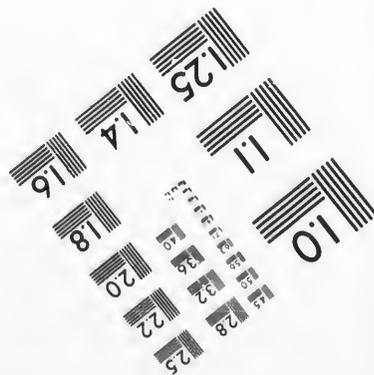
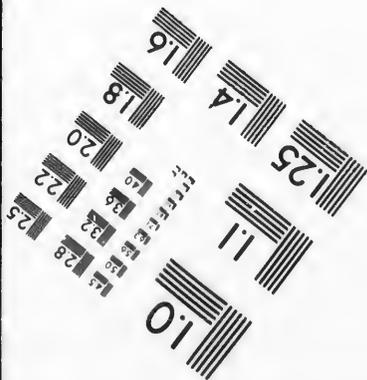
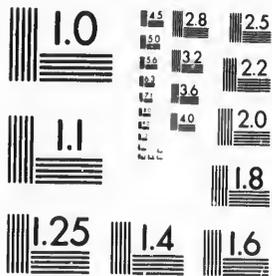


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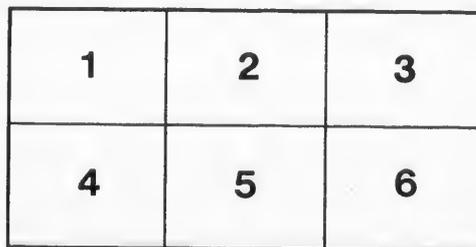
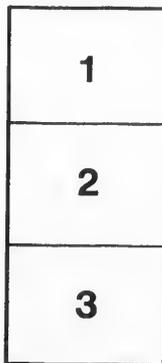
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II.—*Social and Economic Conditions of the British Provinces after the Canadian Rebellions, 1838-1840.*

By SIR JOHN BOURINOT, K.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L., Lit.D., (Laval).

(Read May 30, 1900.)

In 1838 the population of the five provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, was estimated at about one million four hundred thousand persons. In Upper Canada, with the exception of a very few people of German or Dutch descent, and a number of French Canadians opposite Detroit and in the Ottawa Valley, there was a large British population of at least four hundred thousand souls. The population of Lower Canada had increased six times since 1791, and was estimated at six hundred thousand, of whom hardly one quarter were of British origin, living chiefly in Montreal, the townships, and Quebec. Nova Scotia had nearly two hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom probably sixteen thousand were French Acadians, resident in Cape Breton and in western Nova Scotia. In New Brunswick there were at least one hundred and fifty thousand people, of whom some fifteen thousand were descendants of the original inhabitants of Acadie. The island of Prince Edward had thirty thousand people, of whom the French Acadians made up nearly one-sixth. The total trade of the country amounted to about, in round figures, five millions of pounds sterling in imports, and generally less in exports. The imports were chiefly manufactures from Great Britain, and the exports were lumber, wheat and fish. Those were days when colonial trade was stimulated by differential duties in favour of colonial products, and the building of vessels was encouraged by the old navigation laws which shut out foreign commerce from the St. Lawrence and Atlantic ports, and kept the carrying trade between Great Britain and the colonies in the hands of British and colonial merchants, by means of British registered ships. While colonials could not trade directly with foreign ports, they were given a monopoly for their timber, fish and provisions in the profitable markets of the British West Indies.

Since the beginning of the century there had been a large immigration into the provinces except during the war of 1812. The large Scotch population which now exercises such large influence in Nova Scotia owes its origin chiefly to the immigration which came from the isles and northern parts of Scotland in 1801, and had brought in upwards of thirty

thousand souls by 1825, when the exodus from the Highlands practically ceased. A number of Scotch immigrants were also brought into Prince Edward by Lord Selkirk, whose name is intimately connected with the first settlement of the Red River Valley in the Northwest, so long a preserve for fur-traders. Among the Loyalists of 1783-84 there was a considerable number of Scotch birth, and their number in Glengarry was augmented in 1804 by a disbanded regiment, the Glengarry Fencibles, induced to immigrate by their chaplain, Alexander Macdonell, afterwards the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada. At the close of the wars with Napoleon and the United States the tide of immigration gathered strength. A large number of discharged soldiers and officers, among whom were many Scotch, found their way to Upper Canada and established what were long known as the military settlements, notably in the Perth and London districts. Representatives of the same nationality also made homes for themselves in the Eastern Townships, where emigrants from the adjoining states had prevailed. Until 1837, when immigration almost ceased, a considerable number of Scotch came out from year to year, and settled chiefly in Upper Canada where the inducements for agriculture were greater than in the other provinces. The Chartist and Radical risings in Great Britain disturbed trade most injuriously and forced many people to seek employment in the new world. Lanark County was in this way largely settled by Glasgow and Paisley weavers.

The Irish immigration was small until about 1823, when it commenced to be large as a consequence of great depression in Ireland where the increasing use of machinery temporarily disturbed the conditions of labour. Many of these people were Roman Catholics, but in 1829 Ulster Protestants in considerable numbers found their way to Upper Canada rather than remain in Ireland where Catholic Emancipation had been carried. In the nine years preceding 1837, two hundred and sixty-three thousand and eighty-nine British and Irish immigrants arrived at Quebec, and in one year alone there were over fifty thousand. Of this number, the Irish formed a very considerable proportion. From 1830 until 1832 inclusive, fifty thousand English, Scotch and Irish immigrants increased the population of Upper Canada. Owing to the political troubles in Canada, immigration fell to four thousand nine hundred and ninety-two persons in 1838.

The character of this immigration varied considerably, but on the whole the thrifty and industrious formed a fair proportion. In 1838 they must have been of a superior class, since they deposited three hundred thousand sovereigns or nearly a million and a half of dollars in the Upper Canadian banks. Military men, however, as a rule did not

make the best farmers, as was graphically shown in Mrs. Moodie's "Roughing it in the Bush." The Irish Catholics were in the majority of cases from the destitute classes, but they succeeded well eventually wherever they settled on the waste lands of Upper Canada, but a considerable number always chose the cities and towns. The sufferings of immigrants during the Atlantic voyage in ill-equipped, filthy, crowded ships, were terrible in days when governments took no precautions for the health and comfort of this class against the greed of shipowners. Disease ever claimed its victims in these pest ships, and in 1832 cholera was brought in this way into Canada, where many thousands of persons from Quebec to Sandwich, fell victims to this dread pestilence.

An important event in the history of the settlement of the upper province was the establishment in 1826 of the Canada Land Company, under an imperial charter. The first secretary was John Galt, a famous *littérateur*, who founded the "royal city" of Guelph, in honour of the reigning dynasty, and whose own name is perpetuated in a prosperous and beautiful town of the fine western district where the company had purchased from the government great blocks of land. Another eminent man was the clever, eccentric Dr. Dunlop,—the founder of Goderich—who is immortalised in *Noctes Ambrosiana* and who contributed interesting sketches of Canadian life to Blackwood's and Fraser's Magazines. Although the Canada Company, which still has an office in Toronto, was a factor in the settlement of the province, its possession of large tracts of the best land—some of which, like the Huron block, were locked up for years—was among the grievances against the government, who lent itself too readily to the schemes of speculators.

An important influence in the early settlement of Upper Canada was exercised by one Colonel Talbot, who had been secretary to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, and had received large grants of land on the western peninsula between Erie and Ontario. He was the founder of the County of Elgin, and at least two hundred and fifty thousand people now live in the twenty-eight townships of what was once called the "Talbot Settlement." Mrs. Anna Jameson, the wife of a vice-chancellor of Upper Canada, describes in her "Winter Studies and Summer Rambles," written in 1838, the home of this great proprietor—a Talbot of Malahide, one of the oldest families in the parent state. The Chateau—as she calls it, perhaps sarcastically—was a "long wooden building, chiefly of rough logs, with a covered porch running along the south side." Here she found suspended "among sundry implements of husbandry, one of those ferocious animals of the feline kind, called here the cat-a-mountain, and by some the American tiger, or panther which it more resembles." In the hall "sacks of wheat and piles of sheepskins lay

heaped in primitive fashion." The walls of the living room were formed of naked logs. In front of a capacious chimney stood a long wooden table, flanked with two wooden chairs cut from the forest close by. No fauteuil, spring-cushioned, extended its comfortable arms, for the owner held all such luxuries in contempt. The interior of the house contained "several comfortable lodging rooms and one really handsome, the dining room." There was a large kitchen with a tremendously hospitable chimney, and underground were the cellars for storing wine, milk, and provisions. "Around the house stood a vast variety of out-buildings, of all imaginable shapes and sizes, and disposed without the least regard to order or symmetry." Behind the house lay "an open tract of land, prettily broken and varied, where large flocks of sheep and cattle were feeding—the whole inclosed by a beautiful and luxuriant woods, through which ran a little river." Near the chateau was an orchard ground of the common European fruits in abundance, and a garden abounding in roses of different kinds. This owner of a lovely estate had neither wife nor children to cheer him in this picturesque home of the West, but he was not without abundant company. Mrs. Jameson was used "to find groups of strange figures around the door, ragged, black-bearded, gaunt, travel-worn, and toil-worn emigrants, Irish, Scotch and American who had come to offer themselves as settlers. . . . Curious and characteristic, and dramatic beyond description were the scenes which used to take place between the grand bashful of the wilderness and his hungry, importunate clients and petitioners. Such homes as Colonel Talbot's were common enough in the country. Some of the higher class of immigrants, however, made efforts to surround themselves with some of the luxuries of the old world. Mrs. Jameson tells us of an old admiral, who had settled in the London district—now the most prosperous agricultural part of Ontario—and had the best of society in his neighbourhood; "several gentlemen of family, superior education, and large capital (among them the brother of an English and the son of an Irish peer, a colonel and major in the army) whose estates were in a flourishing state." The Admiral's residence resembled an "African village, a sort of Timbuctoo," from the outside, and "a man-of-war's cabin" in the inside. He had begun by erecting a log house, while the woods were clearing, and added from time to time a number of others of all shapes and sizes, full of a seaman's contrivances—odd galleries, passages, porticos, corridors, saloons, cabins, and cupboards." The drawing-room, which occupied an entire building, was "really a noble room with a chimney in which they piled twenty oak logs at once." The Admiral's sister, an accomplished woman, had "recently brought from

Europe, tazzi, marbles, sculpture in lava or alabaster, miniature copies of the eternal Sibyl and Cenci, Raphael's Vatican" such things "as are seldom found so far inland, but *cosa altra piu cara* or at least *piu rare*."

Such examples of European tastes and habits were, however, few in number and contrasted strangely with the common characteristics of the Canadian settlements, the humble log huts of the poor immigrant, struggling with axe and hoe amid the stumps to make a home for his family. Year by year the sunlight was let into the dense forests, and fertile meadows soon stretched far and wide in the once untrodden wilderness. Despite all the difficulties of a pioneer's life, industry reaped its adequate rewards in the fruitful lands of the west. Bread was easily raised in abundance and animals of all kinds thrived. In the winter season, when there was relief from the engrossing demands of summer toil, and the snow covered, frozen soil gave opportunities for social intercourse, the people of the rural districts found amusement in "husking" parties, barn raisings, threshing bees, and other gatherings which combined business and gaiety. Unhappily the great bane of the province was the inordinate use of liquor. Wretched inns, generally kept by a greedy, illiterate class of Americans, were too common in the villages and at the cross-roads. "The erection of a church or chapel," says Mrs. Jameson, "generally preceded that of a school-house in Upper Canada, but the mill and the tavern invariably preceded both." The accommodation for travellers was very inferior outside of the large towns where some half-pay officer, or enterprising settler—generally Scotch—condescended to add to their income by taking in guests. When wheat, however, was high, the temporary inn was closed, and the traveller had to go to the general inn—generally in the sparsely settled districts—"a rude log hut, with one window and one room, answering all purposes, a lodging or sleeping place, divided off at one end by a few planks, outside a shed of bark and boughs for the horses, and a hollow trunk of a tree disposed as a trough." At one of the highland settlements Mrs. Jameson rested at "Campbell's Inn," which consisted of a log hut and a cattle shed. A long pole stuck into the decayed stump of a tree in front of the hut, served as the sign." With some difficulty the traveller "procured some milk and Indian corn-cakes. The family despite their wretched appearance, might be considered prosperous, as they had a property of two hundred acres of excellent land, of which sixty acres were cleared and in cultivation, five cows and fifty sheep." These people had come out destitute, and had won what was to them comfort in sixteen years, and their condition was that of thousands from Cape Breton to Sandwich. Between the humble emigrants, and the agricultural nobles

like the Admiral and the Colonel there was a considerable middle class, chiefly English and Lowland Scotch, who lived in frame houses, and enjoyed cleanliness and comfort in an English sense.

The absence of an efficient system of local government, and the great quantity of waste lands between the settlements prevented the construction of good roads. Outside of the great Dundas road between Toronto and the Western district, of Yonge street between Lakes Ontario and Simcoe, and of the main thoroughfare from Toronto to Kingston by the lake shore route—works begun in Simcoe's time and finished in the course of years by the government—the country roads especially in the low swampy lands, full of mosquitoes eager for blood, were execrably bad. Corduroy roads, trunks of trees laid lengthwise in wet places, extended for miles, and helped to dislocate the wearied limbs of travellers, carried in the rude stage-coaches of those days—generally in the remote districts, "large oblong boxes without springs formed of a few planks nailed together and placed on wheels, into which one entered by the windows. Two or three seats were suspended inside on leather straps." Happily there was a winter time when, for weeks, people could drive smoothly over a country, where plank and gravel roads did not make their appearance generally until after the Union of the Canadas in 1841 and the introduction of municipal government.

In 1838, the principal town of Upper Canada was Toronto, built on low swampy ground, which gave it the name of "muddy little York." It had a population of about ten thousand, but with the exception of the Parliament House, just completed on Front Street, it had no public buildings of architectural pretensions. The houses were generally of wood, a few of staring ugly red brick, the streets had not a single sidewalk until 1834, and in 1838 this comfort for the pedestrian was still exceptional. The exclusive set of "society" was made up of judges, officials, a few garrison officers, the clergy of the Church of England, and some retired military men with a little means. Kingston, ancient Cataraqui, was even a better built town than Toronto, and had a population of perhaps four thousand five hundred in 1837. It was defended by a fine fort on a promontory at the entrance of the harbour, and possessed special commercial advantages as the resort of the vessels and boats engaged in the carrying trade between Ontario and Montreal. Hamilton and London were beginning to be places of importance. Bytown, now Ottawa, had its beginnings in 1826, when Colonel By of the Royal Engineers, commenced the construction of the Rideau Canal on the chain of lakes and rivers between the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence at Kingston.

Until after the Union of 1841, when a new spirit of public enterprise was introduced into internal development, the province of Upper Canada was at enormous disadvantage with respect to its trade on account of its dependence on Lower Canada. I have already written in a previous chapter of the difficulties which the province met in obtaining its full share of the revenues or customs collected by the Lower Canadian officials in the lower ports. The great obstacles to western trade for many years were the difficulties in navigating the St. Lawrence and connecting continuously with Montreal. The boats most generally in use for transportation of goods and passengers on the inland waters of Canada, until there was a regular system of canals and a large steam service, were known as the "batteau and the Durham boat." The batteau was a large flat-bottomed skiff, sharp at both ends, about forty feet long, and eight or ten feet in the middle, from which the boat curved slightly upwards to each end. It drew, even when laden, only about two inches of water, and was propelled by oars or by sails in a fair wind. Their sharp curved ends enabled them to be dragged up the rapids by oxen and windlasses, aided by poles, though sometimes they were unladen and carried across short portages. The Durham boat was a flat-bottomed barge, with a keel or centre-board, with a rounded bow, with a length from ninety to eighty feet, with a breadth of beam from ten to nine feet, with a carrying capacity of ten times that of the batteau. In 1835, there were 800 Durham boats and 1500 batteaux engaged in the navigation of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence river. *Laachine*—a name recalling the dream of La Salle to reach China from this point—was the starting of Montreal for the west, and presented a very busy and picturesque scene when the batteaux and voyageurs assembled for their upward voyage. These boatmen were generally French Canadians, whose merriment found constant expression in the singing of their Canadian ballads, among which then as now was the one with the very effective chorus :

"Roule, roulant, ma e roulant,
En roulant ma boule, roulant
En roulant ma boule."

Or they would suddenly break into a verse which harmonized well with the roar of the rapids or the dip of the oar :

"V'la l'bon vent, v'la l'joli vent
V'la l'bon vent ma mie m'appelle
V'la l'bon vent, v'la l'joli vent
V'la l bon vent, ma mie m'attend.

The first steamboat constructed in Canada was the "Accommodation," which was placed in 1809 between Quebec and Montreal by Mr. John Molson, whose name recalls a family long associated with the commercial enterprise of Montreal. The first steamer that plied on Lake Ontario was the "Frontenac," built in 1816 at Earnestown, one of the Loyalist townships of the St. Lawrence. The first vessel to cross the Atlantic by steam was the "Royal William," which was built in Quebec, and made the voyage in the summer of 1833. The first regular steamship between Europe and America was established in 1840 by Mr., afterwards Sir, Samuel Cunard of Halifax, in connection with English capitalists, and the "Britannia" was the pioneer ship of a line which has continued with extraordinary success on the same great route of travel to the present time. The first railway in British North America was constructed in 1837 by the enterprise of Montreal capitalists from Laprairie on the other side of the River St. Lawrence, as far as St. Johns—a distance of sixteen miles. The only railway in Upper Canada for years was a horse tramway opened in 1839 between Queenstown and Chippewa by the old portage route around the Falls of Niagara.

The ambition of the people of Upper Canada was always to obtain a continuous and secure system of water navigation from the lakes and Montreal. The Welland Canal between lakes Erie and Ontario was commenced as early as 1824, through the enterprise of Mr. William Hamilton Merritt, and the first vessel passed its locks in 1829, but it was very badly managed, and the legislature, who had from year to year aided the undertaking, was obliged eventually to acquire it as a provincial work. The Cornwall Canal was also undertaken but work was stopped when it was certain that Lower Canada would not respond to the aspirations of the west and improve that portion of the St. Lawrence within its direct control. Governor Haldimand had first constructed a simple system of canals to overcome the rapids of the Cascades, Cedars and Coteau, and some slight improvements were made in these primitive works from time to time. The Lachine Canal was completed in 1828, but nothing was done to give a continuous river navigation between Montreal and the west until 1845, when the Beauharnois Canal was first opened. The Rideau Canal originated in the experience of the war of 1812-14, which showed the necessity of a secure inland communication between Montreal and the country on Lake Ontario; but though first constructed for defensive purposes and following a circuitous route for defensive purposes it had for years decided commercial advantages for the people of Upper Canada, especially of the

Kingston district. The Grenville Canal on the Ottawa was the natural sequence of this canal as it gave safe navigation between Bytown and Montreal.

The province of Upper Canada had in 1838 reached a crisis in its affairs. In the course of the seven years preceding the rebellion, probably eighty thousand, or one-half of the immigrants who had come to the province had crossed the frontier into the United States, where greater inducements were held out to capital and population. Lord Durham referred emphatically "to the striking contrast which is presented between the American and the British sides of the frontier line in respect to every sign of productive industry, increasing wealth, and progressive civilization." Mrs. Jameson as she floated in a canoe in the middle of the Detroit river, saw on the one side "all the bustle of prosperity and commerce," and on the other "all the symptoms of apathy, indolence, mistrust, hopelessness." At the time such comparisons were made, Upper Canada was on the very verge of bankruptcy. The interest on the public debt was sixty-five thousand pounds currency and the annual deficit in the revenue was forty-two thousand pounds, without any prospect of an increasing revenue to meet the public necessities. The time had certainly come for a radical change in political conditions, which had nearly ruined a province of remarkable natural resources.

Turning to Lower Canada, we find that the financial position of the province was very different from that of Upper Canada. The gross revenue, which in 1792 was only six million six hundred and thirty thousand pounds currency below the expenditure for civil government—had risen in 1835 to two hundred and five thousand nine hundred and one pounds—after deducting all cost of collection and Upper Canada's share of duties—for all the public purposes of the province. There was actually a surplus and the financial difficulties of the province were caused by the disputes between the executive and the assembly which would not vote the necessary supplies. The timber trade had grown to large proportions and constituted the principal export to Great Britain from Quebec, which presented a scene of much activity in the summer. Montreal, however, was already showing its great advantages as a headquarters of commerce on account of its natural relations to the west and the United States. Quebec and Montreal had about the same number of inhabitants, thirty-five thousand each, and yet Lord Durham was forced to acknowledge that Montreal, founded two hundred years before, and "naturally the commercial capital of the Canadas would not bear the least comparison with even Buffalo, a creation of yesterday."

Still travellers admitted that Montreal, on account of the solidity of its buildings, generally of stone, compared most favourably with many of the finest and oldest towns in the United States. "A number of the modern houses," wrote Professor Silliman of Yale College, in 1824, "and of its environs, which are constructed of gray limestone handsomely hewn, are very beautiful and would be an ornament to the city of London or of Westminster itself." Many of the churches were symmetrical and imposing; the Roman Catholic parish church on the Place d'Armes, which illustrated the perpendicular style of Gothic in the middle ages, was then as now, unequalled on the continent for a certain simple grandeur, though its interior was gaudy and not in the best of taste in those days.

With its ancient walls girdling the heights first seen by Jacques Cartier, with its numerous aged churches and convents, illustrating the power and wealth of the Romish church, with its rugged, erratic streets creeping through hewn rock, with its picturesque crowds of red-coated soldiers of England mingling with priests and sisters in sombre attire, or with the *habitants in étoffe du pays*,—the old city of Quebec, whose history went back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, was certainly "a very peculiar place"—to quote Professor Silliman, "at least for an American town." It was a piece of mediævalism transported from northern France. The plain stone buildings of 1837 still remain with all their evidences of sombre antiquity. None of the religious or government edifices were distinguished for architectural beauty—except perhaps the English Cathedral—but represented solidity and convenience, while harmonizing with the rocks amid which they had risen. The parliament of Lower Canada still met in the Bishop's Palace, which showed the necessity for repairs. The old Chateau St. Louis had been destroyed by fire in 1834, and a terrace bearing the name of Durham in course of construction over its ruins to give one of the most picturesque views in the world on a summer evening as the descending sun lit up the dark green of the western hills, or brightened the tin spires and roofs of the churches and convents, or lingered amid the masts of the many ships moored in the river or in the coves filled with great rafts of timber. Quebec society had many advantages, composed as it was of the most cultured representatives of the two races, civil and military; but unhappily the two nationalities were separated from each other by political and racial antagonisms. The environs of Quebec and Montreal, and the north side of the St. Lawrence between those two towns presented French Canadian life in its most picturesque and favourable aspect. Here were to be seen the oldest villages—in

fact these settlements on the river formed one continuous village, with tinned spires rising every few miles amid poplars, maples and elms. The homes of the *seigneurs* and of a few professional men or well-to-do farmers, were generally of stone, a story and a half in height and varying in size according to the habits and means of the owner. What would be called mansions would only be seen near the cities, at Longueuil or Beauport. Most of the cottages of the *habitants* were built of logs, neatly squared, with roof of shingle and of thatch in some cases. All of them were whitewashed from chimney to foundation, though here and there some roofs were covered with red ochre. Only in a very few houses—those of the *seigneurs*—were pictures or books to be seen. In some of the homes of the *habitants* rude lithographs of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, and roughly carved crucifixes hung on the coarsely plastered or wainscotted walls. A huge box-stove generally stood in the centre of a large living room, off which were one or two small sleeping apartments, or as often as not it was set between two rooms, separated only by a thin wooden partition. A conical oven of hardened mud invariably stood outside for use when the snow and ice were gone or was protected by a little shed for winter service. Little plots of vegetables, tobacco, and common flowers were cultivated here and there, chiefly by the women. The farms were long and narrow and not always remarkable for clean cultivation. The *habitant* was not energetic or enterprising, but he led a happy, contented life. He dearly loved the forest and the river, and the young men already found congenial employment in the timber camps of the St. Maurice and the Ottawa, just as their forefathers sought in the fur-trade which was now chiefly followed in the Northwest by the *Métis* or Half-breeds, the offspring of the Indian woman and the early voyageurs and trappers of that far region. Crime was rare in the rural districts and intemperance was not prevalent as in the west. The people were strongly attached to their church; they dearly loved meeting their neighbours after mass on Sundays and chatting on affairs of the villages or the country at large; they smoked their vile native tobacco with gusto; they had frequent social gatherings in which the violin and the *danse ronde*—alone tolerated by the curé—played important parts. They were polite and courteous in their intercourse with each other, and with strangers. "The manners of the gentry," wrote our American professor, "are of course, polished, but the common people, also, have a winning gentleness and suavity, and a zealous forwardness to serve you, which delighted us very much. . . . so different from the blunt coldness of our people." He had unqualified praise for the women, "so bland in man-

ner and obliging in conduct;" possessing a lady-like self-possession which enabled them to answer questions "with the ease and politeness of higher life, without relinquishing the simplicity of manners appropriate to their condition." The *habitant* was litigious, but probably this was the safety valve of his French nature. He was impulsive, and ready to resent any insult to his faith, language, or other institutions. He was easily led by men like Papineau who touched their racial feelings by rhetorical flashes.

In the foregoing pages I have given only that superficial view of French Canada which would impress a traveller while passing through the province; but if he remained for any length of time and studied its economic and political conditions, he would not be surprised at the absence of enterprise and industrial development. It was a "war of races," to use Lord Durham's apt phrase, that stifled activity in a province dominated by Papineau for years. Nearly one hundred and fifty thousand people of British origin resided in this section—a British people animated for the most part by the spirit of energy natural to their race. What prosperity Montreal and Quebec enjoyed as commercial communities was due to the enterprise of British merchants. The timber trade was chiefly in their hands and the Bank of Montreal was founded by this class in 1817—or seven years before the Bank of Upper Canada was established in Toronto. As political strife increased in bitterness, the differences between the races became accentuated. Papineau alienated all the British by his determination to found a *Nation Canadienne*, in which the British would occupy a very inferior place. Lord Durham shows in very expressive language the completeness of this racial division. The two parties "combined for no public object, and could not harmonize even in associations of charity." The French Canadian looked "with jealousy and dislike on the increase and prosperity of what they regarded as a foreign and hostile race." They "opposed registry offices as inconsistent with the French institutions of the province." The Eastern Townships, where the French race had no footing, "were seriously injured by the refusal of necessary improvements, and it was not until 1829 they could obtain a representation in the Assembly. When the representation of the province was increased in 1830, only one English name was retained out of the thirteen that had been given to the counties in 1791. Immigration was opposed "as a plan for developing the growth of English wealth and increasing their influence in the province in the future." Even the difficulties with Upper Canada and the neglect to improve the navigation of the St. Lawrence up to the province line was largely influenced by the

opposition to British enterprise. It is quite intelligible then why trade languished, internal development was retarded, landed property decreased in value, the revenue showed a diminution, roads and all classes of local improvements were neglected, and agricultural industry was stagnant, wheat had to be imported for the consumption of the people, and immigration fell off from fifty-two thousand in 1832 to less than five thousand in 1838.

In the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, there were no racial antagonisms to affect internal development, and the political conflict never reached such proportions as to threaten the peace and security of the people. In New Brunswick the chief industry was the timber trade—deals especially—which received its first stimulus in 1809, when a heavy duty was placed on Baltic timber, while that from the colonies came free into the British Isles. An unfortunate catastrophe which even momentarily paralyzed industry, and elicited the active sympathy of all British people on both sides of the Atlantic, was the forest fire of 1825, which destroyed a number of villages, many hundreds of lives, great quantities of cattle and wild animals, and many thousands acres of valuable spruce and pine. Shipbuilding was also profitably followed in New Brunswick, and was beginning to be prosecuted in Nova Scotia, where, a few years later, it made that province one of the greatest ship-owning and ship-sailing communities of the world until iron steamers gradually drove wooden vessels from the carrying trade. The cod, mackerel, and herring fisheries—chiefly the first—were the staple industry of Nova Scotia, and kept up a large trade with the West Indies whence sugar, molasses and rum were exported. Prince Edward Island was chiefly an agricultural community, whose development was greatly retarded by the wholesale grant of lands in 1767, to absentee proprietors and the disputes and difficulties constantly arising out of this short-sighted policy. Halifax and St. John had each a population of twenty thousand. The houses were mostly of wood, and the only buildings of importance were the Government House, completed in 1805, and the Provincial or Parliament House considered in its day one of the handsomest structures in North America, and even now worthy of notice for its perfect proportions which at least cannot be hidden by the smoke of soft coal, and the stains of the sea, that in the course of eighty years have darkened the beautiful stone of which it was originally constructed. Halifax society was given its tone by the military and navy, who have always from 1749 made it the North American headquarters, and cards and hard drinking were the ruin of many brilliant men in the days of which I am writing,

In the beautiful valleys of Kings and Annapolis—now famous for their fruit—there was a prosperous farming population. Yarmouth illustrated the thrift and enterprise of the Puritan element that came with the province from New England at an early date in its development, and laid the foundation of its prosperity. The eastern counties with the exception of Pietou showed no signs of progress. The Scotch population of Cape Breton, drawn from a poor class of people in the north of Scotland, for years added nothing to the wealth of an island whose resources were long dormant from the absence of capital and enterprise. Even the wealthy capitalists of Halifax, we are told by Lord Durham, “desirous of an investment for their money preferred lending it to the United States, to applying it to speculation in New Brunswick, or to lending it to their own countrymen.”

The Church of Rome was a dominant force in Lower Canada as in the days of the French regime—a force always strongly exerted in favour of British connection since the passage of the Quebec Act. In 1837, Bishop Signay presided over the See of Quebec, and became the first archbishop in 1844. Bishop Lartigue continued to be the Bishop of Montreal until 1840. In all Lower Canada there were in 1837 about 200 curés and priests, and 300 monks and nuns connected with the several religious institutions. In Upper Canada, Bishop Alexander McDonell, noted for his loyalty and public spirit, presided over the Roman Catholic diocese of Regiopolis (Kingston), which then embraced all of Upper Canada, and comprised about 25 priests. The first Bishop of the Church of England in the colonies was the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, the loyalist, who was consecrated in 1787 at Lambeth as Bishop of Nova Scotia, though his diocese nominally extended all over British North America until 1793, when the Right Reverend Jacob Mountain became the first Bishop of Quebec—in fact of all Canada. The first regular rector of St. Paul’s Church in Halifax—the oldest Protestant church in British America—was the Reverend Dr. Breynton, though Mr. Tutty officiated when it was first opened in 1750. The Right Reverend John Inglis was Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1737, and the Right Reverend George Jehosaphat Mountain succeeded Bishop Stewart in August of the same year. The first clergyman of the Church of England in Upper Canada was Reverend Dr. Stuart, a loyalist, who commenced his missionary labours in 1786. The first Anglican church was built in 1786 for the Mohawk Indians at the Grand River. The first Anglican Bishop of Upper Canada was Dr. Strachan, who was consecrated in 1839, when there were only 71 clergymen of his church in the province. The first Presbyterian minister of Montreal, and virtually

of Canada, was the Reverend Mr. Bethune, chaplain of a loyalist regiment, who came to the country in 1782. By 1837 the Presbyterians of all shades of church government were numerous in the provinces. The Reverend Mr. Cleveland was the first clergyman of St. Mathew's—a Congregational church erected soon after St. Paul's and afterwards purchased by the Church of Scotland. Presbyterianism received its first impulse by the arrival of Dr. McGregor and Dr. McCulloch in 1786 and 1803. The Reverend Mr. McDowell was the first Presbyterian to visit the loyalist settlements about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Baptists were most successful in Nova Scotia where a secession from old St. Paul's brought to it some of the ablest men in the country. The Methodists had steadily gained strength from the commencement of the century. The founder of the sect in the Maritime Provinces was the Reverend William Black, and the first regular preacher in Upper Canada the Reverend William Losee, a loyalist, who held services among the loyalists of the St. Lawrence settlements. Before his time the first preachers in Upper Canada were officers or soldiers of the army, some of whom settled in the country and continued to show the same religious zeal. By 1837, the Methodists were said to be the most numerous denomination in the western province. The Reverend Dr. Ryerson, afterwards prominent in education, was the most prominent man among them.

Popular education, now one of the most creditable features of the social condition of Canada generally, was at the lowest possible ebb. In 1837 there were in all the private and public schools of the provinces only one-fifteenth of the total population. In Lower Canada, not one-tenth could write, or one fifth read. In 1829 the legislative council—with reason according to Lord Durham—rejected an appropriation bill for schools on the ground that the members of the assembly actually filled up school-houses with teachers who could not even write their names and were otherwise disqualified—a shameful piece of political jobbery. In fact the government itself diverted the funds derived from the Jesuits Estates, and primarily intended for education, to a sort of secret service fund. The children of the *habitant* repeated the catechism by rote, and yet could not read as a rule. In Upper Canada things were no better. The tavern too often preceded the school-house in the province. School masters were “ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-paid or not paid at all:” and added Mrs. Jameson, “always either Scotch or Americans, and totally unfit for the office they had undertaken.” Dr. Thomas Rolph tells us that as late as 1833 Americans or other anti-British adventurers carried on the greater proportion of the schools,

where the youths were taught sentiments "hostile to the parent state" from books used in the United States—a practice stopped by statute in 1846.

Adequate provision, however, was made for the higher education of youth in all the provinces. "I know of no people," wrote Lord Durham of Lower Canada, "among whom a larger provision exists for the higher kinds of elementary education." The piety and benevolence of the early possessors of the country founded seminaries and colleges, which gave an education resembling the kind given in the English public schools, though more varied. In Upper Canada as early as 1807 grammar schools were established by the government, and the one at Cornwall under Reverend Dr. Strachan was famous in its day. By 1837, Upper Canada College—an institution of a high order still in existence—and the Home District Grammar School offered special advantages to youth whose parents had money. In Nova Scotia, King's College—now the oldest university in Canada—had its beginning as an academy as early as 1788, but, while educating many eminent men during its palmy days, its usefulness was always cramped by unwise regulations of the Church of England shutting out from its advantages all dissenters. Pictou Academy was established by Reverend Dr. McCulloch as a remonstrance against the sectarianism of King's, and the political history of the province was long conspicuous for the struggle of its promoters against the narrowness of the Anglicans, who dominated the Legislative Council, and frequently rejected money grants made by the Assembly. Dalhousie College was founded in 1720 by Lord Dalhousie, when governor of Nova Scotia, to afford that higher education to all denominations which old King's denied. Acadia College was founded by the Baptists at Wolfville, on a gently rising ground overlooking the fertile meadows of Grand Pré. In New Brunswick, a university was founded in 1828 at Fredericton, under the auspices of the Church of England, but it had only an indifferent success until 1858, when its sphere of usefulness was enlarged and it became non-sectarian and provincial in the full sense of the word. McGill University, founded by one of those generous Montreal merchants who have always been its benefactors, received a charter in 1821, but it was not opened until 1829. The Methodists laid the foundation of Victoria College at Cobourg in 1834, but it did not commence its work until after the Union; and the same was the case with King's College, the beginning of the university of Toronto. King's originally owed its existence to the energy of Bishop Strachan, who succeeded in obtaining for it a large provincial endowment; and when in 1849 it was thrown open by the government to all denominations, he

refused to have anything to do with what he called "a Godless University," and founded Trinity College which still remains to attest his zeal for the church to which he devoted his life.

We need not linger long on the literary culture of those early times. Joseph Bouchette, a surveyor-general, had published in the first part of the century his noble contribution to the topography and cartography of Lower Canada. Major Richardson, a native of Amherstburg in Upper Canada, who had served in the war of 1812 and in the Spanish Peninsula, wrote in 1838 "Wacousta or the Prophecy," a spirited romance of Indian life and the defence of Detroit by Major Gladwin against the Ottawas and other tribes led by Pontiac. In Nova Scotia the "Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville"—truly a remarkable original creation in humorous literature—first appeared in a Halifax paper, edited by Joseph Howe, poet and statesman, and was given to the British public in 1837 by Richard Bentley, the well-known publisher. Judge Haliburton also published as early as 1829 an excellent work in two volumes on the history and topography of his native province. Libraries and bookstores could be seen only in Montreal, Halifax, Quebec, and Toronto. The best library was that belonging to the legislature of Quebec, and the ancient seminary, afterwards merged in Laval University, had a fine collection of old French books and manuscripts, whose value was not recognized in days when Lord Durham could write that the French Canadians were a people "without a history and without a literature." In 1824, Lord Dalhousie gave some stimulus to historic and literary studies by the establishment of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, which through the liberal aid given it from time to time by the legislature, was able for years to print rare and valuable documents, relating to the interesting history of the province, and did much to lessen the labours of Garneau, Ferland, Parkman and others who have shown signally the fallacy of one part of Lord Durham's statements.

In the early times of the provinces when books and magazines were rarities, the newspaper press naturally exercised much influence on the social and intellectual conditions of the people at large. The first paper printed in British North America was the "Halifax Gazette," which appeared in 1752, or twelve years before the "Quebec Gazette." The "Montreal Gazette," now the oldest paper in Canada, appeared as far back as 1787, and was first printed by one Mesplet in the French language. The first paper that appeared in Upper Canada was "The Upper Canada Gazette or the American Oracle," published by Louis Roy at Newark, in 1793; and it was eventually followed

by many others, until in 1837 there were no less than forty journals in the province, some of them written with ability though too often very abusive and personal. A small paper called "The Register," was printed in 1823 in Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island. The first newspaper that appeared in New Brunswick was "The Royal New Brunswick Gazette and General Advertiser," which appeared in St. John, in 1784. For many years the *Canadian Gazette* of Quebec exercised much influence in politics. Mr. John Neilson was editor of the latter for years and made it a moderate organ of British opinion when he dis severed all political relations with Papineau. A paper widely circulated in the provinces before and after the union was the "New York Albion," edited for years by Dr. John Fisher, who was also editor of the "Quebec Gazette," and wrote the pithy inscription on the monument raised in 1827 to Wolfe and Montcalm through the exertions of Lord Dalhousie.

Mortem. Virtus. Communem.
Famam. Historia.
Monumentum. Posteritas.
Dedit.

This paper printed the best class of English literature which otherwise could hardly have reached the homes of many people. It even encouraged an artistic taste, for it gave once a year a copy of a fine English steel plate to every subscriber. In those days English newspapers did not circulate to any extent in a country where postage was exorbitant. People had all they could do to pay postage rates on letters. The poor settler was often unable to pay the three or four shillings or even more, imposed on letters from their old homes across the sea, and it was not unusual to find in country post offices a large accumulation of dead-letters, refused or neglected on account of the expense. The management of the Post Office by Imperial officers was one of the grievances of the people of the provinces generally. It was carried on for the benefit of a few persons and not for the convenience or solace of the many thousands who were anxious for news of their kin across the ocean.

The practice of medicine and surgery was for many years in the hands of men educated in Great Britain and the United States, but quackery was very common in the rural districts and it became necessary from time to time to pass legislative enactments to require licenses from regular medical boards. Young Canadians who wished to study medicine were obliged to go to Europe or to the United States or to

Montreal where an efficient medical institute had been established in 1824, and afterwards merged into McGill University. In Upper Canada no medical education could be obtained until after the opening of King's College in 1843.

The leaders in the legislative bodies were generally drawn from the legal profession, and travellers while giving unfavourable accounts of most things in the country, admitted that most of their men "would do credit to the English parliament." Long before 1840 it was not necessary to go to England for able lawyers to fill positions on the bench. As a matter of fact it was a grievance on the part of the later immigrants of 1830 that English attorneys could not be admitted to practice in Upper Canada until after several years' study in the office of a Canadian lawyer. Some of the most brilliant men of British North America appeared at the time of which I am writing. For instance, in Nova Scotia, Chief Justice Sir William Young—to give them the titles of the high positions they afterwards occupied—once leader of the Liberal party; Judge Johnston, for many years leader of the Conservative party; Honourable James Boyle Uniacke, witty and eloquent; in New Brunswick, Judge Samuel A. Wilmot, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor; in Lower Canada, Chief Justice Sir James Stuart and Chief Justice Sir Louis Hypolite Lafontaine; in Upper Canada, Chief Justice Sir J. Beverly Robinson, Judge Hagerman, Chief Justice Sir J. Buchan Macaulay, Chief Justice McLean, Chief Justice Draper, and Honourable Robert Baldwin. These are, however, only notable examples in a long list of men whose legal knowledge and oratorical power were evidences of the intellectual development of the people in the two decades before the union of 1840.

