CHALLENGE TO THE *Chesapeake*.—8. ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE *Chesapeake* AND *Shannon*.—9. THE CASUALTIES. DEATH OF CAPTAIN LAWRENCE.—10. SIR JOHN SHERBROOKE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE STATE OF MAINE. ITS SUCCESS.

1.—The history of Nova Scotia after the separation of it from New Brunswick and Cape Breton, in 1784, presents few salient points for some years. Under the government of Edward Fanning, Esq., the colony progressed favorably from 1783 to 1791, and the paucity of great items to chronicle is the best evidence that the province was at peace and undisturbed by religious or political dissensions. The event which caused most excitement and pleasure was the arrival, on 4th October, 1786, of H.R.H. Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., who remained three weeks and then left for the West Indies, returning in June and again in October. The city put on quite a festive appearance during his visit, and a grand ball was given him at Government House. Much excitement was caused in 1788 by charges of maladministration being brought against Judges Deschamps and Brenton, at the instance of Sterne and Taylor, attorneys. The charges were examined into by the Council and declared not proved; but the inquiry not giving general satisfaction, the matter was referred to H.M. Privy Council and the judges honorably acquitted.

2.—Mr. John Wentworth arrived at Halifax as governor in 1792, and at once dissolved the assembly, which had sat for seven years. There was no cause for political excitement in those days, and the elections passed off very quietly, while the governor, in a letter to the Home secretary, complimented the house on the business-like manner in which it conducted its transactions. In May, 1794, H.R.H. Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, and the father of her present majesty Queen Victoria, arrived at Halifax, where he remained for some time. An event which threw a temporary gloom over Halifax, was the loss, on 22d November, 1797, of H.M. ship *La Tribune*, near Herring Cove, and out of a crew of two hundred and forty men, with some women and children, only eight lives were saved. *La Tribune* was a fine forty-four-gun frigate which had lately been captured from the French, and was commanded by Captain Barker. She was on her way from Torbay to Quebec, acting as convoy to a fleet; but becoming detached from her charge she ran on Thrum Cape Shoals. Boats were sent to her relief, and she was got off

after being lightened by throwing her guns overboard, and endeavored to make her way into the harbor. Meanwhile a strong gale from the southeast had sprung up, and it was found necessary to cast anchor, but the anchor dragged, and about half past ten the ship gave a lurch and went down, and although she was so near shore that the cries of those on board could be heard, the weather was so bad that no assistance could be rendered her. Many of the unfortunate crew clung to the rigging for hours, but were all washed off or fell exhausted into the sea, except eight, who were rescued next morning, the first person to go to their assistance being a boy of thirteen, who went out alone in a skiff and succeeded in saving two men.

3.—The year 1796 was marked by an attempt to form a colony at Preston of about five hundred Maroons, who were brought from the island of Jamaica, where they had given much trouble. The Maroons. A sketch of their history. These Maroons were descendants of the slaves of the Spanish who refused to quit Jamaica when the island was conquered by the British in 1655, but took to the mountains, where they subsisted principally on wild hogs, from which they derived their name of Maroons, or hog-hunters. For many years they harassed and annoyed the planters, and at last uniting under a leader named Cudjoe, became so troublesome that the government sent a detachment of troops, under Colonel Guthrie, to suppress them. Guthrie succeeded in making terms with Cudjoe by which the Maroons were allowed a sort of independence, certain lands being assigned them, and they having their own manners and customs. This continued for about fifty years; but in 1795 the Maroons became dissatisfied on several grounds, and at last broke into open rebellion. After being pursued in their mountain retreats by dogs, they submitted to General Walpole, who made a treaty with them that they should not be removed from the island, which treaty was shamelessly broken by the British government the following year, and the Maroons transported to Nova Scotia, where they were settled in the township of Preston and a Protestant clergyman and a schoolmaster appointed to instruct them. The government of Jamaica at first allowed ten pounds a year for each man, woman and child for their support, but after doing this for three years refused any further aid. When the government of Nova Scotia, finding that the Maroons were becoming a heavy tax on the province, appealed to the Home government, and the unfortunate Maroons were again transported in the fall of 1800, this time to Sierra Leone, where they remained for about forty years; but they had always fostered a love for their native island, and about 1836 began returning to Jamaica, so that by 1841 their number in Sierra Leone had decreased from nine hundred to about seventy, the balance having gone back to their native place.

4.—Governor Wentworth, who had been knighted, ad-

ministered the affairs of the province for sixteen years, on the whole very satisfactorily, the province prospering and the people being contented and happy. The outbreak of war with France, in 1793, and the subsequent arrival of the Duke of Kent, infused a martial spirit into the people, and a militia was formed which did great credit to the province. Sir John Wentworth was a fine specimen of a high Tory; intensely loyal, he was exceedingly jealous of anything which in the slightest degree appeared to him as encroaching on the prerogatives of the crown. He was a strong opponent of public meetings, which always smacked of rebellion to him, and for some years he persistently complained to the Home government of Mr. Collenham Tonge, a prominent lawyer and member of the Assembly, because he was fond of discussing public matters at length in that body; and in 1806, when Mr. Tonge was re-elected speaker, Sir John exercised the royal prerogative for the first time and refused to recognize him, and a new speaker was chosen. He was a strong supporter of the church, and boasted that the Church of England had no firmer friend than he was; and through his exertions King's College was established at Windsor in the interest of the church, all other denominations being excluded. Sir John was an accomplished gentleman, very amiable in private life and highly respected, so that on his being suspended, in 1808, by Sir George Prevost, the Legislature voted him £500 a year, to which the Home government added another £500.

5.—The administration of Sir George Prevost, which lasted until 1811, when he was called to the governor-generalship of Canada, was not marked by any very important events. On his arrival he made a tour of the province and expressed himself as highly pleased with its prosperous condition. Crops were abundant, trade and commerce flourishing, and the lumber trade with England steadily increasing. He does not seem, however, to have entertained a very high opinion of the loyalty of the people, for in a despatch to the Home government he says: "her ties to the parent state are those of necessity and convenience rather than of gratitude and affection." On the 12th August, 1811, Sir George laid the foundation stone of the Provincial building, and in doing so said: "May the building which shall arise from this foundation perpetuate the loyalty and liberality of Nova Scotia." The laying of the foundation stone was conducted with masonic honors, and was a very grand affair. War with the United States being now inevitable, a first-class military officer was needed to command the forces in Canada, and Sir George Prevost was promoted to the governorship of that province, his place in Nova Scotia being taken by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke.

6.—Sir John arrived at Halifax on 16th October, 1811,

and nothing of importance occurred until the following June, when war against England was declared by the United States. Parliament was at once summoned, and met on 21st July, when the necessary provisions for the war were made. £8,000 were voted for block-houses, £22,000 for militia purposes, and provision was made for borrowing £30,000 for general defence. The war caused great activity in Halifax and greatly benefited trade. Vessels of war were constantly arriving; letters of marque and privateers were fitted out; many prizes were brought in and sold, and money was very plentiful. The Americans, although possessing a very insignificant navy as compared with the British, had yet been very successful in single encounters with English ships, and several had been captured by their frigates, which were mostly armed with heavy guns and were more powerful vessels than the British. These defeats rankled in the minds of British naval officers so long accustomed to "sweep the seas," and in none more so than in that of the gallant Captain Broke, who commanded the *Shannon*, and whose feelings are expressed in a letter to his wife, in which he says: "We must catch one of these great American ships to send her home for a show, that people may see what a creature it is, and that our frigates have fought very well although very unlucky." Knowing that the American frigates carried heavier metal than the British, Broke set himself to work to counteract that superiority by carefully training his men so that the rapidity and accuracy of their fire might compensate for the greater weight of metal thrown by the enemy. Every day the men were exercised at the guns for an hour or two, and twice a week had target practice; and in order to encourage the men Broke offered a prize of a pound of tobacco for every bull's-eye. At length, having got his men all sufficiently trained, he sailed from Halifax on 21st March, 1813, in company with the *Tenedos*, and cruised off Boston harbor, where he ordered the *Tenedos* on a cruise and not to rejoin him before the 14th June.

7.—There were two American frigates in Boston harbor when Broke arrived off it, the *President* and *Congress*, but they both managed to make their escape during a fog, and what annoyed him more was that the *Chesapeake*, which had been cruising in the West Indies during the winter, got into the harbor without his seeing her. After he found that the *Chesapeake* had got into harbor, Broke sent several verbal messages to her commander inviting him to come out, and receiving no reply, dispatched Captain Slocum, a discharged prisoner, on the morning of 1st of June, with a formal challenge, in writing, to the commander of the *Chesapeake*. He said: "As the *Chesapeake* appears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favor to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortune of our respective flags. The *Shannon*

Review of the government of Sir John Wentworth.

Captain Broke preparing to fight any American frigate.

Government of Sir George Prevost. Commencement of the Provincial building.

Broke's Challenge to the *Chesapeake*.

mounts twenty-four guns on her broadside, and light boat guns, eighteen-pounders, upon her main deck, and thirty-two-pound carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-castle. and is manned with a complement of three hundred men and boys, besides thirty seamen, boys, and passengers who were taken out of re-captured vessels lately. I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*, or that I depend only on your personal ambition for your acceding to this invitation. We have both noble motives. You will feel it as a compliment if I say that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I can render to my country, and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in even combats that your little navy can now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect. Favor me with a speedy reply. We are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay long here."

8.—The *Chesapeake* was commanded by Captain Lawrence, a gallant and capable officer who had just gained much reputation for having, in the month of February, while in command of the *Hornet*, sunk the British war sloop *Peacock*. Lawrence lost no time in accepting the challenge of Broke, and about one o'clock the *Chesapeake* rounded the light-house under full sail, and stood out to sea, in accordance with the plan proposed in Broke's letter, that both vessels should proceed five miles to sea, and fight it out without any help or interference. The affair was looked on as quite a pleasure party by the Bostonians, and a number of steamers and boats followed the *Chesapeake* at a safe distance to witness the fight and enjoy the discomfiture of the Britisher. The two ships continued their course until twenty minutes to six, when the *Chesapeake* altered her course and bore down upon the *Shannon* until within fifty yards, when she luffed up, and the crew springing into the rigging gave three cheers. At ten minutes to six the first shot was fired by the *Shannon* and the action immediately became general, and broadsides were exchanged as rapidly as the men could load and fire, so that in fifteen minutes both vessels were badly cut up, and their decks strewed with dead and dying, the execution done being shown by the fact that although the engagement only lasted fifteen minutes, one hundred and fifty-six men of the *Chesapeake* and eighty-three of the *Shannon* were prostrated in that time. Captain Lawrence and his three lieutenants were shot early in the engagement, and the helmsmen of the *Chesapeake* being also shot, the vessel became unmanageable for a moment when she had been about ten minutes in action, and presented her stern to the *Shannon*, which was promptly taken advantage of to pour in a raking broadside, and Broke then pushed alongside, and heading the boarders himself,

sprang upon the enemy's quarter-deck, where a struggle of about four minutes' duration ended in the *Chesapeake* hauling down her colors, but not before Broke had received a dangerous wound on the head with a clubbed musket.

9.—The victory was complete, but it was dearly bought. Broke was dangerously wounded, and the first lieutenant of the *Shannon* killed, the death of the latter happening under peculiar circumstances. Immediately after the Americans surrendered he went aft, and hauling down the American colors prepared to run them up again under the British; but the ropes becoming tangled the flags showed with British colors under, which at once caused the men on the *Shannon* to re-open fire on the *Chesapeake*, and the lieutenant and four men were killed before the error was discovered and the firing ceased. The loss to the *Chesapeake* was forty-seven killed and ninety-nine wounded; to the *Shannon* twenty-four killed and fifty-nine wounded. Both vessels having repaired damages sailed for Halifax, which port they reached on Sunday, 6th inst., and sailed into the harbor amid the joyous cheers of crowds of citizens and the crews of all the vessels in port. On the voyage the gallant American captain Lawrence died of his wounds, and was buried in Halifax on 8th inst., with all the honors due to a post-captain in the British navy. The first lieutenant of the *Chesapeake* also died, and was buried in Halifax with naval honors; both bodies were removed to Boston in August, and reinterred there. Captain Broke recovered from his wound and was made a baronet for his gallantry, while other officers of the *Shannon* were promoted. Broke shortly after the declaration of peace retired to his estates in England, where he lived until 1841, in which year he died in London, where he had gone to obtain medical advice.

10.—At the conclusion of the war with Napoleon, in 1814, England was at leisure to employ her whole force against the United States, and, as we have already stated, large reinforcements were sent to Canada, while expeditions were also directed against Washington and New Orleans. Early in July, 1814, Sir John Coape Sherbrooke received instructions to assume the offensive towards the State of Maine, lying near New Brunswick, and sent Colonel Pilkington with a small force to take possession of Moose Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, which he did, the garrison of seven officers and eighty men surrendering themselves prisoners of war. On the 26th August Sir John Sherbrooke sailed from Halifax with a fleet under Admiral Griffith, and ascending the Penobscot River established himself at Castine on 1st September without opposition, the enemy having blown up his magazines and retired. Sir John sent six hundred troops, with a body of sailors,

Engagement between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*.

The casualties. Death of Captain Lawrence.

Sir John Sherbrooke's expedition against the State of Maine. Its success.

to capture or destroy the frigate *Adams*, which had run up to Hampden, where she was under cover of some batteries. These were carried by assault, and the enemy retreated, having first set fire to the *Adams*. The towns of Bangor and Machias were next taken, and the whole country from Penobscot to New Brunswick formally taken possession of, and held under British rule until the end of the war, which took place at the end of the year, no other engagements meanwhile having taken place in the Maritime Provinces. Sir John Sherbrooke was publicly thanked by the Assembly for his gallant conduct during this expedition, and £1,000 voted to buy him a service of plate. He remained in office until 1816, when he was promoted to the governor-generalship of Canada, and Major-General Stracey Smith temporarily administered the affairs of the province until the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie in October to assume the reins of government. The province had flourished greatly during the war, and had scarcely yet begun to feel the reaction which invariably follows a declaration of peace in those places where there are large numbers of troops and ships centred during war time. Sir John was a popular governor, and was entertained at a grand banquet at Masonic Hall previous to his departure, at which most of the leading citizens of Halifax were present.

CHAPTER XCVII.

NOVA SCOTIA—FROM 1817 TO 1832.

1. FOUNDATION OF DALHOUSIE COLLEGE. SKETCH OF THE INSTITUTION.—2. THE LETTERS OF "AGRICOLA." FORMATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.—3. PROMOTION OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE TO THE GOVERNORSHIP OF CANADA.—4. CAPE BRETON AS A SEPARATE COLONY. ITS REUNION WITH NOVA SCOTIA.—5. GOVERNMENT OF SIR JAMES KEMPT.—6. EXPULSION OF MR. BARRY. ATTACK ON THE PRESS BY THE ASSEMBLY.—7. THE QUESTION OF QUIT RENTS.—8. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND THE COUNCIL ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DUTY ON BRANDY.—9. TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES. INTRODUCTION OF STEAM. DEPARTURE OF SIR P. MAITLAND.

1.—On meeting Parliament the Earl of Dalhousie congratulated the Houses on occupying so splendid a building as the New Provincial building, and also expressed his pleasure at the flourishing condition of the province, commerce and agriculture having both improved; with regard to the latter he said in his speech: "In committing to you the general discussion of public affairs, there are some points which call for my special recommendation to your attention; these I shall merely name at present, and ex-

plain myself more fully upon them in the progress of the session. I shall call your attention to a measure tending to animate the general spirit of improvement in agriculture, and I will submit to you the plan of an institution in Halifax, in which the advantages of a collegiate education will be found within the reach of all classes of society, and which will be open to all sects of religious persuasion." Shortly after the Legislature, on recommendation of the governor, granted \$39,000 out of the Castine fund* for the endowment of a college at Halifax in connection with the Church of Scotland, but open to all denominations. In 1818 part of the parade-ground was given as a site for the proposed college. In 1819, the Legislature made a grant of \$8,000 for the erection of the new institution on the parade, to be named Dalhousie College. In 1820 the college was incorporated, and, in 1821, the Legislature made a further grant of \$4,000 towards the erection of the building. Owing to various causes, but chiefly to the existence of several rival institutions in Nova Scotia, Dalhousie College was not successfully put into operation until 1863, when various denominations united to support it, as a literary institution. In the meantime, the Castine endowment fund, created in 1817, had, by skilful management, increased to \$60,000, which enabled the governors to appoint six professors to the various chairs in the institution. The Legislature also voted \$4,000 out of the Castine fund for the establishment of a public library.

2.—During the years 1817 and 1818 the reaction following the declaration of peace began to be felt; trade and commerce fell off, agriculture was neglected, and the Americans again began to supply the Province with produce. It was at this time that some of the powerfully written practical letters on agriculture began to be published in the *Acadian Recorder*, over the signature of "Agricola," the first making its appearance on 15th July, 1818. They at once attracted attention and caused a deal of surmise as to the authorship, but the writer maintained his *incognito*. The Earl of Dalhousie warmly approved of the letters, and at the dinner on St. Andrew's Day, 1818, in proffering the health of "Agricola," hoped that the Board of Agriculture would be formed. In December a meeting was held, presided over by the Earl of Dalhousie, at which it was resolved to form the Provincial Agricultural Society, and "Agricola" was elected secretary, and soon after disclosed himself as Mr. John Young, a Scotchman who had emigrated to Halifax about four years previously. The society was incorporated at the next session of Parliament, and its first meeting held on 19th April, 1819, while the House was in session. The letters of "Agricola"

* This fund was formed from the revenues collected at Castine during the occupation of Maine by the British in 1814, amounting to some £10,750, which it was proposed to use for educational purposes.

Foundation of Dalhousie College. Sketch of the institution.

The battle of "Agricola." Formation of the Agricultural Society.

ola" on the formation of the Provincial Agricultural Society gave a fresh impetus to agriculture; societies were formed in various parts of the province, ploughing matches held, and better means adopted for improving the fertility of its soil, which soon resulted in larger and better crops.

3.—The administration of the Earl of Dalhousie was uneventful in particular items; but it was an eventful one to the province, inasmuch as during the period of his administering the government the province, gradually returned to its normal condition before the war, and its slow but substantial prosperity was greatly helped by the earl's practical efforts to develop the agricultural resources of the country. The revenue, which in 1816 amounted to £96,300 and left a surplus of £60,000 over the expenditure, had decreased to £53,000 in 1820, and there was a debt of £18,000 against the province. A great change for the worse had taken place in Halifax, for it had been shorn of much of its importance as the principal naval station in America, that honor having been transferred to Bermuda, and the imperial dockyard establishment at Halifax greatly reduced. Hundreds of workmen were out of employment, and many left the city, while others were dependant on the Poor Man's Society for their daily bread. There was no political excitement, and the executive and Assembly were in perfect accord in their efforts for the advancement and improvement of the province until the last session convened by the Earl of Dalhousie previous to his assuming the governor-generalship of Canada, when the Assembly neglected to take any notice of the governor's recommendation that the province should be surveyed, and paid no attention to his suggestions that a change should be made in the road management of the province. No breach occurred between the executive and the Assembly, and the latter, to show its appreciation of the former's services, voted £1,000 to purchase a sword and star to be presented to him. He accepted at first, but afterwards withdrew his acceptance on the grounds that as the House had not concurred in the measures he had proposed, it could not have that confidence in him which the resolutions proposed to have; it is probable, however, that his lordship was prompted by another motive,—that of the dislike to taking so large a sum out of the public treasury at a time it could so ill afford it. That the utmost good feeling existed between the people and himself was evidenced three years afterwards, when he visited the province and was most enthusiastically received, a public dinner and ball being tendered him, at which the leading men of the province were present.

4.—Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt, G. C. B., the successor of the Earl of Dalhousie, arrived at Halifax on 1st June, 1820, and shortly afterwards started

on a tour through the province. Part of his instructions were to effect such legislation as was necessary to re-annex the island of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia, and we will, therefore, briefly review the history of that island from its erection into a separate province in 1784 to its re-union with Nova Scotia in 1820. Cape Breton did not have a very prosperous existence as a separate colony, as the Council could not agree either with itself or the executive. Major Desbanes was the first governor appointed, and arrived in 1784. He had served under Wolfe at Louisbourg and Quebec, and distinguished himself during the war with France which gave Canada to Great Britain. Hitherto Louisbourg had been the capital of the island, but the new governor selected a site on Spanish River and built a residence there which he called Sydney, in honor of the then colonial-secretary; this has grown to be a considerable town, and was the capital of the island under its separate existence as a province. Desbanes, in a proclamation showing the advantages of the country, presented to settlers the prospect of free provisions for three years, with material for building, and help in clearing land. Over three thousand answered the call, some respectable, others the worst of idlers. The first winter was a bad one, for the provisions ran out, and Nova Scotia refused assistance. Fortunately for the colonists, a storeship from Quebec was found at Arichat and taken to Louisbourg, whence its stores were carried on sledges to Sydney. The expense of these was charged to the governor personally; but the debt was too great for him. In England his bills were dishonored, and he himself was withdrawn. Before his departure, however, he broke down the policy which prohibited the loyalists from securing a home in Cape Breton; for in 1786 he granted no less than ten thousand acres to one band of them from New Hampshire. Desbanes was succeeded by Colonel McCormick, but the change brought the peace between governor and Council. There was war with France, which lost to the English St. Pierre and Miquelon. Other events included the visit of the Duke of Clarence, the arrival of a number of convicts, the departure of a part of the garrison and a series of dissensions, which neither improved the trade of the island nor the appearance of the capital, with its line of rough buildings and dingy barracks. When McCormick resigned, the government was left in the hands of the successive president of the Council. General Despard was administrator when the immigration of Highlanders to Cape Breton began. This was a continuance of the movement which took the ship *Hector* to Pictou, and spread towards Antigonish a Celtic population which now found its way to Bras d'Or and the north. But the country was in the hands of a Council always wrangling, and a host of officials whose salaries drained the exchequer. The people showed their discontent by sending a petition

Promotion of the Earl of Dalhousie to the Governorship of Canada.

Cape Breton as a separate Colony. Its re-union with Nova Scotia.

to London, asking the right to elect a House of Assembly; but the only answer to this was the declaration of a union between Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, which was effected on 19th October, 1820. General Ainslie was the last president. Writs were issued for the election of two members. The laws of Nova Scotia were adopted. Some of the officials were dismissed, a number pensioned, and a few retained for local positions. The people, still displeased, sent an agent to England to reverse the decision of the imperial authorities; but the deliberations were harmless to change a policy so necessary to the island's welfare, and Cape Breton has ever since remained an integral part of Nova Scotia.*

5.—In November, 1820, the Right Reverend Edmund Burke, first Roman Catholic Bishop of Nova Scotia, died at the Episcopal residence. He was appointed to the diocese of Halifax by the Bishop of Quebec in 1803, and elevated to the Episcopate in 1816. "The Dominion of Canada in its wide extent has seen few if any prelates who died more respected and regretted by all classes, more beloved and idolized by his own flock, and whose memory as a great, enlightened and liberal-minded prelate is looked up to with so much veneration.† A very extensive and destructive bush fire occurred in September, 1820, which rendered about sixty families in the counties of Yarmouth and Clare, 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.

6.—Parliament met in February, 1829, and the most noticeable event of the session was the suspension of Mr.

Barry, member for Shelburne, who in presenting a petition from some militia-men asking to be relieved from duty, 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, by getting his constituents to petition the House to expel him, so that he might be re-elected 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 re-elected 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 8th 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 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."

7.—The subject of quit rents occupied a good deal of attention about this time, not only in Nova Scotia, but in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island as well, and it will be as well to explain here how they originated.

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 £40,000, 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 January of that year, but ordering their collection

Expulsion of Mr. Barry. Attack on the press by the Assembly.

Government of Sir James Kempt.

appointed to the diocese of Halifax by the Bishop of Quebec in 1803, and elevated to the Episcopate in 1816. "The Dominion of Canada in its wide extent has seen few if any prelates who died more respected and regretted by all classes, more beloved and idolized by his own flock, and whose memory as a great, enlightened and liberal-minded prelate is looked up to with so much veneration.† A very extensive and destructive bush fire occurred in September, 1820, which rendered about sixty families in the counties of Yarmouth and Clare, 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.

* Harper's *History of New Brunswick and the other Maritime Provinces*.
† Campbell's *History of Nova Scotia*.

in future. the proceeds to be used for such local improvements as his majesty might think necessary. The following year the House petitioned that his majesty would relinquish the quit rents, or suspend their collection, to which it was replied that his majesty could not remit them altogether, but would be willing to commute them for a fixed annual sum, which sum was afterwards placed at £2,000, about one-half their actual value. The question was discussed at the session of 1829, and the House very gravely passed the following resolution, which left the matter in abeyance for the time being: "That it does not appear to be the general wish of the inhabitants of this country that any such commutation or purchase should take place, or that the 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."

8.—The session of 1830 was distinguished by a very serious breach between the House and the Council on a constitutional point on which the House was undoubtedly in the right. The dispute rose out of the tax on brandy, which in 1826, when the revenue laws had been carefully revised, had been placed at one shilling and fourpence per gallon, but, through a misinterpretation of the law had never been enforced, and only one shilling per gallon collected. The House committee discovered this in 1830, and a bill was introduced imposing the additional fourpence, so as to make the tax what it had been intended to be in 1826, and the bill passed the House. It was, however, rejected by the Council, who desired a conference, and the House was then informed by the Council that it considered the duties on several articles too high, and that they ought to be reduced. The House, very properly, considered this a breach of its constitutional privileges, and refused to make any alteration to please the Council, and that body refused to pass the appropriation bill, by which about £25,000 was lost to the province, and the president of the council, Hon. Michael Wallace, who was administrator during the temporary absence of Sir Peregrine Maitland, dismissed the House in rather a pettish speech in which he said: "When I had the pleasure of meeting you here on the 11th of February for the despatch of the public business, and having nothing of moment to submit to your consideration, I did entertain a sanguine hope that by your united endeavors and cordial co-operation the session would not have detained you long; but I am sorry to find that although more than eight weeks have elapsed, the most important measures of the province remain in

Difference between the House and the Council on the subject of the duty on brandy.

abeyance, in consequence of a difference of opinion on points which have been long established and recognized as necessary for the salutary and effectual conducting of the affairs of a government constituted as ours is. Understanding that there is little probability of your accordance in the matters that are pending, under such circumstances I consider it my duty to relieve you from further continuance in service, that you may return to your homes to attend to your own concerns." Much dissatisfaction was felt at the action of the Council, and it found expression shortly after at the general election consequent on the death of George IV., by the return to the Assembly of all the members who had voted against the Council.

9.—Parliament met again in November, and the Assembly and Council got on better together. The former abolished the duties on coffee and molasses—Temperance Societies. Introduction of steam. and reduced that on sugar; but they again Departure of Sir P. Maitland. passed the bill taxing brandy one and fourpence; and the Council did not think it politic to oppose it any further, and so adopted it. In this year the temperance movement began in the province, and many societies were formed. About this time the use of steam began to be generally introduced in the province for pumping water from mines as well as for steamboats. The first steam engine brought into the province was in 1827, for the General Mining Association. In 1829 a steam ferry was established between Dartmouth and Halifax, and the following year a steamboat plied between New Glasgow and Pictou. A Mechanics' Institute was established in 1832, and flourished for a while, but perished for want of support. Nothing of special importance occurred during the remainder of the administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, which was brought to a close in October, 1832. Mr. Howe, in the *Nova Scotian* bidding him good-by in the following not over complimentary terms: "We wish him a safe and speedy passage to his native country—and if they are not all abolished before he gets there, we could almost find in our heart, for his amiable lady's sake, to wish him one of the many snug sinecures with which old England abounds." On the departure of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Hon. T. N. Jeffrey became administrator until the arrival of the new lieutenant-governor, Sir Colin Campbell.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

NOVA SCOTIA—FROM 1833 TO 1837.

1. SALARIES OF JUDGES. THE CURRENCY QUESTION.—
2. THE CIVIL LIST. ATTACK ON THE "FAMILY COMPACT" IN THE COUNCIL.—3. FAILURE OF CROPS.—BUSINESS TROUBLES. THE CHOLERA.—4 SETTLE-

MENT OF THE QUESTION OF QUIT RENTS.—5. STATE OF EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE. MR. HOWE FIRST ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT.—6. THE BREACH BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY. MR. HOWE'S TWELVE RESOLUTIONS.—7. ACTION OF THE COUNCIL. THE RESOLUTIONS RESCINDED.

1.—The Hon. T. N. Jeffrey met Parliament early in February, 1833; 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 Halliburton to the vacancy, and recommended the House to grant Judge Blowers a pension. He also submitted a dispatch from Lord Goderich recommending an increase in the salaries of judges, the pay not being considered sufficient. The chief-justice received £850 per annum; puisne judges, £550; associate judge, £360; master of the rolls, £540; chief-justice Inferior Court Cape Breton £450; the three judges of the eastern, western and middle divisions, £405 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 control of the casual and territorial revenue should be given to the House. A considerable portion of the time of the Assembly was taken up 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.

2.—Shortly after the opening of the next session of Parliament, 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, £1,200, besides travelling expenses and certain fees; attorney-general, £600; solicitor-general, £200; assistant judges of the Supreme Court, £700 each; master of the rolls, £750; first justice of Cape Breton, £450; three justices of Common Pleas and presidents of sessions, £350 each; the provincial secretaries, £1,000, besides £500 as register, £100 as clerk of the Council, and £400 for clerks and contingencies. The salary of the governor was fixed at £2,500. 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 further 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.

3.—Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, K. C. B., arrived at Halifax on 1st July, 1834, and assumed the reins of government as lieutenant-governor, relieving Hon. Mr. Jeffrey 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

Salaries of Judges.
The Currency
Question.

Failure of Crops.
Business troubles.
The cholera.

The Civil list.
Attack on the
"Family Com-
pact" in the
Council.

roll up until the 11th September, when twenty-three deaths were reported as having taken place on the previous day, out of a total of one hundred and fifty-four cases. At this time the weather became cooler and the disease steadily decreased until the 2d October, when the Health Board found the disease had so nearly disappeared that they discontinued their daily reports, and shortly after the city was free from the scourge.

4.—The first Temperance Convention in Nova Scotia was held in Halifax in October and was attended by about thirty delegates from various points of the province, claiming to represent fifteen thousand members of societies, a very respectable showing in so short a time. Parliament assembled in November, and the governor in his speech from the throne said that on account of the manner in which the offer to surrender the casual and territorial revenues had been received last sess.on. it would not be renewed; but he was authorized to offer to relinquish the quit rents in consideration of a payment of two thousand pounds per annum, about one third of their value, and if the House did not accept the offer the rents would be collected at once. The question was speedily taken up by the House, and after a sharp debate the offer was accepted, the amount being specified as in payment of the lieutenant-governor's salary. A good deal of discussion took place as to the increase of the number of ports of entry, and an address to his majesty was moved praying that the advantage of being allowed to have foreign vessels enter, without having previously entered at St. John or St. Andrew, be extended to Lunenburg, Windsor, Arichet and other places, but no attention was paid to the address. The year 1835 opened with a libel suit. On the 1st of January Mr. Joseph Howe published in his paper, the *Nova Scotian*, a letter signed "The People," in which the magistrates were boldly and plainly charged with corruption, and some fun was made of the governor, Sir Colin Campbell. Howe was tried for libel at the next session, but defended himself so cleverly that the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty," greatly to the satisfaction of Mr. Howe's friends, and equally so to himself, as the trial increased his popularity, which was growing fast.

5.—The most noteworthy circumstance connected with the session of 1836, was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of education in the province, and from the report laid before the House we gain some useful knowledge of the state of education in the province in 1835. An act for the establishment of common and grammar schools had been passed in 1832, the support depending on the voluntary contributions of each school district. The report shows that in 1835 there were five hundred and thirty schools in the province, attended by an aggregate of fifteen thousand children,

Settlement of the
question of Quit-
Rents.

State of education
in the Province.
Mr. Howe first
elected to Parlia-
ment.

which was an excellent exhibit for the province. The amount raised by voluntary subscriptions was \$12,400 and in addition there was paid out of the treasury \$6,800. The term of the House of Assembly having expired in 1836, an election was held in that year, and Mr. Joseph Howe and Mr. William Annand were elected to represent Halifax County. Mr. Howe had been for many years a prominent journalist, and had ever been foremost in the cause of reform in the many existing abuses, and he was even now being looked on as the people's champion against official corruption and abuse of place and power. Mr. Annand in his address to the electors declared himself in favor of the province having control of the casual and territorial revenues; of increased internal communication between different parts of the province; of a more liberal school system, which would enable greater numbers to enjoy the blessings of education; and that the Legislature should encourage agriculture, the fisheries, and domestic manufactures.

6.—Shortly after the opening of the next session an attack was made in the Council by Mr. O'Conner Doyle, who moved that the custom of the Council sitting with closed doors was contrary to the practice of the House of Lords, and the Councils of other colonies, and opposed to the spirit of the British Constitution. The Council was highly indignant, and refused a conference with a committee appointed by the House, declaring the action of the House a breach of the privilege of the Council and a violation of that Parliamentary usage which prohibits one House from interfering with the internal regulations of the other. Mr. Howe next introduced twelve resolutions on the general structure and conduct of the Council, which gave a masterly exhibition of the state of things then existing in the province. A brief resume of these resolutions will prove interesting; we therefore give the following synopsis, as nearly as possible, in the words of the author: "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

The breach be-
tween the Council
and Assembly.
Mr. Howe's twelve
resolutions.

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 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 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 merchantile 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 the 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 leasing 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.

7.—The Council was deeply incensed at these resolutions, and, on 5th March, sent a message to the House that unless the resolutions were rescinded it must, out of self-respect, refuse to hold any communication whatever with the Assembly. This action created a profound sensation, and Mr. Howe moved to rescind the resolution, so that the business of the session might proceed. The motion to rescind was carried, and the two Houses worked together in apparent harmony again. But Mr. Howe had gained his end in having the resolutions made public and forcing the Council into the undignified attitude of threatening to interrupt public business unless

Action of the Council. The resolutions rescinded.

the House rescinded one of its own resolutions. The Council, to counteract the effect of the resolutions passed an address to the governor replying to the charges made in them; but not successfully disproving any material point. The governor, who favored the Council, congratulated it on its address, and promised to lay it at the foot of the throne at the same time as the address from the Assembly. So the breach was bridged over for the time being.

CHAPTER XCIX.

NOVA SCOTIA—FROM 1837 TO 1840.

1. TROUBLE WITH REGARD TO THE FISHERY QUESTION. ACTION OF THE ASSEMBLY.—2. EFFECT OF THE CANADIAN REBELLION IN NOVA SCOTIA.—3. REFORMS GRANTED BY THE HOME GOVERNMENT. UNPOPULAR ACTION OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.—4. CONCESSIONS MADE TO THE PROVINCE. OPPOSITION TO CONFEDERATION.—5. THE FIRST WAR STEAMERS. FIRST RAILWAY IN NOVA SCOTIA.

1.—The fishery question has always been a troublesome one to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and unfortunately is not quite satisfactorily settled to the present day. From the early days of discovery the question of the right of fishing had been a disputed one between the French and English governments, until the time of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who claimed the right of original discovery. After the cession of Canada to England in 1763, the fishery question was almost settled, until the recognition of the independence of the United States, by the treaty of 1783, gave rise to new complications. By that treaty liberty was granted to the Americans to fish on the Grand Bank and all the other banks of Newfoundland, and also in the Gulf of the St Lawrence; but they were not to have the right to dry or can any fish in any settled bay, creek or harbor of Nova Scotia, Labrador, or the Magdalen Islands. As soon as any bay or harbor was settled it was to be abandoned as a fishing station, unless an agreement was made with the inhabitants for a continuance of the right. This arrangement virtually gave the Americans as great privileges as the Nova Scotians and Newfoundlanders, and was extremely distasteful to the two latter peoples. The war of 1812–15 put a stop to American fishing for the time being, and the Nova Scotians took advantage of the temporary suspension to petition the Home government that their rights should in future be more thoroughly protected by treaty enactment. 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 Newfound-

land 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 the coast. These provisions were speedily broken by the American fishermen, who bought bait from the inhabitants, set nets in the harbors, and otherwise violated the treaty. These infringements of the rights of the people of Nova Scotia by the American fishermen—and also by the French, although not to so great an extent—caused much dissatisfaction, and at the session of 1837 the Assembly moved an address to his majesty on the subject, and also voted £500 for the arming of small vessels to protect the coast.

2.—During the session of 1837 an effort was made to incorporate the town of Halifax, but was not successful. Mr. Howe had for some time been attacking the corruption of the civil administration, and a large public meeting was held at the Exchange Coffee House at which resolutions praying the Legislature for an act of incorporation were passed; but the House refused to grant the petition. The outbreak in Upper and Lower Canada under Mackenzie and Papineau met with no response or encouragement in Nova Scotia, on the contrary, indeed, Mr. Howe's popularity was impaired for a while, on account of his agitation in favor of reform, and he was styled by his enemies the Papineau of Nova Scotia; "but Mr. Howe, while a consistent and persistent Reformer, was not a rebel like Papineau or Mackenzie, and never contemplated attaining reform by any other than constitutional means; a position which he was very careful to explain at a public meeting held to raise funds to support the wives and children of the soldiers in garrison at Halifax who were sent to Canada to assist in suppressing the rebellion there. At this meeting he read extracts from a letter written by him to Mr. Chapman in answer to letters from him asking the cooperation of Mr. Howe and the Nova Scotia reformers with the Papineau party. The extracts from Mr. Howe's letter remarked on the desirableness of using sincerity and frankness on the subject, and stated that seven-eighths of the population of the Lower Province would be opposed to separation from the crown; that the people were sincerely attached to the Mother Country, that the object of the reformers was the purification of their institutions, and that they never assumed that justice could not be attained by peaceful and constitutional means. Mr. Howe and his party acted up to their professions, and although there was much political agitation in Nova Scotia during 1837–8, there was no rebellious outbreak as there was in Upper and Lower Canada.

3.—The session of 1838 was opened in January, when 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

Effect of the Canadian Rebellion in Nova Scotia

Reforms granted by the Home government. Unpopular action of Sir Colin Campbell.

in which they had acted during the troubles in the sister province. 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 two 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 the 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 further was done, however, a despatch was received requiring the reconstruction of the Council, which was accordingly dissolved; and the House prorogued.

4.—The session of 1839 was marked by the enthusiasm with which the Assembly responded to the receipt of the information that American troops had occupied part of New Brunswick, on account of difficulties growing out of the frontier question. The House at once put eight thousand men at the disposal of the governor and voted £100,000 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 £1,500 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."

5.—Political affairs were not the only ones which engaged the attention of the Nova Scotians during these years. 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 Halliburton 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 Glenelg, 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

Concessions made to the Province. Opposition to Confederation.

The first Ocean Steamers. First Railway in Nova Scotia.



HON. PETER MITCHELL.



HON. DAVID LAIRD.



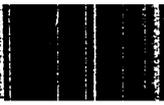
JUDGE W. J. RITCHIE.



HON. H. L. LANGEVIN.



HON. ALEX. MORRIS.



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knighted) a native of Halifax, for the carrying of a weekly mail between Liverpool and Halifax, and Boston, the annual subsidy being £55,000. This project was successfully commenced on the 4th July, 1840, by the sailing of the first steamer of the line, the *Brittania*, from Liverpool. She was one of four small side-wheel steamers, and although a wonder in her time would look rather insignificant nowadays alongside some of the mighty ships of the same line which cross the Atlantic with almost clock-life regularity. The line thus humbly began now ranks amongst the largest steamship companies in the world, numbering about fifty vessels, with a total tonnage of upwards of one hundred thousand tons; and it is a noteworthy fact that during the thirty-seven years the line has been in existence, not a ship or a life has been lost, few accidents, and those slight ones, have occurred, and the mails have been delivered with almost unvarying regularity. The year previous to the establishment of steam communication with Great Britain saw the opening of the first railway in Nova Scotia, the line between the Albion coal mines and the loading ground at New Glasgow. The event was celebrated by a grand banquet, at which upwards of two thousand persons sat down, and a newspaper of the day informs its readers that there was not an unemployed fiddle or bagpipe from Cape John to the Garden of Eden.

CHAPTER C.

NOVA SCOTIA—FROM 1841 TO 1846.

1. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IGNORED BY SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.—2. A VOTE OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL PASSED BY THE ASSEMBLY.—3. THE ASSEMBLY DEMANDS SIR COLIN'S REMOVAL.—4. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY'S SPEECH IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.—5. ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST OCEAN STEAMER. VISIT OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE PROVINCE.—6. A COALITION GOVERNMENT. MR. HOWE ELECTED SPEAKER. INCORPORATION OF HALIFAX.—7. DIFFERENCES ON THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION.—8. THE GOVERNOR DISSOLVES PARLIAMENT. THE REFORMERS RESIGN FROM THE COUNCIL.—9. VOTE OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL DEFEATED. MR. HOWE'S ATTACKS ON THE GOVERNOR.—10. AGITATION FOR A RAILWAY BETWEEN HALIFAX AND QUEBEC. RECALL OF LORD FALKLAND.

1.—The excitement with regard to responsible government was now greatly increasing. The Assembly of New Brunswick had already succeeded in very

nearly attaining it, and the popular branch of the Nova Scotia House was earnestly urging it, while meetings were held in almost all the principal towns, and resolutions passed in favor of responsible government. Near the end of 1839, Lord John Russell, then colonial secretary, addressed a circular to Sir John Harvey, then governor of New Brunswick, in which he called attention to the peculiar tenure of office of the public officers, who held office for life, and were liable to removal only for bad conduct, while the governor's commission was revoked whenever the public service seemed to require a change. The governor was, therefore, instructed that in future these officers would be regarded as liable to the same removal in the interest of the public service as the governor; and, further, that a mere change of governor would be sufficient cause for a change of the crown advisers, if his successor thought it in the public interest to make such changes. This was, in reality, a mild form of responsible government, and was so regarded by the Nova Scotia reformers, but Sir Colin Campbell and his Executive Council would not so regard it. Sir Colin was a staunch old Tory, and resented anything like "modern improvements" in the way of government, and he completely ignored the despatch of the colonial secretary.

2.—The House was not long in forcing the importance of this despatch on the governor, and endeavoring to obtain a change in the Executive Council.

Shortly after, the meeting of Parliament, in 1840, Mr. Howe introduced four resolutions to the effect that for many years the best interests of the province had been jeopardized, and its progress retarded by the want of harmony between the different branches of the government; that in every effort put forth by the House to improve the institutions and purify the administration of the country, it had been met by an influence which had wielded the whole power and patronage of the government to thwart the wise policy avowed by her majesty's ministers, and that in the opinion of the House the Executive Council, as at present constituted, did not enjoy the confidence of the country. * These resolutions were adopted by a vote of thirty to twelve, and submitted to the governor, who replied that he was not aware of any change of opinion on the part of her majesty's ministers beyond what he had stated in answer to the resolutions of the House on the same subject at last session. The House at once called his excellency's attention to the later despatch of the colonial secretary, giving him power to change the Executive Council if he thought it to the interests of the province to do so, and pointing to the fact that two thirds of the representative branch desiring a change was a clear indication that the majority of the people were in favor of

Responsible Government ignored by Sir Colin Campbell.

A vote of want of confidence in the Executive Council passed by the Assembly.

* Campbell's *History of Nova Scotia*.

it, and his instructions required that he should administer his government in accordance with the wishes of the people.

3.—Sir Colin, however, 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."

4.—A public meeting was held in Masonic Hall, Halifax, on 30th March, 1840, 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 23d 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

The Assembly demand Sir Colin's removal.

The Colonial Secretary's speech in the Imperial Parliament.

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 the thought that, by the rule of 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 appointment 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 practiced 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."

5.—Public attention was somewhat distracted from political affairs by the marriage of Queen Victoria, on 10th February, 1840, the event being celebrated in Halifax by general rejoicing; and also by the arrival of the pioneer Cunard steamer the *Brittania* 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 Thomson, 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 lord-

Arrival of the first ocean steamer. Visit of the Governor-General to the province.





ship arrived on the *Brittania* on 17th September, 1840, and took the oaths of office on the 30th. Although Sir Colin Campbell had been strongly opposed by the reformers, and his recall asked for by them, he was not personally unpopular, for they could not fail to admire the firm, upright, honorable character of the soldier, whose misfortune, not his fault, it was to be placed in a position requiring statesmanlike qualities he did not possess; and when he took his departure from Halifax his carriage was drawn down to the steamer by members of the St. George's, North British, and Highland Societies.

6.—Very shortly after the installation of Lord Falkland a change was made in the Executive Council; Messrs Jeffery, Collins, Cogswell and Tojín were requested to retire, and Messrs. Howe and McNab, as representative reformers, were called to the Council. "Responsible government," says Campbell, "was now firmly established. Four years ago a Council of twelve persons, chosen from the capital, with one exception, formed the second branch of the Legislature. They sat like an interesting family party in private, the governor having no power to increase their number. The whole executive power of the government was vested in these men, who were never required to appeal to the people, holding, as they did, their office for life, as the advisers of the governor and the rulers of the province. Under Lord Falkland's government, the Legislative Council consisted of twenty members, nine of whom represented the rural districts—their deliberations being conducted with open doors. Of the ten men who composed the Executive Council, six were members of the representative branch, and were consequently obliged once in four years to solicit the suffrages of the people—a wholesome constitutional check being thus vested in the constituencies." The dissolution of the House in the fall of 1840, and the consequent election, caused considerable excitement, but the complexion of the House was not materially changed by the result, and the reformers still maintained a respectable majority. On the meeting of the new House, in February, 1841, Mr. Howe was elected speaker. The principal feature of Lord Falkland's speech from the throne was his advocacy of a principle of general assessment for educational purposes; but the Assembly did not adopt it, substituting in its place an act granting £6,000 per annum for four years for educational purposes, and authorizing the governor in council to appoint five or more school commissioners for each county, the commissioners having the power to divide the counties into school districts. Another important act of this session was the incorporation of Halifax, an act which had been defeated on three former occasions.

7.—Nothing of very special importance occurred during the years 1841-2, and the session of the latter year was

devoid of particular features except an act to consolidate the criminal code, and one for the better care and protection of the Indians. The session of 1843 opened quietly; Mr. Howe having been appointed collector of colonial revenue, was succeeded in the speakership by Mr. William Young, who defeated his opponent, Mr. Huntington, by two votes. Early in the session a very spirited debate took place on the question of endowments to colleges, and which eventually caused the temporary defeat of the Reform party. It must be remembered that the Executive Council was a coalition government, and that when Mr. Howe and his reform friends took seats in that body it was on the express stipulation that they held office as long only as they had the confidence of the people as expressed by the majority of the House. The Tory members of the Executive Council—always opposed to anything approaching responsible government—scouted the idea of their tenure of office depending on the support of the Assembly, and differed very widely from their Reform colleagues on many other points. Amongst these was the question of education; Mr. Johnson, leader of the Tory party, was in favor of denominational colleges, supported by grants of public money; Mr. Howe and the reformers favored a Provincial University of an undenominational character, and therefore the question of education became a direct test question of party strength.

8.—The House being in committee of the whole on the state of the province, Mr. Annand introduced a series of resolutions on the subject of college endowments. Petitions had been laid on the table asking for endowments for two more denominational colleges, and Mr.

Annand pointed out that there were already four colleges of that class receiving government aid, and that the total amount granted, including £1,700 to the academies of the shire towns, would raise the annual grant to the higher branches of education, or in other words, to the education of rich, or comparatively rich, men's children, to £4,300, while only about £8,000, could be afforded for common schools, or for the education of the poor. He contended that with a population of only three hundred thousand, one undenominational provincial college was sufficient. The resolutions were offered by the Tory party, who favored the old system; but an amendment to that effect was defeated by a vote of twenty-six to twenty-one. The excitement was very great, and several public meetings were held; but the governor, at the instance it was supposed of the Tory party, dissolved the House, and the election which followed resulted in the return of a small majority of the followers of Mr. Johnson, the Tory leader. This act of dissolution was regarded as rather an unwarrantable stretch of the royal prerogative, and the breach between the governor and the Reform party was

Differences on the question of education.

A coalition government. Mr. Howe elected Speaker. Incorporation of Halifax.

The Governor dissolves Parliament. The Reformers resign from the council.

still further widened in December, when Mr. M. 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 their resignation of their seats in the Executive Council; and the governor having asked for their reasons in writing they stated that while admitting his lordship's right to appoint anyone whom he thought would strengthen his government, they felt that this appointment indicated a change of policy on the part of the government, and felt constrained to resign under the engagement on which they had entered the Council. Lord Falkland wrote a lengthy reply, in which he denied any intention of a change of policy, and stated that he had appointed Mr. Alison partly because, from his having had very little to do with political struggles, his appointment would not offend either party; and partly because, from his being the brother-in-law to Mr. Johnson, the hands of the executive would be strengthened. He said that the admission of the gentlemen that he had the right to appoint whom he pleased was of very little practical account if they made his appointment a ground for seceding from the Council; and that while he was willing to yield to their wishes in any matters of local interest, not trenching on the royal prerogative, he could not admit the claims to dictate in appointments, which their resignation virtually set up.

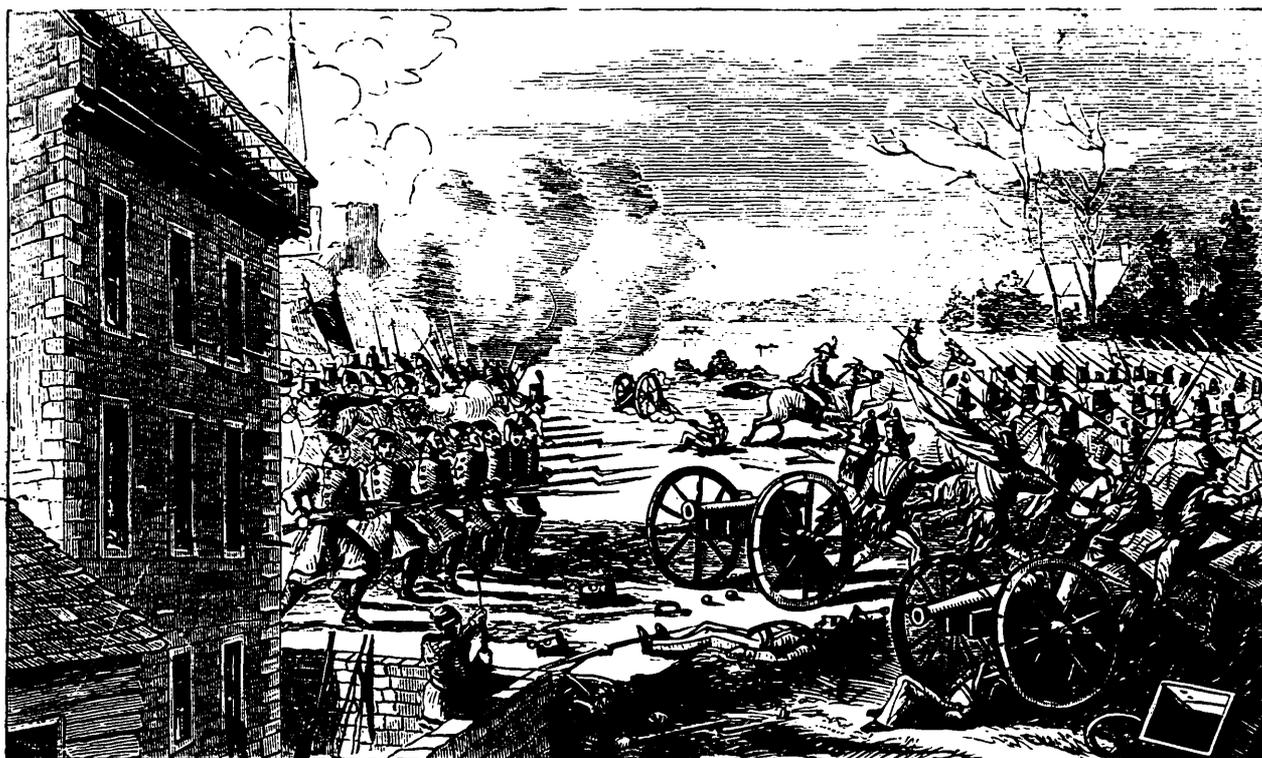
9.—The newly elected House met in February, 1844, and Mr. Young was re-elected speaker. The governor, in his speech from the throne, laid down as his policy, that he did not think that the Executive Council should be composed entirely of one party, and that it would be most conducive to the interests 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. An extra session was called in July to see if it was necessary to appoint a special agent to represent the House in a case pending before the Privy Council regarding the

Vote of want of confidence in the Council defeated. Mr. Howe's attack on the Governor.

annexation of Cape Breton to Nova Scotia in 1820, but the House did not think it necessary, and adjourned without transacting any other business. 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.

10.—The session of 1845 was a stormy one, but the governor had a sufficient working majority to conduct the business of the House, 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, &c., 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.

Agitation for railway between Halifax and Quebec. Recall of Lord Falkland.



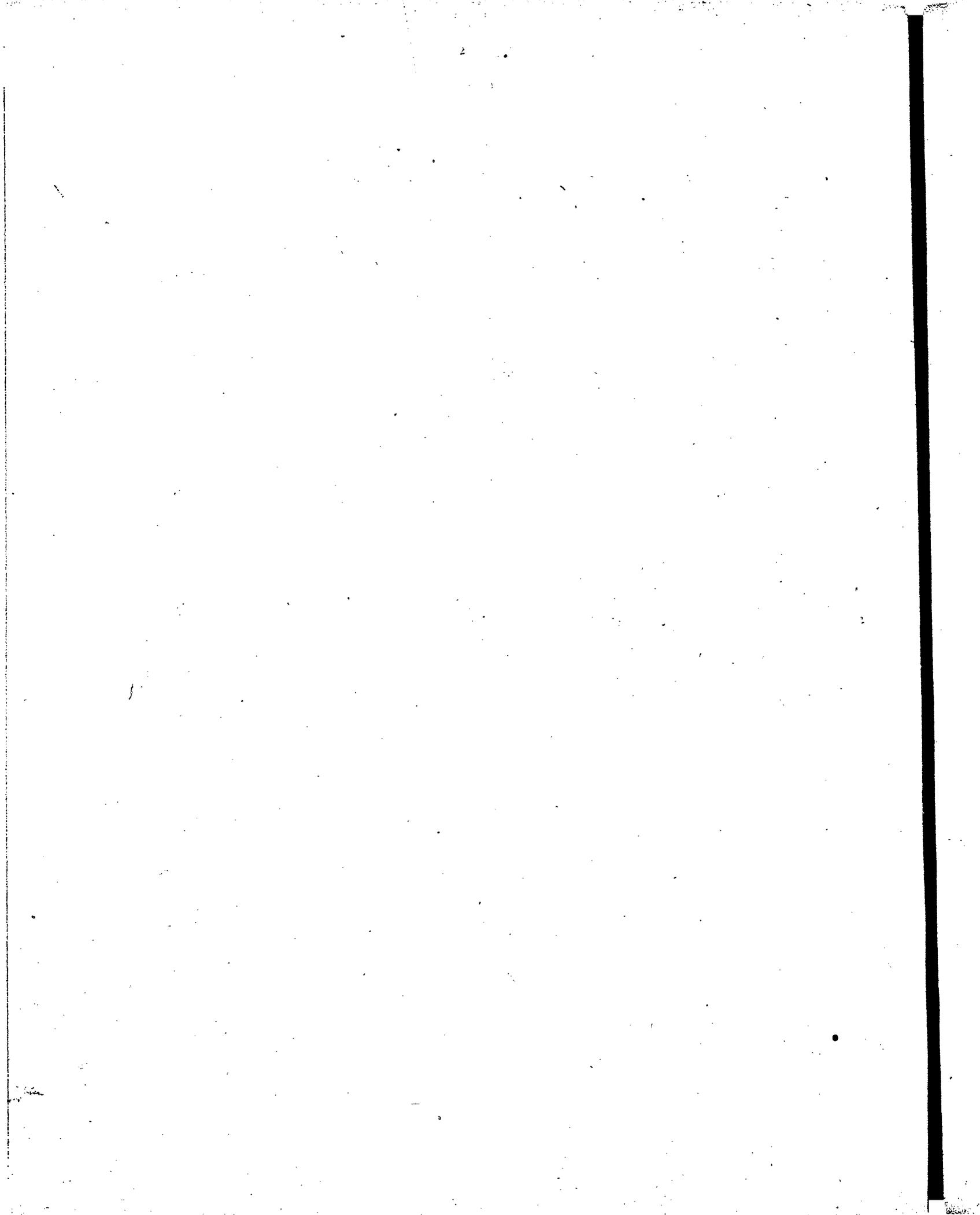
Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

DEFEAT OF COL. GORE, BY THE INSURGENTS AT ST. DENIS, NOV. 22, 1837.



Drawn and Engraved expressly for Tuttle's History of the Dominion of Canada.

DEFEAT OF THE INSURGENTS BY SIR JOHN COLBORNE AT ST. EUSTACHE, NOVEMBER, 25, 1837.



CHAPTER CI.

NOVA SCOTIA—FROM 1847 TO 1852—RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

1. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. A REFORM MINISTRY FORMED.—2. FIRST TELEGRAPH. CENTENNIAL BIRTHDAY OF HALIFAX.—3. AGITATION WITH REGARD TO THE COAL MONOPOLY. CONSOLIDATION OF THE CRIMINAL STATUTES.—4. QUESTION OF AN INTER-COLONIAL RAILWAY.—5. THE EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN RAILWAY.—6. FAILURE TO OBTAIN IMPERIAL AID FOR THE INTERCOLONIAL.—7. DEATH OF SIR JOHN HARVEY.

1.—Sir John Harvey set himself vigorously to work to smooth party differences and to form an Executive Council which would please both parties. He attempted to form a coalition, but Mr. Howe and his friends were rather doubtful about coalitions, and, besides, had such confidence in the success at the polls of their party, that they preferred to await the issue of the general election which would take place in the autumn of 1847, and at which they were very confident of being victorious. The result did not disappoint their expectations, and when Parliament met, on 22d January, 1848, the reformers were strong enough to elect a speaker by a majority of six. The next step was a formal vote of a want of confidence in the Executive Council, which was carried by a vote of twenty-eight to twenty-one; and two days afterwards the attorney-general announced that on account of the vote of Wednesday the members of the Council had all tendered their resignations, and so responsible government, which under the government of Lord Falkland had existed more in name than in fact, became thoroughly recognized. On the following day Mr. J. B. Uniache was sent for by the governor, and a new ministry was formed from amongst the leaders of the Reform party, the members of the new Executive Council being Messrs. J. B. Uniache, Michael Tobin, Hugh Bell, Joseph Howe, James McNab, Hubert Huntingdon, Wm. F. Des Barres, Laurence O'Connor Doyle and George R. Young. The most important business of the session was the consideration of the school law; the committee appointed to consider the matter reported in favor of a general assessment to meet expenses, but recommending that the plan be submitted to their constituents by the members before its adoption. The number of children attending school this year was 34,746, and the cost of maintenance was £10,000 paid out of the treasury, and about £23,000 paid by the people.

2.—The satisfactory settlement of the long agitation for responsible government caused a sigh of relief through-

out the province; political excitement was stilled for the time being, and public men had time to turn aside from the worry and excitement of party political warfare, and devote their attention entirely to developing the resources of the province; thus in 1849 the House voted £4,000 for constructing a telegraph line from Halifax to Amherst, there to connect with one to New Greenwich, from thence connecting with the American lines. On the 8th June, 1849, Halifax celebrated its centennial birthday with a grand demonstration. A salute of 100 guns was fired at day-break; a grand review of the troops and a sham battle took place, and there was an immense street parade in which all the civil authorities, the press, the fire department, the charitable, masonic and African societies, the Indians and the "oldest inhabitants" took part. After the street parade a very eloquent address was delivered on the Common by Mr. Beamish Murdoch, and a poem written for the occasion by Mr. Howe, was read. Altogether the celebration was a great success. During this year some letters on the climate, soil, resources, &c., of Nova Scotia appeared in the *Glasgow Mail*, which attracted much attention to the province and induced some immigration. The session of 1850 was remarkable for nothing but the attempt of Hon. J. W. Johnson to have either the whole or all over one thousand pounds of the governor's salary paid by the imperial authorities, and the allowance of £250 for the governor's secretary cut off, he holding that the salary of £3,000 was more than the province could afford, and that it was ridiculous to allow a secretary to a man who had nothing to do but to sign his name to documents prepared for him by others; the motion, however, failed, as did also another from the same gentleman to make the Legislative Council elective.

3.—Some excitement was caused in the winter of 1850 by the publication of a letter from Sir Samuel Cunard, in the *Sun* newspaper, defending the General Mining Association against the monopoly possessed by the Corporation, of which great complaints had been made. Sir Samuel claimed that there were many large tracts of excellent coal mines not owned or controlled by the company, and that the proprietors could work them in opposition to the company if they so desired; also, that the company paid about £6,000 a year into the provincial treasury. Mr. J. R. Young, chairman of the committee on mines and minerals, wrote several letters in reply, in which he claimed that the association had obtained a close monopoly of all the valuable coal lands yet discovered in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and that although the association had invested very large sums in machinery, &c., the existence of this monopoly was detrimental to the interests of the colony, and that an arrangement by which the interests of the colony

First telegraph.
Centennial birthday of Halifax.

Responsible government. A Reform Ministry formed.

Agitation with regard to coal monopoly. Consolidation of the criminal statutes.

could be secured, as well as those of the company guarded, was necessary to allay the feeling of discontent prevalent in the province. Such means were afterwards adopted. During the session of 1850 the report of the committee on consolidating the laws of the province presented its final report. The committee consisted of Messrs. William Young, J. McCully, J. W. Ritchie and Joseph Whidden, assisted by Mr. James Thompson. The report to the lieutenant-governor concluded as follows: "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."

4.—The year 1850 was marked by considerable agitation on the subject of railways; and we will give a brief sketch of 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 the combined and spirited co-operation of the three provinces.

The question of an Inter-Colonial Railway.

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 project, agreed to join with them. The British government, in response to their united request, sent out Major William Robinson and Captain 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 £5,000,000 sterling. In anticipation of the immediate action of the imperial government, Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick voted aid to the extent of £6,000 a year, and ten miles of ungranted lands on each side of the railway.*

5.—A new impetus was given to railway matters by a convention held at Portland, Me., on 31st July, 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 end 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 guarantee. 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 £800,000 to build a road from Halifax to Windsor. Mr. Howe set himself rigorously to work at his task, and by his letters 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 amongst 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

The European and North American Railway.

* Archer's History of Canada.

by Earl Grey, and was held at Toronto, on 21st June, 1851. After some discussion it was agreed that a line from Halifax to Quebec should be undertaken on joint account by the three provinces, they to grant five miles of crown lands on each side of the track, and the receipts to be common property until the cost of construction was paid, after which each province was to own the portion of the road running through it. It was expressly stipulated by New Brunswick that aid should be given to the European and North American Railway, and Nova Scotia, in a fit of generosity, offered to build thirty miles of the road for New Brunswick, so that it seemed as if the inter-colonial was in a fair way to be started at once. But it was not so; Earl Grey, in a despatch dated 27th November, 1851, informed the governor of New Brunswick that Mr. Howe had misinterpreted the letter of Mr. Hawes, and that it was not the intention of the British government to help the European and North American Railway at all. Still the New Brunswick men did not want the whole scheme to fall through, and offered to go on with the Inter-colonial, provided the valley of the St. John route was chosen; but the Nova Scotia men refused, demanding the North Shore line or nothing.

6.—The delegates met again in Halifax in January, 1852, when it was intimated that Messrs. Jackson & Co., and a number of other English capitalists were willing to undertake the line on payment of £90,000 a year for twenty years, and a grant of 5,000,000 acres of crown lands; but the delegates refused to entertain it. It was then agreed that the Inter-colonial should be built by the three provinces, and a deputation was appointed to proceed to England to solicit imperial aid towards the road. It was soon discovered, however, that the provinces were not working heartily together. The Nova Scotia delegates did not join those of Canada and New Brunswick, and the representatives of these two provinces, Messrs. Hicks and Chandler, were left to make what arrangements they could. After an irritating delay the delegates were informed that the British government would not give any aid to a road through the valley of the St. John. The provinces, therefore, were left to their own resources to construct the road, and Messrs. Hincks and Chandler made an agreement with Messrs. Jackson & Co.; but the people of Nova Scotia—mainly at the instance of Mr. Howe—refused to join in the project, that gentleman holding that the railway was a government work, and should not be made a partnership concern with any contractors; so the great scheme fell through again and remained in a state of abeyance until confederation.

7.—The province was thrown into mourning on the 22d March, 1852, by the death at Government House of

Major-General Sir John Harvey, who had administered the affairs of the province

for six years, with honor to himself and credit to the province. Sir John Harvey was born in England in 1778, and entered the army at an early age, serving with distinction in India, from whence he accompanied the British forces in their arduous march to Egypt, where he served during the campaign which terminated in the expulsion of the French. On the outbreak of the war with the United States, in 1812, he was sent to Canada as deputy adjutant-general, where he served with great distinction, especially at Stony Creek, where, on 5th June, 1813, he defeated and captured the American General Chandler, as already mentioned in this history. After the war Sir John returned to England, and was appointed superintendent of the police force in Ireland, where he remained for some years and became very popular. In 1836 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Prince Edward Island, and the following year was transferred to New Brunswick, from whence he was recalled in 1841, and shortly afterwards sent out as lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland, remaining there until 1846, when he was transferred to Nova Scotia. Thus for sixteen years he was associated with the government of the Maritime Provinces, and it was under his rule that responsible government was introduced both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. He was a gentleman of culture, of pleasing address, and gained many friends by the impartial manner in which he discharged his duties.

CHAPTER CII.

NOVA SCOTIA—FROM 1853 TO 1867—CONFEDERATION.

- 1.—THE RECIPROCITY TREATY. DISSATISFACTION IN NOVA SCOTIA.—2. FIRST PROHIBITORY LIQUOR LAW. DEFEAT OF THE HOWE MINISTRY.—3. SETTLEMENT OF THE DIFFICULTY WITH THE GENERAL MINING ASSOCIATION.—4. MR. HOWE REGAINS POWER ON A QUESTIONABLE VOTE.—5. VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. THE HOWE PARTY AGAIN BEATEN AT THE POLLS.—6. DR. TUPPER'S EDUCATION BILL. WANT OF SCHOOLS IN THE PROVINCE.—7. CONFEDERATION. EARLY ATTEMPTS AT A UNION OF BRITISH PROVINCES.—8. FIRST EFFORTS TOWARDS CONSOLIDATING CANADA.—9. OUTBREAK OF THE AMERICAN WAR. ATTEMPT TO UNITE THE MARITIME PROVINCES.—10. CANADA DESIRES CONFEDERATION. MEETING OF DELEGATES AT CHARLOTTETOWN.—11. THE CONFERENCE AT QUEBEC. A CONTRAST.—12. THE TERMS OF THE PROPOSED CONFEDERATION.—13. THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.—14. OPPOSITION OF NEW BRUNSWICK AND NOVA SCOTIA.—15. ACTION OF CANADIAN PARLIAMENT.

CHANGE OF FEELING IN MARITIME PROVINCES.—16.
ACTION OF IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT. CONFEDERATION
ACCOMPLISHED.

1.—On the death of Sir John Harvey the affairs of the province were temporarily administered by Colonel Bazalgette, until the arrival of Sir John Gasparid Les Marchant, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor. 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 countries to Digby, connecting Halifax with the Basin of Minas, and a line from Truro to the New Brunswick frontier, to connect with any Inter-colonial 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 reciprocity treaty with the United States, and the effort was successful on 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.—A grand industrial exhibition was opened in Halifax in October, 1854, and the inaugural procession was described as the finest ever seen in that city. No events of any very marked importance occurred until the session of 1855, which is remarkable on account of the first effort to introduce a prohibitory liquor law being made by Mr. J. W. Johnson. The bill was, however, not only opposed but ridiculed by Mr. Howe, and was defeated. A general election took

The Reciprocity
treaty. Dissatis-
faction in
Nova Scotia.

place in 1855, and the strength of the Reform party was greatly shaken by the defeat, in Cumberland, of Messrs. Joseph Howe and Stephen Fullen by the conservative candidates, Dr. Tupper and Mr. A. McFarlane. Nothing further 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 account 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 enjoy 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 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 L. Wilkins, solicitor-general.

3.—The first question almost which engaged the attention of the new ministry was the long standing one of the Mining Association. This had been a source of trouble and annoyance to the province for many years, and the Reform government had evaded taking any definite steps to effectually settle it. The Mining Company had its origin in the year 1825, when King George the Fourth granted to his brother, the Duke of York, a lease of all the ungranted mines and minerals of Nova Scotia. This lease the Duke of York obtained for the purpose of raising money, and he speedily transferred his right to Remdell, Bridge Co., on condition of their paying him a certain

First prohibi-
tory liquor law.
Defeat of the
Howe ministry.

Settlement of the
difficulty with the
General Mining
Association.

royalty. The impression then was the copper mines were very valuable; but failing these, Rendell & Co. turned their attention to coal, and formed the General Mining Association for the purpose of working the mines. The Assembly contended that the king had not the right to give away the property of the province without its consent, and a dispute arose which dragged over many years without any satisfactory result being arrived at. At the session of 1857 the House passed a resolution that if the government would appoint two commissioners, with power to effect a settlement, subject to the ratification of the House, that body would pay the expense. This offer was accepted, and Attorney-General Johnson and Mr. A. G. Archibald appointed. These gentlemen succeeded in effecting a satisfactory compromise with the Mining Association, whose rights were secured, while the remaining mineral wealth of the province was permanently placed in the guardianship of the Assembly. This enabled the association to resume extensive operations, and gave a great impetus to the mining interest of the province.

4.—The fifth of August, 1858, was celebrated with great rejoicings in Halifax on the occasion of the laying of the first Atlantic cable, but the rejoicing was premature, as the cable refused to work, and it was reserved for later years to accomplish successfully the great feat of joining the two continents by a flash of lightning under the ocean. The same year Sir I. G. Le Marchant retired from the government and was succeeded by the Earl of Mulgrave. A general election took place in 1859, and immediately after its conclusion Mr. Young, the leader of the Reform party, took the somewhat extraordinary course of informing the governor that his party was in a majority of two, and that the governor had better summon the House at once, so that the reformers might vote the conservatives out immediately. The earl, however, was not inclined to submit to dictation by a self-appointed dictator, and replied that he could not receive advice from any but his constitutional advisers; and Parliament was not convened until the usual time, January, 1860, when Mr. Stewart Campbell, reformer, was elected speaker by a majority of three over Mr. Wade, conservative. The governor congratulated the House on the great impetus which had been given to mining operations lately by the extended operations of the General Mining Association, and the new and valuable discoveries which had been made, and were attracting labor and capital to the province. Before the vote for speaker was taken the attorney-general called attention to the fact that several persons claiming to be members were not legally elected, as they were officeholders at the time of their election, and had not resigned until afterwards; and when the vote for speaker showed that the reformers had a majority of two, he moved that a committee be appointed to investigate the legality or

Mr. Howe regains power on a questionable vote.

illegality of the election of these members, but the motion was voted down by a majority of two. The Council then advised the governor to dissolve Parliament and order a new election, as there was no doubt but that these men had been paid officers of the government at the time of their election, and as such were ineligible; but the governor replied that it was the privilege of the House to protect its own honor, and it had the means in its own hands of declaring incompetent to sit in the House any persons who in their opinion were ineligible. But the gentlemen in question were good reformers, and Mr. Howe and his friends were quite satisfied to get into power again, and did not care to be too scrupulous, and refused any investigation, they holding the balance of power by a majority of two illegal votes, and so, after a brief struggle, the conservative ministry resigned, and Mr. Young was called on to form a reform cabinet.

5.—The whole province, and especially the city of Halifax, was thrown into a fever of excitement by the news which reached Halifax in June, 1860, that H. R. H. the Prince of Wales would visit that city on the 30th July, on his way to the Upper Provinces. The Legislature made a liberal grant, and the greatest preparations were made by the citizens to do honor to the grandson of the last royal personage who had visited their shores sixty years before (Edward, Duke of Kent). Prompt on time the "Hero," bearing the prince and suite, and attended by a squadron, entered Halifax harbor, and was saluted by the forts and all the men-of-war in harbor. The reception was quite an ovation, and the city was splendidly decorated, while on the following day there was a grand review, an illumination and a ball at night, H. R. Highness leaving the city on Thursday. The next three years were comparatively uneventful, except that the subjects of confederation and the building of the Inter-colonial attracted some attention; but we shall more fully refer to these schemes at the end of this chapter. At the general election of 1863, Mr. Howe's party was again defeated at the polls and had to resign, Mr. Johnston being again called on to form a ministry.

Visit of the Prince of Wales. The Howe party again beaten at the polls.

6.—The new House met on the 4th February, 1864, and was opened by Sir Hastings Doyle, who was acting as administrator, the Earl of Mulgrave having retired, and Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, his successor, not having arrived. The opening speech of the administrator contained two highly important clauses, one referring to the proposed Federal Union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and the other to the subject of education. That an improvement was needed in the educational system of the province was shown by the fact that by the census of 1861 it was shown that

Dr. Tupper's Education bill. Want of schools in the Province.

out of eighty-three thousand children in the province, between the ages of five and fifteen, only thirty-one thousand attended school, and that one quarter of the whole population could neither read nor write. The provisions of the bill 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 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.

7.—During this session (1864) Dr. Tupper introduced a series of resolutions having for their object the formation of a union of the Maritime Provinces; and as this

led, not to a union of those provinces alone, but the federation of all the provinces, and the formation of the present Dominion, it will be as well to consider the whole subject of federation in North America. The first confederation formed on this continent was as early as 1648, when the infant English colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, formed a defensive alliance to protect them against the French and Dutch. In 1688 Francis Nicholson, governor of New England, proposed a federation of all the British colonies for defence against the French and English; but, although the colonies all acted well together during the long struggles with France for supremacy on this continent, nothing like a firm and well-balanced union was effected until the thirteen colonies made common cause against England to gain their independence. The result of that union, and the rapid and surprising prosperity of the United States, soon set far-seeing and deep-thinking men in the remaining British colonies in North America thinking whether it would not be an advantage to them to unite on one common Federal basis, by which each province should retain control of its local affairs, while a uniform system of defence, customs duties, currency and commerce should make inter-provincial trade free, and do away with a great many vexatious customs regulations, while it strengthened the whole to resist the attacks of a foreign enemy.

8.—As early as 1808, Mr. R. J. Uniache 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 (as already stated) 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. 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

Confederation.
Early attempts at
a union of British
Provinces.

First efforts to-
wards consolida-
ting Canada.

1857 the matter was put into more tangible form by the Nova Scotia Legislature appointing Messrs. Johnson and Archibald as delegates to proceed to England and confer with the colonial secretary on the subject. That gentleman, Mr. Labouchere, received the matter favorably, but said that while the imperial government would throw no undue obstacles in the way, he considered the matter one to be chiefly settled by the provinces amongst themselves. During the session of the Canadian Parliament the following year, 1858, Mr. A. T. Galt introduced confederation as a government measure, and at the close of the session Messrs. Galt, Cartier and Rose were appointed delegates to proceed to England and request authority from the imperial powers to have a conference of delegates from all the provinces on the subject. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, then colonial secretary, without objecting to the proposed conference, said it was necessary to ascertain the state of public feeling on the subject in the different provinces. Public opinion now began to be aroused, the scheme was discussed in the press, pamphlets on the subject were published, and Dr. Tupper delivered several lectures on it in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

9.—The outbreak of the American war in 1861 gave a great impetus to the scheme of confederation, both the Home and the provincial governments feeling the necessity of the provinces being drawn as closely together as possible in the not unlikely event of a war with the United States. At the end of the session of 1861 Mr. Howe, then leader of the government, introduced a series of resolutions to almost the same effect as those introduced by Mr. Johnson in 1854, and in answer to the address through the governor, the House was informed by the colonial secretary, that the imperial Parliament would not object to a meeting of delegates from the different provinces to consult on the matter; but suggested that the most satisfactory way of testing the sentiments of the provinces would be by resolution in their respective Assemblies. On receipt of this permission Mr. Howe addressed a circular to the provincial secretaries of Canada, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, suggesting a meeting of delegates at some central place in September, 1862, but the suggestion was not acted on. On the defeat of the Reform party in Nova Scotia and the return of the conservatives to power in 1864, Dr. Tupper again agitated the question of federation, and moved for an address to his excellency, praying him to appoint five delegates to confer with those to be appointed by the governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, to consider the question of a union of those three provinces, he being then of the opinion that however much a union of Canada with the Maritime Provinces might be desirable, the party strife in

Outbreak of the American war. Attempt to unite the Maritime Provinces.

that province was too bitter just then, and the suspicion of the Lower Provinces too great to hope for a union; he therefore advocated a union of the Maritime Provinces, with the hope that Canada would afterwards be induced to join the confederation. The Legislatures of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island passed similar resolutions to those introduced by Dr. Tupper, and delegates were appointed to meet at Charlottetown, P. E. I., on the first September, 1864.

10.—While the Maritime Provinces were gradually converging towards a union, the Province of Canada was being terribly disturbed by party political strife. During the quarter of a century that the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada had been united their progress had been by no means equal; the upper portion had grown rapidly in population by emigration, while Quebec had gained very little beyond the natural increase of the population. It will be remembered that at the time of the re-union Lower Canada had the largest population, yet Upper Canada was allowed an equal number of representatives; now the positions were reversed, Upper Canada had twenty-five per cent more population than Lower Canada, and her statesmen clamored for representation by population, which would give them entire control of the Legislature; but the French members opposed this, and as they had the balance of power between the conservatives and liberals—or grits, as they were commonly called—no change could be effected. The two parties were very evenly balanced, each in turn tried to conduct the government, but could not count on a working majority of the House, and was in turn forced out of office by its opponents; dissolution was tried, but as very nearly the same members were elected, that gave no relief, and at last, in the session of 1864, affairs were at a dead-lock, and it looked as if the business of the province could not be conducted at all. At this juncture—as at every other crisis—confederation was looked to as the only remedy. Mr. George Brown, leader of the grit party, proposed to Mr. John A. Macdonald, leader of the conservatives, to form a coalition government for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a confederation of all the provinces, or if that could not be accomplished, a Federal Union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The proposed meeting at Charlottetown not having yet taken place, the governor-general was requested to ascertain whether the conference would be willing to receive a deputation from Canada, and an affirmative reply being received, Messrs. John A. Macdonald, George Brown, George E. Cartier, Alex. T. Galt, T. D'Arcy McGee; H. L. Langevin, Wm. McDougall and Alexander Campbell, were appointed delegates and attended the meeting at Charlottetown on 1st September. After hearing the remarks of Messrs. Macdonald, Brown,

Canada desires Confederation. Meeting of delegates at Charlottetown.

Cartier and Galt, which occupied two days, the convention adjourned until the 10th October, when it was to re-assemble at Quebec. The hospitalities of the island were extended to the deputation, which also stopped at Halifax on the way home, and was entertained there at a sumptuous banquet, at which stirring addresses in favor of a union of the provinces were delivered. The delegates also visited St. John, N. B., and Fredericton.

11.—On the 5th October, 1864, the Canadian government steamer *Victoria* took on board at Pictou,

Lieutenant-Governor McDonell and Lady McDonell, together with the Nova Scotia delegates, calling afterwards at

Charlottetown and Shediac to receive the Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick delegates, after which she proceeded to Quebec, where she arrived on Sunday evening, 9th October. At 11 o'clock on the following morning the Convention was opened in the Parliament House, and Sir Etienne P. Taché, Premier of Canada, was unanimously chosen president, and Major Hewitt Bernard, private and confidential secretary.* The Hon. John Hamilton Gray, in his *History of Confederation*, justly says of this Convention, "The time, the men, the circumstances, were peculiar. The place of meeting was one of historic interest. Beneath the shadow of Cape Diamond, on the ruins of the old Castle of St. Louis, with the broad St. Lawrence stretching away in front, the Plains of Abraham in sight, and the St. Charles winding its silvery course through scenes replete with the memories of old France, where scarce a century gone the Fleur de Lys and the Cross of St. George had waved in deadly strife, now stood the descendants of those gallant races, the Saxon and the Gaul, hand in hand, with a common country and

*The number of delegates was thirty-three, of whom Canada supplied 12, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island 7 each, Nova Scotia 5, and Newfoundland 2. The names were as follows:

PROVINCE OF CANADA.—Hon. Sir Etienne P. Taché, Premier, M.L.C.; Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney-General West, M.P.P.; Hon. George E. Cartier, Attorney-General East, M.P.P.; Hon. George Brown, President of the Executive Council, M.P.P.; Hon. Alex. T. Galt, Finance Minister, M.P.P.; Hon. Alex. Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands, M.L.C.; Hon. Wm. McDougall, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Minister of Agriculture, M.P.P.; Hon. Hector Langevin, Solicitor-General East, M.P.P.; Hon. J. Cockburn, Solicitor-General West, M.P.P.; Hon. Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General, M.P.P.; Hon. J. C. Chapais, Commissioner of Public Works, M.L.C.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—Hon. Samuel L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. John M. Johnson, Attorney-General, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward B. Chandler, M.L.C.; Hon. John Hamilton Gray, M.P.P.; Hon. Peter Mitchell, M.L.C.; Hon. Charles Fisher, M.P.P.; Hon. William H. Steves, M.L.C.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—Hon. John Hamilton Gray, Premier, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward Palmer, Attorney-General, M.P.P.; Hon. W. H. Pope, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. George Coles, M.P.P.; Hon. A. A. Macdonald, M.L.C.; Hon. T. H. Hairland, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward Whelan, M.L.C.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Hon. Charles Tupper, Provincial Secretary, M.P.P.; Hon. W. A. Henny, Attorney-General, M.P.P.; Hon. R. B. Dickey, M.L.C.; Hon. Adams G. Archibald, M.P.P.; Hon. Jonathan McCully, M.L.C.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Hon. F. B. T. Carter, M.P.P., Speaker of the House of Assembly; Hon. Ambrose Shea, M.P.P.

a common cause, met with the full sanction of their sovereign and the imperial Government. attended by the representatives and ministers of the crown, sent from the Parliaments chosen by the people, they were called upon to lay in peace the foundations of a State that was to take its place in friendly position beside that Republic which, wrenched from the parent hand in strife, had laid the foundations of its greatness with the sword and baptized its power in blood. Ninety years before, when the first Congress of the thirteen States met at Philadelphia, it was in defiance of the authority and of the country from which their people sprung. How different! How much more auspicious was the gathering of the provincial representatives at Quebec! In their deliberations and the framing of their constitution they would have the benefit of the experience of the working of that constitution, which under conditions in some degree similar to their own as to country, institutions and people, had carried the United States through half a century of triumphant progress. It would be for them to avoid those causes of dissension which had created the then existing troubles of that country.

12.—It was agreed that the sitting should be held with closed doors, a decision which gave much offence to the press, but was arrived at, after some consideration, on the grounds that the daily publication of reports would only cause unnecessary excitement, and that should any member change views before the close of the session he would be open to be charged with inconsistency if his first views had been made public. In order that the voting should be on equal terms, each province was to have one vote, Canada, as composed of two provinces, being allowed two. It was very soon determined that a Federal was better than a Legislative Union, and on the second day, Attorney-General MacDonald, submitted a series of resolutions embodying the outlines of the proposed confederation. "It was resolved that the future prosperity of British North America would be best promoted by a Federal Union under the crown of Great Britain, provided such union could be effected on principles just to the several provinces. In the federation of the British North American provinces it was considered that a general government as well as local government for each of the provinces was best adapted for securing successful legislation. It was proposed that the executive authority should be vested in the British sovereign, and administered in conformity with the British constitution by the sovereign personally, or by a representative duly authorized—the sovereign, or the representative of the sovereign being, commander-in-chief of the land and naval militia forces—that there should be a general Legislature for the federated provinces, composed of a Legislative Council and a House of Commons. The federated provinces were to consist of five

The Conference at Quebec. A contrast.

The terms of the proposed Confederation.

divisions—Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island—each division having an equal representation in the Legislative Council. Upper Canada was to be represented in the Legislative Council by twenty-four members. Lower Canada by twenty-four members, and the three Maritime Provinces by twenty-four members, of which Nova Scotia should have ten, New Brunswick ten, and Prince Edward Island four members—the colony of Newfoundland being entitled to enter the proposed union with a representation in the Legislative Council of four members.”

13.—The members of the Legislative Council were to hold office for life; but the seat of any member absenting himself for two consecutive sessions should be declared vacant. Considerable difficulty was experienced in agreeing to the basis of representation in the House, but at last it was agreed that it should be representation by the population based on a census to be taken every ten years. The number of representatives for Quebec was fixed at sixty-five, and was to remain unaltered; the other provinces were to have the same number of representatives in proportion, or nearly so, but every decade the number was to be readjusted so that the number of representatives should bear the same proportion to the population of each province as sixty-five did to the population of Quebec. On this basis, at the time of the conference, the number of members of the Lower House amounted to one hundred and ninety-four, divided as follows: Upper Canada, 82; Lower Canada, 65; Nova Scotia, 19; New Brunswick, 15; Newfoundland, 8; Prince Edward Island, 5. The convention closed its sittings on 28th October, and the delegates afterwards visited Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, where they were hospitably entertained. The plan of confederation was not yet fully made known, as the delegates had to submit the resolutions arrived at to their respective governments; but the broad fact that a basis of union had been arrived at was announced and was met with very general favor from both press and public in Upper and Lower Canada.

14.—The scheme of confederation was not, however, to be carried out as speedily as the convention anticipated, nor without considerable opposition, and the surmounting of many difficulties. The murmur of opposition was first heard in New Brunswick, and soon grew to a storm against confederation which swept Mr. Tilley and his supporters from office, and at the general election which took place in March, 1865, not a single one of the deputation which had attended the Quebec convention was returned, and a very strong anti-confederate government was formed under the premiership of Hon. A. J. Smith. In Nova Scotia the opposition was at first slight, but grew as that in New Brunswick increased, especially after Mr. Howe

—the “champion political acrobat,” as he was sometimes called—changed his views, and from being a strong advocate of union, became the most violent of the anti-confederate factionists, a position he held to without dishonor. Although an anti-confederate, he was appointed governor of the Province of Nova Scotia, by a conservative government, under confederation, in 1873, when he had become more reconciled to confederation. The opposition in Nova Scotia began to develop itself immediately on the return of the delegates; a meeting was held at Halifax, at which Messrs. Stairs, Jones, Annand and others severely criticised the scheme, especially the financial part of it, which in their opinion was not just to the Maritime Provinces, and which underwent some changes before the final agreement on the terms of confederation. In the meanwhile, however, the resolutions agreed on at the Quebec convention, had been submitted by Lord Monck, governor-general, to the colonial secretary, Mr. Cadwell, and had received the almost unqualified assent of her majesty’s government.

15.—The Canadian Parliament met in February, 1865 and resolutions favoring confederation were introduced in the council by Sir Etienne Taché and in the Assembly by Attorney-General MacDonald. The debate lasted many days, and during its continuance information was received of the defeat of the measure in New Brunswick, by the non-election of its strongest advocates. Under these circumstances the debate was hurried to a close, and the resolutions adopted by a vote of 91 to 33. An address to the queen, framed on these resolutions, was at once prepared, and a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Brown, Cartier, Galt, and MacDonald, to confer with the imperial government, and, if possible, bring sufficient influence to bear on New Brunswick to cause a change of feeling with regard to the confederation. The delegates stopped at Halifax on their way, and received a perfect ovation, but public opinion there was not as unanimous as it seemed on the surface, and the scheme had much opposition to encounter yet. The decided blow to confederation given in New Brunswick was soon felt in Nova Scotia, where Dr. Tupper thought it most prudent not to urge the scheme at once; but instead renewed the proposal of the previous years with regard to a union of the Maritime Provinces. The storm in New Brunswick, however, died out almost as suddenly as it had arisen. Governor Gordon was strongly in favor of confederation, and urged it on the House in his opening address, although the House had been elected specially as anti-confederates. The excitement grew, old party lines were forgotten, and it was confederate or anti-confederate; Lord Cardwell wrote to the governor strongly urging a union of the provinces, and the tide of popular opinion once more turned towards confederation. The Smith ministry was forced to resign, and the Tilley-Mitchell government

The basis for representation.

Action of Canadian Parliament
Change of feeling in Maritime Provinces.

Opposition of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

succeeded, under whose rule the resolutions in favor of confederation were soon carried by a good majority. After the victory in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia was not slow to follow suit and wheel into line with the other provinces, the final vote on the union resolutions being thirty-one to nineteen.

16.—The anti-confederates were not quite satisfied yet, however, and the scene of contest was transferred to London, where a brilliant pamphlet was issued, in which Mr. Howe, the leading anti-unionist, got considerably the worst of it; for as he had been both a Unionist and a non-unionist, his opponents could condemn his arguments either way out of his own mouth. The British government had fully made up its mind to have confederation, and the Fenian Raid of 1866—of which we shall speak in our History of the Province of Canada—had aroused Canadians to the knowledge that it would no longer do to depend altogether upon England, but that they must take some means for their own defence. The final conference of the delegates from the three provinces was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, and lasted from 4th to 24th December, 1866, by which time all details had been arranged, and all that was wanting was imperial legislation to make confederation an accomplished fact. Several interviews were had with her majesty's ministers, and a draft bill was agreed to which afterwards became the British North America Act, which was finally passed on 29th March, 1867, and by one of its provisions, the 1st July, 1867, was the day on which, by royal proclamation, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were united under the title of the Dominion of Canada.

CHAPTER CIII.

NEW BRUNSWICK FROM 1784 TO 1831.

1. ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR CARLETON. SKETCH OF THE FIRST COUNCIL.—2. REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT TO FREDERICTON. DISSENSIONS OVER THE REVENUE.—3. THE ASSEMBLYMEN INSIST ON BEING PAID. A DEAD-LOCK FOR THREE YEARS.—4. CARLETON'S ADMINISTRATION. GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF THE PROVINCE.—5. THE WAR OF 1812-15.—6. ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL SMITH. IMPROVEMENT OF THE COLONY.—7. THE GREAT FIRE AT MIRAMICHI.—8. TROUBLE ABOUT THE MAINE BOUNDARY QUESTION.—9. ENGLISH FREE TRADE POLICY. THROWING OPEN THE COLONIAL MARKETS.—10. PRO-

POSAL TO ADMIT BALTIC TIMBER FREE INTO ENGLAND. GREAT DISSATISFACTION IN THE PROVINCE.

1.—The discovery and early history of what now forms the Province of New Brunswick, we have already given in our History of Acadia, all the territory now known as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick being so called under French rule; we shall, therefore, in this and the following chapters confine ourselves to a record of the events which occurred after the erection of New Brunswick as a separate province in 1784. The first governor of the new province was Colonel Thomas Carleton, a brother of Lord Dorchester, who arrived at St. John on the 21st November, 1784, and the establishment of the province was proclaimed on the following day. 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 the 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 (5,000 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 which had settled in Virginia at the time of the Commonwealth. He served with distinction as captain of the Queen Rangers, under Sir J. G. Simcoe, during the revolution, and afterwards studied law in London.

2.—The first session of the House of Assembly was held at St. John in 1786; but previous to this (1785) the town and district of Parr had been incorporated by the Council as the city of St. John, thus making it the oldest—as it was for many years the only—incorporated town in British North America, its government was administered by a mayor, six aldermen, and six assistant aldermen. Governor Carleton, in opening the first General Assembly, dwelt on the particular benefits which had been bestowed on New Brunswick by the granting of its constitution, and urged on the people the propriety of showing their appreciation of the blessings conferred on them, by an unswerving loyalty, and by sobriety, industry, and a strict attention to their religious duties; as well as by endeavoring to promote the utmost feelings of cordiality and good fellowship between the old settlers and the newly arrived loyalists. St. John did not long remain the capital, the seat of government being removed to St. Anne's Point, in 1788, which was named Fredericton, and which has since remained the capital of the province. This change was partly caused by the feeling of the majority of the loyalists, who came from New York State; and as Albany, the capital of that State, is a hundred and fifty miles from the sea and the commercial metropolis, and so removed from its bustle and excitement, the founders of New Brunswick thought it would be well to follow the model of their native State and place the capital of their adopted province at a distance from the bustle of the principal commercial city. The peace and harmony which the founders expected, however, did not come in the new capital; for the Council and Assembly soon began to have disputes as to the control of the revenue; and the same struggle for responsible government was inaugurated in New Brunswick which we have already described as taking place in the other provinces.

3.—The first difference between the two Houses was on the subject of pay. The members of the Assembly voted themselves seven shillings and sixpence a day, during the session, and the Council threw out the bill. The assemblymen, however, were not going to be done out of their pay so easily; they put the salary appropriation in a bill which they "tacked" on to the general appropriation bill, and so threw the onus of refusing to pass any appropriations for roads, bridges, &c., on the Council, who in turn referred the matter to the Duke of Portland, then colonial secretary. His lordship deprecated the custom of "tacking" several matters to-

Removal of the seat of government to Fredericton. Dissensions over the revenue.

The Assemblymen insist on being paid. A dead-lock for three years.

gether in one bill, so as to force the passage of objectionable matter, or necessitate the rejection of a bill containing some very necessary and important measure, because it had "tacked" on to it something to which the Council objected. He was very severe on the assemblymen for wanting "wages," as he termed it, and declared that it was derogatory to the dignity of the House for the members to receive remuneration from their constituents. But the members did not care so much about their dignity as they did about the dollar and a half a day to pay their expenses during the session. They considered that it was quite enough for them to give their time, which they could ill afford, without being put to the expense of paying for their living in Fredericton; and they insisted upon being paid. For three years (1796-9) there was a dead-lock between the two Houses, and no revenue or appropriation bills were passed. At last the Council had to yield, the assemblymen got their "wages," and peace and harmony was restored.

4.—The administration of Governor Carleton was almost as long and as prosperous for New Brunswick as that of his brother, Lord Dorchester, was for Quebec. For twenty years he filled the office of lieutenant-governor, and during that time he saw the province reclaimed from a state of nature and rendered fruitful and productive, while the people enjoyed the blessings of peace,—although the Mother Country was at war—and were happy and contented, as the province gradually increased in wealth and population. Governor Carleton returned to England in 1803, regretted by those over whom he had exercised a mild and wise sway for twenty years, during which time the population, trade and commerce of the province had increased with wonderful rapidity. As early as 1778 an effort was made by William Davidson to settle on the Miramichi, and utilize the luxuriant timber which bordered that magnificent river. Davidson brought out a number of settlers from the old country, amongst them some ship-carpenters; and three years, after Jonathan Leavitt launched at St. John the first vessel built in New Brunswick. Davidson launched the first one built at Miramichi. The lumber trade sprang into great importance almost at once. The British navy was then "sweeping the sea," at the expense of a good many masts and spars which got knocked to pieces by the enemy, and thus opened a fine field for the colonies, especially New Brunswick, which had such immense forests of towering pines, just suited for masts. The vessels taking over timber brought back immigrants, and so the colony was constantly increasing in population.

5.—No successor to Governor Carleton was appointed for some years, and the affairs of the province were administered by different presidents. In 1809, on the fear of the breaking out

Carleton's administration. Growth and prosperity of the Province.

The war of 1812-

15

of hostilities 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 the 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 the lakes.

6.—For some years the Assembly had been petitioning the Home government to appoint a regular lieutenant-administration of governor, and not allow the affairs of the General Smythe province to be administered by a succession of military presidents who had no interest or feeling in the province; 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 dead-lock. 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 intention for awhile, 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 9th 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 shipbuilding; agriculture was neglected; no pains was taken to utilize the land from which the timber was cut, and the people were almost wholly dependant 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.

7.—Lieutenant-Governor Douglas met Parliament early in 1825, 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 74,000. 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 Douglstown, and across the river was Chatham, the timber depot of Cunard and Company. On the 29th 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 October, which was to witness so dire a catastrophe. All day the 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, &c., was about \$1,000,000 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 efforts 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 bound-

Troubles about the
Maine boundary
question.

aries 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 market, 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 Bri-

English Free
Trade policy.
Throwing open the
Colonial markets.

tain 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; shipbuilding 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 being mowed down before it, and it was not long before a repeal of the duty on timber from the Baltic was agitated, so that England may 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 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

Proposal to admit Baltic timber free into England. Great dissatisfaction in the province.

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. Wm. Black temporarily administered the affairs of the province until the appointment of Sir Alexander Campbell, who arrived in the fall of 1831.

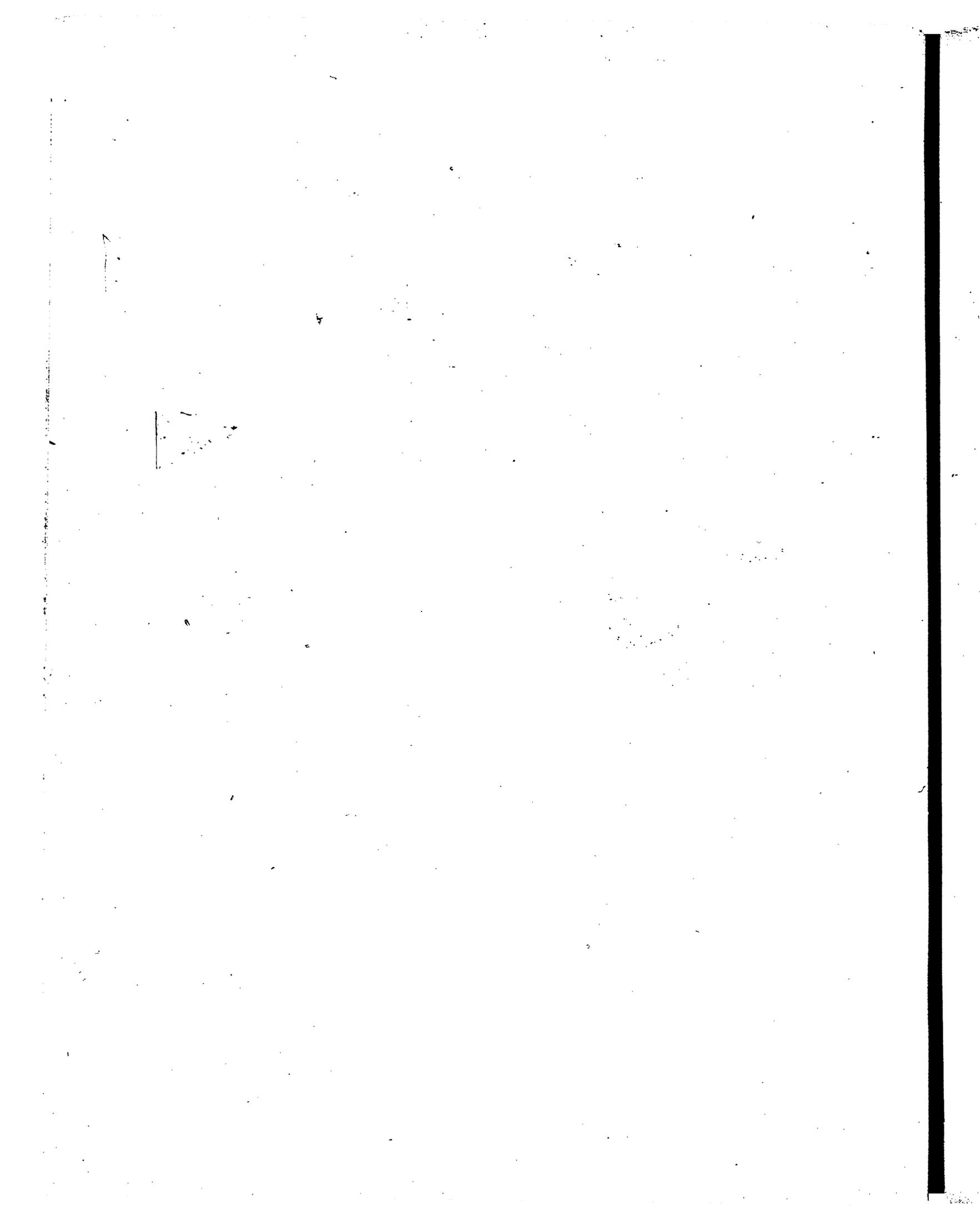
CHAPTER CIV.

NEW BRUNSWICK FROM 1832 TO CONFEDERATION.

1.—POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.—2. ABUSES IN THE CROWN LANDS DEPARTMENT. THE CASUAL AND TERRITORIAL REVENUES.—3. REFORMS SANCTIONED BY LORD GENELG.—4. OBSTRUCTIONS THROWN IN THE WAY BY THE COUNCIL.—5. THE GOVERNOR REFUSES TO SIGN THE CIVIL LIST BILL. HIS RESIGNATION. PASSAGE OF THE ACT.—6. THE "AROOSTOOK WAR." VIOLENT FEELING ON BOTH SIDES.—7. SETTLEMENT OF THE MAINE FRONTIER DIFFICULTY.—8. RECALL OF SIR JOHN HARVEY. SQUANDERING THE PUBLIC MONEY.—9. DEFEAT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AT THE POLLS. AN UNFAVORABLE PICTURE OF ST. JOHN. ELECTION RIOT.—10. TROUBLE AS TO MR. READE'S APPOINTMENT AS PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.—11. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED.—12. BRIEF REVIEW FROM 1848 TO 1867. LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCE.

1.—We now come to the period of the struggle for responsible government through which all of the provinces have had to go, and which was of a milder type in New Brunswick than in either of the Canadas, there being no distinctions of race or faith there to stir up the deepest and bitterest feelings, which lead to open rebellion. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia fought for their constitutional amendments in a constitutional way, and their leaders never so far forgot themselves as to make an appeal to the sword as did Papineau and Mackenzie. New Brunswick at this time, 1832, suffered from the government of a "Family Compact," somewhat similar to those of Upper Canada and Nova Scotia; but the New Brunswick compact was not so exclusive nor so grasping as those of the other





provinces, and more fairly represented the interests of the people. As Howe became the leader of the Reform party in Nova Scotia, so Lemuel Allan Wilmot took the lead in New Brunswick, and to his talent as a lawyer, and brilliancy, eloquence and skill as a party leader, may be attributed the triumphs of the Reform party in his province. In both provinces the governor's name was Campbell, and although they were not related they were singularly alike in disposition, both being strong Tories, stern, determined soldiers, and men who, naturally ranging themselves on the side of the constituted authorities, steadily opposed any innovations in the way of reforms. New Brunswick took the lead in agitation for political reform. In 1832 the Legislative Council, which had heretofore been also the Executive Council, was made a separate body; and the latter was made to consist of five members—the Honorables Thomas Baillie, Frederick P. Robinson, William F. Odell, George F. Street, and John S. Saunders.

2.—This change was said to have been effected for the purpose of having some members of the assembly appointed to the Executive Council so as to open up the means of communication between the Assembly and the Executive; but as no such appointments were made, the change came to be regarded, by both the Legislative Council and the assembly, as a mere ruse to get rid of the advice of some of the members of the former, and to centre all the power of the government in the hands of the five members of the Family Compact who had been appointed to the Executive Council. New Brunswick at this time had several substantial grievances. The crown land department, like that of all the other provinces, was grossly mismanaged. The chief commissioner was appointed by the crown, and was wholly independent of the Assembly; and although he was openly charged with favoritism in appropriating large tracts to lumber operators and other favorites, and was generally very obnoxious to the people, there was no means of calling him to account, and making him responsible to the representatives of the people. It was also charged against him that his large salary and immense perquisites in the way of fees enabled him to live in a style of luxury which had a demoralizing effect on the less fortunate and smaller salaried officials. Another grievance was the use of the revenue derived from the sale of lands, known as the "casual and territorial." Unlike the same tax in other provinces, this tax in New Brunswick was sufficient to pay the civil list and leave a surplus, and the Assembly at an early date claimed control of it, but without effect. 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 Assem-

bly 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.

3.—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 500,000 acres, for a sum of £56,000, of which £21,000 was paid down. The object of the company was to relieve some of the over-crowded 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, &c.; 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. The House now moved a formal address to the king setting forth its grievances in full in the matters of crown lands, revenue and 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 £14,500 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

Abuses in the Crown Lands Department. The Casual and Territorial revenues.

Reforms sanctioned by Lord Glenelg.

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 awhile. 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 £14,500 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 \$800,000 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 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 "suspensive 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

Obstructions
thrown in the way
by the council.

The Governor re-
fuses to sign the
Civil List Bill. His
resignation. Pas-
sage of the act.

fearing that if the colonial secretary approve of the governor's amendments the bill may be so altered that the law officers of his majesty may 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 suspensive 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 inimicable 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 9th February amid a most enthusiastic demonstration of the people. 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 the Hon. G. F. Street utterly failed in getting any modification of the civil list bill, and it became law on the 17th 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 counsel; 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.

6.—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 "Aroostook
war." Violent
feeling on both
sides.

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. Sir John now took decided steps, and despatched Colonel 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 \$100,000 and 8,000 men to assist the sister province, but so far forgot their legislative dignity as to give three cheers for the king, which were caught up and re-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 pacific policy; conciliatory notes passed between the English minister at Washington and the secretary of state, and General 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 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.

7.—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. ^{Settlement of the Maine frontier difficulty.} 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 further trouble, and the possibility of war, two commissioners were appointed to settle the matter, the award to be final.

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 feign 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.

8.—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 ^{Recall of Sir John Harvey. Squandering the public money.} 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.* 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

* Archer's History of Canada.

vote of the speaker, Charles Simonds.* Sir John Harvey was succeeded by Sir William Colebrooke, who did not find the province in a very flourishing condition. 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.

9.—The first year of Sir William Colebrooke's administration was not a fortunate one for the province; St.

Defeat of "Responsible Government" at the polls. An unfavorable picture of St. John. Election riot.

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 Melcalfe, for a despatch be 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 Bruns-*

* Archer's *History of Canada*.

wick, 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 over-stocked market, gave an unhappy look to that commercial centre. More than four thousand of its people were dependant 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 twelfth 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 when 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."

10.—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 hands, 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 Hazen acknowledged the right of the crown to appoint whoever it pleased, but objected to this particular appointment because Lord Glenelg, in 1835, had laid it down as 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 may 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 mem-

Trouble as to Mr. Reade's appointment as Provincial Secretary.

ber 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. Simcoe Saunders was appointed provincial secretary.

11.—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 was 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 Grey, 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. 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.

12.—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 Inter-colonial Railway and confederation, both of which subjects we have freely treated of in chapter 102, 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 £14,500 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." * 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 into 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

Brief resume from 1848 to 1867. List of the governors of the province.

Responsible Government established.

* Harper's History of New Brunswick.

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, Me., with the intention of crossing the St. Croix River and making a descent upon St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's. The 15th regiment, under Colonel Cole, was promptly despatched to the frontier, with a number of volunteers, and occupied Campobello, St. Andrews and St. Stephen's, 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 under 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 July, 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into existence as the youngest of the nations. The following is a list of the governors from the formation of the province to confederation:

Gen. Thomas Carleton, Gov.	1784
Hon. G. G. Ludlow, President	1786
Hon. E. Winslow, President	1803
Col. G. Johnston, President	1808
Gen. W. Hunter, Gov.	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, Gov.	1817
Hon. Ward Chipman, President	1823
Hon. J. M. Bliss, President	1824

Gen. Sir H. Douglas, Gov.	1825
Hon. W. Black, President	1829
Gen. Sir A. Campbell, Gov.	1832
Gen. Sir John Harvey, Gov.	1837
Sir W. M. G. Colebrooke, Gov.	1841
Sir E. W. Head, Gov.	1848
Hon. J. H. T. M. Sutton, Gov.	1854
Hon. A. Gordon, Gov.	1862
Sir C. Hastings Doyle, Lt.-Gov.	1866

CHAPTER CV.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—GOVERNMENT OF CAPTAIN PATTERSON.

1. FIRST DISCOVERY AND SUBSEQUENT SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLAND.—2. CESSION OF THE ISLAND TO BRITAIN. LORD EGMONT'S SCHEME.—3. THE ISLAND PARCELLED OUT BY LOTTERY.—4. THE ISLAND CREATED A SEPARATE PROVINCE. FINANCIAL TROUBLES.—5. INCIDENTS DURING THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.—6. SALE OF LANDS TO PAY OVERDUE QUIT-RENTS. DISSATISFACTION OF THE PROPRIETORS.—7. THE GOVERNOR REFUSES TO OBEY THE ORDERS OF THE HOME GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO RESTORING THE LANDS SOLD IN 1781.—8. RECALL OF PATTERSON AND APPOINTMENT OF LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR FANNING. A STRUGGLE FOR POWER.

1.—Prince Edward Island, which has frequently been mentioned in the early portions of this work as the "Island of St. John," was discovered by John Cabot, who commanded the first expedition ^{First discovery and subsequent settlement of the Island.} to the New World sent out by England after the great discovery of Columbus. This expedition left Bristol in 1497, and on St. John's Day of that year Cabot landed on a beautiful and fertile island, which he named St. John in honor of the patron saint of the day. The English, however, made no attempt to claim or colonize the island; and it was afterwards visited by Verazani—who was making discoveries in the interest of France, in 1523, and claimed by that power as part of its possessions in America. For over a century and a half after Cabot's visit the Micmac and Abenakis Indians he found on the island were left in undisturbed possession of it; and it was not until 1663 that any effort to colonize it was made by France. In that year it was granted to the Sieur Doublet, together with the Magdalen Islands, for fishing purposes. The Sieur was a captain in the French navy, and a man of some enterprise, but he did nothing beyond establishing a few temporary fishing stations on

the island, through the aid of certain adventurers. Probably the first settlements on the island grew out of the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, which was concluded between Great Britain and France in 1713, by which Acadia and Newfoundland were ceded to Great Britain; and by which it was provided that the French inhabitants of the ceded territory should be at liberty to remove within one year to any place of their choice. Under this provision many of the Acadians removed to the island of St. John, which still remained under French rule. This movement was followed by the establishment of a military post at Port La Joie (now Charlottetown) under the protection of the French fort at Cape Breton. However, even in 1752 the entire inhabitants of the island numbered but 1,354, 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 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 which can be authenticated, was about 5,000, and probably this increase was to a greater extent indebted to the expulsion of the Acadians from 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.

2.—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 Maine, was included in the government of Nova Scotia, and so continued until 1770. 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 describes 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, &c. 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 surveys, 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, &c., 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.

3.—By the survey of Captain Holland the island was found to contain 365,400 acres, only about 10,000 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 amongst 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 23d July, 1767, the claims of all petitioners for allotments having been previously adjudicated on by the board. 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 schoolmaster, was made; five hundred feet from high-water mark being reserved for the purpose of a free fishery. Deposits of gold, silver, and 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 European, 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 should be forfeited.* About six thousand acres were reserved for the king, and lots forty and fifty-nine were

Cession of the Island to Britain. Lord Egmont's scheme.

The Island parcelled out by lottery.

* Campbell's History of Prince Edward Island.

reserved for Messrs. Mill, Cathcart and Higgins, and Messrs. Spence, Muir and Cathcart, in consideration of their having established fisheries, and otherwise improved the island; and all the remainder of the island was distributed.

4.—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 1768 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. 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 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 governor, £500; secretary and registrar, £150; chief-justice, £200; attorney-general, £100; clerk of the crown and coroner, £80; provost marshal, £50; and the minister of the Church of England, £100; but even this small amount was not received from the quit-rents, and the governor was forced to use £3,000, raised by the House for the erection of public buildings, to pay the employees of the government. 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.

The Island erected into a separate Province. Financial trouble.

5.—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 Québec, 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 remained there until the following June. The town had not enough provisions to support them, but the deficiency was made up by the farmers. This 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.

Incidents during the war of American Independence.

6.—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 the 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 prov-

Sale of lands to pay over-due quit-rents. Dissatisfaction of the proprietors.

ince 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 privileges 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 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 anyone believe 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 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.*”

7.—The influence of the proprietors at court was, however, too strong for the governor, and a resolution in

Council was passed on 1st 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 improvements 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 pretense 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 £2,000 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.”

8.—This bill 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

The governor refuses to obey the orders of the Home Government with regard to restoring the lands sold in 1781.

Recall of Patterson and appointment of Lt. Governor Fanning. A struggle for power.

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 1st 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 further 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 straightened 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 proceedings 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 CVI.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—THE RECORD OF HALF A CENTURY.

1.—THE CENSUS. CURIOUS STATISTICS WITH REGARD TO NAMES.—2. CHANGING THE NAME OF THE ISLAND. SLOW PROGRESS IN SETTLEMENT.—3. THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROPRIETARY PARTY IN THE COLONIAL OFFICE. COMMUTATION OF THE QUIT-RENTS.—4. LARGE IMMIGRATION OF HIGHLANDERS. GOVERNMENT OF COLONEL DES BARRES.—5. TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF GOVERNOR SMITH. THREE DISOLUTIONS OF PARLIAMENT.—6. CHARGES MADE AGAINST THE GOVERNOR. HIS ATTEMPT TO ARREST MR. STEWART.—7. RECALL OF SMITH. APPOINTMENT OF COLONEL READY.—8. SATISFACTORY CONDITION OF THE ISLAND IN 1825.—9. PASSAGE OF THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ACT. RECALL OF COLONEL READY.—10. STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH PICTOU. DEATH OF GOVERNOR YOUNG.—11. ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THE LAND QUESTION ON AN EQUITABLE BASIS.

1.—The government of Colonel Fanning extended over a period of eighteen years, but the first ten or twelve years was not marked by any events of special importance. The original proprietors still continuing to hold their lands and not pay their quit-rents, there was little or no immigration, and the island remained in almost a stagnant condition. A census was taken in 1798, which showed that after thirty-five years' possession by the British the population only amounted to 4,372, of whom 2,335 were males, and 2,037 females. There were 1,217 males under 16 years of age, 1,014 between 16 and 60, and 104 over 60; of the females 1,092 were under 16, 867 between 16 and 60, and 78 over 60. There were 748 heads of families, and amongst these only 25 are returned as single men, and 11 of these were over 60 years of age. Fifty families consisted of only two persons each, five of which

The Census. Curious statistics with regard to names.

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 487 different cognomens divided amongst the 748 families. Scotch names greatly preponderating; indeed one-third of the population were "Macs," for no less than 231 families, consisting of 701 males and 636 females, had the prefix Mc to their names, the McDonalds alone mustering 69 families, numbering 208 males and 198 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 49 districts from which returns are made the name McDonald appears in 21, 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 3 families of 9 males and 10 females; the Browns 4 families of 8 males and 18 females; the Robinsons 2 families of 7 males and 7 females, while only one Jones—John Jones—is returned in the whole province, and his family consisted of 2 males and 3 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 further 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 1st 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

Changing the name of the island. Slow progress in settlement.

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 further 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.

The influence of the proprietary party in the colonial office. Commutation of the quit-rents.

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 £60,000 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 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 number 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. This same Earl of Selkirk afterwards formed a settlement at the Red River; of which we shall speak more fully in our chapters on the North West Territory. Colonel Fanning resigned the lieutenant-governorship in 1804, and was succeeded by Des Barres, who arrived in July, 1805. Colonel Des Barres 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, it 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, further 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 the 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

Large immigration of Highlanders. Government of Colonel Des Barres.

Tyrannical conduct of Governor Smith. Three dissolutions of Parliament.

heard anything at all about it. Nothing further was done until December, when another notice was put up that quit-rents must be paid by the fourteenth 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 expiry 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 may 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 6th March, and subsequent meetings at St. Peter's and Prince town, 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 into the country; with illegally constituting a court of escheat in 1818; with insulting the

Charges made against the governor. His attempt to arrest Mr. Stewart.

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 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 26th 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,

Recall of Smith. Appointment of Colonel Ready.

* In addition to this public insult he was accused of sending a message, on the 15th December, to the Assembly, requiring both Houses to adjourn to the 5th of January following; and before the business in which they were then occupied was finished, and when the Lower House was on the point of adjourning, in accordance with the said message, it was insulted by Mr. Carmichael, the lieutenant-governor's son-in-law and secretary, who, advancing within the bar, addressed the speaker loudly in these words: "Mr. Speaker, if you sit in that chair one minute longer, this House will be immediately dissolved," at the same time shaking his fist at the speaker; and while the House was engaged in considering the means of punishing this insult, the lieutenant-governor sent for the speaker, and holding up his watch to him, said he would allow the House three minutes, before the expiration of which, if it did not adjourn, he would resort to an immediate dissolution; and this extraordinary conduct was soon after followed by prorogation of the Legislature, in consequence of the House having committed to jail the lieutenant-governor's son for breaking the windows of the apartment in which the House was then sitting."—Campbell's *History of Prince Edward Island*.

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 petitions taken into immediate consideration, and Smith was recalled, he being succeeded by Colonel Ready, who arrived on 21st 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 dinners and made most flattering speeches, they offered no insult to Smith, and when he left for England he was even presented with a farewell address by a few officeholders 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 the peace, and one authorizing the governor to appoint commissioners to issue £5,000 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 £85,337, and the exports at £95,426. The islanders seem to have been far from total abstainers, for amongst the imports we find 4,000 gallons of rum; 2,500 gallons of brandy, and 3,000 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 Cascumpec and the 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 Roman Catholics the same right to vote as 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

Satisfactory condition of the island in 1825.

Passage of the Catholic emancipation act. Recall of Colonel Ready.



HON. ROBT. BALDWIN.



HON. SIR EDWARD KENNY.



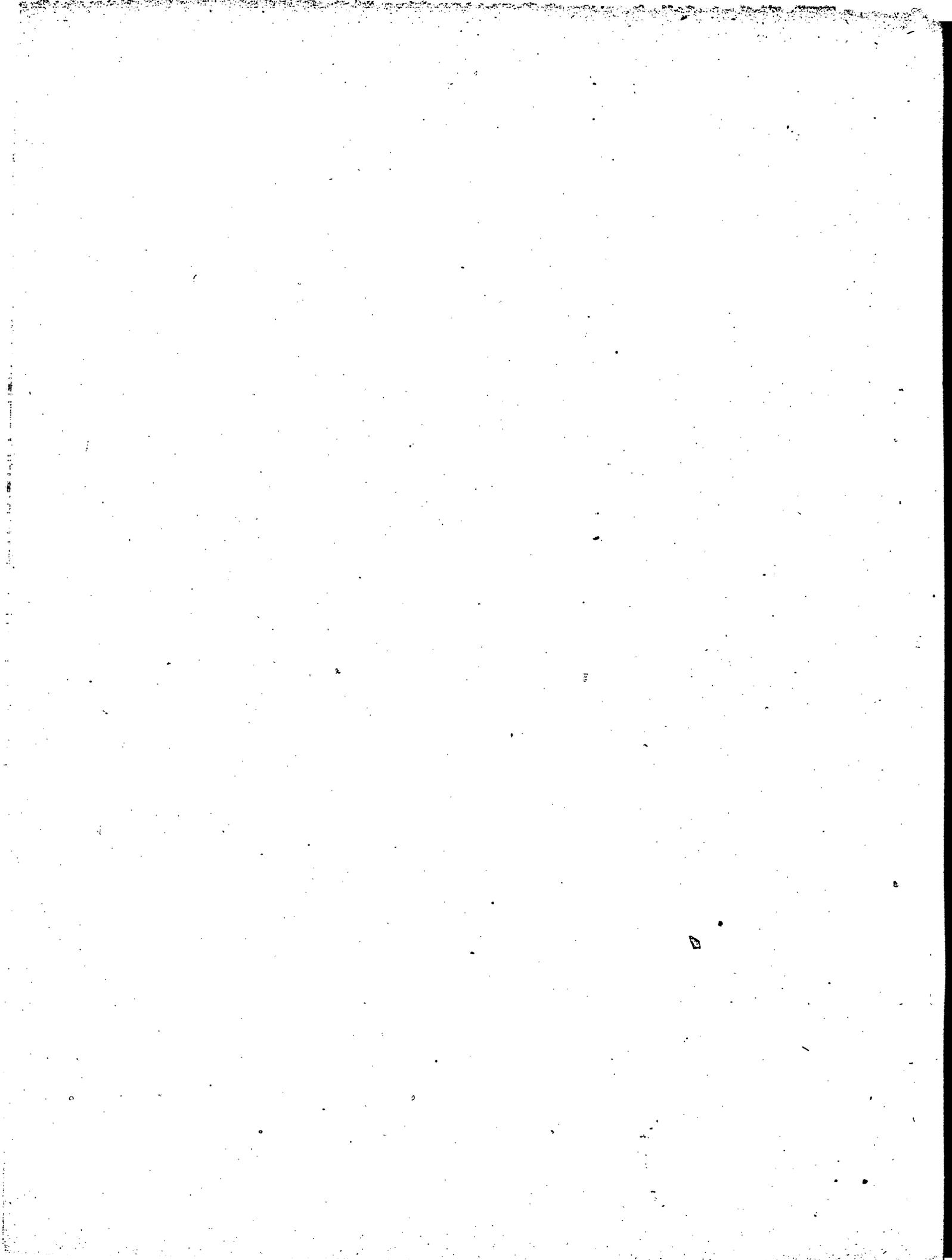
HON. SIR ALLAN NAPIER MACNAB.



REV. DR. RYERSON.



HON. J. CHAS. CHAPAIS.



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 £300 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 first 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 Honorable 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 installment, 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 mem-

Steam communication with Pictou.
Death of Governor Young.

Attempt to settle the land question on an equitable basis.

bers of the assembly, which showed that the local expenditure of the government for the last twelve years had been £107,643 of which £28,506 had been expended on roads and bridges, to the great advantage of the property of the proprietors; £13,556 on public buildings and wharves; and £66,562 for other local purposes. And of these large sums, the whole amount contributed by the proprietors of the soil had been only £7,413, leaving the balance of £100,000 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

* We give the following extract from Lord Durham's letter to Lord Glenelg, dated Quebec, 8th October, 1836, which very clearly gives that statesman's views on the land question in Prince Edward Island. "My Lord,—I have had the honor of receiving your despatch of the fifth of October, whereby you desire that I will express to you my judgment on the whole subject of escheat in the Island of Prince Edward. After perusing the voluminous documents with your lordship's despatch, I do not feel that it is in my power to add anything to the very full information on the subject which these documents comprise. The information before us is now so ample that upon no matter of fact can I entertain a doubt. Nearly the whole island was alienated in one day by the crown, in very large grants, chiefly to absentees, and upon conditions of settlement which have been wholly disregarded. The extreme improvidence—I might say the reckless profusion—which dictated these grants is obvious: the total neglect of the government as to enforcing the conditions of the grants is not less so. The great bulk of the island is still held by absentees, who hold it as a sort of reversionary interest which requires no present attention, but may become valuable some day or other through the growing want of the inhabitants. But, in the meantime, the inhabitants of the island are subjected to the greatest inconvenience—nay, the most serious injury—from the state of property in land. The absent proprietors neither improve the land themselves, nor will let others improve it. They retain the land and keep it in a state of wilderness. Your Lordship can scarcely conceive the degree of injury inflicted on a new settlement hemmed in by wilderness land, which has been placed out of the control of government, and is entirely neglected by its absent proprietors. This evil pervades British North America, and has been for many years past a subject of universal and bitter complaint. The same evil was felt in many of the States of the American Union, where, however, it has been remedied by taxation of a penal character,—taxation I mean, in the nature of a fine for the abatement of a nuisance. In Prince Edward Island this evil has attained its maximum. It has been long and loudly complained of, but without any effect. The people, their representative assembly, the legislative council, and the governor have cordially concurred in devising a remedy for it. All their efforts have proved in vain. Some influence—it cannot be that of equity or reason—has steadily counteracted the measures of the colonial legislature. I cannot imagine it is any other influence than that of the absentee proprietors resident in England; and in saying so I do but express the universal opinion of the colony. The only question, therefore, as it appears to me, is whether that influence shall prevail against the deliberate acts of the colonial legislature and the universal complaints of the suffering colonists. I can have no doubt on the subject. My decided opinion is, that the royal assent should no longer be withheld from the act of the colonial legislature. At the same time, I doubt whether this act will prove a sufficient remedy for the evil in question. It was but natural that the colonial legislature—who have found it impossible as yet to obtain any redress whatever—should hesitate to propose a sufficient one. Undeterred by any such consideration,—relying on the cordial co-operation of the government and parliament in the work of improving the state of the colonies—I had intended, before the receipt of your lordship's dispatch, and still intend to suggest a measure which, while it provides a sufficient remedy for the evil suffered by the colonists, shall also prove advantageous to the absent proprietors by rendering their property more valuable."

Charlottetown in 1838, mainly at the instance of the Honorable 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.

CHAPTER CVII.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—FROM 1841 TO CONFEDERATION.

1. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR H. V. HUNTLEY. PETITION FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.—2. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR DONALD CAMPBELL. THE STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.—3. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR A. BANNERMAN. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED.—4. A GLANCE AT THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO PROMOTE EDUCATION.—5. UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. LOSS OF THE *Fairy Queen*. SATISFACTORY FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE PROVINCE.—6. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR DOMINICK DALY. ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORMAL SCHOOL. CENSUS.—7. THE COLONIAL SECRETARY'S SUGGESTIONS ON THE LAND QUESTION.—8. THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL QUESTIONS THE LEGALITY OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AS THEN CONSTITUTED.—9. THE PROPOSAL OF THE PROPRIETORS WITH REFERENCE TO A COMMISSION ON THE LAND QUESTION.—10. APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION ON THE LAND QUESTION. VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—11. CENSUS. THE BIBLE ADMITTED INTO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—12. REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE LAND QUESTION.—13. THE HOME GOVERNMENT DISSALLOWS THE BILLS OF THE ASSEMBLY, BASED ON THE AWARD OF THE COMMISSIONERS.—14. HOW THE LAND

QUESTION WAS FINALLY SETTLED.—15. CONFEDERATION. UNPOPULARITY OF THE MEASURE.—16. CONFEDERATION. EFFECT ON IT OF THE RAILWAY PROJECT.—17. CONFEDERATION. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND ADMITTED TO THE UNION.

1.—Sir Henry Vere Huntley filled his term of office (six years) without any very eventful occurrences taking place. The Honorable 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 Kings 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 £500 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 re-appointment 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

Administration of Sir H. V. Huntley. Petition for Responsible Government.

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.

2.—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 62,634. 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 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 £5,000 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 5th March, 1850, and was even more strongly in favor of responsible government, and in the address to the speech from the throne expressed a want of confidence in the Executive Council, which was further 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 26th March, but, as no supplies had been voted, the governor summoned the members again on 25th 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, &c., 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.

3.—Sir Donald Campbell forwarded a very able dispatch 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 Honorable 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 8th March, 1851. The Legislature was convened on 25th 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 commuting the crown revenues, providing 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 October, by which seventy-two fishing vessels were either driven ashore or seriously injured, and considerable damage was done to property on the island.

4.—The most important business of the session of 1852, was with regard to education, and we will take the

Administration of
Sir Donald Campbell.
The struggle for
Responsible Government.

Administration of
Sir A. Bannerman.
Responsible Government
established.

A glance at the attempts made to promote education.

the opportunity of summing up here what previous efforts had been made in this direction. It will be remembered that at the the original distribution of land in 1767, thirty acres were reserved in each township for a schoolmaster; 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 salaries given, and the precarious manner of receiving it, good schoolmasters 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.

5.—During the session of 1853 an act establishing universal suffrage was passed, and its effect was shortly

Universal suffrage. Loss of the *Fairy Queen*. Satisfactory financial position of the province.

afterwards felt at the general election next year, at which the government party was defeated. Considerable agitation took place about this time amongst the tem-

perance 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 seventh 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 £28,000. In four years this had been reduced to £3,000, and would have been extinguished altogether but for an expenditure of about £3,000 for educational purposes. In these four years the revenue had risen from £22,000 to £35,000, although the duty on tea had been reduced. Sir Alexander Bannerman having been appointed governor of the Bahamas, was succeeded, on the twelfth of June, 1854, by Sir Dominick Daly, who had formerly been secretary of the province of Canada.

6.—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, bread-stuffs 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 : being so purchased this year for £24,100 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 £2,000 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 num-

Administration of Sir Dominick Daly. Establishment of a Normal school. Census.

ber 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.

7.—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

The Colonial Secretary's suggestions on the land question.

to 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 arrangements would be proposed as to the manner of disposing of the lands of which the fee-simple was intended to be bought.*

8.—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 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 Honorable Edward Palmer and Honorable Colonel Gray. In opening the House the governor intimated that the Home government did not propose recommending to Parliament the guaranteeing of the £100,000 requested by the Assembly to purchase lands from the proprietors. On receipt of this unwelcome intelligence the House passed a resolution, introduced by Colonel 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 the 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

The Legislative Council questions the legality of the Executive Council as then constituted.

* Campbell's *History of Prince Edward Island*.

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.

9.—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 General Sir Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, who was most enthusiastically received. The Legislative Council and the 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 proprie-

tors 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.”

10.—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 thirteenth 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

The proposal of the proprietors with reference to a Commission on the land question.

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,

Appointment of a Commission on the land question. Visit of the Prince of Wales.

Howe, of Nova Scotia, should be the commissioner selected by the House on behalf of the tenants. On the sixteenth 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 Honorable Joseph Howe, representing the tenants; Mr. John William Ritchie, representing the proprietors, and the Honorable John Hamilton Gray, representing the crown. The commissioners met in the colonial building on the 5th of September, 1860, Mr. Gray presiding. Mr. Samuel Thomson, 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 further 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 £6,586, 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. H. R. 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 Government House, a detachment of the 62d regiment acting as guard of honor. Four arches were erected on the line of the procession, and the utmost enthusiasm was displayed all along the way. As 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 £150 with the lieutenant-governor to be distributed in charity in the manner he thought most suitable.

11.—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, Census. The Bible admitted into the public schools. and taken from her the confederate agents Slidell and Mason, on 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 herrings, seven thousand barrels of mackerel, thirty-nine thousand quintals of cod-fish, 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 fourteenth 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.

12.—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 Report of the Commissioners on the land question. 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 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 re-allotment 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 guarantee by the imperial government of £100,000, 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 may 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 installments 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 over-awe the local administration; men who had hated and disturbed each other would be reconciled, and pursue their common interests in mutual co-operation; 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."

13.—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 £100,000, although previous secretaries had favored the loan. On the fifth 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 reward, 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 further 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 twenty-second 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 remitted 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 by the Assembly were, therefore, disallowed, and the land question was as far from settlement as ever.

14.—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 unanimously 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

The Home government disallows the bills of the Assembly, based on the award of the commissioners.

How the land question was finally settled.

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 eleventh 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 first of July, 1873—of which we shall speak more fully in the next paragraph—when an agreement was made by which a loan of \$800,000 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 incubi on the progress of the island and kept it in a perpetual state of disquiet and unrest.

15. 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

Confederation.
Unpopularity of
the measure.

of a union of these Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island under one government and legislature, the report of the 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. Pope, George Coles and A. A. Macdonald, and they met the delegates of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia at Charlottetown, on first September, 1864, the particulars of which meeting, and the subsequent convention at Quebec on tenth October, we have given in Chapter 102. 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 Honorable 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 twenty-eighth Feb., 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 Honorable W. H. Pope on the twenty-eighth 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 Honorable 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 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.

16. While the delegates from Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were in session in London in the

Confederation.
Effect on it of the
Railway project—

fall of 1866, the Hon. J. C. Pope visited England, and an informal offer was made him of a grant of \$800,000, 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 third of April, 1871, the Honorable 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 Tigdish, at a cost of not more than \$20,000 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 to get it commenced, but it was very difficult to obtain the 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.

17.—In January, 1873, the Honorable Mr. Haythorne introduced a minute in 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

Confederation.
Prince Edward
Island admitted to
the union.

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 Honorable Mr. Haythorne and the Honorable 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 94,021, thus making the debt Prince Edward Island was authorized to incur \$4,701,050. 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 \$4,701,050. The Dominion government agreed to advance to the island \$800,000 for the purchase of the proprietors' estates, at five per cent interest, which interest was to be deducted from a yearly allowance of \$45,000 made to the province of the Dominion. For the support of the government and legislature of the province, the Dominion agreed to pay \$30,000, 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 confederation.

Walter Patterson, Esq.	1770
Gen. Edmund Fanning	1786
Col. J. F. W. DesBarres	1805
Chas. D. Smith	1813
Col. John Ready	1824
Hon. Geo. Wright, Admst.	1825 and 1835
Sir Aretus W. Young	1831
Sir John Harvey	1836
Sir C. A. Fitzroy	1837
Sir H. V. Huntley	1841
Sir Donald Campbell	1847
Sir Alex. Bannerman	1851
Sir Dominick Daly	1854
Geo. Dundas, Esq.	1859
Sir R. Hodgson	1868
W. C. F. Robinson	1870

CHAPTER CVIII.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD SYDENHAM.

- 1.—PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.
 —2. THE CASE OF MCLEOD. LORD SYDENHAM'S SPEECH FROM THE THRONE.—3. IMPORTANT ACTS PASSED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF CANADA.—4. DEATH OF LORD SYDENHAM.

1.—The union of the province of Upper and Lower Canada was consummated by royal proclamation on 10th February, 1841, the offices of lieutenant-governor for each province being abolished, and the Hon. C. Poulett Thomson—now Baron Sydenham and Toronto—was appointed governor of the "Province of Canada." Writs for a general election were issued on the 13th February, returnable on 8th April, and the first Parliament of the Province of Canada met at Kingston on 13th June, 1841. The new constitution, as expressed in the Union Act, fully established the principle of responsible government; that is, a government controlled by the colonial ministers of the crown,

Principal features of the new Constitution.

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who were members of one of the branches of the Legislature, and held office only as long as they retained the confidence of the House, which means as long as the political party which they represented could command a majority in the Legislature. These ministers had to be re-elected by their constituents after appointment to office, so that the people could pass a direct vote of confidence, or want of confidence in their fitness for the position to which they had been appointed. Another great change in the constitution was that the entire control of the whole revenue was given up to the Assembly, so that the two great principles for which the Reform party had so long struggled were granted, and the main causes of disquiet and uneasiness removed; but there still remained many vexatious questions—the clergy revenues, feudal tenure, &c.—which were to cause much trouble and annoyance in the future.

2.—Previous to the calling together of the House, a new Executive Council had been appointed, consisting of Messrs. Sullivan, Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin, and Day. Considerable excitement existed in both provinces—especially the upper one—at this time over the arrest and imprisonment in the United States of Alexander McLeod, who had been deputy sheriff of the Niagara district, and who was accused of being implicated in the destruction of the *Caroline*, in December, 1837, and war between the two countries was threatened; this was, however, averted by the release of McLeod and the subsequent apology by the British government for the destruction of the vessel. In his speech from the throne at the opening of Parliament, Lord Sydenham referred to McLeod's arrest, and assured the House that it was her majesty's intention to fully protect her Canadian subjects; he also recommended a reconstruction of the post office and public works departments, a judicious encouragement of immigration, the establishment of municipal councils and an expansion of the laws respecting education. The speech also asserted her majesty's determination to retain the British North American provinces intact as a part of the empire, and concluded with a prayer for the future prosperity of the newly re-united province.

3.—The union had not, however, extinguished the fires of party political strife, and it needed all the calm judgment and conciliatory policy of Lord Sydenham to partially reconcile party differences, and get his government into anything like good working order. The Conservative party was sore at the success of the Reform party at the polls, while the latter was rather disposed to propose too sweeping reforms at once; both parties were, however, partially held in check by the French party, which, acting together, held the balance of power in its own hands, and could support in power which ever party was most willing to

The case of McLeod. Lord Sydenham's speech from the Throne.

Important acts passed at the first session of the Parliament of Canada.

favor its views. Before the end of the session, Mr. Baldwin resigned from the ministry, on account of a difference of opinion with some of the other ministers, and joined the opposition, which subsequently caused a change of government. The House passed many useful bills at this session, and laid the foundation of some of the most important civil institutions, especially those relating to education, the currency and the municipal system. One very important step was the establishment of a Board of Public Works, with a cabinet minister at its head, to control and regulate all the public works of the province, which had hitherto been either entrusted to private companies, or under the supervision of different departments. The Welland Canal was transferred from the company which had vainly tried to operate it, and became a government work. The Board was also authorized to issue bonds for £1,500,000 sterling, under imperial guarantee, to consolidate the debt already incurred for public works, and to complete those under construction. The session was a long and important; but was terminated sadly on the death of Lord Sydenham, the House being prorogued on the 18th September by General Clitherow.

4.—Lord Sydenham had a fall from his horse while out riding on the fourth September, breaking his leg; and his constitution being naturally weak and delicate, and much impaired by the hard work of the past two years, could not sustain the shock to the system, under which he gradually sank, and expired on the 19th of September. Although he had only administered the affairs of the province for two years, he had greatly endeared himself to the people, and the regret at his loss was deep and sincere. He had found the country split into factions, scarcely yet recovered from a state of open rebellion, and politics reduced to the most bitter personal squabbles; he had restored law and order; had effected a peaceful and satisfactory union of the two provinces; had done more to propitiate the French element, and to draw it into accord with the English-speaking population, than any governor since the days of Guy Carleton; he had elevated politics and opened new fields for provincial ambition by promoting public education, and encouraging the extension of public improvements, trade and commerce. His connection with Canada although short, was brilliant, and laid the foundation of much future good; and the people mourned that he was not permitted to see the completion of the good work he had commenced.

Death of Lord Sydenham.

CHAPTER CIX.

PROVINCE OF CANADA.—GOVERNMENTS OF SIR CHARLES BAGOT AND LORDS METCALFE AND CATHCART.

1. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR CHARLES BAGOT. HIS DEATH.
- 2. ADMINISTRATION OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE.—
- HIS DISREGARD OF HIS MINISTERS.—3. RESIGNATION OF THE BALDWIN-LAFONTAINE MINISTRY ACCEPTED.
- 4. A GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS IN SMALL CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY. DEATH OF LORD METCALFE. LARGE FIRES AT QUEBEC.—5. ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CATHCART. CLAIM FOR LOSSES DURING THE REBELLION.

1.—A change had again taken place in the English Ministry; the Whigs had been defeated, and the Tories were once more in power, Lord Melbourne having given place to Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Stanley succeeding Lord John Russell as Colonial Secretary. This raised the hopes of the Tories in Canada, and they were still further elated by the appointment of Sir Charles Bagot, a strong Tory and great supporter of the Church of England, as governor-general a place of Lord Sydenham. But they were destined to be disappointed, for Lord Stanley determined to carry out the colonial policy of his predecessor, and Sir Charles Bagot, whatever his personal feeling might have been, fully carried out the instruction of his chief to recognize the principles of responsible government. Finding that the existing ministry had not the confidence of the House, he caused several changes, calling Messrs. Baldwin, Aylwin, Hincks, Lafontaine and Morin to his counsels. Parliament met on the 8th September, and after a short but busy session was prorogued on 22d October. Thirty acts were passed at this session, amongst them one to make the law uniform with reference to the vacation of seats by members of the Assembly accepting office, and another providing £83,000 for the expenses of the civil government for the current year, and £27,777 for the first three months of 1843. Detailed accounts of the expenditure of both amounts to be placed before the next session of Parliament fifteen days after it met. The health of Sir Charles Bagot failing considerably, he requested, towards the end of the year, to be recalled, a request which was complied with, and his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, sent out; but Sir Charles Bagot was too ill to be removed, and he died at Kingston on the 19th May, 1843.

2.—Sir Charles Metcalfe, who arrived at Kingston on 25th March, 1843, was essentially a self-made man. He was born in England, in 1785, and at the age of fifteen attained a clerkship in the East India Company's service, where, by

Administration of Sir Charles Bagot. His death.

Administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe. His disregard of his ministers.

natural ability and the display of great business capacity, he steadily rose to the highest positions, filling the office of acting governor of India for two years. In 1839 he was made governor of Jamaica, which position he filled for three years, but was forced to resign in 1842 on account of the appearance of a cancer in his face. On his return to England he underwent medical treatment under which he so much improved that he was able to accept the governorship of Canada, when Sir Charles Bagot asked to be recalled. The summer was uneventful, the only excitement being a little feeling of curiosity as to whether the governor would follow the policy of his predecessor, or whether he would show any predilection for the Tory party now "in the cold shades of opposition." Parliament met on the 28th September, and in his opening speech the governor gave no indication of his future policy, but it soon began to be apparent that he was not favorable to responsible government, holding that it was not applicable to a colony, as it was carried out in England. He also showed a little favor towards the Conservative party, of which Sir Allan McNab was now the recognized leader, and made two appointments from their ranks without consulting his ministry. Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine remonstrated with him, claiming that they were responsible for the acts of the government to the Legislature, and that if they were not consulted in the matter of appointments they would lose the confidence of the House for acts committed without their knowledge or consent, and about which they ought to be consulted.

3.—Sir Charles absolutely refused to be advised in any way by his ministers as to appointments, claiming that entirely as a royal prerogative with which the ministers had nothing to do; and finding that they could not conduct the government on the basis on which they had accepted office, that of a strictly responsible government, the ministers tendered their resignations in November. The resignations were not accepted until after the prorogation of Parliament on the ninth of December, when Sir Charles announced that while he recognized the right of the people to regulate the administration of the government, through their representatives, he utterly disclaimed their right to any interference with the appointment of executive officers, and he would not allow ministers to degrade the royal prerogative in order to retain the support of the Assembly. He now tried to form a Conservative ministry, but found this rather a difficult task, as the leaders knew they could not command the support of the Assembly, and only succeeded on the understanding that an appeal should be made to the country, Mr. Draper forming a ministry. Amongst the acts passed at the last session was one removing the seat of government to Montreal, which was carried into effect during the summer of 1844, and Monklands fitted up as the residence of the governor, to which he removed in June.

Resignation of the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry accepted.

4.—The Reform press was loud in its protests against the action of the governor, and considerable political excitement was caused in the Maritime Provinces as well as in Canada, the action of Sir Charles being taken as an indication that the Tory administration then in power in Canada did not intend

A general election results in a small conservative majority. Death of Lord Metcalfe. Large fires at Quebec.

to recognize the principle of responsible government as fully applicable to the provinces; a conclusion which was partly justified in the fall by the elevation of Sir Charles to the peerage as Baron Metcalfe, an indication that the Home government approved of his conduct. After Mr. Draper had formed a cabinet the House was dissolved, and writs for a new election were issued in September, returnable on the tenth of November. The elections were mostly held in October and were keenly contested, but resulted in a slender majority for the conservatives, so that when Parliament met, on the twenty-eighth of November, at Montreal, they were able to elect Sir Allan McNab, speaker, by a majority of three votes. The debate on the address was a warm one, but the conservatives carried the day and increased their majority to six. The imperial Parliament this year extended a pardon to all those who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1837-8, with the exception of Mackenzie (who was not pardoned until 1850), and some of the late rebels were elected to seats in the first Parliament that met at Montreal. The cancer in Lord Metcalfe's face again gave him great trouble this year, and he asked to be recalled on account of ill-health. Although his administration had not been a popular one, he was personally highly esteemed for his kindly disposition and private liberality, and his death during the following year was greatly regretted by many. The year 1845 was marked by two very extensive fires in Quebec, occurring just one month from each other, the first being on the 28th May, the second on 28th June. Whole districts were swept away, many lives lost, and nearly twenty-five thousand persons rendered homeless by these vast conflagrations. Every effort was made to relieve the sufferers, temporary sheds were erected and help poured in from all quarters. Over £100,000 was collected in England for the sufferers, and nearly half as much in Canada, and before the close of summer many houses had been rebuilt and the city began to recover from its awful visitation.

5.—Lieutenant-General the Earl of Cathcart, commander-in-chief of the forces in British North America, administered the government after the departure of Lord Metcalfe, and was subsequently appointed governor-general. The brief administration of Lord Cathcart was marked by the introduction of a measure which gave much trouble three years after, and very nearly caused another rebellion and an attempt to annex

Administration of Lord Cathcart. Claims for losses during the rebellion.

Canada to the United States. As has been already stated, the French members held the balance of power in their hands and were quite willing to support either Conservatives or Reformers, provided they got what concessions they pleased to demand from the party they supported. During the session of 1845 Mr. Draper, the Conservative leader, had introduced a bill to indemnify those loyal inhabitants of Upper Canada for losses sustained during Mackenzie's mad attempt to disturb the Province; the French members at once took advantage of their position, and claimed that if any losses were paid in Upper Canada, the sufferers by the rebellion in Lower Canada must also be paid, and in order to get the support of the French members to keep the Conservative party in power, Mr. Draper promised that the losses should be paid. A bill was passed to indemnify sufferers in Upper Canada, and £40,000 voted for the purpose, to be paid from a special fund from tavern and other licenses. One of the last acts of Lord Metcalfe before leaving was to appoint, on 24th November, 1845, six commissioners to inquire into losses sustained by her majesty's loyal subjects in Lower Canada during the rebellion. This commission was confirmed by Lord Cathcart on his assuming office, and the commissioners reported to Parliament at the session of 1846. They reported that they had recognized two thousand one hundred and seventy-six claims, amounting in the aggregate to *two hundred and fifty-one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-five pounds*; but that they were of opinion that some of the claims were inadmissible and others grossly exaggerated, so that they thought £100,000 would be sufficient. Amongst the claims were £9,000 for interest, £2,000 for quartering troops, and £30,000 for imprisonment, loss of business, etc. This report caused great indignation amongst the British portion of the inhabitants, and Mr. Draper, with his very slender Conservative majority, did not like to take the risk of a defeat by attempting to pay so large a sum; he therefore satisfied the French party, for the present, by passing a bill granting about £10,000 to indemnify loyal sufferers by the rebellion, and suffered the larger claims to remain in abeyance. Another change in the British ministry occurred this year, the Liberal party, under the leadership of Lord John Russell, coming into power, and Lord Cathcart was superseded by Lord Elgin, who arrived at Montreal on 30th January, 1847.

CHAPTER CX.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD ELGIN.

1. TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS FROM SHIP-FEVER OF THE IMMIGRANTS OF 1847.—2. SECOND FORMATION OF

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1.—The summer of 1847 was a memorable one for Canada. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland caused gaunt famine to stalk through the land, and the cry for help was heard and nobly responded to from all parts of the civilized world. Canada did her share in sending money and provisions for the destitute; but by far the greatest work she had to perform was to provide for thousands of emigrants who, driven from their homes by famine, flocked to her shores, bringing death and desolation with them, for fevers broke out on board the emigrant ships, and hundreds died on the passage while thousands only reached the shore to lay their bones beneath the sod of the new country they were seeking for work and food. Grosse Isle was made a quarantine, station; hundreds died there, while the vast multitude pressed on up the St. Lawrence towards the great lakes, leaving their pathway thickly strewn with new made graves. Over seventy-five thousand immigrants arrived at Quebec during this unfortunate

summer, and nearly five thousand arrived but to die. The large tract of open ground at Point St. Charles, Montreal, was turned into a temporary camp, where thousands were given what relief and assistance was possible, but hundreds only reached there to die, and there was scarcely a town or village along the St. Lawrence and the lakes but what had its dead to bury, its sick to heal, and its destitute to provide for. As cold weather came on the plague abated, but there was much suffering through the winter on account of the immense number of destitute persons for whom immediate work could not be found; but the settlers came forward nobly and gave all the relief in their power, so that with returning spring brighter times dawned, and many of the unfortunate immigrants began to lay the foundations of new and happy homes which were to grow up to them out of the wilderness.

2.—Parliament met at Montreal on the second of June, 1847, and in his speech from the throne Lord Elgin referred to the vast immigration which was taking place, and the amount of sickness and suffering which was accompanying it, and recommended that some steps towards furnishing assistance and relief should be taken, a suggestion which was acted on during the session. The session was a short one, terminating on the 28th of July; and although the Draper ministry was defeated several times, it still retained office. It was apparent, however, that the Conservatives had lost the confidence of the people, and as a dissolution seemed inevitable, the Reform party began an active campaign immediately after prorogation, and had all their candidates in the field when the House was dissolved, on the 6th of December, and a new election ordered, writs being made returnable on the 24th of January, 1848. The triumph of the Reformers was complete; Baldwin, LaFontaine, Hincks, Blake, Malcolm Cameron, Price and other leaders of the party were elected, and backed by a strong majority. Papineau and Dr. Wolfred Nelson, of rebellion notoriety, were returned to this Parliament, but the former found himself shorn of his prestige and his place as leader of the French Canadian element, firmly occupied by Mr. L. H. LaFontaine. Parliament met on the 25th February, 1848, and Mr. Morin, a Lower Canadian reformer, was elected speaker. Mr. Draper, leader of the Conservative ministry, had been elevated to the bench, and the other ministers, seeing their majority in the Assembly hopelessly lost, resigned, and Lord Elgin called on Messrs. Baldwin and LaFontaine to form a new ministry, thus putting into practice the instructions of Lord John Russell, in 1839; and from this time is usually dated the firm and solid establishment of representative government as the constitutional government of the Province of Canada. The ministry consisted of eight English and four French members, and amongst them were Messrs. Robert Baldwin, Francis Hincks, Mal-

colm Cameron, L. H. LaFontaine, and E. P. Taché. After a short but busy session, Parliament was adjourned on the 23d of March. During this summer immigration continued large; and ship-fever broke out again, but not nearly so fatally as in the previous year.

3.—Parliament met again on the 18th of January, 1849, and the governor complimented the House on the near completion of the St. Lawrence canals and other public works, and on the general tranquillity of the country; but that tranquillity was soon rudely disturbed by the introduction, by Hon. L. H. LaFontaine, of a bill to pay the rebellion losses, on the basis proposed in the report of the commissioners of 1845, that is by an appropriation of £100,000. This was at once the signal for the wildest excitement in Montreal and throughout the province. The bill was warmly discussed in the House and strongly opposed by the Conservatives, who argued that under its provisions payment must be made to those who were in open rebellion, and they raised the party cry "no pay to rebels." The government, on the other hand, claimed that ample provision was made in the bill to indemnify only those who had been loyal, and that it was specially provided that nothing should be paid to anyone who had been convicted of high treason since the 1st of November, 1837, nor to those who had been transported to Bermuda; and the preamble of the bill bore it out in the assertion. Speaking of the loose manner in which the commissioner's report was drawn up, it declared, "It is necessary and just that the particulars of such losses, not yet paid and satisfied, should form the subject of more minute inquiry under legislative authority, and that the same, so far only as they may have arisen from the total or partial, unjust, unnecessary, or wanton destruction of the dwellings, buildings, property and effects of the said inhabitants, and from the seizure, taking, or carrying away of their property and effects, should be paid and satisfied, provided that none of the persons who have been convicted of high treason, *alleged to have been committed* in that part of this province formerly the Province of Lower Canada, since the first day of November, 1837, or who, having been charged with high treason, or other offences of a treasonable nature, and having been committed to the custody of the sheriff in the jail of Montreal, submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of her majesty, and were thereupon transported to her majesty's island of Bermuda, shall be entitled to an indemnity for losses sustained during or after the said rebellion, or in consequence thereof."

4.—The excitement grew intense as the bill passed its different readings; a strong "British" party was formed under the title of "The British North American League," with head-quarters at Montreal. It was well understood that the passage of the Rebellion Losses bill was

Introduction of
the Rebellion
Losses Bill.

Strong feeling
against the bill.
Annexation advo-
cated. The bill
passed.

the price Mr. Baldwin and his Upper Canada reform friends had agreed to pay Mr. LaFontaine and the French party for the support necessary to keep the reformers in office, and the feeling against "French domination" grew very bitter, and the antagonism of race blazed forth in all its fury again. The league looked on the whole French party in Lower Canada as quite as guilty of rebellion as Papineau, Nelson, and the few other scapegoats who were excluded from benefit by the bill on account of having been found guilty of high Treason, and opposed any compensation to those who had taken up arms against the sovereign, and who, if they had suffered any loss, got only what they deserved. The desire to escape from the tyranny of the French majority in the Lower province caused different expedients to be proposed. Confederation with the Maritime Provinces was advocated as the best means of breaking the power of the French; and the more violent of the agitators openly advocated throwing off allegiance to England and seeking annexation to the United States, and this latter feeling grew to be very strong. Meetings were held everywhere and the greatest excitement prevailed, but as yet only a few trifling breaches of the peace had occurred; and the ministry determined to push the measure through the Lower House, where it was passed by a vote of forty-eight to thirty-two, and afterwards passed the Upper House by a fair majority.

5.—The passage of the bill was attended by serious riots in Toronto and other cities in Western Canada; Baldwin, Blake and Mackenzie—who had returned to Canada—were burned in effigy, and attacks made on the residence of Mr. George Brown, proprietor of the *Globe*—the organ of the Baldwin-LaFontaine ministry, and the house of Dr. Rolph, as well as the house in which Mackenzie was stopping. Popular feeling, however, began to get somewhat cooler as it began to be generally understood—on what grounds no one knew—that the governor would either absolutely refuse his consent to the bill or reserve it for the royal sanction—which latter, perhaps, would have been the most politic course for him to have pursued under the circumstances, as the six weeks or two months which must elapse before the royal pleasure could be known would give time for the excitement to abate. But Lord Elgin had no idea of shifting the responsibility of approving the act on to the shoulders of the Home government; he had been sent out to Canada to carry out responsible government, and he was prepared to do so. His responsible ministers, who were supported by the majority of the representatives of the people, had introduced this bill; both Houses of the Legislature had passed it, and if responsible government was to be anything more than a mere empty name, he could not withhold his consent; he had no intention of doing so, and accordingly,

on the twenty sixth of April, he went down to the Parliament House and gave his assent to that and a few other bills which had been passed.

6.—The news spread immediately that the governor had signed the bill, and all hope of his reserving it for the royal sanction was over; a crowd quickly gathered in front of the parliament buildings, and when the governor appeared he was greeted with jeers and groans by the crowd,—mostly composed of well-dressed, respectable-looking men,—and his carriage pelted with stones and rotten eggs as he drove off. No further ebullition of feeling took place then, and although Sir-Allan McNab called the attention of the House to the circumstance, and advised the calling out of the military as a precautionary measure, no steps were taken to suppress an outbreak should one occur. The House met again in the evening; and about the same time the fire-bells were set going and a large crowd assembled on the Champs de Mars, where a few inflammatory speeches were delivered; but that angry multitude was in no humor to hear speeches; the demon of destruction had possessed it, and soon the cry was raised "To the Parliament buildings." Torches were suddenly produced, and lit up the darkening night with their ruddy flashes, and, proceeded by the bearers of these, the vast concourse, now numbering thousands, poured itself along the thoroughfares leading to the Parliament House, giving vent to its feelings in shouts, and yells, and snatches of ribald songs. No policemen were visible, and, the warning of Sir Allan McNab having been unheeded, the military had not yet been called out; so that the mob had nothing to check or restrain its unreasoning fury.

7.—The Parliament House was a plain but substantial building of Montreal limestone, three hundred and forty feet long by fifty wide, and had been used as the St. Ann's market until the seat of government was removed to Montreal, when it was remodelled inside, and fitted to receive the various departments of the government. The House was in session discussing the Judicature Bill, when the angry roar of many voices broke on the stillness of the night, and gave warning that an infuriated mob was without. Almost immediately a volley of stones came rattling against the windows, and the members hastily beat a retreat, whilst, almost at the same moment, numbers of the mob forced their way into the hall of the Assembly, armed with sticks and bludgeons, and one ruffian assuming the speaker's chair declared Parliament dissolved. The work of sacking the place was speedily commenced, chandeliers were broken, desks smashed, seats torn up, and the mace, which had been left on the table, carried off in spite of the efforts of the sergeant-at-arms, who returned to fetch it. Soon the cry of "Fire!" was

The Governor assents to the Rebellion Losses Bill.

The Governor-General hooted and pelted by the mob.

Burning of the Parliament buildings by the mob.

raised and the vast crowd hurried from the building to the neighboring streets to watch the flames and revel in the work of destruction. Not a drop of water was permitted to be thrown on the burning building, nor any attempt made to save any part of its valuable contents. Indeed, the volunteer Fire Department was strongly in sympathy with the mob, and confined its exertions entirely to keeping the surrounding buildings cool so as to prevent the flames from spreading: so that the entire building and its contents, including the valuable library, were consumed, the only things saved being a very few books, and the mace which some of the rioters subsequently took to the Donegani Hotel and left in Sir Allan McNab's room. The military were called out, and kept the crowd back, but were powerless to check the destroying flames. By this act of vandalism Montreal lost the finest library it had ever had, and the records of the colony for upwards of a century were destroyed.

8.—From the smoking walls and blackened remains of what had been the Parliament building, the mob proceeded to the house of Mr. LaFontaine, which was set fire to, but through the exertions of the military and the more orderly disposed citizens, the flames were extinguished, not, however, until the valuable library had been destroyed, and nearly all the furniture either burned or spoiled. The mob next vented its spite on the office of the *Pilot* newspaper, which was the government organ and edited by Mr. Francis Hincks, and also broke the windows, &c., of the houses of some of the leading ministers. Under the fear that an attack would be made on Monklands, the governor's residence, his excellency was persuaded to remain in the city, under the protection of the military; but no attack was made, and towards morning the excitement subsided, and the sun rose on a city to outward appearance tranquil, only the smoking ruins and shattered houses telling of the wild outbreak of the previous night. Some of the rioters had been recognized, and on the twenty-sixth Messrs. Mack, Hunard, Ferris and others were arrested on a charge of arson and committed for trial; a mob of about three thousand persons accompanying them to the jail, but no attempt at rescue was made. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the commander-in-chief, arrived in town early in the day, and took precautions to suppress any further attempt at rioting, but with the exception of a few personal encounters, no outbreak occurred during the day. As night closed in, the rioters grew bolder, and attacks were made on the residences of Messrs. Baldwin, Cameron, Nelson, Hincks, Holmes and Charles Wilson, all of whom were supporters of the government, and doors and windows smashed. On the twenty-seventh, a body of special constables was sworn in, as exception was taken to the military doing police duty; but the fact that many of the specials were

Houses of obnoxious members attacked by the mob. Lord Elgin's recall demanded.

French and Irish, gave offence to the more violent of the British party, and some encounters took place between the constables and the citizens. A meeting of some of the respectable citizens was held on the Champs de Mars, and resolutions passed deprecating the riotous conduct of the mob, but condemning the conduct of the governor in signing the bill, and a petition to Her Majesty was adopted and signed, praying for the recall of Lord Elgin.*

9.—The Assembly met in the Bonsecours Hall on the twenty-eighth and passed an address to His Excellency, pledging its cordial support in any measures he may think necessary to take in preserving the peace and guaranteeing any expenses to which he may be put in attaining that object. This address it was thought better to present at the old Government House than at Monklands, and Lord Elgin came into the city for that purpose on the thirtieth. He was escorted by a troop of volunteer dragoons, and his appearance on St. James Street was the signal for another attack with stones and other missiles, and it was only with difficulty that he shielded his face, several stones falling in the carriage. The crowd continuing to increase, and press around Government House, Captain Wetherall, who was a magistrate, read the riot act, and ordered the troops to charge; but the crowd did not want to fight the military, and ran away, only however to wait for the appearance of the governor. He, however, not wishing to excite the mob by his presence, quietly left the building without being observed, and entered his carriage, which was rapidly driven in the direction of Sherbrooke Street. Then began a most unseemly chase, cabs, caleches, anything that was on wheels and a horse attached to it, were seized by the mob, and a sharp pursuit of his excellency began, which was only evaded by the speed of his horses; but some of the mob managed to cross him in St. Lawrence Main Street, and showers of stones fell on the carriage, smashing the panels and severely wounding his excellency.

* The petition read as follows:

TO HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

The humble petition of the undersigned, your majesty's dutiful and loving subjects, residing in the Province of Canada—

Sheweth, That your majesty's representative in this Province, the Right Honorable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, by giving the Royal assent to a bill for compensating rebels for losses inflicted by your majesty's troops, and by others of your loyal subjects, acting under the orders of your majesty's officers, hath seriously impaired your majesty's Royal authority, and endangered the peace and tranquillity of the Province.

That your petitioners feel most acutely the outrage thus offered to your Majesty's Royal authority, and the insult to themselves—an outrage and an insult they believe unexampled in the history of nations, and which strikes at the foundations of allegiance and obedience, which are reciprocal with government and protection.

And they humbly pray that your Majesty will graciously be pleased to recall the said Earl of Elgin and Kincardine from the government of this Province, which he can no longer administer with safety to the state or honor to your Majesty; and that your Majesty will also disallow the said bill, which is an insult and a robbery to every man who, in the time of trial, stood forth to defend your Majesty's crown and dignity.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

lency's brother, Captain Bruce. The chief of police, Colonel Ermatinger, Captain Jones and several others were also hurt by stones. The lawless feeling of the mob was again aroused by a ministerial dinner being given at Tetu's Hotel to a deputation from Toronto; the crowd collected outside, stoned the place, and several persons were injured, the crowd being only dispersed by the arrival of the military.

10.—On the fifth several parties were arrested for participation in the late riots. No opposition was made at the time; but in the evening another attack was made on the house of Mr. LaFontaine, and the military were obliged to fire on the mob, killing a man named Mason. An inquest was held, and while it was in progress an attempt was made to fire the hotel in which it was sitting, and also to assault Mr. Lafontaine. The man, Mason, who was shot, was buried on Saturday the tenth. His funeral was attended by over two thousand people, and the scarfs of the pall-bearers, the trappings of the horses and the decoration of the hearse were of crimson. Meanwhile temporary quarters had been obtained for the government in some new buildings being erected by Mr. M. Hayes in Dalhousie Square, and the sittings of Parliament resumed. One of the first measures considered was the removal of the capital from Montreal, and various places were proposed,—Kingston, Toronto, Quebec and Bytown (now Ottawa), but it was finally agreed, by a majority of eight, that Toronto should be the seat of government for the next two years, and after that it should alternate between Quebec and Toronto for periods of four years each. A number of bills were pushed through and the House was prorogued on the thirtieth of May by the deputy-governor, Lieutenant-General Rowan. The strong opposition to the rebellion Losses Bill, the riotous conduct of the Montreal mob, and the petition for his removal induced Lord Elgin to tender his resignation as governor, which was not accepted, the Home government fully approving of his conduct, which was afterwards indorsed by both Houses of the Imperial Parliament. The malcontents, however, continued to keep up an agitation in Montreal, and the city paid the penalty of the riotous conduct of its citizens by having the seat of government removed—which caused an exodus of about five thousand of the population, and a general stagnation of trade. The annexation agitation continued for a little while, and a few merchants of Montreal tried to emulate the example of the celebrated "three tailors of Tooley Street" by issuing a manifesto depicting the wretched condition of Canada, and declaring that annexation was the only cure, but the good sense of the bulk of the people was against it, and the feeling gradually died out.

11.—The year 1850 was an important one in the his-

tory of the British North American Provinces, for in it they may be said to have entered into the period of their political and commercial manhood, and freed from all controlling influence of Downing Street, they began to feel, slowly and imperfectly at first, the advantages to be derived from having control of their own affairs. Great changes had been taking place in the policy of England during the past few years; the repeal of the corn laws of 1846 had thrown the English market open to all the world, and acted disadvantageously on the colonies, the greater facilities in transportation possessed by the Americans giving them an advantage; but it did good to the British colonies, inasmuch as it led to a spirit of emulation, and a desire to improve the internal communication of the provinces in order that they might compete favorably with the United States in the English market. The last barrier of colonial protection was thrown down in 1849 by the repeal of the navigation laws, which removed discriminating duties and allowed free trade with all parts of the world by provincial ships; but as it also allowed American and other ships free trade with the provinces, the blessing was at first considered a very doubtful one; trade and commerce were deranged, especially in the Maritime Provinces, and the cry was raised that England was casting off the colonies. As a means of allaying discontent the Imperial Parliament instructed Lord Elgin to use his influence to procure a treaty of reciprocity with the United States, and an agent was despatched to Washington to open negotiations on that subject, but the project was not crowned with success until four years later. A determined effort was also made this year by Hincks to establish Canadian credit on a better footing in the English market, and Canadian securities began to be quoted on the stock exchange; but the effects of the late riots in Montreal and the cry of annexation were very damaging to Canadian credit, and it was some years before it was firmly established.

12.—Parliament met at Toronto, on the fourteenth of May, 1850, and remained in session until the tenth of August, during which time a number of useful bills were passed. Considerable excitement was caused by the agitation in the *Globe* and other papers of the Clergy Reserves question, which had been settled by Lord Sydenham, years before, but not to the satisfaction of Mr. George Brown, of the *Globe*, and others of the Radical wing of the Reform party, who now began to be distinguished by the name of "Clear Grits," a *soubriquet* which has firmly attached to the party ever since Messrs. Baldwin, LaFontaine, and others of the old school of Reform opposed further agitation on the subject, and the appropriation of the Reserves to secular purposes as advocated by the Grits; but the latter were very persistent

Removal of the capital from Montreal. Lord Elgin's conduct approved by the home government.

Canada enters on her political and commercial manhood.

Agitation on the clergy reserves question by the "Clear Grit" party.

in their attacks and greatly weakened the ministry, although it still retained a sufficient majority in the House to conduct the government. Another question which occupied the attention of Parliament was that of making the Council elective, which was introduced by Mr. Papi-neau, but the quondam rebel had lost his influence and the measure was defeated. Towards the close of the year considerable agitation was got up by the conservatives in favor of a union of all the British North American provinces, and that was made one of their chief party cries in the general election of January, 1851, the result of which was to considerably reduce the government majority in the House, and strengthen the hands of the Clear Grits.

13.—The year 1850 was an unfortunate one for Montreal. The lawless spirit still showed itself in frequent

Large fires in Montreal. A discouraging picture of the city.

incendiary fires, and encounters between the "British" and "French" factions. The municipal elections in May were attended by serious riots, in which many persons were injured, and an extensive fire in Griffintown, on the fifteenth of June, laid two hundred and ten houses in ashes, and rendered five hundred families homeless. The loss by this fire was upwards of £50,000, not quite half of which was covered by insurance. Scarcely had an effort been made to clear away the ruins of this fire and commence rebuilding, when another fire broke out, on Craig Street, on the morning of the 23d of August, and spread up St. Lawrence and St. Charles Barronée Streets, destroying one hundred and fifty houses. These fires had a good effect in one way, however, as the scarcity of water called the attention of the authorities to the necessity of providing efficient water works, and a by-law was passed forbidding the erection of any more wooden buildings, or the use of shingles for roofing. The following account of the city from a Boston paper gives a rather disheartening view of it: "Montreal wears a dismal aspect; the population within the past few years has decreased some thousands, and the removal of the seat of government caused some four thousand more to leave. The streets look deserted; buildings burned a year ago, and Donegan's famous hotel, are still in ruins. Every third store seems to want an occupant, and empty houses groan for tenants. The blackened walls of the Parliament House present an unseemly aspect, and the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah appears to hang over the city, if we judge by certain sections. General apathy in trade, and everything else, is apparent, and there is a lack of energy and enterprise. The public buildings are fine, and the canal and wharves are unequalled; but while government with a lavish hand expends thousands in vast works, and the representatives of the crown, fatten on good salaries, the citizens grope about in the dark, because the authorities and the Gas Company differ about \$3,900 per year in supplying fifteen hundred lamps."

14.—During the early part of 1851 considerable efforts were made by the Roman Catholics to obtain separate public schools, under the provisions of an act lately passed granting that privilege in certain localities where there was a sufficiently large population. About this time the railway fever, which had broken out in England, in 1845, and rapidly spread to the United States, began to be felt in Canada, and various schemes were advocated in the press and at public meetings and began to attract the attention of Parliament. Foremost amongst these was the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, from Montreal to Richmond, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, which was opened this year, and made the occasion of general rejoicing in Montreal and elsewhere. This line was afterwards leased to the Grand Trunk, and forms part of the general railway system of that extensive corporation. Parliament met at Toronto on 20th May, 1851, and the success of the Clear Grit agitation was shown by the Honorable Robert Baldwin being forced out of the cabinet after a defeat on the Court of Chancery Bill. The clergy reserves and railway projects occupied a good deal of the attention of Parliament, especially the latter subject, which was now becoming an absorbing one in the province on account the great railway activity taking place in the United States, and the many lines being projected there. Mr. Hincks introduced a series of resolutions providing for a trunk line of railway through the province, which in later years developed into the Grand Trunk Railway. The House was prorogued on the thirtieth of August, and Lord Elgin took occasion to congratulate both Houses on the steps which had been taken for improving inland navigation, and also for promoting railways; as well as congratulating them on the very satisfactory exhibit which Canada had made at the great exhibition of 1851 in London. Trade between Canada and the United States was now steadily increasing, and the utmost good feeling was springing up between the two countries. The American railways were a great convenience in transporting goods in bond, especially during the winter, when Canadian ports were closed, and the way was being gradually paved for the ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty, which followed three years later. As an instance of this good feeling may be mentioned a grand banquet given in Boston, in September, to a number of Canadian merchants, at which Lord Elgin was present, and at which speeches were made favoring an increase of commercial relations and advocating Reciprocity.

15.—Meanwhile the Clear Grit agitation continued, on the clergy reserve and other questions, and so much pressure was brought to bear on the ministry that, in October, 1851, a change in the cabinet was made, and two of the most prominent Grits—the Ex-rebel, Dr. Rolph and Mr.

Railway projects—
Good feeling between the United States and Canada.

Domestic progress of the Province.

Malcolm Cameron—were called to seats in the ministry, of which Mr. Hincks now became premier, and exercised almost entire control. A general election followed immediately on the reconstruction of the cabinet, when "the apostle of Gritism," Mr. George Brown, of the *Globe*, was beaten for the county of Haldimand by Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie, Ex-rebel, and Mr. Robert Baldwin was defeated in York by a Mr. Hartman. The bitter feelings which had been engendered by the rebellion, and momentarily fanned into life again by the Rebellion Losses Bill, were now beginning to be assuaged, and the people turned their attention from political squabbles to the more practical work of improving the Province, socially and materially. In the early days of Canada all improvements were dependant on the general government; but the success of the principle of decentralization, as applied to municipal legislation in the United States, had attracted attention, and was now being generally adopted in Upper Canada, and, more gradually, in Lower Canada also; and the good effect was soon visible in the construction of better roads, and in various other local improvements. The passage of an act favoring the formation of joint-stock companies had also a good effect, and many useful enterprises were projected on that basis. Education was also receiving more attention; the adoption of a uniform system of text-books had been of great advantage to the common-schools, and the establishment of a normal school at Toronto gave promise of a future supply of good and competent teachers, a want which had long been felt.

16.—In the early part of 1852 Mr. Hincks visited England in connection with the proposed Grand Trunk Railway,

Ten thousand people rendered homeless by fire in Montreal.

and prepared a bill which was to be presented at the next session of Parliament. Before that event took place, however, two more large waves of fire rolled over the devoted city of Montreal and laid a very large portion of it in ashes. The first conflagration occurred on the seventh of June, originating in a carpenter shop on St. Peter Street, nearly facing St. Sacrament Street. The flames quickly spread to St. Andrew's Church, and soon the whole space bounded by St. Peter, St. Francois Xavier, St. Sacrament and St. Paul Streets, was one mass of flames. The fire then passed over Custom House Square and along St. Paul Street as far as St. Sulpice, when it was mastered, after immense difficulty. By this fire the fairest part of the business portion of the city was destroyed, about two hundred houses were burned, many families rendered destitute, and loss to the extent of about \$1,000,000 sustained. The French Cathedral and the Hotel Dieu were in great danger, and were only saved by the utmost exertions of the military, who had removed all the sick from the Hospital, and were most untiring in their efforts to save both life and property. Severe as was this fire, however, it was as nothing compared with the one which followed a month

later, and left ten thousand people houseless and destitute. On the ninth of July a fire broke out on the east side of St. Lawrence Main Street, and spread with great rapidity as far as Mignonne Street; at the corner of that street and St. Dominique there was a large lumber yard, which served as a tinder-box for igniting the whole neighborhood, and the flames, fanned by a strong westerly gale, soon spread over the whole eastern portion of the city as far as St. Denis Street, and along Craig, carrying everything before it, stone houses offering no more resistance to its fiery breath than wooden ones. Meanwhile some of the sparks had been carried by the strong wind more than half a mile, and set fire to the lumber yards and saw mills on the river side, which were quickly consumed. All day long the flames ran riot in the eastern portion of the city, and towards five o'clock seemed to have burned itself out; just then, however, the alarm was given that it had broken out in a fresh place, and soon the work of destruction was renewed with even greater vigor than before. The Hay's House was an immense block of stone buildings, four stories high, facing Notre Dame Street, at the corner of Dalhousie Street, and extending back to Champs de Mars Street, there being a large theatre in the rear. The new fire caught in some wooden buildings in the rear and soon communicated to the main building, and from thence moved slowly along St. Mary and Lagachetiere Streets to the jail, a distance of more than half a mile, taking the whole night to perform its work of destruction, and it was not until ten o'clock on the following morning that it burnt itself out, for the want of water and efficient fire apparatus made any efforts to check it futile. The space burnt over was more than a mile long by nearly half a mile wide, and over twelve hundred houses were consumed, rendering nearly ten thousand persons houseless, and destroying about \$1,000,000 worth of property. The distress was great and widespread, for nearly all the families burned out were of the poorer class and lost their all; but the richer citizens, and the people of neighboring cities, came nobly to their relief. Temporary places of shelter were provided in the emigrant sheds at Point St. Charles, in the Catholic convents, and in tents provided by the military; while subscriptions poured in from England, the United States and the sister provinces. Montreal had now had three great fires in two years, and the folly of allowing wooden houses to be built was seen, as well as the necessity for extended water works.

17.—Under the migratory system which had been adopted, Quebec now became the capital for four years, and Parliament met there on the sixteenth of August, 1852, when Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald was chosen speaker of the Assembly. Early in the session Mr. Hincks introduced a series of resolutions with reference

Incorporation of the Grand Trunk Railway. The Municipal Loan Fund.

to a settlement of the clergy reserves, which were passed; and announced that he had reason to believe that the imperial Parliament would shortly pass an act settling this fruitful source of uneasiness and discontent. An address was also presented to the queen favoring reciprocity with the United States, and strongly opposing any concession in the disputed matter of the fisheries, on any other basis. The most important legislation of the session, however, was with reference to railways, no less than twenty-eight bills promoting railways being passed and assented to by the governor-general; amongst them being one incorporating the Grand Trunk Railway, to which a guarantee of £3,000 a mile was given. Other acts to subsidize the Grand Trunk were from time to time passed, until the total amount guaranteed on account of it swelled to about \$25,000,000. Still the money was well invested, for although the Grand Trunk never has paid as an investment and probably never will, yet it has been of incalculable good in developing the country and bringing out its resources. Another financial scheme introduced by Mr. Hincks was the consolidated Municipal Loan Fund for Upper Canada, by which the municipalities were authorized to borrow money on the credit of the province, for building railways, macadamized roads, bridges, &c. The municipalities quickly launched out into all sorts of wild improvements, and drew on the fund so rapidly that, in 1854, when the act was extended to Lower Canada, it was found necessary to limit the amount to be used by each province to £1,500,000 and very soon the amount spent by the municipalities amounted to nearly \$10,000,000, on which the general government had to pay the interest, for most of the municipalities were too poor to do so themselves, and the "improvements," although they benefited the country indirectly, made no direct profit.

18.—The finances of the province at this time were in a most flourishing condition, and showed a handsome surplus of nearly \$1,000,000 revenue over expenditure, the former being \$3,976,706 for 1852, against an expenditure of \$3,059,081. The debt at this time was \$22,355,413, and the credit of the province stood so high in England that its six per cent bonds found ready purchasers at fifteen to sixteen per cent premium. But the railway mania of 1852, and the continued railway fever which raged in the country for some years, soon told a different tale, changed a surplus to a constant deficit, and ran the credit of the province down below par. After a session of three months, Parliament was adjourned on the tenth of November until the fourteenth of the following February, the governor giving assent to no less than one hundred and ninety-three bills, when he finally prorogued Parliament on the fourteenth of June, amongst them being one altering parliamentary representation by increasing the number from eighty-four to one hundred and thirty, or sixty-five from

Satisfactory financial condition of the province.

each province, and the districts were re-adjusted so that a more equitable representation of certain localities was arrived at; this act, however, was not to take effect until the next general election. While the Canadian Parliament was in session the imperial Parliament carried out the promise alluded to by Mr. Hincks at the opening of the session, and passed a bill with reference to the clergy reserves, giving the Canadian Legislature the power to deal with the proceeds of the fund in future for any purposes they pleased, except that the general stipends of the ministers of the churches of England and Scotland, and of other denominations coming under the clergy reserves act, were to be paid during the lifetime of the incumbents, and the existing interests in these reserves to be protected. The queen assented to the bill on the ninth of May, and a copy was at once forwarded to Canada for action; but arriving towards the end of the session was not presented by Mr. Hincks this year.

19.—While the Legislature was in session two disgraceful riots occurred, one in Quebec the other in Montreal, caused by the preaching of an apostate priest named Gavazzi, who had become converted to the Protestant faith and sought to make other converts. He attempted to lecture in the Free Presbyterian church, Quebec, on the night of the sixth of June, but a crowd assembled, stoned the place, injured several people, and broke up the meeting, Mr. Gavazzi having great difficulty in making his escape. A search was then made for Mr. George Brown, who was looked on as the leader of the Protestant party in the House, but he could not be found. On the following day Mr. Brown tried to bring the matter up in the Assembly, but was ruled out of order. Defeated in his design of lecturing in Quebec, Gavazzi proceeded to Montreal, when he was advertised to lecture in Zion church on the ninth of June. Great fears of a riot were felt, and although the church was well filled, most of the men in the audience were armed, and a body of police was drawn up in front of the church, while a company of the 26th regiment—which had lately arrived from Gibraltar—was kept in readiness in case of emergency. The emergency came. The lecturer had got about half-way through his address when a large mob—composed chiefly of the lower orders of Irish—attacked the police, drove them back and entered the church. Here a fight took place between the rioters and the audience, the latter using pistols freely. The greatest confusion prevailed, and both parties struggled out of the church, the mob making for the foot of the hill, and the congregation being a little further up. At this juncture Mr. Charles Wilson, mayor of Montreal, threw the military, in two divisions facing outwards, between the combatants. Shots continued to be fired by the contending parties, and stones thrown, and the mayor having hastily read the riot act, ordered the troops to fire.

The Gavazzi riots. Their effect on the Hincks government.

Instantly two lines of gleaming gun-barrels flashed in the murky light of night, a bright jet of fire spouted from each muzzle, a shower of lead fell upon the unexpected crowds, and five dead bodies lay on the cold street under the pale moon, while about forty other persons were wounded, some of them almost mortally. This untoward event caused the utmost excitement and greatly intensified party religious feeling. The soldiers of the 26th were waylaid, if they strayed about alone, and beaten, while some one stole into the City Hall and defaced a picture of the mayor by cutting out the head. The fact that Mr. Wilson was a Catholic added greatly to the excitement, and reacted unfavorably on Mr. Hincks' administration, which was charged by the Protestant population with being lukewarm and prejudiced in its investigation into Mr. Wilson's conduct, so as to please the Catholic members from Lower Canada, and continue to secure their support. The ministry was now bitterly attacked by the Radical ring of the Reform press, led by the *Globe*, and Mr. Brown fast increased in popular favor.

20.—Public attention was, happily, distracted for a short time from this bloody picture by the opening of the Grand Trunk Railway to Portland, which took place on the eighteenth of June, 1853, and was celebrated by a grand banquet in Montreal. The ministry of Mr. Hincks now began visibly to lose strength, and it was clear that it was only a question of time—and that a very short time—before the "Clear Grits" would be the most powerful section of the Reform party, and drive Mr. Hincks from power. The death of Judge Sullivan and the elevation of Attorney-General Richards did not strengthen the ministry by the accession to its ranks of Mr. Joseph C. Morrisou as solicitor-general; while the rumor that the ministry did not intend to take immediate steps to secularize the clergy reserves estranged many from the Hinck's party. But the greatest blow to the Hincks' party was received towards the end of the year, when a chancery suit in which Mr. Boreves, mayor of Toronto, was interested, developed the fact that he and Mr. Hincks had speculated in bonds of the city of Toronto to the amount of £50,000 when they were at twenty per cent discount, and that the premier had afterwards introduced and caused to be passed a bill in the Legislature which had the effect of sending those bonds up to par. Other charges of speculating in land on the proposed line of the railway for the purpose of selling to the road after he had located it so as to benefit himself by enhancing the value of his property, were also made, and his party suffered daily in public estimation. The premier, meanwhile, had proceeded to London, with Lord Elgin, to arrange matters connected with the proposed Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which was now attracting attention in both countries.

21.—The preliminary arrangements were soon perfected and the governor and premier returned to Canada, the former almost immediately going to Washington to complete the treaty, which was accomplished on the fifth of June, 1854, and duly ratified by the two powers at once, the action of the provincial legislature being only wanted now to give the treaty effect. The treaty was for ten years, and granted free trade between Canada and the United States of the products of the forest, the farm and the mine; opened the inshore fishing and the navigation of the St. Lawrence and its canals to the Americans, while the British were to have free navigation of Lake Michigan. The treaty was highly pleasing to the people of Canada, but was not so favorably received, at first, by the people of the Maritime Provinces, who did not consider that they received a sufficient equivalent for their fisheries. The act, however, went into effect in March, 1855, and gave general satisfaction to the Canadians while it remained in force. Mr. Hincks was in no hurry to meet Parliament, for he could pretty clearly see "the handwriting upon the wall," and wished to gain as much time as possible; Parliament did not, therefore, meet until the thirteenth of June. The governor's speech from the throne dwelt on the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty, and touched on several minor topics, but said nothing about the two vital subjects which were agitating Upper and Lower Canada, the clergy reserves and the settlement of the seigniorial rights, and an opportunity was eagerly watched by the opponents of the government to get in a vote of want of confidence. Mr. Cauchon moved an amendment to the address blaming the ministry for not saying something about the settlement of the seigniorial rights, and Mr. Sicotte moved a further amendment censuring the ministers for failing to take any measures to settle the clergy reserves. The debate was continued until the twenty-first, when the ministry was defeated by a majority of thirteen in a House of seventy-one. On the following day the governor came down to the council chamber, and summoning the House of Assembly, prorogued Parliament, before a single bill had been passed. The prorogation was speedily followed by dissolution, and in July, the country was in all the bustle and excitement of a general election.

22.—Mr. Hincks had trusted to a general election in the hope that it would strengthen his party and exclude some of the more pronounced grits; for this reason every effort was put forth to gain a majority in Upper Canada—that in Lower Canada being assured—and all the power of the *Leader*, and other government organs was called into requisition; but the Clear Grits had too firm a hold on the people of the Upper Province, and the thunders of the *Globe*, *Examiner*, *North American*, and other radical

Charges of corrupt practices against Mr. Hicks.

Signing of the Reciprocity Treaty. Dissolution of Parliament.

Defeat of the Hincks administration.

papers effectually silenced the feeble fire of the *Leader*, and placed a majority of the clear Grit candidates at the head of the polls. Mr. Hincks was returned for two constituencies, but his henchman, Malcolm Cameron, postmaster-general, was badly beaten by Mr. George Brown, and many of his staunchest supporters were discarded by their constituents. Parliament met on the fifth of September, and the vote for speaker showed that Mr. Hincks no longer had the full confidence of the House. Mr. George E. Cartier was nominated as the ministerial candidate for speaker, and Mr. L. V. Sicotte was proposed by the opposition. Mr. Cartier had a majority of nine of the Lower Canada members, but Mr. Sicotte showed a majority of twelve from the Upper Province, being thus defeated by three votes. Still Mr. Hincks did not resign; he waited to see the effect of the governor's speech, which he thought would gain over enough strength from the Brown party to give him a working majority. The House was formally opened by the governor on the sixth in a speech in which he foreshadowed the submission to the House of all the measures demanded by the Grits, a settlement of the clergy reserves and seigniorial tenure questions, the change of the Legislative Council to an elective body, and the Reciprocity Treaty. But Mr. Brown was not to be conciliated; nothing short of driving Mr. Hincks from power would suit him, and, with the help of Sir Allan McNab and the conservative party, he succeeded: on the evening of the seventh a question of privilege was raised, and the government asked a delay of twenty-four hours which was refused by the House, several of Mr. Hincks' supporters—amongst them Dr. Rolph, a member of the ministry—voting with the opposition. Mr. Hincks saw it was useless to attempt to conduct the government any longer, and accordingly resigned.

23.—Mr. Brown had triumphed over Mr. Hincks, and now made sure that he would be able to reunite the party he had split into two, and conduct a grit government himself; but he soon found that he had created a schism in his own party only to ruin it, and leave himself further from power than ever. Lord Elgin, on the resignation of Mr. Hincks, committed to Sir Allan McNab, leader of the conservative opposition, the task of forming a new ministry. Sir Allan was a shrewd politician, and saw at once that a conservative ministry, pure and simple, could not long expect to enjoy the confidence of the House. There were now really three distinct parties in the House, the Conservatives, led by Sir Allan: the Clear Grits, led by Mr. Brown, and the party led by Mr. Hincks, which was still numerically stronger than either of its opponents. Sir Allan determined on a *coup d'état*; the French party no longer presented a solid front and held the balance of power, it had split into *Bleus* and *Rouges*, the former sup-

porting the old Reform party and the latter the grits; the Conservative party, therefore, now held the balance of power, and Sir Allan at once opened negotiations with Mr. Hincks to form a coalition. His first overtures were made to Mr. Morin, leader of the French party, who consulted with Mr. Hincks, and that gentleman agreed to support the ministry to be formed, provided that two of his friends were members of it, and that the programme of the late government was carried out. A consultation was held with Mr. John A. Macdonald and other conservative leaders, and the terms agreed to, and immediately the first coalition government in Canada was formed. Sir Allan McNab was president of Council and minister of agriculture; John A. Macdonald, attorney-general west, and commissioner of crown lands; William Cayley, minister of finance; Robert Spence, postmaster-general; E. P. Taché, receiver-general; P. J. O. Chaveau, provincial secretary. The ministry was further strengthened in the following January by the appointment of Mr. George E. Cartier, as solicitor-general east. Thus was Mr. Brown "hoist by his own petard;" he had coalesced with the conservatives to get Mr. Hincks out of power, and Mr. Hincks returned the compliment by coalescing with the same party to prevent Mr. Brown from getting in.

24.—The new ministers, who were members of the Assembly, had, of course, to go back to their constituents for re-election; and were, without exception, again returned, in spite of the Secularization of the clergy reserves. bitter opposition of Mr. Brown and his followers. All of the Hincks party did not follow their leader in his support of the conservative ministry, a small party, under the leadership of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald remained in opposition; but the majority agreed to the coalition, and the new ministry found itself with a good working majority. Sir Allan McNab at once set himself to work to fulfil his promises to Mr. Hincks, and on the seventeenth of October, a bill to secularize the clergy reserves, in conformity with the bill passed by the imperial Parliament was introduced. The question of the clergy reserves had always been a troublesome one; the arrogant pretensions of the Church of England—most strenuously advocated by that "political parson" bishop Strachan—that the reserves were intended for that church alone and no other church had any right to part or share in them, had been denied by the action of the imperial Parliament in declaring the church of Scotland entitled to a share, and subsequent legislation had admitted other denominations to a participation of the reserves; but, of late years, a strong cry for an entire separation of Church and State had been raised; the Free Kirk movement in Scotland, in 1843, had rapidly spread in Canada, and ended in the bill now before the House, which withdrew the clergy reserves altogether from the church and placed

Formation of the first coalition government.

them in the hands of the different municipalities. Provision was made by the act for continuing the stipends of incumbents during their lifetime; but this was afterwards commuted with the consent of the different ministers, and a church endowment fund formed. The bill was passed by a large majority, and the vexed question of the clergy reserves was peacefully laid to rest.

25.—The next important bill which occupied the attention of the House was the Seigniorial Tenure Act, by which the last vestige of feudalism was swept from Canada. As has been already stated these seignories were originally granted by the kings of France to build up a Canadian aristocracy which should prove a support to both Church and State; these seigniors had been maintained in their holdings by the treaty of 1763, but the feudal system was repugnant to the feelings of English settlers, and greatly retarded the colonization of Lower Canada, the bulk of the immigrants going through to the western province, or to the States. The system at last began to be distasteful even to the clergy, and once their influence was turned against it, agitation for a change soon followed. By the bill now introduced the claims of the seigniors were to be commuted by a commission and the land acquired by the government, to be afterwards sold or granted as it saw fit. The bill was passed, and another troublesome question disposed of, but this one cost Canada dear, and it was only after many years, and at a cost of over \$5,000,000, that the subject was finally disposed of. Parliament was adjourned on the eighteenth of December to the twenty-third of February, after a number of useful bills had been passed, amongst them one giving effect to the reciprocity treaty, and another making some alterations in the tariff rendered necessary by the adoption of the treaty. An act incorporating the Canada Ocean Steamship Company was also passed, and another to amalgamate the Grand Trunk Railway with some other companies, increase its powers and grant it additional assistance, one part of which was the issue of £100,000 provincial bonds for building a bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal, since known as the world-renowned Victoria Bridge. On the day after the adjournment of Parliament, Lord Elgin resigned the governor-generalship and was succeeded by Sir Edmund W. Head, who had for six years administered the affairs of New Brunswick. Lord Elgin had long since outlived his temporary unpopularity at the time of the Rebellion Losses Bill, and was highly esteemed by the people as an active and energetic governor who had done much good for the province. That his services were appreciated by the Home government was shown by his being sent on a special mission to China and Japan, and afterwards appointed to the governor-generalship of India, when he fell a victim to the climate. Mr. Hincks did not remain long after Lord Elgin, his popularity was

greatly impaired by the charges made against him, and in the following year he was appointed governor of Barbadoes and the Windward West India Islands, from whence he was transferred to British Guiana. He was knighted and subsequently returned to Canada, where we shall find him, later on in our history, again entering political life.

CHAPTER CXI.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF SIR E. W. HEAD.

- 1.—IMPROVEMENT OF IMMIGRATION LAWS. FINANCIAL.
- 2. A FRENCH MAN-OF-WAR VISITS QUEBEC FOR THE FIRST TIME IN NEARLY A CENTURY.—3. THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MADE ELECTIVE.—4. CANADA'S FIRST RAILWAY ACCIDENT. SEVENTY LIVES LOST.
- 5. TWO TERRIBLE STEAMBOAT ACCIDENTS. NEARLY THREE HUNDRED LIVES LOST.—6. FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1857. REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION.
- 7. THE FIRST VOTE ON REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION. DEFEAT OF THE MEASURE.—8. OTTAWA CHOSEN AS THE FUTURE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.—9. AN ADMINISTRATION OF FORTY-EIGHT HOURS' DURATION.—10. THE CARTIER-MACDONALD MINISTRY.—11. INVITATION TO THE QUEEN TO OPEN THE VICTORIA BRIDGE.—12. PROTECTION *vs.* FREE TRADE.—13. THE GRITS AGITATE FOR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE REVENUE AND THE PUBLIC DEBT.—14. DEFEAT OF MR. BROWN'S "JOINT AUTHORITY" SCHEME.—15. THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. HIS ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION AT QUEBEC AND MONTREAL.—16. THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. INAUGURATION OF THE VICTORIA BRIDGE.—17. THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. DISCOURTEOUS CONDUCT OF THE ORANGEMEN.—18. THE CENSUS OF 1861. GREAT INCREASE IN TWENTY YEARS.—19. RETIREMENT OF SIR EDMUND HEAD. OUTBREAK OF THE SOUTHERN REBELLION.

1.—The adjourned session of Parliament met again on the twenty-third of February, 1855. The Cabinet had undergone some changes during the recess, but had gained rather than lost strength, and had still a sufficient majority to easily conduct the business of the session. Three days after the reopening of the session, Sir Edmund Head laid before the House a despatch from the colonial secretary in which he expressed Her Majesty's thanks to the Parliament of Canada for the congratulatory resolutions passed on the occasion of the victory at the Alma, and also for

Passage of the Seigniorial Tenure Bill. Resignation of Lord Elgin.

Improvement of Immigration laws. Financial.

the two bills for £10,000 each voted towards the Patriotic Fund. The House was finally prorogued on the thirtieth of May; the unusually large number of two hundred and fifty-one bills having been assented to. Amongst these were a militia bill and one relating to immigrants. Hitherto immigrants had been most shamefully neglected, and little or no provision made for accommodating them on their arrival. The vessels were frequently overcrowded, and if ship-fever broke out there was no proper hospital care for the sick. Now quarantine harbors were established, and hospitals provided for the sick, while agents were appointed to furnish immigrants with reliable information regarding localities, &c., and protect them from the hordes of sharpers and swindlers who had been wont to prey upon the unsuspecting new arrivals. The public accounts for 1854 showed the finances of the province to be still in a very flourishing condition, the revenue having been \$7,088,110, and the expenditures \$4,171,941, which led to a reduction of the tariff from twelve to ten per cent, a very unwise measure, as the public debt was now increasing at a rate altogether out of proportion to the revenue, and had already nearly reached \$40,000,000, the greater part of the rapid increase being caused by the large sums spent on the Grand Trunk Railway.

2.—In March, 1855, an Industrial Exhibition was held in Montreal for the purpose of selecting goods to send to the Paris Exposition. The display was a good one, and the subsequent exhibit in Paris was a most creditable one, and tended to greatly elevate Canada in the opinion of those who had been accustomed to

A French man-of-war visits Quebec for the first time in nearly a century.

think of her only as a country of backwoods. In July, Quebec was regaled with a sight which had not been witnessed in "the ancient capital" for nearly a century, the arrival of a French man-of-war. Admiral de Belveze, commander of the French squadron on the Newfoundland station, received orders from the Emperor to visit Canada for the purpose of extending the commercial relations between that country and France. The flag ship of the Admiral was the first French war ship that had visited the St. Lawrence since the conquest; and what a change had taken place since then. The little French colony of less than twenty thousand souls had swelled to a vigorous people of nearly two millions; the small fortress perched on a rock had grown into a large and picturesque city, whose wharves were crowded with shipping, and whose streets echoed with the busy hum of thousands of industrious people; even the very flags had changed, and where the *fleur-de-lys* had frowned down upon the Union Jack, the standard of England now floated on the breeze and smiled in friendly welcome on the *tricolour* flying below, in token of the amity existing between the two nations who were then fighting side by

side against the common foe in the Crimea. Two other great events of the year were the completion of the first pier of the Victoria Bridge, and the opening of the Grand Trunk Railway from Montreal to Brockville, making over three hundred miles of the road now completed. This little event took place on the nineteenth of November, and was duly celebrated at Montreal and other places.

3.—The year 1856 opened quietly and uneventfully. There was nothing to attract public attention except a slight agitation in the press on the subject of making the Legislative Council elective The Legislative Council made elective. and an attack on the Catholic majority of Lower Canada by the Grit press led by the *Globe*, now considered the Protestant organ. Parliament met at Toronto on the fifteenth of February, 1856, when the governor informed the House that there was a large amount of clergy reserves money awaiting distribution amongst the municipalities; that a bill to make the Legislative Council elective would be introduced; that a contract for a line of ocean steamers from the St. Lawrence had been completed, and that reform in the police system would be proposed. The address was made the occasion of a strong attack on the ministry of Mr. Brown, who was supported not only by his own party but by a portion of the conservative party under Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald. The ministry managed to carry the address by a good majority, but it soon became evident that it was losing favor, and on the tenth of March it was defeated by a majority of four. The question was on a motion of Mr. John Hillyard Cameron for papers in the case of a Protestant named Corrigan, who was murdered near St. Sylvester, and several men who were on trial for the crime, all Catholics, were acquitted by a Catholic judge and jury in the face of what was considered conclusive evidence. The case attracted great attention, and the *Globe* and other extreme papers made it a text for calling for the formation of a new and entirely Protestant party, in which they were backed by the Orangemen, and party religious feeling grew very strong. Although defeated on the motion calling for Judge Daval's charge in this case, which they refused to accede to, ministers refused to resign, principally on the ground that they were supported by a good majority the same evening on another division, thus showing that they had the general confidence of the House. It was deemed expedient, however, to make a change in the *personnel* of the cabinet, and Sir Allan McNab resigned to make room for Mr. Taché, Mr. John A. Macdonald becoming leader of the party, and under his able management it soon gained increased confidence. The session terminated on the first of July, and under the skilful leadership of Mr. Macdonald, the ministry had not only been able to pass many useful bills, but to increase its power and influence in the House.

Amongst the most important acts passed was the Common Law Procedure Act, by which proceedings in the Courts of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas were greatly expedited, and the bill making the Legislative Council elective. This change had been asked for many years before by the Papineau reformers of Lower Canada, but when tried it was found to work so badly that it was abandoned at Confederation and the old system of appointment returned to.

4.—On the twelfth of March, 1856, Canada experienced the shock of its first great railway accident. A train on the Great Western Railway from Toronto to Hamilton, broke down the bridge over the Desjardins canal leading into Dundas, and the train smashing through the ice seventy persons were killed. The signing of the treaty of peace with Russia, at Paris, on the first of April, was hailed with delight in Canada, as it was hoped that trade, which had been dull, would revive; but there was very little improvement, and the war with China and the Sepoy rebellion early in 1857 both tended to keep trade exceedingly dull. Parliament met at Toronto, on the twenty-sixth of February, and was not marked by quite so much party bitterness as had characterized the last few sessions. The most noteworthy feature of the session was a speech by Mr. Alexander T. Galt, member for Sherbrooke, in favor of the confederation of all the provinces, as the most effectual means of putting an end to sectional differences. The speech did not attract much attention at the time, but is noticeable as the first effort towards what was afterwards found to be the only remedy for the difficulties which had grown up in each province.

5.—On the eleventh of June, 1856, a terrible accident happened at Longueuil, a small village opposite Montreal, at that time the terminus of the eastern division of the Grand Trunk Railway. Communication was had with the city by a steam ferry boat, and on this fatal morning the boiler exploded while the boat was loaded with passengers and thirty-five persons were killed, and a large number wounded, many seriously. Just a little more than a year later—twenty-sixth of June, 1857—a still more terrible calamity occurred in the burning of the steamer *Montreal*, plying between Quebec and Montreal. She left Quebec for Montreal about four o'clock in the afternoon, having on board two hundred and fifty-eight immigrants, mostly Highlanders, and a number of cabin passengers. Shortly after leaving, and just as the vessel was opposite Cape Rouge, still within sight of Quebec, she was found to be on fire, and was run on shore; but the flames spread very rapidly, and there not being a sufficient quantity of boats, or life-saving apparatus, two hundred and fifty persons were drowned, two hundred of whom were the Scotch immigrants. A good deal of excitement was

Canada's first railway accident. Seventy lives lost.

Two terrible steamboat accidents. Nearly 300 lives lost.

caused in August, by the first attempt to lay a cable across the Atlantic from Ireland to Newfoundland. The effort, however, was unsuccessful, the cable breaking after four hundred miles had been laid.

6.—The year 1857 was one of extreme financial depression in the United States, monetary institutions of all kinds felt the terrible pressure; many banks suspended, mercantile failures were numerous, and trade was at a stand still. The financial crisis of 1857. Representation by population. In Canada the financial depression was not felt until the fall, but then it was very severe. The harvest was almost a total failure, trade was perfectly stagnant, and the cessation of almost all work on railways caused great want and suffering. The revenue fell off considerably, showing a deficit of over \$300,000, and the country now began to feel the reaction after the vast—and in many instances extravagant and unnecessary—expenditures of the past few years in railways. The reckless policy of the Hincks administration in running in debt simply because it could borrow money, and inducing the municipalities to follow the same course by giving them a provincial guarantee, now bore very unpalatable food, and the province found itself pledged to pay \$800,000 per annum interest on railway bonds and about \$400,000 a year more on municipal debentures, the interest on which the municipalities themselves were unable to meet. A general election took place in the fall of 1857, and called out all the bitterness of religious and national strife, besides adding a new element of discord by the prominence given to the cry for “representation by population” raised in the *Globe* by Mr. Brown, by which he hoped to firmly establish an English and Protestant majority in the House, and entirely destroy the French Catholic influence, which in the existing state of party politics really held the balance of power.

7.—The new Parliament met at Toronto, on 23th February, 1858, and showed a greater number of new faces than any previous Parliament had. The first vote on representation by population. Defeat of the measure. done, sixty-five out of one hundred and thirty being new members, the most noticeable amongst whom was Mr. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who was elected for Montreal West. Mr. Henry Smith, ministerial candidate for speaker, was elected by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-two, showing that the opposition was not very strong. The speech of the governor contained nothing of special moment except a most emphatic declaration “that the country had gone to the utmost limit of pecuniary aid to the Grand Trunk Railway.” The debate on the address was long and bitter, Mr. Brown violently attacking the policy of the government at all points, but without avail, the address being carried by a large majority. The next test question was on representation by population for the whole province, without any dividing line between the Upper and Lower por-

tions. This was made the subject of a long and able debate in which the subject was fairly treated on both sides and resulted in the government being sustained by twelve in a House of one hundred and sixteen members. Mr. Brown's opposition developed the great unanimity of Upper Canada on the subject, however, every Upper Canada reformer, with one exception, voting for representation by population.

8.—The next question which was made a test one was on the seat of government, and it will be proper here to make a short explanation as to what this question was. It will be remembered that when the Parliament buildings at Montreal were burned by the mob in 1849, the House could not agree on the location of the new capital, the rivalries of the Upper and Lower province preventing either section having the permanent advantage of possessing the capital. A compromise was effected by fixing the seat of government at Toronto and Quebec for alternate periods of four years; but after seven years' trial this was found to be so expensive and inconvenient an arrangement, that it was determined at the session of 1857, to leave the matter to the decision of her majesty—each party feeling confident that it had a little the best of the argument, and would have a decision in its favor. But the Torontonians and Quebecers were both doomed to disappointment, for the decision was now made known, and it was learned that her majesty had selected the site of Ottawa, a thriving town of fourteen thousand inhabitants standing just on the border line of the two provinces, easy of access by both land and water, well laid out, and with a large reserve of government ground situated on a bluff highland overlooking the river and well suited for public buildings. A better choice it would have been almost impossible to make, for from its situation on the border line it could scarcely be said to favor either province, nor was it likely to become a great rival of the commercial centres of either province. As was to have been expected, the decision offended the partisans of both Toronto and Quebec, and a motion was carried by a majority of fourteen that it was a subject for deep regret that her majesty had made such a choice.

9.—This was, of course, an insult to her majesty more than a vote of want of confidence on the administration; but Mr. J. A. Macdonald, ever anxious to make political capital out of an opponent's error, adroitly turned the vote to good account by tendering the resignation of the ministry; thus assuming the championship of her majesty's judgment, and gaining a little popular favor. Mr. Brown was at once sent for to form a ministry, which he offered to do, provided the House was at once dissolved. Sir Francis Head refused to do this until the supply bill and one or two other pressing matters were passed. Mr. Brown

Ottawa chosen as the future seat of government.

An administration of forty-eight hours' duration.

assented, and the next evening the following cabinet was announced; Inspector-general and premier, George Brown; speaker Legislative Council, James Morris; postmaster-general, Mr. Foley; attorney-general west, John Sandfield Macdonald; attorney-general east, L. T. Drummond; provincial secretary, Oliver Mowatt; solicitor-general west, Dr. Connor; solicitor-general east, Mr. Laberge; commissioner of crown lands, A. A. Dorion; minister of agriculture, M. Thibaudeau; receiver-general, M. Liemieux; minister of public works, Luther H. Holton. Mr. Brown's triumph was, however, very short-lived, for his government was met immediately by a straight vote of want of confidence and defeated in the lower House by a vote of seventy-one to thirty-one, and in the upper House by sixteen to eight. Mr. Brown made an appeal to Sir Edmund Head to dissolve Parliament, pleading that the House did not represent the country, but the governor refused to take that view considering that a general election had been so recent; besides which, he held that according to Mr. Brown's own showing there had been a great deal of corruption at the last election, and it would be best to amend the election law so as to prevent this before another general election was held; no course, therefore, was left Mr. Brown but to resign, which he did after having been in office forty-eight hours, the shortest administration ever known in Canada.

10.—The governor next called on Mr. Alexander T. Galt to form a ministry; but he, doubting his ability to form a sufficiently stable government under his leadership, declined the task, and the duty was assigned to Mr. George E. Cartier, leader of the Lower Canada party in the House, who, with the assistance of Mr. John A. Macdonald, speedily formed a very strong cabinet, composed of the following members; president of the council, John Ross; attorney-general east, George E. Cartier; attorney-general west, John A. Macdonald; minister of finance, Alexander T. Galt; commissioner of crown lands, P. Vankoughnet; commissioner of public works, Louis Victor Sicotte; postmaster-general, Sidney Smith; receiver-general, G. Sherwood; provincial secretary, C. Alleyn; solicitor-general, John Rose; speaker of Legislative Council, Hon. Narcisse Belleau. The new ministers did not go back to their constituents for re-election, according to constitutional custom, as a clause in the Independence of Parliament act of 1857 provided that if any minister resigned office, and within a month accepted office in another cabinet, he was not required to seek re-election, so that by changing the Macdonald-Cartier ministry to the Cartier-Macdonald ministry, it was held that the law was complied with. The Grits were furious at their summary defeat, and loud in their protests of the unconstitutionality of the ministers not going back to their constituents; but the matter was tested in the court of Queen's Bench

and common Pleas, and the action of the ministers upheld as according to law. The law was, however, soon after repealed. The most important acts passed were with reference to the registration of electors; and the new customs act, by which the tariff was raised to fifteen per cent, a step rendered necessary by the large deficit to meet railway and other expenses.

11.—Except a momentary excitement over the laying of the Atlantic cable on the nineteenth of August, which quickly died out, as the cable ceased to work almost immediately, nothing of general public importance occurred until the opening of Parliament on the twenty-ninth of January, 1859. The governor in his speech from the throne urged the necessity of settling the seat of government question, as well as the Seigniorial Tenure question, and also drew attention to the subject of confederation, which was attracting a good deal of attention from the Home government. Very little opposition was made to the address, and the first test of party strength was on a question purposely prepared by the government to try the strength of the opposition. Mr. Brown had been a member of the public accounts committee, but his name was designedly omitted when the committee was struck, and this, as was intended, caused a motion to be made to have his name replaced; the government accepted this as a want of confidence motion, and developed greater strength than was expected, showing a majority of seventeen. This unexpected strength had the effect of quieting the House, and there was less factious opposition than usual. The bill selecting Ottawa as the seat of government in future was carried; and as Parliament had voted \$900,000 in 1857 for the erection of public buildings, work was commenced on the twenty-second of December. Canada had now two great undertakings on hand, one of which was near completion, the Victoria Bridge and the Parliament buildings; and in order to give due eclat to the formal opening of the former and the laying of the corner stone of the latter, an address was moved to her majesty inviting her to visit the colony and take part in the two ceremonies, accompanied by any members of the Royal family; and after passing a number of useful bills Parliament was prorogued on the fourth of May.

12.—The most important act passed at this session was the one relating to the tariff, by which the duty on imported goods was raised from fifteen to twenty per cent. This was necessitated by the constantly increasing deficit in the public accounts, and was not intended as a protective tariff, although it had that effect to some degree. This question of protection and Free Trade had now begun to attract considerable attention, and both sides of the question were warmly espoused. The protectionists held that Canada ought to be made, as far as possible, a self-

supporting country; that manufactures should be protected by a high tariff the same as they were in the States, and had been for years in England; that people should be encouraged to spend their money at home, and not be encouraged in seeking foreign markets for every little article of manufacture they may need. The Free Traders, on the other hand, claimed that Canada was not a manufacturing but an agricultural country; that the energies of her people should be devoted to developing the produce of the forest, the farm and the mine, and that it was advisable not to tax imported manufactures at all—or as lightly as possible—and to raise what revenue was needed for public purposes by direct taxation. The government wisely avoided the latter policy, and while increasing the tariff mainly for revenue purposes, at the same time gave incidental protection by exempting altogether classes of raw material which entered largely into manufactures, so that encouragement was given to capitalists to invest in manufactures, and soon a number of new industries began to be developed and furnish employment for many. The change in the tariff caused considerable complaint amongst English manufacturers who urged that it put them at a disadvantage with American manufactures; but that was the only ostensible reason for complaint; the real cause for dissatisfaction was that they saw that a strong protective tariff would develop home industries and tend to make Canada independent of both England and America for the bulk of her manufactured goods.

3.—In November the Grit party had a grand gathering at Toronto, and a new doctrine was propounded by the oracle of the party, Mr. Brown, which, as The grits agitate for federal government. The revenue and the public debt. it tended towards confederation, required a little careful consideration. When the Union was first consummated in 1841, ministers adopted what was known as the "double majority" basis for holding office; that is, that the ministry should not only have a majority of the whole House but of the representatives of each province. This was done to avoid sectional jealousies, and to prevent one province having the idea that it was being ruled by the majority of the sister province contrary to the wishes of the majority of its own representatives. This rule answered very well at first; but as the differences of race and religion began to be more and more developed, it became harder to conform to it; and after Mr. Brown's evident violent partisan agitation on religious subjects, it became impossible to maintain the double majority rule and it was discarded by both the Macdonald-Cartier and Cartier-Macdonald ministries, they being content with a single majority of the House, it being evident that the two provinces had become so estranged in political feeling, that whatever party had the confidence of the Upper Canada majority would certainly be distrusted by the Lower Canada majority, and *vice versa*. Mr. Brown's efforts to obtain representation by

Invitation to the Queen to open the Victoria Bridge

Protection vs. Free Trade.

population—which would give Upper Canada control of the legislature on account of her larger population—having failed for the present, the Grit convention at Toronto boldly declared that the Union was a failure, and demanded a separation of the provinces with a local government for each and a joint authority for both in matters of common interest, such as the tariff, defence, and similar matters. For the past two years the harvest had been very poor, and trade exceedingly dull; but the year 1859 was blessed with a bountiful harvest, trade revived, and under the new tariff the revenue rapidly increased so that it once more showed a surplus, the receipts being \$6,248,679 against an expenditure of \$6,099,570. The public debt had, however, greatly increased, and now amounted to over \$54,000,000, upwards of \$28,000,000 of which had been incurred for railways, over two thousand miles of which were now open for traffic in the province.

14.—During the summer the migratory seat of government was again changed to Quebec, where Parliament met on the twenty-eighth of February, 1860. There was nothing of special interest in the speech from the throne, and the address was carried without much discussion, the opposition reserving its strength for a test of the programme determined on at the Toronto convention. Early in the session Mr. Brown gave notice of two resolutions, one to the effect that the Legislative Union of the provinces had been a failure, that it had caused great dissatisfaction, grave political abuses, and a huge debt; and that on account of the differences of race, religion and interests of the two portions of the province it was desirable that the union should no longer be continued. The second resolution proposed as a remedy for these evils the re-division of the province into two separate governments each having jurisdiction over its local affairs, and a federal union for matters of mutual interest. Several attempts were made to pass a vote of want of confidence, but the government was steadily sustained by a majority of about twenty-five to thirty; besides which the leaders of the opposition were now quarrelling amongst themselves, some of them differing from the extreme radical views of Mr. Brown, who was urged to resign the leadership of the party. Mr. Brown's resolutions came up on the eighth of May and met with a most overwhelming defeat, the first being rejected by a vote of sixty-seven to twenty-six, and the second by seventy-four to thirty-two. Thus the "joint-authority" scheme was effectually shelved, amid the ridicule of ministers, who, a few years later were forced to acknowledge it the only feasible plan of solving the difficult problem of provincial government. That was Mr. Brown's day of triumph when his rejected idea was made the basis of a new constitution; but the triumph did not come for four years. Parliament was prorogued on the nineteenth of May.

Defeat of Mr. Brown's "joint-authority" scheme.

after assent having been given to a number of bills, amongst them one appropriating £20,000 for the reception of the Prince of Wales, who, it had been announced at the opening of the session, would visit the colonies during the summer in place of his royal mother, and assist at the ceremonies of opening the Victoria Bridge and the laying of the corner stone of the Parliament buildings at Ottawa.

15.—Never in the history of the British North American provinces has any coming event cast so joyous a shadow before as did the proposed visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. From St. John, Newfoundland, to Windsor, Ontario, glad notes of preparation rang out all along the line of the proposed tour, and each city, town, village and hamlet through which the royal party was expected to pass vied with its neighbour in preparing fitting honors for the welcome guest. At Montreal, as the commercial centre and the location of the great bridge which his royal highness was to formally open, preparations were made on a gigantic scale, and never did her citizens respond so royally or so loyally to any call as to the one to do honor to the son of the sovereign whose many virtues were so deeply implanted in the bosoms of her people. At Quebec a portion of the Parliament building had been fitted up for the reception of the prince and suite, and here he was received on the twenty-first of August by the governor-general and both Houses of Parliament, headed by their speakers, Messrs. Narcisse F. Belleau, and Henry Smith, both of whom were knighted by his royal highness. After two days' festivities at Quebec the royal party left for Montreal, arriving there on the twenty-fourth, when his reception was to have taken place, but "the fates were not propitious," a perfect torrent of rain fell all day, and the landing had to be postponed until the following morning, when his royal highness landed at nine o'clock and was received by the mayor and council, magistrates, clergy, &c., and presented with addresses, after which an immense procession, headed by a band of Caughnawaga Indians in full costume, escorted him to the mansion of the Honorable John Rose, which had been fitted up for his temporary residence. In the month of March the board of arts and manufactures had decided to erect a permanent building for exhibition purposes at Montreal, and had determined to build a crystal palace on St. Catherine street near University. This building was now completed and a grand industrial exhibition was held in it, which was formally opened by His Royal Highness at eleven o'clock.

10.—Immediately after the opening of the Exhibition a grand rush was made for Point St. Charles, where "the great event" of the day was to take place at two o'clock by the formal opening and inauguration of that wonderful triumph

The visit of the Prince of Wales. His enthusiastic reception at Quebec and Montreal.

The visit of the Prince of Wales. Inauguration of the Victoria Bridge.

of engineering skill and perseverance, the Victoria Bridge.* Trains had been crossing the bridge since the December previous, but the last stone had been left unlaid, and the centre-plate unriveted, ceremonies to be performed by His

* The following very excellent description of the wonderful work of art, taken from Sandham's *Montreal Past and Present*, will doubtless prove interesting and instructive to many of our readers. "The bridge consists of 23 spans, 242 feet each, and one in the centre, 330 feet, with an abutment, 290 feet long, on each bank of the river. The piers which support the bridge are 33 feet by 16 at the top, and increase to 92 by 22½ at the foundation. The upper side of the piers are formed like a wedge, to act as icebreakers, and these are dressed smooth, while the remaining sides of the pier are left in their rough state. The two centre piers are 33 feet by 24 at the top, and increase proportionately in dimensions as they approach the foundations. The courses of masonry comprising the piers run from three feet ten inches to one foot six inches, the individual stones of which range from six to seventeen tons. Those in the break-water are fastened together by strong iron cramps, 12 inches by 5¼ thick, through which bolts, 1½ inches in diameter, and provided with a slit in the base for the introduction of an iron wedge, are passed six inches into the course below; when the bolt reaches the bottom of the hole prepared for it in the lower course, the wedge is forced up into the slit, thus dividing the iron, and forcing it against the sides of the cavity made for it, from whence it is impossible ever to be withdrawn. The whole mass of the cut-water is thus converted into one huge block. An important feature in the character of the bridge is the abutment at each end, and which gives so massive an appearance to the whole structure. They are 290 feet long by 92 in width at the rock foundation, and carried up to a height of 36 feet above summer water level. The tubes of the bridge have a bearing of 8 feet on these abutments. At the level of the tubes the dimensions are reduced to 242 feet by 34 feet; a parapet is then carried up on all sides to a height of 29 feet 3 inches, terminating in a heavy projecting cornice, with flat lintels 16 feet in width, over the entrance, and, being in the Egyptian style of architecture, the effect produced is grand and impressive, conveying the idea of enormous solidity and strength. On the entrance lintel of these parapets, above the roadway, the following inscription, in large letters, is cut into the stone:

ERECTED, A. D. MDCCLXIX.

ROBERT STEPHENSON AND ALEX. M. ROSS,

ENGINEERS.

The lintel over the tube bears the following:

BUILT

BY

JAMES HODGES,

FOR

SIR SAMUEL MORTON PETO, BART.

THOMAS BRASSEY AND EDWARD LADD BETTS,
CONTRACTORS.

The embankments are 28 feet in width at rail level. The superstructure, designed by Mr. Robert Stephenson, consists of 25 tubes of uniform width of 16 feet throughout, for the accommodation of a single line of railway, but differing in height as they approach the centre. Thus the depth of the tubes over the first two spans is 18 feet 6 inches, the next two 19 feet, and so on, every coupled pair gaining an additional 6 inches to the centre one, which is 22 feet in depth. The tubes are composed entirely of wrought iron in the form of boiler plate, ranging from 4-16 to 12-16 of an inch in thickness, with the joints and angles stiffened and strengthened with the addition of tee and angle irons. Windows are introduced into the sides of the tubes, and serve to light up the inside. The tubes are covered with a sloping, angular roof, composed of grooved and tongued boards, covered with the best quality of tin. A footwalk, 26 inches in width, extends along the top of the roof the whole length of the tubes, for the convenience of the employees connected with the work. The estimated cost of the work was \$7,000,000. This was afterwards reduced to \$6,500,000, including a bonus of \$300,000 given the contractors for completing it one year in advance of the time specified. The following particulars of the bridge and the material used in its construction cannot but prove interesting. First stone of pier No. 1, laid 20th July, 1864. First passenger train passed 17th December, 1859. Formally completed and

Royal Highness. The huge block of granite was suspended over the place it was to occupy, the Prince laid the mortar, the stone was lowered into its place, two magic taps with the trowel, a shout from the crowd and that part of the ceremony was completed. The Prince then entered a special car of state and proceeded to the centre of the bridge, where the last plate was to be riveted. Three ordinary rivets were driven home by two workmen, and then a rivet of solid silver was clinched by His Royal Highness, who thus completed the construction of the bridge. The party then proceeded to the St. Lambert's end of the bridge, where the Prince was presented with a gold medal commemorative of the event, and the other members of the suite were each presented with a silver one. After lunching in one of the workshops His Royal Highness went home, and in the evening drove through the city, which was brilliantly illuminated. A grand ball was given on Monday night and another on Wednesday; there was a fireman's torchlight procession and a great display of fireworks, and on Wednesday a grand review of the troops on Logan's farm was attended by the Prince, who appeared in uniform as colonel of the 100th, Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment. On Thursday morning the Prince and suite left for Ottawa, where another grand reception awaited him, and where the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the new Parliament Buildings was performed, on the first of September, before one of the most brilliant gatherings ever witnessed in Canada. After shooting the timber slides of the Chaudière, on an ordinary lumberman's raft, His Royal Highness proceeded up the Ottawa to Arnprior, crossed to Brockville, where he was most loyally received, and on the following day embarked on the steamer *Kingston* and proceeded westward through the magnificent scenery of the Thousand Islands.

17.—It had been intended to stop at Kingston and Belleville, but the Orange Societies of those places insisted upon making a party demonstration of the visit, and parading with their party flags, regalia and music, a course to which the advisers of the prince very properly objected, and the two cities were left "out in the cold" on account of this partisan folly. At Toronto he was

opened by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales 25th August, 1860. Total length of bridge, 9,164 feet lineal. Number of spans, 23; 24 of 242 feet, 1 of 330 feet. Height from the surface of the water to underside of centre tube, 60 feet. Height from bed of river to top of centre tube, 108 feet. Greatest depth of water, 22 feet. General rapidity of current, 7 miles an hour. Cubic feet of masonry, 3,000,000. Cubic feet of timber in temporary work, 2,250,000. Cubic yards of clay used in paddling coffer-dams, 145,000. Tons of iron in tubes, 8,250. Number of rivets 2,500,000. Acres of painting on tubes, one coat 30, or for the four coats, 120 acres. Force employed upon the works in 1858, 3,040 men, 6 steamboats and 72 barges. When the bridge was completed the solidity of the work was tested by placing a train of platform cars, 520 feet in length, extending over two tubes, and loaded, almost to the breaking limits of the cars, with large blocks of stone. To move this enormous load three immense engines were required; yet beneath it all, when the train covered the first tube the deflection in the centre amounted to but 7-8 of an inch, proving conclusively that the work had been erected in a most satisfactory and substantial manner."

The visit of the Prince of Wales. Discourteous conduct of the Orangemen.

splendidly received; but here again the officious bigotry of the Orangemen marred what would otherwise have been the most loyal reception of any of the cities. The Orangemen insisted on ornamenting one of the triumphal arches with party flags and emblems, although they had been warned that no display of the kind would be countenanced; the consequence was that, by the advice of the Duke of Newcastle, the Prince refused to pass under it, and the Orangemen revenged themselves on the Duke of Newcastle and Sir Edmund Head by burning them in effigy on Colborne Street. The rebuke had the desired effect, however, and during the remainder of his trip through the western peninsula the prince was not annoyed by any more Orange demonstrations, the people wisely contenting themselves with an exhibition of their loyalty without attempting to make party political capital out of it. His royal highness left Canada at Windsor, on the twentieth of September, passing over to the United States at Detroit, from whence he visited Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New York, Boston and Portland, from which place he sailed for home on the twentieth of September.

18.—Parliament met at Quebec on the sixteenth of March, 1861, and the governor-general announced that he

had received from her majesty her grateful acknowledgments of the loyal manner in which the Prince of Wales had been received the previous year; but the House was very much disposed to grumble about the reception of the Prince of Wales, and the Orangemen were offended because they were not allowed to make the occasion one of sectarian strife instead of general harmony, while the masonic body felt indignant that the corner stone of the Parliament building was laid without masonic honors, and the Presbyterian and Methodist bodies thought they had been slighted by the manner in which their addresses had been received. These various complaints were made the grounds for several attacks on the ministry during the debate on the address—which lasted six days—but all motions were steadily voted down by large majorities. An amendment offered by Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, that ministers should adhere to the double-majority principle, was voted down by a majority of nineteen, and a direct vote of want of confidence being lost by sixty-two to forty-nine, the opposition gave up further wrangling and the address was passed. During the session a part of the census returns just taken was laid on the table, which showed that the total population of the province was 2,506,755, of which Upper Canada had 1,396,091, and Lower Canada 1,110,444. Twenty years before, at the time of the Union, the joint population had been 1,156,157, of which Upper Canada had 465,375 and Lower Canada 690,782. It will thus be seen that the total population of the province had increased nearly 217 per cent

The census of 1861.
Great increase in
twenty years.

in twenty years, but the increase had been by no means equal in the upper and lower portions, for while Upper Canada had increased at the rate of three hundred per cent, Lower Canada had only increased at the rate of a little over one hundred and sixty per cent. In 1841 the population of Lower Canada was 225,407 more than Upper Canada; in 1861 the population of Upper Canada was 285,647 more than that of Lower Canada. The Opposition made this a strong ground for representation by population, a resolution in favor of which was again introduced; but the government opposed it on the ground that it was contrary to the Union act, which required that each section of the province should always have the same number of representatives, and that this rule had been followed by allowing Upper Canada the same number of representatives at the Union, although she had fifty per cent less population than the Lower Province. The government was again sustained, and representation by population had to wait for confederation before the principle was admitted. Parliament was prorogued on the eighth of May, without any business of special importance having been done; and a few weeks after the country was in all the bustle and excitement of a general election. The contest was very rigorously conducted on both sides, and resulted in some gain for the Opposition, especially in Upper Canada, although it suffered two severe blows in the defeat of Mr. Brown in Toronto, and of Mr. A. A. Dorion for Montreal East, where he was badly beaten by George P. Cartier. Both, however, obtained other constituencies.

19.—Nothing of importance occurred after the election until the fall, when Sir Edmund Head was relieved of the governorship by the arrival of his successor, Lord Monck, at Quebec, on the twenty-third of October. But while time was slipping quietly away, and the year was drawing quietly to a close in Canada, events were occurring in her immediate neighborhood which were to have no small effect on her political future, and to hasten that consolidation of the British North American Provinces which had been the dream of so many statesmen. For over a quarter of a century the agitation of the abolitionists in the United States had been gradually engendering a feeling of distrust and dislike in the minds of the southern slave owners against their northern countrymen; and the doctrine of State rights was being yearly more emphatically enunciated by the leading politicians of the south, and foremost amongst the State rights claimed was the right of any State to leave the Union if she felt aggrieved or dissatisfied; this right the North denied, claiming that the Union was indissoluble, and that once entered it could never be seceded from. Another great point of difference between the two sections was on the question of free trade or protection. The North with its thousands

Retirement of Sir
Edmund Head.
Outbreak of the
Southern Rebel-
lion.

of factories and countless mechanical industries, was violently protective and desired by an almost prohibitive tariff to exclude all foreign manufactures; the South, on the other hand, had few manufactures and desired free trade that she might buy in the cheapest market in which she could sell her raw material in the way of cotton, sugar, tobacco, &c. scarcely any of which was manufactured where it was produced, but was sent away in the raw state and brought back manufactured. The animosity which had been growing for years, constantly fanned by the attacks of the unscrupulous partisan press of the North, at last led to an open rupture in the fall of 1860. The Democratic party, which had been in power for many years, had grown arrogant on account of its great majority, and ran two candidates for the presidency this year, which gave the abolitionists an opportunity to elect their candidate, which they did in the person of Mr. Abraham Lincoln, United States senator from Illinois. This was the signal for a general outbreak on the part of the South. South Carolina was the first State to break out in open revolt, and on the twentieth of December, 1860, her legislature passed an ordinance declaring that South Carolina was no longer in the Union, but was a sovereign and independent State, an example which was quickly followed by Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee, so that by the spring of 1861, the eleven slave States, with an aggregate population of 6,000,000 whites and 3,000,000 blacks, had seceded. The excitement in the North was intense. A small body of United States troops, under command of Major Anderson, was in charge of Fort Sumter, situated on an island in Charleston harbor, which was besieged by Southern troops: an effort was made by the steamer *Star of the West* to convey reinforcements to the fort, but she was driven off by the shore batteries, and on the thirteenth of April, 1861, a furious cannonade was opened on the fortress, which soon compelled Anderson to haul down the stars and stripes and capitulate. The news of the fall of Fort Sumter caused a general uprising throughout the North; Union meetings were held everywhere, 75,000 men were called out; volunteers flocked in thousands to the recruiting stands, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. But the recruits were exceedingly raw, and totally undisciplined, and the officers, for the most part, were no better than the men, for nearly all the regular officers had resigned their commissions in the United States army, and joined the South. Just one month after the fall of Fort Sumter the British government recognized the South as belligerents, and issued a proclamation ordering all British subjects to abstain from participation in the war—an order which was very imperfectly obeyed, for it is estimated that between forty and fifty thousand men from Canada were got as substitutes by Northerners, who pre-

ferred to pay a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars bounty to a man to go and fight for them, while they remained at home and speculated in gold or provisions, or got fat army contracts. The first battle of the war was fought at Bull's Run, on the Potomac River, near Washington, on the twenty-first of July, and resulted in a victory for the Southerners; after which both sides busied themselves for some time in marshalling their forces, drilling their men, and trying to make soldiers out of the raw material suddenly called from the plough, the workshops, or from behind the counter.

CHAPTER CXII.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK.

- 1.—THE TRENT AFFAIR. CHANGE OF FEELING IN CANADA.—2. DEFEAT OF THE CARTIER-MACDONALD MINISTRY ON THE MILITIA BILL.—3. FORMATION OF THE MACDONALD-SICOTTE MINISTRY.—4. ENGLISH FEELING ON THE DEFEAT OF THE CANADIAN MILITIA BILL.—5. BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON CANADA OF THE AMERICAN WAR.—6. DEFEAT OF THE MACDONALD-SICOTTE ADMINISTRATION. AN APPEAL TO THE COUNTRY.—7. UNSATISFACTORY FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.—8. ANOTHER MINISTERIAL CRISIS. RETURN OF MR. J. A. MACDONALD TO POWER.—9. DEFEAT OF THE TACHE-MACDONALD GOVERNMENT. A POLITICAL DEAD-LOCK.—10. A COALITION GOVERNMENT FORMED TO CARRY OUT CONFEDERATION.—11. RAILWAY ACCIDENT AT BELCEIL BRIDGE. NINETY PERSONS KILLED.—12. TROUBLESOME VISITORS. RAID ON THE ST. ALBANS' BANKS.—13. CONFEDERATION RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY BOTH HOUSES.—14. THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.—15. LARGE FIRE IN QUEBEC. DEATH OF SIR E. P. TACHE.—16. A QUIET SESSION.

1861

1.—The year ~~1860~~ closed dark and gloomy, with the war cloud hanging with threatening menace over Canada and liable at any moment to burst forth in a storm of blood and carnage, deluging our fair fields with gore and bringing desolation and ruin into many happy homes. On the eighth day of November, Captain Wilkes, commanding the United States gunboat *San Jacinto*, boarded the English mail steamer *Trent*, on her way from Havana to St. Thomas and took from her the Southern Commissioners Slidell and Mason, who were going to England to endeavor to have the Confederate States recognized as an independent

*The Trent affair.
Change of feeling
in Canada.*

power. The act was loudly applauded in the States and the newspapers went half frantic over the daring feat accomplished by a man-of-war in stopping an unarmed mail steamer and dragging two passengers from her; but the shouts of exultation were soon changed to tones of apology and contrition, and no sooner was the demand for the release of Slidell and Mason made by the British Government, than they were given up. Wilkes suddenly fell from the pinnacle of his momentary popularity, and the United States Government apologized for the insult offered to the British flag. But Wilkes had raised a storm of anger and ill-feeling wherever the English flag floated, against the North, which no apology could at once allay; and a great deal of the sympathy felt for the South in England and her colonies during the remainder of the war, dates from the day that the English flag was insulted on the high seas. In Canada public feeling was greatly excited, volunteer companies were formed, and active measures taken to prepare for the expected struggle, the principal field of operations for which would be our own fair country. The British ministry, with Lord Palmerston at its head, acted with the utmost promptitude; 10,000 thousand troops were at once ordered to Canada, and through December and January transports were constantly arriving at Halifax and St. John and the troops being hurried through to the Canadian frontier towns. The excitement did not last very long, however, for on the first of January, 1863, Slidell and Mason were released and sailed from Boston for England. But the year had ended sadly, for with its close came the news of the death, on the fifteenth of December, of Prince Albert, and there was general mourning throughout the whole of Canada.

2.—Parliament met at Quebec on the twenty-first of March, 1862, and was opened with more than the usual display by Lord Monck, fifteen hundred regulars and volunteers taking part in the pageant, while double salvos of artillery announced the arrival and departure of His Excellency at and from the Parliament building. Quebec is fond of a military display, and the unusual ceremony observed by the new governor-general created a good impression in his favor. The Cartier-Macdonald ministry elected Mr. Turcotte speaker by a majority of thirteen; but it was evident at an early stage of the session that the Opposition had gained strength by the late election, and that the tenure of office of the ministers was a very insecure one, and that they were liable to defeat at almost any moment. In his opening speech the governor had alluded to the necessity for providing proper means of defence; and, accordingly, the government brought in a bill providing for a reorganization of the militia. A strong opposition was got up against this bill, partly on the ground of economy, and partly on the ground that Canada would not commit any act which would involve her in war, and that

Defeat of the Cartier-Macdonald Ministry on the Militia Bill

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if Great Britain and the United States became involved in war it would be on some subject over which Canada had no control, and she would suffer enough by being made the theatre of the war, in the event of its occurring, without being put to the expense of preparing for it beforehand. This was about the substance of the arguments of the Opposition; and, on a vote being taken on the second reading, many of the Lower Canadian members deserted the ministry, so that it was defeated by a majority of seven, and at once resigned, the House adjourning to allow the formation of a new ministry.

3.—The House reassembled on the twenty-sixth of April, when Mr. Louis Walbridge, of Belleville, announced that the following cabinet had been formed under the leadership of Messrs. John Sandfield Macdonald, and Louis Victor Sicotte; president of the Council, Thomas D'Arcy McGee; attorney-general east, Louis Victor Sicotte; attorney-general west, John Sandfield Macdonald; minister of finance, W. P. Howland; commissioner of crown lands, William McDougall; commissioner of public works Ulric Joseph Tessier; postmaster-general, Michael H. Foley; receiver-general, James Morris; provincial secretary, A. A. Dorion; minister of agriculture, Francois Evanturel; solicitor-general west, Adam Wilson, solicitor-general east, J. J. C. Abbott. The programme of the new ministry, as announced, embraced a return to the double majority principles in all matters specially affecting either section of the provinces, a readjustment of the representation of both sections of the province; an amended militia law; a protective tariff; an insolvent act; economy in public expenditures; the maintenance of Her Majesty's decision with regard to Ottawa being the capital, and an investigation into some charges with regard to the construction of the Parliament buildings. This programme was well received by the public generally, and the leaders of the late ministry cordially offered the new cabinet a fair trial, but it did not suit the "Clear Grits," and Mr. Brown was soon actively at work in the *Globe* making rigorous onslaughts on the cabinet for not having adopted representation by population, and for pandering to the tastes of the French party to gain its support. Very little business was transacted after the formation of the new cabinet, beyond passing a short and unimportant amendment to the militia act, and the House was prorogued on the ninth of June.

4.—Considerable feeling was aroused in England by the defeat of the Cartier-Macdonald government on the question of military defense; and the general impression was that Canada, in the event of war, which seemed probable at any moment, proposed to trust to England entirely for her defense: a supposition which at once raised the question whether the colonies were worth defending, when they would take no measures for their own

Formation of the Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry.

English feeling on the defeat of the Canadian Militia Bill.

protection. Lord Palmerston declared, most emphatically, that England had done all she intended to do for the defense of Canada, and that the people must either make preparations for defending themselves, or disgrace the race from whence they sprang. Lord Monck, at a public dinner at Montreal echoed the words of the British Premier, and said very plainly that in the event of war the Canadians must be prepared to furnish the bulk of the armies required themselves, and not depend entirely on England for protection. The English people were, however, wrong in attributing any disinclination to protect themselves to the Canadians; their only disinclination was to preparing for an event which they did not think there was any probability of ever occurring, and to adding to their already enormous debt, a vast sum for military defenses which they did not believe there would ever be any necessity for. The governor-general visited the Upper Province during September, and was cordially received everywhere, especially at Toronto, where he opened the Provincial Exhibition, and where he was entertained at a grand ball.

5.—The war was now being vigorously prosecuted in the States, hundreds of thousands of men were in the field, and hundreds of millions of dollars had been borrowed by the North to prosecute the war. Prices of all kinds of farm produce rose with startling rapidity, and an enormous trade sprang up with Canada, where the benefits of the Reciprocity Treaty were never so fully felt before. The free entrance of Canadian products to American markets gave the former an immense advantage in the matter of cheap production, as she escaped the enormous internal taxation which the United States government found itself obliged to impose to meet the expenses of the war. Especially was the trade in horses stimulated by the great demand for them caused by the large quantities needed by the cavalry and artillery; and troops of horse dealers from New York, Vermont and the neighboring states, were constantly in Canada buying up all the surplus stock they could find, and as nothing was too old or too poor to sell to the government, many a farmer got a first class price for an animal he had considered utterly useless and had turned out to die in peace. This prosperity continued during the war, and had a most beneficial effect in restoring a healthy tone to the agricultural interests, which had suffered greatly from poor harvests and low prices, added to a more expensive and luxurious mode of living into which the farmers had gradually fallen, and which only too frequently led to a mortgage on the farm, if not worse. Besides the better market opened to her produce, Canada was also benefited greatly during the war by the large floating population which came to her from both North and South, causing money to be exceedingly plentiful; indeed, so plentiful that while specie

Beneficial effect on Canada of the American War.

payments were suspended in the States, Canada was groaning under a plethora of silver, which got to be regarded as a "nuisance," and of which we shall have to speak further on.

6.—Parliament met at Quebec on the thirteenth of February, 1863, and it was soon evident that the Macdonald-Sicotte ministry was not strong; but it managed to avoid defeat on the address, although twice attacked on the question of representation by population, which was now rapidly growing in popular favor in Upper Canada. Since his defeat in Toronto at the general election of 1861, Mr. Brown had not had a seat in the House, but he was now elected for South Oxford, in place of Dr. Connor, who had been elevated to a judgeship in the Court of Queen's Bench. The ministry continued to lose favor, and the budget speech of Mr. Howland destroyed what little confidence was left, for in spite of the increased taxation the revenue was still less than the expenditure. Mr. John A. Macdonald now moved a direct vote of want of confidence, and the government was defeated by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-nine. The ministry preferring an appeal to the country to resignation, Parliament was prorogued on the twelfth of May, and a general election followed. Mr. Macdonald tried to strengthen his cabinet by reconstructing it before election, taking in some of the Brownites of Upper Canada, and some of the Lower Canada Rouges, but the effort was not very successful, for he lost about as much as he gained, and the action was assailed by the opposition press as unconstitutional, on the ground that an appeal to the country was granted to the Macdonald-Sicotte government, not to the Macdonald-Dorin government, as it had now become. The new Parliament met on the thirteenth of August; and after a very acrimonious debate of fourteen days' duration, the address was carried by the narrow majority of three, out of a house of one hundred and twenty-three.

Defeat of the Macdonald-Sicotte administration. An appeal to the country.

7.—The financial position of Canada was now rapidly becoming very critical. The host of railway and other schemes sprung upon the country by the Hincks administration had caused a rapid increase of the public debt, and each successive government had gone on borrowing as long as it could find tenders; but matters were now fast approaching a climax. The province owed about \$70,000,000, which required \$5,563,263 to pay the interest, and the revenue had been falling behind the expenditure ever since 1857, so that the deficit now amounted to about \$12,000,000. Added to this, the estimates for the year were unusually heavy, amounting to \$15,119,200, of which \$4,294,000 was required for the redemption of seigniorial tenure bonds. To add to the embarrassment of the government the question of the termination of the

Satisfactory financial condition of the Province.

Reciprocity Treaty now began to be seriously agitated in the States. This treaty had been found very beneficial to Canada, but the impression in the United States was that it favored this country too much; which, added to the general feeling of irritation against both England and Canada, on account of their sympathy with the South, led to a strong demand for the non-renewal of the treaty when the ten years were up, and Congress, during the session of 1863, passed a bill authorizing the President to give notice to the British and Canadian governments that the treaty would be terminated. In spite of all its difficulties, however, the Macdonald-Dorion government managed to get through the session, although supported by a very slender majority, and Parliament was prorogued on the fifteenth of October.

8.—The year 1864 did not open propitiously for the ministry. The office of solicitor-general west, had been left vacant when the cabinet was last reconstructed: it was now filled by the appointment of Mr. Albert N. Richards, member for South Leeds, who had been returned at last election by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five; but on returning to his constituents for re-election after taking office, he was defeated by seventy-five. This was a serious blow to the ministry, as it left it with only a majority of one; and on the meeting of Parliament, on the nineteenth of February, 1864, after vainly striving to strengthen his cabinet, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had no course left him but to resign. The formation of a cabinet was entrusted to Sir Etienne P. Taché, a member of the Legislative Council and a conservative, who with the assistance of Messrs. Cartier and John A. Macdonald formed the following cabinet: receiver-general and minister of militia, Sir E. P. Taché; attorney-general east, George E. Cartier; minister of finance, Alexander T. Galt; commissioner of public works, Jean Louis Chapais; minister of agriculture, Thomas D'Arcy McGee; solicitor-general east, Hector Louis Langevin; attorney-general west, John A. Macdonald; commissioner of crown lands, Alexander Campbell; president of council, Isaac Buchanan; postmaster-general, M. H. Foley; provincial secretary, John Simpson; solicitor-general west, James Cockburn. The announced programme of the new cabinet was—the remodelling of the militia in the best manner possible without increasing the expense; the maintenance of the Reciprocity Treaty; if possible, a commercial union with the Maritime Provinces; general economy and reform in fiscal matters, and the question of representation by population to be left an open one. The House was adjourned to the third of May to enable ministers to appeal to their constituents, an act which resulted in the re-election of all the ministers except Mr. Foley, who was defeated by a Mr. Bonman, in North Waterloo.

9.—There was no change in the animus of the House,

although the *personel* was varied a little; but the same factious spirit displayed itself immediately after the re-assembling of the House on the third of May, and on the thirteenth the ministry only escaped defeat on a

Defeat of the Taché-Macdonald government. A political dead-lock.

straight motion of want of confidence, by a bare majority of two, in a House of one hundred and twenty-six. After fighting along for a month, with very meagre majorities, the government was finally defeated on the fourteenth of June on a vote of want of confidence arising out of a loan of \$100,000 made to Montreal five years before, the vote standing sixty to fifty-eight, Messrs. Rankin and Dunkin having changed from the ministerial side to opposition. Matters had now reached a climax, and the government of the province was at a perfect dead-lock. Every party had in turn tried to form a cabinet which could win general support, and each in turn had failed; party spirit and the fight of factions had so completely hampered the hands of each administration, that no one could now be found willing to undertake the task of attempting to assimilate the various and conflicting phases of political opinion, and form a cabinet which would receive anything like a popular support. The more thoughtful and considerate of both sides paused to reflect, and endeavor to find some means to break the dead-lock. Another appeal to the country would be useless as the last few general elections had shown that certain localities were wedded to certain ideas, and would only return men pledged to carry out those ideas; it therefore remained to find some means which would not only afford temporary relief, but would put the administration of the future on a firm and solid basis, not so liable to suffer from local jealousies, or mere personal or party-political spite; and the only remedy suggesting itself to those who were inclined to consider the matter calmly, coolly, and from a patriotic instead of a partisan stand-point, was a confederation of all the British North American Provinces, or failing that, the substitution of a Federal instead of a Legislative Union for the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, or, in other words, to take into serious consideration Mr. Brown's "joint-authority" scheme.

10.—The supplies were hurried through the House, and Parliament was adjourned on the thirteenth of June, but prior this, on the twenty-seventh inst., Mr. John A. Macdonald read a long document to the House, setting forth the

A coalition government formed to carry out confederation.

basis of an agreement entered into between Mr. George Brown and himself—with the advice and assistance of their respective friends—for the formation of a Coalition Government to conduct the business of the country for the present, with a view to effecting a Confederation of the British North American Provinces, or at least of a Federal Union for Canada, each province, in either event, to have sole control of all matters purely local. In order

Bowman

that the programme might be satisfactorily carried out, three seats in the cabinet were offered to Mr. Brown and his supporters, and the following changes were announced before prorogation: Messrs. Buchanan, Simpson, and Foley retired, and their places were taken by Messrs. George Brown, William McDougall and Oliver Mowat, as president of the council, provincial secretary and post-master-general respectively. The cabinet so formed was a strong one, the strongest government the province had known for years, and enjoyed the full confidence of the people, although party spirit and personal spite still showed itself a little, as evidenced by Mr. Mathew Crooks Cameron running against Mr. McDougall for North Ontario, beating him by a hundred votes; Mr. McDougall, however, soon obtained a seat for North Lanark. The ministry now set itself zealously to work to promote confederation. The Maritime Provinces were about to meet in convention at Charlottetown, P. E. I., and delegates from Canada attended. A subsequent meeting was held at Quebec, in October, for particulars of which we refer our reader to chapter 102.

11.—The summer of 1864 was marked by the most terrible railway accident which has occurred in Canada, and which was occasioned by a gross act of carelessness on the part of the engineer, who, however, paid the penalty with his life, together with other employees on the train. On the morning of the twenty-ninth of June, an emigrant train of eleven cars, having on board three hundred and fifty-four German emigrants, on their way up from Quebec, on the Grand Trunk line, left St. Hillaire station for Montreal. On reaching the bridge across the Richelieu River at Belœil, the engineer did not stop, as is customary, but ran his train right on to the bridge, the draw of which happened to be open to let some barges through, and in a few seconds the whole train was one confused mass of broken cars, crushing to death the unfortunate inmates. The cars piled up on the barges, which were broken and sunk, and it was with great difficulty that the passengers could be got out, many being drowned before they could be extricated. About ninety persons were killed and a large number wounded by this sad accident.

12.—The large number of strangers who made Canada their temporary home during the war, were not quite an unmixed blessing; although their presence caused a good deal of money to circulate, they gave great trouble and caused much annoyance to the government by their partisan conduct; a course which was also followed by a large portion of the Canadian press which was violently "Sesesh" in its tone, and the general feeling of the people was decidedly in favor of the South. But the strong Southern feeling led to unfortunate results, and greatly imperilled the peace of Great Britain and the United States. Numbers of

Southerners made Canada—especially Montréal, Toronto and Quebec—their residences, so as to have free communication with their friends in New York and other northern cities, where there was a strong feeling in favor of the South. As the condition of the South became more and more desperate; as the Northern armies pressed closer and closer around the brave but slender forces of the confederacy, and there seemed no longer to be any hope for them against Grant's overpowering numbers, the Southern leaders grew reckless as to the means they used to inflict damage and injury on the North, plots of all kinds were formed in the South, and an attempt was made to use Canada as a base of operation for carrying them out. In September, 1864, a party of Southerners seized, on lake Erie, the American steamers *Philo Parsons* and *Island Queen*, with the intention of attempting to release the Southern prisoners confined on Johnson's Island, but beyond partly plundering the vessel nothing further was done. Another outrage was planned in Canada, and executed on the nineteenth of October, 1864, when a party of twenty-three Southerners passed from Canada to the frontier town of St. Albans, in Vermont, robbed the banks of nearly a quarter of a million dollars, shot the cashier of one of the banks, and made good their escape to Canada. Prompt measures were taken by the Canadian authorities to arrest the perpetrators of this outrage, and fourteen of them were captured and \$90,000 of the plunder recovered. The raiders were tried at Montreal in December, before Police Magistrate Coursol, and by some legal *hocus pocus*, were hurriedly released, and chief of Police Lamothe, not to be outdone in politeness, returned the \$90,000 to them in a great hurry and they got out of the city as speedily as possible, as warrants for their re-arrest were being issued. This over zeal on the part of Mr. Lamothe cost him his place, and the province \$90,000, which it subsequently had to make good; but a generous reform government, has since recognized Mr. Lamothe's claims to consideration for the inconvenience he then suffered by making him Postmaster at Montreal. The St. Albans' raid, and the subsequent release of the raiders, caused intense excitement in the United States, and the more violent portion of the press demanded an immediate declaration of war with England; but more peaceful counsels prevailed; the Canadian government rectified, as far as was in its power, the fault of its officers in allowing the raiders to escape with their plunder, and a force of thirty companies of volunteers was called out and stationed on the frontier to prevent any more breaches of the neutrality laws, or outrages on American cities: and the ill-feeling engendered by the St. Albans' raid gradually subsided.

13.—Parliament met at Quebec on the nineteenth of January, 1865, and the governor in his opening speech before that body referred to the St. Albans' raid, and

Railway accident at Belœil bridge. 90 persons killed.

Troublesome visitors. Raid on the St. Albans Banks.

Confederation resolution adopted by both Houses. recommended the formation of a detective force, and the passage of an act giving him greater power to deal with persons who violated the laws of neutrality. He spoke strongly in favor of confederation, and said the colonial secretary had informed him that he was prepared to introduce a bill into the imperial Parliament, as soon as the different provincial Parliaments should have agreed on the subject. The debate on the address showed that a wonderful change had come over the spirit of the House, for instead of its lasting a week or two, as had become the rule, it was adopted in one day, the only amendment being to the effect that confederation was not desirable, which was lost by a vote of sixty-four to twenty-five. In the Legislative Council the Hon. E. P. Taché moved the following resolution on the third of February: "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that she may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the imperial Parliament, for the purpose of uniting the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, in one government, with provisions based on the resolutions, which were adopted at a conference of delegates from the said colonies, at the city of Quebec, on the tenth of October, 1864." The resolutions were then set forth in particular. After a long debate the resolution was adopted by a vote of forty-five to fifteen. In the lower House the Hon. John A. Macdonald introduced a similar motion the sixth of February. The debate lasted several weeks, the speech of the Hon. Christopher Dunkin, in opposition to the resolution, alone occupying two days and two nights. It is impossible to give even a brief resume here of these speeches, which were subsequently published by order of Parliament and occupy one thousand and thirty two octavo pages; suffice it to say that the position of Canada in the past was reviewed, and all the arguments for and against confederation fully discussed; the principal arguments in favor being that it would remedy the existing state of things in the province without interfering with local interests, as it would establish a general government for matters of general interest to all while it would leave local matters in the hands of the local government. Upper Canada would be satisfied by the introduction of the principle of representation by population in the general government, while the French of Lower Canada would be assured that their laws, language and religion would not be interfered with by those subjects being left to the local legislature. Before the debate was finished, news was received that New Brunswick had pronounced against confederation by rejecting nearly all the supporters of confederation at a general election, and the ministers, therefore, pressed the discussion to a vote, which resulted in the adoption of the Union resolutions by ninety-one votes to thirty-three

—there being only five members absent from the House when the roll was called.*

14.—Parliament was prorogued on the eighteenth of March, after having passed a number of useful bills, amongst them one providing \$1,000,000 for defence, and a deputation consisting of Messrs. John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, George Brown and Alexander T. Galt proceeded to England, in April, to further the scheme of confederation. While these events were progressing in Canada, the war in the United States was slowly but surely drawing to a close. For over a year General Grant had beleaguered Richmond with bull-dog persistency, and although repulsed again and again by General Lee, his ever-increasing numbers rendered the ultimate defeat of the South only a matter of time, cut off as it was from any hope of help by either land or sea. On the second of April, 1865, Richmond capitulated, and shortly after General Lee, finding further resistance useless, surrendered his whole army of about twenty-seven thousand men, to General Grant, at Appomatox Court House, and the Southern rebellion was at an end. The defeat of the South was deeply regretted in Canada, but that feeling was quickly changed to grief and abhorrence as the telegraph flashed the news on the morning of the fifteenth of April, that President Lincoln had been foully murdered the previous evening by John Wilkes Booth, while he was witnessing the comedy of "Our American Cousin," in Ford's Theatre, Washington. The assassin entered the private box of the President, just as the third act of the play had commenced, shot the President in the back of the head, and sprang on to the stage, shouting *Sic semper tyrannis*, the motto of the State of Virginia—from whence he made good his escape for the time being; but having broken his leg by the jump, he was easily tracked, and was shot in a barn a few days after by a party of

* As it may prove interesting to our readers we give the vote on this important resolution.

Yeas.—Messrs. Alleyon, Archambault, Ault, Beaubien, Bell, Bellrose, Blanchet, Bowman, Bown, Brosseau, Brown, Burwell, Cameron (Peel), Carling, Attorney-General, Cartier, Cartright, Cauchon, Chambers, Chapais, Cockburn, Cornellier, Cowan, Currier, DeBoucherville, Denis, DeNiverville, Dickson, Dufresne (Montcalm), Dunaford, Evanturel, Ferguson (Frontenac), Ferguson (South Simcoe), Galt, Gaucher, Gandet, Gibbs, Howard, Haultain, Higginson, Howland, Huot, Irvine, Jackson, Jones (North Leeds and Grenville), Jones (South Leeds), Knight, Langevin, LeBoutillier, Attorney-General Macdonald, Macfarlane, Mackenzie (Lambton), Mackenzie (North Oxford), Magill, McCoukey, McDougall, McGee, McGiverin, McIntyre, McKellar, Morris, Morrison, Parker, Pope, Poulin, Poupore, Powell Rankin, Raymond, Remillard, Robitaille, Rose, Ross (Champlain), Ross (Dundas), Ross (Prince Edward), Scoble, Shanly, Smith (East Durham), Smith (Toronto East), Sumerville, Stirton, Street, Sylvain, Thompson, Walsh, Webb, Wells, White, Wilson, Wood, Wright (Ottawa County), Wright (East York), — 91.

Nays.—Messrs. Biggar, Bourassor, Cameron (North Ontario), Caron, Coupal, Dorion (Drummond and Arthabaska), Dorion (Hochelaga), Duckett, Dufresne (Iberville), Fortier, Gagnon, Geoffrin, Holton, Houde, Huntington, Joly, LaBreche, Viger, Laframboise, Lajoie, Macdonald (Cornwall), Macdonald (Glengarry), Macdonald (Toronto West), O'Halloran, Paquet, Perrault, Pisonneault, Pouliot, Rymal, Scateherd, Taschereau, Thibandean, Tremblay, Wallbridge (North Hastings), — 33.

United States cavalry sent in pursuit. Lincoln never recovered consciousness after the fatal shot was fired, and died early next morning. The news of the foul deed sent a thrill of horror throughout Canada, and the day of the murdered President's funeral was generally observed in Montreal, and other cities, as a day of mourning, while resolutions were passed at public meetings, and by the municipal bodies, deprecating the assassination, and expressing the utmost sympathy for the people of the North.

15.—Some little anxiety was felt in Canada for a short time after the assassination of President Lincoln, as to the course which would be pursued by his successor, Vice-President Andrew Johnson; but the peaceful relations existing between the two countries was not disturbed, although the ill-feeling entertained towards Canada was evinced by the refusal, on the part of the United States, to entertain any proposition for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and formal notice of its abrogation in March, 1866. The summer of 1865 was not an eventful one for Canada, with the exception of a large fire at Quebec, which occurred on the twenty-third of June, destroying a large number of wooden buildings, and property to the value of over one million of dollars, and leaving upwards of three thousand people houseless and destitute. In July, Sir Etienne P. Taché, president of the Council, died at the age of seventy-one, deeply regretted by all classes, both French and English. He took an active part in the war of 1812-15, and was always strongly in favor of a continuance of the connection with Great Britain as the surest means of preserving the laws, religion and language of the French Canadians, and a favorite expression of his was that "the last shot that would be fired on the American continent in the defence of the British flag, would be by a French Canadian. Mr. Gray, in his *History of Confederation*, pays the following just tribute to his memory: "He passed away full of honors and of years, and the future historian of Canada will refer to him as one who left to his countrymen of French descent a name without reproach; to his countrymen of English descent the noble example of a man rising above the prejudices of race, and devoting himself to the advancement of all without distinction. A good man and a true patriot, his memory will long be revered by the statesmen over whom he presided, and by the people whom he loved.

16.—Parliament met for the last time at Quebec on the eighth of August, 1865, the new buildings at Ottawa being now nearly completed. A conference was held between Messrs. Macdonald and Brown as to his successor in the Cabinet, which resulted in the acceptance of the position of Premier by Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, on the understanding that the

Large fire in Quebec. Death of Sir E. P. Taché.

A quiet session.

policy with regard to Confederation, agreed on in 1864, should be carried out as nearly on the original terms as the difficulties which had arisen in the Maritime Provinces would permit of. The session was an unusually short one, as the large majority had by the government enabled it to push its measures through with rapidity, and the session was principally noticeable for the large amount of private bills passed, the only public measure of any importance passed being one imposing a stamp duty on notes and bills. Some attention was paid to the subject of a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and dispatches from the Colonial Secretary laid before the House, in which he informed the governor that he had instructed Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister at Washington, to assist the Canadian Cabinet all that lay in his power in its negotiations for a renewal of the treaty. The colonial secretary also assured the governor of the willingness of the Home government to assist all it possibly could the scheme of Confederation, a line of policy which was not affected by the death of the English Premier, Lord Palmerston, in October. Nothing of special moment occurred during the latter part of the year, except the removal of the government offices to Ottawa in the fall, and a little excitement about the warlike preparations in the States of the Fenian Brotherhood, of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER CXIII.

PROVINCE OF CANADA—GOVERNMENT OF LORD MONCK—(Continued).

1. FORMATION OF THE COUNCIL ON COMMERCIAL TREATIES.—2. ATTEMPT TO GET THE RECIPROCITY TREATY RENEWED.—3. HOW THE ABOGATION OF THE RECIPROCITY TREATY HELPED CONFEDERATION.—4. FIRST THREATENINGS OF THE FENIAN INVASION.—5. THE FENIANS, ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED STRONG, CROSS AT FORT ERIE.—6. VICTORY OF THE FENIANS AT RIDGEWAY.—7. RETREAT OF THE FENIANS.—8. END OF THE FENIAN INVASION.—9. LAST SESSION OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF CANADA.—10. TWENTY-THOUSAND PERSONS BURNED OUT AT QUEBEC. TRIAL OF THE FENIANS. CONFEDERATION.

1.—The threatened abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty was regarded with alarm by a portion of the people of Canada; and the government found itself called on not only to make every effort to have it renewed, but to provide other channels for trade in the event of all attempts of a prolongation of the period of the treaty failing. The

Formation of the Council on Commercial Treaties.

trade which had sprung up under this treaty had assumed vast proportions, and now aggregated about \$70,000,000 per annum, an amount of commerce which Canada was naturally anxious to retain; but the Americans were irritated at the countenance given to the South during the war by Canada, and now sought revenge by the abrogation of the treaty, and an encouragement of the Fenian organization. Our government acted temperately and moderately in the matter. On the fifteenth of July, 1865, a minute in Council was adopted to send two members of the cabinet to Washington to confer with Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister, with regard to a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty; but before any action was taken, a despatch was received from the Home government suggesting the formation of a Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties, to consist of delegates from the various provinces, and to be presided over by the governor-general, for the purpose of making such suggestions as may be thought proper to her majesty's government on the subject of commercial treaties in which the interests of the provinces were especially involved. In accordance with this suggestion the Council was formed at Quebec early in September, 1865, and consisted of the following gentlemen; Messrs. Brown and Galt for Canada, Ritchie for Nova Scotia, Wilmot for New Brunswick, Pope for Prince Edward Island, and Shea for Newfoundland; Messrs. Cartier and Macdonald were also, by courtesy, permitted to take part in the discussions of the Council.

2.—Under the notice from the United States the treaty was to expire on the seventeenth of March, 1866. The

Attempt to get the Reciprocity Treaty renewed.

Council on Commercial Treaties, therefore, took action as speedily as possible, and, on the eighteenth of September, 1865, drew up a series of resolutions to the effect that the colonies were satisfied with the existing treaty, but that in the event of a new one being entered into the coasting trade and registration of vessels ought to be included. The council also recommended that in the event of negotiations being entered into, some of the members of the council should go to Washington, and if final arrangements could not be made before the seventeenth of March, an effort should be made to extend the treaty until such time as the negotiations could be completed. The council also recommended that steps be taken to enable the provinces to open communication with the West Indies, Spain and her colonies, and South America, for the purposes of trade. Messrs. Galt and Howland of Canada, Smith of New Brunswick, and Henry of Nova Scotia went to Washington as delegates on the first of January, 1866, and opened communication with the United States authorities, through the British minister. The advances of the Canadian delegates were met with the utmost coldness, and it was speedily evident that the United States did not intend to consider any terms to which Canada could by any possibility submit.

On the sixth of February, 1866, the delegates became convinced that they could accomplish nothing, and sent the following reply to the committee of ways and means: "In reference to the memorandum received from the committee of ways and means, the Provincial delegates regret to be obliged to state, that the proposals therein contained, in regard to the commercial relations between the two countries, are not such as they can recommend for the adoption of their respective legislatures. The imposts which it is proposed to lay upon the productions of the British Provinces, on their entry into the markets of the United States, are such as, in their opinion, will be in some cases prohibitory, and will certainly seriously interfere with the natural course of trade. These imposts are so much beyond what the delegates conceive to be an equivalent for the internal taxation of the United States, that they are reluctantly brought to the conclusion that the committee no longer desire the trade between the two countries to be carried on upon the principles of reciprocity. With the concurrence of the British minister at Washington, they are therefore obliged respectfully to decline to enter into the engagement suggested in the memorandum." *

3.—Thus ended the efforts to renew a treaty under which the trade between the two countries had grown to such colossal proportions, that the American politicians fondly hoped that its sudden withdrawal would throw Canada into such commercial straits that she would

How the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty helped Confederation.

* It will be recollected that under the Reciprocity Treaty the products of the farm, the forest, and the mine passed free between the two countries; in order to show the difference proposed by the United States we give the memorandum submitted by the committee of ways and means, as follows: 1st. That they should decline to admit free any article whatever from Canada, with the exception of burr millstones, saws, firewood, grindstones, plaster, and gypsum.

2d. That they ask a right to fish as at present. They would abolish the present fish bounties, but impose an import duty more than an equivalent to these bounties.

3d. That the navigation arrangement would continue, providing that no discrimination as to tolls should be made between United States and British craft.

4th. That the present bonding system should continue.

5th. That the following should be the duties levied on other articles proposed to be included in this treaty: animals, living of all sorts, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Apples, and garden fruit and vegetables, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Barley, 15 cents per bushel. Beans, except Vanilla and Castor oil, 30 cents per bushel. Beef, 1 cent per pound. Buckwheat, 10 cents per bushel. Butter, 4 cents per pound. Cheese, 4 cents per pound. Corn, Indian and Oats, 10 cents per bushel. Corn meal, Indian and Oatmeal, 15 cents per bushel. Coal, Bituminous, 50 cents per ton. Coal, all other kinds, 25 cents per ton. Flour, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Hams, 2 cents per pound. Hay, \$1 per ton. Hides, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Lard, 3 cents per pound. Lumber, pine, round or log, \$1.50 per 1,000 feet. Pine, sawed or hewn, \$2.50 per 1,000 feet; planed, tongued and grooved, or finished, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Spruce, and hemlock, sawed or hewn, \$1 per 1,000 feet. Spruce, planed, finished, or partly finished, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Shingle bolts, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Shingles, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. All other lumber of black walnut, chestnut, bass, white-wood, ash, oak—round, hewn or sawed, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. If planed, tongued and grooved, or finished, 25 per cent *ad valorem*. Oars, 10 per cent *ad valorem*. Peas, 25 cents per bushel. Pork, 1 cent per pound. Potatoes, 10 cents per bushel. Seed, timothy and clover, 20 per cent *ad valorem*. Trees, plants and shrubs, ornamental and fruit, 15 per cent *ad valorem*. Tallow, 2 cents per pound. Wheat, 20 cents per bushel.

be glad to beg to be annexed to the United States; but for once the American politicians were wrong, for instead of causing any desire for annexation, the abrogation of the treaty drew the provinces closer together, hastened confederation, and thereby greatly increased an inter-provincial trade which, to a great extent, supplied a market for the productions of the various provinces hitherto furnished to the United States under the Reciprocity Treaty. The abrogation of the treaty caused a great change in the channels of Canadian commerce; instead of her produce being furnished, to a great extent, to the United States and filtered through American markets to foreign ones as American goods, Canada was now thrown into sharp competition with the States in the articles which both produce, and as the experience of ten years has shown, Canada has been able to hold her own. New markets were sought, and direct trade opened up to ports which had hitherto only been reached by Canadian products through American ports. In January, 1866, the Commission appointed at the suggestion of the Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties, proceeded to the British and Foreign West India Islands, Brazil and Mexico, and made valuable inquiries with regard to commerce with those countries, which have since led to considerable trade springing up between them and Canada.* Besides giving Canada an incentive to build up a foreign trade of her own, the abrogation of the treaty had an immediate good effect, as it took away all the surplus stock, and in-

* This Commission consisted of Hon. William Macdougall and Messrs. Ryan, Delisle and Duncomb on behalf of Canada; Messrs. Macdonald and Levisconte on behalf of Nova Scotia; Mr. William Smith, Comptroller of Customs at St. John, on behalf of New Brunswick; and Hon. W. H. Pope, on behalf of Prince Edward Island. The Commissioners reported in May, 1866, making the following suggestions:

1st. To establish promptly a line of steamers suitable for the carriage of mails, passengers and freight between Halifax, N. S., and St. Thomas in the West Indies, touching (until the completion of the Intercolonial Railway) at Portland, in the United States, so as to ensure regular semi-monthly communication between the ports mentioned.

2d. To make a convention or agreement with the postal authorities of the United States for the prompt transmission of letters, &c., from Canada and the Maritime Provinces, by every United States mail which leaves the port of Boston or New York for the West Indies, Brazil, Mexico, &c., and also for the transmission through the United States mails of correspondence originating in those countries.

3d. To establish a weekly line of steamers between Montreal and Halifax, and to complete, as soon as possible, the Intercolonial Railway.

4th. To procure, by reciprocal treaties or otherwise, a reduction of the duties now levied on flour, fish, lumber, pork, butter, and other staple productions of British North America, in the West Indies, and especially with Brazil and the Colonies of Spain.

5th. To obtain, if possible, from the Spanish and Brazilian authorities, a remission of the heavy dues now chargeable on the transfer of vessels from the British to the Spanish and Brazilian flags.

6th. To procure, by negotiation with the proper authorities, an assimilation of the tariffs of the British West India Colonies in respect to flour, lumber, fish and other staples of British North America, a measure which would greatly facilitate commercial operations, and may well be urged in view of the assimilation about to be made in the tariff of Canada and the Maritime Provinces.

7th, and lastly. To promote, by prudent legislation and a sound fiscal policy, the solid development of the great natural resources of the British North American Provinces, and to present, as far as lies in their power, the advantage which they never possessed of being able to produce at a cheaper cost than any other country most of the great staples which the inhabitants of the tropics must procure from Northern ports.

deed, almost more than could be spared, by the endeavors of the American purchasers to buy in the cheapest market as long as their government would let them; and a large amount of ready money found its way into Canada immediately before the expiration of the treaty, in exchange for produce. 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. Colonel Gray truly says: "To this action of the American government on the question of reciprocity, and to the Trent affair, the rapid achievement of Canadian Union may be mainly attributed. It would have come in time, but the latter, acting upon the British government, and the former upon the British Provinces, brought it about at once; and if hereafter a great Northern nation should spring from the Confederation, rivalling the United States in power, in constitutional freedom, in commercial enterprise and in the development of all those elements of strength which indicate a progressive and contented people, rivals in all the pursuits of peace, and equals in the emergencies of war, the United States will have to look back to their own action in 1862 and 1865, as one of the main conducting causes."

4.—The discussion on the Reciprocity Treaty caused a change in the cabinet, Mr. Brown differing from his colleagues and retiring from the board in January, 1866. His place as president of the Council was taken by Mr. Howland, and Mr. Ferguson Blair succeeded Mr. Howland. We have to turn aside from the consideration of confederation for a moment, to chronicle a most wanton breach of the laws of nations, and one which, without having any direct bearing on confederation, still showed the necessity for a combination on the part of the provinces to resist the attack of an outside foe. All through the winter of 1865-6, the formation of a society known as the Fenian Brotherhood, for the avowed purpose of invading Canada and using that country as a basis of operations against England for the "liberation" of Ireland, was not only allowed but openly encouraged in the United States. The Fenians were divided into two parties, one under Stephens and O'Mahoney, making Ireland their objective point; while the other, under Sweeney and Roberts proposed to conquer Canada. An immense number of "centres" were formed, not only in almost every one of the Northern States, but also in Canada, where some misguided men were found foolish enough to join in the mad scheme. The threat of invasion was openly made and General

Sweeney's programme published, the plan being a series of combined movements from various points, on St. Patrick's Day, the 17th of March, the very day of the expiration of the Reciprocity Treaty. Ten thousand volunteers were called out in Canada, and sprang to arms with alacrity; but the 17th of March came and went, and no offensive move was made. In April a slight demonstration was made in New Brunswick, as already mentioned, but by the middle of May everything looked so quiet on the frontier that some of the volunteers were allowed to go home.

5.—The close of the war in April, 1865, gave a great impetus to the Fenian movement. Thousands of men who served in the army—many of them lawless individuals, the scum of the large cities, who had either been tempted by the high bounties, or had enlisted to escape the meshes of the law—were suddenly disbanded and thrown on the country to support themselves. A short term of service had rendered these men disinclined for the usual peaceful avocations of life, and ready for any wild adventure which promised excitement and profit; and it was not long, therefore, before thousands of them joined themselves to the Fenian leaders, and were ready to make a descent on Canada and sack her fair cities. Active preparations were commenced about the middle of May, the Fenian leaders proposing to make simultaneous attacks from Chicago and other western cities, on the Lake Huron district; from Buffalo and Rochester on the Niagara frontier, and from Ogdensburg on Ottawa and Montreal. That the Fenians could have the audacity to prepare so bold a plan, and one requiring such considerable resources, shows not only the extent of the movement but the immunity from interference by the United States authorities, of which they felt assured. During the last week in May, the city of Buffalo was fairly alive with bands of the intending marauders, who assembled there from New York and other Atlantic cities; and early on the morning of the first of June, General O'Neil and twelve hundred men crossed the Niagara River at Blackrock, and took possession of the ruins of old Fort Erie, and also of the depot of the Buffalo and Lake Huron railway; but fortunately the rolling stock had all been removed. After the crossing had been made the United States authorities made an ostentatious display of preventing it, and the war steamer *Michigan* patrolled the river all day, but made no effort to stop the small boats with provisions and reinforcements from crossing, and numbers came over during the day. O'Neil remained at Fort Erie during Friday, and beyond taking all the provisions he wanted for his men, and all the horses he could find, did not offer any injury to the inhabitants. If he had expected any rising in his favor he was disappointed, for not half a dozen persons joined him. After resting his men Friday night, he made a display in force on Saturday

The Fenians, 1,200 strong, cross at Fort Erie.

morning down the Niagara River; but quickly returning to Fort Erie he left a guard there to keep his communications with Buffalo open, and marched the main body of his force ten miles towards the Welland Canal, to a place called Limeridge, where he took up a good position on a slight elevation and began to throw up breastworks.

6.—The news of the invasion spread rapidly and caused a feeling of the utmost indignation throughout Canada, volunteers sprang to arms, and much enthusiasm was displayed, but unfortunately there was also much mismanagement and want of proper organization, so that the blow struck at the Fenians was not near so effective as it should have been, and was attended with greater loss of life than was necessary, the fault lying in the inexperience and incompetency of the officers, and their woeful ignorance of the country in which they were operating. Immediately on hearing of the invasion, the Queen's Own, of Toronto, a volunteer corps composed mostly of college boys; the 13th Hamilton volunteers, and the York and Caledonia volunteers, were despatched to Port Colborne to protect the Welland Canal. This force was about nine hundred strong and was under command of Colonel Booker, an inexperienced volunteer officer, who trusted too much to his own supposed wisdom, and did not obey the orders of his superior, officer, Colonel Peacock. Meanwhile other troops had been hastily gathering on the Niagara frontier, and late on Friday night seven hundred and fifty regulars and about one thousand volunteers, the whole under command of Colonel Peacock, had assembled at Chippewa, where it was expected that Colonel Booker would join him. Early on Saturday morning that officer left Port Colborne, and advanced six miles by rail and three on foot to form a junction with Peacock. The utmost ignorance prevailed as to the whereabouts of O'Neil, but he was generally supposed to be still at Fort Erie, and Booker was greatly surprised when he encountered the Fenian outposts at Limeridge (or Ridgeway), about nine o'clock on Saturday morning. Instead of withdrawing his men, and awaiting a junction with Peacock's forces, he rashly determined on an attack with the few raw forces he had. The Queen's Own were thrown forward in skirmishing order and drove back the Fenian outposts; but the advance of a few horsemen threw the volunteers into confusion while trying to form a square, and a discharge of musketry caused the panic so common with raw troops, and Booker's whole force was soon in full retreat, having had one officer and six men killed, and four officers and nineteen men wounded. The loss of the Fenians was slight, but has never been correctly stated.

Victory of the Fenians at Ridgeway.

7.—Although O'Neil had achieved an easy victory he was not disposed to follow it up by pursuing Booker's demoralized command, but, learning that Colonel Peacock was advancing against

Retreat of the Fenians.

him with a body of regulars and some artillery, he determined to retreat to Fort Erie, and keep open his communication with Buffalo; he accordingly fell back rapidly on the fort, arriving there about two o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile a tug-boat from Port Colborne, with Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis and a company of about seventy men, had arrived at the fort, captured the sixty Fenians left in charge of it, and taken possession. O'Neil on his arrival at once attacked the fort and speedily recaptured it, thirteen of the volunteers being wounded and forty made prisoners; he did not recapture his own prisoners, however, as they had been conveyed to the tug and secured in the hold. The Fenians lost five men in the attack besides many wounded. Meanwhile the Fenian sympathizers in Buffalo were making great efforts to reinforce O'Neil; and near midnight about four hundred men, with plenty of arms and provisions, were embarked in two canal boats, and towed out of the harbor, with the intention of crossing to Fort Erie. But by this time O'Neil had made up his mind that he had had enough of Canada; already numbers of his men had deserted and escaped to the American side in small boats, and when he saw the barges being towed over, he sent a small boat to intercept them, ordered the troops to return, and the barges to be brought back empty for his men to recross to Buffalo. This was done, and early on Sunday morning about nine hundred of the Fenians embarked on the boats, and were tugged over to the American side; but here they met with a new difficulty, the American authorities were now fully aroused, and the armed propeller *Harrison* intercepted the boats, and soon had them anchored under the guns of the *Michigan*. The Fenians who were left on Canadian soil endeavored to escape as best they could, some crossed in small boats, others tried to cross on planks, and some took to the woods and were captured on Sunday, when Peacock's forces came up. The prisoners taken by the Fenians were left in Fort Erie, and those Fenians who had been captured were sent to Toronto jail.

8.—The Fenian organs in New York claimed that the movement of O'Neil was only intended as a feint, and, of course, magnified the success of the raid; and their second attempt the following week showed that a combined movement had been intended, but failed for want of proper organization. At the same time that O'Neil was invading Canada from Fort Erie, other bodies were collecting at Ogdensburg and St. Albans, the former being intended to cross to Prescott and attack Ottawa; but the rapid massing of two thousand troops at Prescott, and the appearance of a British gunboat in the river effectually checked any attempt to cross, and they moved downwards to Malone, menacing Cornwall, but the concentration of three thousand volunteers there foiled any effort in that direction. The last attempt at invasion was made from St.

End of the Fenian invasion.

Albans, from whence about two thousand men, under command of a man called Spear, crossed the border on the seventh of June and advanced three miles into the country to a place called Pigeon Hill, where they formed a camp and sent out parties foraging the country, robbing hen-roosts, &c.; but the advance of some troops on the eighth caused them to make a hasty retreat across the frontier, where Spear and some of the other leaders were arrested by the United States authorities. By this time President Johnson had discovered that unless he wanted to involve the United States in war with Great Britain, he must take rigorous measures to suppress the Fenians; he therefore despatched Meade to the Canada frontier, and that officer at once seized all the arms and ammunition he could find at Ogdensburg, prevented any more reinforcements coming North, arrested all the leaders he could catch, and sent the bulk of the Fenians back to New York and other points they had come from. Within a few days after Meade's arrival at Ogdensburg, all was quiet along the frontier; nor was any further attempt made during the summer; gunboats guarded the lakes and river and troops were stationed along the frontier so as to render any further attempt abortive. Thus ended the first Fenian raid. The actual loss inflicted was not very heavy, but the expense of calling out forty thousand volunteers, and keeping them in the field, was very great, and the loss of life was sadly felt throughout Canada. The University of Toronto erected a handsome monument to the memory of those who fell at Ridgeway, in the Queen's Park, Toronto; and a grateful country showed its appreciation of its citizen-soldiers by pensions to widows and orphans, and compensation to those who fell.

9.—While the Fenian excitement was still at its height Parliament assembled, on the eighth of June, for the first time in the new Parliament buildings, Ottawa. Lord Monck in opening the session spoke of the necessity for finding new channels for trade to supply the place of that lost by the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, and referred to the commission sent to the West Indies, &c., which we have already referred to. With reference to the Fenian invasion he asked to have the *Habeas Corpus* act suspended, and also said that the revenue receipts had been so much in excess of the estimates, that he had been able to meet the large expense caused by the raids out of current receipts. The most important act passed during the session was the one altering the tariff by reducing the rate on imported goods from twenty per cent to fifteen, but at the same time some encouragement was given to home manufactures by placing a number of articles, which entered largely into manufactures, on the free list. Resolutions were introduced and passed, defining the constitutions of Upper and Lower

Last session of the Parliament of the Province of Canada.

Canada after the proposed division of the Province of Canada, and these resolutions were afterwards embodied in the British North America Act. The writ of *Habeas Corpus* was suspended for a year, and several other useful measures passed, and the last session of the Province of Canada was brought to a close on the fifteenth of August. "Thus passed away in calm a constitution which, born in strife and turmoil, sprung from mal-administration and rebellion—forced upon a reluctant Province (the oldest and at the time the most important section of the Union), without consulting its people, and against the wishes of the majority of its inhabitants—had, nevertheless, during twenty-five years of unexampled prosperity and material progress, laid the foundation deep and strong of true Constitutional liberty, had removed the asperities of race, and taught the united descendants of France and England that the true source of their future greatness and power on this continent would lie in a mutual regard for each other's rights, a mutual forbearance for each other's prejudices, and a generous, strong, conjoint effort towards consolidating their extensive territories, and developing their vast resources under one government and one flag." *

10.—A wild attempt was made by some politicians in the United States, who feared to see a strong Confederation growing up in Canada, to sow the seeds of discord by introducing in the American House of Representatives a bill providing for the admission of Canada and the Maritime Provinces into the Union as four States; but the people of Canada only laughed at the idea, and the scheme failed utterly. The summer and fall were not marked with any very noticeable features, except that Quebec was again visited by a terrible fire, which swept away twenty-one hundred houses, and left nearly twenty thousand persons homeless and destitute. The whole of St. Roch suburb and most of St. Sauveur were destroyed, and the burnt district covered a space about one mile long by half a mile wide. The catas-

Twenty thousand persons burnt out at Quebec. Trial of the Fenians. Confederation.

* Gray's Confederation of Canada.

trophe called forth, as usual, the hearty sympathy and generous assistance of all the cities and towns in Canada, and considerable help was sent from England and other countries; but Quebec has never thoroughly recovered from the successive devastations of the fire fiend, added to the removal of the seat of government, and the loss of her trade by the rapid growth of Montreal, as the deepening of the channel through Lake St. Peter has allowed the largest ocean-going vessels to come up to the head of navigation, and "the ancient capital" has gradually fallen behind the other Canadian towns during the past few years. In October the trial of the Fenians took place at Toronto, and resulted in the discharge of all but a few of the ringleaders, the grand jury returning "no bill" against them. The leaders were, however, tried and condemned to be hung, but their sentences were afterwards commuted to imprisonment. Immediately after the prorogation of Parliament the governor-general and a deputation proceeded to England to complete the necessary arrangements for Confederation, an account of which mission we have already given in chapter 102; and on the first day of July, 1867,—just ten years from the day on which we write these lines,—the Dominion of Canada was born, amid the universal rejoicing of a happy people, whose faith that in union they would find strength, peace, and prosperity, has not been betrayed by an experience of ten years. In concluding this chapter we give, as usual, the names of the governors and administrators of the Province of Canada:

Baron Sydenham and Toronto,	1841.
Gen. Sir R. Jackson, Adm.,	1841.
Sir Charles Bagot,	1842.
Sir Charles Metcalfe,	1843.
Earl Cathcart,	1845.
Earl of Elgin and Kincardine,	1847.
Sir Edmund W. Head,	1854 and 1857.
Gen. Sir William Eyre, Adm.,	1857.
Lord Viscount Monck,	1861 and 1866.
Gen. Sir John Michel, Adm.,	1865.

