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THE

CANADIAN REVIEW

AND

MAGAZINE.

No. V.

SEPTEMBER, 1826.

*Nil in meo, nec iuste quos odit, panging laudat,
Et mihi de nullo fama rubore placet.*

MART.

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETOR,
AT THE
OFFICE OF THE MONTREAL GAZETTE.

1826.

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No. V.

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VOL. III.

SEPTEMBER, 1826.

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1. *Reflections upon the value of the British West India Colonies, and of the British North American Provinces, to the Mother Country.* Egerton. London, 1826. pp. 39.
2. *Observations upon the importance of the North American Colonies to Great Britain. By an Old Inhabitant of British North America, (Mr. Haleburton,)* Halifax, 1825.

There has lately sprung up in Great Britain a class of political economists, who have strenuously endeavoured to set up a doctrine, the very reverse of those ideas we have been taught to cherish, respecting the value to England of her Colonial possessions. Those Colonies and provinces which have been obtained and maintained, at a vast expense of life and treasure, which are considered the glory, and, by successive legislators and ministers, have been looked to as an abundant source of wealth to the Mother Country, are by these newfangled theorists decried, as so many clogs to the prosperity, which, say they, she would enjoy, if relieved from such expensive and cumbersome appendages; and they further contend, that the Colonies would themselves thrive at least as well if the tie were severed which binds them to the parent state, which would still enjoy the advantage she now possesses, from supplying the colonists with such of her manufactures as their wants required, and receiving their produce in return; and that, consequently, an equal quantity of British shipping, and the same number of British seamen would be employed in this exchange of commodities, whilst the expense providing for their defence, in time of war, and of contributing to support their

civil establishments, which are now an annual charge on the people of Great Britain, would be saved to the nation. This doctrine has been supported in the *Edinburgh Review*, in a late number of which the West Indian Colonies, in general, and Jamaica in particular, are represented to be objects of expense prejudicial to the Mother Country. The North American provinces are treated with even less consideration; they are, it seems, an annual burthen, and with regard to Canada it is asserted, that as it must at no very distant period be merged in the American Republic, "John Bull therefore discovers no very great impatience of taxation, when he quietly allows his pockets to be drained in order to clear and fertilize a province for the use of his rival Jonathan."

The new road to national wealth, which would seek prosperity, and secure the naval superiority of Great Britain, by lopping off, as useless appendages, those Colonies that according to the vulgar opinion, to which our grovelling notions still adhere have proved the means of supporting that commerce and giving employment to those ships and seamen, which have hitherto secured to our Mother Country the proud pre-eminence she has enjoyed, (*long may she retain the envied distinction*), as mistress of the ocean. This new system of national aggrandizement has found a zealous proselyte in a certain member of the House of Commons, on the opposition side, whose notions of political economy are generally as singular, as they have almost invariably been proved to be, erroneous, who shews himself a great stickler for the *anti-colonial system*, and has gone as regards the Canadas to the length of declaring that they wished a separation from the British Empire. There may be indeed some few turbulent and disaffected individuals, who think that such a change would be desirable, but this cannot be fairly set down as the opinion of the inhabitants of either of the Canadas, who are well aware, that an independence which they are incapable of maintaining, were it accorded to them by the mother country, would only render them a state of the neighbouring republic, instead of continuing a colony of so powerful a nation as Great Britain, a distinction, whatever some disaffected journals, the offspring and the tools of faction, may dare to assert, we are convinced the majority and much more than the majority, of the inhabitants of the Canadas are by no means desirous of attaining. Upper Canada contains many republicans from the neighbouring states, it is true, settled within its limits, but these men generally left their homes and occupied lands in a British colony with a view to bettering their condition in life; and men who have voluntarily made such a choice, cannot be supposed to entertain any very strong prejudice or violent

predisposition for the establishments and usages of a country they have voluntarily left. In regard to Lower Canada, the reasons are still stronger that render an incorporation with the North American Republic obnoxious to their feelings; their religion, their jealous adherence to the original French laws, and the rooted enmity they cherish against the inhabitants of the United States, all conspire to render such an union most ungenial to their habits and prejudices. The pamphlets which form the basis of this article, are intended to correct the erroneous view which has been taken, by the disciples of this new school, of the value of the British Colonies. The first is said to be from the pen of a distinguished officer of the corps of Royal Engineers, who was president of a military commission appointed to visit the West Indian Colonies and the British North American Provinces, with the view of reporting, as it is believed, on their military defences, no very great symptom, we should infer, of an intention, on the part of the British Government, to comply with the nostrums prescribed by this new race of political quacks. This writer maintains, that these illuminati are utterly mistaken in their opinion of the value of the West Indian colonies generally, and shews that their ideas of the political importance of the North American Provinces, as Members of the British Empire, are not more correct. He looks upon them as unceasing sources of wealth to the mother country, and considers their conquest by the United States "as a most improbable, if not an impracticable event, keeping in view the constitution of that government, and assuming that common precautionary means will be adopted by His Majesty's ministers."

It is certainly gratifying to those who, like ourselves, from habit and early associations, have been accustomed to look towards the mother country with eyes of affection, and to consider a separation from it as an evil which can only be contemplated with painful sensations, to find so decided an opinion expressed by an officer of the experience and reputation which belong to the alleged author of these Reflections, (who is supposed to be Major General Sir Carmichael Smyth,) and that opinion strengthened by the instructions recently received in Canada for completing and improving the various fortified places which may secure the possession of the province to Great Britain, and will defy, for the future, any attempt our neighbours may be able to make to wrest from her the possession of these Provinces. In considering the value of the West Indian possessions the author takes into account that the duties levied upon their produce imported into the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, put about five millions sterling, per annum, into the treasury of

the United Kingdom. That the exports of Great Britain and Ireland amount annually to £2,000,000, sterling, that the trade gives employment to 20,000 British seamen, and a corresponding benefit must of course be derived by the shipping interest, &c. Added to these advantages, it is further to be remarked, that the surplus of the yearly value of West Indian importations, centres in the United Kingdom, being either expended therein, or vested in the purchase of lands, or in the funds, thus benefitting in a material degree, the landed, funded, and manufacturing interests, whilst against these advantages the only drawbacks are the obligation, on the part of the mother country, to keep up 3000 troops in Jamaica, and 4000 in all the other West Indian Colonies.

The error under which the writer of the article in the Edinburgh Review labours, is in supposing that the whole of this charge falls upon the mother country, since the Island of Jamaica not only feeds the troops allotted for its defence, but pays also all expenses of barracks and fortifications, an expense which the other colonies have commuted by giving to the government of Great Britain four and a half per cent. upon their exports in addition to the duties collected upon their produce when imported into Great Britain and Ireland, and further against the sums drawn by the Commissariat, on account of the contingencies of the army of the West Indies, should be placed, as an offset to the sums paid by the several Colonies, for the same year, and which have been thrown into the general receipts of the treasury of the empire; these, with other deductions, being taken into consideration, it would appear that no more has been expended on the West Indian Colonies than what they were entitled to expect, or beyond the amount of funds levied and placed at the disposal of his Majesty's Ministers by West Indian proprietors to purchase their own protection and security.

“But” continues our author, “the reviewer asserts, that the five millions levied upon our West Indian importation is, in fact, money taken out of the pockets of the people of England, and that we are no more obliged to the West Indian proprietor for this addition to our revenue, than to the inhabitants of China for the sums raised upon the importation of their tea. He also states that we could obtain sugar cheaper from foreigners and from the East Indies, if the additional duty to which foreign and East India sugar is liable, was removed.

“That the importation duties are paid by the consumer there can be no doubt; there needs no spirit to come from the grave to tell us this. It must, however, be allowed that they cause a certain diminution in the profits of the grower of the article. The Chinese merchants, indeed, sell their tea to the East India Company without adverting to, or being ever acquainted with, the importation duties to be paid by the East India Company in Eng-

land. Not so with the West Indian proprietor; the value of his estate is materially affected by the rise or fall of the duties on West Indian importation when these duties have been diminished, a corresponding reduction in the price of sugar has not been experienced. This is a proof that the West Indian proprietor pays his proportion of the tax on his property, in a corresponding diminution of the profit he would otherways have gained. In this respect he does not stand alone. The tax on leather has been taken off, and every body who expected cheap shoes has been disappointed. The tax on malt was diminished, and yet we looked in vain for cheap beer. The tax on salt is reduced to almost nothing, but nobody pays the less for their hams or bacon. These facts may serve to show, that although the consumer pays the duty upon the article, yet that the producer or owner of the commodity suffers a diminution of profit in proportion to the amount of taxation. If his profits augment as you diminish the duty, that they must have diminished in proportion as you have augmented it, is a truth which can hardly be controverted.

“That foreigners or East India Merchants could import sugar somewhat cheaper into England, than at the rate we now pay for the West India sugar, may very possibly be the case. Taking it for granted that they could, it argues however very little knowledge of human nature to suppose, that the British public would have their sugar cheaper if the additional duty on foreign and East Indian sugar was taken off to-morrow. The Reviewer calculates that we could be supplied from the East Indies at one penny per pound cheaper. The truth of this assertion is however to be proved; and, as is generally allowed, the value of an article is regulated by the demand, and the quantity in hand to answer that demand, it appears very open to discussion. The Merchant, whether he imports his commodity from the East, or the West, will naturally endeavour to gain the greatest profit he is able; and will assuredly charge the highest price which he finds the consumer will pay. If the additional duty on East India sugar was repealed forthwith, a sufficient supply for the consumption of Great Britain and Ireland could not be immediately imported. It is only by degrees, and after the lapse of several years, that such a quantity, as three millions and a half of hundred weights could be annually procured. Who can assert that the price of sugar in India would not rise in consequence of such an additional demand for it as an article of export? Experience and common sense point out the contrary. Who will insure the undisturbed continuance of our rule, and the maintenance of perfect tranquility in these distant regions, and yet both are necessary to introduce a new culture to such an extent? Who is so innocent as to suppose, that after beating our West Indian rivals out of the field, the East Indian merchants would content themselves with the smaller profits with which they may have commenced, and which would have occasioned their success? If they should they will be very different from any merchants the world has ever yet beheld. But the West Indian colonies have been the cause of wars and may again involve us in hostilities! Are we then exempted from the common lot of mankind in India? Have no wars taken place in the Mysore, or with the Mahrattas, or with the Burmese? The West Indies are at any rate the grave of our army, and cause an alarming consumption of our men. This is in truth an evil, but one considerably diminished by the superior barracks and more judicious arrangements lately adopted. But have we no jungle fevers to contend with in the East? no alarming attacks of cholera morbus sweeping away the inhabitants of whole provinces? The returns of the number of recruits annually sent out to the King's regiments, as well as to the East Indian Company's European Corps, would unfortunately answer this question.

“ Upon such futile calculations as the foregoing, is the boasted saving of one penny in the pound of sugar held forth to the public upon such grounds, and in the very uncertain expectation of such a reward, are we called upon to neglect and undervalue our West Indian possessions; to change our system; to endanger a revenue of five millions sterling per annum; to risk the loss of a market for our produce and manufactures, to the amount of two millions yearly, to hazard the loss of employment for 20,000 seamen; and to bring distress upon all the British interests connected with our West Indian possessions; the inevitable re-action of which upon the landed, the funded, the commercial and manufacturing classes in Great Britain, cannot be contemplated without horror. Surely we ought to reply to all such advisers, if not literally at least in the spirit of the well known words of the assembled Barons—*Nolumus legis Angliæ mutari.*”

So far the writer has had under consideration colonies in which we, as inhabitants of Canada, are not so immediately interested; the chain of reasoning pursued however applies equally to the British North American Provinces, as we shall have occasion to remark, when we notice the Halifax pamphlet, and shall therefore no longer detain our readers, but give, in full, the General reflections on the North American Provinces.

“ His Majesty’s North American Provinces do not offer the same pecuniary advantages as the West Indian colonies: To those, however, who look beyond pounds, shillings, and pence, and who can contemplate their present resources and population, as well as anticipate their future greatness, with the eyes of statesmen, their importance and political consequence will easily be made evident.

“ Lower Canada contains a population of half a million of souls, and affords a militia of 76,000 able bodied men, accustomed to the use of arms. They are a moral, industrious, sober and contented people, attached to their own customs, laws, language and religion. They are Roman Catholics, but as their clergy are educated in Canada, and have no connexion with the Pope, or with any foreign power, all political objections to that religion, are in the case of Lower Canada, removed. The church is not paid by the government, as was erroneously stated in Parliament, but has the twenty-sixth part of the grain raised on the lands of Catholics. This claim the law acknowledges, but this is all the favour shown to the Catholic religion. If a Catholic sells his land to a Protestant, or if he thinks proper to become a Protestant himself, his estate is no longer liable to this very humble tithe. Hay and potatoes is exempted from this charge. The church is governed by a bishop (a native of Canada) who receives in addition to the rent of some lands of no great value, one thousand per annum from the Civil List of Great Britain. This annual thousand pounds is all that the Catholic church establishment of Canada costs the mother country. The twenty-sixth part of the grain from the Catholic lands is found to be ample allowance. The income of the *curés* averages £300 per annum, which affords them, in a cheap country, the means of living most respectably, and of even exercising very liberal hospitality. Their short account of the Canadian church is not irrelevant to the subject. It marks strongly the difference between the Canadian and the American character, and in some measure accounts for it.

“ We are told by the inspired writer, that the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. The Reviewer [Edinbro’] must surely have had this seemingly paradoxical assertion in his mind, and have been misled by

Value of the British Colonies.

respect for the author, to construe it too literally, when he maintained that Canada was shortly to merge in the American republic. Where otherwise could he have learnt that 76,000 men in arms (not scattered, like the Americans, over a vast extent of country, but thickly settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and easily assembled) were to crush under the modern faces of a power they dislike; towards which they have an hereditary enmity; and whose regular army consists only of 5000 men? It is not the magnitude of the territory of a state, but the vigour of its institutions and the martial spirit of its people, which render it a dangerous neighbour. Far be it from me to undervalue the military qualities of the Americans. They are men, and confessedly, men of enterprize and activity. I may, however, observe that their customs, usages, and employments are essentially pacific. They are occupied in the useful and laborious pursuits of agriculture and commerce. They have a well regulated militia, and it will be a rash and ill-advised measure to invade their country, but they are not, and (whilst their present form of government exists) they cannot be a conquering nation. They have neither the means nor the inclination to form a regular army. A popular chief, the angry feeling of the moment, or some other equally temporary cause may induce their militia to cross the Canadian frontier. Desultory attacks, however, and permanent conquests are very different things. The latter are neither effected nor maintained without regular troops. The 76,000 militia of Lower Canada are fully as good as any force the Americans can bring against them. If we look to the events of the late war, we may observe that, notwithstanding the very little assistance afforded by England during the two first years, what trifling progress was made by the Americans towards becoming masters of Canada, although the war was of their own choosing, the intention of the conquest avowed, and they had plenty of time to make, what appeared to them, every necessary previous preparation. They were checked upon one occasion by the Lower Canadian militia alone, unsupported by any regular troops. The moment that Great Britain was able to spare reinforcements, from the termination of the more important hostilities in which she was engaged in Europe, the nature of the war changed, and it became defensive on the part of the Americans. It is a fact too notorious to be disputed, that so far from dreaming of persevering in the attempt at the conquest of Canada, the American government, when the peace took place, had not the means of putting their troops in motion for another campaign. Had the war been continued for another year, a separation, in all human probability, would have taken place amongst the states of the Union. The wisest of them saw the folly of the attempt upon Canada, and had already begun to deliberate upon the propriety of not furnishing their proportions of men and money demanded by the general government for the continuance of the war. If then we may judge of the future by the past; if we reflect upon the character of the Canadian—moral, religious, influenced by his curé and that curé perfectly satisfied with the British government, and dreading all connexion with that of the United States, which allows no church establishment whatever; if we moreover avail ourselves of the moment of profound peace, to occupy judiciously such military points as experience has shown to be necessary, with a view to give confidence and support to the Canadians, and to make the Americans pause before they think of again attempting to invade a country evidently prepared for defence; surely the conquest of Canada by the government of the United States, may be pronounced, as was stated in the early part of this paper, a most improbable, if not impracticable event.

“But the Reviewer asserts that Canada is productive of heavy expence to Great Britain, and nothing else; and desires any one to point out a single

benefit of any kind whatever derived by us from the possession of Canada and our North American Colonies. On these heads I wish to offer the following observations.

“Canada has not been productive of heavy expense to Great Britain: on the contrary, the strictest economy, amounting to almost a shabby penury, has been observed with respect to Canada, until very lately, as if we had made up our minds to evacuate the country at no distant period. Our measures have been all temporary, and a miserable system of expedients has in general been resorted to. Our barracks have been made of wood; our fortifications of earth. Almost every thing of a permanent and expensive nature has been constructed by the French. It was they who built the Chateau St. Louis, the place of the Intendant, the Jesuits’ and the Dauphin’s barracks at Quebec; as also those of Montreal. Money was unquestionably spent by us during the late war; but a judicious application of one quarter of the sum in time of peace, if it had not prevented the war altogether, would at any rate have diminished its expense, and removed all chance of its uncertainty. It is not meant by these remarks to throw blame on those who had the management of public affairs, for their neglect of Canada during the period alluded to; but engaged in the tremendous struggle of the French revolutionary wars, interests of a secondary nature were of course sacrificed; and all our means being required for more pressing objects, those which only promised a remote benefit were necessarily postponed for future consideration.

“Some idea of the present value of Canada may be formed by the circumstance of of 1,800 square-rigged British vessels having last year entered the Gulph of St. Lawrence. Would this trade, this nursery for our seamen, this employment for British capital and industry have existed if France had remained mistress of Canada and the surrounding provinces? and yet we are desirous to show a single benefit we have derived from the possession of Canada.

“The French navy suffered a severer blow by the loss of the battle on the heights of Abraham, in 1759, than was subsequently inflicted by Howe, or even by the repeated victories of Nelson. In Canada the Marine of France was not only deprived of her right arm, but the strength taken from her was acquired by her rival. The example of France may show us, in contradiction to the assertion of the Reviewers, (if we are not infatuated and dazzled by the glare of the new lights of modern philosophy,) that a military cannot exist without a commercial navy, nor a commercial navy without colonies. The French navy declined from the day France lost Canada. Her flourishing island of St. Domingo (which gave constant employment to 12,000 seamen) enabled her to continue for some time longer to rank as a maritime power. The wild and visionary reformers who brought about the French revolution, assisted by the society of the *Amis des Noirs*, soon however deprived their country of her remaining colony. Without colonies, and consequently without shipping employed in navigation to and from her colonies, the navy of France had no means, during the revolutionary war, of recruiting seamen. Sea-going ships (although contrary to the opinion of the Reviewer) must have sea-faring men; and sea-faring men are only to be bred and trained by frequent voyages and constant practice. Every friend to humanity, every man of common feeling must deprecate the custom of pressing and wish it to be abolished; but whatever arrangements may be made for the future manning of our navy; whatever may be the inducements to be held forth for seamen to serve in the men of war, it is evident the facility of procuring the men required must depend upon the general total of the sea-faring people belonging to Great Britain; and that general total upon the extent of her commerce and the number of her merchantmen.

“With the loss of her colonies fell, as we have seen, the navy of France. England, on the contrary, having fortunately preserved her own, and even acquired the most valuable of those of her rival, was enabled by the supplies of seamen afforded her by her colonial commerce, to carry her naval force to the greatest extent. Occasionally without an ally, and shut out from all ports but those of our own colonies, the commerce nevertheless flourished. Her colonies were her markets for her manufactures. Her colonial trade formed and kept up her supplies of seamen. The additional duties levied upon the importation of colonial produce materially assisted her treasury. Is it possible that with these facts before us, we are now told our colonies are of no use, and boldly defied to show what benefits we have derived from the possession of provinces which even at present give employment to 1800 square rigged vessels, and which number in a very few years must unquestionably be doubled.

“It is stated by the Reviewer, and with truth, that our exportations are considerably greater to America as she is, than to America as she was; that the inhabitants of the United States consume more of our manufactures than were ever demanded by the British North American colonies; and this circumstance is brought forward as a proof of the inutility of colonies; and in corroboration of his assertion that we do not require colonies as markets for our manufactures, the consumption of which will always be insured by their superiority and cheapness as compared with those of other nations. From hence the Reviewer would infer that our trade with Canada and its surrounding provinces is no proof of any advantage we derive from being in possession of these colonies; that we should equally have the trade without any expense or inconvenience.

“I confess, that although I agree in the premises, yet, that the inference I draw is very contrary to that of the Reviewer. The additional demand for our manufactures in America is not the consequence of the separation of the United States from Great Britain, but the natural effect of that increased wealth and population which time has brought about. It appears to me that if, notwithstanding our separation; if, in spite of every endeavour to establish manufactures of their own; if in opposition to the hostile feeling which unfortunately at one time animated both the government and a great part of the people of America, the demand for our manufactures is still so great; we may fairly suppose it would have been considerably more extended had they continued subjects to the same king, and members of the same empire, closely connected by every tie of a public and private nature. Those reflections, however, related only to the quantity of our manufactures exported to America. The reviewer has omitted to state that the Americans carry for the greatest part themselves, to the manifest advantage of their shipping interest; thus acquiring facilities towards the formation of a future navy. A British merchantman is seldom seen at New-York. In this particular it must at any rate be confessed, we suffer by the separation of our ancient colonies. We have not only lost the commercial navy employed in that trade, but it has become available to feed a growing military navy on the other side of the Atlantic.

“Upper Canada contains a population of about 160,000 souls, and has 44,000 men enrolled and embodied as militia. This colony, is, however, as yet in its infancy. The fertility of its soil, the mildness of its climate, and the luxuriance of its vegetation, must unquestionably render it, and with rapidity, a province of the greatest importance. The natural outlet for its products is evidently Montreal. Some assistance will be necessary from Great Britain, to enable this country to have a water communication from

Lake Ontario to Montreal, by which the dangers of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, may be at all times avoided. The Upper Canadians are too poor to attempt an undertaking of this sort themselves; but, which if neglected or postponed too long, will throw their trade into other channels. The province of New Brunswick is situated between Lower Canada and Nova Scotia. The settlements are principally confined to the banks of the St. John's river. The population of New-Brunswick is 70,000 souls, the militia 11,000. Nova Scotia is a most thriving province; and being the nearest and readiest point of communication for the British North American colonies with Great Britain, as also on account of the dock-yard, and the Harbour of Halifax, is of the utmost consequence. It contains 86,000 inhabitants, and has 12,000 very respectable militia. Prince Edward's Island, within the Gulph of St. Lawrence and close to Nova Scotia, has a population of about 24,000 souls, and 4,000 embodied militia.

“From the foregoing statements it appears that the five colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, New-Brunswick, Nova-Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island have an armed force of able bodied militia amounting to no less than 147,000 men. It would be insulting human nature to suppose the Americans are ever to take possession of these provinces without the consent of the inhabitants. With the powerful assistance to be derived from such a body of armed men, whose numbers are moreover rapidly increasing, we ought to be ashamed of ourselves if we ever dream of evacuating them.

“The dislike entertained by Lower Canada towards the Americans has already been explained. It is a national sentiment which will probably last for ages to come. The inhabitants of Upper Canada, of New-Brunswick, and of Nova-Scotia, have not the same hostile feeling towards the United States; but happy and contented under their own government, they are perfectly aware that, in leaving the protection of Great Britain, they would have nothing to gain and every thing to lose. Each province is governed by laws framed by its own parliament. They pay no taxes but of their own imposing, and expended under their own superintendance. So far from their being any probability of his Majesty's north American provinces merging (as the Reviewer predicts) in the American Republic, the Americans are rather disposed to view their situation with envy; and many of the most intelligent amongst them have repeatedly declared that, had they been governed upon the same liberal and enlightened principles which have been adopted with respect to the provinces in question, they would never have left our side. It was the tempting but illusive idea of raising a direct revenue in America which caused the loss of the colonies. Not content with the daily golden egg, we lost our bird, like the boy in the fable, in consequence of our impatient greediness. May the experience of our fathers not be lost on their children.”

Mr. Justice Haliburton, the author of the other pamphlet under consideration, has directed his observations more particularly against the falacy of this new anti-colonial system as applied to the British North American Provinces, for although they may at present be a charge upon the mother country, they are nevertheless of immense value to Great Britain, on account of the productions they furnish, whilst the cession of them to the United States would increase their maritime resources, now so rapidly augmenting as to require no such impolitic abandonment to aid the strides they are making towards

becoming a formidable naval power. In an introductory letter, addressed to his Excellency Lieut. General Sir James Kempt, the author remarks that,

“If now in time of peace and prosperity his Majesty’s Ministers should judiciously employ an adequate sum of money, to put these colonies into a permanent state of defence, it would shew to the inhabitants of the British Isles, to the Colonies, and to the United States of America that they were in earnest in their intention to retain them, and, I will venture to predict that, the very manifestation of this determination would do more towards the retention of them, than the fortifications themselves. The British public, who have great confidence in the integrity and talents of the present administration, would set a greater value upon possessions which the government deemed worthy of this exertion for their defence. The inhabitants of these colonies would not be led, as they may be, by these publications, (alluding to the writings in the *Edinburgh Review* and other works of the same political tendency,) into a state of vacillation between the character of British subjects and American citizens, and would cherish more warmly every sentiment and every pursuit that tended to rivet the connexion between them and the parent state—and the United States would weigh well the consequences before they made any attempt to wrest from Great Britain possessions which she shewed herself determined to preserve.”

That this determination has been formed is evident, if the alacrity which manifests itself in completing the military works and in improving the inland water communication be considered as any indication of the interest which the parent state takes in these colonies, and must prove a source of satisfaction to every well disposed inhabitant, who dispassionately regards the advantages derived from the powerful protection of Great Britain.

Mr. Haliburton, in his first chapter, explains that so far from the expenses incurred in the prosecution of these and similar works, being unprofitably bestowed, so far even as the interest of Great Britain is considered, it would be a prudent outlay of money, from which, to use a mercantile expression, an adequate return might ultimately be expected. Maintaining, at the outset of the observations, that a mere debt and credit account in pounds shillings and pence, should not alone engross the mind of a statesman, but that co-existing circumstances, and the relative situation of our growing and ambitious neighbours ought also to be taken into the calculation, for

“It behoves” says Mr. H. “those who would wish to form a correct opinion of the propriety of retaining or discarding, to consider well the present situation of the United States of America. During the long contest which so recently distracted the feelings of a large portion of the population of that country was decidedly hostile to us; and their government chose to declare war upon us at a time when the freedom not only of Great Britain but of the whole world might be said to depend upon the event of the invasion of Russia by Buonaparte.

“Circumstances may again occur to excite a similar disposition, and it may be roused into action at a period still more inconvenient than that which has just been alluded to. Should not our statesmen then reflect upon the means by which this hostile disposition may be best averted, and how it may be rendered less formidable should it unfortunately be excited.”

This reason if it stood alone, would be sufficient to satisfy most of our readers that it is the policy of Great Britain to retain her North American Colonies; not that they send to England rich freights, or contribute largely to the increase of the revenue, but because, retaining possession of them, she possesses within herself a vast country capable, from the nature of its productions, of rendering her wholly independent both of the North of Europe and of the United States of America. To yield therefore to the United States, the British American colonies would be to take the most direct step for rendering that nation formidable to Great Britain, for it is only as a maritime power that the United States, can come in contact with the nations of Europe. By the cession of the North American Colonies Great Britain would not only lose a valuable nursery for seamen, and an exhaustless store of maritime resources, but in relinquishing these inestimable advantages, she would put them into the hands of that power which must inevitably, and at no distant period, become a great maritime state, and whose navy will very soon be a valuable addition to the fleets of any European power in any future war.

To shew that such would be the effect produced by the abandonment of these provinces, the author cites the case of France and Spain, which with a joint population of forty millions, and possessing equal advantages with the United States, were unable to equip and man fleets sufficiently powerful to destroy those of the Sea-girt Islands, which do not possess half that population, and he contends that the inhabitants of those parts of the United States which are at a distance from the ocean would not be led to seek their subsistence on the sea, and hence from the nature of their previous habits and occupations would not be available as seamen to man ships of war, whereas the coasts, rivers and lakes of these colonies would all contribute to form seamen.

In further support of these observations Mr. H. next proceeds to enumerate the different maritime districts of Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, and details the peculiar aptitude of each for producing hardy and enterprizing seamen, either by the fisheries or from the employment furnished to mariners by the coasting trade carried on along a difficult and dangerous coast, and he also takes into the account the number of vessels annually employed in the trade both with Nova-Scotia and

New-Brunswick, as well as with Canada, which, though chiefly owned in Great Britain and manned with British seamen, yet is it not reasonable to suppose that if the colonies were to become American that American vessels and seamen would not in a great measure be substituted for British in this trade. He asks this alarming question, "in the event of a mischievous combination between America and the Northern Powers of Europe, where would Great Britain obtain those supplies of timber and other articles which these colonies are capable of producing, and which she may command as long as she retains them in her own possession?"

But we must give some further extracts from these very sensible observations :—

"Let us here pause," says the author, "and behold this young gigantic Republic, in possession of this vast addition to her sea coast, a great part of which would deny to the people, who inhabited it, a subsistence from the soil, but would afford to them not merely a subsistence, but the means of acquiring wealth from the sea; and the remainder capable not only of supporting a numerous population, but abounding in minerals of various descriptions—in inexhaustible forests of timber, and other means of supporting an immense Foreign and Coasting Trade."

Again, speaking more particularly of Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick.

"Let us contemplate the numerous inhabitants of this extensive coast, who from their pursuits, their habits, their laws, their language, their religion, and their feelings, bear a greater resemblance to the inhabitants of Great Britain than any other portion of the known world, and who are now well disposed to continue her subjects—let us, I say, view these persons ranged on the side of her enemies—let us see them manning the fleets of hostile America, and engaged in endeavouring to subvert that power which they are now desirous to support—let us see the treasures of Great Britain lavished to carry on a maritime war with America, into which but for this accession of strength, the latter would not perhaps have engaged, and then let us ask ourselves if it would be wise in those who can retain them as subjects of Great Britain, to relinquish them to America, merely because they do not *directly* pay into her treasury, a revenue equal to the expense of their establishments."

After taking a retrospect of the causes which led to the acquirement of these Provinces to be considered important, not on account of the positive advantages which the nation reaped from their possession, but of the blow which it gave to France, then our most formidable rival, he asks whether it would be prudent for the sake of a present saving of a few pounds to abandon this most important country to a nation which when she once obtains possession of the coast described, will become more formidable upon the ocean than France has ever been, and continues,

“That nation has already evinced a disposition to rank herself among the enemies of Great Britain. The events of the last short war had a strong tendency to increase the natural vanity of the Americans, and to induce them to believe that they alone are capable of coping with Englishmen upon the Seas; nor let us conceal from ourselves that there is some foundation for this idea—they are descended from Britons—they have the spirit and energy of freemen; the climate of the northern portion of their country is calculated to make them hardy, and it must not be supposed that they are even now contemptible foes.

“It remains for Great Britain to decide whether the maritime population of the country which I have described, shall add to her strength or to that of this growing rival.

“The inhabitants of British America have no desire to change their national character, and will feel disposed to cling to the mother country, as long as she fosters and protects them. Does not sound policy then require that she should do so? Should a country which will be capable of adding so much to her own maritime strength, and the loss of which would add so much to that of another, and a rival nation, be voluntarily abandoned by Great Britain?”

To us, as we have already said, it appears that this view of the question relative to the value of the colonies clearly decides that they are objects of the most favourable attention which Great Britain can bestow upon them.

The author next investigates the arguments adduced by those who are unfriendly to the retention of the North American Colonies; that the very value which renders them desirable appendages to the British Empire, must lead to contests with America, and that therefore it would be better to surrender them at once, and whilst the writer admits that “if America were governed by a Monarch or even consisted of one vast Republic, that the acquisition of these colonies would be so great an addition to their maritime strength, that those who ministered their affairs would never rest, until they had achieved a conquest which under either of those forms of government, sound policy would urge them to make. But he contends that as “instead of being one entire Republic, they consist of a confederation of Republics, and the Congress is composed of persons who receive a delegated power from various States, that are not only destitute of common interests upon various points; but, whose interests frequently clash with each other,” this danger is not to be apprehended.

Mr. Haliburton next remarks upon the decided jealousy which the inhabitants of the southern states on the coast of the Atlantic, and those of the western territory, entertain against that of New-York and the New-England states, and as the acquisition of Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick would give great additional weight to the northern maritime states, the southern and western portions of the Union are not likely to concur in

any measure leading to an such event. This writer also maintains that the cession of the British North American Colonies to the United States, so far from being likely to put an end to all disputes between those powers, would, on the contrary, in all probability render the United States in any future dispute, more lofty in their tone in proportion as they found their power increased; that the possession of the West India Colonies would be endangered, for not only would the commercial interests of the then, newly fraternized American citizens lead them to desire that the West India Islands, should be subject to the same power, but the increase of maritime strength and the vicinity of the United States to the West India Islands, would give America greater facilities than she now possesses, of obtaining them by force of arms; whilst the government of a state in which a great portion of the rulers are slave-holders, and encouragers of negro slavery would be more agreeable to the inhabitants of the sugar colonies than the rule of a nation the the majority of whose inhabitants and of its rulers hold the traffic in human beings, and the holding them in bondage in equal detestation.

As next in importance to the retention of these provinces by the parent state, our author proceeds in the fifth chapter of his work, to discuss the political footing in which it appears to him they ought to stand in relation both to themselves and the mother country. Approving most cordially of our author's observations on this subject, we shall extract them entire, in case of derogating from the pleasure with which they must be perused by every man interested in the improvement and lasting happiness of the British provinces in America.

“Should the result of the deliberations of his Majesty's ministers, upon this subject, be in favour of retaining the North American Colonies, this is the period of all others in which they should manifest that opinion most publicly.

“The recent removal of the restrictions upon the Colonial commerce, and the attention which has been paid to the memorials of the colonists upon this subject, has had the happiest effects upon the minds of his Majesty's subjects in this portion of his dominions.

“If, then, the two great measures, of putting these Colonies into a respectable state of defence, and of re-modelling the Colonial Governments in such a manner as to remedy the evils which now exist in consequence of their having been injudiciously divided into so many separate Provinces, should be attempted under the present administration, they would find the public mind disposed to view their measures in a favourable light, and the claims of local and personal interest, which will ever be excited against the re-union of the Provinces, will probably have less effect now than at any other time.

“But when I talk of a re-union of the Provinces, I by no means wish to be considered as an advocate for uniting the British Colonies in North America under one confederate government. This plan I know has been proposed, but I deem it not merely useless but mischievous.

“ The local legislatures, when the limits of their several jurisdictions are properly arranged, are much better adapted to guard and guide the local interests of these colonies than a general legislature for British North America can ever be ; and therefore the local legislatures will never willingly surrender the rights which they now possess—but, say the advocates for this plan, there is no intention of annihilating the local legislatures, but of authorizing them to send delegates to the general confederate government, who are to look to the common interests and defence of the whole, and have a controul in all matters of revenue, which they are to apportion among the several colonies, for the disposal of their own local legislatures.

“ I would in the first place observe that confederate governments are ever governments of intrigue and compromise. In a country like the United States of America the act of confederation was a wise measure, because it prevented the small states from engaging in wars with each other, and increased their power to resist a foreign enemy—thereby securing, so long as it shall last, peace at home and respect abroad.

“ But the supreme power of the Imperial Parliament is a much better band of union for us, than a confederation of these provinces can be. One province cannot declare war upon another, nor can any nation invade us without becoming the enemy of the British empire.

“ Thus the great advantages of confederation are gained upon much better terms ; and I will therefore dismiss the consideration of this proposal with these remarks.

“ If the confederate government should have much power to interfere with the local systems, they would either weaken the connexion between the mother country and the colonies, by turning the attention of those legislatures from the government at home, to which they now always look in cases of difficulty, and to which should ever be encouraged to look, or they would excite discontent and jealousy in the local legislatures by their interference.

“ If they had not such power, then they would have very little to do, and like other idlers would probably fall into mischief.

“ It cannot, however, be denied, that British America is now divided into too many separate governments, and that those interests are now committed to the charge of two or three distinct legislatures (who frequently come to different conclusions upon them,) which ought to be under the general superintendance of one. This observation applies most forcibly to the Canadas, where the revenue of the Upper Government is placed at the mercy of that of the Lower ; and where the general interest of the whole imperiously demands that a union of the two provinces should take place.

“ It is much to be lamented that this measure has been abandoned—the ferment which the proposal must excite, when local and personal interest in both provinces, and national prejudices in Lower Canada, induce so many to mislead themselves and others in the consideration of this question, had been fully roused, and would not have shewn itself more strongly if his Majesty's Government had firmly persisted in the measure.

“ Whenever the proposal is renewed, this ferment will be renewed also ; and, as it proved successful in the last instance, will probably be manifested with increased virulence, but the permanent good which will result from the measure will ultimately overcome it.

“ Upper Canada will so soon feel the advantages of it, that there can be little doubt that the discontent, which it will excite, will soon subside in that province, and the British Inhabitants of Lower Canada, who comprise a vast proportion of the wealth, information and talents of the country will very generally be its advocates.

National prejudice, and the influence of designing men, over an uninformed populace may keep the ferment alive for some time among the French

Canadians; but surely the Imperial Parliament ought not to be deterred, by prejudice and ignorance, from adopting a measure which would so greatly advance the future happiness and prosperity of this part of his Majesty's dominions.

“ Let the public faith be most scrupulously kept with the French inhabitants of Canada; let their religion and their laws be confirmed to them in the act of union; and let the most positive instruction be given to the King's representative there, never to assent to any bill that invades these rights—but let not a state of things continue which gives to the French the entire mastery over his Majesty's English subjects in that colony, and excludes the most loyal and best informed portion of the population from any share in the discussion of their interests in the popular branch of the Legislature.

“ The union of Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, under one Government, is not of such paramount necessity, but it would be attended with great advantages. It is much to be lamented that they ever were meted into separate governments, and some difficulty may attend the reduction of them again into one, but so many benefits would result from it, that I think there is sufficient good sense in these colonies to induce the majority of them to approve of the measure.

“ It should not however depend upon the prejudiced view which the colonists may take of this subject, but upon the enlightened wisdom of the Imperial Parliament, whose supreme power must extend over all his Majesty's dominions. I am no advocate for the unconstitutional exertion of that power, and I trust that august body will never display a disposition to infringe the rights of his Majesty's colonial subjects—but whether it is more desirable that we should exercise those rights under the guidance and superintendance of these local legislatures or of one, is a subject upon which they can form a more unprejudiced opinion than we can. As an individual, I acknowledge my opinion, that as the pursuits and interests of Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, are very similar, that those pursuits and interests would be best forwarded and guarded by being placed under the protection of one, rather than continued under the separate care of three legislatures, but others may be of a different opinion. Might it not be a judicious measure to appoint two sets of commissioners to inquire into this subject?

“ The commissioner for the Canadas to be joined by two discreet inhabitants—one of Lower, the other of Upper Canada—to be nominated by the respective Governors of those colonies, under instructions from home—and the other for these Atlantic provinces, to be joined by an inhabitant from each of the provinces of Nova-Scotia, and New-Brunswick to be appointed, under similar instructions by the Governors of those provinces.

“ A mass of information might thus be collected which would enable his Majesty's ministers to decide upon the propriety of bringing this measure before Parliament, and the attention to the future government and security of the colonies, which would thus be manifested, would convince both the inhabitants of the colonies, and of the United States—that Great Britain had no intention of relinquishing her dominion over her possessions in this hemisphere.”

The fifth and last chapter we shall also give entire.

“ The preceding observations have been directed against those writers who have assumed as a general position ‘ that no colony is worth retaining unless the mother country derives from it a revenue equal to her expenditure upon it;’ and an humble attempt has been made to induce his Majesty's ministers to think, that the North American Colonies are valuable appendages to the British Crown, independently of all considerations of pecuniary profit and loss.”

“The writer of these pages does not boast of that intimate knowledge of the principles of political economy which would enable him to unravel all the intricacies of that perplexing science, and to prove to demonstration that, although these colonies do not directly pay into the treasury of Great Britain a sum equal to that which is annually issued from it for their support and defence, they do indirectly increase the commerce and manufactures of the mother country in a degree that renders her no loser by them upon the whole; yet, he thinks, that might well admit of proof from the pens of those who have devoted themselves to the consideration of such subjects.

“Indeed the Edinburgh Reviewers, who are strong advocates for ridding Great Britain of the incumbrance of her colonies, do not deny that she derives advantages from her commerce with them, in common, however with that which she carries on with the rest of the world; but they are of opinion that she would derive the same advantages from them which she now does if they were independent of all connexion with her.

“They contend that as long as the manufactures of Great Britain are superior to, and cheaper than, those of other nations, that she will ever experience the same demand for them that she now does; but they gravely tell us that it will be of little importance whether these manufactures are carried to market, or the returns from them are brought to Great Britain, in foreign or British ships—that it is erroneous to suppose ‘that an extensive mercantile is necessary to the possession of a great warlike navy.’—‘That all that is required for the attainment of naval power is the command of convenient harbours, and of wealth sufficient to build and man ships’—and ‘that, however paradoxical it may at first sight appear, it is nevertheless unquestionably true, that the navy of Great Britain might be as formidable as it now is, or if that was desirable, infinitely more so, though we had not a single merchant ship.’

“These sage Reviewers proceed to tell us very gravely that the merchant service is a very “round about method of breeding sailors” for the navy, and that it would be a much better plan to “breed up sailors directly in men of war,” to effect which these advocates for discarding the colonies, on account of the expense of maintaining them, propose that Great Britain should always keep afloat a sufficient number of men of war, manned wholly during peace with able bodied seamen, to enable her on the breaking out of a war, with the addition of the proportion of landsmen and boys allowed by the Admiralty to equip a fleet worthy of the mistress of the sea!!!

“Had the wise gentlemen who conduct this Review had the conduct of the affairs of the nation during the last ten years, those rows of floating castles which have so long been lying in idleness at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham, would not have excited the anxiety which John Bull so lately felt lest his bulwarks were mouldering with the dry rot—they would have been ploughing their own element, contending with, and, of course, sometimes suffering from its fury—filled with the choicest seamen, who would have been withdrawn from the servile task of adding to the nation’s wealth in the employment of humble individuals, and would have been nobly employed in consuming the revenues of the country, and cruising in quest of a non-existing foe; for I take it for granted, as these sailors are to be trained up in men of war, that the fleets in which they are to be trained are not to lie like guard-ships at their moorings.—No, these costly nurseries, with their full complement of able-bodied seamen, whose services will only be obtained by paying them the highest of wages, must proceed to sea, and thus encounter the dangers of the ocean, and such of them as escape from it will return into port to refit, and give ample employment to a numerous host of carpenters, shipwrights, rope-makers, blacksmiths, &c., &c., &c., who would all

be rescued from the degradation of looking up to private persons for a subsistence, by procuring employment in the ship-yards of our merchants, and become respectable salaried servants of their King and country.

“ But this is really too serious a subject for badinage, and at the same time it is difficult to bring one’s self to answer people seriously who hold the monstrous position that a nation, whose greatness is founded upon her naval power, should be indifferent to her mercantile marine—who tells us that convenient harbours and wealth sufficient to build and man ships is all that is requisite for the attainment of naval power.

“ Has not France, has not Spain, convenient harbours, have they not each had ample revenues in the days of their prosperity, to build and to pay for the manning of fleets; have they not been animated with the most earnest desire to crush the naval power of Great Britain, and have they not been unable to do so, because, although they had abundance of men to place upon the decks of their ships, they were destitute of seamen to manage them.

“ That great statesman, Mr. Burke, laid it down as an axiom, that experience was our surest guide either in political or private life, and until these gentlemen can point out to us an instance, in which a nation, possessing commodious harbours and abundant wealth, has attained to permanent naval power, without a respectable maritime population, let us pursue the beaten track.

“ Let us leave our merchants, who are engaged either in foreign commerce, in the coasting trade or in fisheries, to devise schemes for the cheapest and most effectual mode of procuring those seamen in times of peace which their respective pursuits required, and we may depend upon it, that individual interest and sagacity will effect the object of creating and preserving a maritime population more effectually, and upon better terms than government can do. Let us not, by the adoption of this scheme, withdraw from their service thousands of the best seamen, to eat the bread of the nation either in idleness or in unproductive activity; and increase the expense of navigating our merchant ships, by raising wages in the degree which this demand, or rather this unnecessary employment of seamen, would inevitably occasion, and thus drive those whose interest it now is to give bread to British seamen, to carry on their business in the ships of foreigners.

“ Let us not too hastily adopt the opinion, that as long as British manufactures are better and cheaper than those of other nations, that we shall always enjoy the same share of commerce that we now do, and that it is unimportant whether this commerce is carried on in British or foreign vessels. While all things flow smoothly, the individuals of every country, will naturally seek to supply their wants upon the best terms, and will therefore resort to that country which can supply them with the best, and cheapest articles; but governments may take a different view of the subject, and controul the wishes of the people in this respect. Great Britain is equally hated and feared in Europe—and the governments of that country would willingly see the sceptre of the ocean transferred to this side of the Atlantic. Distant America could not interpose that barrier which the naval power of Great Britain has so often enabled her to do to European ambition, and if that power were once lost where shall we find a counterpoise for that of France, whose ambition has so often threatened the liberties of the continental nations, and the destruction of our own.

“ Let us remember the declaration of the greatest politician and warrior that France has possessed for many ages: that all he required, to render that country powerful upon the ocean, was ships, colonies and commerce: and as the result of his observation upon the wants of France, is confirmed by the experience of the advantages which have resulted to Great Britain from

such possessions, let us support and cherish them with with the most anxious care.

“Let speculative politicians amuse themselves with their discussions upon minor subjects; but let them not be encouraged to SPORT WITH OUR PALLADIUM.”

Having performed the pleasing task of laying before our readers ample extracts from these interesting pamphlets, any remark of ours is rendered superfluous, by the perspicuity with which the writers have, severally, shewn the advantages resulting to the the mother country from the colonial possessions. Advantages of which the present ministers have shewn themselves to be fully aware, and therefore there is little probability that they will be induced by the clamours of an opposition, (remarkable chiefly for its jealousy of ministerial power, and ready to impose upon the public any nostrum of political quackery, however opposed to the conduct which has the test of long experience for its support), to abandon a tried and approved policy, an adherence to which has mainly contributed to raise Great Britain to the permanent rank she has so long held in the scale of nations. But even if so unlooked for an event should arrive as that these cavillers should succeed to ministerial sway, is it probable that they would dare attempt carrying their boasted innovations into practice? Believe it not,—there is such a thing as *responsibility*, and of this ministers stand greatly in awe. It is one thing to stand by and find fault with the management of the vessel, and another to direct its course; if therefore the most strenuous advocates of the anti-colonial system, were, as we have before supposed, to step into administration they would discover some cogent reason for retaining those colonies they now affect to consider mere useless incumbrances; or if they were inclined to persevere in making an improvement of the theory promulgated by the political economists of the Edinburgh Review, the commercial and manufacturing classes, too powerful to be lightly disregarded, would check their career, even if the lords of the soil should be won over to the measure. The danger therefore of publishing such speculations, as those which the pamphlets before us are calculated to controvert, is the effect they may have upon the inhabitants of the colonies, who at a distance may be led to mistake the visions of these political dreamers for the leading opinion of their fellow subjects in the mother country. As an antidote to such evil it is therefore desirable that the contents of their pages should be more generally diffused than from the form and mode of their publication they appear to have, hitherto, been in those colonies in which their influence is most needful.

Sketches of NEW-BRUNSWICK ; containing an account of the first settlement of the province, with a brief description of the country, climate, productions, inhabitants, government, rivers, towns, settlements, public institutions, trade, revenue, population, &c.
 BY AN INHABITANT OF THE PROVINCE. Saint John: 1825.
 —8vo. pp 108.*

Since the commencement of our labours it has been our good fortune to have had several occasions to express our unqualified approbation of works of the above description, as forming not only useful manuals in themselves, but valuable materials for the economist as well as the general philosophical historian. They constitute at once the basis of statistics, topography, and geography; and form the minor streams which are so necessary in carrying the current of national history down to future ages. Though emblematical of the rude origin of civilization on this continent, yet they will ultimately become the proud monuments of the industry and perseverance of man in surmounting the greatest difficulties and hardships to which he can possibly be exposed in his progress to moral and political happiness. In a word, they may be said to be what the modesty of their general title terms them, the rude *Sketches* of the unskilful artist at the dawning of society, upon which the more cultivated and scientific professor is destined to found the beauty and glory of his art. But what renders these provincial histories of peculiar importance at the present moment, is the broad and conspicuous light in which they place the value to their inhabitants and the parent country of the rich and extensive provinces of which they treat; while a turbulent and malignant spirit has gone abroad to depreciate that value, and foment opinions and sentiments the most dangerous and destructive of the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity at once of the colonies and the parent state.

That spirit, conceived by disaffection, bred in the corruption of a party, and disseminated by the trumpet of sedition, we are glad to find every wise and prudent man exclaiming against in language that does honour to the human heart and understanding. If ever patriotism had occasion to be indignant; if she ever found it necessary to resent an injury; or to lift her magnanimous sword to punish and repel an attack upon her virtue and purity, it is now, when the malignant spirit we have spoken of is stalking through the land, proclaiming with comparative

* This and the preceding article were written by two different persons, which will account for the insertion in one number, of two articles so much alike in some leading points.—Ed.

impunity its abhorred doctrine, and, with all the wiles of a fiend, endeavouring to seduce both the parent and children from that affection and obedience which have hitherto been their pride and ornament, and which we hope are ever destined to bind them as one, indivisible and unalienable. Generally speaking no doctrine can possibly be fraught with more dangerous consequences; no doctrine can be at greater variance with the fundamental principles of humanity and sound policy, than that which advocates the separation of colonies from the parent state. It cruelly and heartlessly destroys those natural, moral, political, and social ties by which civilization may have connected one people geographically situated at a distance from each other. It disorganizes governments, corrupts the faith of public character, and sullies national transactions and commerce with the basest and most contemptible frauds. It annihilates public credit. It sours the national temper; and renders national hospitality callous to the best principles and the finest feelings of our nature. It in a manner and for a time, sets mankind free from the golden chains of civilization, and sends them back to their original situation among the savages of the forest, without order, law, or social affiance. Descending from its evil effects in a national point of view, it corrodes private friendship, the great soother of sorrows and gentle admonisher of foibles; and effectually destroys the manners and charities of social life. It puts the debtor on a level with the creditor. It abolishes the respect due by inferiors to superiors. It raises the ignorant to a level with the learned. It enkindles domestic and foreign enmity. It bereaves man of every generous sentiment. It uplifts his hand against his fellow subject; and completes his ruin by driving him to the necessity of becoming a pirate on sea or a robber on land. In short, it transforms society into one heterogenous mass, without the sword of the law, the scales of justice, the compass of commerce, the rudder of navigation, or the polar star of religion to guide and direct them in the moral chaos which generally follows the dismemberment of states.

As to this doctrine as now promulgated by the political false prophets of the day, and the seditious advocates of their country's ruin and disgrace, we feel that it is impossible to speak with that degree of dignity and patience which becomes us. We believe that this monster, the purpose of whose creation was obviously to sever in perpetuity the British Colonies from the parent country, was first fostered into maturity in that hot-house of anti-British principles and sentiments of which the *Edinburgh Review*, to the eternal disgrace of literature, is the great, and, we believe, the only organ and prolocutor. At all

events, it is certain, that this otherwise meritorious publication has, almost from its commencement, never ceased to advocate and disseminate the most dangerous doctrine with respect to the political connexion subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies. During all that time it has been the undeviating custom of this far-famed Review and its partizans, to exclaim against the heavy expense to which the colonies annually subjected the mother country, and the grinding burthens which were consequently entailed on the good natured sons of Britannia. Feeble and unprepared with adequate armour as we are, it is our intention to enter into the arena prepared by the controversy occasioned by this strange doctrine; but before doing so let us for a moment appeal directly to the judgment and patriotism of its advocates. We would ask them if they really think there is any thing either manly or honourable in being the advocates of a measure which would inevitably dismember their country, entail ruin on its inhabitants, blast its commercial and political grandeur, and sink both itself and all countries politically connected with it into a dependancy of the slaves and boors of Russia and Tartary? If they are men possessed of the ordinary feelings and sentiments of humanity, we do not envy to them all the pleasure and comfort which their unhappy avocation can confer upon them. But however strong the prepossession of individuals may be for a favourite party; however strong the chain which binds together the members of a faction; however mature the partizanship of disaffection may be, it is utterly unaccountable to us how reason, which always delights in order, regularity and propriety, could be so impenetrably blindfolded as to permit men endowed with the mere elements of common instruction thus to overleap every barrier of patriotism, and become the emissaries of a doctrine the most dangerous to the ultimate glory and happiness of the empire at large. Do they suppose there is any honour or fame attached to deeds of infamy? If they do, instead of attacking and maiming in the dark the limbs of their country, to which they have hitherto confined themselves, let them boldly step forward and stab her to the heart. But this they dare not do. Cowardice is natural to assassins of every description. It is as much a constituent principle in the political assassin as it is in the natural one. Besides, intrigue and cautious undermining are necessary to the accomplishment of all unlawful ends. The anti-colonial politicians are not strangers to these essential virtues of a faction. Though they have been long working in the dark, the noise of their instruments betrayed their purpose, and often checked their progress. Their abominable work was, however, re-commenced from time to time. They insinuated

themselves and their tools into every crevice and cranny that could afford the least protection to their projects. They then impressed into their service all that portion of the periodical press that thinks it no dishonour to fight under any banner, holding out a fair promise of reward and spoil. They next enlisted some of those redoubted political champions, who, unfortunately for themselves and their country, are allowed to disseminate the principles of their sect even within the walls of the national Senate. Thus armed and arrayed, their assaults upon the unity and integrity of the empire became more frequent and daring. Colonial possessions they represented as an excrescence which must sooner or later corrupt the whole body of the nation, if they did not merge, either by rebellion or conquest, into the dominions of the surrounding states. The trade which they maintain with the mother country, was set forth in the light of a sinking clog upon the prosperity of the latter. The sailors employed in the navigation of this trade, were said to be not only useless and burthensome to the country, but of no advantage whatever in manning the Royal Navy, the bulwark of the country's glory and greatness, which could be done by means of other political nostrums, which we profess not to be endowed with faculties to comprehend. In short, colonies were represented as the greatest possible drawback upon the prosperity of the mother country, which must at no distant period become a victim to her paternal affection and generosity!

This, however, was language the immediate object of which could not be longer misconceived or misapplied. It was a thrust at the very vitals of the country, which fortunately served to rouse it to a proper sense of its danger and its injuries. In the mother country, from the Land's end to John O'Groat's, and in the colonies, from Cape Horne to the utmost verge of Australia, every honest and patriotic mind flew to arms to repel such insidious doctrine. Greatly to its honour CABOTIA* has not only rendered itself particularly conspicuous in opposition to this attempt to break up the family compact which has so long subsisted between Great Britain and her colonies, but has positively taken the lead in a cause the maintenance of which does great honour to the parent and children. In this portion of his Majesty's dominions there are about thirty-six periodical

* This appellation, adopted in honour of CABOT, the first explorer, is sanctioned by all the eminent geographers of the present day, and comprehends all the British Canadian territory south of Hudson's Bay; while *Hudsonia* comprises all the lands on the western side of the same. *Fredonia* now distinguishes the United States.

publications of one description or other ; and considering the variety of disposition and talent generally employed in conducting the periodical press, the reader at a distance may be assured that the political doctrines and sentiments propagated by these publications are extremely diversified in their nature, and often opposed to the leading principles of the metropolitan and provincial governments. But to their great praise and eternal honour, we have now before us upwards of thirty Cabotian journals which contain observations on the subject under consideration **DISAPPROVING** and heartily **CONDEMNING**, as it were with one mind and one voice, of the seditious and thrice accursed doctrine which would put a separation between the parent country and her colonial possessions. The private opinion entertained in this country on the same subject, we know to be equally unanimous, strong, and decisive : and of all the political topics of the day, we know of none which creates throughout the British provinces of North America a more lively sentiment of dislike and execration, than the doctrines lately propagated with so much mistaken zeal by the advocates for the dismemberment of the empire.

What can be more honourable to our country than these facts, for the truth of which we pledge ourselves in the most solemn manner ? What can better shew the general contentment and happiness of British subjects in all quarters of the world than an unanimous refusal even to listen to a proposition of severing them from the stem which gave them being ? What can be a better proof of the general satisfaction which prevails in the colonies with the administration of their laws, and the protection afforded to their rights and liberties, than this emphatic disinclination to part with those laws and liberties which they now so freely enjoy as subjects of a great political and commercial empire ? And what better evidence could be adduced of the filial affection and loyalty of the Colonies towards their parent country, than the arraying of themselves in hostilities, even against their fellow-subjects, at the mere proposal of separating them from all that they have hitherto been accustomed to hold dear, great, and glorious beyond every other consideration and object ? Of course our observations will be understood to apply more immediately to the Cabotian provinces ; but as it is well known that the same patriotic sentiments pervade the whole colonies, there can be no harm or prejudice done to any colony by making what we conceive to be *the most important* of the British dominions abroad, the seat of sentiments so honourable to the heart and so worthy of freemen that a parallel to it can scarcely be found in history. As to

the anticolonial advocates, we should be glad to know what farther proofs they would have of the erroneousess of their doctrines, than the simple facts we have stated; than the loud and unanimous voice of the inhabitants of the colonies themselves, exclaiming against a separation with the mother country as a measure, not only involving rights the most dear and consecrated, but to which nothing could compel them to submit but the sword of extermination? If we and others, who have more ably adopted the same line of reasoning, have failed to convince them, we are only left to the resources of every one else similarly situated with respect to a good cause: to compassionate the folly and the vice which generate a hatred of *one's native country*, and make such preparations to counteract his wicked designs as true patriotism and the love of rational freedom universally dictate. With these sentiments, the anticolonial advocates may rest assured, that they will find us and our Cis-Atlantic contemporaries always at our post, in defence of what we conceive to be our country's best and dearest interests.

But, before entering upon the main topics of the disquisition which we have proposed to ourselves on the present important question, it may not be improper to descend to a few general observations in refutation of the principles advocated by these anticolonial economists; principles which not only go to sever the colonies, like so many withered branches, from the parent stem, but involve the very existence of the parent stem itself as a nation. With the view of rendering our remarks as intelligible as we possibly can, we shall present the reader with the cream and substance of the sentiments which elicit them. The following passages we extract from an elaborate, but by no means a learned or patriotic, article on colonial possessions in the LXXXIV number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

“ We defy any one to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatever, derived by us from the possession of Canada, and our other colonies in North America. They are productive of heavy expense to Great Britain, but of nothing else. We are well convinced that it is a moderate computation to affirm, that these provinces have already cost us 60 or 70 millions; and not contented with what we have done, we still continue to lay three or four times the duty on the timber of the North of Europe, that we lay on the timber imported from Canada and Nova-Scotia. We are astonished that Messrs. Robinson and Huskisson should tolerate such a system, Not only is it completely at variance with all the enlarged and liberal principles they have so often professed and acted upon, but it is in the highest degree injurious to all the best interests of the country. It has done much, to cripple and destroy the advantageous commerce we formerly carried on with the Baltic; while it adds greatly to the price, and deteriorates the quality of one of the most important articles imported into the country. And for whom is this sacrifice really made? For whom are the people of Britain made to pay a

high price for inferior timber? The answer is obvious. *Every man of sense, whether in the Cabinet or out of it, knows, that Canada must, at no distant period, be merged in the American republic. And certainly John Bull discovers no very great impatience of taxation, when he quietly allows his pockets to be drained, in order to clear and fertilize a province for the use of his rival Jonathan.*"—pp. 291—2. Boston edition.

"Such being the case with respect to our colonial possessions, it is not easy to see how we could sustain any injury from the total breaking up of the colonial monopoly, or even from the total and unconditional abandonment of these dependencies." p. 293.

"It has been usually supposed, that an extensive mercantile is absolutely necessary to the possession of a great warlike navy; and the most vexatious and injurious restraints have been laid on commerce for the sake of forcing the employment of ships and sailors. *We are satisfied, however, that this idea is wholly without foundation. All that is required for the attainment of naval power, is the command of convenient harbours, and of wealth sufficient to build and man ships.* However paradoxical it may at first sight appear, it is nevertheless unquestionably true, that the navy of Great Britain might be as formidable as it now is, or, if that was desirable, infinitely more so, though we had not a single merchant ship. It is admitted on all hands that the only use of merchant ships, in respect to national defence, is the means afforded by them of breeding up and training sailors, who may afterwards be made available to the manning of the fleet. But, why take this round about method? Why not breed up sailors directly in men-of-war? A sailor who has been bred in a merchantman has a great deal to learn before he can be a good man-of-war sailor. But if a sufficient number of men-of-war were always kept afloat, and manned wholly during peace with able-bodied seamen, then, it is obvious, that by taking on board the portion of landmen and boys allowed by the Admiralty regulations, the supply of seamen might be kept up during war as well as during peace, independently altogether of the merchant service; at the same time that the crews would gain greatly in discipline and efficiency." p. 297.

"But it has been said, that if we deprive the colonists of the monopoly of the British market, they will no longer have any inducement to continue their connexion with us, and that they will revolt! Far, however, from being injurious, the statements we have now submitted prove, beyond all question, that the separation of the colonies would be a very great gain to us." p. 302.

It will readily be observed, that three distinct points, of the greatest possible consequence both to the mother country and the colonies, are especially insisted upon in the above extracts: 1st. That colonies are of no value or consideration whatever to the parent state, but, on the contrary, a great national burden and expense: 2d. That the total and unconditional abandonment of the colonies, would be attended with great commercial and political advantages to the mother country: and, 3d, That the mercantile navy employed in carrying on the trade with the colonies, instead of being useful and necessary for the maintenance of the Royal or military navy, is of great detriment to its improvement and power. In discussing, and we hope effectually refuting, these ridiculously absurd positions, it is our intention to enter into some historical and practical details,

the only *experimental* mode of proving our own opinions and disproving the theoretical absurdities of our opponents; but as there seems to exist a natural and fundamental connexion between ships, colonies, commerce and national power, which it is impossible to sever even in the imagination, we shall, in the first place, make such general statements on this important subject as must necessarily occur to every man of sense and intelligence.

It appears to us an uncontrovertible and self-evident maxim, that colonies are the first and best nurseries of commerce; that maritime commerce, and particularly that of colonies, if conducted on just and liberal principles, enriches the mother country beyond all other denominations of trade, and consequently promotes its national influence and resources in a proportionable degree; that a mercantile navy is the best nursery that can possibly be conceived of a military navy; and that a military navy is the best and safest national protection that human ingenuity and art have hitherto discovered. If these general positions really be correct, and all ancient and modern history goes to support it, it is perfectly astonishing to us how even the phrenzied and dissolute genius of THEORY herself could be suborned to disseminate principles so inimical to the peace and prosperity of empires as those which would destroy the main pillars of civilization; for we maintain that navigation and commerce are not only the main pillars, but the joint parents, of civilization. It is very true indeed that some eminent lawyers and philosophers of ancient times, have advocated the propriety of excluding both from their commonwealths. Plato in particular, in his plan of a well-regulated commonwealth, wholly excludes commercial pursuits and maritime power.* This part of his politics it is probable this great man borrowed from Sparta, from whence Lycurgus banished with gold all the arts and sciences, and, of course, commerce and navigation among the rest. It is, however, well known, that Plato conceived an early antipathy to barter of every description, which may be partly accounted for by the disgraceful circumstance of his having been sold for a slave at the price of five minæ, about sixteen pounds sterling, by Dyonisius, the tyrant of Syraeuse, because he would not condescend to flatter him. Besides, it is well known, that Plato, even if we consider him as divested of all prejudices with regard to commercial pursuits, lived in times when *experience* had little or no share in the formation of scientific or political propositions; and that, had he lived in differ-

* Plato de leg. LIV. *

ent times, when commerce and colonies constituted the real wealth and splendour of empires, he would have thought very differently. It is therefore impossible to view with patience the strongheaded and mistaken zeal of our anticolonial politicians in aping the immature opinions of the GREAT of antiquity, and that for no other reason that we can divine, than the mean and petty gratification of being conspicuous in the destruction of what the wisdom and patriotism of ages have consecrated in the most solemn manner. In their great love of antiquity, however, these astonishing modern sages have completely overlooked a political proverb much older than Plato, that "*A master at sea is à lord at land.*" The truth and wisdom of this just maxim, evidently the object of their derision, they will find, upon inquiry, to be supported and verified by the history of every civilized country that ever existed, but in the page of none more so than that of our own country, whose dazzling splendour, rising solely from her commerce and her colonies, has utterly eclipsed the most distinguished among the surrounding nations. Fortunately for the country, as there have been, so there are, and, we trust, ever will be, men in its councils, who will think differently from our anticolonial politicians on this all-important subject; men who never can forget that our navy and our commerce are coeval with our colonies, and that as they grew and prospered together, so it would be the height of folly and ignorance ever to separate them; men who cannot but remember, that the great figure we make in the world, and the wide extent of our power and influence, are due to our naval strength, for which we stand indebted to our flourishing colonial possessions, the spreading of British fame, and which is of far greater consequence, British freedom, through every quarter of the universe. These are the glorious trophies of maritime and colonial empire, and the fruits of that dominion over the sea, which was claimed by the earliest possessors of Great Britain, and which has been derived by an uninterrupted succession of noble achievements on that element to our own times, in which the fleet of Britain may be truly said to have no rival.

From the remotest ages till the present time, we defy our opponents to point out a single period in which these sentiments were not entertained alike by men of learning, philosophy, and politics. On the contrary our WOODEN WALLS were the unremitting theme of their inquiry and solicitude. Their increase and improvement, if we may say so, was a *standard desideratum* in our national councils. They formed the most fertile subject of our popular poetry; and, in a word, were ever the pride and boast alike of the king and the peasant. Even as far back

as the latter end of the reign of Henry VI., this subject began to be interesting to most writers. It was in this reign, or the beginning of the next, that that very singular and interesting treatise, "*De Politia Conservativa Maris*," was composed. It is written in verse, and as we would recommend the perusal of it to every man solicitous about the commercial and naval prosperity of his country, it may be found in Hackluyt's collection and in Entick's naval history.* In this curious work each nation of Europe is described in its turn as to its commercial connexion with England. Every chapter has a particular title attached to it; that to the general introduction runs thus:—

"Here beginneth the prologue of the process of the libel of ENGLISH POLICIE, exhorting ALL ENGLAND to keep the SEA, and namely the narrow sea; shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and SALVATION to ENGLAND and to ALL ENGLISHMEN."

In this introduction the author shews both the utility and necessity of England's preserving the DOMINION OF THE SEA; so early did it appear to sensible and enlightened minds, that the strength and glory of "the sea-girt isle" depended upon that precaution. The author then proceeds to devote a chapter of his excellent work to the trade and commodities of the different countries of Europe; but this is a subject on which it will be unnecessary to enter. We cannot, however, refrain from quoting, as particularly applicable to the subject under consideration, the pathetic exhortation to England with which it concludes, reminding her of her NATIONAL BULWARK, the SEA, and conjuring her EVER TO MAINTAIN there her superiority:

"Keep then the SEA the WALL of ENGLANDE,
And then is England kept by Godde's hande.
Then, as for any thing that is withoute,
England were at her case withouten doubtte."

Perhaps no work ever more deserved the attention of the merchant, the antiquary, or the politician, than the *De Politia Conservatia Maris*. Indeed it is difficult to say whether it affords a higher idea of the unknown author's head or heart; and to whose memory England owes a monument equal to any that graces Westminster Abbey. Besides it is full of proof that trade was then a very extensive and important concern. It likewise shews that the reasons and grounds of our NAVAL

* It is a matter of regret and frequent disappointment, that neither of these valuable works graces the MONTREAL LIBRARY.

DOMINION were then as thoroughly understood, and as clearly and plainly asserted, as ever they have been since; which is the reason that SELDEN, in his *Mare Clausam*, cites this book as remarkable authority, both in point of argument and learning. Upon the whole, we know not that we can offer a sounder advice to the anticolonial economists than the careful perusal of this interesting production. It will teach them how much at variance their new-fangled opinions are not only with those of every writer of eminence on British commerce and navigation, but with the fundamental principles of the British constitution; and which occasions Montesquieu to remark, "that the English know better than any other people upon earth, how to value at the same time these three great advantages, religion, liberty, and commerce."

It is a most undoubted maxim, that the honour, security, and wealth of this empire, depend upon the protection and encouragement of maritime trade, and the improving and proper managing of its naval strength. Other nations, who were formerly great and powerful at sea, have by negligence and mismanagement, lost their trade, and have seen their maritime power entirely ruined. The commercial and military navy ought therefore to be always the first and most peculiar care of the country. Let foreign trade and seamen be encouraged, and the country will be great and independent while the earth produces timber to build ships with; but let the blighting doctrines of the anticolonial phalanx once get possession of the mind of England, and in a few years her navy, once the invincible protectress of her friends and the dread of her foes, will be seen rotting on her strand, like that of other countries who have neglected so powerful an instrument of defence and protection. Besides, Britain ought never to forget that she owes every thing great and good that she enjoys—even the first breath of liberty that she ever drew after the Roman conquest—to her navy. This last circumstance is so interesting to a discussion of the present nature, that we cannot refrain from presenting it to the reader, as recorded by some of our best historians, though in somewhat an abridged form.

In the year of Lord 285, the Franks and other German nations situated near the mouth of the Rhine, used to infest the adjacent coasts with piratical incursions. In order to repress those sea rovers, the emperor Maximian built a fleet of ships, the command of which he gave to Carausius, an officer of great experience in naval and maritime affairs, appointing Gessoriacum (Boulogne) in Gaul, for their principal station. The new admiral was soon accused of retaining for himself the prizes he took, instead of delivering them to the owners, or to the

imperial treasury; and orders were already given to put him to death. But Carausius, having the people in the fleet strongly attached to him, prevented his fate by sailing over to Britain, where he persuaded the military forces also to join his standard, and assumed the title of Emperor (anno 286), his dominions comprehending the Roman part of Britain, with a considerable district on the opposite coast of Gaul. Carausius knew that a *naval force*, which had conferred the sovereignty upon him, could alone maintain him in it against the power of the Roman emperors. He therefore bestowed the greatest attention on that most important object: and he encouraged foreign seamen and artists of every description to resort to his dominions.* A fleet, which Maximian, after long preparation, had fitted out against him, was completely defeated by his experienced seamen; and the joint emperors of Rome found themselves under the necessity of acknowledging the INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNTY of the British empire in the year 289.

Britain seems to have flourished under the government of Carausius. The general opulence, and flourishing state of the arts are attested by the number and elegance of his coins, three hundred of which, all different, have been published by his biographer, Doctor Stukely. He first repelled, and then lived in friendship with the Caledonians. His fleets for several years rode triumphant in the narrow seas, and even gave laws to the Atlantic ocean, as far as the African shore: and now for the first time BRITANNIA RULED THE WAVES!

In thus reprobating the new-lights of the anticolonial speculators, we do not say that they have hitherto gone altogether the daring length of urging the propriety of dismantling and burning the whole navy of Great Britain, both commercial and military, though we freely admit that their doctrine tends very much to that most melancholy end, when they maintain, that, if our colonies and mercantile shipping, were at the bottom of the sea, our navy "*might be as formidable as it now is, or, if that was desirable, INFINITELY more so!*" What we insist upon, in opposition to the more limited and guarded conclusions of the anticolonists, is, that if you cut off from Great Britain the dominion of the smallest spec of her numerous colonial possessions, or the lightest skiff employed in carrying on the intercourse betwixt them, you make a deep and dangerous inroad

* Had Britain been a *mercantile* naval power at this time, Carausius would not have been under the necessity of enlisting *foreign* mercenaries to defend the liberties of his country. Her own ships would have supplied a sufficient number of able-bodied and well-disciplined *natives* for that purpose, whose courage and loyalty would be undoubted.

not only upon the internal tranquility of the empire, but upon that glorious system under which ALONE it has flourished and been so highly exalted midst the nations of the earth. Touch but a peg of this machine, and we venture to assert, that, notwithstanding its present strength, power, regularity, and splendour, the whole will fall in ruins; leaving behind but the fragments of a once stupendous edifice to be admired like the ancient columns of Athens and Palmyra. This day, we trust, will never come; but in the meantime, instead of undermining, as the anti-colonists are doing, every branch of industry and enterprize that promotes the trade, the territories, and the power of the empire, let us rather encourage and add to them by every possible means consistent with the honour and privileges of a great and flourishing people. Let every human tie conspire to make the British navy our first and anxious care. With it we were launched from barbarism into freedom and independence, and with *its downfall only* can we return to the miserable haunts of poverty and slavery. Both we and it are now in the zenith of our glory; and accursed be he who would detract from it, either by the destruction of any part (for on a part depends the whole) of the system on which it was reared, or by malignantly traducing it, in order to effect its ruin by the stratagem of theoretical speculations and false philosophy.

With respect to the aid derived by Great Britain from her colonies in the maintenance of her military navy, and consequently her dignity and power, we shall in this place be very brief, because it is our intention in a future page to enter into a more particular examination of the political and statistical value of the colonies, especially the Cabotian provinces.

Every school boy knows, that before Great Britain had colonies she had no navy, and that she owes the existence of her navy *solely* to the maritime commerce carried on with her colonies, as we shall afterwards find when we come to give a short historical detail of the rise of both. But the moment the penetrating eye of commerce perceived the extensive field laid open to her enterprize by the wonderful discoveries of Christopher Colon and Vasco de Gama, the ocean became studded with vessels of larger dimensions than had ever before appeared upon it, and the wings of commercial industry were seen waving in every hemisphere. The world never beheld such an era. The discovery of America and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, placed the immense treasures of the East and West at the feet of civilized Europe. As ships were the only means by which they could be collected and extended, it was natural to suppose that an insular country like

Great Britain, inhabited by an enterprising and warlike people, should be among the first to avail herself of a share of the prize in view. Nor did she neglect so auspicious a field of industry and wealth; but with the most indefatigable spirit of laborious perseverance continued to cultivate it until, by becoming the richest nation on the face of the globe, she has also become the most powerful and influential, as well as the most eminent in arts and in arms. Now, the important question is, whether, if, she be deprived of the MEANS by which she attained so enviable a pre-eminence, she can longer continue the mistress of the ocean, or the power that balances the fate of empires? We maintain that she CANNOT. We have already said, and there can be no harm in repeating a fact so important, that her very existence as a nation depends upon her colonies, her commerce, and her shipping. "No such thing," exclaim our anticolonial sages; "for by emancipating the colonies you will find that your trade with them, instead of sustaining any diminution, will be increased; but even if this were not the case, no danger need be entertained for our navy, for, however PARADOXICAL it may appear, We can assure you, that the navy of Great Britain might be as formidable as it now is, or, if that was desirable, INFINITELY MORE SO, THOUGH WE HAD NOT A SINGLE MERCHANT SHIP!" But let us examine this extraordinary doctrine a little more narrowly; for our opponents must excuse us if we decline to take their word for its soundness.

Adam Smith positively asserts, that the share which Great Britain enjoys of the trade of Europe, would not support her great naval power. If that was the case in this day, how much more applicable must the position be to the present times, when our navy has been so much improved and augmented. The thing, however, is strictly true; and though we are not prepared to state in figures to what extent our European trade is capable of supplying the navy; yet on the authority of the statement which we give below,* and to which, as being au-

* TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.—"A comparative statement of British and Foreign Tonnage, cleared outwards from the several ports of Great Britain, distinguishing the several countries; for the year ending 5th Jan. 1826:—

| Cleared from the several ports of Great Britain. | | British Tonnage. | Foreign Tonnage. |
|--|-----|------------------|------------------|
| Russia, | ... | 194,823 | 21,648 |
| Sweden, | ... | 8,749 | 28,571 |
| The Baltic, | ... | 313 | 61,518 |
| Norway, | ... | 8,438 | 148,660 |
| Denmark, | ... | 41,754 | 77,954 |
| Prussia, | ... | 87,858 | 192,893 |

thentic, we beg to solicit the attention of the reader, we venture to assert, that were the trade of Great Britain confined to the ports of Europe, her present naval superiority would in a few years be annihilated; and there is scarcely a petty state in that quarter of the world that would not be able to contend the sovereignty of the sea with her. How preposterous then to say, that our colonies are of no use in promoting and maintaining our mercantile and military navies! Let us, however, suppose for a moment, that they are not, and that we depend solely upon our European trade for the maintenance of our navy, what would be the consequence, if, during some political commotions, we should AGAIN be obliged to undergo the hardships imposed upon us by the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, in 1806 and 1807,† and be completely excluded from all inter-

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|---------|
| Germany, | ... | ... | 80,020 | 60,504 |
| Belgium, | ... | ... | 53,008 | 92,207 |
| France, | ... | ... | 60,975 | 49,131 |
| Portugal, | ... | ... | 54,085 | 9,104 |
| Spain, | ... | ... | 38,317 | 10,957 |
| Gibraltar, | ... | ... | 17,092 | 1,876 |
| The Mediterranean, | ... | ... | — | 821 |
| Italy, | ... | ... | 39,119 | 281 |
| Malta, | ... | ... | 4,405 | — |
| Ionian Islands, | .. | ... | 2,582 | — |
| Turkey, | ... | ... | 18,902 | 410 |
| Foreign Parts, | ... | ... | — | 1,508 |
| Isle of Man, | ... | ... | 28,698 | — |
| Guernsey, | ... | ... | 20,366 | 25 |
| Jersey, | ... | ... | 29,536 | — |
| Alderney, | ... | ... | 798 | — |
| Asia, | ... | ... | 101,198 | 2,171 |
| Africa, | ... | ... | 30,113 | — |
| The Whale Fishery, | ... | ... | 43,721 | — |
| New South Shetland do. | ... | ... | — | — |
| British Northern Colonies, | ... | ... | 411,332 | — |
| British West Indies, | ... | ... | 295,191 | — |
| United States, | ... | ... | 43,130 | 175,436 |
| Foreign West Indies, | ... | ... | 16,202 | 1,770 |
| Foreign Continental Colonies, | ... | ... | 60,295 | 4,344 |
| Total.— | | | 1,711,136 | 851,284 |

† In case any of our readers may have not seen these famous documents, we shall here insert them, as a bracon against the confidence which the anti-colonial sages would wish to inspire us towards foreigners and foreign trade.

“Imperial Camp, Berlin, November 21, 1806.—Napoleon, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, considering, &c. decrees:—

“Article 1.—The British Islands are in a state of blockade.

“2.—All commerce and correspondence with them is prohibited. Consequently, all letters, or packets, written in England, or to an Englishman,

course with the continent of Europe? Of course our anticolonial sages would immediately tell us, that the Atlantic and Pacific were very wide, and bid us go thither in search of that commerce which we lost in the European seas. But, alas! after cutting off our colonial possessions in ALL quarters of the world, which seems to be the leading object of their present ambition, and depriving us of a trade, which, had the colonies still been ours, we might carry on in spite of all the combined powers of the earth, we may be doomed to find upon inquiry,

written in the English language, shall not be despatched from the Post Offices, and shall be seized.

“ 3.—Every individual, a subject of Great Britain, of whatever rank or condition, who is found in countries, occupied by our troops, or those of our allies, shall be made prisoners of war.

“ 4.—Every warehouse, all merchandize, or property, whatever, belonging to an Englishman, are declared good prize.

“ 5.—One half of the proceeds of merchandize, declared to be good prize, and forfeited, as in the preceding articles, shall go to indemnify merchants, who have suffered losses by the English cruisers.

“ 6.—No vessel, coming directly from England, or her Colonies, or having been there since, the publication of this decree, shall be admitted into any port.

“ 7.—Every vessel, that, by a false declaration, contravenes the foregoing disposition, shall be seized, and the ship and cargo confiscated, as English property.

“ 8.—Communications of this decree shall be made to the Kings of Spain, Naples, Holland, Etruria, and to our allies; whose subjects, as well ours, are victims to the injuries and barbarity of the English maritime code.”

“ Royal Palace at Milan, December 17, 1807.—Napoléon, &c.

“ 1.—Every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, that shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or shall have paid any tax whatsoever to the English government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be *denationalized*, to have forfeited the protection of its King, and to have become English property.

“ 2. Whether the ships thus denationalized by the arbitrary measures of the English government, enter into our ports, or those of our allies, or whether they fall into the hands of our ships of war, or of our privateers, they are declared to be good and lawful prize.

“ 3. The British Islands are declared to be in a state of blockade, both by land and sea. Every ship of whatever nation, or whatsoever the nature of its cargo may be, that sails from the ports of England, or those of the English colonies, and of the countries occupied by the English troops, and proceeding to England, or to the English colonies, or to countries occupied by English troops, is good and lawful prize, as contrary to the present decree, and may be captured by our ships of war or our privateers, and adjudged to the captor.

“ These measures, which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates its legislation to that of *Algiers*, shall cease to have any effect with respect to all nations, who shall have the firmness to compel the English government to respect their flag.”

that the exclusive system practised against us in Europe, has been extended to every region of the globe by the intrigues of jealous rivals, and the blighting ambition of tyranny and despotism. The course of human events is a strong and powerful current which often seizes and carries away on its surface the fate and the fortune of the proudest empires, at a time when precaution to shun its destructive vortex is too late. Such a predicament therefore as we have now, for the sake of argument, supposed our country to be placed in, has already happened, and *may* happen again. Should she, however, be so unfortunate as to witness, on any future occasion, an event so inauspicious to her commerce, and dangerous to her political independence, we trust, that not only by continuing, but by improving and substantiating her connexion with her colonies, she will find in them that succour and protection—that substantial friendship and filial alliance which it was their proudest boast to have afforded her on a former occasion. It has been said, that the European colonies of America have never furnished any naval or military force for the defence of the mother country. In one sense, even in the case of Great Britain, this may be very true. But if the colonies are extensive and valuable in a territorial and commercial point of view; if they are inhabited by a free and moral people; if their demands for the manufactures of the mother country, employ a due proportion of her shipping; if their native industry is adequate to the payment of their imports and their own maintenance; if their harbours are subject to the same laws and regulations as those of the mother country; if their coasts are accessible to the industry and enterprize peculiar to the fisheries; and, if, in the event of war, they can muster a due proportion of the people to assist the mother country in *their own defence*, we see no great moral or political obligation under which they are placed to give actual physical assistance to the parent state. It is true some of the colonies of antiquity did frequently furnish both revenue and military force in support of the civil government of their native country. The Roman colonies furnished occasionally both the one and the other. The Greek colonies sometimes furnished military force, but revenue as seldom as they possibly could. But the British colonies being entirely founded on subserviencé to the commerce of the mother country, it was never intended to call upon them directly for any military force, except in their own defence when locally invaded. Nevertheless, we may repeat and safely maintain, that the maritime intercourse constantly subsisting between the parent state and the colonies, together with the unbounded and diversified employment which the Cabotian colonies, in particu-

lar, afford to the fishing marine of the empire, is the source of the best and most substantial military force that any age or country has ever produced. But of this, as of every other national advantage, the anticolonists would also deprive us. Let us see with what degree of justice and propriety.

By telling us that the navy of Great Britain would be *infinitely* more formidable than it now is, "*though we had not a single merchant ship,*" they undoubtedly advocate the policy of renouncing *every branch* of commerce and manufacture any-ways connected with mercantile shipping, or in any shape instrumental in promoting that species of shipping. But are they aware that the deprivation to the country of this important portion of its industry includes its whole wealth, power, and very existence as a nation? that if our *shipping* be cut off, our foreign and colonial commerce must immediately cease? that if our *shipping* be cut off, all our manufactures, except for home consumption, must immediately cease? that if our *shipping* be cut off, our carrying trade, the source of so much wealth and maritime superiority, must be transferred to some more fortunate rival whose political economy is not in unison with that of our anticolonial speculators? and that if our *shipping* be cut off, all our fisheries, from Davis' straits to the South-sea, must become the property of some other power, willing to retain its shipping, to enrich its merchants, and, consequently, invigorate its national power? In fact, involving as this doctrine unquestionably does the **WHOLE** of our national resources, it is impossible within the limits to which we are prescribed to enter upon a full developement of the ruin and devastation which a submission to it would infallibly bring upon the trade and commerce of the country, and the utter extermination to which it would reduce the most numerous and useful classes of society. We shall on the present occasion therefore content ourselves with the exhibition of a table, made up from the best authorities, of the population and income employed in those branches of manufacture and commerce which the system of the anticolonists would inevitably destroy; and then leave the reader to judge whether that or the present system be most beneficial to the country: assuring ourselves in the meantime, that no person who peruses it will hesitate to exclaim against the policy which would deprive the nation of so considerable a portion of its population and resources.

Table shewing the number of persons employed in the Foreign Commerce, Shipping, Manufactures, and Trade of Great Britain, with the aggregate income of each class of the community.

| | Persons. | Income of each class. |
|--|-----------|-----------------------|
| Eminent Merchants, Bankers, &c..... | 35,000 | £9,100,000 |
| Lesser Merchants trading by sea, including Brokers, &c..... | 159,600 | 18,354,000 |
| Persons employed in professional skill and capital, as Engineers, Surveyors, Master Builders of Houses, &c..... | 43,500 | 2,610,000 |
| Persons employing capital in building and repairing ships, craft, &c..... | 3,000 | 402,000 |
| Shipowners letting ships for freight only..... | 43,750 | 5,250,000 |
| Aquatic labourers in the Merchants' service, Fisheries, Canals, &c..... | 320,000 | 8,100,000 |
| Manufacturers employing capitals in all branches... | 264,000 | 36,376,000 |
| Principal Warehouses, selling by wholesale..... | 5,000 | 723,600 |
| Shopkeepers and Tradesmen retailing goods..... | 700,000 | 28,000,000 |
| Persons employing capitals in the manufacture of stuffs into wearing apparel, dresses, &c..... | 213,750 | 7,875,000 |
| Clerks and Shopmen to Merchants, Manufacturers, Shopkeepers, &c..... | 260,500 | 6,750,000 |
| Inkeepers, Publicans, &c..... | 437,500 | 8,750,000 |
| Umbrella and Parasol-makers, Silk Lace workers, Embroiderers, Domestic Spinsters, Clear Starchers, &c..... | 150,000 | 3,500,000 |
| Artisans, Handicrafts, Mechanics, and Labourers employed in Manufactories, Buildings, and Works of every kind..... | 4,543,389 | 49,054,000 |
| Hawkers, Pedlers, Duffers and others, with and without Licences..... | 5,600 | 63,000 |
| Total, including Fisheries... | 7,029,989 | 184,907,600 |

Now, without taking into consideration at all the capitals actually employed in the various pursuits of this vast and important portion of society, which we maintain to be upheld and preserved in existence by foreign commerce and shipping, we would ask, what would be the result of its total annihilation, as proposed by the anticolonists? Is it not evident that the whole system of British commerce and navigation, would be also annihilated, and that the country itself would be blotted out of the map of civilized and independent nations? Would not the country retrograde to those dark and ignorant ages when agriculture without manufactures, commerce without shipping, barter without money, war without a public revenue, rustic hospitality without manners, learning without politeness, science without experience, art without taste, and religion without morality, formed the most remarkable features in the character

of the people? No country could long exist in this state of demi-barbarism. It must either begin to organize itself anew, or be plunged still deeper in savage ignorance and moral depravity. Is it possible, then, that our anticolonists can be serious in recommending the destruction of our shipping, and consequently of almost every other blessing that we enjoy? Do they suppose that nearly eight millions of people, amounting to two-thirds of the whole population of the mother country, employed as we have above described, and engrossing nearly two hundred millions of her real capital, by being consigned to idleness and starvation, would have no effect upon the prosperity and stability of the nation? Do they suppose that the remaining *one-third* of the capital and population of the country could in such a case be preserved entire, and equally useful in maintaining the dignity of the empire? If they do, never were men who erred so much. As to the *remaining* capital; in particular, they ought to know, that as it is composed of property and income almost entirely dependant on that which our modern sages are so anxious to eradicate from the public and private affairs of the country, it could not subsist for a day after the destruction of its principal fountain; for from what other source are the royal and other public revenues, such as the expense of every department of the army and navy, of the clergy, the judges, the fine arts, the universities, and paupers derivable but from that general system of foreign and internal commerce, which gives life and vigour to every department of a free and independent country? It is true that agricultural industry might still be pursued; but how dull and inanimate must agriculture be when pursued *alone*, as it was at the dawning of civilization—when unaccompanied by those ardent and judicious systems of foreign commerce, which not only render a country great, happy, and wealthy, but give to agriculture itself its surest pledge of success and constant improvement; and which, as Hume observes, are the primary cause of the introduction into every country of order and good government, and with them, the liberty and security of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived almost in a continual state of war with their neighbours, and of servile dependency upon their superiors.* In a word, on this part of our subject, we owe all our trade and manufactures to our NAVIGATION, and not our navigation to our inland trade. Consequently, if we discontinue to be a maritime people, we shall soon *wholly* cease to be a manufacturing people, and in a serious degree from being an agricultural people.

*Wealth of Nations, Vol. 2d, p. 119.

Yet our anticolonists, like all other advocates of seduction and destruction, not content with having already brought us to the verge of the precipice, by depriving us of our colonies, our commerce, and our shipping, now mock us with the ridiculous assurance, that notwithstanding all this loss and devastation of the best safeguards of our country, the British Navy could easily be rendered INFINITELY MORE FORMIDABLE by other means. What are these means? "*Why not,*" say they, "*breed up sailors directly in men-of-war?*" Such a system, to make use of a nautical cant phrase, might indeed do for the *marines*, but the *sailors* will never believe it would do for them. In truth nothing can be more stupidly absurd than the idea, that a land lubber, who has perhaps never seen a ship in his life, can be rendered equally serviceable on board a man-of-war, as a brave and hardy tar, taken from a merchantman, who has in all probability sailed round the world, been inured to every clime, exposed to every danger peculiar to a sea-faring life, and, by this means, initiated into a profession which wholly incapacitates him through life from following any other. The thing is at variance with the first principles of our nature. A mariner must learn to be amphibious from his youth upwards; and unless he is accustomed to the sea from the earliest years, and takes pleasure in its labours and amusements, you may as well endeavour to make a British tar of an Egyptian mummy, as of a person who has been otherwise bred. You cannot take a sailor, like a soldier, from the plough or the anvil, and render him equally useful to his country. They are destined for two different elements, and must be educated accordingly. The soldier never loses his footing on *terra firma*, and consequently, whatever may have been his pursuits in early life, whether a labourer or a mechanic, you may teach him the duties of any military capacity, while you preserve to him his footing on his mother earth. But it is quite different with the sailor. Water is an element unnatural to man; and before he can live upon it with any degree of pleasure or comfort, you must naturalize him by those gradual means which are always necessary to render artificial life anyways tolerable. You cannot strip him in a moment of all his boorish awkwardness and timidity, or place him by the mizzen as if it had been his station and destiny from his infancy. A *breaker* would fill him with dismay, if not overwhelm him with despair; and the very sight of a *twenty four pounder* would completely unman him. Bid him go aloft, to *heave*, or put the helm *a-lee*, and you might as well tell him to steer a balloon through the air; because he is not only totally ignorant of what ought to be

done, but of the very *terms* in which you address him, to which he is probably as great a stranger as to a foreign language which he never heard spoken. How different from the mariner who has spent the best part of his life at sea! A man-of-war, though somewhat different in exercise and discipline from those practised on board a merchantman, would fill him neither with anxious cares nor any thing very novel. In a few days he would find himself perfectly at home; and, as he already understood all the sea terms, it would take but a short time to instruct him in his *military* duties. The sea being his element from his birth, he has now arrived at the height of his ambition; and from being a private mariner employed in enriching his country by commerce, is pleased at the idea of having become one of that class of her intrepid defenders, whose fame for deeds of glory will go down to the latest ages. Let us scout, then, the idea of our navy being made INFINITELY MORE FORMIDABLE by the means proposed by the anticolonists, and rest assured, that without the good old usury, colonies, commerce, and shipping, the Royal navy would no longer continue to be the pride and bulwark of the country.

But our instructors in national affairs are not yet done with us. One more nostrum remains behind in their political decalogue, which it is necessary to take some notice of. They tell us, that, "*if a sufficient number of men-of-war were ALWAYS kept afloat, and manned WHOLLY DURING PEACE with able-bodied seamen and boys allowed by the Admiralty regulations, the supply of seamen might be kept up during war as well as DURING PEACE, independently altogether of the MERCHANT SERVICE; at the same time that the crews would gain greatly in discipline and efficiency.*" Now, the first question that naturally occurs upon reading this extraordinary passage, is, whether those who are so vehement in advocating the doctrine which it contains, have ever expressed an opinion on a STANDING ARMY IN TIME OF PEACE? because, as this is a system which would also give to the nation a STANDING NAVY in time of peace, on the answer to be given will depend the sincerity and consistency of the pretended patriotism of these sages. By this test let them be tried for a moment. Without going far back into their political history, we can prove, that a STANDING ARMY in time of peace has been made the stalking-horse of all their opposition to the measures of the present administration, and their complaints of the management of public affairs. Has not SIR FRANCIS BURDETT been thrown into a consumption by the fatigues of his numerous and incessant campaigns, on the plains of St. Stephen, against a standing army in time of peace? Is not MR. BROUGHAM hoarse with giving the word of command

to his faithful band of followers, and leading them on in the same honourable and patriotic cause? Is not that indefatigable sapper and miner, MR. HUME, occasionally obliged to retire into the fastnesses of the north to inhale the wholesome mountain air of his "native Caledonia," in order to recruit a sufficient degree of strength for another and another onset against a standing army in time of peace? And has not their standard-bearer, MR. JEFFREY, upheld and waved his flag of *blue and yellow*, until he has almost sunk under its weight, and become a perfect martyr to his intrepidity and perseverance in the same good cause? Yet these very men, aided and abetted by a numerous rank of willing satellites, have, notwithstanding all this zeal for the purity of our constitutional laws, the shameful inconsistency of urging the propriety and great advantages of a **STANDING NAVY IN TIME OF PEACE!** Is it not plain that a party who can be guilty of such gross inconsistency of conduct, are, in all their schemes and measures, rather actuated by their own private views and ambition, than by those sacred duties which, as men and as statesman, they owe to their country? But the country is on its guard. It is not yet so far lost to its own honour and safety, as to believe, that the orations of demagogues, or the intrigues of factions, are the only paths which lead to wealth, freedom, and independence. Far less does it think that the navy can be maintained without mercantile shipping. But supposing that it could, and that every harbour, dock, and road in Great Britain, as a melancholy effect consequent on the doctrines of the anticolonists, were totally deserted by the shipping, and that busy hum of business and of life without which it is impossible that a people can be great or happy, what, we ask, would be the employment of this **STANDING NAVY** in times of peace? Having neither colonies, commerce, fisheries, ships, nor harbours to protect; having no armies to transport to distant dependencies, nor national intelligence to convey from one part of the empire to the other; having nothing on land to protect from robbery, nor on sea from piracy, we again call upon our sages for a list of the duties to be performed by this standing navy in time of peace. But, Gracious Heaven! to what a forlorn and destitute condition those political dabblers would bring their country, if listened to! It is absolutely sickening to think on the situation to which they would reduce her by their abominable theoretical speculations, which we trust were never destined to gain much ground in a country, where, above all others, they would be attended by the worst consequences. Let the day never dawn when Britain will submit to a separation from her colonies; the preservation of which is the preservation of her own

happiness and glory, and, above all, of her commerce and naval strength; and without which she, descending to the condition of feebler countries, might be invaded with success, and insulted with impunity by every upstart tyrant who might fancy his power equal to his desires. "If," said Bonaparte, the greatest enemy that England ever knew, "*If it had not been for you English, I should have been Emperor of the east; but wherever there is water to float a ship, we are sure to find you in our way.*"* Let this be the boast of England while she has enemies to oppose her; and so our WOODEN WALLS will ever continue, as they have hitherto been, our surest bulwark in war, and greatest ornament in peace. Xenophon observes, that if the Athenians, together with the sovereignty of the seas, had enjoyed the advantageous situation of an island, they might with great ease have given law to their neighbours; for the same fleets which enable them to ravage the sea-coasts of the continent at direction, could equally have protected their own country from the insults of their enemies as long as they maintain their naval superiority. One would imagine, says Montesquieu, that Xenophon in this passage was speaking of the island of Britain. We are masters both of these natural and acquired advantages, which Xenophon required to make his country invincible. We daily feel their importance more and more, and must be sensible, as we have frequently had occasion to observe, that our liberty, our happiness, and our very existence as a people depend upon our naval superiority; and that, humanly speaking, nothing can deprive us of this envied superiority. What an accumulated load of guilt therefore must lie upon the shoulders of those who, listening and giving way to the wicked, factious, irrational and theoretical doctrines of our anticolonial politicians, should precipitate Britain from her present height down to the abject state of Athens. Let us carefully beware then of such doctrines and of such consequences; for in this consists the sheet anchor of Britain's greatness and glory.

History is said to be the art of teaching good government and national prosperity by example. If so, we know not how she can be better employed than in the detail of those events which experience has taught to be best calculated for insuring national power and happiness, and, above all, the permanency of free and enlightened institutions, such as those now enjoyed by the inhabitants of Great Britain, and of her numerous and extensive colonies. Speculative reasoning, such as that prac-

* Captain Maitland's Narrative—1826.

tised by our anticolonists, might be easily refuted by their own weapons; but to us it appears, that proof drawn from example is more striking, as well as more level to every capacity, than all speculative reasoning, however well conducted. For as, the same causes will, by the stated laws of sublunary affairs, sooner or later invariably produce the same effects, so whenever we see the same maxims of government prevail, the same measures pursued, and the same coincidences of circumstances happen in our own country, which brought on and attended the subversion of other states, we may plainly read our own fate in their catastrophe, unless, by a speedy application of the most effectual remedies, and especially a cautious and persevering endeavour to elude such ensnaring doctrines as those disseminated by the anticolonists, we avoid the rock upon which every maritime nation of the world became a wreck. It is the best way to learn wisdom in time from the fate of others; and if examples do not instruct and make us wiser, we know not what will. It is with these views that we are induced to lay before our readers a succinct account of the primary means by which many of the nations both in ancient and modern times attained a power and authority beyond their contemporaries, and which, while it lasted, rendered them at once the envy and protection of all surrounding countries. When our authentic, but necessarily brief and defective, narrative shall have been perused, we trust it will appear to the most superficial reader, that, as all the nations of the world who attained to any degree of wealth and splendour, lost their independence with the loss of their *colonies* and *shipping*, so Great Britain can never be safe but in the full and prosperous enjoyment of both these pillars of national greatness.

From the first moment that commerce began her golden reign, and taught mankind not only the riches of the ocean, but its utility in promoting the wealth and influence of nations, some country, goaded by the enterprize and love of gain so natural to man, became lord of the ascendant, and, by means of that naval strength which is ever the consequence of maritime commerce, gave laws to all the remaining neighbouring states who transacted business on the sea. The honour of being first distinguished as mistress of the ocean undoubtedly belongs to PHENICIA. The inhabitants of this country may be said to have been a community of merchants whose sole aim was the empire of the sea. Seated in a barren and narrow country, confined on one side by the sea, and on the other by the mountains of Lebanon, they had the sagacity to make these seemingly inhospitable boundaries the foundation of a naval power, which for ages stood unequalled, and gave them the un-

rivalled command of the whole commerce of the Mediterranean. The mountains being covered with excellent cedars, which furnish the very best and most durable ship timber and plank, they built a great number of ships, and exported the produce of the adjacent country, as well as their own manufactures, which consisted of all the works of taste, elegance and luxury that those early ages of the world could produce. The pre-eminence of the Phenicians in every work, of ingenuity and art procured them the honour of being esteemed by the Greeks and others the inventors of commerce, ship-building, navigation, the application of astronomy to nautical purposes, naval wars, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, measures and weights; to all of which they might have added, that they were the first who settled colonies for commercial purposes. To shew how early the Phenicians became aware of the policy of encouraging the migration of colonies by sea, and how great an ascendant their shipping and maritime power gave them over all other countries situated on the Mediterranean, it will only be necessary to mention the arrival in Greece from Phenicia of Cadmus and Pelops, as early as 1556 before the christian era. The former is said to have been the first who taught the Greeks the use of letters, and the art of working metals; and the latter to have brought with him riches hitherto unknown in Europe. To these let us add, though somewhat fabulous, the migration of Inachus, called by the Grecian poets of after ages the son of Ocean, who founded the kingdom of Argos, in the peninsula, afterwards called Peloponesus, and now the Morea.* It was not, however, till the Israelites under Joshua began to expel the Canaanites or Phenicians from a great part of their territories, that the migration and colonization of the latter became general or extensive. The first consequence of that extraordinary event, was, that Sidon and the other unconquered cities of Phenicia not having room for all the refugees, who escaped the exterminating sword of the Israelites, many Phenician colonies were sent out to establish settlements in various parts of the Mediterranean, who all keeping up a commercial intercourse with their mother country, the trade of the whole western world was carried on by Phenician merchants acting as agents to each other over all the extent of the Mediterranean, then the only sea known by the inhabitants

* Io, the daughter of Inachus, while she was purchasing some goods from a Phenician vessel, which had been five or six days trading in Egyptian and Assyrian merchandize at Argos, then the most flourishing city of Greece, was, together with some other young women her attendants, seized by the crew, and carried to Egypt.

of its shores. Besides the Phenician colonies already settled in Greece, they also established settlements in Cyprus, Rhodes, and several of the islands scattered in the Ægean sea: they penetrated into the Euxine or Black sea; and gradually spreading westward along the shores of Sicily, Sardinia, Gaul, Spain, and Africa; they every where established trading posts or factories, to which the wandering and savage inhabitants of the adjoining regions, allured by the prospect of advantage in trading with the new settlers, quickly repaired, and soon learned how to procure, in exchange for their hitherto neglected and useless native commodities, articles of which nature or their own ignorance had denied them the use, and even the knowledge.* While Phenicia was pursuing this glorious career of commercial prosperity and national splendour, the naval history of other countries, if entitled to that appellation, presents nothing but petty piratical cruises, occasioned by domestic feuds and the restless disposition of savages. The Phenicians inspired by the active spirit of commerce, and that thirst of knowledge which distinguishes a cultivated people in every age, were extending their discoveries along the whole of the north coast of Africa and the opposite shore of Spain; and no longer willing to let the inland or Mediterranean sea set bounds to their enterprising disposition, they boldly launched into the Atlantic ocean, passing those famous headlands, which the Greeks for many ages afterwards esteemed the utmost boundary of the world, and celebrated under the poetical name of the *Pillars of Hercules*. Wherever they went they appear to have established commercial settlements, mutually beneficial to themselves and to the natives of the country. In Baetica, now Andalusia, where they found a country of a fertile soil, having abundance of metals of every kind, and so delightful in every respect, that the accounts given of it are believed to have furnished Homer with his description of the Elysian fields, the Phenicians established the capital post of their western trade on a small island in the Atlantic, within a furlong of the shore, to which they gave the name of Gadir, varied by the Saracens to Cadiz. Of the other western settlements of the Phenicians, the most celebrated were Carthage, Carteia and Utica. But while they extended their discoveries to the north and the west, they did not neglect to penetrate into the more opulent and fertile regions of the south and east. Having rendered themselves masters of several commodious harbours towards the bottom of the Arabian gulf, they established a regular inter-

* Annals of Commerce, Vol. I. p. 11.

course with Arabia and the continent of India on the one hand, and with the eastern coast of Africa on the other. From these countries they imported many valuable commodities, unknown to the rest of the world, and during a long period engrossed that lucrative branch of commerce without a rival.* In full and undisturbed possession of so vast an extent of colonial territory, so fertile a field of commercial enterprize, and so numerous a fleet, the willing messengers of national wealth and general civilization, Phenicia could not fail to become sovereign of the ocean. In that character her fleets had ready access to every port then known to navigators, where they became at once the protectors of commerce, and the great promoters of industry and social order. But it appears that neither human art, wealth, nor enterprize is sufficiently powerful to resist the general fate of empires; and as Phenicia was the first to rise conspicuous in glory and splendour above contemporary nations, she seems also to have been the first to sink beneath her own weight, and taste of the bitter dregs of oppression and slavery. Those intestine commotions so peculiar to the most enlightened people, having transferred some of the Phenicians to the dominion of the haughty despots of Assyria and Persia, occasioned a division in the NAVY of that once prosperous and invincible people; and the best part of it, instead of being employed, as heretofore, in the peaceable pursuits of commerce, was hired to fight the battles of Oriental tyrants, who, by a lust of dominion peculiar to despotism, became the scourges of the human race, or engaged to conquer or seduce to their own fallen condition the yet independent portion of their country. Thus Phenicia, by losing the entire command of her navy, and consequently the trade and sovereignty of her colonies, became a victim to a want of proper precaution on the one hand, and to the merciless grasp of sanguinary and avaricious conquerors on the other. The cruel and destructive work commenced by Persia, Alexander completed; destroying every vestige of a great and flourishing people, whose capitals were Tyre and Sidon, those renowned cities "which were strong in the sea, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth."

It is much to the honour of the ancient GREEKS that they always acknowledged with gratitude the derivation of the most useful sciences and arts from Phenicia. It does not appear, however, that the Phenicians were very forward in communicating to their neighbours that extensive knowledge which they

* Robertson's History of America, Vol. I. p. 9.

possessed themselves of navigation and maritime commerce. Indeed it is evident, from many circumstances, that this enterprising people, notwithstanding their liberality and generosity of sentiment, had adopted some strict navigation system which excluded all strangers from a participation either in their maritime or commercial information; for we can never otherwise account for that daring intrepidity which induced the Phœnician commander to prefer death by running his own vessel upon a shoal, rather than communicate the source of his gains to the Roman who followed in his wake for that purpose. Accordingly we find, that though Greece be almost encompassed by the sea, and otherwise enjoying most of those advantages necessary for rendering her a naval power, it was long before this most useful of the arts arrived at any degree of perfection amongst them. Although the vessel employed in the famous expedition to Coichis in search of the golden fleece, was found worthy of being transformed into a heavenly constellation; and although the combined efforts of Greece mustered a fleet capable of conveying 100,000 men to the Trojan shore to recover the fair Helen and punish her abductor, yet these and similar fleets were not provided nor maintained by commercial enterprise or colonial navigation, the only effectual support of a permanent naval power. It remained for the Grecian COLONIES to prove their own utility in promoting the commerce and naval strength of the mother country, and in creating maritime energy where none ever existed before. The Greek colonies of Asia, by their intercourse with their more civilized and enlightened neighbours, the Phrygians and Lydians, but particularly the Phœnicians and Egyptians, emerged from barbarism long before the European Greeks, who assumed so much political authority over them, and greatly outstripped their brethren in navigation and commerce as well as in literature and philosophy. This soon exposed them to the envy and jealousy of the haughty tyrants of Persia, who could never endure the existence of a flourishing people of whom they were not masters. But these colonies were as impatient of the galling yoke of Persian bondage, as their national spirit and manly independence were obnoxious to the Persian Satraps; and they lost no opportunity to throw off an authority so detrimental to national prosperity and improvement. For this purpose they naturally placed their principal dependence on their maritime power, which they improved and augmented by every possible means. The share which ATHENS took in abetting this laudable spirit in the colonies, brought upon her the vengeance of the Persians; but the result is too well known to be described.

It will be sufficient merely to observe, that Athens, SOLELY from the circumstance of cultivating a judicious maritime intercourse with her Asiatic and insular colonies, rendered the power of Persia contemptible in the eyes of all Greece, became the triumphant mistress of the ocean, and at last dictated to the ambassadors of Artaxerxes, the fallen monarch of Persia, the terms of a pacification, whereby he became bound never to send a vessel into the Ægæan sea, and to acknowledge the independence of the Greek colonies in Asia. Yet Athens, though thus become the greatest maritime power of the world, if we may believe her own historians; and though her merchant ships are said to have covered the sea, and traded to every port, by an injudicious exercise of her power, lost at once her colonies and that naval superiority which they were so instrumental in conferring upon her; which is another most convincing proof to us, that no country is able to retain the sovereignty of the sea after the loss of its colonial possessions. The voluntary levies which the Athenian colonies, both Ionian and insular, had imposed upon themselves for procuring emancipation from the yoke of Persia, was still continued and even increased, though the original cause no longer existed, and was paid to Athens as a consideration for her protection. The tribute thus extorted, though it enriched the mother country, and enabled her to support her naval superiority, was yet grievous and burdensome in the extreme to the colonies and frustrated more than ever their attempts to become a great and flourishing people. The choice of perpetual slavery or independence once more intruded itself upon their notice; and as they were not slow in deciding which part best became them to act, Athens soon felt the deplorable effects of the loss of her colonies, and the transference to another state of that wealth and power which, by judicious management, they were so capable of affording to the mother country.

The LACEDÆMONIANS, willing to grasp the power which they thus perceived falling from the hands of their rival, gladly availed themselves of these internal commotions, with a view of wresting entirely from the Athenians the sovereignty which they had assumed over the maritime states of Ionia, the islands, and the whole of the neighbouring coasts. The colonies themselves were no less inclined to meet their new deliverers half way in an enterprise which, they hoped, should forever set them free. The war which followed being a naval one, in which the colonies were pre-eminent for skill, fortitude, and impetuosity, we need not long doubt as to the result. Sparta became mistress together of the COLONIES and of the SEA; which distinction she retained longer than seems consistent with the

obstinacy of those anticommercial prejudices introduced into her civil code by Lycurgus, and her general ignorance of every branch of national knowledge. But the Lacedæmonians, having unwisely assumed the same tyrannical power over the maritime states which freed them from the Athenian dominion, also became the victims of their own indiscretion, and, in their turn, lost the colonies and the battle of Cnidos, which for ever deprived both them and Greece of the sovereignty of the seas. This is the *third* convincing proof which we have adduced, that no naval power can exist without colonies. We proceed to the fourth.

CARTHAGE, of all the free states of antiquity, being the republic which bears the nearest resemblance to our own country in her commerce, colonies, opulence and sovereignty of the sea, it may be proper to trace with some minuteness the sources from whence arose the greatness of her power, as well as the means by which she ultimately lost that power; in order to shew in as clear a point of view as possible, that maritime empires, though the most splendid and durable, cannot possibly exist after the loss of their colonies.

Some authors inform us, that the first foundation of Carthage was laid by the Tyrians about fifty years before the destruction of Troy; but if so, it must have been for several ages a place of little note, which is totally inconsistent with the Phenician character for industry and enterprise. However, it seems certain, that about 868 before the christian era, Elissa, whom Virgil has made famous under the name of Dido, arrived at Carthage and built the city of Bosra for her own residence, and enlarged the town with such a number of new buildings, that she has been generally reputed the foundress of it: at any rate, it is from this time that the importance of Carthage, as a commercial state, becomes conspicuous in history. The very situation of Carthage, being on a peninsula projecting into a bay, which formed two harbours, greatly contributed to her future greatness in commerce and navigation; but what contributed most to the glory of Carthage, was the great advantages enjoyed by the Phenician colonies above those of every other nation of the earth, except those planted by Great Britain on this side of the Atlantic. While almost every one of the ancient colonies were composed of a band of plunderers, consisting of one or more chiefs supported by a crowd of ignorant and miserable dependants, driven out of their native country by domestic convulsions, and in their turn driving out, exterminating, or reducing to slavery, those whom they could overpower, and, in short, spreading misery and desolation wherever they went; a Phenician colony, on the contrary, was a society consisting of

opulent and intelligent merchants, ingenious manufacturers, skilful artisans, and hardy seamen, leaving their native country, which was too narrow to contain their increasing population, with the blessings and good wishes of their parents and friends in order to settle in a distant land, where they maintained a correspondence of friendship and mutual advantage with those who remained at home, and with their brethren in the other colonies from their parent state; where, by prosecuting their own interest, they effectually promoted the happiness of the parent state, of the people among whom they settled, and of all those with whom they had any intercourse; and where they formed the point of union, which connected the opposite ends of the earth in the strong band of mutual benefits.* With such pre-eminent advantages, it is no wonder that Carthage, instead of continuing a poor dependant on the mother country, soon arrived at a state of opulence and commercial splendour that excited at once the envy and the hatred of surrounding nations. For above three centuries after the arrival of Elissa, the steady and progressive advancement of the Carthaginians in commercial prosperity was truly astonishing. The redundancy of their population during this period pushed abroad in peaceable commercial settlements; and the islands of the Mediterranean, the northern and southern shores of all the west part of that sea, and even the shores of the ocean, were overspread and enlivened by Carthaginian colonies. At home they become singularly eminent in manufactures, and such works of art as are best calculated for maintaining that extensive commercial intercourse which they had opened with the world, and increasing their territorial dominions. Their pre-eminence in nautical science, and sovereignty of the sea were as undoubted as they seemed to be hereditary; and at last, the ocean itself appeared to have no bounds for their commercial ambition and enterprise. Not satisfied with the narrow limits of the Mediterranean, whose surface they had already covered with their ships, and whose shores they had settled with their colonies; and finding that their countrymen, the Phenicians of Gadir, had been long trading to the Cassiterides, regions which they had not yet visited, they had the boldness to determine on such voyages of discovery as should place them on a level with their neighbours. Accordingly, about the year 524 before Christ, two expeditions were fitted out, the command of which was given to Himilcò and Hanno. The former was ordered to direct his course northward from the straits and the latter to

* *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 28.

pursue the opposite course along the western shore of Africa. Both commanders executed their orders; and both published accounts of their discoveries, which have been unfortunately lost. It is evident, however, that Himilco penetrated into the British isles, where he established a Carthaginian colony, and that commercial intercourse between Britain and Carthage, which was afterwards of such beneficial consequences to both countries. Hanno founded at least seven towns, or trading posts, on the coast of Africa, and was the first discoverer of the Fortunate and Canary isles. These two new voyages added almost a new world to the dominions and commerce of Carthage; and we may safely venture to assign the present time as the era of the greatest commercial, colonial, and naval splendour of the Carthaginians, which Appian compares to the empire of the Macedonians for power, and to that of the Persians for opulence.

But unfortunately for Carthage, and, we may add, for the whole world, Rome, by an unremitting attention to war and plunder, equal to that displayed by the Carthaginians in the arts of peaceful industry, had now extended her dominion over almost all the peninsular part of Italy; and by her unbounded ambition aspired to the empire of the world. As she could brook no rival, Roman intrigue and perfidy soon discovered means for involving Carthage in a war with a people with whom she always endeavoured to cultivate peace, whom her superiority both on land and sea had frequently protected from the vengeance of foreign enemies, if not on several occasions from total annihilation. These ungrateful people were the Romans themselves. At first, the involuntary warfare into which Carthage was thus plunged being carried on principally at sea, the Carthaginians, as might be expected from their long experience and unrivalled success in maritime affairs, were almost uniformly triumphant. But led, partly by necessity, partly by an ambition inherent to success and power, but principally by the indefatigable perseverance of the Romans in the destruction of their rivals and the conquest of the world, to change the scene of action from the sea to the land, they were, induced, or rather compelled, from a mistaken policy to employ foreign mercenaries to defend them from their inveterate enemies. By this dangerous and unconstitutional engine, which indeed at one time had gone near to destroy the source that fed it, the Carthaginians were for a time enabled to withstand the utmost power of the Romans, and even carry the war to the threshold of Rome; BUT HAVING LOST THEIR SICILIAN AND SPANISH COLONIES, and having in the most shameful manner neglected to maintain their marine in its pristine strength and glo-

ry; they may be said to have lost all in the battle of Zama, but their renown as a maritime power that had once ruled triumphantly on the ocean! Here again it is evident, that the mighty power of these people was founded in and supported by maritime commerce, and that they owed their vast acquisitions to a right application of their public resources. Had they bounded their views to the support of their commerce, colonies and shipping, they either would not have involved themselves in quarrels with the Romans, or might safely have bid defiance to their utmost efforts; for the immense sums which they squandered away in subsidies to foreign princes, and to support such numerous armies of mercenaries, as they constantly kept in pay, to complete the reduction of Spain and Sicily, would have enabled them to cover their coasts with such a fleet as would have secured them from any apprehension of foreign invasions.

Though it must be admitted that ROME, even after she became the mighty mistress of the universe, despised commerce and navigation as arts, only worthy to be pursued by slaves and citizens of the lowest class, yet the slightest investigation of the early history of that haughty republic will convince us, that it was a magnanimous and assiduous attention to naval affairs that enabled her to destroy a formidable rival, and by that means becoming sovereign of the sea, she attained universal empire. We learn from Polybius, the earliest and most impartial of Roman historians, that the Romans had no fleet before their first war with Carthage; and in order to transport their army to Sicily, they borrowed vessels from the Tarentines, Eleates, Locrians, and Neapolitans; so destitute were they of vessels of any kind for the most trifling navigation. This lack of the most essential means for carrying their warlike purposes into execution, in conjunction with the predatory incursions pursued by the Carthaginians along the whole coast of Italy, soon convinced them of the necessity of a naval force. Accordingly, though without any other knowledge of the mechanism of a ship than what they acquired from a Carthaginian *quinqueremes* which was stranded upon their coasts, and without either shipwright or seaman, they built, manned, and fitted out a fleet under the Consul Duilius in three months time, which engaged and totally defeated the grand fleet of Carthage, though that republic had, as we have already seen, enjoyed the sovereignty of the sea unrivalled for time immemorial. In the course of this contest they deprived the Carthaginians of the greatest part of their Sicilian colonies, and, notwithstanding the great inferiority of their vessels and seamanship, even carried the war into Africa, and obliged their enemies to sue for peace on terms, which may be said to have been not only the ruin.

of Carthage herself, but to have prostrated almost the whole world at the feet of Rome; for in the second punic war, kindled out of the insidious embers of the first, Rome triumphed over the ashes of Carthage. Yet such is the buoyant and elastic spirit of commerce and navigation, that out of these very ashes, another naval power arose, which, though it shook Rome to the very centre, ultimately served to call forth a still more gigantic maritime sway; and proves in the clearest light, that the Romans, left the sole possessors of *naval sovereignty*, had little to dread from the utmost power of surrounding nations. The fall of Carthage, it may be easily conceived, involved the ruin of all the maritime states of the western world; and drove the seafaring people, now rendered desperate from the want of lawful and regular employment, to the necessity of becoming freebooters and pirates, who in time made themselves masters of the Mediterranean sea, from end to end, as well as of several hundreds of towns upon its coasts. Having every reason to make the Romans the principal objects of their hostility and revenge, they naturally became obnoxious to that haughty and ambitious people, who deeming themselves the only privileged plunderers of the world, at last resolved to extirpate so formidable an association of enemies and rivals. This important service was entrusted to Pompey the Great, who, with a fleet of 500 ships, and an army of 120,000 foot, and 5,000 horse, scourged the Mediterranean of these unfortunate exiles, and in order to detach them from a maritime life, compelled such of them as survived to occupy towns and lands at a considerable distance from the sea. Thus Rome, by becoming the unrivalled sovereign of the ocean, found it unquestionably a more easy matter to become mistress of the world; a distinction which she retained until the barbarians of the north rushed like a torrent upon her luxurious citizens, and revenged upon them the injuries of Carthage, of Commerce, of Navigation, and of mankind.

The violent convulsions which, during the fourth century, began to shake the ancient foundations of Rome, and the fatal division of the empire by Constantine, paved the way for that irresistible inundation of barbarous nations which had so long threatened to overwhelm it in ruin and devastation. The storm having at last burst, and severed the Roman empire, like the fragments of a wreck, into numerous petty states without law, order, or civility, all the western princes of Europe became occupied by a people so rude, and so extremely destitute of the elements of social union, that they had to begin anew the career of moral and scientific improvement. Commerce and navigation, the foundation of empires and of social order, were

totally unknown to these barbarous invaders; and instead of pursuing the fruitful and humanizing arts of peace, they indulged themselves for a time in the most licentious acts of plunder and devastation. Fortunately, however, for them and for mankind, Constantinople, the capital of the eastern empire, amidst this general wreck of nations, still retained its integrity, knowledge, and independence. The inhabitants of that renowned capital, preserving their taste for splendour and elegance, continued to prosecute these habits of industry and commerce which exalted them to such a pitch of greatness; and, besides carrying on the most extensive commerce with the Archipelago and the adjacent coasts of Asia, took a wider range, and extended a commercial intercourse with India, by a route hitherto unknown, or at least unfrequented. By degrees the calamities and desolation brought upon the western provinces of the Roman empire began to subside, and, gradually giving way to a more settled mode of life, the people began to acquire some notions of the comforts of civilization and regular government. Italy once more became the seat of industry and commercial enterprise; and discovering in Constantinople a mart sufficient for the supply of all necessaries, the Italians quickly repaired thither, where they not only met with a favourable reception, but obtained such mercantile privileges as enabled them to carry on trade with great advantage. Having also repaired to Alexandria, and there, notwithstanding the antipathy of Christians and Mahometans to each other, established a lucrative trade, the commercial spirit of Italy became active and enterprising. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, rose from inconsiderable towns, to be populous and wealthy cities. Their naval power increased; their vessels frequented not only the ports of the Mediterranean, but venturing sometimes beyond the Straights, visited the maritime towns of Spain, France, the Low Countries, and Great Britain; and, by distributing their commodities over Europe, began to communicate to its various nations some taste for the valuable productions of the east, as well as some ideas of manufactures and arts, which were then unknown beyond the precincts of Italy.* While Italy was prosecuting this career of improvement, the heroic spirit of western Europe, inflamed by a religious zeal which has no parallel in the history of the world, began to wage war against the infidel invaders of the Holy Land. Still lingering on the verge of barbarism, the crusaders, though willing to enthusiasm to sacrifice their whole moral energy and physical wealth to the cause in which they

had enlisted, were nevertheless unable either to transport themselves to the scene of future glory, or to maintain themselves with provisions while there, without the assistance of the trading cities of Italy. The commercial intercourse which consequently took place betwixt these cities, and the western parts of Europe, not only invigorated during two centuries the industry and commercial exertions of these cities themselves, but spread along the whole shores of the Mediterranean and far into the Atlantic and German Oceans, a taste for commerce and navigation which has since emblazoned and irradiated the history of the universe. The beneficial consequences of this spirit of enterprise was still farther promoted by several land excursions into the interior of Asia during the thirteenth century; but particularly by those of Marco Polo, and Sir John Mandeville; individuals whose astonishing courage and perseverance may be said to have unlocked the treasures of the East to the avidity and commercial ambition of the West. Yet all this spirit of enterprise and discovery would have been vain, so far as navigation is concerned, had not the wonderful properties of the magnet, discovered by Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Amalfi, enabled mankind to lay aside the superstitious timidity of the dark ages, and assume that bold spirit of adventure and discovery which has alternately raised almost all the maritime states of Europe to the sovereignty of the sea.

Though it would be ridiculous to follow some historians in comparing the naval, commercial, and colonial splendour attained by PORTUGAL during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to that of the great maritime states of antiquity; yet it must be acknowledged with gratitude, that to that country, the smallest and most inconsiderable of European kingdoms, belongs the honour and glory of having revived in modern times the spirit of colonization and maritime commerce. That country, lately engaged in a successful war against the infidel Moors, which served to heighten its courage and enterprise above the surrounding states, and governed by a prince of singular merit and abilities, became about 1412 not only the most skilful and daring in the art of navigation, but the school of that spirit of discovery which laid open the wonders of a new world to the view of admiring and astonished nations. The desire of the Portuguese, under the enterprising John II., of completing the discovery of the route to India, and the famous expeditions for that purpose, both by land and by sea, of Pero de Covillan and Bartholomew Diaz, placed all the Oriental regions in a manner within their grasp. Vasco de Gama completed their maritime superiority in the East, and put them in possession of a territo-

rial enterprise, which for a time, gave them the indisputable sovereignty of the sea in all quarters of the world. The naval and colonial superiority of Portugal cannot indeed be said to have been at any period of the most exalted or commanding description; but independently of the praise of having led the way in the modern career of navigation and commerce, it was undoubtedly of such a nature as to entitle her to be ranked among those nations who have won influence and power by the possession of distant colonies, and have retrograded into comparative weakness ONLY with the loss of foreign dependencies. It was, however, impossible that the spirit of curiosity and enterprise which prevailed in Europe at the time that Portugal had attained the zenith of her naval and colonial power, could admit of a prolongation of any exclusive superiority of this kind. Nations every day arose, whose native resources being far greater than those of their precursor in the art of discovery and navigation, thought it no sin to prey upon her territorial and commercial attainments, and divide the spoil among them, as if the produce of their own industry and spirit. Unfortunate Portugal, so far at all events as regarded acquirements in the East, had no native strength to resist these depredations upon her rights; and she accordingly shrunk beneath the more formidable power of her rivals, leaving the wealth and superiority so justly and honourably attained to swell the growing prosperity of more fortunate empires.

SPAIN is justly entitled to the next rank among the maritime states of modern times; and there exists no country whose naval and commercial history exhibits more substantial practical proofs of the truth of our general position—that colonial possessions are the best nurseries of naval power. The Saracens of Spain were undoubtedly a maritime as well as a commercial people, and in that character possessed vessels of considerable dimensions. But the expulsion of that ingenious and highly civilized people from the Peninsula, left that unfortunate country in a state of maritime and commercial destitution, which has scarcely a parallel in the most barbarous nations of Europe; and which, it is evident, nothing could have redeemed but a mind endowed with those pre-eminent qualities which have placed the discoverer of the Western world among the sages and benefactors of the human race. Previous to the first voyages of Columbus, Spain made no figure whatever in naval history, and cannot be said to have had a vessel of superior force or burden to the common coasting fishing-boats of the time. But that wonderful event, though accomplished by means of vessels as rude and crazy as the common schooners which ply in the Saint Lawrence, no sooner

placed Spain at the head of a new world, the communication with which could only be preserved by ships, than she became the most formidable maritime power of Europe; not only towering above neighbouring kingdoms in wealth and commercial improvement, but aspiring to their conquest and subversion, and the still madder ambition of becoming the proud arbitress of the fate of nations, not long before her superiors in every art that could adorn civilized society. In proof of this it seems almost superfluous to allude to her unjustifiable naval attacks upon England. The *invincible armada* of Philip II. consisted of 130 ships of all kinds, 8350 sailors, 19,290 soldiers, 2,080 galley slaves, and 2,630 cannon. Whence this gigantic strength and maritime power at a time when England could boast but of about half the number of ships of war, and these principally borrowed from private merchants? Whence but from the intercourse which Spain maintained with her colonies, which, though it had not as yet produced that golden harvest which the sanguine avarice of that country taught her to anticipate, had nevertheless enabled her to lay the foundation of almost one of the most auspicious maritime powers of any age. But Spain, though ultimately in full and unrestrained possession of dominions the richest and most extensive in the universe, was unable to retain that sovereignty on the ocean which her enterprise in discoveries justly entitled her to. The spirit of naval and commercial rivalry which was created among the Kingdoms of Europe by the discovery of America, served to deprive Spain of that exclusive pre-eminence which she must for ages have enjoyed, had her civil and religious institutions been such as to have enabled her to imitate the conduct of the great maritime states of antiquity. But a system of commerce which was restricted to a traffick in gold; a code of politicks which did not recognize liberty as its basis, nor security of person and property as its leading object; and a creed of religion, which, instead of promoting liberality of sentiment and freedom of conscientious belief, stifled every emanation of pure and hallowed divinity, were but ill calculated to prolong to her the enjoyment of the most enviable power that can possibly be attained by a civilized country. Spain therefore lost what, by a more judicious and enlightened system, she might have retained for ages yet to come; and instead of being the first became the last and most despicable of modern nations; having neither colonies nor commerce, laws nor religion, marine nor military strength, to uphold the tottering fragments of her swift decaying glory.

Our own country being the next in the list of naval and commercial powers, we ought to proceed to describe her attain-

ments in this respect; but deeming it necessary, in more complete elucidation of our subject, to do so more at large than we have attempted with respect to other countries, we shall first refer shortly to those of The Netherlands and France; the only two remaining nations of Europe that have acquired wealth and power by the possession of distant colonies, and the maintenance of a maritime intercourse with them.

The naval grandeur of HOLLAND, or the SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES, seems to have arisen out of the ruins of that of Spain. At all events, the genius of liberty, whose dictates and influence had been so much contemned by the Spaniards, rose superior in Holland to every obstacle, and paved the way to that maritime greatness which placed it almost on the same level with the most powerful naval states of Europe. The United Provinces are indeed a striking proof, that the spirit of liberty, when animated and conducted by public virtue, is not only invincible, but the best promoter of foreign commerce and colonial dominion. Whilst under the dominion of the house of Austria, they were little better than a poor assemblage of fishing towns and villages. But the virtue of one great man not only enabled them to throw off that inhuman yoke, but to make a respectable figure amongst the first powers of modern times. Obtaining their freedom, they aspired to the rank of surrounding nations. But in doing so they early became aware of the necessity of cultivating a maritime life and settling commercial colonies. Accordingly, their industry and perseverance enabled them in a few years to obtain an undisputed right over some of the most valuable colonial possessions on the face of the globe. The commercial intercourse carried on with these distant possessions, regulated and fostered by domestic institutions the most liberal and judicious, not only raised them to the highest pinnacle of fortune and prosperity, but actually enabled them to compete even with England the sovereignty of the seas. Before their emancipation they were but the vassals and slaves of Austria and Spain, without industry or national character: before they attained the rank of colonial sovereigns, they could scarcely boast of a participation in the common immunities of an independent people, though no people could be more so in fact and reality. But they no sooner acquired colonies than they assumed their proper rank among commercial nations, and secured to themselves that respect and consideration which is the due of all free and prosperous states. It is therefore with great justice that the Grand-pensionary De Witt, in his book of the *Interest of Holland*, observes "that Amsterdam is a city of greater traffic, and Holland a richer merchandizing country than ever was in the world,

Their situation for an easy and quick communication with all the coasts of Friesland, Overgeel, Guelderland, and North-Holland; their situation also for receiving the fishery, and for a repository for all sorts of merchandise to be afterwards re-shipped to all parts of the world, as demands may offer, and for setting out ships to freight, are great advantages. Then their acquiring the whole spice trade of India, and a great West India trade; the whole fishery; the trade in Italian wrought silks which the Germans were wont to bring by land carriage from Italy, until the German wars lost them that trade; and afterwards their manufacturing the raw silk themselves; their woollen manufacture; and in short, he observes, the Hollanders had at this time well nigh beaten all nations, by traffic, out of the seas, and become the only carriers of goods throughout the world." But notwithstanding this just exultation in their own naval and commercial superiority, and their well known sagacity, prudence, and economy, the Hollanders, by becoming ambitious from uninterrupted prosperity, and quarrelsome from rivalry, involved themselves, like the Phenicians and Carthaginians, in political more than commercial, contests with their neighbours; and though for a time their national prowess and acquirements enabled them not only to repel the most formidable assaults of their enemies, but to maintain the influence and dignity peculiar to a maritime people, yet the current of events to which, as a commercial nation they always ought to have been strangers, became at last too strong for them. They were obliged to sink, before the frown of more powerful rivals, into that state of honest but industrious mediocrity in which we now behold them under the modern appellation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Of all the maritime countries of Europe FRANCE was the last to acquire naval and commercial distinction. While her neighbours were circumnavigating the seas, and dividing amongst them the spoils of a new world, France still stood aloof an inert but astonished witness of the rising glory of her rivals. It is therefore with some justice that Francis I., with a spirit of emulation becoming his character, questioned the *inherent* right from Adam of Spain and Portugal to the exclusive possession of America. Yet, though this heroic monarch adopted all the means in his power in order to become the sovereign of some portion of the new world, many years elapsed before France attained to any reputation in maritime or commercial affairs. Voltaire informs us, that at this time the French, though possessed of harbours both on the Ocean and the Mediterranean, were entirely without a navy; and though immersed in luxury, had only a few coarse manufactures. The Jews, Genoese,

Venetians, Portuguese, Flemish, Dutch, and English, traded successively for us, adds he, "we being ignorant even of the first principles of commerce." It was Cardinal Richlieu, uneasy at the growth of British shipping, that first caused France to be ambitious of raising a marine power; and taught her that the *fleur de luces* could flourish at sea as well as on land, and adorned the sterns of his new-built ships with this prophetic inscription:

"Florent quoque lilia ponto."

After reducing the power of the great nobility of France, this prudent minister earnestly promoted manufactures and maritime commerce; which Morisot, in his *Orbis maritimus*, justly calls the splendour of Kingdoms whilst in peace, and their main support in wars. To this end he incorporated a society of one hundred merchants for traffic, both to the East and West, by sea and land; and to this company he committed the sole trade of Canada, which may be said to have been the source of the naval power of France. He also prudently resolved to maintain three squadrons of ships in constant pay; two for the protection of the French coasts, and the third to remain ready in the ports of Gascoigne, for convoying the French merchant ships trading to Canada. No resolution could be wiser, France being till now utterly destitute of maritime strength. Finding such able ministers as Mazarine and Colbert treading successively in the steps of their great predecessor Richlieu, we need not be surprised at the astonishing attainments of France in every thing that can redound to a nation's prosperity, power and glory. Becoming mother of some of the most valuable and extensive colonies of both the old and the new worlds, she soon vied in commerce and maritime strength with the most formidable states of Europe, all of whom she laid prostrate at her feet, with the exception of England, whose naval supremacy her utmost power could never shake. These two rivals became the Romans and Carthaginians of modern times; and too frequently has an admiring world stood aside to watch with anxious hopes and fears which of the gigantic combatants should administer the laws of the ocean. The combat was long and dubious. But at last the "Isles of freedom and the seas" triumphed over Gallic intrigue and despotism. France, having resigned into the hands of her great and her successful rival her most valuable possessions in Asia and America, resigned also the trident of the ocean; and has consequently sunk into an inferior naval and commercial power: unable without colonies, to succeed in maritime commerce, and without maritime-commerce, to attain naval supremacy.

It has been already observed, that the naval power of ENGLAND was contemporary with her colonies, and that it is principally, if not solely, to colonial commerce we owe the sovereignty of the ocean. It becomes our duty to enter upon some proof of this fundamental position; and to do so with proper effect it will only be necessary to take a cursory glance of the rise and progress of the British navy, and the discovery and settlement of our colonial possessions.

HENRY VII. 1485. Before the reign of this wise and prudent prince the principles of foreign commerce and the science of navigation were almost totally unknown in England. No sooner, however, were the projects of Spain and Portugal for the discovery of new worlds made public, than Henry began to be inspired by the most enlightened sentiments with regard to trade and naval affairs, notwithstanding the troubles in which the nation was frequently involved by foreign intrigues and domestic commotions. Even as early as during the first four years of his reign, he renewed old or formed new, commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe, and thereby procured his trading subjects a favourable reception and friendly treatment in all places, which revived the then wretched trade of England from that languor and decline in which it had fallen by the confusion of the late times. To promote the same patriotic purpose, he procured several laws to be made; one of which is particularly worthy of our attention. The greatest part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms. Henry wiser than the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, if not more patriotic, was sensible that this prevented the increase of English ships and sailors; and to remedy this national evil as much as possible, he ordered his first parliament to pass a law prohibiting the importation of Gascony or Guienne wines, except in English, Irish, or Welsh ships, navigated by natives of those countries.* This law was very properly enforced and enlarged by another made in the third parliament of this reign, to which the following sensible preamble was prefixed:—"That where great minishing and decay hath been nowe of late tyme of the navye of this realme of Englande, and ydelnes of the maryners of the same, by the whiche this noble realme within short process of tyme, without reformation be had therein shall not be of abylyttee ne of strengthe and power to defend itselfe." It is well known, that it was owing to the unfortunate accident of the seizure by pirates of Bartholomew Columbus while on his way to London

* Stat. 1. Henry VII. c. 8.

to explain to Henry the projects of this immortal brother, and crave his protection for the execution of them, that England was deprived of the honour of giving both to the first voyage for the discovery of the new world. However, the enterprising spirit of the King, and his laudable ambition to be among the first to promote the prosperity of the country, were the means of conferring on Englishmen the still greater honour of having discovered the CONTINENT of America. For Henry, determined to retrieve with all possible expedition the misfortune attending the embassy of Bartholomew Columbus, on the 5th of March 1495—6 conferred a grant on John Cabot, or Gabota, a Venetian who had settled at Bristol, and his sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanches, authorising them to navigate, under the English flag, all the ports, countries and bays, of the eastern, western, and northern seas. Authors are not agreed as to the precise date of the sailing of the first Cabotian expedition; but the result of it undoubtedly was, that, in May or June 1497, about the time that Columbus was preparing to set out on his third voyage, the whole *mainland* of America, from the 67th degree of north latitude down to the 38^e, was discovered and explored, together with the important island of Newfoundland. In so short a time as four years after this discovery, the king granted a patent for settling new discovered countries; which grant bears date the 9th of December, 1502: during which year Elliott, and other merchants of Bristol, made another attempt at discovery. Foreseeing the utility and necessity of a military navy in protecting the enlargement of commerce and navigation which thus presented itself to the country, Henry expended £14,000 in building one ship, which he called the *Great Harry*: and which, properly speaking, was the first ship of the Royal Navy. Though Henry, as well as other princes, hired many ships, exclusive of those furnished by the ports, which he had occasion to transport forces abroad, yet he seems to be the first king who thought of avoiding this inconvenience, by raising such a Naval force as might be at all times sufficient for the services of the state.*

HENRY VIII. 1509. That spirit of naval and mercantile adventure which had sprung up in the preceding reign, still continued and increased; and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged, especially towards the newly discovered lands and islands of America. In the Levant the trade was also greatly extended and encouraged; in proof of which we shall quote the title of a patent granted by this monarch to a Genoese, to

* Memoirs of the Royal Navy. p. 4.

Execute the office of consul of the English nation in the isle of Chio, which runs thus: "Exemplar: literarum post. Henrici régis octavi, in quibus, concessit Benedictio Justiniani mercatori Génuensi, officium sivi locum magistri protectoris, sivi consulis; infra insulam sive civitatem de Sciò. Teste rege apud Chelsehith, quinto die Octobris reg. XXIII." It seems indeed to have been the King's maxim to have made use of all his foreign negotiations for the promotion of trade. Many voyages were also made in this reign for the discovery of unknown countries with a view to promote navigation as well as commerce. For the improvement of this growing navigation, the famous maritime guild or fraternity called the Trinity House of Deptford was instituted in the year 1512; and similar fraternities were soon afterwards established in several other places. But it is the peculiar glory of Henry the eighth, that he may be styled the founder of the Royal Navy of England; having, at his own expense, laid the foundation and settled the constitution of that splendid establishment. In a report made, in the year 1618, by commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Navy, we find, in confirmation of the above, the following interesting passage:—"In former times our kings have enlarged their dominions rather by land than sea forces, whereat even strangers have marvelled, considering the many advantages of our seat for the seas; but since the change of *weapons* and *fight*, Henry the Eighth, making use of *Italian shipwrights*, and encouraging his own people to build strong ships of war to carry great ordnance, by that means established a puissant navy." About this time, the great importance of superiority at sea, was well understood; and the sovereigns of the maritime states of Europe began to vie with each other which of them should have the largest and stoutest ships. Henry VIII. built several large ships; particularly one named the Regent, of 1,000 tons, which required a crew of eight hundred men. The king of France had also many ships, of which the *Cordelier* was by far the greatest, and contained accommodation for eleven hundred men. These two noble ships, having grappled with one another in a sea fight off Brest, in August 1512, were both burnt with every person on board. To replace the Regent, Henry built another ship of the same burthen, but far more splendid and ornamental, which he called the *Henry Grace de Dieu*. James IV. of Scotland engaged also in the same patriotic contest, and built a greater ship than any that had yet appeared;* which is a convincing proof that the maritime nations

* The curious reader may not be displeas'd with a description of this remarkable vessel, built in so early a period of naval architecture.

"In this same year, 1512, the King of Scotland bigg'd a great ship,

of Europe could never have arrived at any remarkable proficiency in civil or military navigation, had not the discoveries of the times awakened a proper and proportionate spirit of naval emulation and enterprise. Henry died on the 28th of January, 1547, and left a navy of 53 ships and vessels, and 11268 tons.

EDWARD VI. 1547. The reign of this young prince was a short one; but he was not unmindful of the commerce of the nation, and the trading interests of his subjects. Just before his death, he very graciously received a memorial wherein certain methods were laid down for encouraging and increasing the number of seamen in his dominions, and for preventing the carrying on a trade in *foreign bottoms*. Young as Edward was, he kept a diary, which affords ample reason for supposing, that, had he lived to gain sufficient experience, he would have paid great attention to maritime affairs. At the death of this prince the Navy is generally supposed to have amounted to 11065 tons, and the ships to 53, only 28 of which were above 80 tons.

MARY. 1553. This being a reign of unparalleled turbulence and tyranny, it may well be supposed, that the Navy, if it did not experience any material loss or misfortune, did not meet with that attention and encouragement which was due to it. Accordingly we find that it diminished considerably; for, at the death of the Queen, the navy was reduced to 7110 tons and 27 ships and pinnaces. Such are the baneful effects of misgovernment.

ELIZABETH. 1558. The navy being the peculiar care of this excellent Queen but detestable woman, its strength was considerably increased soon after she ascended the throne.

and of the most strength that ever sailed in England or France: for this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oakwood, besides all timber that was gotten out of Norway; for she was so strong and of so great length and breadth, to wit, she was twelve score feet of length, and thirty-six feet within the sides. All the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other strangers, were at her device by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her; but it was year and day ere she was complete. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to sea. From that time that she was afloat, and her masts and sails complete, with ropes and anchors effeiring thereto, she was counted to the king to be *thirty thousand* pounds of expenses, besides her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, and besides all the rest of her furniture. She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six-score gunners to use her artillery, and had a thousand men of war, besides her captains, skippers, and quartermasters. If any man believe that this description of the ship is not of verity as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tullibarden, and there before the same, ye will see the length and breadth of her planted with hawthorn by the wright that helped to make her." *Pitscottie*, p. 107.

She issued orders for preserving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of iron cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making of gunpowder within the Kingdom. She raised the wages of seamen, enlarged the number, and augmented the salaries of her naval officers; drew to the country foreigners skilled in the nautical arts to instruct her people. The pains she took in these important affairs, excited a spirit of emulation among her subjects, who began every where to exert themselves in a similar way, by building vessels of all sizes, especially large and stout ships, fit for war as well as commerce. From all which, Mr. Camden tells us, the Queen justly acquired the glorious title of the *Restorer of Naval Power, and Sovereign of the Northern Seas*. During the whole time that Spain was providing her *Invincible Armada*, the Queen and her ministers were assiduously employed in cherishing the commerce and naval power of England; and when the Spanish fleet arrived in the channel, in July 1588, it appears from several accounts, that in the English fleet there were 34 ships belonging to her Majesty. But previous to this, an act of parliament was passed for the better regulation, maintenance and increase of the navy. An act was likewise passed for the increase of mariners; and more especially for recovering the trade of Iceland, in which there had been employed annually upwards of "two hundred sail of stout ships." In 1585, the Queen erected by her letters patent a new company for the management of the trade to Barbary; and, in the year 1600, she incorporated a society of merchants trading to the East Indies; whence the present East India Company is derived. The whole nation began to emulate this laudable spirit. Not only persons bred to trade, and some of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for discoveries, and planting new-found countries, but even persons of the first distinction became patrons and adventurers in those designs. We need not therefore wonder at the surprising increase of the maritime power of England, or the number of remarkable undertakings within so short a period of time. Thus, in 1575, Sir Humphrey Gilbert attempted the discovery of a North-West passage and the settlement of a colony in Newfoundland. Two years afterwards Sir Martin Frobisher sought a similar passage. Pet and Jackman sailed on a like design in 1580, by the direction of the governor and company of merchant-adventurers. Another expedition was undertaken at great expense by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in order to settle Florida; nor did it miscarry through any error of the undertaker. The great Sir Walter Raleigh would have settled Virginia in 1584, if prudence, industry and public spirit could have effected it; yet he was not totally defeated, since

he laid the foundation of that great and wealthy state. As a proof of the great importance of this colonial intercourse in promoting maritime power, we need only mention the well authenticated fact, that during the last twenty-five years of this most glorious reign, the Navy was almost doubled; and that, at her death, Elizabeth left a well equipped navy of 42 ships, and 17055 tons.

James I. 1604. It was during this reign that the most, if not the whole of the British colonies in America were explored and settled; "Colonies," says Hume, "established on the noblest footing that has been known in any age or nation." This being the case, captious disputants may inquire, whence is it, that, during this period, only 2345 tons were added to the navy left by Queen Elizabeth, in whose reign scarcely any colony had been founded? The importance of this question to the general strain of our argument merits some explanation and inquiry; and in doing so, instead of yielding a single point to our opponents, we hope to be able still farther to strengthen our position. We shall be very brief. In the first place, the disposition of this monarch not being warlike, rendered his reign altogether a peaceable one. It cannot therefore be supposed, that a Navy, carried to so respectable a height by Elizabeth, would be much increased by James. When no ships are necessary, no effort will be made either to maintain in proper repair those which already exist, or to add to their number. In the next place, so long as the war with Spain continued in the preceding reign, the merchants prosecuted their private advantage in such a manner as that it likewise proved of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen and of stout ships belonging to the nation; but after the peace procured on the accession of James, commerce and navigation took a new and a strange turn. The traders saw the manifest advantage of using large and stout ships; but instead of building them, they were content to freight those of their neighbours, because they thought they could save a little money by this method. In consequence of this absurd notion our shipping decayed in proportion to the increase of our trade, till the year 1516, when it was discovered that there were not ten ships of 200 tons belonging to the port of London. This occasioned so great and so well grounded an alarm, that the Trinity House presented a petition to the king, setting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful consequences it would have, with respect to our *Naval Power*, through the *decay of seamen*; and praying that the king would put into execution some good old laws, well calculated for the redress of the evil; suggesting the example of Venice on a similar emergency. The merchants unanimously

opposed the mariners in this dispute, and, having at this juncture better interest at court, prevailed. Yet in a year afterwards, being convinced by experience of their own mistake, joined the mariners in a similar application. An extraordinary accident produced this happy effect. Two ships, each 300 tons, came into the Thames laden with currants and cotton, the property of some Dutch merchants in London. This immediately opened the eyes of the traders, who discovered, that, if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be gradually driven to foreigners in foreign bottoms. They immediately drew up a representation of this, and laid it before the king in council; upon which a proclamation was issued forbidding any English subject to export or import goods in any but English bottoms.* By this means, after the English merchants had built a few large ships in their own ports, and furnished them with artillery and other necessaries, they found themselves in condition to embark in many trades unknown and unthought of before. The consequence was, that, in a few years, vessels of a hundred tons, which had been esteemed very large ones, and had been purchased beyond seas, were superseded by native merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons. From this time the maritime power of England increased daily; and James left a navy of 33 ships and about 19400 tons.

CHARLES I. 1625. Notwithstanding the confusion and misfortunes of this unhappy reign, neither commerce nor the navy was altogether suffered to go unattended to; and, however much it becomes us, in a constitutional point of view, to deprecate the illegality of the mode in which the ship money was levied, it must be admitted, that it was often expended to great advantage in promoting the naval power of the nation; by which means, it is allowed by our historians, that the king had put the navy on a footing which it had never attained in any former reign. The Royalists, in their arguments against the memorable remonstrance which the Commons made to the people in 1641, say, "A sure proof that the king had formed no system for enslaving his people is, that the chief object of his government has been to raise a naval, not a military, force; a project useful, honourable, nay, indispensably requisite, and in spite of his necessities, brought almost to a happy conclusion." Be this as it may, it is certain, that it was the strength of the English shipping in this reign that first raised an ambition in France to become a maritime power. This, as we have already

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 323; and Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 480.

observed, was the effect of Richelieu's politicks, whose agents infused into the Hollanders, our only maritime rivals at that period, a jealousy of our dominion over the narrow seas. These notions induced the famous Hugo Grotius to write his celebrated work under the title of *Mare Liberum*; wherein he endeavoured to shew the weakness of England's right to dominion over the sea; which, according to him, was a gift from God common to all nations. This work was answered by Selden in his no less famous treatise *Mare Clausum*: in which he has effectually demonstrated from the principles of the law of nature and nations, that a dominion over the sea may be acquired; from the most authentic histories that such a dominion may be claimed and enjoyed by several nations, and submitted to by others for their common benefit; that this, in fact, was the case of the inhabitants of Britain, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exercised, and consequently enjoyed such a dominion. Before the rebellion Charles added ten ships to the navy, which at that period consisted of 42 vessels and 22411 tons. It also appears that during the first fifteen years of this reign the commerce of the nation increased exceedingly; in so much that the port of London alone could have supplied a hundred sail capable of being easily converted into men of war. The trade to the East Indies became very lucrative. But the principal source of our naval strength then, as now, was our American plantations, whose population and value were daily promoted by those civil commotions which so much disturbed the peace of the mother country.

COMMONWEALTH. 1652. The parliament, as they discovered great care and industry in securing, so they shewed no less wisdom in the conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order. Every summer a stout squadron was fitted out, by which means the trade of the nation was well protected. Shortly after the war with Holland the parliament could command a fleet of sixty ships in a very short time. This war had scarcely continued two years; but such was the strength of the English navy, fostered by the commerce and shipping of the nation, that the English took no less than 1700 prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at six millions sterling. The consequence was, that all Europe stood in awe of the English navy. The valuable island of Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards at this period. Trade may be said to have continued in a flourishing condition during the whole administration of the parliament. As the impolitick severities exercised in the preceding reign drew multitudes across the Atlantic, so the distraction of the present times contributed greatly to the in-

crease of the colonies. At the Restoration the fleet consisted of 154 ships and 57463 tons.

CHARLES II. 1660. In restoring this exiled prince the seamen shewed greater readiness than any other description of men. Without any other orders than those of their officers, they carefully carried the fleet to the Dutch coast, and there received his Majesty and safely landed him in Kent. In the beginning of this reign great attention was paid to the navy; and in the war with the Dutch, one of our fleets consisted of 114 sail of men of war and frigates, 28 fire ships and ketches, having about 22,000 seamen and soldiers on board. Commerce was certainly on the decline at the Restoration; but notwithstanding the plague and other domestic misfortunes, the foreign and colonial trade progressively advanced and improved; and the vast profits arising therefrom were the only means of preserving the country from the lowest ebb of poverty and distress, and the navy from being destroyed by the Dutch. The East India company were exceedingly favoured; the African company was in the zenith of its glory; many plantations in America were settled; others were restored to the nation by its arms; and all had such encouragement that they began to make a different figure than in former times. Charles left a navy of 179 ships, and 103,558 tons.

JAMES II. This prince commanded the fleet and had been in many engagements, and on his accession one of his first cares was the Navy. Wrong as his conduct was in almost every particular, the pains he took in this respect, deserves to be transmitted to posterity with just applause. But the navy, though useless to him, was of great advantage to the nation. At the time of his abdication it consisted of 173 ships, and 101892 tons: no great diminution from the strength of the fleet in the preceding reign, considering the unsettled state of affairs during the whole of the present one, and the manner in which it ceased.

WILLIAM and MARY. 1688. A war with France immediately after the revolution, was the means of greatly augmenting the marine in a very short space of time. The colonies having participated in the revolution, the trade with them was greatly encouraged and protected. William left a navy of 272, ships, and 159020 tons.

ANNE. 1702. During this reign the trade with the colonies, and the world at large, was much increased, and was protected in a suitable manner; and several laws were passed to promote commerce and navigation. The Queen left a Navy of 247 ships, and 167219 tons.

GEORGE I. 1714. The war declared against Spain a few years after the accession of the House of Hanover, was asserted by the ministry to have been undertaken in defence of the trade of the nation, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants. At the death of this monarch, the navy stood thus : 235 ships, and 170862 tons.

GEORGE II. 1728. "The English," says Voltaire, who on such a subject cannot be accused of partiality, "had never such a superiority at sea as at this time." "But," continues he, "they at all times had the advantage over the French. The naval force of France they destroyed in the war of 1741; they humbled that of Louis XIV. in the war of the Spanish successions; they triumphed at sea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV.; and still more in the unhappy times of the League. Henry VIII. of England, had the same advantage over Francis I. If we examine into past times, we shall find that the fleets of Charles VI., and Philip de Valois could not withstand those of Henry V. and Edward III, of England. What can be the reason of this superiority? Is it not that the sea, which the French can live well enough without, is essentially necessary to the English, and that nations always succeed best in those things for which they have an absolute occasion?" During this reign Nova Scotia was effectually settled; and Canada and Gaudaloupe wrested out of the hands of the French. This monarch left a navy of 412 ships, and 321104 tons.

GEORGE III. 1760. The naval splendour of this reign must be fresh in the recollection of every reader; and will go down to the latest ages as one of the most extraordinary instances of human art and national prowess that the world has ever witnessed. During this period the WOODEN WALLS of England rode triumphant in every sea; and not only protected the wide extending commerce and colonies of the nation, but saved mankind from a dominion as despotic as that of Attila, and as destructive of political independence as that of Mamoud Ali Pasha. Towards the close of this reign the navy amounted to 1000 ships of every description; but the amount of tonnage we have not been able to ascertain.

We shall close this statement of the rise and progress of the Royal Navy with a general account of its number and tonnage at the end of each of the above mentioned reigns, in order to present at one view both the rapid growth of our maritime power, and its inseparable connexion with, and inalienable dependence upon, our colonial commerce. The year prefixed to each reign is that in which it terminated.

| | Ships. | Tons. | | Ships. | Tons. |
|----------------------|--------|-------|----------------------|--------|--------|
| 1547 Henry VIII..... | 53 | 11268 | 1685 Charles II..... | 179 | 103558 |
| 1553 Edward VI..... | 53 | 11065 | 1688 James II..... | 173 | 101892 |
| 1558 Mary..... | 27 | 7110 | 1702 William..... | 272 | 157920 |
| 1603 Elizabeth..... | 42 | 17055 | 1714 Anne..... | 247 | 167219 |
| 1625 James I..... | 33 | 19400 | 1727 George I..... | 233 | 170862 |
| 1649 Charles I..... | 42 | 22411 | 1760 George II..... | 412 | 321104 |
| 1660 Commonwealth.. | 154 | 57463 | 1820 George III..... | 1000 | ————— |

Thus, by reviewing, though slightly, the whole *Naval* and *Colonial* history of the world, we trust we have proved in the most satisfactory manner, that, without what may be termed maritime colonies, no nation has ever been able to attain power, wealth, or independence; and that the moment such possessions became independent, or were suffered to pass from the dominion of the mother country to that of an alien, from that moment might be dated the downfall and ruin of the supreme state. We have seen in a manner the trident of the sea and the sceptre of the land descending together from nation to nation, until they have at last taken up their abode in our own much envied and beloved country. Woe, then, to that country when, by a weak or injudicious policy, she suffers these ensigns of her greatness to be wrested out of her hands! But let us entertain better hopes of Great Britain. Let us trust that she will ever cultivate the most friendly intimacy with her colonies, and foster by every means in her power her present naval supremacy; in the possession of which she may, as she has already frequently done, bid defiance to the combined enmity of the whole world. Let her look back on her own history and there read her own example; and "surely," says a late writer,* "If there be any period of history on which future generations will dwell with proud exultation, it is the late memorable struggle, when Britain presented her fearless front to her host of enemies, and, like a virtuous matron, gathering her family around her, placed her faith in her own possessions, and braved the threatened danger."

It now only remains to consider the value and importance of the colonies to the mother country in a commercial point of view, and exhibit a statement of their native power and resources, as the best possible proof of that value and importance. In doing so, however, it will be necessary to confine our observations to the Cabotian provinces; the limits allotted to this article being too circumscribed to admit of a more general view of the British colonies.

* Alexander Macdonell, Esq. of Demerara, in a work on Negro slavery, and the West India Colonies, published by Longman & Co. 8vo. pp. 340.

The beneficial effects of colonial dominion were known and duly appreciated in Europe long before the causes were discovered ; and we may here observe that it was not till lately that these causes, though exhibited so fully and clearly to the indiscriminate view of mankind, were acted upon, even by the penetrating and scientific mind of our mother country. The object of all modern colonial possessions, it is true, was wealth ; but that wealth was only supposed to consist of those precious metals, whose purity and scarcity have rendered them the mere implements by which wealth may be more readily attained. It was avarice that led to the discovery of America ; and it was avarice that peopled it. But this avarice, even if it could be justified on moral principles, was interwoven with a lust of riches, which nothing could gratify but the palpable possession of gold ; an ingredient, which, if it were capable of *itself* of putting man in possession of all his comforts and desires, would at once arrest the progress, and annihilate the utility, of those laborious exertions upon which, it may be said, Nature has founded the true glory and happiness of mankind. We accordingly find, that those nations who, by an exclusive and inhuman scramble, first glutted themselves with the golden dust of this continent, were also the first who suffered commercial inanition, and became the pitiful victims of an ill directed, and a worse conducted, mercantile enterprise. On the other hand, those nations who, disappointed of gold, though equally the sole and most darling object of their inquiries, were obliged to betake themselves to the cultivation of the soil, the first and most natural employment of man, ultimately discovered the true source of wealth and national prosperity ; and if their progress to maturity did not keep pace with the ardour of their expectations, the blame ought rather to be attributed to that sloth and ignorance which universally attend inexperience, and that want of knowledge which always characterises mankind in novel circumstances, than to any want of industrious enterprise ; of which the inhabitants of this continent have more to boast, than any other people that have ever lived on the face of the earth. Having, however, by this means, and almost unconsciously, attained a degree of prosperity and greatness which excited more of the envy than the admiration of the world, the several nations, from which the American colonies sprung, began to take a deeper interest in their progress towards maturity, and to promulgate laws for their future conduct and government. These laws naturally partook of the source from which they flowed ; and according to the general wisdom or unfitness, the propriety or impropriety, of the latter, the administration of the former proved successful or detrimental. Considering,

therefore, the number and dissimilitude of European laws as well as governments, we need not be surprised, if, while some of the American plantations improved in value and importance, others lagged behind in comparative poverty and inactivity. Among the former, none shone with such splendour of attainments as the colonial dominions of Great Britain, whose progress in real wealth and civilization equaled, if it did not surpass, in the short space of a century, that of some of the oldest countries of Europe. To such a pitch did these attainments at last arrive, that some of their possessors, spurning alike the authority of parent and protector, and despising every badge of dependence, severed the chain which had so long connected them with the mother country, and forthwith set up for themselves. With their progress in this new character, we have nothing at present to do, and merely allude to it by the way, as the astonishing result at once of the most splendid instances of national enterprise, and the grossest national mismanagement that history has ever recorded. We therefore turn to such members of this great colonial family as have preserved their allegiance; trusting that the miniature which we are about to draw of their power and resources, though obviously defective, will not only entitle them to the permanent protection and consideration of the mother country, but the political esteem of the world at large.

CABOTIA, which comprehends the British provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New-Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, Nova-Scotia, and Newfoundland, extends, in its extreme points, from south to north, from the 42d to the 63d degree of latitude; and from East to West, from the 51st to the 185th; but, as far as inhabited by civilized man, only to the 85th, degree of longitude. On the North, it is bounded by Hudson's Bay and part of the Frozen ocean: on the East by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic ocean: on the South by the territories of the United States, the great lakes, and the communications which mingle their waters, and then convey them through the St. Lawrence to the sea: and on the West by the Pacific, and those vast intervening regions, which still lie unredeemed by civilization, but which are evidently destined to become an interesting portion of a great Cis-Atlantic empire. This extensive tract of country, though as yet but thinly inhabited and partially explored, vies in geographical dimensions and topographical capabilities, with the proudest empires of ancient or modern times. Laved by a deep and expansive ocean, which the beneficence of Nature has peopled with vast multitudes of creatures subservient to the maintenance and happiness of human life, and studded with an Archipelago the

most useful to a commercial and maritime empire, its aquatic industry, if properly fostered and protected, is not only capable of enriching, beyond conception, the whole empire, but of giving lasting duration to her political supremacy. Watered internally by lakes and rivers, which are scarcely excelled in the universe for extent and sublimity of appearance, and which spread their beneficial and refreshing influence over the whole face of the land to invigorate and fertilize it, an uninterrupted communication is secured to the inhabitants, which renders their situation no less a piece of physical good fortune to themselves individually, as affording an easy conveyance for the produce of the earth to all quarters of the world, than the envy and admiration of surrounding states. Covered with a virgin soil, whose extent, depth, and fertility have left but few interstellar spots unornamented with the leafy tribe, from the huge oak to the most diminutive shrub, and which demands but little exotic aid to complete a catalogue of vegetative capabilities, nearly equal to most, and superior to many, countries of Europe, nothing seems to be wanting but population and industry to render it one of the finest and most valuable provinces in the British empire. Enjoying a variety, beauty, and sublimity of scenery, which has allured the notice and excited the admiration and astonishment of travellers from all parts of the world, as well as given employment to the pens and the pencils of some of the most eminent writers and artists of the age, the inhabitants have few inducements to abandon, or even be dissatisfied with, it; while every attraction is held out to the stranger, but especially the industrious wanderer, to come and take up his abode in it. In the possession of civil and constitutional laws, which have no parallel but in the great and glorious institutions on which they have been modelled, no air except that of freedom can be inhaled; no action, which has reference to the just rights and privileges of a fellow subject, except that of the purest integrity can be tolerated. And withal possessing a population who, though collected from a variety of countries, and, consequently, much diversified in points of national prejudices, sentiments, and manners, yet only want the aid of additional numbers, to render their skill, capital, and industry of tenfold more value to themselves and importance to the mother country: the plastic hand of parental affection and encouragement to coalesce them into one undistinguishable, loyal and happy people: and a few judicious and well-applied laws to raise them to a proper sense of their own importance, and, politically speaking, render them at once the most formidable barrier that ever was raised against the machi-

nations - of a proud and ambitious rival, and the most enlightened as well as the wealthiest of British subjects.

With such pre-eminent political, moral, and physical advantages, the causes which have retarded these provinces in their career of civilization, have frequently been made the subject of serious and protracted discussion. In the course of this inquiry, however, several circumstances, but particularly three material points, seem to have been entirely overlooked; and which, had they been properly attended to, would not only serve to have shortened the disquisition, but have given it that turn which is best calculated to open the eyes of the country to its own best and most important interests. In the first place, the commercial and political embarrassment occasioned to the mother country by the rebellion and independence of the United States, had the twofold effect of exciting a general coolness and indifference toward the remaining continental colonies, which deprived them of that parental guardianship by which alone they could be reared to that condition of maturity and strength so worthy of their origin; and of directing the attention of the parent state almost solely to the intricate business of repairing the commercial breach not only betwixt herself and the revolting colonies, but betwixt the colonies and the West Indies, to the entire prejudice and exclusion of the Cabotian provinces. In the second place, the external politicks at this time of Great Britain, and particularly the devastating political hurricane of the French revolution, jointly conspired to carry away her attention from the promotion of commerce and colonial prosperity to her own individual defence and the general fate of nations; in which, however important, it was impossible for colonial possessions to maintain but a kind of secondary interest. And, in the third place, the general mercantile colonial policy of the mother country has, until lately, always been held as at variance with the true interests of national wealth and greatness. To this it may be added, no less to the disgrace than the misfortune of so renowned a parent of colonial dominions, that, notwithstanding the precarious means by which the chief part of her population is supported, being more by the demands of foreign states upon her manufactures than her own native necessities, she has never yet adopted a permanent and systematic plan of emigration for draining away her redundant population, and, consequently, establishing her strength in the colonies by those very means which serve to paralyze and exhaust it at home. For no truth seems to be better established within the whole compass of political economy, than that the productive labour of emigrants may by wise regulations be rendered in many instances more beneficial to the empire at

large, and to the commerce and manufactures of the parent state, than if no such emigrations had taken place. What encourages the progress of population and improvement, Smith tells us, encourages that of real wealth and greatness; and no nation ever possessed such resources for the beneficial employment of a redundant population as Great Britain at the present moment, when so many thousands of her labouring classes are in a state of absolute starvation for want of employment, and since almost every colony dependant upon the crown, may not only receive general benefit but real wealth from emigration to an extent upon the whole beyond calculation. The labour, says the *Wealth of Nations*, that is employed in the improvement and cultivation of land affords the greatest and most valuable progress to society. The produce of labour, in this case, pays not only its own wages, and the profit of the stock which employs it, but the rent of the land too upon which it is employed. The labour of the English colonists, therefore, being more employed in the improvement and cultivation of land, is likely to afford a greater and more valuable produce, *than that of any of the other three nations*, which, by the engrossing of land, is more or less diverted towards other employments.

It is, however, by endeavouring to draw a sketch of the commercial intercourse which has subsisted in time past between the mother country and the Cabotian provinces that we can only arrive at an adequate appreciation or the true value and great importance of the latter to the former, and form a due estimate of the increasing prosperity to both. Altogether, nothing can be more curious, or better calculated to prove the general importance of colonies to a parent state, than the rise and progress of Cis-Atlantic civilization; which seems rather to be the exclusive prerogative of ancient nations already grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the fate of colonies of yesterday. In the year 1704, the whole trade of the American colonies with the mother country, was but a few thousand pounds more in the export article, and a third less in the import, than that which, three score years afterwards, was carried on with the single island of Jamaica; the former together amounting only to £1,297,756, and the latter to £1,711,432. In the same year, 1704, the British Exports to North America and the West Indies amounted but to £483,265; whereas, in 1772, they increased to the enormous sum of £4,791,734! only the paltry sum of £485,000 less than the whole export trade of England at that period. When the United States had separated themselves from the dominion of the mother country, it is well known that the most

intelligent writers of the time, entertained the alarming opinion, that British commerce had received a shock from which it was questionable whether it should ever recover. Yet such has been the rapid progress of what may be termed the remnant of the former British empire in America, that for many years they have taken annually from the mother country a much greater quantity of her domestic growth and manufactures than was taken by the whole thirteen provinces previous to the revolutionary war. At that period the total value of American imports were about £1,000,000 sterling; and the total value of of British produce and manufactures, exported from Great Britain to the American provinces, could not exceed, from their own accounts, £1,500,000. Now, it is most gratifying to be able to state, upon the authority of official documents, that in every year since 1807, the value of British produce and manufactures exported to the Cabotian provinces alone far exceeds this sum; and, in 1820, amounted to £1,600,000. The amount of imports from the same provinces and West India islands, was at the like period, within a very small sum of £9,000,000! But it will be necessary to enter upon some particulars, in order to shew in what ratio these provinces arose to this astonishing height of prosperity, considering the untoward and perplexing circumstances in which they were frequently involved. For this purpose it will be necessary to give a statement of their Imports and Exports since the year 1760, when they became entirely subject to the British crown. The following table might be made out so as to include the Imports and Exports of each successive year; but it is imagined that the periods stated will be sufficient to shew the progressive increase of these provinces in commerce and naval improvement.

| Years. | Imports. | Exports. | Inwards and Outwards | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|---------|---------|-------|
| | | | Ships. | Tons. | Men. | |
| 1760 | £ 35,564 | £177,048 | } Uncertain. | | | |
| 1765 | 93,781 | 387,476 | | | | |
| 1770 | 104,048 | 372,399 | | | | |
| 1775 | 123,579 | 646,295 | | | | |
| 1780 | 119,550 | 836,841 | | | | |
| 1785 | 208,532 | 691,288 | | | | |
| 1790 | 239,041 | 840,673 | | 602 | 106,372 | |
| 1795 | 314,761 | 999,786 | | 461 | 62,346 | 4,017 |
| 1800 | 392,690 | 975,988 | | 463 | 76,874 | 5,258 |
| 1806 | 847,357 | 1,457,588 | | 598 | 96,615 | 5,751 |
| 1810 | 1,327,200 | 2,510,544 | 1,537 | 318,644 | 16,839 | |

We might carry these statements down to the present year and shew a much greater progressive increase in the commercial and maritime importance of these provinces to the mother country; but as it is our intention to present the reader with a

table, exhibiting a general view of the present state of the British possessions in North America, this would be quite superfluous. Before proceeding to this table, it may be proper to present the reader with an explanatory view of its contents.

After what we have already said, it would be superfluous to expatiate on the great national advantages which would be derived from a proper cultivation of the great physical capabilities of the Cabotian provinces, and the adoption of a judicious system for peopling them from time to time with moral and industrious inhabitants from the parent state. But it cannot be too often repeated, that these colonies only require the fostering attention of that state to render them of incalculable value. Their progress towards maturity has indeed been slow; but, in addition to the reasons already stated for producing this tardiness of improvement, we may mention the thinness of the population in proportion to so vast an extent of territory; and the difficulties which new settlers, without any regular plan or capital, have to encounter in a howling wilderness, struggling with moral and physical difficulties to which Europeans are, in general, total strangers. Already, however, Upper and Lower Canada can boast of a population of 660,000, which, at the conquest, in 1759, did not exceed 70,000. Of the present population, upwards of 120,000 are embodied militia. We learn from Colonel Bouchette, in his late General Report of the Townships,* that the latter province comprehends a territorial extent of 150,000 superficial miles; of which great superficies only 30,000 can be said to have been explored, and about one half thereof actually surveyed. From the same excellent authority, we also learn,† that the former province, exclusively of that vast territory which has as yet eluded the grasp of civilization, and extending to the Pacific Ocean, consists of an aggregate quantity of 9,594,400 acres. Of these upwards of 3,000,000 have been granted in free and common soccage, 2,769,828 are reserved for the crown and clergy, and nearly three million still remain undisposed of. But indeed it is impossible to estimate with accuracy the extent of this vast region; nor can we contemplate without wonder and astonishment the probable situation of this fine country in a century or two hence; inhabited perhaps by millions of people speaking the English language, and enjoying the blessings of the British Constitution, with populous cities, flourishing commerce, and intellectual distinction.

* See Canadian Review, Vol. II. p. 72.

† See Bouchette's Geographical description Canada, p. 590.

Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, from being watered by the Atlantic and the Bay of Fundy, enjoy advantages over the Canadas, which more than compensate the greater sterility of soil. These are to be traced to the valuable and extensive fisheries in the waters of those provinces, which, in point of abundance and variety, exceed all calculation, and may be considered as a mine of gold,—a treasure which cannot be estimated too high; since, with little labour, enough could be obtained to feed all Europe. Nova-Scotia contains a superficies of 15,617 square miles, or 9,994,880 acres. Its population amounts to 125,000 inhabitants; and a militia of 12,000. The annual shipping of this province amounts, at an average, to about 800; and will be stated more minutely in the following table. New-Brunswick contains nearly 75,000 inhabitants, and a well organized militia of 12,000 men. Its shipping exceeds 900 vessels, 200,000 tons, and 12,000 men; and it makes an annual export of square timber to the amount of 321,211 tons. We know not the extent of its fisheries, though we believe it is very considerable, and progressively increasing. Prince Edward's Island is a most thriving colony, and contains a population of 24,000 souls, cultivating about 100,000 acres of land out of about 1,200,000, of which the island consists. Its militia amounts to about 4,000. Newfoundland contains 70,000 inhabitants; and has been long considered as the most valuable fishing station in the world, and consequently the best nursery of the British Navy. Its productions and fisheries may amount, at the lowest calculation, to about 1,000,000 sterling a year. Hudson's Bay is the only remaining settlement in British North America. As yet, we believe it merely consists of forts belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, who send several ships annually with merchandize for carrying on the Indian fur trade, now almost exclusively enjoyed by themselves. Hudson's Bay may be said to contain a civilized population of 200, though many more are scattered in the outposts throughout the country, whose exact amount it is impossible to ascertain without direct and particular inquiry. But the following Table will explain matters more fully.

VIEW OF THE POWER AND RESOURCES OF THE CABOTIAN PROVINCES.

| | Population. | | Lands. | | Shipping. | | | Militia. | Estimated value of Exports. | Estimated value of Imports |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|--|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|---------|--------|----------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Inhabitants. | | Cultivated. Acres. | Uncultivated. Acres. | Ships. | Tons. | Men. | | | |
| Canada, Upper } and Lower... } | 660,000 | | 5,000,000 | 100,000,000 | 883 | 227,709 | 9,684 | 120,000 | £ 1,000,000 | £ 1,010,868 |
| New-Brunswick.. | 75,000 | | 700,000 | 19,000,000 | 900 | 200,000 | 12,000 | 12,000 | 700,000 | 600,000 |
| Nova-Scotia..... | 125,000 | | 1,500,000 | 8,400,000 | 800 | 200,000 | 8,000 | 12,000 | 800,000 | 850,000 |
| Prince Edwards } Island..... } | 24,000 | | 100,000 | 1,100,000 | 50 | 7,000 | 500 | 4,000 | 120,500 | 100,400 |
| Newfoundland.... | 70,000 | | 1,500 | | 495 | 61,543 | 4,950 | | 705,594 | 572,338 |
| Hudson's Bay..... | 200 | | | | 6 | 1,000 | 60 | | 80,000 | 50,500 |
| Totals..... | 954,200 | | 7,301,500 | 128,590,000 | 3,134 | 697,252 | 35,194 | 148,000 | 3,406,094 | 1,184,106 |

The value of the PUBLIC and PRIVATE property of the Cabotian provinces may be stated as follows, though we know the real amount to be considerably more.

PUBLIC PROPERTY.

Estimated Value of Forts, Barracks, Arsenal, Artillery, and
all Public Buildings.....£1,450,000

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Estimated Value of Lands, both cultivated and un-
cultivated.....£19,850,000
Estimated Value of Buildings, Stock, and Agri-
cultural Utensils on Farms.....6,591,000
Estimated Value of Houses, Stores, Merchandise,
and Furniture in the Cities and Towns.....9,986,000
Estimated Value of the fisheries.....7,550,000
Ditto ditto of Colonial Vessels, Shipbuild-
ing, &c.....518,360
Ditto ditto of Circulating Specie.....630,000—45,195,360

Grand Total.....£46,465,360

Having thus, and we hope not unsuccessfully, endeavoured to establish the great national importance of Colonies in general, and of the Cabotian Colonies individually, it becomes necessary to examine the work which gave rise to our observations; observations greatly prolonged beyond our first intentions. But finding that we have already occupied more than the space allotted to the whole of this article, we are under the necessity of postponing the examination of the work before us till our next number. We regret this the less, however, being assured, that we shall soon be enabled to lay before our readers somewhat more satisfactory information than has hitherto been produced on the long discussed, but as yet undecided, question, relative to the boundary line betwixt New-Brunswick and the United States.

(To be continued.)

Geological and Mineralogical Characters of the "Black Rock" of Cape Diamond.

The rock of Cape Diamond, commonly called the "Black Rock," has been sometimes denominated a Limestone. With the view to expose its claims to that distinction, we shall give, to the best of our ability, its Geological and Mineralogical characters. The Strata, as they lie naturally and artificially exposed, on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence, between Cape Rouge and Sillery Cove, are of that variety of argillaceous schist, called Grey Wacke, associated, in conformable order, with that finer variety denominated Clay Slate or Argillite.—The dip of the Strata is to the S. E., at about an angle of 35°,

its consequent bearing N. E. and S. W., with a slight inclination of its upper edge below the horizon, towards the N. E.—It is probably owing to this inclination, that the Grey Wacke is lost before it reaches Quebec, by descending below the level of the St. Lawrence: indeed the last of it is seen at Sillery Cove, very near that level, and 5 miles from Quebec. Here the Clay Slate, which has been running in parallel strata at the back of the Grey Wacke, is alone visible. It forms a low ridge, but continues to rise towards Quebec with the interruption of a valley or two, until at Cape Diamond it forms a precipice about 320 feet above the level of the river. All this distance, it preserves much the same dip and bearing as the Grey Wacke, with which, in some places on the opposite shore, it may be seen alternating. Although no Geological difference, thus far, appears between the Clay Slate at Sillery Cove and the “Black Rock” at Cape Diamond, a very evident chemical one exists. At the latter place the rock has become often of a sooty blackness—exhaling a bituminous odor when struck, or scratched, and sometimes soiling the fingers. The cause of this is the presence of Carbon, which has been found in the rock in the proportion of 20 per cent. There appears also to be a difference in the effect of weather, or other destructive agents.—On the Clay Slate, between Sillery Cove and Cape Diamond, they exert their influence by covering the base of the rock with a crumbling deposit of small wedged shaped fragments, sometimes highly ferruginous. At Cape Diamond they act by displaying a continuous schistose structure of little tenuity parallel with the plane of stratification.

The general bearing of the “Black Rock,” is to the N. E. However, in some places the strata may be seen running North, the dip being reversed to the N. W. In some cases the strata are vertical, or nearly so. All this may be occasioned by the bending or waving of the strata.

The thickness of the strata varies from three feet to three inches. The former are often, to all appearance of a very compact structure, breaking with conchoidal surfaces and sharp edges. In most of these, however, weather effects what the hammer fails of doing, and displays its really schistose structure. It is on account of this, and its absorbent character, that the “Black Rock” is not a good building stone. The thin strata are generally very schistose, apparent to the eye. They are sometimes compact and break into long prismatic pieces, which yield a ringing, metallic, sound when struck: these separate the thicker strata at certain intervals and often determine the planes of stratification when they might otherwise be doubtful, from the resemblance which the whitened and even

surfaces of the natural joints sometimes bear to them. The latter are never continuous—another useful test.

Among the peculiar appearances common to the "Black Rock," and displayed by fracture, is a ribbed aspect; another is a glossy convexity, a surface resembling polished shoe leather. The effect of weather is also sometimes remarkable.—In most cases it exhibits the schistose nature of the rock; in others more compact, it shows a rounded and whitened surface forming a striking contrast with its sooty interior. While again in others, by the rounding of successive laminæ, a series of concentric irregular ovals are formed, much resembling the grain of fir; and when the surface is browned or reddened, a singular imitation of wood is produced.

In excavating, strata are met with, the colour of which is a lively green: these have, for the most part, undergone a considerable degree of induration and resemble flint in fracture, translucency, hardness and effect of the blowpipe (query siliceous schist?) spheroidal concretionary lumps of the same, and of a dark grey variety, are common.

Some of the strata are decidedly more calcareous than others; and two instances of an unquestionable Lim stone have met our observation. The first is fetid and somewhat Crystalline: The other compact. Both are situated on the same plateau, and bordering on the local and conformable conglomerate, which characterizes the precipice to the N. and N. W. of the town. The last mentioned stone is of an excellent quality, and dissolves in acid almost totally, with violent effervescence, and burns to a white caustic lime. Unfortunately for the inhabitants of Quebec, who procure their lime at Beauport, a distance of five miles, on the other side of the St. Charles, it does not preserve these characters for any considerable distance, but becoming suddenly impure, it is lost by abruptly dipping under the "Black Rock" in the direction of its bearing. The fragment of one solitary bivalve was observed in it.

The minerals found in the "Black Rock" are

1st. Iron as an oxide and as a sulphuret: the former, in a state of solution, often bestows a red or yellow stain on the surface of the rock. The latter is not so common and is generally found with a soft greenish variety of the rock.

2nd. Quartz sometimes in fine acicular crystals of considerable transparency, as are also others approaching the form of the double pyramid, applied base to base more frequently in ill formed semi-transparent prisms. They vary in size from drusy, to crystals as large as the thumb. The latter are never transparent throughout; and often appear in the progress of formation.

3rd. Calcareous Spar, in white and brown acicular crystals, finer than spun glass, radiating from a white calcareous base, often enclosing ill formed crystals of quartz; also in perfect rhombs. But its most common appearance is in veins of a laminar structure, traversing the rock in all directions; these in some places become so numerous as to give the rock the aspect of a conglomerate; they often traverse each other, and in this case, one vein appears to have dislodged that portion of the other it met with in its progress.*

4th. Petroleum, in soft translucent pieces of a green and yellow colour, sometimes surrounding the soot, more rarely insinuating itself into the interior, of a crystal of quartz.

5th. Coal-dust or soot, often investing the surface of quartz. Crystals, in drusy cavities.

6th. Fluor Spar. As far as we can learn, this is by no means common. One specimen of an imperfect crystal we have met with. Its colour is a deep purple, so intense as to render the crystal scarcely transparent. Its form is that of half a curve divided diagonally. It was found associated with calx spar in a crevice of the "Black Rock."

The earthly minerals above named, occur for the most part, in crevices and small fissures in the rock.

Of two specimens of rock, one procured from Wolf's Cove, between Sillery Cove and Cape Diamond—the other from Cape Diamond, the following is a comparative mineralogical description.

Wolf's Cove.—Colour, dark ash grey, opaque—structure compact, fracture uneven, somewhat conchoidal with sharp edges—easily scratched by the knife—receives a trace from copper—colour of powder, reddish—streak dull light grey. Sp. Gr. 2.57. Moderate effervescence in acid with or without being powdered, which soon subsides, leaving considerable sediment. Before the blow-pipe it forms a yellowish or brownish enamel; the part furthest from the flame is whitened.

Cape Diamond.—Colour brownish black—opaque—structure compact fracture uneven conchoidal, with sharp edges, scratched by the knife, but not quite so easily as the foregoing—colour of powder, reddish ash grey—streak reddish grey—exhales the bituminous odor when struck—effect in and the same as the last, with the addition of the solution being discoloured. Sp. gr. 2.54. Effect of the blowpipe precisely the same as in the last instance.

* The same thing has been observed of veins of granite in gneiss—the former is owing to the infiltration of calcareous spar, through the agency of water, into fractures of the rock across older veins of that mineral. The latter does not probably admit of so satisfactory an explanation.

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the Geological associations and Mineralogical characters of the "Black Rock" of Cape Diamond; from which it appears to be an argellite and not a L. stone. The only characters it possesses in common with any of the varieties of the latter, are a slight effervescence in acid, and its bituminous odor. But as the clay, slates, sand stones, and shells, in this neighbourhood, possess one or both of these characters, as they often do elsewhere, they are liable to be confounded with the L. stones, if the "Black Rock" be considered one.

A. B.

Queries by the Literary Society of Quebec.
(CIRCULAR.)

QUEBEC, July 1, 1826.

SIR,—The LITERARY SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, established under the patronage of his Excellency the EARL of DALHOUSIE, Governor in Chief, desirous of procuring information on the various topics within its scope, has the honour to request of you, at your leisure, any communication you may think proper to favour it with, from time to time, upon all or any of the subjects herein after stated. And

First, in HISTORY.

1. Do you know any thing respecting the first Settlement of Canada by the French, the number of the Settlers, the time of their arrival, their general character, their condition with respect to property, the authority and encouragement under which they came, or any other circumstances attending the first attempt at colonization?

2. Is there any thing known concerning any Governors preceding Mésy, the first Royal Governor? How long did they remain in office? What station or offices did they fill prior to their appointment there?

3. In what years were the first Forts built at Quebec, Montreal, Chambly, Cataraquy, (now Kingston) Niagara and Detroit?

4. What portion of the first Settlers appear to have attached themselves to Agriculture, and what portion to trade?

5. Can you communicate any facts which may throw light on the state of Commerce, in any particular portion of the country at different times, and especially at early periods; the number of ships, the amount of exports and imports for a series of years, the principal articles exported and imported, and from whence brought?

6. At what period do the common Manufactures appear to have been commenced?

7. What information do you possess respecting the state of

the Militia in your District, especially in the early periods of its history, particularly their numbers, organization and modes of equipment?

8. Is it in your power to furnish any, and what, information concerning the Indian Tribes which formerly inhabited your District, their numbers, when first visited by the whites, their character, customs, &c.?

9. Can you communicate any records that tend to elucidate the Ecclesiastical History of Canada? The names of the first Bishops, Curés or Ministers of the established Churches?

10. When was the first Printing-Press established in this country?

Secondly, in Geology and Mineralogy.

Any information you may be able to give or procure, on the subject of the Mineralogy and Geology of that part of the country you reside in, accompanying the same by characteristic specimens. If your attention has seldom been given to inquiries of this nature, it will be sufficient to particularize, 1st. Locality, 2nd. If the Mineral in question be abundant or otherwise. 3d. Under what circumstances it occurs, as a rock or imbedded in one, or as an alluvial deposit, &c. If imbedded in a rock, a specimen of the rock should accompany the Mineral; as also specimens of any other Minerals which may be associated with it.

The Geological notices will be sufficient if they inform, 1st. Whether the Rock be stratified or not. 2d. If stratified, whether the strata be horizontal or dipping. 3d. If dipping, the approximate angle of the dip, and towards what point of the compass.

Packages containing specimens, and letters addressed to W. GREEN, Esq. Secretary to the Literary Society, Quebec, and marked in the corner "GEOLOGY," will be thankfully received.

Thirdly, in NATURAL HISTORY.

Such facts and remarks touching the Quadrupeds, Birds, Fish, Reptiles, Insects, Trees, Shrubs, Herbs, Mosses and Fungi which occur within the limits of your neighbourhood, or which may have fallen under your particular notice, and this favour will be much enhanced by forwarding, from time to time, any preparations or specimens you may deem worthy of being added to our museum.

Fourthly, in METEOROLOGY.

Any general observations will be highly acceptable, such as whether storms come against the wind, or in its direction; the atmospherical appearance preceding storms, &c. Force of the wind may be indicated by calm, light, moderate, fresh, strong breezes to strong gales.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant.

W. GREEN, *Secretary.*

NARRATIVE of the invasion of CANADA by the AMERICAN PROVINCIALS under Montgomery and Arnold; with a particular account of the SIEGE OF QUEBEC, from the 17th September 1775, the day on which the British Militia was embodied in that place, till the 6th of May 1776, when the seige was raised: By the late WILLIAM LINDSAY, Lieutenant in the British Militia, and Collector of the Customs at Port St. Johns.

No. II.

WHEN, towards the latter end of September, Colonel M'Lean arrived at Quebec from Sorel, with his small, but brave and loyal band of highland emigrants, after having been there so disgracefully deserted by the Canadians, he found that no preparations whatever had been made in this important fortress for rendering it impervious to any sudden attack, from the enemy. Dreading some such attack, and having heard through the Indians some surmises of Arnold's expedition, the Colonel, in conjunction with Mr. Cramahe, then acting as Lieutenant Governor in the absence of General Carleton, commanding at Montreal, prudently set about the organization of all the means of defence that the circumstances of the place and time could afford; and the manner in which this was done, will ever reflect the highest honour on the talents and public spirit of the Colonel.* These preparations were continued with unceasing activity till the latter end of the month of October; but their nature and extent will be best understood by extracting a few of the GENERAL ORDERS which were issued on the occasion. These orders are a matter of curiosity, no less on account of their historical importance, than the energy which they display on the part of a loyal people willing to sacrifice every thing to the safety and honour of their country.

* Could any of our readers favour us with an account of the life of a gentleman who was so instrumental in saving this Province from rebellion and conquest, it would considerably oblige us. We believe that the corps raised and immediately commanded by Colonel M'Lean, was afterwards distinguished as the "1st Battalion of the Regiment of Royal Highland Emigrants;" the Colonel becoming a Brigadier General in the army. After the corps had been thus organized, the Brigadier went to England and got it numbered the 84th Regiment of Foot. It was disbanded, however, in 1784, at Carleton Island in Lake Ontario, being then under the command of Colonel, now General, Harris. Colonel M'Lean of River Raisin, and Colonel M'Lean of Kingston, late Speaker of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, both served in this distinguished regiment. The late Reverend John Bethune was its Chaplain.—EDITOR.

“ORDERS. September 18th. All officers of the British Militia are desired to meet Colonels M’Lean and Caldwell, at Mr. Prentice’s, this day at 12 o’Clock.

“The British Militia to parade without arms, to-morrow evening at 6 o’Clock.

“A return of each Company to be given in to the Adjutant, of the men of their respective companies who choose to accept pay and provisions.

“The officers to appear in the Garrison with their side arms and cockades.”

“19th. For guard, one Captain, three subalterns, seven non-commissioned officers, and seventy-three privates; to be stationed at the Main Guard, Cape Diamond, Port St. Louis, Port St. Johns, Palace Gate, Bateau Guard, and the Lower Town.

“The Captain of the Main Guard to visit the Guards in the Upper Town at 12 o’Clock; the officer at Cape Diamond to visit Ports Saint Louis and St. John’s Guards; and the subaltern of the Main Guard to visit Palace-Gate and the Bateau Guard. The officer of the Lower Town Guard will go his round at 12 o’clock at night, and half an hour after three in the morning. A private from each guard to be at the Main Guard every evening at 6 o’clock, to receive candles for their guards. Adjutant Mills will go round the guards, and make a report to the Town Major of what centry boxes are wanted at the different guards.

“Mr. Thompson to get the greatest number of Canadian carpenters he can: so many of them to be employed in cutting and preparing the picquets; whilst Mr. Thompson with some others of them, will go about setting them with all the expedition possible; some more of the Canadian carpenters to be employed in laying the platforms from Cape Diamond to Port St. Johns, in such places as Mr. Ramsay shall point out.

“Fraser, the carpenter, with his men, to be employed in repairing the Blockhouses with all possible expedition, beginning at Cape Diamond, and repair the Sally-ports. Major Cox to oversee the repairing of the Blockhouses and laying the platforms, and to report daily to the Commanding Officer the progress of that work.

“The British Militia and the Canadian Militia to send every day an orderly man to the Commanding Officer at 6 o’clock in the morning and to remain till 6 o’clock at night.

“Major France will call upon Governor Cramahe, and ask him what is to be done with the Canadian prisoners now in the Barrack yard, as it is inconvenient to keep them in the barracks.

“ Captain James Johnson will order one subaltern and half of his company to the Barracks every day, to be instructed in the exercise of the great guns, by a bombardier who will attend for that purpose.

“ The orderly serjeants of each company to attend every day at guard mounting, to receive any order that may be thought necessary to give out.

“ The Captains and commanding officers of companies to give in a return to the adjutant of the number of firelocks received out of the store, in order that cartridge boxes may be made for them, and that a quantity of cartridges of different sized balls may be made up for the others: each company to be complete to twenty rounds.”

“ 25th. The British Militia will not be desired to exercise for the future but when their respective captains think proper. It is recommended to the officers and non-commissioned officers, commanding the several guards, to teach, and assist in teaching, the gentlemen of their guards, when off centry, their exercise, particularly their priming and loading motions.”

“ 30th. The British and Canadian Militia to be under arms at their alarm posts to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.”

“ 20th October. The key of the wicket of Palace gate for the future to be sent with the other keys of the main guard; and when the rounds go they are to take them with them. Whatever provisions or necessaries are carried to the prisoners at Palace gate, are to be thoroughly examined by the serjeant of the guard: a loaf of bread is to be cut to pieces.”

These orders might be extended to a great length; but it is hoped that enough has been given to prove, that nothing was left undone for the safety of the province which the feeble situation of Quebec at this time could admit of; and that, however wavering or disaffected some of the inmates of the garrison might have been, the majority did not fail in their duty to themselves and their country.

On the 22d of October, an embargo was laid on all the shipping in port with the exception of those employed in the Fur trade. The Hunter sloop of war of 10 guns, Captain MacKenzie, was in port at the time. From this date till the beginning of November, fatigue parties were incessantly employed in putting the garrison in a proper state of defence, and more was done in that way than can well be conceived by those who may not have witnessed the ardour with which every man plied at his task. On the 1st of November we were assured by a few faithful Indians who came in, that Arnold and his party were rapidly approaching; which induced the commandant to increase the guards, and give orders to the British Militia to

take the whole. The signal for turning out all the Militia upon the first discovery of the approach of an enemy was communicated; which was three guns from Cape Diamond, repeated by those at Drummond's wharf and the ships of war stationed in the river. This signal was to be first given from the Upper Town, and then by the Lower Town, or the shipping. A few days afterwards the Lizard frigate of 28 guns, Captain Hamilton, arrived with specie for the troops. She was followed by a schooner from Halifax and St. John's island with Captain Malcolm Fraser, of the Royal regiment, and other officers, and recruits for that corps. On the 6th the Magdaline schooner arrived express from London, with official intelligence of Arnold's expedition against Quebec; and, what was somewhat singular, almost at the same time Arnold himself was discovered to have arrived at Point Levy in full force. Next day a Council of War was held at Governor Cramahe's, when it was unanimously resolved to defend the garrison to the last. In consequence of this determination, the ships of war were ordered immediately into the Cul-de-Sac, for the purpose of being dismantled and secured for the winter. The ammunition was brought to the Upper Town, and the scamen and mariners were ordered to do garrison duty.

On the 11th it was discovered that considerable dissension existed in the town, and that a private meeting had been held by a considerable number of both English and Canadians for the purpose of devising means for compelling a surrender of the fortress into the hands of the enemy, who, no doubt had been very active in bringing about by intrigue an event than which nothing could be more auspicious to his cause. In consequence of this discovery, Colonel M'Lean thought it advisable to call a public meeting of such British subjects as chose to attend. The unanimous sentiments of loyalty and patriotism expressed at this meeting, the manly and decided part taken by the British Militia in support of the common cause, and the spirited exertions of Colonel M'Lean, in maintaining the purity and integrity of the troops under his command, soon restored the garrison to that order and unanimity which were so necessary to defend it under such an emergency as the present; and those traitors who had been labouring to excite a revolt in the garrison, were obliged to desist from their purposes, at least for the present.

On the morning of the 13th, Arnold and his party crossed from the southern to the northern banks of the St. Lawrence, in the hopes of surprising the garrison. After a vain endeavour to imitate the masterly stratagems and manœuvres of the immortal Wolfe on a similar occasion, but under a different banner

from treason and rebellion, the Provincials at last effected a landing at Wolfe's Cove; but finding from the report of Lieutenants Humphries and Keith, of Morgan's company of Virginia riflemen, who had been detached to reconnoitre the town, that we had watched all their motions and were fully prepared for them, they slowly and deliberately wended their way to the Plains of Abraham, in the neighbourhood of Cape Diamond. They no sooner appeared on the heights than a volunteer party under Colonel Caldwell made a sortie from the garrison, and, after exchanging a few straggling shots with the rebels, compelled them to retire to *Sans Bruit*, a very appropriate retreat for men not disposed to fight. Several visits of the same kind were paid and received by the enemy, when he thought it proper to retire to Point aux Trembles, there to await the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal. In the meantime General Carleton arrived in Quebec, having been on shore at Point aux Trembles a few hours before Arnold arrived at that place, and who, on his march, had the mortification to see the vessel on board of which the General came to head quarters. The arrival of General Carleton could not have taken place at a more seasonable and critical moment. It appeared that the most dangerous and unnatural dissensions which, at a former period prevailed in the garrison, had not been wholly extinguished, and that they would have inevitably burst out with greater vigour, did not the appearance of the Governor check them in the bud. His first act was to issue a proclamation, ordering all those who refused to take up arms in its defence, to quit the town with their families in four days, and the district by the 1st of December, otherwise they should be treated as spies and rebels. In consequence of this seasonable proclamation a great number of persons, both English and Canadian, and many of whom were officers in the Militia, left the town with due expedition—a thrice happy riddance to those who remained to defend their country and their honour. His excellency also, by public orders, approved of the appointment of the officers of the British Militia by the Lieutenant Governor, and directed commissions to be made out for them. He returned peculiar thanks for the zeal and attachment they had shewn to the King's service, and the laudable example which they had shewn to their Canadian brethren; and concluded by saying, that he had no doubt they would persevere in conduct which so much redounded to their own honour and interest; assuring them that he should always be ready to bear testimony to the zeal which they had always shewn for the public service at so critical a juncture.

Montgomery having left some troops at Montreal, and out posts, and sent detachments into different parts of the province to encourage such of the Canadians as had already declared themselves in favour of the revolting cause, and to seduce those who had not done so, pushed on with as many men as could be spared from these services, and such artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold at Point aux Trembles. Of this junction, information was received at Quebec on the 21st by a rifleman of Morgan's company, who had been taken prisoner by our centries in the lower town, in consequence of having approached too near the lines. In the meantime the absence of the enemy at Point aux Trembles, afforded a very seasonable opportunity for supplying the garrison with provisions and fuel—an opportunity which was as prudently and ardently embraced as became those about to be subjected to a long and hazardous siege. The rigour of the climate also required that the troops should be comfortably and suitably clothed as well as fed; and orders were accordingly given for clothing all the Militia in green with buff vests and breeches, and the Royal Emigrants, Seamen, and Artificers in green, with scarlet facings, caps, and cuffs. Such Militia officers, as well as privates as chose to accept of them, were ordered to receive pay and provisions; but it appeared as somewhat extraordinary, that the privates of the Canadian militia received a shilling *sterling per day*, while those of the British militia only received a shilling *currency*. Perhaps this was done with a view to stimulate the faltering loyalty of the former, rather than in disparagement of the services of the latter.

The first week of December was occupied by the enemy in marching his troops from Point aux Trembles to the neighbourhood of Quebec, and cutting fascines for the purpose of erecting batteries, in which latter they were greatly assisted by *habitants*. Montgomery's head quarters were established in Major Holland's house, from which all orders and despatches were issued during the siege. On the 4th a woman came in at Palace gate and said she had some communication of importance to make to the Governor, into whose presence she was immediately conducted. She then presented a letter to His Excellency from Montgomery; but instead of receiving it, he desired his aid-de-camp to call a drummer, whom he directed to take the letter from the woman with a pair of tongs and put it into the fire. This being done, he ordered the bearer to be sent out of the garrison, with instructions to inform Montgomery of the manner she and the letter had been treated, and that this should be the fate of all similar embassies, if they did not intreat the King's mercy, & were declared loyal subjects. However, during the next and several succeeding days, a number

of letters were shot into the upper town by arrows, which were immediately picked up and carried to the Governor. Having obtained possession of two of these letters, I shall here insert them.

“ To the Inhabitants of Quebec.

.. My Friends and Fellow-Subjects!

“ The unhappy necessity which subsists of dislodging the Ministerial troops, obliges me to carry on hostilities against your city, which they now occupy. It is with the utmost compunction I find myself reduced to measures which may overwhelm you with distress. The city in flames at this severe season, a general attack on wretched works, defended by a more wretched garrison; the confusion, carnage and plunder, which must be the consequence of such an attack, fills me with horror.

“ Let me entreat you to use your endeavours to procure my peaceable admission. You cannot surely believe the ungenerous falsehoods propagated to our disadvantage by Ministerial hirelings. The continental arms have never been sullied by any act of violence or inhumanity. We come with the professed intention of eradicating tyranny and giving liberty and security to this oppressed province.

“ Private property having ever been by us deemed sacred, I have enclosed you my letter to General Carleton, because he has industriously avoided giving you any information that might tend to shew you your true interest. If he insists, and you permit him to involve you in that ruin which perhaps he courts to hide his shame, I have not the reproach to make my own conscience, that I have not warned you of your danger.

(Signed)

RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
Brig. Gen. Continental Army.”

Holland House, Dec. }
6th, 1775.” }

“ To General Carleton.

“ Holland House, December 6th, 1775.

Sir,—Notwithstanding the personal ill treatment I have received at your hands; notwithstanding the cruelty you have shewn to the unhappy prisoners you have taken, the feelings of humanity induce me to have recourse to this expedient to save you from the destruction which hangs over your wretched gar-

rison. Give me leave to assure you, that I am well acquainted with your situation:—a great extent of works in their nature incapable of defence—manned with a motley crew of sailors, most of them our friends—of citizens who wish to see us within their walls—of a few of the worst troops that ever called themselves soldiers—the impossibility of relief—and the certain prospect of wanting every necessary of life, should your opponents confine their operations to a single blockade, point out the absurdity of resistance. Such is *your* situation. I am at the head of troops accustomed to success—confident of the righteousness of the cause they are engaged in—innured to danger and fatigue—and so highly incensed at your inhumanity, illiberal abuse, and the ungenerous means employed to prejudice them in the minds of the Canadians, that it is with difficulty I restrain them till my batteries are ready from insulting your works, which would afford them the fair opportunity of ample vengeance and just retaliation. Firing upon a flag of truce, hitherto unprecedented among savages, prevents my following the ordinary mode of conveying my sentiments. However, I will at any rate acquit my conscience, and should you persist in an unwarrantable defence, the consequence be upon your head. Beware of destroying stores of any sort, public or private, as you did at Montreal or in the river. If you do, by Heavens! there will be no mercy shewn.

(Signed)

RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

But neither threats nor dangers could produce any effect upon the inflexible firmness of the veteran Governor; and Montgomery, instead of further menacing the garrison by verbal communications, was obliged to resort to those arts which war has provided on similar occasions. He accordingly, on the 9th, commenced and maintained a brisk fire of small mortars from the Intendant's palace in St. Rocs, against the two-gun battery next the barracks, but without doing any injury whatever. Till towards three next morning, upwards of thirty five small shells had also been thrown in from behind Mr. Grant's garden wall in St. Rocs; but all the injury with which they were attended was, the alarm which such unusual visitors had occasioned to the families in town. At break of day next morning, the battery, which we understood the enemy had been preparing a little above the Bark Mill, at the end of St John's suburbs, appeared full in view, and seemed to consist of fascines. The only guns that could bear upon it, were those planted in the neighbourhood of St. John's gate, from whence two 12 and two 24 pounders played upon the battery the whole of the day, apparently to the great annoyance of the enemy.

At noon, however, it was discovered, that the large houses situated near St. John's gate obstructed the range of our shot, when a party was ordered out to demolish them; but, failing in doing so as was at first proposed by pulling them down mechanically, fire was set to them, which, after destroying six dwellings, went out of itself about midnight. But the circumstance of the fire displeased the Governor very much, because had the weather been tempestuous, it might raise a conflagration dangerous at once to the city and the cause in which we were employed. About one in the morning the enemy renewed the bombardment, and threw in shells to the amount of the critical number of 45; but no damage whatever ensued. We returned the compliment by sending them several 13 *inchers*, most of which seemed to have the effect we intended. This sort of business continued with little intermission for several days, during which we brought an additional number of guns to bear on the enemy's battery, which, under the direction of Major Mackenzie, did great execution, several of the enemy having been seen to fall as the shot reached them.

At day light of the 15th, the enemy opened his battery, and maintained an unremitting fire till nine o'clock, when it ceased, owing either to the bursting of a gun, or the blowing up of their powder magazine. At half past ten, another of those eternal flags of truce visited us; but the Governor, as usual, treated it with contempt. The bearer, on being refused admittance and desired to depart from the walls, said, in a tone loud enough to be heard by all present—"Then the garrison have only themselves to blame, and the Governor will be answerable for the consequences." Shortly afterwards the firing commenced on both sides, and continued during the remainder of the day. It may not be improper, in order to shew the private feelings and sentiments of Montgomery at this stage of the siege, to introduce an order issued by him under this date, as extracted from the orderly book of Captain Nicholson's company of the York provincials, commanded by Colonel James Clinton, which fell into my hands by accident:—

“Head Quarters, Holland House, Dec. 15th, 1775. }
Parole *Connecticut*, Countersign *Adams*. }

“The General having in vain offered the most favourable terms of accommodation to the Governor, and having taken every possible step to prevail on the inhabitants to desist from seconding him in the wild scheme of vigorous measures for the speedy reduction of the only hold possessed by the ministerial troops in this province, flushed with continual success, and

confident of the justice of their cause, and relying on that providence which has uniformly protected them, the troops will advance to the attack of works incapable of being defended by the wretched garrison posted behind them, consisting of sailors unacquainted with the use of arms—of citizens incapable of soldiers' duty—and a few miserable emigrants.

“The General is confident a vigorous and spirited attack will be attended with success. The troops shall have the effects of the Governor, garrison, and such as have been active in misleading the inhabitants, and distressing the friends of liberty, equally divided among them. The one hundredth share of the whole shall be at the disposal of the General, and given to such soldiers as distinguish themselves by their activity and bravery, and sold at public auction; the whole to be conducted as soon as the city is in our hands, and the inhabitants disarmed.”

Next day a heavy and unremitting fire was kept up on both sides, but without any serious injury on our part except the throwing down of a few chimnies, and the wounding, but not dangerously, of a boy by the bursting of a small shell in a house near St. John's gate. In the dusk several of the enemy were seen skulking about St. Rocs, but particularly about the Intendants palace, which made us suspicious of an attack during the night under the auspices of a snow storm which then prevailed; and our conjectures were not altogether unfounded, for between four and five in the morning, the alarm was given both by beat of drum and the ringing of the great bell. Much to the honour of the garrison, every man was at his post in a few seconds waiting for the necessary orders; but the alarm fortunately turned out to be a false one, there being no real attack intended, although a number of the enemy who had been seen approaching the Palace gate undoubtedly increased in proportion to the fears of the sentinel, who swore that he had seen thousands making for the spot on which he stood at least seven deep. The circumstance, however, afforded the Governor a proper opportunity of thanking the garrison for their vigilance and alacrity in turning out, and shewed the dependence that might be placed on it when any real assault might be attempted. In the afternoon of the 18th, four Canadians crossed in a canoe from Point Levi, and were immediately conveyed to the presence of the Governor; but His Excellency, notwithstanding they had brought some trifling provisions for the garrison, suspecting they came for some sinister purpose, ordered them away under an escort to the water side. These rascals stated that the inhabitants on the south side of the river were prevented from sending provisions into town by *fifty* of the rebels

who had been stationed for that and other similar purposes at Point Levi; but the absurdity of this excuse was too glaring when we knew, that if the 5000 adult inhabitants who lived in the neighbourhood of Point Levi would endeavour to maintain the character once bestowed upon them and their countrymen—I know not whether in jest or in earnest—of the FAITHFULS, fifty ragged rebels would form but a feeble barrier as well betwixt them and the garrison as betwixt them and the safety and honour of their country.

The same day Colonel M'Lean received a letter from a private friend without, containing the agreeable intelligence, that much dissatisfaction prevailed among the rebels, who had generally been very reluctant in the discharge of their duty. They also experienced at this time a great scarcity of ammunition. Next day several private letters were conveyed into town confirming this intelligence, which induced us to hope that the siege would be raised at no distant period. But the Governor was grieved to find that the most of these letters cautioned him to be aware of the intrigues of some of the officers of the Canadian Militia, many of whom were said to be in correspondence with Montgomery, who seemed to be as well acquainted with the situation and transactions of the garrison as if he had been a member of it himself. Further accounts stated the actual strength of the rebels at this time to be 800 provincials, 400 Canadians from above, and 300 Canadians, or *Faithfuls*, from the neighbourhood, amounting in all to about 1500 effective troops. But were they double this number, no fears should be entertained of their power in the garrison. On the 22d a young gentleman, clerk to Colonel Caldwell, who had been taken prisoner by the enemy when *Sans Bruit* was burnt, came into town accompanied by a deserter from the besiegers, and informed the Governor that great preparations were in progress for storming the fortress, Montgomery having resolved upon making an attack sometime between that evening and Newyear's day assuring his troops that they should certainly dine in town on or before that festival. The young gentleman confirmed the accounts previously received with respect to the dissension which prevailed in the enemy's quarters; but a promise made by Montgomery of presenting every man who should mount the walls after him, with £100, had revived their courage and won a general consent to hazard an attack as soon as the general should think it advisable to lead them on. This information induced us to double the picquets and the guards, though little fear was entertained of a speedy assault, many of the enemy having been at this time confined by the small pox. However, to make "assurance doubly sure," most of the gari-

son was under arms during the whole of the succeeding night, and until the 29th busily employed in putting the fortress in the best state of defence possible. On that day a deserter came in from the enemy with information that it was now the intention of Montgomery to attack us by surprize as soon as circumstances would permit. In confirmation of this several of the enemy were seen next day reconnoitring us very closely on snow shoes, but upon being fired at they immediately withdrew.

The morning of the last day of the year 1775 will be a memorable day not only in Canada, but throughout the British empire; for on it a contest took place on which depends the future weal or woe—the future glory or misery of Canada. The cimmerician darkness of the preceding night, rendered still more gloomy by a dense snow storm which continued to fall during the best part of the ensuing day, was ominous of the blackest and foulest designs, if not positively favourable to those which were meditated against us. A tacit belief seemed to prevail in the garrison that such a night as this could not pass without some concomitant moral evil which should mark it in the tales of future times as a night of indescribable woe to some and inexpressible happiness to others. The event proved the reasonableness of the anticipation. About half past four in the morning the great bell of the cathedral rung a loud and ominous alarm. I was at the moment attached to the picquet guard of the Lower town, and after mustering in the Old Market place, our alarm post, I was despatched by the Captain to the Governor for orders how the detachment should act. I was fortunate enough to meet His Excellency coming out of the Chateau, on his way to the Recollect, where the Upper Town volunteer picquet was assembled. I was hurriedly desired to remain for orders at the Main Guard, whither I repaired. After waiting here for some time, during which the enemy poured in a terrible torrent of shells, I became uneasy for want of orders, and imagined that His Excellency must have forgotten the preliminary orders which he gave me, which induced me to go once more in search of him. In doing so I accidentally met Colonel M'Lean just as he was receiving intelligence from an officer of the Royal Emigrants, that a large body of the enemy, commanded by Arnold, had forced and was actually in possession of, the first barrier of the Sault au Matelot; the officer added, however, that a report prevailed that Arnold had been dangerously wounded, and that the command had devolved on Morgan, an officer well capable of supplying his place. Upon hearing this I did not think it prudent or necessary to proceed further in search of the General, who, I had no doubt, had by

this time anticipated any orders that might be expected from him in so critical a juncture; but straitway returned to join the picquet guard, and communicated what I had so reluctantly heard. Upon my arrival at the Market place, I found to my great joy, that the picquet had proceeded with all speed to the Sault au Matelot, whither I followed them as fast as I could. Here I found matters in the utmost confusion; there being no officers of sufficient authority and skill to direct the men stationed at this post, and the enemy making rapid and alarming progress towards our second barrier, and taking possession of the houses on either side of the passage as they came along; meeting with little opposition except a few straggling shots returned by us under the best shelter that we could procure. In this dangerous emergency, and just as the enemy was forming to assault our second barrier, a most seasonable reinforcement arrived of volunteers of the company of Captains of Merchantmen, commanded by Colonel Caldwell, Major Nairne, and Lieutenant Anderson of the Navy, the latter of whom was soon afterwards killed in issuing with a body of the troops through the gate of the barricade. The arrival of this reinforcement under the command of such brave and judicious officers, notwithstanding the death of Lieut. Anderson and the retreat of his men within the barrier, gave renovated energy to our troops and more auspicious prospects to our affairs. Most of the troops being disposed of in the neighbouring houses under the command of Captain Gills, Mr. Vialars, and Mr. Lymburner, maintained from thence such a close and destructive fire on the enemy as prevented them at once from scaling the barrier or advancing upon the town in any other direction in the neighbourhood, though both were frequently attempted with a spirit worthy of a better cause. During this conflict, in which several were killed and wounded on both sides, a sailor, with that intrepidity peculiar to British Tars, mounted the stage behind the barrier gate, and seizing a scaling ladder suspended to the outer side by the enemy, pulled it over; and being immediately mounted against one of the windows of the house next the barrier gate, facing the street, enabled Major Nairne and Mr. Darnbourghess, and several followers, to force their way into the house with the view of driving out a large body of the enemy who had taken possession of it. Here a most dreadful conflict and carnage took place; but we at last succeeded in completely expelling the enemy from every apartment of a house, the entire possession of which would have enabled them to prolong the contest at pleasure, if not given them the final command of the barrier. In other quarters, both within and without doors, the conflict was equally desperate; but at last the enemy began

to waver and take shelter in small detached parties under every covering that could afford them the least shelter both from the tempest and unremitting fire which we kept up upon them. They made several efforts to retreat, but their despair at last became so great, that the officer who undertook to conduct them back to the first barrier was unable to prevail upon the men to follow him till it was too late.

Contrary to our expectations the Governor watched the conflict at the second barrier of the Sault au Matelot with an eagle's eye, and just as the enemy began to falter, embraced a most seasonable opportunity for cutting off their retreat. The situation of the enemy was already such, that in attempting to retreat they must pass for a considerable way within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire of the garrison. To render their fate inevitable, His Excellency ordered Captain Law, with the *corps de reserve*, the artificers, and several field pieces, to make a sortie through Palace gate, which flanked and commanded the Sault au Matelot, and attack them without mercy in the rear, being covered by a detachment of the Royal Emigrants under the command of Captain M'Dougall. This sallying party no sooner descended from Palace gate to the foot of the hill, than they fell in with the rear of the enemy consisting of upwards of two hundred men; who were so panic struck at so sudden and unexpected an attack that they instantly called for quarters and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Captain Law leaving M'Dougall to dispose of the prisoners as he thought proper, kept advancing towards the scene of action at the second barrier of the Sault au Matelot, and such was his eagerness to be up with the enemy that he got several hundred yards in advance of his party and dashed alone into the midst of the foe crying out, "surrender, you are all my prisoners!" Such language from a man unaccompanied by any description of troops to enforce it, surprized, but it may be easily imagined, did not intimidate the enemy; and a conversation ensued as ludicrous as it was unsuitable to the importance of the events of the morning. "Your prisoner!" retorted the enemy, "on the contrary, you are ours." "By no means, my dear fellows," replied Law, "you are positively mine; so don't mistake yourselves." "But where are your men?" eagerly inquired the enemy. "Keep yourselves easy upon that head," once more answered Law, "for they will be here in a twinkling, so surrender or be cut to pieces!" Amidst the incessant fire maintained from within the barrier, the enemy was convinced that there was little use in prolonging a tragicomical parley of this kind with a commander without men, and therefore inhumanly proposed to put him to instant

death in order to free themselves from the importunities of an individual whom they supposed to have been either a bravado or a madman; but this proposal was overruled, and the issue proved the prudence of the decision; for at that moment Captain Law's party came up, and after an obstinate defence on the part of the enemy, made themselves masters of the post, their opponents, to a man, surrendering themselves prisoners of war to the amount of 427, of whom 22 were officers.

This ended the attack on the Sault au Matelot, with a loss to the enemy of killed and captivated of almost every man engaged in this quarter, besides the services of their commander Arnold, whose leg, at an early period of the assault, was so dreadfully shattered by a shot, that he was necessarily carried to the camp. The loss on the side of the garrison at this post was comparatively trifling, there being only five killed and as many wounded.

A simultaneous attack, made at Aunce de Mere, by the New-York troops under the immediate command of Montgomery, proved no less disastrous to the enemy. As this party was advancing under Cape Diamond, the garrison was alarmed by some unexpected difficulties experienced by the besiegers in their approach. Montgomery, however, pressed on in a narrow file, upon a path rendered extremely rugged by large blocks of ice thrown by the currents of the tide and the river, with a precipice to the latter on one side, and a hanging rock over him; seized and passed the first barrier, and accompanied by a few of his bravest officers and men, marched boldly to attack the second. This barrier was much stronger than the first; and several cannon were there placed, loaded with grape shot. From these, as well as from a well directed and supported fire of musquetry, an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterprising officer, and to the fortune of the enemy in Canada; leaving behind them in this place nine killed and two wounded. Immediately after this second defeat, another sortie was made from Palace gate by a strong party, who, after sending in from St. Rocs a brass six-pounder and some small mortars and shells belonging to the enemy, set the whole village on fire, beginning a short distance below Palace gate, and embracing M'Cord's street, the Intendant's palace, and all its neighbourhood, together with several houses near the Sault au Matelot, all of which were entirely consumed before the next morning. This was to prevent the enemy from effecting a lodgement in this direction in future; in which object we completely succeeded.

Early in the morning following these eventful transactions, which was the first of January, 1776, two Canadians came in,

fully assured from the information they had previously received, that the town and garrison had fallen into the hands of the enemy. On being conducted to the Main Guard and examined, they reported that, having just come from the General Hospital, no accounts of General Montgomery had been heard since the attack on the morning of the 31st, and that great anxiety subsisted in the rebel camp regarding his safety. This intelligence, joined to the circumstance of a bloody fur cap having been found without the Pot-Ash barrier, marked with the initials R. M., convinced General Carleton that the reports which had previously reached him of the death of Montgomery while leading the assault, were correct. Of course all enmity towards this unfortunate commander ceased with his life; and the Governor, by ordering the body to be immediately searched for, and decently interred, shewed that respect for private character did then, and ought always, to prevail over all other considerations; and that, however necessary and important a faithful discharge of the duties of a commander may be in the field, those of gentleness and humanity are no less paramount in time of peace.

All the dead bodies found around the Pot-Ash barrier having been accordingly brought into town, those of Montgomery and his aids-de-camp, Macpherson and Cheeseman, were immediately recognized; that of the General in particular by a Mrs. Prentice, who kept an Hotel in Quebec, and with whom he had previously boarded. The body, upon this particular recognition, was then conveyed to Gobert's house, where a genteel coffin, lined with flannel and covered with black cloth, was provided for it. On the night of the 4th of January, the remains of Montgomery were conveyed from Gobert's house, and interred six feet in front of the gate within a wall that surrounded a powder magazine near the ramparts of St. Louis gate; the funeral service being performed at the grave by the Reverend Mr. de Montmollin, then Chaplain of the garrison.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

A PLAN OF A CODE OF LAWS, FOR THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, REPORTED BY THE ADVOCATE GENERAL, DR. JAMES MARRIOTT.

(Continued from No. III. page 116.)

The great lines of union of Canada to the realm of Great Britain is drawn at present by virtue of the conquest. The assimilation to the Government of the latter, in its tribunals, is actually effected; an assimilation of manners will follow slowly; but it must necessarily follow as a natural consequence of the conquest. The military spirit of the inhabitants, carried to an excess in the late war, has begun to cease: it is very important for England that it should cease. The cultivation of lands, and attention to commerce (unknown before) are increasing every day. The back settlements extend themselves; and the inhabitants of New York and Canada, are approaching nearer to each other: some French families who disliked the English proceedings, and many of the first English settlers at Quebec, who were several of them, upon speculation, adventurers from England, Scotland and Ireland, or factors for considerable merchants in London and elsewhere, have retired from the colony; not finding that the advantages of the opening of trade there answered the sanguine expectations of the earliest comers, who overstocked it, or who found a military government in too great a degree of vigour, for the advantage and security of commerce; and their place is daily supplied by another sort of men, such as English officers of the army and navy, and actual merchants.----- A great (h) Iron Foundry has been established; warehouses are built; one house for distilling only has cost £5,000; and such great purchases of landed property have been made of the native Canadians by Englishmen, that some of the principal Seignories at this day are in the actual possession of the latter.-----

(h.) Histoire Philosophique, tom. 6, p. 152.—Une veine plus sûre encore s'offrit à l'industrie. C'étoit l'exploitation des mines de fer si communes dans ces contrées. La seule qui ait jamais fixé l'attention des Européens est près des Trois-Rivières. On l'a découverte à la superficie de la terre. Il n'en est nulle part de plus abondantes, et les meilleures de l'Espagne ne sont si douces. Un maître de forge, arrivé d'Europe en 1739, augmenta, perfectionna les travaux de cette mine jusqu'alors foibles et mal dirigés. La Colonie ne conut plus d'autre fer; on en exporta même quelques essais; mais la France ne voulut pas voir que ce fer étoit le plus propre à la fabrique de ses armes à feu, le seul qu'il lui fut même avantageux d'employer. Une politique si sage s'accordoit merveilleusement avec les desseins qu'on avoit pris, après bien d'incertitude de former un établissement de Marine en Canada.

There are about two or three thousand British born settlers, besides the troops. Every year, with the accession of commerce, in the nature of things, must increase their numbers and consequence, if the laws are well fixed and administered, and a military government, if poss'le, is avoided or controuled. For notwithstanding the natural indolence and ignorance of the people, and their present poverty, notwithstanding the circumstances of the pretended difficulties attending the navigation of the River St. Lawrence, at all times, from its rocks and shoals, magnified by the inexperience (*i*) or policy of the French, and the long time it is frozen, for full six months (*h*) yet when we consider the prodigious increase of population, the exceeding fertility of Montreal, the healthiness of the air, and the vast woods of Canada, capable of supplying naval stores and lumber for the West Indies and the mother country. The produce of horned cattle, sheep, horses, hogs, wool, corn, hemp, flax, furs, pot-ash, iron, &c. and the situation of the River St. Lawrence, so adapted for the fishery, (*i*) and increase of seamen, objects little pursued by the French government, totally taken up with military operations, it is reasonable to think that all these circumstances will, in course of time, conspire to make Quebec the Petersburg (*m*) of North America.

It appears from very good authority that the imports from Great Britain in one year, into this colony, have amounted to £240,000 sterling, exclusive of the imports from Scotland, Ireland, the West India Islands, and the other American colonies; and this too, soon after the conquest; when the complaints and confusion of a military government were at their highest pitch; a magistrate and merchant, who brought ten thousands into the Province, mutilated by the soldiery; and who burnt their barracks in defiance of an act of Parliament by which they were erected for the relief of the people; and notwithstanding many

(*i.*) The tide runs up as far as Trois-Rivières: and frigates of war have gone up as high as Montreal, to the great astonishment of the French, who considered the River above Quebec as only navigable by oared vessels.

(*k.*) The time it is quite free is stated by General Carleton to be in May.

(*l.*) Pêcherie du Loup Marin, p. 144, *Ibid*:—La pêche de la Baleine pouvoit donner une singulière activité aux colons, et former une nouvelle es-aim des navigateurs. Le plan de pêcher de la Mourue sur les deux Rivières du fleuve St. Laurent, p. 155. *Ibid*.

(*m.*) *Ibid*, p. 152, 153. L'extraction des bois de chênes d'une hauteur prodigieuse, et des pins rouges de toutes les grandeurs, est facile par le fleuve St. Laurent, et les inombrables Rivières qu'il recoit. Ce pays avec quelques soins et du travail pouvoit fournir la France entière des voiles, des cordages, bray, du goudron.

other embarrassments arising to trade, from the condition of a people, among whom the laws were administered in a summary way, and by persons without legal ideas.

From all the facts stated as above, upon the evidence of informations, of too high authority to be doubted, follow two consequences; that after certain new regulations have been submitted to with patience by His Majesty's new Canadian subjects, for a space of thirteen years, though with some such complaining as is natural upon a change of masters, the foundation which has been laid for an approximation to the manners and government of the new sovereign country must either continue to be built upon, or otherwise the whole that has been done must be thrown down, and the Canadians *must be restored in integrum* to all their ancient laws and usages; a manner of proceeding as inconsistent with the progressive state of human affairs, as with the policy of any possible civil government, which cannot revert, but must necessarily take up things, and go on the state of existing circumstances at the time it intervenes; for it can as little stand still at any given point, as it can decide that the flood of times shall go no further. As men move forward, the laws must move with them, and every constitution of Government upon earth, like the shores of the sea from the agitation of the element is daily losing or gaining something on one side or the other.

From all which propositions there seem to follow plainly these political consequences; that after your Majesty's Proclamation, Commissions, and Instructions and the establishment of Courts of Justice, and several ordinances which have been issued by virtue of that Proclamation, it would lessen, not only in the minds of the Canadians, but of all Europe, the ideas of the dignity, wisdom, and authority, of your Majesty's government, to undo every thing that has been done; that to restore the colony to its military principles and spirit, would be in consequence to restore it to France.

The views of the French Cabinet are evident, by the accounts transmitted by Governor Carleton of the Canadian born officers who served in the last war, who are in a particular manner cantoned in Touraine, and supported by the French government, with an increase of pay and all arrears.

With respect to a military system, nothing can more effectually suppress a rising spirit of commerce, which alone can make the acquisition of Canada of any utility to Great Britain. Commerce grows only to perfection in an open soil, and in an air that is free; it will scarce bear to be regulated: it is like the sensitive plant, if touched, it shrinks: but if pressed, it perishes.

I chuse rather to speak in this figurative manner, than to enter into the detail of the consequences and instances of military powers, exercised in this colony, at a certain period. It never can be the interest of any government, however despotic, to oppress commerce; it would be like the wild Indian, who cuts down the tree to gather the fruit.

Hitherto the Province of Canada has been an establishment only expensive and burthensome to the French government.—The fur trade was but a small object of attention, in proportion to the political views. The great use of the colony was offensively: as a place of arms to form the head of a chain of forts, and to harrass the British colonies, and, by its position and communication with the Lakes quite down to the Mississippi, to commence the commerce and force of the whole interior of the vast American Continent. A circumstance which carries the political considerations and consequences with respect to the arrangements of Canada, very greatly from the case of Minorca, to which it has been improperly compared, as a rule for the government of it: the relative positions are totally different; it might as well be compared to the rock of Gibraltar, or the ort of an African garrison.

If Canada should be recovered by France in a future period, by the mere want of wisdom in a British government, and if France, or any other power should obtain but a near equality of force at sea, the consequence must prove the conquest of all our American colonies, or perhaps the establishment of a new independent Empire, upon a general revolt of all the colonies, of which Canada, by its position, would form the head. But now under proper regulations this country may be productive of the greatest commercial advantages to Great Britain. The West India Islands, and the East Indies are the graves of its best seamen; the northern American navigation and its fisheries are the nurseries of them; and Canada may become the source of an infinite supply to this nation both of men and of naval stores.

It is an object of great consideration to your Majesty's government, that the returns to Great Britain are all made in raw materials to be manufactured here; and that a considerable duty arises on the exports.

The views therefore of the British government in respect to the political uses to which it means to make Canada subservient, must direct the spirit of any Code of laws, of which it may be judged necessary to form the outlines upon the grounds of probability. The additions must be left to time, to experiment, and expedencies, as they shall arise, and to that Providence which holds the scale of Empires.

But the great question occurs; *By what authority shall the laws, necessary for the government of this colony, be established?* It is stated, that doubts have arisen, especially after certain decisions, concerning the legality of the ordinances issued by the Governor, with the advice of his Council, and without any Assembly, *as exceeding his commission*. If the ordinances are not legal, then all that has been done by virtue of them must be a nullity. Some of them have already been disallowed for exceeding the bounds of the commission, which restrains the power of the Governor and Council, in matters touching life and limb, and imposing duties; consequently very few allowable ordinances can be made under those terms at any time; because few ordinances can be enforced without restraints upon the person, or without effecting property by public burthens.

If it would be supposed for a moment, that the crown has not a right at all times to make such ordinances, in the person of the Governor and Council, without an Assembly (as I conceive it has a right, in a conquered country so circumstanced, and at a certain time to make them) yet I should be inclined to think that all the ordinances hitherto made, and not disallowed, are legal; or that such ordinances might have had, at least *pro tempore*, a validity with the Province, until there shall be an alteration made by some act of the whole united legislature of Great Britain, or at least by order of your Majesty in Council, disallowing them. Until such act or order, the case may be conceived to be the same (the Governor being the representative of your Majesty, by virtue of his Commission) as if your Majesty at the head of your army in the field, were granting capitulations, or giving orders how to dispose of the new subjects *de bene esse*, for the preservation of their persons and properties, for the good of the state, which is now interested in them, and for maintaining the peace and permanency of the requisition: all which I conceive to be powers necessarily inherent in your Majesty's Crown.

The mode of making laws for the colony of Quebec, and carrying them into execution, is a subject upon which many persons may differ. The highest wisdom only can determine whether it is necessary to have the sanction of parliament for a Code of Laws, which your Majesty of right may give to this colony in some other way. But I humbly apprehend, that an act of parliament may possibly serve the most effectually to justify your Majesty's servants, and to fill the minds of the Canadians with greater confidence: it may declare the powers which are inherent in the Crown; and by so doing, it may support instead of diminishing them.

There is a point which deserves the consideration of your Majesty's servants most versed in the common law of the realm, whether if your Majesty has by your proclamation, commissions and instructions, and the several acts done in consequence thereof, given to this conquered country any part of the law of England; that law, once so introduced, be it more or less, can be repealed by your Majesty's authority alone, and without the concurrence of parliament, upon the civil law maxim, *ejus est condere, ejus est abrogare*.

It is also to be observed, that General Murray is said, upon good authority, to have actually executed his commission with respect to convening an Assembly: that the members were actually chosen except at Quebec. So that the expectations of the Canadians have been raised, and in their ideas, the honour of government pledged to them for a legislative body of their own. In case an Assembly shall be hereafter called, in consequence of an act of Parliament, it will effectually take away from a Canadian Assembly all ground for that pretence, set up by some Assemblies in other colonies, of being independent of a British Parliament.

If Assemblies should be adopted, I cannot omit taking notice of an error in the report and propositions of the board of trade of the 10th July 1769, page 17. They propose to admit a number of the new subjects into the Council. They would enlarge it from twelve members to fifteen; five to be Roman Catholic subjects, to be exempted from subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation, as now required by the commission and instructions. But it seems to be forgotten, that the Oaths against the power of the Pope, and in support of your Majesty's supremacy, required by the statutes, will exclude the Roman Catholics.— Also the manner of wording the plan of an Assembly, page 18, and 19, meant as it is said there, *to correspond with the plan of the Council*, makes the twenty seven members all liable to the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, by proposing *that they shall not be obliged to take any other*. The consequence follows, they are then to take these Oaths; and fourteen are afterwards required to subscribe the test. Now can a Roman Catholic, agreeably to the statute of 1, Geo. 1, ch. 13, take the Oaths which are required to be taken, agreeably to the Commission, by the Governor and Members of the Council, Assembly &c. viz. *That no Foreign Prelate or person hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this realm?* So that this proposition of the board of trade, plainly appears to be inconsistent with its own views in p. 20, that *the Assembly should consist of twenty-seven, all indiscriminately to take the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration; that four-*

teen will be Protestants, viz. who shall take the Test Act and the thirteen who take the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, to be probably, as the plan supposes Roman Catholics. But the Oath of Supremacy renders the latter, in my opinion, impossible. The Pope can hardly dispense with the test of the Sacrament: but he cannot in common sense, dispense with the Oaths and Declarations, and Subscriptions, against his own Supremacy, as claiming to be Sovereign Pontiff of the whole Christain world, and in the power of the triple crown, to bind and absolve all persons and things, in the Heaven above, on the Earth beneath, and in the state of the dead below.

As it is stated by the board of trade, p. 10. *The Test is to be subscribed by all persons having places of trust, and so required by your Majesty's Commission to the Governor.* By the Test Act the Sacrament is to be taken by them within the realm of England. Although Canada is united to the Crown of Great Britain, and consequently to the realm, by the terms of cession, yet I understand that the salvo among the Canadians for the Oath of Supremacy is, *within this realm; Canada is not this realm, in the view of the statute.*

After all, if it should not be thought proper for your Majesty to give fresh instructions from time to time, to your Governor of the province of Quebec, to publish fresh ordinances with the advice and consent of the Council; nor to convene any Legislative Council, or Provincial Assembly, for the purpose of revising or repealing the Ordinances already made, and of making new laws; but if it should be thought the wisest measure to lay the state of the province before parliament, then I should conceive that it will be necessary to propose several Bills, viz:

1. A Bill for the better regulation of the Courts of Judicature in the province of Quebec.

2. A Bill for declaring the common law already in actual use in the said Province.

3. A Bill for better raising and collecting the public revenue.

4. A Bill for giving leave to His Majesty's new Roman Catholic subjects in the said colony, to profess the worship of their Religion, according to the rights of the Romish Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit; which were in force antecedent to the definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris 10th February 1763; and for the better maintenance of the Clergy of the Church of England already established in the said colony.

With respect to the first, a Bill for the better regulation of the Courts of Judicature in the province of Quebec, I conceive that the complaint of delays in proceedings of the Courts of Justice,

is now in a great measure removed ; for by the last regulation of the Courts of Common Pleas by the Ordinance of February 1770 (which repeals a great part of the Ordinance of 17th September 1764) it is directed that the Courts of Common Pleas established with independent Jurisdictions at Quebec and Montreal, shall be open to the Suitors throughout the year, excepting three weeks at seed-time, a month at harvest, and a fortnight at Christmas and Easter, and except during such vacations as shall be from time to time appointed by the Judges for making their respective circuits throughout the province, twice in every year ; and the Judges are authorised and directed to issue their process, and to execute every other thing touching the administration of Justice, without regard to terms or any stated periods of time, as limited and appointed by the ordinance of September 1764 ; which, with respect thereto, is annulled. The Judges to appoint one day in a week, at their discretion, to hear all matters where the cause of action shall exceed the sum of twelve pounds, which day should be declared at the rising of the Court, or the next day preceding : and no adjournment shall be made for any longer time, than one week, upon any pretence or ground whatever. Every Friday to be a fixed Court-day for matters not exceeding twelve pounds, in which case one Judge to be sufficient, the other Judge having reasonable cause of absence. The rest of the ordinance contains the forms and modes of proceeding, also a clause empowering persons, specially commissioned by the governor, to hear causes where the matter in question shall not exceed three pounds ; provided that titles to lands, shall not be drawn in question by their proceedings, & that they observe the same forms of proceeding, and that they do not sit upon a Friday, but on some other day in every week. It would be very material to see what sort of Commissions the Judges of the Common Pleas have, for they do not appear in any papers referred. I understand them to have been executed by Governor Murray, by virtue of his discretionary power, upon his own ideas. If they are thought proper to be continued, certain regulations must be adopted, in regard to limiting their Jurisdiction to cases not beyond a certain value.

The expense of the fees of the new Courts is easy to be regulated by a table to be settled by the Judges ; and if they are now larger than heretofore, it is no more than that the fees of Justice keep pace with the price of other matters, as corn and all other things, are more dearly purchased now than they were in the province, before the conquest, because there is more commerce, and consequently more specie circulating in it, which is the representative, or rather the new measures of value ; so that more or less specie must be put into the opposite scale against all property in the other, just as it happens, that more

or less specie, real, or nominal, or credited, is introduced into intercourse and commutation. The case must be the same in Canada as it is in every other country; and the uncertainty of the laws and of the judicial proceedings, has had no small share in increasing the expence of them.

In the report of the Attorney and Solicitor General Yorke, and De Grey, they recommend that matters exceeding forty shillings, as far as ten pounds, shall be determined by proceeding (in the nature of civil bill in Ireland) before the Chief Justice of Quebec, or by proceeding in nature of the summary bench actions at Barbadoes. How far the ease and cheapness of going to law, encourage rather than check litigiousness, is pretty obvious; however, the local value of money will deserve consideration at all times, in respect to the augmentation of established fees. As a check to litigiousness, and for the promoting quick justice, some method might be found, so as to oblige parties in case of debt under a certain value, and in all cases of customs of merchants, and of mercantile accounts, to name arbitrators, and those arbitrators to name a third if they do not agree; and that the award should be certified into the superior court, and made a rule of it, upon record, and so carried into execution by it, in the same manner as if the matter had had the most solemn hearing; for which I cannot refer to a better precedent than to the act of 9 & 10 Wil. 3, c. 15. except that the reference is there left to the will of the parties, and of course that act is seldom made use of, nor is it very natural that the practicers should recommend it; and therefore I propose that parties, in cases of certain value, should be obliged to name arbitrators.

As the English Judges may not happen to be expert in the French language and law-terms, it may be advisable to give to Laymen, persons of good character and understanding among the ancient inhabitants of Canada Commissions to be Assessors, but not to have voices.

Whether Grand Juries or Petty Juries shall be laid aside; or whether in criminal; or civil causes only; or whether verdicts shall be an open majority, or whether all verdicts shall be special in civil cases (as the latter is proposed in the printed Collection of Mr. Attorney General Maseres) are questions of which I am not able to form a perfect judgement, as being partly out of the line of my profession; but it merits a particular consideration, how far it may be advisable and safe for your Majesty's ministers to propose any thing to parliament that greatly deviates from the general fundamental parts of the constitution at home, and which, for a long time, have already taken place in the colony, in consequence of your Majesty's royal word and

authority. The justification of your Majesty's Judges, the removing them from every suspicion of partiality, and from the danger of personal revenge, is also a matter of the highest consequence towards themselves, their country, your Majesty, and before God. The peril of discretionary powers, is sufficiently pointed out by that great Judge Lord Hale, in his history of the pleas of the Crown, p. 160, 161, 211, and it merits the greatest attention from those persons who are called upon to propose a legislative system.

After the evidence of the Governor, Chief Justice, and Attorney General of the province, that *Juries in criminal causes are agreeable to all the Canadians*, any imaginations formed to the contrary, with respect to the Canadian Lords of manors or noblesse, cannot be admitted. The state of the noblesse in the province will be more particularly explained, when I come to speak of the Convents, under the head of Religion; I will only observe, in the case of trial of a Seigneur, that other Canadian Seigneurs would probably be some of the Jurors, and if any of his trades-men were of the Jury, they would have an interest in preserving the life of the criminal; as mercantile interests have often supported the worst members in a factious state, both in ancient and modern history, to avoid a probability of losing their debts. But the Seigneurs or noblesse by virtue of their fiefs, and the officers and nobles by patent, who have served in the French troops, are, the one too unconsequential, and the other too miserable, in point of property, to merit any distinction by trials; or in the nature of the punishment: to compare them to British Peers would be to form an argument of ridicule, and not of reason.

As it appears that the Canadians have had so great an objection to arrests being dishonourable, and as arrests create so much misery in a whole family who become a burthen upon the public, as they prevent every exertion of industry and render the morals of the prisoner much worse, by confining him in company with the most abandoned criminals, it seems to me that in a commercial state it may be proper to take away arrests of body in the first instance in civil causes under ten pounds; unless there is an Oath of two sufficient witnesses, that the defendant is likely to withdraw himself out of the colony. To arrest an industrious man when personal labour is of such value to the community, is a public loss, as well as a private one to the person who arrests: it is putting fetters upon that industry, the exertion of which only could discharge the debt.

If arrests should be allowed, it seems highly necessary that imprisonment should be regulated. It would be happy if they were so in every part of your Majesty's dominions. The secu-

rity and reformation of prisoners should be the object of the legislature in depriving a subject for any time of his liberty: his life, and health, and morals are of public consequence. The police of Holland, where every prisoner has a separate cell or apartment, is deserving of imitation; neither their minds nor bodies become there liable to the worst contagions; and a released prisoner returns back to society a better and more useful subject than when he entered his cell.

The terms of the ordinance of the 1st February 1770, appears to me insufficient, in not directing that the sale of all estates in land taken in execution shall be made by public auction; nor does it regulate the other conditions of sale, nor the place where the auction shall be: all which being left to the discretion of the Provost Marshall, as I conceive it, may be extremely injurious to the proprietor; and furnish persons with means of procuring the estates at a price greatly inferior to their true value. The ordinance only settles the manner of giving notice, the time of sale, and the fees for publication.

It may be proper to allow all pleadings to be in French or English in all the Courts at the option of the parties indiscriminately. It should be known in such a country, that parties may plead for themselves; it would be proper to confirm expressly so much of the proces verbal, or rules of practice, in the French Courts of the colony of the 7th November 1668, article 6. as relates to this point: because this public confirmation will obviate the complaint among the Canadians of the expence of suits and it will please the inhabitants, without hurting the practioners; for if the parties can find an abler hand, or can pay him, certainly they will pay him to plead for them: if they cannot, it is but justice they should be permitted to tell their own story, and in their own way.

I am professionally convinced of the absurdity and confusion which is ever occasioned when the style and forms of one system of law, or even one court in the same system, is applied to the practice of another: the measure of proceedings being inconsistent with the nature of the principles, or the business in question, is in many instances so unequal, that to judge of the law of one country by the rules of process of another is, besides doing injustice under an appearance of doing better, a thing as full of absurdity and ridiculousness, as if a taylor was to take a measure of a man's coat by a ship's quadrant. The forms and style of English writs and pleadings, ill agree with the language of the French civil law; it deserves to be considered, how far it may be necessary to follow many other parts of the French process, if the French law in civil property is to remain as the common law of the province. I conceive this must be left to

the knowledge, discretion, and experience of the judges; who will have the aid of the bar and the Canadian practitioners: and it may be enacted that no judgment shall be arrested merely for want of form in civil suits. The fact, the demand, and the defence are easily reducible to simple proportions. But in *criminal cases*, as all the law of England on that head actually now is introduced, the forms of indictment, in *my opinion*, must be continued, and ought to be as strict as in England; upon this ground, because the laws of England being dipt in blood, the advantages given to criminals, by the lenity of the process, and the power of pardon in the crown, are the only balance of the peculiar severity which is manifest in the equality of crimes and punishments. The English laws in their institution seem to have been made for the terror of a daring people; the execution of them, for a generous and compassionate one. I concur in thinking that there should however be a mitigation of the law of felonies by statute. That no person in the province should be capitally convicted for theft or robbery under five pounds, although *that is equal to ten in England*; and that in all felonies intitled to Clergy no persons shall be burnt in the hand, or their goods confiscated, but the punishment to be a fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the court.

As the province derives the less advantages from the superior court, although the most important, and most ably supplied, for want of more frequent sittings, it should be regulated: and the Court of King's Bench should be held oftener, and in terms as shall be judged most for the convenience of the inhabitants, besides the Circuits. For it is stated that the Court of King's Bench have sessions only three times a year at Quebec, and twice at Montreal: whereas in the time in the French government there were three royal courts, one in each district of Quebec, Trois-Rivieres and Montreal, vested with full power civil and criminal: each Court had its Judge, and a King's Attorney-General for Crown prosecutions. They held two courts in every week, except six weeks vacation in September and October, and a fortnight at Easter, and these courts would even sit on other days in the week if extraordinary business required it. From these Courts there lay an appeal to the supreme Council of the province which sat every week. The expedition and reasonableness of such arrangement for the distribution of justice, is infinitely striking. And it appears not to have been without cause that the Canadians have felt and complained of the difference. To make the sittings of the Supreme Court of King's Bench more regular it cannot be better than to adopt the ordinance for that purpose, which was recommended by the Chief Justice himself from the Bench to the Grand Jury

of the province, but which did not pass, because some of the English merchants of that jury, desirous to delay causes of actions for debt in the then low state of commercial credit in the province, did not approve so much expedition of judgment; and therefore the English part of the jury never acquainted the Canadian part; all of whom are now sensible of the utility of the ordinance proposed, and regret the loss of it. Mr. Attorney General Maseres has printed it, collection page 71.

In the cases of appeals the legal value of money deserves great consideration. If the plan of three courts, and an appeal to the Governor and Council, with two of the Judges and Attornies of the other Courts is not adopted, then the appeal in cases of £400 value might be made directly to your Majesty, without any other immediate appeal.

It may be also proper to erect, as proposed in the report of the Governor and Chief Justice, a Court at Detroit, because the settlers there, amounting to about 7,000 persons, are populating very fast, and extending themselves, as the people of New York are, towards each other. An objection may be taken to this, that it is not policy to encourage back settlements: but the question seems to be, not whether the population of the interior of North America should be encouraged in policy; but the fact is, that there is, and will be population there; and that where population is, the dominant power must regulate settlers, or they will regulate themselves probably to its prejudice. The interior settlements certainly are a material supply and support, both of men and provision, to the exterior on that coast, and serve equally to take off the produce of the mother country, and to make returns by the medium of the sea-ports; but there can be no real distinction as to political good between the inhabitants of the maritime line and those of the l uck settlements, for they are much connected in view of national strength and benefit; as the radii of a circle all meet in the same common centre, and all touch the same extreme boundary.

The great distances of Montreal, 150 miles from Quebec, also of Trois-Rivieres and Detroit deserve attention; and it is an argument sufficient for forming three Courts of King's Bench to save your Majesty's subjects the great expense of employing for every person not only his attorney upon the spot, but his agent at Quebec, beside the fatigue and expense of travelling himself, and bringing up his witnesses from the extreme boundaries of the province, in a very severe climate. I approve, however, that it should be in the discretionary power of your Majesty's principal Attorney General, to remove any party for safety for

a quick and more convenient trial to Quebec ; but this should be restrained to cases of treason only.

It is a fact which deserves attention, that for want of a good government since the conquest, the trade of furs has been but one third of what it was under the French, as appears by the exports.

To look into the map, the situation of Detroit sufficiently speaks the propriety of some regulation of Justice there, and more especially as it is the mart and entrepôt of the fur trade and the Indian commodities. Such a regulation is necessary for the trade, and for preserving peace and friendship with the Indian nations resorting thither.

When Gaspé shall be settled, a Jurisdiction should also be established there, but I should apprehend, from observing the situation and form of it in the map, that it might be very proper to unite it to the province of Nova Scotia.

I should imagine it would be very useful if the Judges were to have a power, in cases where it might be thought necessary, by themselves, to appoint commissioners in distant parts, with power to summon juries, before whom examinations may be taken, with proper solemnities, upon the spot, and a verdict transmitted to the supreme court under seal, whenever a matter of fact, such as concerning boundaries, waste, dilapidations, execution of contracts, damages done, &c. is in dispute.

The taking evidence in private upon affidavits should be disallowed unless the parties should consent, or the court should direct them to be taken upon a special cause, or proper grounds showed upon motion by counsel. The injustice of parties being evidence upon their own cause, and the practice of causes being determined entirely upon affidavits, is too full of evil not to deserve a peculiar attention, especially if the party who makes the first affidavit has not a liberty of a reply to the affidavit in answer ; in the usual practice, as I conceive it to be, equivocation and perjury must reign in full force.

It is proposed by Mr. Maseres, that in cases of debt to a certain amount (which ought to be very considerable) an allegation, or plea of faulties or effects, being delivered by the plaintiff, the defendant should answer upon oath, giving in an exact schedule of his estate and effects. This proposition may be thought peculiarly hard in many cases ; but I conceive the state of the country must determine the propriety or impropriety of the proposal, and that such schedule and account ought not to be called for without very special cause, to be determined in the discretion of the judges.

In a country in which there is very little money, but corn and other perishable effects make the greatest part of the property

of the inhabitants, it may be right, in cases of suits for some special property, of the perishable nature of which a proof is made, that the whole at the request of any one of the parties should be liable, by an order of the court, to be sold to the best bidder, by persons to be named and commissioned to sell by both parties; and that the amount shall be placed in the hands of the judge and his register, in imitation of the civil law methods in *usum jus habentium*, or for the account of the party who shall finally prevail in his suit; and the amount to be paid by them into the hands of the Receiver of His Majesty's Revenue, for His Majesty's use; and that bills be issued to the said judge and register by such Receiver for the repayment of the said sums, at the interest of three per cent. A measure which I should conceive would be very useful to create a dependence upon, and strengthen the hands of government in many views, as well as it would be equitable and advantageous to the respective parties.

It may be right, that the judges of the several courts in the province, should be allowed a discretionary power in granting of full costs, and taxing bills.

Instead of one Provost Marshall for the whole province, it is proposed, that there should be a Sheriff for each district, with some title, or mark of honour to the person who should bear it.

The two Courts of Common Pleas, established by General Murray's ordinance of 17th September 1764, at that time with military men for judges, and Priests assessors, and now having almost all the affairs of the province brought before them, evidently tend at all times to lessen the utility and consequence of the supreme court.

Mr. Maseres recommends that the province be divided according to its three ancient districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Trois-Rivieres; that there should be three royal courts, or Courts of King's Bench, in each; that the judges should have been barristers of law; who have been exercent three years at the English bar, at least, and who have a competent knowledge of the French language, and three King's Attornies, and no other courts. These courts to be limited to their respective districts: co-ordinate indeed, but not concurrent, as not of equal authority every where, nor as liable to be controuled by each other: and the measure Mr. Maseres recommends on a ground which appears to be very conclusive, that this division is best adapted to the situation of the several parts of the province, and that the Canadians have been used to it, and that it is therefore agreeable as well as convenient. If this establishment of three courts were to take place, then it is proposed,

in the same plan, that there should be an appeal to the Governor and Council of the province, confined to a certain value, and from thence to your Majesty in your Privy Council. The reason laid down is, that the appeal to the Governor and Council would preserve a uniformity of law throughout the whole province, and would obviate a difference of decision, which might gradually grow out of precedents in three different districts, if the three royal courts, or of King's Bench, were to be left perfectly independent, and not to unite in a third superior court in the province.

It is also very well proposed, that the three King's Judges, and three Attornies should be members of the council ex-officio, so as to aid the Governor and Council upon appeals; whereby the best law abilities in the province would be employed in forming decisions in the last resort, which would be in fact checking any arbitrary proceedings of a Governor, and forming the law of the province. That they should attend the Governor at certain times of the year most convenient for hearing appeals, which is thought to be one month at Christmas. To this I must add, in my humble opinion, a necessary limitation that the Judge from whom the appeal lies, and the King's Attorney in his court, shall not sit at the hearing of the cause appealed. It might possibly not be improper to add the Judge of the Vice Admiralty, and the Advocate General to the number of the members of the council, as before proposed.

That no appeal should lie to the King and Council under £500, is thought by some persons a hardship, and that it leaves no check upon the Governor and Council in less sums of great value in so poor a colony.

(To be continued.)

THE LETTERS OF THE BARON DE LA HONTAN ON CANADA,

No. II.

(Continued from our last.)

LETTER IV. *Which contains a short description of the Indian villages in the neighbourhood of Quebec; of the River St. Lawrence as far as Montreal; of a curious method of fishing for Eels; of the towns of Montréal and Three-Rivers, and of the arrival of the Courcurs de bois.*

SIR,

Before my departure from Quebec for Montreal, I paid a visit to the neighbouring villages inhabited by the savages. That of Lorette is composed of about two hundred Huron families, who have through the exertions of the Jesuits, though not without many scruples, embraced Christianity. Those of Syllery and the Falls of the Chaudiere are composed of three hundred Abenaki families also professing Christianity, amidst whom the Jesuits have established Missionaries. I returned to Quebec as speedily as possible in order to embark under the charge of a Captain who seemed to consider a freight of Merchandize as more preferable to that of a cargo of soldiers. A North East wind in five or six days brought us to Three-Rivers, a small town situated at a distance of about thirty leagues from this place. That name was given to it on account of the circumstance of apparently three rivers discharging themselves at about the eighth of a league from the place, and which although they are in reality one and the same, divide into three branches and discharge themselves into the St. Lawrence. If we had sailed during the night we might by the assistance of the tides, have arrived there on the second day, but the numerous rocks and shoals which occur, render it dangerous to sail during the obscurity of the evening. I was not at all displeased at our coming to anchor every night, for the darkness would have prevented me from seeing during the thirty leagues we have passed an infinite number of houses on both sides of the River, never farther distant than a gun shot from each other. I had also the pleasure of seeing an Eel fishery by some inhabitants who are settled about fifteen leagues above Quebec. They erect an inclosure of twigs extending as far out as low water mark. The space thus inclosed remaining dry at low water these twigs form a barrier round the whole extent of the ground

that may be left dry by the ebb of the tide. There are placed amidst the twigs, rushes, basket work and various sorts of branches, which remain in this state the three months of spring and two of Autumn, except when they may require to be examined.

At every flow of the tide, the Eels in searching for the banks of the river and the low shoals, flock together in those places, and at the ebb of the tide when they wish to follow the current they find that the inclosure in hindering them from keeping in the tide, forces them to entangle themselves in these kinds of net which are sometimes so full that they very often are broken—When the tide is altogether out, these Eels are as fat and as long as can be found in any part of the world, are taken with great ease, are salted, and packed in barrels and kept for more than a year without fear of corruption. They are excellent with all sort of sauce, and the Councillors of Quebec are enraptured, when this fishery each year proves abundant.

The town of Three-Rivers, an inconsiderable place situated in about 46° of latitude, is fortified neither with wood nor stone. The River from which it takes its name, has its source about one hundred leagues to the North-West, in perhaps the greatest chain of Mountains that is to be found in the world. The Algonquins, who are at present a tribe of wandering savages without a fixed residence like the Arabs, never go far from the banks of the River, along which they hunt the Beaver with success. The Iroquois who, in former times, destroyed near three quarters of that nation which was settled in this quarter, have never again returned, since the French have peopled the country along the banks of the St. Lawrence. I have said that the town of three Rivers is small, which is owing to the inconsiderable number of its inhabitants, who, nevertheless, are rich and have magnificent residences. The King established here a Governor who would have died of hunger had he not, instead of trusting solely to his trifling salary, entered into the traffic for Beaver with the Indians. Finally to live at Three Rivers, one must have somewhat of the nature of a dog, or be pleased to a great degree in scratching one's skin, for the fleas there are in an equally large number as the grains of sand. I am told that the best soldiers in the country all take their origin from this place. About three leagues higher up we entered into the Lake St. Peter, which is about six leagues in length. We sailed along it with a great deal of difficulty, having been obliged to cast and heave anchor at different intervals on account of the calm we experienced. I was told that three or four rivers well stocked with fish, discharged themselves into the Lake, at the mouths of which, I could discern by the aid

of my Telescope, several very excellent houses. An easterly wind having arisen during the evening, we took our departure from the Lake, and after three hours sailing against the current of the River we arrived at Sorel, although all our sails were set and filled by the wind, and the distance we had to run can only be considered as two short leagues. Sorel is a tract of land (Côte) of about four leagues in front. At the foot of the residence of the Seigneur there discharges itself a River which bears the waters of Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence, after having formed a cascade of about two leagues at Chambly. From Sorel to this place we spent three more days in sailing, though the distance is reckoned as only eighteen leagues occasioned either by the winds being too light or the current too strong. Throughout the River there are numerous islands, and the banks are so well lined with houses, that it may be said with much truth, that from here to Quebec there are but two villages each of sixty leagues in length.

This town is called Ville Marie or Montreal, and is situated in 45 degrees and some miles of North latitude on an island of the same name, of about fourteen leagues in length and five in breadth. The gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris are the Seigniors and proprietors of it. They have the nomination of the Bailiff and other officers of justice, and formerly had even the appointment of Governor. This small town is unprotected having neither wooden nor stone fortifications, though it would be very easy to make it a post impregnable from the advantage of its situation, though the ground near it is flat and sandy. The River St. Lawrence, which passes at the foot of the houses in one part of the town, will not permit small vessels to pass beyond it, for its currents prevent any navigation, as about an eighth of a league from the town, nothing can be seen but rapids, falls, and whirlpools. Mr. Perrot who is the Governor of the place, and enjoys a salary of only one thousand crowns, has found means through the great commerce in peltries he carries on with the Indians, to augment it to fifty thousand. This Town has a Bailiff who does not derive much advantage from his situation, no more than his officers. It is only the Merchants who make money in the place, for the Indians from the upper Lakes of Canada descend almost always annually with an immense quantity of Beaver which they exchange for arms, kettles, tomahawks, knives and a thousand other articles upon which the Merchants gain as much as two hundred per cent. The Governors in Chief are in Montreal generally about that time in order to divide the spoil and to receive the presents made by these people. This place appears to be a very pleasant one for the sum-

mer, for I am told that very little rain falls at that season of the year. The *Coueurs de Bois** transport from this place into the territories of all the Indian tribes of this continent and bring returns of Beaver and other peltries. About seven or eight days ago I saw about twenty-five or thirty canoes heavily laden, arrive here. Each canoe was managed by two or three men, and carried twenty hundred weight, *i. e.* forty bales of Beaver skins of the value of one hundred crowns each bale. They were about a year or eighteen months in performing their voyage. You would be surprised to witness the debauches, the festivities, the entertainments, and the expenses into which these *Coueurs de Bois* enter, as much in dress as in women, immediately on their arrival. Those who happen to be married retire to their own proper habitations, but those who have not the honor, do as sailors do on their arrival from the Indies. They spend their money in eating, drinking and gaming as long as their skins last, and when they begin to diminish in number, their gold embroidery, lace and clothes are sold immediately. Then they are obliged to return to their old posts in order to have means to subsist.

To conclude the Seminary of St. Sulpice, send out to this place every now and then Missionaries who live under the direction of a Superior much beloved in the country. They reside in a substantial large and magnificent stone building, built upon the plan of that of St. Sulpice at Paris. Their Seignories to the South of the Island yield them a good revenue, for all the houses there are substantial and the possessors of them rich in wheat, cattle, poultry and a thousand other kinds of provisions which they in general sell in town, but the country to the North of the Island is not at present settled. These Seignors have never yet been willing to allow the Jesuits or Recollets, to commence any establishments here, but it is nevertheless believed that they will be obliged finally to permit them. I have visited, at a distance of about a league from here, at the foot of a mountain, a pretty village of Christian Iro-

* Upon this the Baron makes a note at the end of his work to the following effect. "The Runners of the woods (*Coueurs de Bois*) are Frenchmen or Canadians to whom that name is given because they are employed all their life time in the rude exercise of transporting goods on the Lakes of Canada, and in all other parts of the continent, for carrying on a traffic with the Indians and as they undertake voyages often of a thousand leagues in bark Canoes notwithstanding the dangers of the water and the Iroquois, they ought, it appears to me, to be called runners of risks, than runners of the woods (*Coueurs de Bois*.) R. O.

quois, under the direction of two priests of the Seminary. I am told that there is, about ten leagues from this, on the Southern side of the River, another village much larger in size, and more numerous in its inhabitants, under the charge of Father Bruyas a Jesuit. I expect to leave this place every day, that is to say, after Mr. de la Barre shall have received intelligence from France, as he waits for nothing but the arrival of the first vessel to leave Quebec. I am appointed to go to the Fort Frontenac situated upon the Lake of the same name, and on my return from my campaign I may be able to inform you of some things as new and interesting to you as they will be disagreeable to me, if I may believe those who have already made war with the Iroquois.

I have the honor, &c.

Montreal 14th June, 1684. -

LETTER V. *Containing a short description of the Iroquois people, the war and peace which the French have made with them, &c.*

SIR,

I wrote you last about four days ago. I did not expect certainly to hear from you so soon, and I was agreeably surprised this morning to receive a packet which your brother addressed to me. You may well suppose that I learned with a great deal of pleasure the details of what had occurred in Europe since my departure thence, and those details become more interesting in a country such as this. Your narrative is very correct and I feel sincerely obliged to you for it. You beg of me to give you a description of the Iroquois, and to detail exactly what kind of a race they are, and how they are governed. I wish I felt myself capable of satisfying you, for you will not doubt in the least the wish I have to oblige you completely, but as I must leave this the day after to-morrow to go to the Fort Frontenac I will not have time to become informed in many particulars, nor to consult many individuals who have often made this voyage; I will nevertheless let you know what I have been able to gather during the winter, from people who have resided about twenty years in their villages, but when I shall have been there myself, I will without delay give you in detail whatever I shall myself be a witness of: In the mean time, take what follows.

These savages form five Cantons somewhat like the Swiss, under different names, although of the same Nation and linked

by a common interest, and these cantons are called the Tson-nonthouans, the Goyogouins, the Onnontagnes, the Onne-youths, and the Agniers.* The language is almost alike in the whole of their villages situated nearly thirty leagues from each other along the Southern shores of Lake Ontario, also called Frontenac. They called these five villages the five huts which each year send deputies to celebrate the festival of their union and to smoke the great calumet† of the five nations. Each village contains about fourteen thousand souls, viz: fifteen hundred warriors, two thousand elders, four thousand women, two thousand unmarried females, and four thousand children, though there are many persons who make the number of inhabitants of each village to be only ten or eleven thousand. These people have been in alliance with the English for a long time and through the fur trade which the Indians carry on with that people at New-York, they are furnished with fire arms, ammunition and whatever else they find necessary, at a much more reasonable rate than from the French. They care not in the least for either of the two nations, except in regard to the desire of purchasing their merchandise, for which they

* These nations whose names differ so much in orthography and pronunciation in authors of different nations and even of the same nation, possessed the whole country from the heads of Lake Champlain and Lake George, as far as Niagara, and spread themselves from the banks of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie to the borders of the then British Colonies now the United States of America. The real name of the Iroquois nation, was Agononsionni or the makers of houses, as their manner of building their houses was more solid than that of other nations. The name by which the remnant of the cantons are now known, is the order in which they are placed above, are the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagoes, Oneidas and the Mohawks, which on examination will be found to be but corruptions of their ancient names. The remains of this once powerful nation are fast dwindling away, and the cry of the Iroquois which spread terror throughout Canada is now never to be heard!

R. O.

† The word calumet signifies a pipe, and is taken from a Norman word derived from *Chalameau*. The various tribes of Indians in this country have no such word in their languages as it was introduced by the Normans in Canada in the first establishments made by that people here and is always now made use of to signify the pipe of ceremony common among the Indians on all public occasions, as treaties of peace, friendship, or on embassies. The Iroquois Indians call their pipe, *Ganondase* and other Indian tribes *Pogon*. To smoke the calumet has become a very common expression in the English language instead of to make peace, as well as many other phrases of Indian extraction, highly expressive of the ideas of the savages. Such as to bury the tomahawk, to make peace, to raise the hatchet, to declare war, to place the kettle over the fire, to commence hostilities, to plant the tree which will shelter the stranger, to enjoy a complete peace to sit down on the mat, to preserve peace, &c. &c. &c.

R. O.

pay pretty well, generally giving about four times the value of any article they purchase. They laugh at the menaces of our Kings and Governors, for as they have not the least idea of dependence upon others, they hate even the very word itself. They look upon themselves as sovereigns who owe obedience to none except to God alone, whom they call the *Great Spirit*. They have been almost constantly at war with us since the establishment of colonies in Canada, till the first years of the administration of the Count Frontenac. Mr. de Courselles and Mr. de Traci, when Governors in Chief, made several winter and summer campaigns against the Agniers along the banks of Lake Champlain, but with little success. All that could be done was to burn their villages, and carry off a certain number of children, from whom have sprung the Christian Iroquois, whom I have already mentioned. It is true that probably ninety or a hundred warriors were defeated, but it cost not a few members, and even life to many Canadians and soldiers of the Carignan Regiment, who were not sufficiently prepared against the terrific cold which reigns in Canada. The Count Frontenac who succeeded Mr. Courselle, having perceived the advantages which these savages have over the European with regard to carrying on war in this country, did not wish during his administration to enter into enterprizes fruitless to the country and burdensome to the King. On the contrary he did all in his power, to form a steady and durable peace. He had in view these excellent objects. The first was to cheer up all the French residents who were on the point of abandoning the country and returning to France, if the war lasted much longer; the second to encourage by this peace an infinite number to marry, and clear the land, in order to people and augment the strength of the colonies; and the third to enter into the discovery of Lakes and Indian tribes who reside on their banks, in the interior, in order to establish a Commerce with them and at the same time to form good allies of them in case of a rupture with the Iroquois. These three reasons influenced him to send in the form of an embassy several Canadians to their villages, to assure them that the King having been informed that they made war without reason, had sent them from France to make peace with them and at the same time to procure for them all the advantages attendant on commerce. They listened to these propositions with pleasure for Charles 1st. of England had given orders to the Governor of New-York to inform them that if they continued to make war with the French, they would be totally destroyed, and be overwhelmed by the numerous forces that would undoubtedly soon leave France. They sent these Canadians back to the

Count Frontenac, in good spirits, after having given their word that they would appear to the number of four hundred at the place where the Fort which bears his name is situated, and where they agreed the Governor should come with the same number of people, some months after they both met there and the peace was concluded. Mr. de la Salle was very useful to the Governor at that time by the wholesome advice he gave, but which from the distance of time cannot be at present known. I am obliged to get ready all my things. I will inform you better when I am myself informed, which will be on my return from my present campaign.

I have the honor, &c.

Montreal 18th June, 1684.

LETTER VI. *containing an ample description of the modes of conveyance in Canada by means of canoes of birch bark, the manner in which they are made and the method by which they are navigated.*

SIR,

I certainly expected to leave Montreal to day, but the quantity of large canoes which ought to have been here, have not as yet arrived, our journey is delayed for two days. I make use of this leisure time to give you a short description of these frail *barks*, which will be of service to you in my accounts of my travels in this country. I have already seen about one hundred large and small, but as the former only are made use of in war, I shall only speak of them. Their size varies extremely from ten to twenty-eight feet in length. The smallest contains only two persons. These canoes are complete coffins, where while one is seated as comfortably as may be on his heels by the slightest movement or turn to one side, the whole concern is turned topsy-turvy. The large sort can carry with ease about fourteen persons, or merchandise; three men are sufficient to govern them. With this very small number of canoe-men, there can be conveyed about thirty quintals weight of burthen. These large canoes are sure, and do not overturn when they are formed of birch bark, which is generally stripped off the trees during winter by means of hot water. The largest trees are the best for forming these canoes, though often the bark of one tree will not suffice. The bottom is generally of an entire piece, to which the Indians sew other pieces with roots so adroitly, that they appear to be but one. They are finished with ribs and timbers of a kind of cedar as light as cork. The ribs are of the thickness of one half crown, the bark, of

two, and the timbers of three. Besides there run along the whole length of both sides of the canoe two frames in which are inserted the ends of the timbers and to which are attached the eight bars which connect the whole together. These vehicles are about twenty inches in depth, that is to from the top of the canoe to the bend of the timbers; are twenty-eight feet in length, and four and a half broad at the middle bar. If they are convenient on account of their extreme lightness and by the small quantity of water which they draw, it must be allowed, they are equally inconvenient by their fragility, for if they happen to touch or strike against the ground or on sand the crevices between the bark open, by which the water pours in and wets all the goods and provisions. Thus each day there is some new crevice or new seam to gum. Every night the cargo is unloaded and taken on shore, and the canoe is attached to a post for fear the wind should carry it off, for they are so light that two men can carry them with great ease on their shoulders, each holding by an end! This facility leads me to suppose, that there cannot be a better method of transportation than the canoe for the Rivers of Canada, which are filled with rapids, falls and currents, for they are obliged either to carry canoe and all on shore at these places, or to tow them in the water near the shore where the current is not too strong or the shore too rocky. These canoes are worth almost nothing for the navigation of Lakes where the waves would swallow them up, if they did not make for shore when the wind begins to rise. Nevertheless they cross from Isle to Isle at a distance of four or five leagues from each other, but this is always done in calm weather and by means of paddling, for doing otherwise the canoe is easily sunk, and a great risk run that the provisions and much more, the furs which are the principal merchandise they carry, are lost or destroyed. These canoes, it is true, sometimes carry small sails, but it is only in very fine weather that they can be made use of. If the wind is a little too high, even though right aft, it cannot be made use of, without running the danger of undergoing a shipwreck. Nothing but very moderate winds will serve for these canoes. If the course is directly South, it is necessary to have at least one point towards the North-West or North-East, to hoist the sail, and if any other winds should blow, except when they come from the land they may be coasting, they are obliged to run for shore, and unload their cargo immediately and wait till such time as a calm returns. The canoeemen are either on their knees, sitting, or standing. When going through the rapids or little falls in the water, they

remain on their knees, they stand when they have to go through strong currents by means of poling, and are seated in smooth waters. The oars they make use of are made of maple, and the blade of the oar is twenty inches in length, six in breadth and four inches in thickness. The handle which is about the thickness of a pigeon's egg is about three feet in length. The poles they use to ascend the rapid currents with, are made of pine. These vessels have neither a poop nor stern, being similarly rounded both before and behind, and have neither keel nails nor bolts. The pilot paddles without interruption like the others. They generally cost about eighty crowns and last only about five or six years, but the one in which I was about to embark, cost ninety, being made of bark, and larger than they are made in general. I have been this day informed that Mr. de la Barre is raising the Militia in the neighbourhood of Quebec and that the Governor of this Island has received orders to hold the militia of this neighbourhood also in readiness to march.

I am Sir, &c.—

Montreal 26th June, 1684.

(*To be continued.*)

R. O.

JUE DE MOTS.

Let no one say, you'll always find,
That "*out of sight is out of mind*:"
Of others true, but not of me,
For in my mind's eye still I see
My *absent wife* ! and I can prove
There's no abatement in *our love*—
No check it is, but an assistance—
I love her better—*at a distance.*

ANNALS OF LOWER CANADA FOR 1825 :

Drawn up and arranged from authentic sources.

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I. The history of all nations is composed of such records as have escaped the ravages of time. In most countries, where the events that occur during the course of a twelvemonth are of such a nature, as may possibly by lapse of time or other unforeseen circumstances escape the notice of the future historians, it has been found extremely useful as well as advantageous, at the end of each year, to have published, ere yet they are forgotten, a faithful record without commentary or the least tendency or bias to any particular party or sect, or in other words, an ANNUAL REGISTER, of the principal and most interesting events which have occurred. Though CANADA, as yet a infant country, just putting on the appearance of youth, and scarcely freed from the trammels of its childhood, cannot be expected to enter deeply into the great drama of the world, and present many striking events worthy of being recorded, yet when it is known how very deficient the

past history of *our* country is, on account of the want of some regular recorder or annalist, who might have each year entered on the rolls of the historian, the form and pressure of the times, and when it is also considered, what a great and mighty empire in all probability is yet to arise along the banks of the St. Lawrence, the subject of the ANNALS OF CANADA, will be found to deserve more attention, and to excite more interest, than at first glance could naturally be expected.

Many authors of the very first standing, whose intimate acquaintance with all the events which occurred during the period they remained above the horizon, well fitted them for the task, have engaged in works of a nature similar to, but in a much larger scale, than the present. TACITUS has, in his *Annals* given an impartial record, of the many historical events and passing incidents which occurred during an eventful life, and has sent down to immortality, accounts of what he individually saw and heard daily spoken of. His method has been made use of by many of the ancient authors, and to come to still later days, BISHOP BURNETT and CLARENDON, in the respective Histories of their own times, have endeavoured to enter impartially into the history of the Commonwealth and the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. during which they lived and acted their several parts. Within the few last years, the number of works of a similar nature, each detailing the events and circumstances that came under the notice of its author, during some particularly interesting period of the history of their country, has increased to a wonderful degree. At the present day, finally, regular works are published at the end of each year, under the titles of *Annual Registers*, gathering together into one collection, the scattered fragments that detail the events of the past year, in order to serve as useful matter to the historian who, at some future day may undertake to write the history of those times.

In CANADA such a subject requires more particularly to be taken notice of in the periodical publications of the higher cast which are conducted in this country, as no *Canadian Annual Registers* have as yet been published, and no historian has latterly thought proper to make CANADA the subject of his investigation and research. Especially is such a subject to be noticed, when CANADA has at length arrived at that period which intervenes between childhood and youth; between the commencement of its literary career, and the total absence of all literature, each circumstance and incident connected with its political, literary, or moral career, deserves to be noted for the benefit of future ages.

The use of such a set of annals is obvious ; for the events which have happened in the past years have perhaps not already been collected by any individual into any form, and may be forgotten in times to come ; and when the historian of CANADA (if ever such a person shall appear) arrives at this period, he finds in all likelihood that his labours are interrupted by a blank he cannot supply, and the form and the pressure of the past is to him entirely and perhaps irrecoverably unknown. But to remedy this growing evil it is intended that a regular and complete series of annals shall be published at the end of each year, (of which series the account of the events of 1825 now forms the commencement,) in which the historical events connected with CANADA, shall be impartially delineated as they occur, without the false colouring or distorted facts of the more regular historian ; whereby the deficiency already mentioned will be, in a great measure obviated ; forming as it may, one of the principal inducements to some literary character at a future day to commence that greatest of *desiderata*, a regular and complete history of CANADA. If the present attempt be favourably received, the annals of each succeeding cycle shall continue to appear shortly after the close of each year respectively, and it is to be hoped, that they may continue to detail in a more striking degree the increasing prosperity and improvement of this interesting province.

II. The subject which should be first noticed, as being connected with the history of Canada during the past year, is the meeting, on the 8th January, of the first session of the twelfth Provincial Parliament. A very punctual attendance of the members took place, and after some warm debates, wherein were proposed as candidates for Speaker of the house, Mr. Vallieres de St. Real and Mr. Papineau, both very respectable advocates of the Provincial Bar, who had each previously enjoyed that situation, the latter gentleman by a majority of thirty-two to twelve was chosen to that honorable station. The Lieutenant Governor, Sir Francis Nathaniel Burton, in the absence of the Governor in Chief, the Earl of Dalhousie, on the 10th of the same month, recommended in a neat and appropriate address, to their consideration, all the measures which could in any wise benefit or affect the interests of the rising Colony. A short and distinct statement of the subjects which came under the consideration of the Legislature, will tend to give an idea of the importance of the deliberations which took place. The subject of education engaged for some time during the session, the serious attention of the House of Assembly. A Bill was introduced to put all religious

denominations on an equal footing with regard to the schools founded under an act of the Province of 1801, and now under the management and controul of a corporation nearly entirely composed of Clergymen of the Church of England. An inquiry also took place on the effects of that act, and by the report given in to the Assembly, it appeared that eleven hundred children were receiving education at the different schools of the corporation. An address was voted to the Crown, praying that the Jesuit estates, which on the extinction of that order, became the property of the King, might be placed at the disposal of the Legislature, to be applied for the purpose of education generally. The subject of the administration of Justice in the Province did not pass unnoticed. The Bill which was introduced into, and passed the House this session, was confined to the administration of Justice in country parts; the number of Judges was increased to twelve; numerous local decisions and terms; officers; and the introduction of jury trials throughout the Province were provided for, and facilities given for performing in the country parts, various acts for which the inhabitants have to travel to the chief towns of their respective districts. But the amendments which this Bill received in the Legislative Council, materially altered its form and nature, and no decision was finally had on the subject. Connected with the subject of the Judicature Bill, was that of the Independence of the Judges, which the House resolved should engage their attention at their next session. The intermixtures of Executive, Legislative and Judiciary functions of the Judges are what it is wished to have remedied, and Bills for the purpose have passed the Assembly. The reduction of fees to officers of Justice and the granting of salaries in lieu thereof; the modification of the Bill connected with the sales of landed property by the Sheriffs under judgments of the Courts; the qualifications in landed property of all justices of the peace; and the necessity of a new Goal for the District of Montreal: all subjects connected with the complete and perfect administration of public Justice, were respectively attended to by the House. On the latter subject a Bill passed granting £200 for a plan for a new Goal. A Bill to remove all doubts respecting the cession of property (*cessio bonorum*) of insolvents, passed the House and was sent up to the Council. This law in its nature, so similar to the Scotch insolvent laws, would it was thought, partially remedy the many abuses and silence the long standing complaints that have existed against the bankrupt laws of Canada, and by it, an *honest* bankrupt, on giving and rendering up the whole of his property to his creditors, to whom it in justice belongs, would be enabled to render himself useful to society

by commencing anew his business, and prevent him and his family from being burthensome on the community. The want of some mode of enregistering of all deeds and obligations affecting landed property has been long and severely felt in this Province, for without it a person wishing for credit or to dispose of his real property, could not get his wish accomplished while there remained any doubts concerning the incumbrances and mortgages on that property, which he ought to be perfectly able to shew ; and it was a measure due to the public at large, as it tends to prevent fraud, gives security to the investment of capital and consequently activity to industry. The House of Assembly passed a resolution that it was expedient to give more ample publicity to certain *actes* passed before Notaries bearing mortgage, but no bill was brought in on the subject. The opinion entertained on this question by the Legislative Council is well known ; having repeatedly passed Bills for the establishment of register offices, which have hitherto failed in the Assembly, but the resolution of the last Session above alluded to, would shew that it cannot be long before provisions to give it effect, will be embodied into a law. The very important subject of the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, so much connected and nearly allied to the prosperity of the Canadas, received due consideration, on the petition of the St. Lawrence Association, who prayed for Legislative aid to enable them to render the waters of the St. Lawrence more navigable for vessels of large burden, particularly at the rapids and currents.

The subject of the intercourse with the United States ; of the prevention of smuggling ; of granting 10 per cent damages on the value of all protested Bills of Exchange ; of giving circulation to the golden coins called Sovereigns ; of facilitating grants and concessions of lands ; of Agricultural improvement ; of the inconveniences of the present system of the road acts ; all subjects highly necessary to the prosperity of the Province as granting facilities to Trade, Commerce and Industry, were not neglected by the members of the Legislature, but were noticed during the course of their deliberations. The Wesleyan Methodists by petition, applied for registers and power to baptise, marry and bury, which they had been refused with other dissenting congregations, by a judgment of the Court of Appeals, relating to the construction of the Act of 1795 ; and on their petition the House granted them their conclusions ; but the Council having amended the Bill sent them by the House, the latter did not concur in the amendments. Bills for the incorporation of the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal passed the House but failed in the Council. These

acts are highly necessary for the perfect management of the municipal concerns of the cities, at present under the charge of Justices of the Peace and a Chairman, and would enable many wholesome and salutary arrangements to be made for the internal governments of the towns, which at present cannot be accomplished from the contending interests of many of those under whose controul and government they now are placed. A Bill passed the House for a more complete subdivision of the Province into Counties, and for granting an increase to the representation thereof, a measure so ardently desired by the Province at large, and particularly by the inhabitants of the Townships; but this Bill being considered as ineffectual, if not entirely nugatory, was not agreed to by the Legislative Council. Finally the Supply or Civil List Bill, so long the subject of contention between the different branches of the Legislature, as to its form and nature, or the method of passing it, engaged their attention. The Legislative Council have hitherto contended that the expences of the Civil Government and the administration of justice sho^{uld} be provided for during the Kings life, in conformity to British precedent, as a measure necessary to the permanancy of the Provincial Government, the respectability and remuneration of the public officers, and preventing them from becoming the slaves of popular caprice, terror and intrigue. But the House of Assembly, with whom, according to the principles of the British Constitution, all money Bills must commence, claim in opposition to the wishes of the Legislative Council, the disposal of all public monies, to be *annually* appropriated after discussing each item. In this annual disposal are included not only the monies raised under Provincial authority, now unappropriated, but those levied and permanently appropriated by the Imperial statute of the 14th Geo. III. Cap. 88. His Majesty's casual and territorial revenue in the Province, which His late Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow, the permanent grant of five thousand pounds a year, and also all fines, forfeitures and other casualties. Upon this Bill, the two Houses have been fairly at issue since 1818, when His Majesty by Sir John Coope Sherbrooke then Governor, first asked of the Legislature to redeem the pledge made by them in 1810 to take upon themselves the expences of the civil government of the Province and various and numerous have been the decisions on the subject by the respective Houses or branches of the Legislature.

After a period of seventy-three days, the Lieutenant Governor, on the 22d of March prorogued the Assembly, and at the same time gave in the name of His Majesty, assent to

thirty five Bills, among which will be found acts to authorize an enumeration of the population of the Province; to alter the existing ordinance of the Governor and Council concerning the arrest of debtors on a writ of *capias ad respondendum* or of *capias ad satisfaciendum*, whereby any person under arrest upon either of these writs, before or after judgment, was allowed to go at liberty, provided he could find security, that he would not depart from the Province without satisfying the original debt, interest and costs; thereby rendering, in fact, the limits of the gaols of the respective Districts, equal to the limits of the Province itself; acts for the purpose of examining new extents of country and opening roads therein; for the encouragement of education by grants to various societies instituted for instructing youth in Lower Canada; for the promotion of agricultural improvement in the various Districts; and for the encouragement of steam navigation between Quebec and Halifax in Nova Scotia, for which purpose a sum of £1500 was granted to co-operate with the sister Province in the same design. The debates and differences which had, as we have already stated, existed between the Legislative bodies on the subject of the Supply Bill or Civil List estimates, had seemingly subsided, and an apparent cordiality and harmony, the effects of a system perhaps too conciliatory and bending, adopted by the Lieutenant Governor, brought to a termination the labours of the session. Whatever may be the private opinions of individuals concerning the method of passing the supplies for the civil government of the Province, whether annually or during the King's life, it is only necessary to remark, that the act as passed by the House in their ancient method as already detailed, met with but a feeble opposition in the Legislative Council, who seemed, with the exception of the minority, to have waived for a time their former opinions on the subject, and was immediately assented to by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor. Amidst the acts which became statutes of the Province, perhaps none will be found which in any way very materially altered existing laws, yet many were in their nature important and highly necessary for the growing wants of the country.

III. The Imperial Parliament of Great Britain passed during the session of 1825 five acts relating to, and to be in force in CANADA; and this country, so long neglected, seemed now to attract more than the ordinary attention generally bestowed by ministers on colonial possessions, and to receive more of the guardian and fostering care of the public state functionaries of England. The *first* of these acts called the *Canada Tenures Act*, the most important as connected with the ultimate prosperity of Canada, provided for the extinction of the feudal and

seigniorial rights and burthens on lands held in the Lower Province *à titre de fief* and *à titre de cens*, and for the gradual conversion of those tenures into the tenure of free and common soccage. By this very important act, which so materially altered the feudal laws of the country, all persons holding fiefs and seigniories, might, on an application made to His Majesty or His Majesty's representative, and on surrender of all the ungranted parts of the said fiefs and seigniories, obtain a commutation and release of the *Droit de quint* and *Droit de relief*, the feudal burthens due to His Majesty on all lands in the Province, and such Fief and Seigniority might be regranted to the former proprietor in free and common soccage, without the usual reserves for the support of the Protestant Clergy. The persons so receiving the commutations from the government were bound to render a like commutation to his *censitaires* or tenants for such price as should be determined on by arbitrators. All the lands held in free and common soccage were also by the act declared to be governed by the Laws of England as far as referred to the possession, grant, sale, conveyance, and descent, or to the dower or other rights of married women in such lands. By the same act a part of the coast of Labrador, which by the acts of 49th Geo. III, and 5 Geo. IV, had been joined to the government of Newfoundland, was reannexed to the Province, and a Court of Escheats was constituted to try all forfeitures of uncultivated lands liable to escheat to the Crown by the non-performance of the conditions of settlement and cultivation. From this Bill two very important results follow, viz. the power given to extinguish the feudal burthens on any land when both seignior and tenant shall coincide in opinion; and the removal of all those doubts that have existed on the construction of the statute of the 14th Geo. III, relating to the laws which are to govern the tenures of the townships. A greater freedom of action was bestowed on the inhabitants of the province than heretofore existed; restraints injurious to the liberty of private contract were taken away, and a power was conferred of redeeming seigniorial lands from feudal bondage, one of the relics of that host of northern conquerors who enslaved the inhabitants of western Europe, and imposed upon them their feudal laws. The *second* act, which is very important to the agricultural and commercial interests of the country, enacted that all the prohibitions on the importation of wheat, the produce of the British North American Colonies, and duties payable under former acts, were suspended for the period of one year and to the end of the following Session of Parliament, and in lieu of former importation duties, the sum of five shillings per quarter was ordered to be levied, on oaths regularly made that the wheat was the produce of British Colo-

nies. The Bill is entirely due to the personal exertions of Mr. Huskisson the President of the board of trade, who throughout the whole Session of Parliament manifested an unceasing interest in the welfare and ultimate prosperity of Canada. The history of this bill may be said to be as follows. A bill was introduced by Mr. Huskisson into the House of Commons called the Bonded Corn and Canada Corn Bill, which after some opposition by many members connected with the agricultural interest, finally passed the House on the 15th May, and was sent up to the Peers. By this act all foreign bonded corn then in Great Britain was allowed to be relieved, on payment of ten shillings per quarter, and the admission of Canadian wheat at all times on payment of a duty of five shillings. Certificates of origin were by the act deemed necessary previous to shipments and to prevent the introduction of American grain a duty of eight shillings was laid on such, on entering Canada. And if it should be found that the average of importation of Canadian wheat should exceed 100,000 quarters, the further importation was then restricted.— This Bill in the House of Peers received the decided opposition of many members, and on account of its relating to two distinct and separate objects, an amendment was made, which virtually threw it out. Mr. Huskisson then on the 9th June introduced into the House of Commons two distinct bills, to limit the free importation of Canadian wheat to two years, and to relieve foreign corn from bond as follows, viz. 200,000 quarters before the 15th August, and 200,000 quarters before the 15th October. The former of which, after having one year and till the end of the next ensuing parliament, substituted instead of two years, finally passed both houses and received the Royal assent on the 22d June, and the Warehousing Corn Bill also received the Royal assent at the same period, whereby the great and liberal views of the British ministry with regard to Canada were put into complete operation, the greatest boon that had been rendered for a great length of time. The *third* act, no less important to the commercial interests than the former, regulated the trade of the American Colonies and the West Indies and established free warehousing ports of which Quebec was one, wherein goods legally imported might be properly warehoused without payment of duty and duties were established on all goods not the produce of Great Britain or her colonies, which were imported into the British North American Colonies. By this act the two laws of 1822 regulating the trade and intercourse of the British Colonies, and of the Colonies with foreign parts were repealed. The new act did not however extend the foreign trade of the colonies to any other parts of the world than those mentioned in the acts of 1822, nor is importation extended to any Colonial port, ex-

cept those specially named in the act as free ports, of which the only ports in British North America are Quebec, Halifax and St. John's in New Brunswick : but power is reserved to His Majesty to constitute from time to time any other free warehousing port in the colonies. An opinion was started that under this law the trade to the East Indies was opened to colonial enterprise, and in accordance to that idea a ship was dispatched from Halifax as the commencement of the East India trade, and it has since been held that notwithstanding the great commercial privileges held by the Honorable East India Company, the intercourse was free as long as the Tea trade, their exclusive property was not infringed upon, and this opinion is founded on an official document which emanated from the Custom House in London, where the direct trade from the colonies to India in all articles except in Tea, was authorized by the 4th Geo. IV, cap. 80 ; nor was this trade confined to the free ports. The *fourth* act enabled His Majesty to grant a charter to the Joint Stock Company formed in London the preceding year under the title of the Canada Land Company, for the purpose of purchasing as much of the Clergy and Crown reserves in the Province of Upper Canada as the government could conveniently dispose of ; and to grant and invest that company with certain powers and privileges for their management. By this act, rendered public in both provinces, this company were empowered to hold lands in the Upper Province and to divest themselves of the same when it should be found necessary ; and His Majesty granted them for their special purposes, one half of the present Reserves for the Clergy in Upper Canada, or other lands substituted in their place, which it was their intention to clear ; to erect mills, schools and churches thereon, and to make roads leading thereto, in order more effectually to encourage settlers to take their lands, and to divert the tide of emigration from the United States to the British Provinces. This was a measure acknowledged by every sensible person to be fraught with the best consequences to the prosperity and opulence of the Province. The purchase money which was to be paid by the Company for these lands is to be appropriated exclusively towards the support of a Protestant Clergy. The *fifth* act was entitled "An act to regulate the trade of the British possessions abroad," and may be said to put into operation the provisions of the former intercourse bill above alluded to. It received the Royal assent on the 5th July and was to be in force on the 5th January 1826. By its clauses the trade which had existed for a long time with the United States, was virtually destroyed ; for all ashes, beef fresh or salted, pork, and fish, which the Canadas cannot as yet, produce in sufficient quantity for their native con-

sumption, were prohibited to be imported, except from the United Kingdom and from some other British possession. The Island of Newfoundland formed an exception, being allowed still to carry on the intercourse in provisions with the United States. Quebec was declared by this act one of the free ports from which all goods were exported to the United Kingdom and its colonial possessions, and also to it the importation of all goods from the same places were restricted. These are all the acts of the Imperial Parliament which have become statutes of the Province, but great as they are, these are not all the boons granted this colony during the last session of the Parliament of Britain. We have already stated that the Canadian Corn which had lain rotting for years in bond in the warehouses, was admitted on payment of a duty—a sum of £30,000 was granted by the House of Commons to promote emigration from Ireland to Canada. This vote was opposed by Mr. Hume and others, some on the grounds that no statement had yet appeared how former votes had been disposed of, and others from a disapproval of the principle of emigration altogether. On reviewing the statement of the proceedings of the British government concerning this country, it will be found, that if Canada had previously been neglected, the temporary omission has been supplied.—A powerful internal impetus has been given and directed to the vast and rapid improvement of the colonial resources. Government has availed itself of this power, and under its patronage, the advancement of the colony will be very materially promoted. Emigration, on a very large scale, was provided for and tried with success. The Canada Land Company, whose exertions are to be given to the improvement of otherwise waste lands, has been patronised by the Government in the most efficient manner. Bills passed of the very utmost importance to the resident cultivator and owner of lands. Wheat, the staple commodity of the country, is admitted into the mother country comparatively free of duty; and measures have been taken to render the communication and intercourse between the colonies and their mother country, more free and unshackled than formerly. The whole of these exertions are well deserving of commendation, and if there be some few clauses, which may be objectionable, and proper to be revised, it should be held in remembrance, that amidst the amazing quantity of other affairs which engage the time of British Legislators, all cannot boast of the same degree of attention, but taking them as they are, they are sufficient to shew that gratitude to a considerable extent is due from the inhabitants of the Canadas to the members of the Imperial Parliament and the Ministry, for their enlighten-

ed and legislative enactments, and for the great and glorious changes in our state brought about by their talents.

IV. Next to the parliamentary proceedings, wherein are detailed all the new laws and regulations for the future government of the country, the subject that demands most to be noticed is the Imports for the year 1825, at the port of Quebec, the only considerable port of entrance in the Canadas. The last year's imports afford a very flattering proof of the increasing prosperity of the Province. The value of imported merchandize at Quebec amounted to £1,010,868, 14s. 6d. which compared with the same for the preceding year, £796,633, 17s. yields a difference in favor of 1825, of £214,234, 17s. 6d. A difference of £3729, 1's. existed also in favor of 1825 on goods imported into the lower ports of Gaspé and Carlisle, making a total difference in favor of 1825, amounting to £217,964, 7s. 6d. This great difference of nearly one fifth, being rather an unusual circumstance in Canadian commerce, may be partly explained by the consideration, that owing to the high prices of the raw materials of cottons and woollens in Great Britain in the spring of 1825, caused partly by the expectation of a failure of crops of cotton in the States, and extraordinary demand for the South American markets, the invoice value (which is the value given above) of these goods was higher than usual. The same thing may be said of rums. The quantity of teas imported, direct from China, it is calculated, is sufficient for two year's consumption. It is therefore probable, that although the difference in value appears so great as to be nearly one fifth, yet the quantity of goods imported was probably not more than one tenth of an increase above that of 1824. The increase of duty on goods paying $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, over that of 1824 amounted to £202,435.— From the following statement of the principal imports for the four last years, it will be seen, that in general the imports of 1825 appear greater than of any other preceding year :

| | 1822 | 1823. | 1824 | 1825, | |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| WINE <i>Maderai,</i> | 17310 | 24525 | 17720 | 27810 | Gallons. |
| <i>Port,</i> | 9442 | 23174 | 23265 | 31740 | do. |
| <i>Teneriffe,</i> | 20701 | 54668 | 40996 | 43121 | do. |
| <i>Fayal,</i> | 13617 | 4379 | 3130 | 22158 | do. |
| <i>Sicilian & Spanish,</i> | 39849 | 45752 | 107480 | 117663 | do. |
| <i>Sundry other kinds,</i> | 9446 | 35035 | 10088 | 21048 | do. |
| BRANDY, | 14304 | 59308 | 54335 | 115553 | do. |
| C | 22850 | 24806 | 62453 | 69000 | do. |
| WHISKEY, | none | 223 | 36 | 160 | do. |
| RUM, | 1287543 | 970265 | 987555 | 1025081 | do. |
| MOLASSES, | 111413 | 37822 | 79689 | 39906 | do. |
| SUGAR <i>refined,</i> | 427112 | 356152 | 642021 | 289269 | pounds |
| <i>Muscavado,</i> | 1810400 | 1895898 | 2286957 | 2857628 | do. |
| COFFEE, | 94920 | 40700 | 289236 | 55963 | do. |

| | | | | | |
|---|----------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|
| Tobacco Leaf, | 126400 | 153480 | 20390 | 24016 | do. |
| Manufactured, | 866 | 97 | 75 | 775 | do. |
| TEA, | 134879 | 70925 | 164890 | 1156665 | do. |
| SALT, | 243486 | 193108 | 150801 | 231570 | minots. |
| MERCHANDIZE, pay- ing 2½ per cent duty } | £722814. | £727706. | £787820. | £990255 | currency. |

It is more than probable that the consumption will equal the importation except in the article of tea. This increase must undoubtedly proceed from the augmentation of the population, the greater abundance of money from the employment so of many hands in shipbuilding, and the increased activity of the lumber trade. In the dry goods, there is no great increase, for the larger part of the population make use of coarse home made woollens and cottons. It would appear by the official returns of the customs, that there existed a proportional increase in the shipping employed in the Canadian trade which will appear by the following statement of the entrances for four years :

| Entered in | VESSELS, | TONNAGE, | MEN. |
|------------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1822 | 612 | 145,953 | 6450. |
| 1823 | 569 | 132,634 | 6130. |
| 1824 | 619 | 150,000 | 6834. |
| 1825 | 796 | 193,598 | 8973. |

thereby yielding a difference in favor of 1825 over that of 1824. in vessels 178 ; in tonnage 43,598, and of men 2139.

V. Amidst the vessels arrived will be found that of two Indian direct from China, forming one of the most interesting features in the past year's annals, which points out the growing prosperity of the country, and forms an epoch remarkable in Canadian commerce. These vessels were dispatched from England by the East India Company, for the purpose of supplying the Canadas with the necessary article of tea, in consequence of an act of the Imperial Parliament passed for that purpose.— They sailed the same day, 24th February from Canton, arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena at the same time. and came to anchor, in the month of July, in the harbour of Quebec, with only a few hours of difference, without almost ever being in sight of one another, a proof of the excellent management, and perfection of the art of navigation on board of both the ships. They are the first vessels that ever entered the St. Lawrence direct from the continent of Asia, the largest and most populous quarter of the globe. The *Moffatt* of 800 tons had 9,941 packages, and *Juliana* of 500 tons had 5,900 making altogether 15,841 packages. The duties payable to the Provincial Revenue on these teas alone would amount to about £15,000, and the value of the article to be consumed and paid for in the Province, would amount to about £200,000. This immense sum of money, which used in former instances almost

entirely to go out of the Province to American smugglers, who had very nearly acquired a monopoly, was by the lowness of the price at which the agents of the East India Company were enabled to dispose of their teas, retained in the Province, and the immense system of smuggling formerly practised, was nearly put a stop to, with the prospect that if the Company continued to send their teas to Canada direct as they have done this year, smuggling will take a different turn, by having the teas taken from Canada into the neighbouring states.

VI. The exports of Canada for the year 1825, also mark an increase in our means and capacity, and are probably adequate to meet our imports. It is rather difficult to ascertain the exact value of our exports, for they are never expressed in the official returns of the Custom House. This difficulty may be partly obviated by taking the average prices of the year, but this cannot well be done this year, from the great fluctuations in price that took place. To determine then the profit and loss of the trade, it would be necessary to add the probable advance which would be made by the merchant when sold in the foreign market, where they are to pay for the Imports. The trade of the Canadas shews the fallacy of a general principle held by many, that the relation between the imports and exports of a country is expressed by the prices of exchange, and that when exchange is at a premium, the trade is a losing one, and when at a discount a profitable one. According to this fallacious principle, the trade of the Canadas has been long a losing one, and it is only to be wondered that it has not been long ago entirely lost. The increase in population and riches which have taken place in the Canadas, would shew that there is something erroneous in the test; but perhaps it is the exception which exists to the general rule. The following statement of the exports for the last four years, will shew that a very considerable increase has taken place in them as well as in the imports:

| | 1822, | 1823, | 1824, | 1825. | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| ASHES, Pot and Pearl, | 33269 | 55170 | 55108 | 65502 | barrels. |
| FLOUR, | 47747 | 46346 | 41901 | 40167 | do. |
| BISCUIT, | 11499 | 11553 | 18326 | 20196 | cwt. |
| WHEAT, | 147285 | 4710 | 5996 | 748016 | bsh. |
| INDIAN CORN, | 281 | 25 | 170 | 14 | do. |
| PEASE, | 3154 | 2732 | 4974 | 16976 | do. |
| FLAXSEED, | 3933 | 9710 | 24589 | 11823 | bags. |
| HOPS, | 10 | none | 1 | 3 | bags. |
| BEEF, | 2585 | 1983 | 3133 | 15175 | barrels. |
| PORK, | 4062 | 3221 | 8848 | 14426 | do. |
| BUTTER, | 138 | 1012 | 2484 | 2463 | kegs. |
| CODFISH, | — | — | 1546 | 1922 | hhds. |
| SALMON, | 1002 | 1010 | 416 | 579 | tierces. |
| STAVES, Std. } hhd. and bls. } | 3430176 | 3500270 | 3657188 | 3984410 | pieces. |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|--------|--------|---------|---------|-----|
| OAK, | 20331 | 16668 | 19994 | 32152 | do. |
| PINE, | 84201 | 78555 | 96026 | 123078 | do. |
| BOARDS & PLANKS, | 430749 | 880826 | 1052147 | 1479568 | do. |

In all these articles, the principal commodities that can be exported from Canada, either in return for the Imports or for the supply of the lower posts and the West India Islands, it will be found that a difference exists in general, in favor of 1825 over the exports of 1824.

The exports in the article of TIMBER for the last year were great, and exceeded considerably, as will be observed by the foregoing statement, those of the preceding years. From the great quantity of timber thus exported during the shipping season, very little was allowed to remain on hand, so that very few timber vessels were expected early in the next season, but from the great supplies preparing, added to other reasons, it was expected that a still greater number of vessels might be then looked for than during the last season, and that lumber would bear a moderate price and be in abundant quantities. The increase in the article of *Ashes* is very great, for the number of barrels exported in 1825, exceed that of 1824, by 10394 barrels, while the exports of 1823 and 1824, which are nearly equal, was considered by many as the very extent of the capability of the Province in exporting. Supposing the ashes averaged 30s. a cwt. which, from authentic sources we are led to believe, they in general commanded, the nett value of this sole article of our exports would amount to upwards of 260,000. But it is greatly to be feared that the export of ashes will be greatly diminished next year, unless those clauses be repealed of the trade act passed during the Imperial Parliament, which exacts a duty of 15 per cent on all ashes coming from the United States into Canada, and it is from that quarter that by far the greater proportion is brought. But it is to be hoped that by proper representations, the objectionable clauses may yet be repealed, in time, to prevent the trade suffering any very great injury—a very great increase will also be found in the article of *beef* and *pork*, of which a difference exists in favor of 1825, of 7540 barrels. But this article will, from the prohibition of its importation from the United States, be reduced to one half, unless the act alluded to be altered.—Live stock can still be imported into the country from that quarter, on payment of a duty of 10 per cent, which would give the curing of the provisions to Canada; but it remains to be seen, whether any person will largely enter into the business of preparing provisions for a foreign market, while an uncertainty as to the continuance of the system exists. A sensible decrease will be found in the article of *flour*, for 1753 barrels were less

exported than in 1824—but an increase of 1870 cwt. of biscuit, and 712,720 bushels of wheat more than that of 1824. The export of wheat, so very great when compared with that of former years, has not exceeded the 200,000 quarters; beyond which maximum of import, the ministers thought they could not well admit our grain, and therefore it may naturally be expected that the Act of 6th Geo. IV cap. 64, or the wheat importation act, which expires at the close of next session of Parliament, will be renewed. But the export of 1826, will in all probability not equal that of 1825. The greater quantity of the wheat, which was exported this year, was heated during its passage to the English market, caused by the moisture it imbibes during its storage in the winter, but some means may be yet devised to obviate this fault, and give to the wheat of the Canadas a character, which will always secure to it a ready market and a fair price.

VII. But the article in which the greatest and most gratifying increase has taken place is in that of shipbuilding. The whole of the articles already mentioned, were exported in 883 vessels, which is an increase of 87 vessels over those which entered the port of Quebec during the same season. The following statement will exhibit the tonnage of the vessels which have cleared from the Province for the last four years :

| | Vessels. | Tonnage, | Men. |
|---------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Cleared out in 1822 | 641 | 149,355 | 6825 |
| 1823 | 609 | 138,219 | 6330 |
| 1824 | 680 | 159,662 | 7157 |
| 1825 | 883 | 227,707 | 9684. |

The number of vessels built in the Province this year was 61, which, when compared with the work of four preceding years, the following statement is rendered :

| | Vessels | Tons. | Vessels | Tons. |
|---------------|---------|-------|---------------|-------|
| Built in 1822 | 8 | 1897 | Built in 1824 | 24 |
| 1823 | 9 | 2151 | 1825 | 61 |
| | | | | 22636 |

Whereby it appears that there have been exported in 1825, 13, 102 tons of shipping more than in 1824, and upwards of 20,000 more than in 1823. During the course of the year 1822, it will appear that only 2151 tons were exported, while the sister Province of New Brunswick exported between 20,000 and 30,000 tons, built principally with American capital, and Canada was remaining comparatively idle. Taking and assuming the value of each ton of shipping as it leaves the builders' hands at the moderate rate of £8, the value of the export in vessels alone, for the year 1825, would then be equal to £180,068.—The most of these vessels are built with English capital, all of which is distributed among the labouring classes, thereby dif-

fusing a supply of money throughout the country, and giving employment to thousands, principally at a season when work is otherwise scarce. Before the year 1825 closed, there were laid on the stocks in the district of Quebec about 12,000 tons, and about 2,500 at Montreal, making altogether about 14,500 tons. About 35 vessels were on the stocks at Quebec, 6 below Quebec, and 10 at Montreal, making nearly 60 vessels, averaging about 300 tons each, which will be dispatched early in the spring—and new ones commenced—so that the exports of 1826, will be equal to, if not greater, than that of 1825. Among the vessels launched during the season, was that of the *Baron of Renfrew*, a great ship of about 9000 tons, constructed solely for the purpose of conveying timber to the London market.—This immense vessel was built at Patrick's hole on the Island of Orleans below Quebec, on the model of a vessel called the *Columbus*, launched the preceding year, but about 1500 tons larger. To give an idea of the size of the *Baron of Renfrew*, it will only be necessary to state the following particulars: her length was 303 feet; beam 60 feet; hold 35 feet; length of main mast above the deck 75 feet and whole length 104 feet; main yard 72 feet; between decks 14 feet; draught of water 24 feet when loaded; the tiller 28 feet long, 18-12 foot square; tonnage 5280 tons; chain cable 120 fathoms long, 14 inch link and 7 inches over; hemp cable 26 inch rope 100 fathoms; weight of anchors 7½ cwt. and 87 cwt.; 10 feet wider and 5 feet deeper than the *Columbus*; a man going round the capstan at the end of the bars 31 times, travels a mile; and going round the deck 11 times a mile: had five decks, carries about 9000 tons of timber, and required in its erection 12 tons oakum and 125 tons iron bolts. This vessel in launching, stuck on the ways and remained there for the space of a week to the great disappointment of the thousands assembled on the occasion to visit the scene.

VIII. Amidst the other subjects worthy of being noticed, as in any manner connected with the annals of this colony, was the return on the 16th September, after a passage of 56 days of its beloved Governor the EARL OF DALHOUSIE, to resume the administration of the Colony, which during his absence of fifteen months, had been administered by the Lieutenant Governor SIR FRANCIS NATHANIEL BURTON. His Excellency during his stay in Great Britain, received the greatest attention and respect from His Majesty and the various Officers of State, and attended the House of Lords, and at all other places, wherever his presence could in any manner benefit the interests of the Province. Previous to his embarkation at Greenock, on board the *Herald Yacht*, he had a public testimonial of the res-

pect in which he is so deservedly held in his native land, shewn him in the form of a dinner given to him by the principal residents of that town. On his arrival at Quebec the usual honors were paid and public addresses of heartfelt congratulations presented from all quarters, shewing the perfect satisfaction of the Province, that a nobleman so distinguished for his high rank, splendid talents, known integrity and moral worth, should have returned amidst them, to administer the government of a Colony over which he had presided with so much honor to himself and advantage to its inhabitants.

IX. After the arrival of the Earl of Dalhousie, and of his having again resumed the reins of Government, the Lieutenant Governor proposed to return for a stated period to England.— He accordingly, on the 6th October, embarked along with many distinguished passengers on board of the Herald Yacht, which had conveyed the Governor in Chief to Quebec, and after a passage of 23 days, he arrived in perfect health and safety in Portsmouth harbour. Previous to his departure His Excellency was waited upon by numerous deputations from different parts of the country, all testifying their regret and sorrow for his departure from the Province, where by his short and peaceable administration, he had rendered himself apparently popular and beloved by the Canadians of French origin. On embarkation the most respectable Canadian citizens of Quebec, attended on the shore, and tendered him their most respectful adieux, while all the other honors and salutes befitting his rank and station in life, usual on such occasions, were rigidly gone through.

X. The completion of the Canal between Montreal and the village of Lachine may well be cited amidst the other subjects worthy of being recorded among the occurrences of the past year. A short abstract of the previous labours on the subject of this canal may not prove altogether unconnected with the present detail. A bill for making the canal just alluded to, was from a knowledge of its extreme necessity, and of the capability of the country for such an undertaking, introduced into the the first session of the first Provincial Parliament, by one of the Members for the city of Montreal. From a supposition that the Province had not the pecuniary means necessary for such a large undertaking at its disposal, the Bill did not pass, but the necessity of such a canal being completely demonstrated during the last American war, a message was laid before the House of Assembly by the then Governor in Chief, Sir George Prevost, intimating that His Majesty's Government had it in contemplation to make such a canal, if the

Provincial Legislature would by a grant assist the undertaking. Accordingly a vote of £250,000 for the purpose and a Bill to give effect to that vote passed the Legislature in March, 1815. The urgency of this canal was considerably diminished by the peace with the United States which followed, and nothing was done with respect to the proposed canal, till 1819, when several individuals petitioned the Legislature to be permitted to cut the canal at their own expense and charges—and the subscribers by an act of the Legislature of April, 1819, were erected into a joint stock company. The committee through the celebrated English Engineer, Mr. Telford, engaged Mr. Thomas Burnett, as Engineer for the canal. Mr. Burnett arrived in April 1820, and with the assistance of Mr. John Adams, a land surveyor, made the necessary surveys and levels during that summer. In the year 1821, the committee of management surrendered to the Province the right they had acquired of making the canal, for they found that the time granted them by the act was too limited for the undertaking, and that the subscriptions were not sufficient to carry it into execution. On this cession on the part of the committee of management, His Excellency the Governor in Chief, appointed certain commissioners to execute the canal, and on the 17th day of July, 1821, the first ground was broken, near the village of Lachine. The excavation was proceeded in with great activity during the the summer and winter of 1821, and stone for the locks of a very superior quality was conveyed from Coughnawaga along the finished parts of the canal during the whole season. In 1822, the progress made was very considerable, but the means employed not being found adequate, pecuniary aid was again prayed for from the Legislature, and in consequence, in March, 1823, a sum of £12,000 was granted towards the expences of the undertaking for that year. During the greatest part of the route, the rock excavation was unexpectedly extensive, but though expensive to cut, it forms embankments which will need no repair. By the close of the year 1824 the canal was completely excavated, and made navigable as far as the end of the St. Joseph suburbs, and the year 1825 was almost entirely occupied in completing four locks at its junction with the St. Lawrence near the windmills. The whole canal is now completed and navigable from end to end, but the formal ceremony of its opening has not yet been entered into. The summer of 1826, will be employed in erecting the necessary lock-keepers houses. The route originally proposed for this canal was along the beach of the St. Lawrence at Lachine till the commencement of the turpikie road, then by the foot of the Côte St. Paul, continuing till it arrived at a point between the St. Joseph and

St. Antoine Suburbs, when the route was to fork out and diverge, of which one branch was to cross the St. Lawrence and Quebec Suburbs, and enter the river below the King's Naval Store at the foot of the Current St. Mary, while the other branch was to enter above the present harbour near Munn's shipyard. The former branch has been for the present abandoned, and the latter route, owing to some difficulty with the proprietors of land through which the canal would require to be cut, was altered, so as to make its mouth near the Windmills. The canal is 28 feet wide at the bottom, and 48 at the water line, having a slope of 2 to 1, with five feet depth of water throughout, and eighteen inches from the water line to the level of the towing path. There are in the whole six locks, each of which are a hundred feet in length, and twenty feet of opening, with an entire fall of forty two feet, and a regulating lock and basin near Lachine. The workmanship of these locks and the various stone bridges along the route are all of masonry of a superior and most substantial description, and are certainly a credit to the architects who erected them, as it is to the country in which they are erected and to the undertaking of which they form a part. This canal as to breadth, depth of water, and length and breadth of locks, is greater than that of any canal in Great Britain, with the exception of the Caledonian and the Forth and Clyde Canals. By an act of the Provincial Parliament of this session a further loan of £30,000 was authorized for the completion of the Canal, which loan was principally contracted for by the Savings Bank established at Montreal. The rates of toll demanded on the canal during the past year were found too high, when in competition with the rate of cartage between Lachine and Montreal, and the propriety of petitioning the Legislature for an amendment of the Canal act was demonstrated.

XI. By an act of the last session, a census or return of the population of the Province was provided for, and His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor during the summer appointed the necessary commissioners for taking the enumeration. A census of the population had not taken place since the year 1784, a period of twenty-five years after the conquest, and the increase in numbers which has taken place in the population of the Province since that period is not so great as had been supposed, from various calculations made, grounded upon the annual returns of the Adjutant General of Militia. Col. Bouchette, in his Topography of Canada, has stated, that in 1663 the population little exceeded 7000. In 1714 the population had increased to nearly 20,000. In 1759, at the time of the conquest,

it was reckoned at about 70,000. In 1775, the number of souls in the Province was reckoned at 90000. In the year 1784, the population stood as follows :

POPULATION of the Districts of MONTREAL, QUEBEC and THREE RIVERS, in the PROVINCE of QUEBEC, in the year 1784.

| | Married Men. | Married Women. | Houses. | Unmarried Males. | | Unmarried Females. | | Servants. | Slaves. | Invalids. | Absentees. |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|---------|------------------|----------|--------------------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|------------|
| | | | | under 15 | above 15 | under 15 | above 15 | | | | |
| District of Quebec. | 7,911 | 7,380 | 7,137 | 4,112 | 10,041 | 4,206 | 8,984 | 1,795 | 88 | 150 | 93 |
| District of Montreal. | 10,140 | 9,727 | 9,794 | 4,357 | 11,637 | 3,809 | 10,803 | 4,020 | 212 | 623 | 304 |
| District of Three Rivers. | 2,080 | 2,247 | 1,973 | 912 | 2,874 | 877 | 2,726 | 676 | 4 | 118 | 104 |
| Total | 20,131 | 19,354 | 19,904 | 9,381 | 24,552 | 8,892 | 22,513 | 6,491 | 304 | 393 | 501 |

Grand total of inhabitants in the Province, 123,727.

And in 1814, Col. Bouchette estimated the number of inhabitants to have been 235,000, an increase to be attributed solely to the increase of agriculture in the Province, and to the tide of emigration, which had begun to set in from the countries of Europe towards Canada. Since the return of 1784 was made as we have already mentioned, no regular enumeration had been taken, and the number of the inhabitants was always rudely calculated. At the commencement of the year 1824, the following statement made by Joseph Bouchette, Esq., the Surveyor General of the Province, was submitted to the Committee of the House of Assembly, on the message of the Governor in Chief, relative to the District and County lines, and the grounds of this statement were the returns of militia made to the Adjutant General's Office, the returns of Parishioners made by the Curates in their letters, under an order of the House of Assembly, and other sources of information to which he had resource, and on which reliance might implicitly be placed.

General Statement of the Population of the Province of Lower Canada, as at present divided into Districts and Counties, distinguishing the Seigniorial from the Township Population :

| Names of Counties. | Seigniorial Population. | | Township | Total Population in each County. |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| | Catholic. | Protestant. | Population. | |
| Gaspé, | | | | 5,000 |
| Cornwallis, | 18,012 | 373 | 205 | 18,595 |
| Devon, | 13,341 | | | 13,341 |
| Hertford, | 15,239 | | | 15,239 |
| Dorchester, | 17,189 | 200 | 310 | 17,699 |
| Buckinghamshire, | 24,867 | 330 | 10,718 | 36,415 |
| Richelieu, | 23,771 | 779 | 4,338 | 28,888 |
| Bedford, | 9,747 | 8,431 | 3,277 | 21,453 |
| Surrey, | 16,520 | | | 16,520 |
| Kent, | 12,610 | | | 12,610 |
| Huntingdon, | 30,715 | 5,097 | 4,797 | 40,609 |
| York, | 26,970 | 1,000 | 2,853 | 30,823 |
| Montreal, | 26,480 | 11,058 | | 37,538 |
| Effingham, | 15,625 | 300 | | 15,928 |
| Leinster, | 22,697 | | 165 | 22,862 |
| Warwick, | 16,714 | | 42 | 16,756 |
| St. Maurice, | 18,300 | 582 | | 18,882 |
| Hampshire, | 12,700 | | | 12,700 |
| Quebec, | 22,339 | 6,000 | | 27,339 |
| Northumberland, | 11,038 | 200 | | 11,238 |
| Orleans, | 4,082 | | | 4,082 |
| Total, | 364,411 | 34,400 | 26,705 | 1,125,516 |

| | | |
|--|-----|----------------|
| Add to this Clergy and Nuns, in the | | |
| District of Quebec, | 217 | |
| do. of Three Rivers, | 52 | |
| do. of Montreal, | 180 | 449 |
| Suppose a mean of 100 parishes having from | | } 1500 |
| 10 to 20 Protestants not above included | | |
| Making in all a grand total of | | <u>427465.</u> |

This statement, though somewhat greater than the reality must be regarded as being tolerably perfect, when the materials on which it is grounded are taken into deliberate consideration. The census, as taken in pursuance of the act of 1825, though not published, in a manner so full and particular as that of 1784, was laid before the public as follows :

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| County of Bedford, | 23412 | County of Leinster,..... | 19757 |
| — Buckingham,..... | 33620 | — Montreal,..... | 37252 |
| — Cornwallis,..... | 20012 | — Northumberland,..... | 11307 |
| — Dorchester,..... | 19707 | — Orleans,..... | 4022 |
| — Devon,..... | 11342 | — Quebec,..... | 28917 |
| — Effingham,..... | 14921 | — Richelieu,..... | 36328 |
| — Gaspé,* | 2104 | — Surrey,.. | 11578 |
| — Hertford,..... | 14044 | — Saint Maurice,..... | 21087 |
| — Hampshire, | 13285 | — Warwick,..... | 15935 |
| — Huntington,..... | 39586 | — York,..... | 30198 |
| — Kent, | 11265 | | |
| | | | <u>Total 420,679</u> |

* From Cape Chat to Mackrel Point only.

This amount is less than the statement made by Mr. Bouchette⁹ by 6786 souls.

XII. Before quitting the subject of the population of the Province, we may casually mention the number of emigrants which have arrived in the Province during a period of seven years, for by these means the population has been principally increased. A comparative statement of the number of settlers which have arrived at the port of Quebec, from 1818 to 1825, is as follows :

| | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| 1819, | 1820, | 1821. | 1822, | 1823, | 1824, | 1825. |
| 12,907 | 11,239 | 8,050 | 10,468 | 10,258 | 6,515 | 9,097. |

This gives an aggregate amount for the seven years of 68,584..... Of this number, probably one third has remained in Lower Canada, forming principally that class of tradesmen, journeymen and day labourers, that live in the towns of Quebec and Montreal ; some of them have taken up new land, but in Lower Canada, from the existing laws with regard to the seigniorial

tenures in the greatest part of this Province, they are not so numerous as might be imagined or wished for. A third may have gone to the United States, and the remaining third may be settled in Upper Canada.

XIII. During the latter portion of the year 1824, and the whole of 1825 an extraordinary anxiety for entering into schemes, no matter of what nature or intent, was manifested throughout England. Among the 276 schemes, which it has been stated were broached, it is not to be wondered that Canada, a Province of Great Britain, should become the scene of many of the speculations of the English capitalists. We therefore find that there was formed in London, an association under the name of the "*Canada and Nova Scotia Steam Navigation Company*," whose prime object, is, we believe, sufficiently made known by the title just given. This company, formed under the direction of persons of the first respectability in London connected with American colonial affairs, encouraged principally by the rewards held out by the Legislatures of the two Provinces, was established with a capital of £50,000, and had for its object the establishment of a regular line of steam packets from Quebec to Halifax, touching at the intermediate ports of Miramichi, Richibucto, Perce, &c. by which it was supposed that Halifax would in time become a depot for West Indian and Canadian produce, and that the Post office department would be materially benefited by the proposed communication. This company appointed agents in Canada to obtain the co-operation of persons resident in this country, who might be supposed to be more warmly interested in the measure, but we are not aware that the company have at present any intention of putting in operation their plan. A *Canada Shipbuilding Company* was likewise formed, having a capital of £500,000, raised in 10,000 shares of £50 each, having for its object the building and erecting of vessels of various descriptions, in this country, and afterwards selling the same on arrival in England. Under the superintendance of Messrs. Maitland, Garden & Auldjo, their agents at Montreal, three vessels of a very superior description, were launched at the close of the year 1825, and the keels of three more immediately laid down. The advantages derived from this company have been found to be very great, for besides the quantity of men that are by its means found in employment during the most inclement part of the year, the large capital invested in making use of the internal resources of a colony where capital is so much to be desired, and the necessary increase of activity given to trade and commerce, consequent on the increase of means in the country, are not the least of the interesting points of view in which the *Canada Shipbuilding Com-*

pany, can be regarded by the well wishers of this Province.— The *Canada Land Company*, which had been formed the preceding year in London, and received its charter in consequence of an act of the Imperial Parliament as already stated, in pursuance of their important designs, dispatched as commissioners to the Upper Province to examine the lands for the purchase of which the Company were on terms with the British Government, John Galt, (the Secretary, and we believe, the founder of the Company,) John Davidson, and Simon M'Gillivray, Esquires, Sir John Harvey and Colonel Cockburn, the most of whom during their stay at York, obtained a mass of information on the subject of the Crown and Clergy lands, connected with the Company's views and intentions, and returned to England in the month of May following. The Companies which we have thus mentioned, were all connected with the trade and commerce of the country, and if put into full and complete operation, might greatly benefit in a physical point of view, the interests of the Colony, but the Society which we would now allude to, had not for one of its objects, the individual benefit of its members, as those which have preceded it, but the moral and religious improvement of the inhabitants of Canada was its mainspring. This Society was formed in Glasgow, with the object of sending ministers, teachers and catechists to those settlers in British North America, that professed the faith of the established Church of Scotland, amounting in number to nearly 40,000, among whom at present there are only 14 clergymen. This association was patronized by the EARL OF DALHOUSIE, then present, a nobleman who has ever been found liberal in the extreme, when the interests of religion, or the moral improvement of a people require his patronage and support. The year past was, we understand, principally employed in correspondence with persons in different parts of the colonies, in order that the society might be possessed of accurate information concerning the religious wants of those inhabitants of the British North American Provinces, which it was the intention of the society to relieve. The association is under the direction of the most respectable clergymen of the Scottish Church, and is patronized and supported by many distinguished characters.

XIV. The benefits to be derived from the Canada Land Company, were so manifestly great, the known intentions of that Company only to direct its views to the Upper Province, and the immense tracts of excellent land in the townships of the Lower Province, remaining vacant and waste for want of the necessary means to cultivate the same, induced a number of the inhabitants of Montreal and Quebec to associate

themselves under the title of the *Lower Canada Land Company*, with the hope that by the co-operation of monied men in London, they might be enabled to make arrangements with the British Government for the purchase of such disposable lands as might be suitable to their purposes. The objects of the company were to open roads, build mills, churches and school houses; to dispose of the lands to emigrants and others; to afford information in Great Britain to all persons intending to emigrate and transmit their funds; information and every facility to emigrants on their arrival at Quebec, with intentions to settle on the company's lands, and finally to promote all general improvements in the Province, such as turnpikes, railroads, and canals. The Clergy Reserves were estimated by the Company at 500,000 acres, the Crown Reserves 500,000, the ungranted lands in surveyed townships 2,000,000, the ungranted lands in townships not yet surveyed 1,000,000, making a total of 4,000,000 acres, which at the present time, when lands are not of great value, at two shillings and sixpence an acre, would amount to £500,000. This with an outlay of £100,000 for communications &c. in improving the lands, and another sum of £250,000 for general objects connected with the Company's views, would make a general outlay required to be made by the Company of £850,000. These lands, after being partially cleared, the communication from them to a ready market completed, and receiving the improvement in value which would result from the erection of mills, &c. might be disposed of, at the rate of 7s. 6d. an acre, on the condition of payment of one fourth of the purchase money on passing the deed of sale, and the remainder in three years with interest. By this calculation the profit in a township of 33,600 acres would be equal to £6900 on an outlay of £6500. The company in their proposals engaged to take all the ungranted lands of the Crown, with the whole or half of the Crown and Clergy Reserves, at a valuation to be fixed by arbitrators; to build a Protestant Church and a school house and a grist and saw mill, in each township where the company may have one half of the soil; and the same in all the townships where they may have all the Clergy and Crown Reserves without any other right of soil; to open roads, build bridges throughout each township; to settle the whole or in part in a certain number of years, after the grant was passed; the amount of the valuation money to be paid, one third on receiving the grant, one third in one year, the remainder in two years, but no years payment was to exceed £20,000 currency. In return for these engagements, the company expected the government would incorporate the company; grant the lands required free of expense, and put the company in possession.—

The subscription lists opened in the cities of Montreal and Quebec amounted to 1820 shares or £182,000 of stock, but as the proposed objects of the company would require a capital of £1,000,000 to render its utility more apparent, the Honorable Mr. Felton, one of the Members of the Legislative Council of the Province, was sent by the Company to London, to lay the plans before the British ministry, and to procure, if possible, the active co-operation of the capitalists of the mother country. The result of this mission, is not as yet made known to the public, but it is sincerely to be hoped, that a company, having such extensive views and so admirably adapted for the ultimate prosperity of the Province, should not stop in its career, for want of the concurrence of the government of the mother country ; or for want of the necessary pecuniary support. Another native public association called the St. Lawrence Association, formed the preceding year, during the course of the past season, made several surveys and examinations of the course of the St. Lawrence, in order to establish the practability of their plans. This association proposed by means of various mechanical processes to make the River St. Lawrence and its rapid currents navigable for vessels of small burthens, and drawing little water, by means of towlines, or with the aid of small steam tow boats of thirty or forty horse power, to enable vessels to be drawn through the most rapid parts of their course. This association was formed in Quebec, principally through the exertions of Mr. James George, who having surmounted the prejudice, sometimes fatally experienced by projectors, has very little reason to fear that he will not ultimately obtain that reward which the satisfaction of having created a spirit of general enquiry must confer. The association immediately on its announcing its intentions, was hailed with joy throughout both Provinces, and committees to co-operate with the general committee at Quebec, were appointed at Niagara, Kingston, Cornwall, Coteau du Lac, and Three Rivers, and indeed, along the whole banks of the St. Lawrence. The propositions of the association were approved of by the inhabitants in general, and the plan declared perfectly practicable by the most celebrated practical, civil and military engineers, and received the favorable disposition of the Governor in Chief. By the surveys already made by direction, it would appear that between Lachine and Prescott, there is not quite twelve miles of obstructed navigation, to improve which by means of canals, would probably cost upwards of £200,000, and require several years for completion, whereas the plan contemplated, of having three steam tow boats with chain fixtures &c., might possibly be totally accomplished in one season, and not exceed the cost of

£26000 or £20,000, which independant of other advantages, would accelerate dispatch in all transportation, and render the price of conveying bulky materials at a much more moderate rate subscribed such portion of their pecuniary means, as might than what would be charged, if they had to be conveyed on a canal. The Association presented petitions to the Legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada, praying for an incorporation, but owing to causes which we cannot explain, they did not obtain the conclusions of their petition.

XV. We have already had occasion to allude to the timber ship COLUMBUS. This vessel, after completing her voyage from Quebec to London, where she was an object of great interest during the time she remained there, sailed from the Downs on the 26th April, in ballast for St. Johns N. B. with favourable weather. This weather continued till the 17th May, in *lat.* 46, 54 N. and *long.* 39, 2, when a dreadful storm arose from W. N. W. which caused her to roll in such a manner as to render her quite unmanageable. After some time she sprung a leak which soon gained at the rate of ten feet an hour. Notwithstanding the assistance of her numerous crew and a large steam engine which discharged at the rate of 1400 gallons of water per minute, still they were unable to keep it under. After remaining in this state about eight hours the pumps became choked, and the steam engine unserviceable, from there being from 14 to 16 feet water in the hold. With great difficulty the Captain and his crew were enabled to get on board of a vessel bound to Newfoundland, which very humanly returned to Britain, and landed the captain of the *Columbus* and 73 of her crew at Cork. After Captain Munro had left the *Columbus*, she foundered, and immense rafts of timber supposed to have been parts of her sides, were for some time carried by the currents of the Atlantic. and finally cast on the coast of Ireland.—The insurance affected on the *Columbus* which did not cover the proprietors, was as follows, £5000 at Lloyd's, £2000 at Dundee, £3500 at Glasgow, and £3,000 by the Patriotic Company, making a total of £13,500, which the owners state was not one half of her value. The BARON OF RENFREW, the successor of the vessel whose fate we have just mentioned, and the largest vessel ever built, sailed from Quebec bound to London, on the 23rd August. She was towed from the place she occupied near the falls of Montmorenci, about noon by the Steam Boat Hercules. The tide was about half flood, when she got under weigh, and she proceeded slowly round the west point of the Island of Orleans, and disappeared behind Point Levi at about a quarter before two o'clock. She was accompanied beyond the point by the Malsham and Lauzon Steam Boats, crowded with parties of ladies and gentlemen from Quebec. The party

on board of the *Malsham* had with them the band of the 68th regiment, who with almost the whole crowd assembled on board of the various boats in the river, paid a visit to the *Baron* previous to parting with her behind the Point in tow with the *Hercules*, who proceeded with her as far as the Island of Bic. The wind during the whole period that elapsed after her leaving her anchorage ground, till she got out of sight was up the river, but she, however, hoisted her sails, hauled herself close on the wind, and seemed at intervals to gain on the *Hercules*. When she came abreast of the point of the Island, the scene was grand; her whole length of 309 feet, being distinctly seen from town, and her masts fully crowded with sail; the steam boats accompanying her appeared but as long boats, and many sail boats scarcely discernable. When passing the rear of the lofty rock of Point Levi, her masts and sails towered above, and were visible at each side of it. The contrast exhibited during the short passage were such as to the eye of a painter would have formed an excellent subject for his canvas. The grandeur and beauty of the surrounding scenery, with the city of Quebec contrasted with the wigwams of the Indians of Point Levi in the foreground, while in the back ground the largest ship in the world under full sail, the perfection of the application of steam to the purposes of navigation, and the slender birch canoes, many of which were plying about, the first and certainly a most ingenious, effort of man in a savage state, for water conveyance. The cargo with which the *Baron of Renfrew* was freighted was estimated in tons of measurement as follows:—

| | Tons. |
|---|-------|
| 43634 Deals, average measurement 6 ton per 100 ps. | 2616 |
| 517 Ps. hard wood 30 cubic feet each at 1 11 knees, | 388 |
| 3207 Logs Pine, | 4009 |
| 24659 Pipe staves 24 M. standard, 12 tons per M. | 288 |
| 75765 W. I. staves 75 M. pieces 3 ton per M. | 225 |
| 84 Masts at an average of 24 ins. each 8 ton per M. | 672 |
| 337 Spars, do. do, 2 tons per M. | 674 |
| 4788 Ash oar rafters 24 ps. 1 ton per M. | 206 |
| 23098 Ps. lathwood 160 ps. cord is 144 cord, 3 ton per M. | 432 |
| 34852 Tree nails, 4000 of 12 inches make a load, | 12 |

Amount of Cargo in tons,

9515

If the measurement of the *BARON OF RENFREW* was about 5000 tons, taking the usual Quebec allowance of 5000 feet in the rough, for every hundred tons measurement, there were upwards of 6000 tons of timber wrought up in the construction of this immense floating fabric. This vessel, after her departure, was spoken by numerous vessels, and although it had been falsely reported that she had been lost on the banks of New-

foundland during a heavy gale, she made the English coast, and went on the Long sand near Harwich, during the night of the 14th October. After various methods being employed, she was made to float on the 18th and proceeded on her voyage, drawing 36 feet water, in tow of two steam boats, after having been partly lightened of her cargo at Harwich, previous to her floating. By severe gales which she experienced in her passage to Gravesend, she was driven into the North seas, and was obliged to be abandoned by 56 of her crew, when drifting between the Falls and the Flemish bank, leaving still on board 26 of her crew. Two English cutters were ready to render any assistance that was possible. On the 22d, the remainder of the crew arrived at Dover, having left the Baron on the French coast, near Gravelines, where she soon after went to pieces. The speculation proved so very losing to the builders, that they soon afterwards disposed of their ship building establishment, and all their tools, implemouts &c. at the Isle of Orleans, where those timber ships had been constructed.

XVI. In the month of September the Huron Indians, Nicholas Vincent *Tsawouenhouhi*, principal Christian Chief and Captain of the Huron Nation settled at Lorc'te near the city of Quebec, André Romain *Tsonuhissen* and Stanislas Hotska, *Aruthaha*, principal Chiefs of the Council, and Michel Tsioui *Teacheadale** Chief, of the warrior, returned to their native county, after having spent about six months principally in London, where they were received with great attention from many respectable individuals and were objects of curiosity to all who visited them. The object of their visit to England was, by laying their petition immediately before His Majesty's Government, they might be enabled to obtain possession of the Seigniorie of Sylleiry near the city of Quebec, which was granted to their ancestors by the French sovereign in 1651. The extension of various settlements and the incursions of many other savage tribes upon the hunting grounds of the Hurons, (to prevent which every application, that has been made has hitherto failed,) had destroyed their chase, and consequently their means of subsistence, and the nation, upon the supposition that they would receive a decisive answer to their claims to the possession of Sylleiry,

* These names whose orthography is rather strange, are said to be expressive of certain qualities, such as are used by all the Indian tribes on the American Continent, *TSAWOUEHOUHI*, is said to mean *dipping into the water*; *TSONAHISSEN*, *well beaten path*; *TEACHEANDALE*, *two names*; *ARATHAHA*, *ascending*; interpretations which must appear strange to our civilized ears.

subscribed such portion of their pecuniary means as might enable their Chiefs to go to England, and obtain redress from his Majesty for their grievances. During the course of their stay in England, they were introduced by Sir John Chapman and Irving Brock, (the brother of the lamented Sir Isaac Brock, who fell at Queenston, during the last American war,) to His Majesty at Windsor, when His Majesty conversed with them for some time in the French language and gave them many presents, which they received with the utmost gratitude. They attended at various meetings, and at the laying of the corner stone of the new London Bridge, their presence giving some interest to the ceremony. The seigniory of Syllery was granted them in the year before mentioned, with the proviso that they were to be under the curatorship of the Jesuit missionaries.—When in 1797 the last of the Jesuits died, the Huron Indians claimed these lands in a memorial to Sir Robert Prescott, who referred it to the Attorney General, from whom it received an unfavourable report. To Sir George Prevost they again presented their memorial, and through Col. Bouchette, an application was made to His Majesty's government, but without success in either of the cases. These unsuccessful applications determined them on sending a mission to England. We have not heard with what success their claims have been listened to by His Majesty's Ministers, but it is earnestly to be hoped, that, if any grievances do exist with regard to their temporal possessions, speedy redress should be granted them and that the thirty years perseverance which they have shown in support of these demands should be finally answered and rewarded, if they have just claims to the possession of the Syllery lands; and in the event that these lands prove insufficient for their support, that a new tract of land be given to a race of men once the lords of the soil, now degraded into a needy race of harmless, inoffensive beings, and thus reduced principally by the encroachments of the Europeans.

XVII. His Majesty's Government being well aware of the great importance of Canada in a military point of view, in the case of a rupture and consequent war with the United States of America, have at various periods, expended large sums of money in fortifying such natural positions or important posts as the defence of the country would require, in case of an invasion. In order to ascertain whether these fortifications were perfect, and sufficient for the purposes for which they were required, and also to point out any position where new fortifications might with advantage be erected, a commission of some officers of the Royal Engineers of superior knowledge and known talents in

the art of military defence, were ordered to visit the Canadian Provinces, as well as all the other Colonial establishments in British North America. These commissioners were Lieut. Col. Sir James Carmichael Smyth, Bart, Major Sir George C. Hoste and Captain Harris, all of the Royal Engineers. After having visited the fortifications of this Province, they proceeded to Nova Scotia, and from thence returned to England. We have not been able to ascertain accurately what the nature of their report on their return was, but should suppose, that the suggestions of such experienced officers, guided by their personal observations, will be attended to; so that the old fortifications by undergoing a thorough repair and those which it may be found necessary to erect, will place this Province, so valuable to the mother country, in such a state of defence, as to enable us to meet with success at any future period, the invaders of our country.

XVII. The Ecclesiastical government of the Church of England in the Province, underwent some change occasioned by the decease of the very worthy Right Reverend JACOB MOUNTAIN D. D. Lord Bishop of Quebec. This death, so much lamented by the extensive diocese over which he had presided, for a length of time with honour to himself and benefit to his numerous flock, took place on the 16th June at Marchmont near Quebec, the seat of Sir John Harvey, Deputy Adjutant General of the Canadas, but in the absence of its proprietor, latterly occupied by his Lordship. He was the first Protestant Prelate appointed to the Canadas, over whose ecclesiastical government he had presided for nearly thirty two years. He died in his 75th year, of a general decay of nature, occasioned by an attack on his face and head, which rendered him incapable of mastication, and by a hurt of upwards of fifteen years standing. In 1793 His late Majesty induced by the great increase of the Protestant population in both Provinces, whose clerical wants became every day more manifest, erected the Canadas into a Diocese according to the established rules of the Church of England, and Dr. Mountain, whose intimate acquaintance with the first religious characters of the day, and whose well known talents and moral worth published his fitness for the charge, was appointed to the Diocese of Quebec, principally on the recommendation of the Bishop of Winchester, (Tomline) whose friendship he ever possessed. In the course of the various visitations of the Diocese which he performed, he underwent the greatest hardships and sufferings with the utmost composure and resignation. Before closing this short notice of this excellent prelate, it may not be improper to give the following extract, giving a short but perfect statement of the

qualities of the late lamented Prelate, taken from the Christian Remembrancer, (a London Monthly publication,) for September, 1825: "His relations and friends, indeed, will always remember him with most reverential affection, and all who knew him, with respect. The poor will mourn him as a benefactor of no common generosity, and "the blessing of him that was ready to perish" will mix itself, to embalm his memory, with the surviving attachments of dependents, and the thankful recollections of many whom he has soothed in affliction, relieved in embarrassment, advised in perplexity, withheld from imprudence, reconciled in estrangement from their brethren, or led by the hand in the way of Truth. Those who have known him in public business of the Province will acknowledge no less his readiness and talent, than his firmness, his integrity, his *droiture d'âme*, his singleness of purpose, his consistency of conduct: and those with whom he acted in concert will own, that there were times when others leaned upon him in difficulty, borrowed strength from his example, and counted upon him to preserve things in their proper course.' His services upon some important occasions as a member, *ex officio* of both the executive and legislative councils of the Province, have been most handsomely acknowledged by His Majesty's Representatives.— In the former capacity he sat frequent in the Court of Appeals, and in whatever he undertook, was a faithful and laborious servant of the public and of the crown. He had latterly, however, retired from all but professional occupation, and long before he wholly retired, had a strong dislike to secular business. With regard to other points, he was eminently a scholar, a gentleman, a companion, a domestic guide and comforter; and united, in a most remarkable manner, qualities which commanded respect and even awe, with a cheerful affability, and often a playfulness, which threw a charm about his society. He had a delicate and cultivated taste, and excelled, in early life, in many accomplishments, which he had discarded as trifles when he became a Bishop in the Church of Christ. Never, however, was a character more perfectly *genuine*: more absolutely elevated above all artifice or pretension; more thoroughly averse from all flourish or ostentation in religion, and for that reason, perhaps, his character was not by all parties fully appreciated, in the day in which his lot was cast. He was friendly, at the same time, both from feeling and principle, to all exterior gravity and decorum in sacred things; and in his own public performance of the functions proper to the Episcopal office, the commanding dignity of his person, the impressive seriousness of his manner, and the felicitous propriety of his utterance, gave the utmost effect and development to the beautiful services of the

Church. In the pulpit, it is perhaps not too much to say, that the advantage of his fine and venerable aspect, the grace, the force, the solemn fervor of his delivery,—the power and happy regulation of his tones,—the chaste expressiveness and natural significance of his action, combined with the strength and clearness of his reasoning, the unstudied magnificence of his language, and that piety, that rooted faith in his REDEEMER, which was, and shewed itself to be, pregnant with the importance of its subject, and intent upon conveying the same feeling to others,—made him altogether a preacher, who has never, in modern times, been surpassed." His Lordship was succeeded in his Episcopal office, by the Honorable and Reverend CHARLES STEWART, D. D. brother of the Right Honorable the Earl of Galloway, who had previously enjoyed the offices of Chaplain to the late Bishop and Missionary for the Diocese, a clergyman whose activity in the cause of religion, and anxiety for the religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of Canada, have been displayed by the unwearied exertions which he has made to gain those points, especially in the Townships of the Lower Province. Dr. Stewart was consecrated to his See on the 1st. day of January, in presence of many of the most celebrated of the Ecclesiastical functionaries of the mother country. The death of the Protestant Bishop did not long precede that of MONSEIGNEUR JOSEPH OCTAVE PLESSIS, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Province, who on the 4th of December at Quebec, terminated his mortal career. In the decease of this Prelate, his Church has to lament an able, temperate, yet zealous indefatigable chief; his flock a humane, benevolent and charitable pastor, ever alive to their wants and prompt to administer to their sufferings, and the King a tried and loyal subject; there was in short among all classes and persuasions, but one sentiment of regret for the loss and respect and veneration for the memory of this benevolent Christian and truly exemplary character. His remains were conveyed with all the civil and military honors from the Hospital General where he had closed his life, to the Chapel of the *Hotel Dieu*, and from thence on the day of interment to the Parish Church of the Upper town, where he was interred on the right of the altar, in presence of the Governor in Chief and heads of all the various departments and an immense concourse of inhabitants, who all wished to express the high opinion they entertained of the zeal, charity and loyalty for which he was not more conspicuous than he was for the talents which adorned the high and important office he had so ably discharged since 1806. He was succeeded by MONSEIGNEUR BERNARD CLAUDE PANET, who had acted as his coadjutor under the title of the Bishop of Salades in Mau-

ritania, and *Messire Joseph Signay*, the Curate of Quebec and one of the Vicar Generals of the Diocese, was elected to the office of the coadjutor. It is generally understood that Bishop Panet will, from his extreme age, shortly retire from his situation, and in a regular course, the present coadjutor will succeed him.

XIX. Some alteration also took place in the judicial functionaries of the Province. In consequence of the retirement of the Honorable Mr. James Monk, (now Sir James Monk,) from the situation of Chief Justice for the District of Montreal, the Lieutenant Governor on the 3d February by letters patent in consequence of a mandamus from His Majesty, appointed the Honorable James Reid, formerly Puisné Judge of the same district to the vacant office. Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, Esquire the Attorney General of the Province was at the same time promoted to the vacant seat on the bench, and James Stuart, Esquire, a barrister and advocate of the Province, (who had previously filled the office of Solicitor General,) was appointed Attorney General in the place of Mr. Uniacke. A short time previous the Lieutenant Governor had in a similar manner conferred the office of Solicitor General, vacant by the resignation of Charles Marshall, Esquire, upon Charles Richard Ogden, Esquire, a barrister and advocate, resident in Montreal, and son of the late Honorable David Ogden, one of the Judges of the District of Montreal. These gentlemen have all taken the oaths of office, and entered upon the duties attached to their respective situations, with the exception of Mr. Justice Uniacke, who has now leave of absence from the Province.

XX. Disputes have arisen between the Provincial Legislature of Upper and Lower Canada, and discussions of consequence have frequently taken place concerning the amount of the share of duties leviable at Quebec on goods entering that port which ought to belong to the Upper Province. As this question has caused much ill blood between the two Provinces, of latter years, a short statement follows of what has already occurred, previous to its final adjustment. The Upper Canadian Legislature, have always claimed a share of those duties on the ground that as the whole of the goods entered at Quebec were not consumed in Lower Canada, but partly passed into the Upper Province, which had no sea port where it might collect its own duties. By an act of the Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada of the 34 Geo. III, cap. 3, (1793) shortly after the division of the ancient Province of Quebec into two separate Provinces, James McGill, Francis Malhiot, John Richardson, Joseph Papineau and James Walker, Esquires, were appointed Commissioners on the part of the Lower Province to meet these

of Upper Canada and settle the amount of duties, and the payment of drawbacks which was of right due and belonging to the Upper Province. These Commissioners met at Montreal, and on the 18th of February, 1794, by their agreement a sum of £333 4s. 2d. was given to Upper Canada for its share of the duties levied at the port of Quebec on wines imported in the years 1793 and 1794, and in future it was directed that of all duties imposed or to be imposed on goods, wares and merchandize entering the Lower Province, one-eighth should be given to Upper Canada, and the remaining seven-eighths to the Lower Province. This agreement was to last till the 31st. December 1796, and was ratified by the Legislature of the Lower Province by an act of the session in 1795, (Geo. III. 35 cap. 3.) By an act of the same year (Geo. III, 35 cap. 9,) new duties were directed to be levied on goods imported at Quebec, and one eighth of the amount, after deducting all expences, was directed to be given to the Province of Upper Canada. In the session of 1796, an act (Geo. III, 36 cap. 6,) was passed, granting to the above named gentlemen, the same power as above, and for the purpose of continuing the agreements already entered into, of entering into new arrangements if necessary. These Commissioners met at Montreal, and on the 28th of January, 1797, entered into certain articles of agreement which were ratified by an act of the same year, (Geo. III, 37 cap. 3.) This act, besides continuing the former articles of agreement, made arrangements concerning the appropriation of the duties leviable in Upper Canada on goods imported from the Lower Province, and in Lower Canada on goods coming from Upper Canada, but from the agreement lastly entered into by the Commissioners not being ratified by the Provincial Legislature of Upper Canada, the act became virtually null and void. In consequence of which the Parliament of the Lower Province by the 38 Geo. III, cap. 4, repealed *in toto* the act of the 36 Geo. III, cap. 6, and in the stead of its provisions enacted that John Lees, Louis Charles Foucher, Alexander Auldjo, Joseph Papineau, Thomas Coffin, and Joseph Perinault, Esquires, should be Commissioners to treat with those of Upper Canada on the same subject as before. To obviate however, the difficulties that might arise from the non-receipt of the sums due to Upper Canada by the unratified articles of agreement, the Lower Provincial Legislature voted them the amount as if the same had been perfectly and completely ratified by both Legislatures. The additional articles which these commissioners entered into at Montreal on the 11th February 1799, were ratified in Lower Canada, by the 39 Geo. III, cap. 4, and continued such proportions of duties as had been previously arranged between the

Provinces. As these articles of agreement expired on the 1st day of March 1801, the Legislature in 1800 by the 40 Geo. III, cap. 4, appointed James M'Gill, Joseph Papineau, John Richardson, Joseph Perinault, John Lees, Louis Charles Foucher, Thomas Coffin, and Maurice Blondeau, Esquires, to continue the articles of agreement as had been previously entered into, and to make such new arrangements as might be found necessary. By the 41 Geo. III, cap. 4, the agreements entered into by these commissioners at Quebec, on the 2nd February 1801, were ratified and confirmed, and by it the agreement of the 28th January 1797, and the act of 37 Geo. III, cap. 3, were put into full force and continued till the 1st March 1805. To prevent the expiration of these later agreements—by the act of the 44 Geo. III, cap. 1, James M'Gill, John Lees, John Richardson, Joseph Papineau, Joseph Perinault, Maurice Blondeau, Louis Guy, and Samuel Gerrard, Esquires, were vested with similar powers as to those already mentioned, and at their meeting at Montreal on the 5th day of July 1804, having taken into consideration and maturely deliberated upon the objects of their appointment, and finding that no material alteration had taken place, in the relative situation of the two Provinces, so as to require any change in the existing provisions, came to the agreement of continuing in force the former arrangements till the 1st of March 1809. This agreement was ratified by the Lower Canadian Legislature, by the 45 Geo. III, cap. 2, and again continued to the 25th day of March, 1811, by the 48 Geo. III, cap. 5, to the 1st March 1814, by the 51st Geo. III, cap. 8; and to the 1st day of May 1816, by the 54 Geo. III, cap. 6, when it expired. But in the year 1817, by the 57 Geo. III, cap. 5, John Davidson, Samuel Sherwood, Thomas M'Cord, Austin Cuvillier, and Denis Benjamin Viger, Esquires, were appointed commissioners to meet those that might be appointed in a like manner in Upper Canada, in order that new arrangements might be entered into on the subject of the duties, which ought to accrue to Upper Canada, but which had not been allowed since the expiration of the former agreement, and by the 57 Geo. III, cap. 6, a sum of £20,000 was voted to the Province of Upper Canada for part payment of their share to be afterwards determined by the commissioners. The provisional articles of agreement made and entered into by these commissioners at Montreal on the 31st day of May were ratified by the Lower Canadian Parliament by the act of the 58 Geo. III, cap. 4, by which agreement one fifth part of all the duties collected under and by virtue of the 14 Geo. III, and imposed or to be imposed by any provincial acts, on goods entering the Lower Province, should be remitted annually to

the Province of Upper Canada; and it was also agreed that the Legislature of Upper Canada should not impose any duties whatever on any goods, &c., imported into Lower Canada, and passing into Upper Canada, but would allow and admit the Legislature of Lower Canada to levy such duties as they might judge expedient on all goods excepting those which came from Upper Canada. This agreement expired on the 1st day of July 1819. Since this period the disputes between the two Legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada have principally taken place. By the 1st Geo. IV, cap. 9, Louis Joseph Papineau, Austin Cuvillier, John Davidson, John Neilson, and George Garden, Esquires, were appointed commissioners with similar powers as their predecessors, and for the same purpose. The commissioners could not agree upon what proportion should be given to Upper Canada as that Province by their commissioners claimed certain arrearages which were not allowed by the Parliament of Lower Canada. The report of the commissioners was laid before the House of Assembly by Mr. Davidson, on the 5th January 1821, and that body on the 16th February following passed certain resolutions on the subject, the substance of which are as follows; that as the amount of goods imported into Lower Canada and passed into Upper Canada for consumption, had sensibly diminished each year, to the prejudice of British trade, principally by the circumstance of those goods being smuggled from the United States of America, or manufactured within the Province, the Upper Province could not and ought not to claim a greater proportion of duties than before, for the comparative numbers of the population of the two Provinces could not under such existing circumstances, afford data sufficiently correct to ascertain the relative consumption of dutiable articles in the two Provinces: that the refusal on the part of the Upper Canadian commissioners to cause to be ascertained the amount of goods passing into the Upper Province from Lower Canada, (a stipulation they declared impossible to be performed,) by which the amount of goods charged with duty in Lower Canada and carried for consumption into Upper Canada, might more effectually be made known, manifested on their part no desire to come to an equitable arrangement of the existing difficulties: that the loss sustained by the Lower Province in the amount of duties which had already been paid to Upper Canada, being possibly greater than what was originally levied on the goods brought through the Lower into the Upper Province, rendered it inexpedient for the future to agree to any proportion of duties levied in Lower Canada to be paid to Upper Canada. These resolutions in many instances so contrary to reason, fact, or good faith, by tying up

the purse strings, which had hitherto supplied the Upper Province, caused much ill will to be felt by that Province towards the Lower Canadian Legislature, and a war of words took place that ended in the provisions made by the act of the Imperial Parliament, 3, Geo. IV, cap. 119, by which it was enacted, that each Province by its governor or administrator should name an arbitrator, by commission under the great seal of the Province, and these arbitrators were directed to appoint a third arbitrator, and in case of their non-agreement on that head within one month, His Majesty was authorized to appoint the umpire, who was to be a person resident in neither of the Provinces. The Provincial acts raising duties on goods entering the Province, which had been allowed to expire, were virtually re-enacted, and one-fifth of all the duties raised by them was directed to be given over to Upper Canada. The arbitrators were the Honorable John Hale, on the part of the Lower, and the Honorable James Baby, on that of the Upper Province, who appointed Robert Morrogh, Esquire, of Quebec, their umpire in case of dispute. The object of these arbitrators were to listen to all the demands made by the two Legislatures on each other, but principally the claims made by Upper Canada, for a greater proportion of duties than one fifth, and for arrearages due for former years, and by their final award the Provinces were to be entirely governed. By their award which by the act already recited was to continue in force till the month of July 1824, they gave to Upper Canada one fourth of the duties in Lower Canada in lieu of all claims made on their part. The act also directed that at the expiration of this agreement or award, persons should again be appointed for a like purpose and likewise every four years, to ascertain what further proportion should be given, to be guided in their decisions by the comparative civil expenditure of each Province. The Honorable John Richardson, for the Province of Lower Canada, and the Honorable James Baby, for that of Upper Canada, were appointed by the respective Governors, but owing to some neglect, the third arbitrator required by the act was not agreed upon, and it was not till the month of March 1825, that the Honorable Ward Chipman, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and Speaker of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, was appointed by His Majesty, such umpire. These gentlemen, having met at Montreal during the course of the summer, examined their respective powers, and deliberated on the subject before them, rendered an award in favour of Upper Canada of one fourth, and their decision being final and absolute, remains in force for four years, when according to the provisions of the

Imperial act, a new examination must take place and the great increase of population in Upper Canada, which takes place even in so short a period of time, will then justify the commissioners in giving to Upper Canada one third of the duties raised in the Province.

XXI. The extended generosity and very liberal intentions of the inhabitants of the Provinces of Canada, and the brotherly feeling they have always displayed either in the prosperity or misfortunes of the sister Provinces in British North America, were strikingly displayed during the course of the year whose annals we are now collecting. During the course of the month of October, the Province of New Brunswick was visited by one of the most awful calamities that can befall a country. It seemed as if some avenging spirit had passed over its boundless forests, and touched with the sins of its inhabitants, had called to his aid, the very elements, that man might feel the weight of his displeasure. On the 7th of the month the town of *Miramichi*, exhibited the terrific spectacle of a general conflagration. Rumbling noises were distinctly heard in the north, a pitchy darkness enveloped all the country around; at length sparks and cinders began to fall from the skies; a dreadful storm arose, and pouring down the phials of its wrath, brought with it immense masses of flames, cinders, ashes, and hot sand, and scoured the settlements with such an amazing and devastating rapidity, that it was difficult in many instances to save life, much less any description of property. To describe the scene at this awful period is beyond the powers of language. The flames were of such magnitude and so furious, that they seemed unlike the ordinary fires of this world; whenever they grasped a building, instantaneous destruction was the consequence, and the shrieks of the flying inhabitants, the bellowing of the terrified horses, cattle, &c. the roaring of the universal conflagration, and the general illumination, presented a scene that can scarcely be imagined, much less described in words.— At *Douglaston*, scarcely any property escaped its ravages.—Stores containing provisions, vessels on the stocks, houses, &c., all were destroyed in one moment, scarcely leaving time to the unfortunate inhabitants to escape. At *Newcastle* the greatest desolation took place, for the whole town with the exception of a few buildings were consumed, and miles in the interior, where but a few hours before, the busy hum of extensive trade was heard, now became a barren wilderness. The cattle in all quarters were destroyed or suffered greatly; the soil itself became parched and burnt up; no provisions were saved; the waters, to which many of the wretched sufferers fled, seemed to betray them, for numbers of lives were lost in vain attempts to cross

the streams in slender conveyances; vessels in the rivers were consumed; immense bodies of ignited timber, trees from the forest and parts of flaming houses and stores were borne on by the force of the hurricane. The ravages were no less considerable at *Fredericton*, where an immense value of property was destroyed. The hearts of those who resided in the unfortunate Province sickened at the sight of widows, widowers and orphans without cloathing, homes, or means of subsistence, searching for a husband, wife, father or other relation of whom they know not whether they were added to the already numerous list of those who were devoured by the flames or perished on the waters, or yet existed to pass a miserable winter. When the immense tract of country thus laid waste; the great number of human beings cast from a state of comparative comfort and ease, to misery and wretchedness, and the appalling circumstances with which it was attended, are calmly considered; it will certainly be acknowledged that no history extant can be found which records a more awful visitation of Providence. It was in such a situation of unparalleled distress and calamity, that the hand of humanity was extended to alleviate the miseries attendant on such a devastation, and administered balm to the torn feelings and necessities of those who had been in this most distressing manner, deprived of their all, and cast beggars on the world. When the accounts arrived at Quebec, and the despatches from Sir Howard Douglas, the worthy Lieutenant governor of the suffering colony, were made known, a Committee was appointed to collect subscriptions and their activity deserved the highest credit. The Governor in Chief, the Earl of Dalhousie, chartered the *St. Lawrence*, a large regular trading ship, to convey a cargo of £8000 value to the destitute sufferers, consisting of cloathing, provisions and other necessaries, and advanced from the military chest a sum of £2500 for their relief. At Montreal, the appeal to the charity of the public was not made in vain. The first particulars known on the subject was at a meeting of merchants, proprietors in the steam tow boat *Hercules*, who immediately subscribed £350. This sum was very speedily augmented to nearly £1500. In Upper Canada and other parts of the Lower Province, the feeling of commiseration was no less sincerely displayed. The Legislature of Upper Canada passed a bill granting £500 for the relief of the sufferers, declaring that they felt for them as brethren, and in this instance were only returning the sums which were so liberally raised in that colony after the late war, when Upper Canada required relief after suffering severely from the ravages of an invading enemy. And the Lower Provincial Legislature at the first opportunity they possessed, in the session of 1826, liberally granted the

sums from their Provincial Revenue which had been advanced by the Governor in Chief. While noticing the feeling displayed in the Canadas for the unparelled sufferings of the inhabitants of New Brunswick, though not connected with the matter before us, we should be very void of the respect usually due on such occasions, were we not to notice that large sums were collected in many other parts of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the United States of America, the latter of whom, have again displayed those benevolent feelings, which they had formerly shewn to the suffering members of that great family, from which they had originally sprung;—and in Great Britain, the land of universal charity, the claims of New Brunswick, were not unheeded, for, at almost all the principal towns, large sums were speedily raised. From the various documents which have emanated from Sir Howard Douglas and the Committee appointed to distribute the monies collected, it appears that the most lively gratitude is expressed by the people of New Brunswick to all their benefactors, for the seasonable and liberal relief they then experienced.

XXII. The oldest inhabitants of the Province have invariably stated that never in the course of their recollection was travelling so very general, as during the past summer. This would seem to point out, that either the sublimity and grandeur of the scenery of the country, the institutions which it possesses, the novelty to many of our southern neighbours of passing into a British Province, or the journies performed for the sake of health, at a period when disease reigns in most of the cities of the south, and when nature is decked out in all her beautiful attire, displaying traits worthy of the observation of those who are confined to the ordinary pursuits of residents in a town, have made Canada an object of more general estimation than it was wont to be. During the whole season, the numerous Hotels of the principal towns of Canada were filled, and all public conveyances crowded with strangers, travelling for pleasure, health or business. Accommodation in many instances was not to be had, and all the substitutes and shifts incident to such dilemmas, were necessarily resorted to. Among the other visitors who made the Province of Lower Canada a part of their journey, was His Serene Highness *Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar*, Major General in the service of His Serene Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and second son of the reigning Duke of Saxe Weimar. This stranger is related to the Royal Family of Great Britain, having married in 1816 the Princess *Ida*, sister of the reigning Duke of Saxe Meiningen who is connected by marriage to the Duke of Clarence. The Duke of Saxe Weimar has rendered himself noted for his bravery, having

being present at the battle of Wagram, for which he received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and at the battle of Waterloo where he commanded a part of the troops of the Duke of Nassau. In 1819 he entered the Netherlands' service and became Military Governor of East Flanders. During his stay in the Lower Province, he was received with that attention and those honours which were due to his exalted rank, and noble connections. He was accompanied during the most part of his tour by his suit, as also by Sir Michael and Lady Clare, from the Island of Jamaica. In the month of November the Province was visited by COUNT VIDUA, son of the Prime Minister of the King of Sardinia, accompanied by James Buchanan, Esquire, His Britannic Majesty's Consul at New York. The Count has travelled over the most part of Europe and has commenced a proposed general tour of the continent of America.— In his movements he was very hasty, for after having rapidly visited the principal objects of interest to a stranger, in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, he departed for the Upper Province with the intention of visiting the Falls of Niagara and after descending the River Mississippi from near its source to the ocean, he intended to visit Mexico, and the independent republics of South America. During his short stay in the country, he was materially assisted in his various researches by many gentlemen with whom he became acquainted, and who were well pleased to have it in their power to gratify his intense curiosity and research, and also to become acquainted with the observations he had made on the various nations and countries, which he has in the course of his immense tour visited.

XXIII. The great increase which has taken place in the population of the Province within the last few years and the consequent increased demand for commodities of various sorts, have stimulated many persons to manufacture goods in the Province, which formerly were imported from the mother country, of such a quality and at such a rate as might suit the pecuniary means and the wants of the inhabitants. The great improvement which has taken place in the manufacture of the common cloth of the country is very perceptible, as also in that of coarse linens, druggets, and flannels which are manufactured, in many parts of the District of Montreal especially, of a very superior quality. In the Townships we have been led to understand that an improved breed of sheep, with wool of a superior quality, has been introduced, and the cloth which will be manufactured from it, from the great pains which it is proposed to be given during the whole process of manufacture, will be of a quality never before seen in the country as native manufacture. The very great activity now employed in

the shipbuilding business, has brought with it an increase in the articles forming our native manufactures. The difficulties of supplying vessels with the necessary cordage from the mother country, where the requisite dimensions, strength and quality of the ropes cannot be well known, induced some adventurers to commence near the ship yards a rope walk, where all the necessary cordage for the full equipment of a vessel, might be manufactured under the very eye of the builder and rigger. This undertaking has succeeded as well as might be expected from the commencement of a new line of business, and each succeeding year will find it on the increase. By the establishment of these native manufactories of cordage, the cultivation of hemp in the Provinces for which the soil is very materially adapted, will do more towards encouraging its growth by the Canadian farmers, than the rewards and premiums of different societies, which however laudable their intentions, have not produced the desired effects, while there existed no market for the disposal of the stock that might be raised. The partial loss often sustained by vessels on their passages, and the want of complete sails for vessels built in the Province, have caused manufacturers of these articles to establish themselves in the country for the purpose of supplying the demand which will continue to increase while shipbuilding is carried on to such an extent as it has been during the past year. From the high prices at which rums and other ardent spirits have been sold at during the last two years, numbers of distilleries have sprung up in various parts of the Province, but particularly in the District of Montreal, for the manufacture of whisky. These establishments well deserve notice, for at the same time that they give employment to a number of hands, they not only enable the farmer to find a market for those inferior kinds of grain which the District of Montreal, from the nature of its soil, is calculated to produce, but they also afford from their offals a very large supply of provender for cattle, during the season when such an article is most wanted. Though the number of our present manufactories of staple articles is but small, yet it is to be hoped, that by the encouragements that will be held out by an enlightened Legislature, or by societies constituted for the purpose, this important item in the annals of a country will considerably increase, as it is an important axiom, that as the manufactures of a country increase, so do also its wealth and consequent prosperity.

XXIV. The number of works published in the mother country concerning the Colonial affairs of Canada or in the Province; that have come within our knowledge, is very limited, for this country has within the last few years engaged the attention of

Many travellers, pamphleteers, and other purveyors for the public taste. Guides for emigrants have become almost as numerous as the emigrants themselves, and sketches of our manners, institutions, scenery, constitution &c., are as common as noon day. But this year has apparently been a year of rest, an annual Sabbath, if the expression may be allowed.—The literature of Canada is yet only at a very low state, not from any decline that has occurred to it, but from not having as yet assumed any position, and the assertion of Rochfautcault, that nothing was published in the country except the Quebec Almanack, with a very slight alteration in favor of some trifling pamphlets, is still too true. Of latter years the spirit of literary inquiry has begun to increase, but has not as yet excited itself beyond the production of pamphlets and magazines. At present there are published in Lower Canada 12 periodical vehicles of information—one of which appears quarterly, two monthly, and nine weekly or semi-weekly; of these seven are wholly in the English language, three wholly French, and the remaining two are in both languages. The only publications which issued from the Canadian press during the year 1825, beside those we have just enumerated are only two in number. A warm discussion took place at the commencement of 1825 in the Quebec journals on the financial matters of the Province, and was carried on with great talent by the two champions of the rival parties under the signatures of *Denis* and *Martin*. As these communications were much read at the time, they were re-published in the more convenient form of a pamphlet, but as it is not of the nature of the present undertaking to give an opinion on the nature of the literary productions of the country, we shall forbear dwelling longer on it. A pamphlet was also published at Montreal, being a letter addressed to the Honorable Judge Bowen, by a student at Law, on the subject of some decisions he had rendered in his judicial capacity, concerning the legal language of the country. The style was said, at the time to be very correct, though the reasoning, according to opinion, would appear ill founded or conclusive. Its author was said to be Mr. Augustin N. Morin. Mr. Plamondon, an eminent advocate at Quebec, has announced a work on the civil laws of the Province of Lower Canada, which will be, it is said, speedily published, and from the opinion of persons of high legal information to whom the work has been made known, and to whose statements in such matters, the utmost credit ought to be given, it will form a most desirable addition to the library of the practising advocate, and become an important manual to the student, in a branch of the study of his profession, where such a work is at present very much wanted. To enable the travel-

ler to proceed with amusement, or instruction during his journey through the Canadian Provinces, and to gratify the hunter of the picturesque, with sure and proper guides to the objects of his search, Messrs Wilder & Campbell, of New York, issued from their press a small volume under the title of the "Northern Traveller," which would require to be amended, ere a second edition be allowed to issue, especially as far as regards the itinerary part of Canada. The many episodes into which it occasionally enters, concerning the particulars of the Revolutionary and late wars, where undue praise is given to the powers of the American arms, and undue severity bestowed on the mischances which befel our exertions, while our victories are passed over as if none such had ever occurred, were unnecessary. These trifling faults will, it is hoped be remedied ere another year. We were happy to perceive by a notice in the English papers, that a life of the celebrated Major General James Wolfe, was in preparation, founded on authentic documents. As this biographical memoir will necessarily enter into the details of the siege of Quebec in 1759, and indeed the whole American war at that period, concerning which but very little is known, this work will to those who feel an interest in the past history of the country, prove extremely instructive and interesting; if it will not otherwise be sufficiently so, when it details the particulars of that life that was shed on the plains of Abraham, in the moment of victory, when about to place one of the brightest jewels on the crown of Great Britain, and whose very name is associated with the ideas of every thing that is noble, generous, and brave.

XXV. Having thus shortly and, we fear, imperfectly detailed the principal events that have occurred during the past year, that may be said to be in any manner connected with the future history of the country, we would make many apologies for the numerous imperfections with which it is marked, and for the very hasty and unpremeditated manner in which it has been prepared, were we not sufficiently convinced that matter of fact, and material details, are more generally regarded than beauty of style and purity of composition. The subject is of so much consequence, that we hope in the annals of the succeeding year which, we humbly propose to undertake, more attention and more of the *lucidus ordo* will be found, than may characterise our present production; and it is to be sincerely wished that the Province of Lower Canada may during the year that is now in progress continue to advance towards a higher degree of perfection in moral, literary or political attainment, as she has already done, and that by the prosperity of the country, her inhabitants may continue HAPPY, LOYAL and CONTENTED.

M. P. S. E.

Montreal, February 1825.

RECOLLECTIONS.

*I cannot but remember such things were
That were most precious to me*

SHAKESPEARE.

— But what disturbs Hopes reverie awhile,
What sudden woe arrests the gladden'd soul,
To chill our transports and to cloud our smile ?
'Tis watchful memory wakes her wild controul,
Whose pinions bear us backward to the goal,
Of earliest feeling—pain or happiness,
Ne'er, ne'er can apathy possess us whole ;
And if the breast is not long tenantless,
Say, do its habitants distract, or oft'ner bless ?

Hast'ning on memory's pinions we behold,
That long, long track with ruins overspread ;
The friends and stays of childhood mute and cold,—
The flowers young hope had cherish'd sunk and dead,
Their beauty blighted and their odours fled—
Love's sweet and earliest blossoms languish there,
And droop beneath life's tempests chill and dread—
Once fondly nurtur'd, harm'd not by an air
Of ruder breath—that bloom'd in vernal pride, all fair.

Yes—I have mark'd thy dawn, * when not a cloud
Bedimm'd the azure of thy morning sky :
Ere yet a blast or unkind storm could shroud
Its starry canopy—ere yet a sigh
Had damp'd thy bounding heart or radiant eye ;
In life's fair garden, I have seen thee bloom
Hope's brightest plant—and ah ! I saw thee die—
Flash like a meteor o'er an hour of gloom,
Then leave the sorrowing soul to sicken o'er thy doom.

In the bright hour of promise, ruthless death
Crept with cold horror through thy buoyant soul,
With struggling languor o'er thy thick'ning breath—
It robb'd thee of thy morning bloom, and stole
The laughing spirit of thine eye—dull to its goal
The life-tide wander'd, whilst upon thy brow
Death's gloom was gathering—fast its dull controul
Shadow'd thy blue eye's brightness—lo !
We gaze on smiling *dust*, on beauteous *ashes* now.

* These are in allusion to the death of the late John Bethune MacKenzie, son of Henry MacKenzie, Esqr., who died, after a short illness on the 15th December last, aged about 9 years—a child of few years but of great promise, who blended in a remarkable manner the most engaging qualities of the mind and heart with a peculiar attractiveness of person and manner.

To those fond hearts thou wert the fragile tie —
 Yes, the first link in love's much broken chain—
 Which bound to earth—but ah! that destiny
 Severe and sudden snapp'd the chord again.
 Yet, rays of mercy, 'mid the night of pain,
 Resplendent shine upon our sorrow's tears
 And wake the rainbow, which upon the main
 Of life's vicissitudes, its doubts and fears,
 Betokens joy through heaven's interminable years.

Heaven! yes, there with its great God and Father,
 The heart seeks those on whom it pour'd its love,
 With high assurance that bright seraphs gather
 Those beauteous flowers for fadeless wreaths above—
 Yes, shall he watch—an olive-bearing dove—
 Our tranquil slumbers, till our raptur'd gaze,
 In heav'n shall meet that smile, to bid us move,
 To endless blessings with the just, and raise
 Before Jehovah's throne the ceaseless song of praise.

X. Y. Z.

Sketch of a Tour through various parts of Europe, Asia and Africa, performed during the years 1816 and 1817, and communicated by the author in letters to a friend in Montreal.

No. III.

We left Genoa in a small vessel called a *felucca*, which has sails to waft her when the wind is favourable, and oars to impel her in calm weather. This sort of vessels are common among the Corsairs of Cuba and the neighbouring islands, because they can be navigated in shallow water upon which larger vessels dare not pursue them.* We kept close to the shore which was bold and romantic, and extremely agreeable to view from the sea. We stopped the first night at a place called Porto-Finno; beautiful as to situation, but as to accommodation most miserable. I lay all night on two chests, which, however, custom and travelling had rendered less irksome to both myself and my servant, especially the latter, who was an old soldier, than it would have been to others less used to such hard fare. My friend K—, did not indeed complain much; but his saucy English servant growled all night like a Canadian bear. Next morning our sail was delightful, the shore being in the highest state of cultivation down to the water's edge.—

* See *Canadian Review*, No. 2, art. XIII. p. 433.

About two P. M. we arrived at Porto-Venere, a most ruinous old town and deserted by most of its inhabitants. It is situated on a beautiful and extensive bay, resembling the Chambly basin in Canada, and called the gulph of Spozzia. We were ferried over this bay to a little town called Lerice; and from thence walked three miles to a place called Sarzanna, where the women absolutely quarrelled about the carrying of our baggage to gain a few shillings. This incident will more surprize you, when I assure you, that the fair porters were dressed in silk stockings, velvet stays, and silk sleeves, with golden ear-rings and crosses. It would not appear from this that they were robbed by the French, as had been reported. We hired a carriage next day and went to Carrara, a little town famous for its marble quarries. Here we were gratified with a view of the "sublime art," in all its various stages, from the rude block to the "living form divine." Among other statues, we here found a noble one of Buonaparte in the habit of a Roman Emperor, which, I believe, has since fallen into the hands of his mortal and triumphant enemy, the Duke of Wellington. We also saw a statue of Buonaparte's mother in the character of a Roman matron—a fine Venus by Canova, and a copy of the famous Laocoon which I thought equal to the original. It cost 6000 sequins, or about 2,500 guineas, and was intended for an Englishman. There is a Studio or an Academy at Carrara for young artists, which is sometimes respectably enough attended.

Most part of the next day was occupied in approaching the ancient city of Lucca, the country around which is both naturally beautiful and in a high state of cultivation. Along the road the vines were disposed in beautiful festoons, and were sometimes carried across the road from one tree to another in the most picturesque shapes you can imagine. The roads themselves were excellent, even better than in any part of England; having foot paths and gutterings on each side, they resembled the gravel walks in a nobleman's Park rather than the public highways. The neighbouring hills are studded with a number of fine old castles and small walled towns, which, in conjunction with the lofty Appenines now and then appearing in the distance, formed one of the finest landscapes the imagination can conceive. There is nothing very remarkable about Lucca, with the exception of the Palace, the Cathedral, and the ramparts which surround the town, lined with rows of fine tall trees.—These ramparts, though in good repair, are entirely dismantled; and their principal attraction is the extensive prospect which they command of the surrounding country. After visiting some remains of antiquity, and the warm mineral baths so famous in

the time of the Romans, we proceeded, through a fine country, to Pisa, a city too celebrated for me to describe. The great doors of the Cathedral here are made of brass, beautifully carved and ornamented. Near to the Cathedral is a noble building called the Baptistry, being used only for the rites of baptism. Adjacent to this last building is a curious tower, having a staircase to the top of 230 steps, and five galleries on the outside; but what is most remarkable about it is, that it leans out of the perpendicular upwards of 14 feet outside and 7 feet inside. The common idea is, that it is built in this leaning way as an artificial curiosity; but this is a mistake, for it is evident that it assumed this attitude in consequence of the sinking of its foundation, as the very first step is more than one half sunk in the ground, and all on one side. It is, however, one of the most remarkable things I have ever seen; and nothing bespeaks the goodness of the workmanship more than the manner in which it hangs together though so far off its centre. Not far from this tower is the Campo Santo, or Holy Field, which consists of about an acre of ground enclosed by a building similar to the first story of the Royal Exchange of London. This enclosure is lined on the inside with a magnificent piazza decorated with a number of fine monuments of great men, besides paintings on the walls. The earth in the centre is said to have been brought from the Holy Land, which has given the place the name of Campo Santo, or Holy Field; and the superstitious maintain that it possesses the singular quality of reducing a human body to a perfect skeleton in the space of three hours. This is asserted on the authority of an experiment which was once made; the body being dug up at the end of every hour till the third had expired, when it was found by Magistrates, who were the judges, reduced to the bones! There is a representation of this wonderful experiment, and a picture of the body in the state in which it was last found, painted on the adjacent walls; but I leave you to say, whether this be a sufficient reason for your belief in the miracle. I confess that I was much disappointed on beholding the famous marble bridge of Pisa. You must be informed, however, that it is not built solely of marble; the circle lines of the arches and the balustrade being only composed of that material, and these are old, black, and dirty.

The villas on the road to Florence, have a remarkably neat and clean appearance, and are in much better repair than the villas of France. They are surrounded with pretty flower gardens and shrubs: but have no pleasure grounds, much less parks; for land is too precious in this country to be so laid out and distributed. The peasantry are good looking, civil, indus-

trious, and better clad than ours of England. The women, in particular, are very handsome, and on the present occasion looked very smart, wearing a man's small hat with a black ostrich feather, which reminded me of the Welsh lasses, who wear exactly the same head dress. In approaching Florence we passed through a small town, said to have been the place where Buonaparte's ancestors sprung from. Some of his relations are still there, and are in respectable situations; so that the report of his having sprung from an obscure origin is unworthy of serious belief. Florence contains one of the noblest Inns in the whole world; but I did not long remain there, as my good old friend M. Chiapini insisted on my taking up my residence at his house. My friend, though upwards of eighty I found in good health and spirits. Much is to be seen at Florence which volumes could scarcely serve to describe. There is a noble Cathedral built entirely of marble, in white and black squares, just like a chequer board, or rather a Harlequin's jacket. Among the other fine monuments for which this place is so celebrated, I found one to the memory of Sir John Hawkwood, a great general, and an Englishman who had distinguished himself in the wars of this country. The famous Museum or gallery of paintings, statues, &c., and containing a series of the Roman Emperors from Julius Cæsar to Gallienus, is beautifully arranged into halls according to the countries of the artists, and are called Studios. There is one apartment full of precious stones, jewels, &c., said to be of great value; but for my part, I thought them, generally speaking, old, dirty, smoaky baubles. Here there are two tables inlaid with precious stones; one representing musical instruments, and the other, which is said to have cost 40,000 crowns, exhibits a plan of the city, fortifications and harbour of Leghorn. There is also a fine museum devoted to natural history; and among the minerals I was pleased to observe specimens of spar from Derbyshire in Old England. But what struck me as the greatest curiosity of all that I saw, was a stone of about eight inches long and six in breadth, called *Lapis Lazuli*. It was beautifully polished, and showed a complete natural landscape, representing a cottage, trees, a river, a boat and three men in it, all as perfect as if it had been drawn by the hand of an artist. The palace of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of which you know this is the capital, is a noble and immense fabric. It resembles three terraces rising up and retiring one behind another, and fitted up in the interior with all the shew and grandeur that marble, gold, painting, silk and velvet can bestow. In front there is a large vacant space of ground, but not properly levelled, much less laid out as it would be in England. Indeed this is a gene-

ral fault all over the Continent, where they have no idea of adorning the vacant plots of ground that may chance to intersect their cities, which greatly diminishes the effect and beauty of their magnificent public edifices. Behind the palace are very fine and extensive gardens; but laid out in the old fashioned way, with long alleys, clipped trees, shady walks, and water reservoirs &c. But the pride and glory of Florence is the chapel of Lorenzo. You will, however, be surprised to learn, that the exterior of this unparalleled structure is shabby in the extreme, and as to appearance, even inferior to the chapel of the old Recollect Convent of your own city. But the interior amply compensates for this. The Chapel of the Medici is unquestionably the finest thing of the kind in the world, and is the most costly habitation that ever was reared to commemorate the mouldering ashes of the dead. It is of an octagon form, and is entirely constructed of the most precious marble that the world can produce, and brought indeed almost from every region of the globe. This marble is incrustated with precious stones, and adorned with the workmanship of the best modern Sculptors. Each of the eight sides of the chapel is separated by immense columns of the Corinthian order, all of marble, and each side containing the monument of some member of the Medici family. The pedestals of these Corinthian columns are inlaid with the arms of some Tuscan city, executed in precious stones. The monuments are alike; consisting, first, of a sarcophagus with an inscription, and over that a colossal statue in white marble of the person to whom the monument is dedicated. This grand chapel is, however, not yet finished; a third part still remaining to be completed, which justified the observation of our countryman Addison, "that it is not impossible but the family of Medici may be extinct before their burial place is finished." This has actually taken place: the Medici family is extinct, and, as I have already observed, the Chapel is unfinished. The Grand Duke, who has been but lately restored by the Allies, like almost all the rest of the old princess, is universally hated by the people. When we were at Pisa, he happened to be there also: but he was so much mobbed and hooted, that he was obliged to leave the place much sooner than he intended. Having met several old friends at Florence, I was sorry to leave it: here also I parted with my friend and fellow traveller K——, who remained here while I journeyed on to Rome.

On my way to Rome I halted for a day at Sienna, the Capital of the Siennese. The Gothic metropolitan church of this city is much esteemed for its architecture. It is built of black, white, and red marble, and the pavement is of Mosaic work. Here

The Italian language is said to be spoken in such purity that a great many foreigners frequent it on that account. I stopped another day at a miserable place called Balsanno, where I had a curious and funny adventure with an old priest, but unfortunately too long to be written about. The country round Balsanno is very picturesque, and in the neighbourhood there is a beautiful large lake said to contain the finest eels in the world. Near this lake are to be seen the ruins of what must have been at one time a magnificent Gothic Castle.

The moment I left the Tuscan States I entered the dominions of the Pope; but found every thing altered to the worse. The country is ill cultivated, and large tracks of seemingly fertile land are left waste. The roads are bad, the Inns are bad, and the people, who look wretched and squalid, seem to be miserably poor. I sometimes travelled upwards of twelve miles without seeing a house. What rendered this forlorn predicament worse, was the constant dread of being pounced upon by some robbers or banditti; many of whose caves and lurking holes I saw close by the road. But I escaped them for the present. I found the "Immortal City" so full of strangers of all sorts, and from almost all countries in the world, that it was with the greatest difficulty I could procure lodgings for the night. I called next day upon my old friend Lucien Buonaparte, now prince of Canino, who received me with great kindness and politeness, and who I found to be the same good and hospitable fellow he used to be when I was with him at Thorngrove in Worcestershire. He insisted upon my taking up my quarters in his palace, three apartments of which he allotted for my accommodation. At Rome I had also the pleasure of meeting my old and most particular friend Mr. C——, of Jamaica, whom I had not seen for many years. Lucien Buonaparte introduced me to his sister the Princess Borghese, who had been long ill, and was now attended by an English Physician of the name of W——, who had been of more service to her than all the Doctors in Rome. W——, is not settled here, but is merely travelling with the English banker Latouche. The Princess gave him a ring worth 2000 guineas, which you may suppose to be ample remuneration for all the trouble he had. I shall not attempt to describe Rome, the task being too great for more accomplished persons. I shall only present you with a cursory sketch of what occurred to my humble mind while here.

The famous Church of St. Peter resembles much in form our own St. Paul's, but is considerably longer; being 730 feet in length; 520 in breadth; and from the pavement to the top of the cross, which crowns the cupola, 450 feet in height. Along

the front is a grand piazza of noble arcades ; on each side is a magnificent semi circular collonade ; and a grand court with fountains of water before it. The general appearance of St. Peter's is, however, much spoiled by the Vatican which overhangs it from a hill close beside it. The great Dome appeared to me to be also lost, in consequence of being placed too far back ; and the whole building seemed rather unfinished in consequence of the cornice round the top being too diminutive in its the size. The great bells appearing through the open arched windows, above the piazza in front, looked extremely shabby. Undoubtedly the general appearance of this magnificent edifice is heightened by the fine white stone of which it is built, preserved as it is by the exquisite climate of Italy, and not otherwise tarnished with coal-smoke like St. Paul's. In the interior St. Peter's looks smaller than St. Paul's, though it is not so in reality. Every inch of the walls and ceiling is covered with gildings, carvings, and the best of paintings, besides numerous gigantic statues of the Saints both in marble and in brass. I presume you have often heard that the foot of the famous statue of St. Peter in this place had been kissed away by the devout people who frequent it. Having had the curiosity to examine the statue with some minuteness for the purpose of ascertaining the truth or falsity of this monkish legend, I discovered that it was not true to its utmost extent ; for only the sandal, about half an inch thick, and a part of the great toe had been thus worn away—and too much, you will say, for the honour of the purity of the divine religion of our Saviour. On Christmas Eve there was a grand midnight mass at the Sistine Chapel in St. Peter's. When it was finished the scene exactly resembled the termination of an opera or masquerade. The number of carriages and footmen carrying torches—the crowds of elegantly dressed women—cardinals in their red flowing robes—halbert men in their ancient costume—and the lobbies and great staircases all brilliantly illuminated—gave I assure you, to the close of the business a splendour of appearance more like that which belongs to the gayer intercourse of society, than the dignified solemnities of religion. That which attracted most of my notice in this gay scene, was the reflection of the flambeaux on the sporting fountains in the centre of the great court, and which really appeared like so many meteors rather than the opaque brilliancy of the fountain naiads.

The next day being Christmas, was a grand day in Rome.—The old Pope performed mass in St. Peter's no less than three different times, and all in different languages—in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Among those present on the occasion I observed the old King and Queen of Spain, the Queen, of

Etruria, and inferior princes and princesses without number.— They were all seated in small places fitted up for the occasion, very much like the boxes in a play house, and covered with striped silk. Although many of the Roman nobility were obliged to stand, a great proportion of the seats was set apart for the English. Either side of the altar was lined with the Pope's body guards, who are of noble blood, and who, since his Holiness' return from exile, are dressed in scarlet in compliment to England, the firm friend of all the victims of Bonaparte, among whom the Pope had been one of the greatest.— The dress of these guards in general was similar to that of our King's. They wear ancient helmets, or, at least, helmets formed on the ancient model, and their cross belts are loaded with the most exquisite embroidery. The Pope was brought in seated on a superb throne, having a canopy; and was borne on men's shoulders; but they were so much concealed by the richness of the drapery that hung from the throne, that his Holiness appeared to be sailing forward, as if impelled by magic, which, in conjunction with the melody of the choir that ushered him in, had an effect almost bordering on the sublime. I knew the Pope's face the instant I beheld it; and I can assure you that the little pictures which you and I have looked at so often in Canada, bear a greater resemblance to it than I could have possibly imagined. The ceremony of the mass was grander than you can well conceive. The soldiers and all kneeled most profoundly at the elevation of the host; but the English were neither required to do so, nor in the smallest degree annoyed for not doing so, as I have frequently been at the Cathedral of Quebec. For my own part, I was at the time so much disguised that it would puzzle the keenest eye to discover what countryman I was. The singing was fine as you can conceive it, without the usual instrumental accompaniments of which there was none.

The Vatican is an immense and beautiful pile, somewhat in the form of a semi-square. The three first stories are open arched galleries, and the fourth is a gallery supported by Corinthian pillars. The palace contains an immense number of galleries, saloons and halls filled with the choicest specimens of ancient and modern art, besides other curiosities. One long gallery, though not very grand, was nevertheless curious on account of the paintings on its walls. Each pannel on the left hand side represented, first, a general map of Italy, then of each state and province, and lastly of every principal city. The right hand side contained representations of the same places as they stood in the times of the Romans. The Library

is a noble hall, supported by arches in the middle, with many galleries branching off in various directions, full of books, and all sorts of rare and precious curiosities. One day, while loitering there, the keepers began to shut up, when Cardinal Gonsalvo, the Pope's Prime Minister, coming past, I stopped and bowed to him, which he returned very politely; and observing that I had mustaches on my upper lip, (for I had let them grow, intending to wear the Turkish dress when I got to Greece,) inquired whether I was Prussian? Upon my replying that I was not, but one of the heretical English nation, he smiled and said "not *Heretical* but *Heroical*," which in Italian makes an excellent pun. He then asked me if I had been yet presented to the Pope; and upon my replying, that I did not conceive myself of sufficient consequence to claim that honour, he observed, that his Holiness being the head of the Christian Church, there was no distinction of persons with him. After this I could not possibly avoid being presented, which put me to the expence of a new suit of black clothes. There was nothing particular in the ceremony of presentation. My name being announced, I made a bow and received one from his Holiness—passed on followed by another who went through the same ceremony, and so on till the audience was completed. I very much regretted, however, that the ceremony of kissing the slipper of his Holiness was dispensed with on this occasion, as I should have relished it very much for the humour of the thing. I was presented by a good old Highland Priest of the name of MacPherson. A puppy of a fellow called Abby Taylor generally presents all the English, but it is surmised that he is no favourite of the Pope's; for when he presented Lord Dillon, he observed that his Lordship was of one of the oldest Roman Catholic families of Ireland. Now the present Lord Dillon became a Protestant, which the Pope well knew, although the Abby did not, and his Holiness observed on the occasion, that he believed there was not such a very great difference between the two religions as to render it necessary to be mentioned which a person professed, when presented to him. The Pope is indeed an excellent old man; so is Gonsalvo. I cannot help believing that they are protestants at heart; at all events, had all the Popes and Cardinals been like them, there never would not have been any reformation or occasion for one. But Heaven only knows what is for the best.

Of all the Sovereigns of the *ancient regime* who have been lately restored, the Pope is the only one that appears to be grateful to England for the share which she took in giving to every man his own; and I have had proofs shewn to me that he esteems England and her inhabitants more than all the allied powers together. He is very much beloved by the people, and when

He is called off, it will be a great loss to the Romans; and I fear that Gonsalvo will not succeed him, for though he is among the best and the cleverest of men, and adored by the poor, yet he is disliked by the Cardinals and the nobility on account of the strictness of his moral character. The Pope reserves but a small part of the Vatican for his own accommodation, the greatest part being appropriated to the museums I have mentioned. The worst and most incongruous thing I have seen about these museums, is the mixing of statues and paintings of the heathen gods and heroes with those of the Saints and other scriptural characters: it would have been better had they been arranged in separate galleries, at least to my taste. The apartments of the Pope are very plainly furnished. The gardens of the palace are pretty enough, but they have nothing remarkable about them. I had almost forgot to tell you that the only ridiculous thing I saw during the grand Ceremony at St. Peter's on Christmas day, was the dress and grimaces of Prince Barbarini, who is Senator of Rome, and represents that ancient and venerable Assembly during the ceremonies. He was dressed on the present occasion in a flowing yellow silk gown more like a modern dressing one than the ancient *toga*: his hair hung loosely about his neck, the extremities being ridiculously frizzled and powdered. Nor did his own countenance and figure set off this grotesque costume to advantage, being more like a baboon than a human being. How was the august Senate of old Rome degraded in the person of this their mock representative, and with what ineffable contempt would the "Conscript Fathers" have beheld this mountebank and mock-patriot!

There is hardly a stone of the ancient Capitol left to point out where its proud temples once stood. A fine modern building has, however, been erected on its site, which is almost wholly devoted to works of art. Some of the ancient statues must have been immensely large, if I might judge from a few remnants deposited in this place, some of the heads of which, to use a familiar comparison, are larger than a flour barrel, and the feet and hands from two to three feet long. One of the Churches that pleased me most both externally and internally was that of St. Maria Maggiore. It stands on an open space at the top of a gradually rising eminence, and is the finest situation for a public building that can possibly be imagined, commanding a most beautiful and extensive prospect. Had St. Peter's been placed there, it would have looked a hundred times better than where it is. The ceiling of this Church is supported by a double row of large white marble pillars of the Ionic order. I was also much pleased with the chapel of the

Lateran Palace, which is another of the Pope's residences, and where all the Popes are buried. This chapel differs from most others of those I have seen; the ceiling instead of being painted with representations of some scriptural transactions which, in my opinion, can never be viewed to advantage in such a position, is ornamented with carved work emblematical of Noah's Ark, the candlesticks of Solomon's Temple, &c. &c. The Chapel itself, not being loaded with the usual compliment of painting and gilding, had a truly grand and magnificent, though simple appearance. Along either side are colossal statues in white marble of the twelve Apostles, and others, each 15 feet high at least. The statue of St Bartholomew, who was flayed alive, is really a curious piece of art. It is of red marble, and the Saint is represented holding his own skin in his hand, the skin being of *white* marble. The resemblance between the features of the skin and the flesh of the face of the Saint, is very striking; and in this I presume, consisted the dexterity of the artist. Above the twelve statues, on square slabs of white marble, are bas-reliefs or carvings of the principal transactions in the lives of the Apostles; and above that again fine oval paintings of the twelve Prophets. In Rome there are many noble fountains, some of them forming absolute cascades and rivers; but, with the exception of one, they are all disfigured by not being surrounded by green lawns.—The fountain of Trevi is adorned with an immense statue of Neptune in a shell drawn by Sea horses; which by the by, is not very appropriate in a *fresh* water fountain. The fountain of Novona is also very grand. I shall not attempt to say any thing of the *antiquities* of this city. In general they are fast crumbling into rubbish, and the Coliseum, the Pantheon, and the Temple of Vesta, (the two last being converted into churches,) may be said to be the only living monuments of what Rome once had been.

I made many excursions to the vicinity of Rome, and was sorry to find this fine country in a waste and desolate state.—The few peasants that I saw, were dressed in the skins of sheep and goats, with the hair outside, which brought to my recollection the ideas that my youthful fancy had formed of Robinson Crusoe, the great and universal hero of children. There are still, however, some beautiful spots about twelve or twenty miles from Rome, such as Tivoli, where Horace is said to have composed the most of his works, Frascati, &c.

You have often heard and read of the old statue called *Pasquin* in Rome. One night while at supper at Lucien Buona-parte's just before my departure, we got merry, and though no poet, I was plagued to write some lines on Rome, when

I scraped the following, which Lucien's wife, who is a very clever woman, translated into Italian poetry, and much improved my rusty English version, you may be sure. A fellow was got to stick them up on *Pasquin*, which occasioned a laugh for a day among the party :—

ADIEU TO ROME.

Adieu to the city once famed for its arms—
 Its science and virtue—its courage and worth :
 Now faded, alas! all its grandeur and charms—
 Become from the first, now the last on the earth.

For merit, hypocrisy reigns uncontrol'd,
 Science to Bigotry has yielded her place,
 Vices, not Virtues her natives unfold,
 Not courage but cowardice designate the race.

Of her Temples, her Palaces, all that remain,
 A mass of rude rubbish, which only but serve
 To confirm the great acts once performed on this plain,
 And the deeds and the names of her heroes preserve.

Thus ended my poetry and my visit to Rome. You shall not hear from me again until I arrive at Naples.

WRITERS AND LITERATURE OF CANADA.

No. I.

THIS title may, no doubt, at first view excite a smile at the choice of a subject apparently so barren if not useless. And indeed its barrenness would hardly admit of denial, or its utility of defence, were it confined to the productions of native talent which have as yet made their appearance in our Province ; but if we are allowed to extend it to the Historical and other accounts that have been given of Canada from the pens of the numerous travellers who have visited and resided in it so long as to become familiar with its natural and moral character, and generally to include all those works which have been the result of personal observation, we may hope that our task will not be considered altogether unimportant ; and that, in the performance of it, we may expose some of the sources from which the future general historian of this country must draw much of his information. To do this and to suggest a concise but satisfactory explanation

of the causes which have hitherto prevented our growth, we might perhaps say our birth, in literature, will be the endeavour of the following article. It cannot, however, be supposed that, in pursuance of the former part of our object, we should be sufficiently well acquainted with the authors we may mention to decide upon their merits upon other grounds than the reports of those who have succeeded and compiled from them. This expectation would, in fact, under existing circumstances, be as unreasonable as its gratification would be decient and uninstrutive. Many of the early writers who may have been useful in collecting materials for works more extensive than their own, are become so nearly obsolete, that their works would not easily be procured even in the countries where they were most extensively in circulation; and many have long ago suffered the fate which usually attends publications of temporary interst, and which, *got up* to feed the appetite of the day, are at first received with avidity, and then thrown by to make way for those of a still later birth. If this be the case in that country which was for so many years the centre of existence to our own, the consideration which applies to the former may be urged with redoubled force as regards the latter. But few copies of the works of the kind mentioned above could ever have reached this country, and there is no instance of any one having ever been republished here. The unavoidable consequence of these facts is, that few, very few, of them can now be obtained. Whether, however, this deficiency do not affect curiosity more than useful history, is a matter of no great doubt:—and when a judicious and faithful historian of but little more than a century since could gravely discuss the probability of the existence of men with but one leg and foot and two hands upon one arm, &c., and virtually avow his belief in Negroes of the North with straight white hair, we should be tempted to suspect, that those who preceded him by whom these fables were propagated, could have served little other purpose than to amuse and mislead the ignorant, and disgust the well informed. The love of the marvellous is a very predominant quality in the mind of man, and when strengthened by the prejudices of interest or education, generally becomes an overmatch for the fidelity of the traveller or historian. The majority of those who have written concerning Canada in the earlier stages of its colonization, were either needy and ill educated men, or members of religious orders, principally Jesuits. The former dealt in the wonders of nature; the latter in the miracles of religion. The wordy adventurers embodied the fantasies of imagination. “gave them a local habitation and a name,” and circulated

them among an admiring and credulous public secure from detection, while detection was dreaded. The missionaries, though they sometimes encroached upon the secular field, were commonly content to retail their own sufferings and those of their brethren, and to exercise their ingenuity in the fabrication of super-natural conversions, and edifying biography of some favourite object of their pious efforts. When the history of a country falls into such hands, our expectations cannot rise very high, and they must sink very low to be agreeably disappointed.

For the first discoveries and the first steps in the progress of colonization in Canada, we must chiefly look to the history of France; after which, if we pass over the confused and obscure relations of the voyages of Cabot, or Gaboto, and some less distinguished adventurers, the earliest narrative, if it deserve the name, with which we meet, is that of John Verazzani in a letter in the Italian language addressed to Francis I., and printed at Dieppe, in the year 1524; giving an account of his first voyage to North America. From this letter, which may be found in the *Grand Recuell* of Ramusio, but little can be learned, says Charlevoix, except the date of the expedition of which it treats, and which has received no notice from the pens of the writers of that age. There is another letter of Verazzani to the same monarch, containing a more detailed account of a second voyage which he made in the year 1525; but, like the first, it is scarcely worth mention. We should, perhaps, be more judicious in classing as the first important narrative which we have of the discovery and geography, &c. of this country, the voyages of Jacques Cartier, the first in 1534, and the second in the following year, containing, among many absurdities and exaggerations with regard to the manners and customs of the people with whom, from his short stay among them his acquaintance must have been very superficial, a tolerably good description of the gulph and River St. Lawrence which he named; of the isle of Anticosti, by him called *L'Assomption*; the present Island of Montreal; and some other adjacent places of inferior note. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that Cartier should have arrogated to himself the discovery of Newfoundland, upon whose coasts it is well known, that fisheries had been carried on for many years previous to the date of his first arrival there; and it is not less so that, after ascending the St. Lawrence for a distance of more than 180 leagues, he could have mistaken Canada for an Island! Such gross, wilful, or accidental misrepresentation should cause us to receive with extreme caution those parts of his narrative which rest upon his sole assertion. In the year

1609, Mare Lescarbot, *Avocat, Parlement* a man, "says the *His. Gen. de voyages*," equally distinguished as a traveller and an author, published a history of "*Nouvelle France en qui est com prise l'histoire morale, naturelles et geographique de la dit Province.*" Partly the result of personal observation, this work contains a good account of all the previous discoveries made by the French in this country; and though intermixed with much of a foreign nature, is written in a judicious and impartial manner and forms a valuable source of information for the historical student. We now come to the memoirs of the great Father of this country, the founder of Quebec; an individual who seems to have possessed a greater share of talent, with more intrepid, though sometimes rash, enterprise than any who preceded, and who has not been surpassed by any who have come after him. Champlain published the first account of his voyages in 1613, in one quarto volume. In 1620 he added a second volume in continuation of the former; and in 1632 he printed, at Paris, a work of greater magnitude and more importance, entitled, "*Les voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale dite Canada faits, par le Sieur Champlain Xaintogeois, et toutes les decouvertes faites en ce pays de puis l'an 1603, jusqu'a l'an 1629, ou se voit comme ce pays a été premierment decouverte par les Francois,*" &c. &c. To this work is joined an essay on navigation "*avec tout ce que s'est passé en la dite nouvelle France l'année 1631.*" In this last publication he takes an historical view of New France from the first discoveries of Verazani, until the year 1631, and it may be considered as filling an obscure, but not uninteresting period of about a century. His character is given by Charlevoix, as that of a man somewhat too credulous in his belief of the improbable tales which were told him; but notwithstanding this weakness, he has recorded no error of very great importance, and his book contains a fund of instructive matter simply and unaffectedly related. What much enhances his value as a writer of a new and unknown country, he, generally speaking, advances nothing which he has not had an opportunity of observing, or which is not founded upon credible and well informed authorities.—With his character as a man, we have nothing to do; nor is it necessary to inquire whether the commendation bestowed upon him by a Jesuit, as "*plein de zele pour la religion,*" was merited by the piety of a christian or the blind enthusiasm of a sectarian. It is well known, that the foundation of Quebec, soon induced the emigration of a number of that class of men, who, ever eager to extend their temporal power through the medium of religious influence, did not fail to grasp with avidity at so fair an opportunity of enthraling the simple and untutored minds of a large

vention of the inhabitants of the new world. Some monks of the order of *Recollect* led the way, and they were soon followed by the Jesuits, who, though but little more than eighty years had elapsed since their first establishment in Italy, had already acquired great distinction, and obtained that vast moral and political influence, which has been to us the cause of astonishment, and was to them that of destruction. From the time of their arrival in Canada, their efforts for the conversion of the savages, were marked by the energy and perseverance that particularly characterized their sect; and from this time most of the accounts we have of the country for a considerable period, are the productions of the missionaries of one of the two orders, who seem to have monopolized to themselves the spiritual labours and harvest of New France. As it is from a Jesuit, though one of the most candid and impartial of his order that we copy, his opinions with regard to the narrative of the wonderful piety of his brethren, and the miraculous success of their missions, must be received with caution. But so far as regards the natural and civil history of the country, if we throw aside many of the frequent and foul accusations lavished upon the inhabitants of New England and New York, we shall perhaps find their authors sufficiently correct to serve as a guide to the gradual progress of discovery and colonization. In a periodical publication, called the "*French Mercury*," is inserted a letter written by Pere Lallement, dated at Quebec in the month of August of that year, giving a concise but very faithful description of those parts of the country where Jesuit missionaries were established; and there appeared subsequently in the same work in the year 1632, an account "*du voyage fait en Canada pour la prise possession du fort de Quebec*," which had been taken by the English in 1629; and in a number for 1633 is found a "*relation de ce que s'est passé en la Nouvelle France ou Canada, et une autre relation du Sieur Champlain de la Nouvelle France ou Canada*." These letters, taken from the source we have mentioned, may appear somewhat improperly introduced here; but as they are more easily obtained than many other works, and may contain many useful and interesting facts, their notice cannot be deemed altogether irrelative to our object. Pere Paul Le Jeune, a Jesuit, published, at Paris, in the year 1632, a "*Brieve relation de la Nouvelle France*." As this is the first of a series of publications which include all the best information we have of the country until 1672, it may be well to give a free translation of what Charlevoix says in general with regard to them:—"As these fathers (the Jesuits,) were scattered through every part of New

France with which the French had any communication, and as the duties of their profession obliged them to be acquainted with the affairs of the colony, their memoirs constitute a very detailed and by no means a despicable history of it. There is indeed no other source from which we can learn the progress of religion amongst, or derive a general knowledge of, the savage nations whose various languages, or rather dialects, were for the most part familiar to them. The style of their narratives is extremely simple, and it is to this simplicity that their extensive circulation is not less attributable, than to the curious and edifying matter they contain." In noticing the works of the author from whom these remarks are taken, we shall point out in what this "curious and edifying matter" principally consists.

In the year succeeding the history of La Jeune appeared the "*Novus Orbis, seu descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis, libri XVIII,*" by Joanne de Laet. This work, which was translated into French in 1640, gives in its second book an account of the gulph and River St. Lawrence and the adjacent coasts, with a description of Quebec and a history of all that had passed between the French and English in New France, from its original settlement to his own time. It displays much industry and research, and its author has drawn from good sources, except, says Charlevoix, "where he has consulted Protestants and yielded himself too much to the prejudices of his religion." The justice of this accusation, and the propriety of its application, though we have never seen the work alluded to, may perhaps be considered as matters of some doubt. In order, once for all, to give an idea of the books most frequently published by the missionaries sent into this country, we shall transcribe verbatim from the title page of a work of Pere Sagard a Recollect monk, which is as follows:—"Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Frères Récollets y ont faits pour la conversion des Infidèles ou est amplement traité des choses principales arrivés dans ce pays depuis l'an 1615, jusqu'à la prise qui en a été faite par les Anglais: des biens et commodités qu'on en peut espérer: des mœurs cérémonies, créances, loix et coutumes merveilles de ses Habitans; de conversions et Bâptêmes de plusieurs et des moyens nécessaires pour les amener à la connoissance de Dieu: l'entretien ordinaire de nos marinières et autres particularités qui se remarquent en la suite de l'Histoire." This is certainly a highly promising exposition of the contents, and if faithfully and ably enlarged upon, would form a valuable portion of our colonial history; but from the commendation bestowed upon its author by a brother missionary, we should be inclined to suspect, that it consisted rather in zeal and ability in propogating the religious tenets of his order than

in the qualifications necessary for the formation of a valuable historian. The character given of his composition, as simple and unaffected, is followed by the remark, that he was not long enough in the country to observe all that he has recorded, nor yet to ascertain the truth of what was recounted to him to a sufficient extent, or with sufficient accuracy, to satisfy the expectation that his long and pregnant title page might excite. Though this work was not published until 1686, it does not follow the history of the country beyond the surrender of Quebec to the English in 1629. The narrative of Father Bressani, the well known spiritual hero of New France, whose unheard of, though probably much exaggerated, sufferings among the Hurons have excited alternate pity and admiration, and have formed matter of pious admonition and monastic triumph, contains little else than an account of the mission among the people to whose barbarous tortures he owed all his subsequent fame; so true is it, that honorable distinction is not unfrequently the result of circumstances beyond our control, and which at the time of their occurrence, we should deprecate as the precursors of obscurity, misery, or death. The next author worthy of consideration with whom we meet, is the Sieur Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers, who for a long time previous to the publication of his "True and natural history of the manners and productions of New France," enjoyed a high character for honesty of heart and conduct. His long residence in Canada in a public situation, gave him an excellent opportunity to collect materials for a correct and detailed history; but notwithstanding these advantages his work is called by Charlevoix "une notice assez superficielle, mais fort fidelle." It was published at Paris in 1665, and in the same year appeared the *Historia Canadensis* of the Jesuit du Creux, founded entirely upon the former narratives of the missionaries of his order, and spun out into a tediousness of detail which nothing but the novelty of the original works could have rendered interesting or even tolerable. Of the voyages of Hudson and some others and the discoveries that bear the name of the former, it is unnecessary to say anything, as an account of them may be found in most general collections of voyages; and it has not been our intention to mention every individual who may have made partial discoveries in the immense tract called Canada, but to endeavour to trace the footsteps of the civil and moral history of the country. In 1671 were printed the letters of Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, first superior of the Ursulines in New France; containing, among many edifying manifestations of her holiness and spirituality, various interesting historical facts which had occurred during a residence of 32

years in Canada, commencing in 1640. These letters are well and even elegantly written, and display a degree of talent and enterprize that, had it been bestowed upon the active and useful employments of life, might have been to a considerable extent beneficial to mankind. From this time many of the publications which treat exclusively of this country are more easy of access; and consequently require a greater share of attentive consideration than those which have hitherto come under our notice. We shall therefore reserve them, together with Hennepin, though not of the same class, for a subsequent number. L.

An account of a Storm and extraordinary Darkness which occurred in CANADA and the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, but especially at the City of MONTREAL, in November 1819.

Read before the PLINIAN SOCIETY of EDINBURGH, April 15th 1823.

The ordinary objects that compose that branch of the study of Natural History usually called *Meteorology*, are calculated to excite the attention of the casual observer, but the more striking phenomena, that are so often displayed in the Heavens, in their nature and appearance, often destructive and terrifying, cause the minds and attention of the most inconsiderate, to be directed to that one Supreme Being from whose omnipotent hand, the lightnings flash, and by whose command the thunders roll and the treasures of the rain and snow are poured upon the earth. But notwithstanding all the terrors attendant on several of the atmospherical appearances, the regular and almost daily occurrence of them tends to harden the feelings and to obliterate the former hastily formed impressions of fear. When, however, a meteorological phenomenon of an uncommon nature and appearance presents itself in the Heavens, with all the accompanying causes of terror, the heart even of the bravest throbs with unusual timidity, and the stoutest begin to fail. Of such a nature the appearance, which will form the subject of the following observations, may safely be declared.

At Montreal, in the Province of Lower Canada, the weather during the greater part of the day of Saturday the 7th November 1819, was bright and unclouded, but towards the evening at eight o'clock, the sky became surcharged with heavy black clouds from the N. W. and a quantity of snow fell, principally in large flakes. Early in the morning of the Sunday following,

these heavy clouds were found to be diffused over the surface of the sky, and there descended a heavy shower of rain, which upon examination, after it had been allowed for some time to rest, was found to deposit a substance resembling, to the eye, the taste and the smell of common soot. The sky during the morning, occasionally displayed a slight greenish tint, and the sun, through the haze which surrounded him, appeared of an unusually bright pink colour. The inhabitants of the city, however, were content to make this appearance the subject of general conversation, but without devoting much time to the consideration of its probable causes or effects. Before the evening the weather cleared up, and during the whole of Monday the temperature of the atmosphere was rather frosty. This on Tuesday morning, the 9th November, gradually relaxed under the influence of a weighty vapour, which descended from a thick stratum of clouds that seemed progressively to deepen in colour and density. To those who are in the habit of anticipating a dreadful catastrophe from singular appearances, this was an awful day. Even those blunt and hardened minds, the excursions of which seldom deviate from the routine of their ordinary occupation, seemed, for once, to be withdrawn from the beaten path, and to contemplate, with a mixture of astonishment and terror, an appearance for which no one could account, and which it was therefore impossible to pronounce, to be either the precursor or follower of some preternatural disaster. At sun rise, the clouds varied in colour, sometimes assuming a greenish hue, at others, a dark and almost pitchy black. The sun at that time, appeared of a dingy orange colour, which at moments, varied to a blood red, and at other times to a dark brown with but a slight degree of luminosity remaining. Towards noon, the darkness was so great, that it was found completely necessary to have candles burning in the Court House, the Banks, and in most of the public offices in the city. The gloom alternately increased or diminished, according to the ascendancy of the wind, which, during the day, was very fitful and changeable. The inhabitants now began to express to each other their surprise, and to exchange their opinions as to the probable cause of the unusual appearances of the day and of the preceding Sunday. Various opinions were hastily formed and as hastily abandoned, and many vain and fruitless attempts were made to account for the awful phenomena. To some it appeared extremely probable, that a Volcano had burst forth in the interior of the Province, and that its smoke, vapour and ashes, were now over the city. Even the Mountain of Montreal, by many travellers stated to be the extinct crater of a volcano, was by many of the credulous

supposed to have resumed its operations, and that the city of Montreal at its base was by many supposed about to undergo the fate of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The authority of the Indians for the existence of a burning mountain in the wild lands which would have been otherwise despised, was now eagerly resorted to, amidst the general consternation, and those who suppose that the eruptions of a volcano are always attended by earthquakes, were strengthened in their belief, by a report that some smart shocks were distinctly felt in many parts of the town and suburbs; a report which began to gain ground either through the mistaken fears of the community, or by the ridicule of the few who laughed at the extreme credulity of their fellow citizens. Others not so much given to the terrific, supposed that some of our immense woods and prairies had been set on fire during the heat of what is termed the Indian summer, and that the ashes were borne on the same winds which fanned the destroying flames. These two opinions, being the most rational, and supported by appearances, of all that were broached gained the most ground. Superstition seemed universally to reign during the gloom and the otherwise despised stores of Indian prophecy were raked up on the present occasion. Among others it was found, that a dying Sachem, whose good conduct and noble character, entitled him to all the qualities of a saint and a prophet, had declared with his dying words, that the great island of Montreal would, at some period, be destroyed by an earthquake, while the opposite shores and the surrounding country should remain unhurt.— This foolish prophecy, to the majority of the inhabitants unknown, and nearly forgotten by the remainder, was restored from the obscurity its nature so well merited, and began to be credited by many ignorant persons, who, in their superstition and infatuation, prepared to leave the island in all manner of water conveyance, steering for the opposite shore, leaving behind them their home, and the most of their property, in a place, which they supposed, was soon to be utterly and inevitably destroyed. If man thus felt the influence of the unusual gloom, it is not surprising that the rest of the animated creation should display symptoms of terror. The few that were to be seen, hurried with horrid cries to their respective places of shelter; all species of cattle uttered mournful sounds, dogs particularly appeared to be restless, and all the prognostics of a coming storm were distinctly perceptible. The change of the colour of the atmosphere alternately varying between a yellow and a black, continued till nearly half past two o'clock and towards three, a formidable body of clouds from the North East hurried over the town and brought the obscurity to its

climax. At this moment, there certainly reigned a very general awe—nature had from the morning seemed sullen and dejected as if aware of some impending calamity, and the crisis appeared to have arrived. At this period the stoutest held their breath, and those who but a short time ago were ridiculing the fears of their neighbours, were themselves timid and fearful. While in this state of suspense and fear, the inhabitants were electrified by one of the most vivid flashes of lightning that was remembered in Montreal by its oldest residents, succeeded by a clap of thunder that was echoed and reverberated for many minutes after its cause had past. This was succeeded by some others equally loud, which to the frightened citizens, felt like an earthquake, for many persons fell from the trembling of the floor under their feet. Rain again fell, of the same dark sooty appearance as on the preceding Sunday, and there seemed a prospect of good weather, but that transient hope was but of short duration, for the clouds again accumulated from the N. E. and at 4 o'clock it was nearly as dark as ever. One of the flashes of lightning was distinctly seen to strike the summit of the steeple of the Roman Catholic Parish Church. The lightning seemed to them to have touched the ball at the foot of the cross, to have continued playing and whirling for a second round it, and then to have descended to the earth by the electrical rod. Those who had previously felt alarm, now became, by the long continuation of the object of terror, and by the joyful prospect of the storm gradually disappearing, tranquil, and were calmly reposing after their recent inquietude, when suddenly the *Tocsin* or fire-alarm was sounded from every bell in the city, and the streets resounded, with the cries of Fire! Fire! The city of Montreal, certainly, exhibited at that moment a scene which it has, in all probability, never before presented, and which had a most appalling and wild effect. The sky was completely veiled in gloom, the *Place d'Arms* where the parish church stands, was crowded and continually swelling by the floods of people who poured in from all the adjacent streets—while towering over the heads of the immense throng, was to be seen the steeple of the church, with its ball blazing like a meteor, and throwing out from the foot of the cross with which it was surmounted, radiation of sparks rendered lurid by the incumbent and surrounding haze: When the steeple was first discovered to be on fire, smoke only was seen to issue from a small hole in the ball, which soon, however, burst into flame and in the haze of the evening it appeared like a lighthouse seen out at sea. Never was there shewn a greater zeal than was shewn on the present occasion. The destruction of the church would in all probability, from

its situation, have caused the further destruction of private property. The different engines were in a moment on the spot; lines for the conveyance of water in the fire buckets were formed almost involuntarily; and every one seemed to think alone on the means of preserving an edifice which was an ornament to the town, as well as venerable for its antiquity. The ball continued to burn for a long time, from its being entirely inaccessible to water; the tin, however, with which the steeple was covered, considerably retarded its progress, and the wind, which had previously been high, was now fortunately very gentle. At last, by the activity of the persons present, a small garden engine was raised to the belfry, from which, through a trap door, water was conveyed to the interior of the steeple to prevent the extension of the flame. By the unwearied exertions of those in the belfry, the fire became extinct, before half past eight in the evening: about a quarter of an hour previous to its being completely extinguished, the fire had actually consumed the timber in which the iron cross was inserted, so that it fell on the pavement in front of the principal entrance to the church with a tremendous crash, and there broke into many pieces. One small piece of the cross which detached itself at an early period of the fire, fell on the roof of the corner house of the Place d'Arms occupied by a Mrs. Barnard, a milliner, and partly penetrated through the roof, and yet remains immovably fixed. During the course of the fire the skies cleared up, and allowed the inhabitants to perceive that the rain which had fallen at different periods of the day, had deposited along the streets, a black dark and incrusting substance like soot, but in a greater quantity than on Sunday preceding, and that as it flowed through the streets, it carried on its surface a dense foam resembling soap suds. The evening again became darker, and thus ended a day which will be long remembered by the inhabitants of Montreal and be classed among the *dies atri* of that city. The morning of Wednesday, the sky was as clear and daylight as strong as was usual at that season of the year and no remains of the appearances of the preceding day were perceptible. During the day a slight fog arose but comparatively thin, and the day continued cheerful. The morning of Thursday again exhibited some slight symptoms of a return of the appearances of Tuesday, but they remained during the whole day and evening without increase or diminution. On Saturday morning a lively breeze sprang up from the South West and rolled away the mist to the point from whence it came, it, however, soon again returned, and the fog of the preceding Tuesday again loitered in the atmosphere. On Sunday morning nothing was visible, and the inhabitants were not again visited

by any such unusual appearances. The only damage done to the city of Montreal by this awful visitation, was the burning of the summit of an aspiring cathedral, and spreading an unusual degree of terror in the minds of its inhabitants.

Thus far relates only to the city of Montréal, but the appearances seemed to have a very wide range, from the following statements. At Quebec, 180 miles to the N. E. of Montreal, the darkness was also perceptible on the Sunday and Tuesday, but in a less degree. The darkest period was on Tuesday afternoon, about 4 o'clock, when small print could with great difficulty be read even close to a window. The dark clouds appeared to come from the westward, and there fell a little snow that was observed to be discoloured with something of a sooty appearance. Towards the afternoon there came on a thick fog, which had a very disagreeable smell resembling that of sulphur, soot and iron. At William Henry, 45 miles from Montreal, down the River St. Lawrence, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt during the course of Tuesday as well as on another occasion a few days previous. This was succeeded by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which lasted for an hour and a half, of unusual violence, and so near that in many instances the interval between the flash and the report, scarcely could be distinguished. At Kingston, in Upper Canada, distant from Montreal 200 miles, the dark greenish colour of the skies was at times distinctly visible, and at York the capital of the same Province distant from Montreal 267 miles, a little darkness prevailed during the course of Tuesday. In many parts of the adjoining Province of New Brunswick, the darkness and greenish colour were perceptible. In the neighbouring United States, more observations were made than in the Province of Lower Canada. At Albany in the State of New York, and distant from Montreal 150 miles, on Tuesday at daylight and at different parts of the forenoon, thunder and lightning prevailed. Some rain also fell in the morning, and about 8 o'clock a pretty severe fall of hail, during which, and about an hour afterwards, it was necessary to have lighted candles in the houses in order to attend to almost any kind of business, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, it became so dark that lights were made use of during the rest of the day. Throughout the whole day, the atmosphere was overcast, thick and hazy, and of a yellowish hue, something resembling the *dark day* in the revolution (1781). The wind was from the south, with appearances of an approaching storm.

At Salem in the State of Massachusetts, there was but little rain during the course of the Tuesday, but the atmosphere was

much darkened, so that in stores and offices it was difficult to do business without the aid of candle light. At Middleton in the State of Connecticut, the severe storm of thunder and lightning which was experienced there on the same day did a great deal of damage, and the darkness that was experienced in other places, was also felt there. At Newburyport this singular atmospheric occurrence was experienced on the same Tuesday. The weather was extremely thick with dense clouds, and so dark that there also lighted candles were necessary in many rooms. A torrent of rain, attended with thunder and lightning, ensued, as severe as was witnessed during the season. The rain which fell was noticed by several persons to be coloured with some tingly substance. The lightning struck in many places. At Burlington in the State of Vermont, precisely the same appearances were noticed as at Montreal, though distant 89 miles, except that they were not so great and terrific. From an account given by Professor Hall, in the memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and copied into the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, it will be found that Middlebury, in the last mentioned State, many of the appearances there were nearly allied to those observed at Montreal. There was however, a shower of snow for an hour, this was succeeded by a slight shower of rain continuing throughout the day. The thermometer there stood at 34° and a gentle breeze blew from the south. The sky there was of a pale yellowish white aspect and every object wore the same melancholy appearance. In the afternoon it became so dark that a man could not see his hand, when held near his eye. The appearance lasted there for nearly a week, in a greater or less degree. At Champlain in the State of New York, it commenced on the Saturday afternoon, but was not at all inconvenient till Tuesday, when a slight shower of snow had covered the ground, and a strong gale blew from the South. The clouds were of a pitchy black colour.

A similar darkness to the one already described, is said to have occurred in Canada in the year 1781, and is still known by the name of the dark Sunday. As to the probable cause of this very unusual darkness, I am totally unable to account. The immense quantity of soot and ashes which fell in the rain, and with which the atmosphere appeared to be charged, would indicate extensive fires and burnings of some kind or another. It is a very common custom among the settlers in the new lands situated in the immense woods of North America, to set fire to a part of their woods with a view to aid them in the clearances of their lands in order that they may bring them under cultivation. The Indians, a great part of whose wandering

life is spent in the woods, are very neglectful about the extinguishing of the fires they have kindled for their domestic services, and a slight breeze is capable of fanning into the most destructive conflagration of miles in extent, what might casually fall from the pipe of a passing trader. The period at which this appearance occurred was during what is called the Indian Summer, a short period in which dry sultry weather prevails, and the leaves and the grass of about six or seven feet, with which the prairies and woods are covered, become extremely combustible. These, by any of the casual chances already mentioned, would be easily inflamed, and the ashes, and smoke arising from the conflagration might by the action of the winds be diffused over a wide extent of country. The winds which prevailed during the most of the cloudy weather were from the northward, and would indicate that quarter as the situation where this immense fire took place, but in that direction from Montreal, nothing but woods of a immense extent are to be found, and as no settlers or inhabitants are there residing no account of the appearance of the days there can be had, and as no accounts of any volcano having been discovered have ever come to hand, we cannot take much notice of such an opinion.

M. P. S. E.

CANADIAN LEGENDS.

MIDSUMMER EVE, A TALE OF THE OTTAWA.

—Was it a dream ;—
 Or a delusion of the waking senses,
 'Ting'd with the airy wildness of a fiction,
 Yet strongly mark'd with all the sombre truths
 Of nature and reality ?

Many theories have been fabricated, and not a few opinions advanced both by ancient and modern philosophers, respecting those wonderful delusions of the senses which sometimes take place, and which make so strong an impression on the faculties of the mind, that reason in her coolest moments, is at a loss to determine whether they were beguiled by a reality or a visionary deception. We have many instances on record, and not a few in our own times, of strange occurrences of this description which have defied the most subtle definitions of philosophical disquisition, and will, it is probable, ever set them at defiance.

It was on the quarter deck of one of the many Steam Boats that navigate the waters of the noble St. Lawrence, that a number of the passengers were seated one mild starlight summer's night, enjoying a little social chit-chat to wile away the time until the hour of retiring to rest. There was a sufficiency of light in the atmosphere to admit of the vessel's continuing her course; which she did, gallantly stemming the deep rolling stream, her majestic progress distinguishable from the shore on either side—whose dusky outlines were relieved at times by the occasional twinkling of a taper in a cottage window;—by the brilliant-plume like appearance of the glowing sparks which issued forth in profusion from her chimnies: whilst the low rushing sound of her dipping paddles, and the often repeated cry of the lookout man in the bow, and attendant response of the steersman, were the only disturbance to the stillness that reigned around.

Whether it was owing to the influence of the hour, or to that predeliction which some people have for whatever relates to the marvellous, it so fell out that after a number of desultory and common-place topics had been discussed, the discourse turned on the subject of supernatural appearances and visitations. Many indeed were the terrific and heart appalling relations of what had either been heard or seen by some themselves, or from the hearsay of others; and one story succeeded another in quick succession, until the imaginations of most of the listeners were heated to a degree of fearful enthusiasm, by the thus disclosed secrets of the spiritual world. Some few there were who ventured to hint their scepticism with regard to the existence of ghosts, fairies, witches, and the like etceteras, but were immediately assailed with an overpowering torrent of matter of fact, as it was termed, in support of which the most indisputable authority was of course advanced, so that if its substance did not exactly produce conviction in the minds of those to whom it was addressed, the vociferous vehemence with which it was uttered, constrained them at least to confine their infidelity to themselves in future.

After some time had elapsed, during which the subject had been sustained with a vigour that only flagged from the want of something new to incite its renovation, and the narrators had seemingly exhausted their budgets of wonder, and, to use a sporting phrase, were completely at a dead stand; when an elderly gentleman of a sedate and respectable mien, and who had hitherto paid a silent but marked attention to all that had been said, requested the attention of the company to what he was about to communicate.

“Gentlemen,” said he, “some of you have to-night re-

counted many certainly very singular and surprizing incidents, some of them it appears from personal experience; permit me to relate an occurrence of the kind which happened to myself, which, although it bears a partial difference from the general tenor of your narrations, you will allow, after hearing it, to be even more strange than a ghostly visit from the regions of the dead, the midnight vagaries of frisking imps and demons, or the fantastical equestrianism of witches mounted on broomsticks.

About forty years ago, when I was a wild stripling of eighteen, I went from Montreal to officiate as a clerk to a man superintending a potash manufactory at the *Longue Sault* of the Ottawa, or Grand River. Some of you have seen, and few but have heard of that dreadful rapid, far more tremendous than the celebrated nine mile race of the St. Lawrence. The very pilots, who from their frequency of passing, one would naturally suppose carelessly indifferent, from their familiarity to its peculiar dangers, yet never enter the horrible commotion of its roaring surges without dread and apprehension. In fact, in passing through them the strongest nerves cannot remain unshaken. To one accustomed to the sight, or to a stranger, they are equally terrific; and present an appearance of which an European, unacquainted with these characteristics of our Canadian rivers, cannot possibly form an idea.

It seems as if the noble river, roused into an indignant fury at finding its course impeded by the huge masses of rock which obstruct its channel here, vents its boiling rage in lashing them with its angry billows; now rising above their summits in wreaths of foaming surf, now sinking and whirling in circling eddies around their base, and to a fanciful mind appearing to shriek in wild despair, at the impotence of its efforts; and being ever attended with a deafening roar, adds much to its horrid sublimity. A person contemplating this strife of waters from the shore, would conceive it next to a moral impossibility for a boat or canoe to live in it for an instant; but they go through frequently, and with few exceptions, likewise in safety. I have often stood for hours observing them jump the *chutes*—small cascades, which they did with the rapidity of lightning; at times partly hid by the dancing spray and foam; at others rising to the top of a wave, and suspended there, apparently to be plunged into destruction the next moment.

I well recollect one Sunday morning, my watching with a strong feeling of anxious apprehension the approach of two Indian canoes to the head of the principal, and most dangerous part of the rapid. From the manner in which they were loaded, I think they must have belonged to one family: An India:

and a young lad were in the foremost, and a squaw with two small children in that behind. The man took the proper channel, and his canoe ran with the speed of an arrow in safety through, but the poor squaw was not so fortunate; From inattention in steering or some other cause, she lost the wake of the other canoe, and by so doing missed the right course. She perceived her error and consequent situation when it was too late for retrieval, though she struggled hard and desperately—and well she might, knowing the inevitable alternative—to regain what she had lost; but it would not do.—The impetuosity of the rushing stream prevailed against her feeble efforts, and hurried her swiftly on to destruction. I saw her plainly as if in despair fling her paddle away, and in that agony of feeling which the sudden certainty of a frightful death must inspire, throw herself forward and with a maternal affection which even on this dreadful brink of eternity was paramount, clasp her children in her embrace. The decision of their fate was but the work of a moment; They were swept by an eddying current over a shelf of rocks; against which they were whirled and dashed for the space of a few seconds, and then borne away, the roaring billows closed forever on them and their earthly existence.

But to return from a digression which I would not have made were it not in some degree connected with my story:—as I said before, our works were situated on the banks of the Ottawa, near the lower end of this terrible place. The country in its vicinity was a perfect wilderness, when compared to what it is at the present. Then it was a gloomy forest to the very edge of the river; and its dreary sameness only broken here and there by the log hut and cleared patch that supplied him with food of some hardy settler; who amid the roaring din of rushing waters, and the death like solitude of their trackless environs, enlivened only by the howlings of their savage tenantry, toiled to obtain, at the best, but the means of sustaining a miserable existence.

As my occupation did not intrude much on my time, I had many leisure hours, and from the want of a better way of spending them, I used to visit a man settled about a couple of miles above our establishment. He cultivated but a small portion of land which furnished him with a bare sufficiency of corn and potatoes for his family, and which with the produce of his fishing throughout the summer season, which was in fact his great dependence, subsisted them in a plenty if not a variety of food. This man was of a reserved, sky disposition, which evinced itself in his manner and speech, so much so as to make his society more disagreeable than otherwise; but it was not

from any particular charm in him, his family, or abode, that induced me to visit them so often, but merely because it served to vary the monstrosity of our own circumscribed society.

I happened one evening to be returning home from one of these visits, rather later than was my usual practice; and my road from necessity lay along the bank of the river, I was carefully picking my steps among the masses of stone and drift wood that lay heaped in every direction. I had not, however, proceeded half a mile, when of a sudden my ears were astounded by a hideous yelling, as if all the wolves, wildcats, and devils in Canada were assembled to howl and shriek in concert, and being loudly echoed in the stillness of the dark forest behind, and possessing a frightful indistinctness from the adjoining roar of the rapids, had a truly appalling effect, and brought me to a stand for some moments. The noise appeared to come from the bottom of a long recess or vista that ran directly back for a hundred yards or more into the gloomy wood, and the thickening obscurity of twilight prevented me from discerning by what or whom it was produced. I had a loaded musket in my hand, it is true, but it added little to the confidence and security of the moment; but a sudden crash and rushing sound at the extremity I have alluded to, tempted me to present them with its contents, and I fired in the direction of the infernal tumult. The noise was immediately hushed, but the sound as of many footsteps pressing towards me, becoming too distinct, for my courage to await their approach, I need scarcely observe my farther progress homeward was far from being dilatory.

The next time I saw my friend the fisherman, I recounted this adventure, and his wife who was present, remarked that it confirmed what she had often heard related of that spot.— That in the commencement of the revolutionary war, a band of Indians took a family of whites prisoners, and scalped and murdered them there with every circumstance of atrocious cruelty and barbarism, and ever since, it was said terrifying sights and noises were often seen and heard about the place. I laughed heartily at the good woman's elucidation of what I own had frightened me at the time in no small degree. Her husband smiled, but in a manner which convinced me was more at the fearful vehemence of his wife's assertions, than from a disbelief of their substance. I had ever been a hardened sceptic in such matters, and never failed to deride all tales of a supernatural cast wherever I heard them; and on this occasion I absolutely affronted the honest matron by the obstreperous ridicule with which I displayed my incredulity. The man shortly after leaving the house to resume his fishing, I accompanied him, and continued to banter the explanation

afforded by his wife's legendary narrative, expressing my own conviction that the noise had proceeded from a pack of hungry wolves, at the same time asking his own opinion of the affair.— Why, "said he," your conjecture may be right, but the story as it has been told you is believed in these parts, and no one acquainted with it will settle near the spot. I was once as great an unbeliever of these things as you appear to be, but my doubts have been much shaken by what I am now going to relate.— About five years ago, I was out fishing until a very late hour one beautiful Midsummer's Eve. The moon was shining clearly, and I was beginning to feel wearied and drowsy, when, of a sudden, I saw before me a ship with her sails set, making her way against the raging stream, through a part of the rapid that nothing in life or belonging to this world could stem for an instant. I thought that I had been sleeping, and what I had seen was in a dream, and thinking it such, I made no mention of it to my wife or any other person. A few days after, I was attacked by a severe illness, which I attributed to my frequent exposure to chilling damps when employed in night fishing. However, in a while I recovered, and the dream, as I thought it, had nearly passed from my memory, when by a singular chance, the succeeding Midsummer Eve, I happened to be at the same occupation, in the same place, and at nearly the very same hour; when I again beheld the ship just as I had seen it that night twelvemonth. This second appearance strangely affected me, I had not been sleeping, neither had my imagination been heated by intoxication from liquor, as I never indulge in its use; and it seemed as though a curse attended its sight, for I was seized with the same illness as before, only differing from that by its greater severity. I have not made known the circumstance to a living soul save yourself; and since then I have never handled, nor will I attempt to use while in this part of the country a fishline on Midsummer Eve. You yourself may judge whether I have not had sufficient reason."

This man's relation arrested my levity, and strongly impressed itself on my imagination. I knew him too well, to suppose he was palming a fiction of his own framing upon me; or that it was the wild effervescence of a disordered fancy was equally improbable in one of his sober and steady temperament. The more I pondered on his words, the more inexplicable I thought his story, till I at length resolved on having my doubts and conjectures on the subject, removed or determined, by watching myself the next Midsummer Eve, which was not far distant. When I informed the fisherman of my intention, he decidedly and warmly disapproved of it, and strenuously endeav-

youred to prevent me from putting it in practice, observing withal, that he was morally certain I would suffer by my temerity. But his words being as they were, in opposition to, served only to more firmly fix my determination, and in truth, I began to waver in my opinion of his veracity, from the supposition that he wished to prevent my detection of what I was inclined somehow to think an imposition.

When the eventful night arrived, I left my companions with the ostensible purpose of trying my luck at night fishing. On arriving at my station, I seated myself with my loaded gun in my hand—a precaution I merely took to secure myself against the quondam' visit of any straggling beast of prey from the forest behind—at the foot of a large rock, whose summit was crowned by a stunted pine, in the dark shadow of which I was enveloped beneath. The river in front of me ran smoothly over a shelving ledge of stone, and not more than six inches in depth for about twenty yards from the shore, where commenced a line of rocks and raging surf that extended quite across to the opposite side, attended with a bellowing din that was peculiarly horrible in the stillness of night.

The moon did not rise till a late hour, and then her light was overcast and partially lost in the floating density of a cloudy atmosphere, from which, shining at times, caused a kind of flickering mirkiness, that gave to every object a frightful indistinctness of expression. The roaring of the troubled waters seemed sometimes to be far more vehement than at others; and the occasional rushing sound of the wind sweeping through the branches of the dark mass of trees in my rear, together with the distant, and often near howl of a prowling wolf, impressed me with a fearful sensation of loneliness. I would start, when a crackling noise in the wood, as if some voracious monster was forcing his way through to me, would arrest my attention, and grasping my gun more firmly, await the anticipated attack. That I felt rather uncomfortable I cannot deny; and more than once, I wished I had taken the fisherman's advice.

As midnight approached, I fancied things became more quiet and serene; and a sort of chilling weariness creeping over me, I was disposed to forget the purpose of my vigil in a drowsy fitful slumbering, when the roaring of the rapid seemed to be entirely hushed, and all around me to glow with an unearthly light, and at the same moment a long and prolonged shout as of exultation, resounded in my ears, and roused my dozing senses from their stupor. I raised my head and indeed saw, or fancied I saw, a ship bearing gallantly up through the

midst of the furious commotion before me; all her sails were set, and her decks crowded with people. A man in red apparel stood out at the end of her bowsprit; and another whose dress denoted authority, often came from the after part of the vessel, and leaning over the bow, looked earnestly into the water, and then, by the tone of his gestures, appeared to communicate with him on the lookout.

Except the person arrayed in scarlet, there was nothing extraordinary or peculiar in the dress or demeanor of the others. There were females on board, for I noted well their white drapery as it floated in the breeze; and they kept walking to and fro on the quarter deck, sometimes singly and at others in groupes. There was a crowd of persons in the waste of the ship, where all was hurry and confusion, and blows and stripes would appear to predominate for a while. Loud peals of laughter would burst forth frequently, interrupted by lamenting strains of mournful music, which would be succeeded for some moments by a deathlike silence, during which all was motionless and still; and then the same uproar, mingled with wailing and sorrow would commence again.

Torches would gleam with a strange fitful brightness round a spot where seemed stationary the majestic figure of a beautiful woman, whose earnest gaze was fixed on a lovely child at her feet; and the flash of steel in the torchlight, indicated that warriors with bared weapons were mingled in the throng.

I followed this apparition with my eyes, as it kept on though the foaming billows and rocks, till with another terrific and long-continued cry—that cry Oh, God! I can never forget!—it melted away, and vanished from my sight I know not how.—And the darkness returned, and the rapid resumed its roaring, the wind again moaned among the bending trees, and all was as before.

Whilst this vision lasted, which it did for the space of two or three minutes, my faculties were absorbed in an intensity of contemplation; but when it had past, actuated by an impulse which I cannot define, I started up, and in a frenzied agony made the air resound with my shrieks and vociferations, till, as if struck an overpowering blow by an unseen hand, I sank senseless on the ground.

The morning sun had been shining for some hours, when I found myself extended on the earth some distance from my seat of the preceding night, a slight cut in my temple, which I suppose was from falling against a stone, and my gun still fast clenched in my hand. I had just strength left me to crawl home to our establishment, whence I was sent down to my friends in Montreal for the benefit of proper medical atten-

dance ; and I rose from a sick bed, after a confinement of six months, emaciated in person, and a prey to mental agitation.

Many will suppose, that what I had witnessed was an illusion of the senses, arising from a distempered imagination acted upon by former impressions : but this could not virtually apply to my case. I had been told of a ship, it is certain, but no farther explanation or particulars were given, and I had never seen any other than the petty small craft that traded to Montreal in those days :—whereas, this was a ship of a size far superior to any in the mercantile trade, and was fitted and equipped in every respect like a vessel destined for war, as I have since had the fullest opportunity of ascertaining by comparison, from my vivid recollection of many peculiarities in her construction as it appeared to me.—So it is evident, no prior idea had been entertained by the faculties of retention. But the marvel of this wonderful apparition did not cease here.

Twenty years afterwards, some commercial transactions occasioned me to make a voyage to Barbadoes. The night before we made Carlisle bay, in which Bridgetown, the Capital of the Island is situated ; as our vessel was standing on under easy sail, I was leaning against the taffrel on the quarter deck, enjoying the freshness of the night breeze, which the sultry heat of the day in those warm latitudes makes so desirable, and which, in the present instance, was rendered delicious by the perceptible aromatic fragrance wafted from the shore, a characteristic of the vicinity of the West India Islands remarked by all seamen. The moon shone with a clear and mellow light in an unclouded heaven, and tinged with her silvery beams the glistening sails of our vessel, whose slow progress through the briary flood, was attended by a rippling noise, the only break on the silence around, and had a pleasing effect on the ear at such a lovely moment the heavenly calmness of which disposed my mind to serene meditation. The various events of my past life revolved in quick succession before me, when the fact of its being Midsummer Eve flashed upon me, with the consequent certain recollection of my adventure at the *Longue Sault* of the Ottawa river in Canada. I became soon enwrapped in a train of mental reasoning on the unaccountableness of that circumstance, until a loud cry which I too well remembered, roused my attention ; and the same ship with the same crew, and exact in every particular as I had seen her that night twenty years before, swept past me with swiftness that hurried her from my view ere reflection could be brought into action, and enable me to form either an idea or a conclusion. But so strongly was I impressed with the reality of what I had seen, that I turned to the man at the helm, and

asked him if he had seen or heard any thing unusual, he replied that he had observed a light in the sea at some distance, and fancied he heard at the same time a strange kind of cry, but could not account for either. I likewise inquired of the watch on deck at the time, and they gave a similar statement to that of the helmsman. This second appearance of the spectre ship was to me attended with the same consequence as the first; and it was the utmost exertion of the highest medical skill and attention that rescued me from the grave. And I have a presentiment, that if ever I am cursed with another sight of that ghostly vessel and her spectral crew, it will anticipate the quick approach of my dying hour.

* H. *

Isle St. Helens, May, 1826.

VANITY.

The talents of writers of almost every description have been long exercised in censuring the principle and exposing the effects of excessive vanity. The grave Philosopher has had recourse to sound logic, and unanswerable argument, to prove it an unworthy inmate of the human heart. The cynical Satirist has poured forth his spleen in expressions of contemptuous disgust. The humourist has called forth all his wit in holding up to ridicule the prevailing form it may have assumed during the age in which he lived; and the same maxims of wisdom—the same sneering taunts of sarcasm, and the same sallies of merriment—have been again and again made use of to bring this passion into disrepute and to banish it from the minds of men; with what success, or rather with what possibility of success to their authors or others, these efforts have been crowned it is not my present design to inquire. That there still exists a superfluity of it, in the world, is a position which for its boldness will hardly startle the most timid; and that its gratification, when founded upon the mortification of others, degenerates into something worse than folly, will scarcely be deemed by those who have (and who has not?) observed the vulgar pride which too frequently attaches to individuals and families who have by industry or good fortune been raised to a situation of wealth and respectability, superior to that to which they were entitled by birth, or accustomed by education. As this is a species of vanity, which, in comparison with self-conceit—pride of descent—and some others, has been but little noticed, though not less absurd in its nature, and certainly not less annoying in its exercise than either of these, I shall

give a short account of a family infected with it to no small degree and with whom I have been as familiarly acquainted as a man of contracted fortune yet independent feelings can be, with those whose sole measure of merit is pounds, shillings and pence.

Mr. Purse-proud was certainly cast by nature in the mould of a rich man, and though he had feelings which had they not been engulfed in his overwhelming love of money, might have formed a more elevated character, yet circumstances had so completely combined with nature, as to render him a mere wealthy, selfish, self-important man. His extraordinary success in business he attributed entirely to his own merit and shrewdness, and had never in the whole course of his life been so far duped as to believe that worth could be concealed under a shabby exterior, or that riches could be the accompaniments of moral turpitude or mental imbecility. Rich and virtuous he had always set down in his vocabulary as terms perfectly synonymous; and he would have considered it a paradox in nature that the man who could roll along in his splendid carriage, or number six figures on the credit side of his ledger, should be less respectable or less happy than he who is obliged to content himself with his natural locomotive powers, and who could never get more than three figures upon the favorable page of the mercantile Bible. It is true, that, as misfortune or extravagance impoverished his friends, he made a point of "cutting them," or, as a great exertion of magnanimity, treating them in the condescending manner he considered suitable to their reduced situation; and as young men rose from poverty to wealth, he would extend to them the smile of benignity, and the hand of the most *disinterested* friendship.

Having already acknowledged myself a man of contracted fortune it may appear inconsistent with the principles of the character I have described to have honoured me "*sua sponte*" not only by a call, but by a most friendly invitation to a view of his splendid dinner table, loaded with massy plate and costly delicacies. But I owed my good fortune, for such do I call every opportunity of observing the fantastic garbs and proteus forms which the vanity of the human heart will assume, entirely to a misunderstanding on the part of the purse-proud family who had heard "that the gentleman who had paid so much attention to Miss Stiffania Purseproud," having helped to a glass of wine and water at "Mrs. Flash's party was very rich and Miss Stiffy the familiar *sobriquet* of the eldest daughter of the family, was sure he was very genteel, and if Papa would only call &c." a blush said the rest in a manner too unequivocal, to allow the sagacious Father to hesitate. The call was made

and after due time the already mentioned invitation received,—somewhat flattered with this unlooked for advance towards an acquaintance from a family notorious for neglect of those whom wealth had not distinguished, I was determined to get the better of my habitual procrastination and not put Mr. Purse-proud, who, next to money, loved eating out of humour, by making dinner wait. Yet notwithstanding my laudable and politic resolution, I had but just stepped into the hall, as the party entered the dining room, into which I was ushered with much deference, and greeted by the host and hostess, as well as the remainder of the party with many demonstrations of regard. The important business of seating being over, the place of honor having as by general consent been yielded to me, I had an opportunity of observing the labour which it cost the elegantly attired Mrs. Purse-proud, to conceal the awkwardness of vulgarity, under the assumed mask of fashionable ease. As to her husband he seemed to think his wealth and self-importance sufficient to preclude the necessity of politeness or attention to any body or thing, except the cravings of his own appetite. The company though not numerous, consisted of both sexes, and I was somewhat surprised at the air of restraint and uneasiness which seemed to pervade the assembly, a feeling which though I perceived no cause for it, insensibly extended to myself and was effectually destructive to all social conversation. Fortunately I had a refuge in that employment which reduces to the same unvaried level every variety of temper and every propensity of character, an employment in the performance of which men as widely different as the poles concur and which apparently absorbs every faculty and gratifies every wish; but I need not describe the eager devotion that the dinner hour always commands—nor the busy silence which is only broken by the clatter of knives and forks—the hasty tread of the butler and the occasional “pleasure of wine with you maam”——which serve from time to time as the only vivifying sound, the sole principle of life which animates the lugubrious luxury of a splendid dinner table. This grand business, however, at length drew nigh its conclusion, the knives sent forth a feebler sound—the servant remained stationary and uncalled, the interchange of wine became more frequent, and I supposed of course that the gloomy dullness which had hitherto predominated, would be dissipated in the hilarity of that good humour, which is generally excited by the gratification of our immediate desires. But I looked in vain; mine host still sat in unabated grandeur no where to be acquired but among the obsequious satellites of a counting room—the lady seemed exhausted by her violent exertions,——Miss Stiffania,

or familiarly Miss Stiffy, sat in the rigidity of buckram and whalebone, a second young lady seemed determined to compensate for the gravity of the others by breaking out from time to time into a coarse and senseless giggle—while little Miss Primrose puckered and simpered in all the fascinating affectation of modest simplicity; the other ladies were remarkable for nothing but their taciturnity, and they all soon withdrew, leaving the gentlemen to pay their accustomed *devoirs* to the bottle.

After this reduction of our party, several attempts were made to carry on a conversation upon such subjects as usually engross the thoughts of persons too much absorbed in the regular routine of their business, to consider any other of the slightest importance, the alarming prospects of the commercial world—the number of failures, among which Mr. Purseproud did not omit to enumerate all those who were indebted to him, and to hint his own dangerous situation in order to convey an idea of the extent of his wealth and credit and of the many whose ruin would be a certain consequence of his. As to politics he had never entered more deeply into them than to read a money bill, and literature he had declared to be beneath the notice of a respectable, that is, a *rich man*. Not being particularly interested in these subjects, I soon followed the ladies, whom I found, the married ones dwelling with much earnestness upon the splendour of furniture—the wonderful precocity and good manners of their children, and the shocking impudence and viciousness of their servants—and the younger discussing the comparative merits of the milliners—the ill taste displayed in the dress of their acquaintances, and the unheard of presumption of a young man who was “nothing but a clerk,” and yet had the boldness to be polite to them. I began to entertain strong suspicions that I had not gained much by my change of place, when I had at length the satisfaction of ascertaining the cause of the silence and reserve which had so characterised the hours spent at the dinner table—link after link of the chain of connection was gradually unfolded, until at last out popped the mighty and highly flattering truth that I had been invited to what is technically called a “*Family Party*,”—That the wealthy Mr. and Mrs. Purseproud, as they climbed the hill of prosperity in the world, had raised to the same level with themselves their relations taken from the obscure indigence of their native villages and who not unnaturally considered the author of their sudden elevation as the most consequential and greatest of men, and looked upon him with a degree of awe and deference which had caused the stagnation of conversation, I might almost say of thought which I have already mentioned. Lest my readers should not have been equally

fortunate with myself I will attempt a concise definition of the species of assembly denominated a "*Family Party*," as I have had an opportunity of observing it. It generally consists of one great man and his lady, whose relations, with their husbands, wives and children, meet at the house of the great man, eat dinner as I have described, yawn till ten o'clock, and then go home, all fully impressed with the sense of their individual and family superiority. As there can be no better opportunity for the young ladies to display their attractions, a gentleman who, from his situation would be considered a desirable match for either, is singled out, for the honor of an invitation, which is repeated until the bait takes effect or they begin to perceive his insensibility to the honor of being connected with *our family*. It is by no means wonderful that a man almost a stranger, thus introduced into the bosom of a family should before discovering the feelings which swayed its members be somewhat flattered and disposed to view them with an indulgent eye, it was solely on this account that I listened with uncommon attention to the squalling of Miss Primrose, and tried to think it music—that I strove to relax the rigid features of Miss Stiffania, and consider her inanimate dullness as dignified composure that I was determined to be pleased with the whine of affected affable gaiety of Mrs. Purseproud, and attempted to make excuses for the surly and pompous civility of the masculine part of the family, and I resolved notwithstanding the lurking disgust I felt as the door closed upon me, to cultivate an acquaintance, the commencement of which I attributed (poor *simple* soul) to my own personal merit. Two invitations of this friendly nature I received from the Purseprouds before they discovered their mistake—but ere the time had arrived for a third they were struck aghast by the mortifying fact that they had been so far duped as to bestow extraordinary attentions upon one in circumstances of comparative poverty. They wondered how they could have found me tolerable, Miss Stiffy "was sure she thought me very presuming," and her father said I talked too much before my superiors, meaning himself even to be a "*rich man*." This change in their feelings, the family took no great pains to conceal from me, but as they had not entirely *cut* my acquaintance I resolved to avail myself of their previously often repeated invitations to be "*sociable*" a term of which they knew not the meaning, to observe them in the relaxation of the domestic fire side. It is astonishing how apt children and servants are to perceive the exact degree of deference in which a guest is held, and to render him respect or service accordingly. The footman who opened the door swung it carelessly to, and giving me a side leer without offering the slightest assistance,

went about his business.....Old Purseproud, whom I met at the door of the parlour, growled out a surly "how d'ye do," and then made the best of his way to bed, while Master Bobby the eldest son, bawled out "Mama here's the poor gentleman" and followed his father. The mama, I must do the justice to say, made desperate attempts to unite dignity with condescending affability; of the young ladies, the manner of the one was marked by a slight increase of her usual undisturbed and inflexible coldness—and the other had substituted in place of modest simplicity an air of pertness which spoke volumes of her own importance and my want of it. As to the giggler of the family she maintained her usual character—in short since the fatal discovery that revealed to them the meagre state of my purse, I have been treated with surly rudeness by the men, and affected haughtiness by the ladies—with insolence by the servants and impertinence by the children, until I have at length been driven to the conclusion, that of all species of vanity that which results from the possession of wealth is the most despicable, and that so long as a family, devoid of other requisites for respectability, conceives its own importance and influence to be sufficiently great to authorise a neglect of those rules which form the bond of society, it will surely draw upon itself the hate of the thoughtless and the contempt of the virtuous. Too high self-estimation will serve but as a handle to detract, to draw us below our proper level—and the man or the family who assumes what he has not, is frequently denied the merit which he really possesses.

C.



COLONIAL JOURNAL.

LOWER CANADA.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER.

FRIDAY, 21st January, 1826.

This day at three o'clock his Excellency the Governor in Chief, came down in State to the Legislative Council Chamber, and being seated on the Throne, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was sent down to the House of Assembly to command their attendance before his Excellency, and that House being come up, his Excellency opened the Session with the following speech :

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

The Provincial Parliament has seldom met under circumstances more interesting to the country at large, or when contentment and happiness more generally prevailed in all parts of it :—

We see a people grateful for the blessings which Providence has poured upon them, and sensible of the many advantages they enjoy under their laws. But it must at the same time be evident to us all, that the rapidly improving state of this Province calls for new measures calculated to give encouragement where a disposition to industry and enterprize is so manifest and so general.

It becomes my duty, therefore, to call your attention to these as principal subjects for your inquiries in this Session. They are more peculiarly

important at this time when the Imperial Parliament has made so great a change in the Commercial Policy of the State, by opening to the Colonies an almost unlimited participation in all the advantages of trade hitherto reserved for the Mother Country.

In affairs of such immediate and deep consequence to the Province, I shall hope to receive that support and assistance which you are well qualified to give me, and by which the country shall feel the benefits that always result from a cordial co-operation in the several branches of the Legislature,

Gentlemen of the Assembly,

I shall cause to be laid before you the accounts of Revenue and expenditure in the last year, with a statement of the other incidental expenses of that period, the nature of which will be fully explained. I shall also direct the proper officers to lay before you the Estimates of the probable Revenue and expenditure of the current year. It will give me great satisfaction to find that the differences which have so long subsisted in the Legislature, on financial matters, have been finally removed, leaving no difficulty now to prevent the grant of those supplies which it is my duty to ask in his Majesty's name for the support of His Government in this Province.

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council,

and *Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,*

It is my wish to call your immediate attention to those Acts of the Imperial Parliament to which I have alluded, in order that a respectful representation may be made on the subject of any part of them, which are intended for the general advantage of the colonies, may be found to affect in an unfavourable manner, the particular interests of this Province; and it will not be surprising if in a new system comprehending so many, various, and even opposite interests as are those of the British Colonies, some unforeseen grounds of objection may be found.

Of the objects more immediately connected with the internal State of the Province, which require your consideration, the most important are those which relate to the alteration and improvement of the system of Judicature, and to the adoption of measures tending to afford better security to property. The want of Register Offices has long been felt as a most serious evil. It has of late become destructive of confidence in the transfer of property; it must operate as a bar to the introduction of capital and to the purchase of land; and is, in many ways, most hurtful to the improvement of this Province.

I trust you will very seriously consider this evil, and again apply yourselves to devise a proper remedy.

It must be obvious that the labours and details of Government require to be assisted in proportion to the increase of the population, and to all the new circumstances of a young country rapidly rising from infant powers, to those of mature and vigorous strength. It is highly desirable that every country, in its most remote parts should feel that the laws, can reach the evils existing, and afford protection, where the want of it at present checks the general improvement.

I have formerly recommended to you, and still do strongly recommend a more accurate subdivision of the

Province into counties, townships, and parishes, with a view to distribute the Magistrates more equally, to regulate the militia better, and to inquire into, and, if possible, assist the local interests of each country, and its minor subdivisions, separately.

I scarcely need advert to the subject of education in this Province. It has long occupied the public attention, and has acquired increasing interest by the increasing desire for its inestimable advantages; neither would I think it necessary to recommend continued support to the long established Institutions of Charity, were it not to bring under special consideration a better system for the care of the Insane. Every feeling of humanity prompts us to compassion for these unhappy objects; and yet I regret to say, that the systematic and proper treatment of them with a view to their restoration to Society, has not been sufficiently provided for in this Province.

In the course of the Session I shall call your attention to the state of the Roads;—It is a subject most important to the improvement of the country, but requires more detail than can be given on this occasion.

Among the Laws which expire after this Session, there are several of the highest consequence to the good Government of this country; I trust they may be renewed and made permanent, for temporary measures, in matters of such a nature, cannot but be prejudicial where existence of Courts of Law of any description, is made doubtful or uncertain.

I recommend to you, Gentlemen, with great earnestness, the general interests of the Province. If they shall be fostered by a wise system and a liberal policy, there cannot be a doubt that the progress of public improvement and prosperity will be greatly increased; affording the best and most gratifying proof that the public expectations and hopes have not been disappointed in the result of your labours in this Session.

Among the Honourable the Legis-

lative Councillors present were : the Honorable Chief Justice of the Province, Speaker, and the Honbles. Messrs. Hale, Richardson, Ryland, Caldwell, Perrault, Perceval, Taschereau, and Bell.

The following members of the Assembly were present, viz :... Messrs. Belanger, Berthelot, Blanchet, Boissonault, Borgia, Bureau, Cannon, Carron, Clouet, Courteau, Després, De Rouville, Drolet, Fraser, Lagucux, Latterrière, Leslie, Neilson, Papineau, Quirouet, Ranvoyzé, Robitaille, Simpson, Stuart, (Atty. Genl.) Taschereau, Viger, and Valiériés. (27.)

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER.

Wednesday 25th January, 1826.

This day at twelve o'clock the Council went up to the Castle of St. Louis, and presented the following address in answer to His Excellency the Governor in Chief's Speech at the opening of the Session :

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,

GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and their several dependencies; Vice Admiral of the same, General and Commander of all His Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and their several dependencies, and the Islands of Newfoundland, Prince Edward, Cape Breton, Bermuda, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Excellency,

We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Legislative Council of Lower Canada in Provincial Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Excellency our humble thanks for your Speech from the Throne.

The circumstances under which your Excellency has now met the

Provincial Parliament, are highly interesting: we acknowledge with gratitude the blessings which Providence has poured upon the happy people of this Province, and we are fully sensible of the many advantages we enjoy under our laws, and the administration of His Majesty's Government by your Excellency.

The rapidly improving state of the Province, and the great change which has taken place in the commercial policy of the state, in consequence of recent Acts of the Imperial Parliament, will probably call for new measures, calculated to give encouragement to industry and enterprize; and we shall not only pay respectful and immediate attention to any suggestions your Excellency may offer on this head but cheerfully assist and cordially co-operate with the several branches of the Legislature, to the best of our judgment, in affairs of such deep consequences to the country.

We shall not fail to consider, whether any part of the new Acts of the Imperial Parliament affect in an unfavourable manner the interest of this Province; and in that case, we shall make our most respectful representations accordingly.

The objects referred to by your Excellency, more immediately connected with the internal state of the Province, shall receive our most serious consideration; and among these we concur with your Excellency in opinion, that no one is of greater importance than the establishment of Register Offices, the uniform effect of which, in all countries, has been to encourage the introduction of capital, and to raise the value of fixed property.

The system of judicature, the subdivisions of the Province, the distribution of the Magistracy, the better regulation of the Militia, the establishments for Education, for the care of the Insane, and for other charitable purposes, the state of the roads and the Laws which are about to expire—shall all, as much as possible receive our attentive consideration; and we

neg leave to assure your Excellency that we shall never lose sight of your Excellency's earnest recommendation, to foster the general interests of the Province, as much as depends upon us, so that the progress of public improvement may be increased, and afford proof that expectation has not been disappointed in the result of the labours of this session.

To which His Excellency the Governor in Chief was pleased to return the following answer:

Gentlemen of the Legislative Council,

"It has always afforded me great pleasure to express the confidence which I place in the deliberations of the Legislative Council; and in the present state of the Province, I feel the highest satisfaction in the assurances which you still give me by this address."

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

SATURDAY, 21st January.

James Leslie, Esq., Member for the East Ward of Montreal, took his seat in the House.

A bill was introduced to regulate and grant for a limited time, certain fees to the Clerks of the Markets, in the cities of Quebec and Montreal, and in the Town of Three Rivers—read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday next.

A Committee was appointed to prepare an Address in answer to His Excellency's Speech at the opening of the Session.

The following Committee were appointed, viz:—The Committee of Privileges, the Grand Committee for the Courts of Justice, and the Committee for Agriculture and Commerce.

Five hundred copies of the Journal of this Session were ordered to be printed.

Then the House adjourned.

MONDAY, 23d January.

The following Petitions were presented to the House, and referred to Special Committees:—Petition of

divers inhabitants of the fief Gross Bois, in the County St. Maurice.

Petition from the Minister of the Presbyterian congregation established in Montreal, and others.

Petition from Robert Jones, of the Township of Staubridge.

The Report of the Commissioners appointed under the Act of the 1st George IV. cap. 6, relating to the Lachine Canal, was presented to the House.

The House adjourned.

[The Canal appears to be completed, except the building of the toll-gatherers' houses, &c. the commissioners complain of the high rates of toll—state that boats went down the rapids of the St. Lawrence, until the lowness of the water prevented them, recommend a reduction of the tolls, and offer a schedule nearly corresponding to the tolls on the New York canal—propose exempting from toll wood-boats, &c. on their return empty, and doubling the rates on those which come down by the St. Lawrence, and ascend by the canal. £107,000 has been appropriated for the canal; of this sum £109,520 18 7 had been expended on the 6th inst.; £2,079 1 5 then remained in the hands of the commissioners. The net tolls levied, after deducting expenses of collection, are given at £1,248 2s 3d. The last loans authorized by provincial statutes, viz. £20,000 in 1824; and £30,000 in 1825, bear an interest of 6 per cent., except £20,000 of the loan of 1824, which is at 5 per cent.]

TUESDAY, 24th January.

Divers Petitions from the President and Trustees of the Common of Three Rivers, from the Honorable East India Company, and from the inhabitants of the Cote de Beaupré, in the county of Northumberland, were presented to the House, received and referred to Special Committees.

The Address of thanks, in answer to His Excellency's Speech at the opening of the Session, was voted by the House, and messengers were appointed to know from his Excellency

when he would please to receive them with the said Address.

The House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 25th January.

The messengers reported that they had waited upon his Excellency the Governor in Chief to know his Excellency's pleasure when he would receive the House with their Address, and that his Excellency had been pleased to appoint to-morrow, at noon, to receive the House at the Castle of St. Louis.

The Report of the Commissioners for the District of Quebec, appointed under the Act of the 5th Geo. 4, to appropriate certain sums of money towards the support of Hospitals, and for other charitable purposes therein mentioned, was presented to the House, and read.

A Petition from the Magistrates and other inhabitants of St. Armand, and other Townships, praying for Courts of Justice, Register Offices, &c., was presented to the House, and referred to a Special Committee. Several Petitions from the Wesleyan Methodists of different parts of the Province, praying for the privilege of keeping their own Register of Baptism, Marriages and Burials, and of performing their clerical functions, were presented to the House, and referred to a Special Committee.

A Petition from the Corporation of the Montreal General Hospital, praying for relief, was presented and referred to a Special Committee.

A petition from the Ministry, Deacon and Congregation of St. John's Chapel, in the city of Quebec, praying for certain privileges, was presented, and referred to a Special Committee.

A Bill to remove all doubts with respect to the benefit of the cession of property, to which Debtors are entitled in certain cases therein mentioned, and another Bill to make a new and more convenient division of the Province into Counties, for the purpose of effecting a more equal representation thereof in the Assembly than heretofore, were both, upon leave

obtained, presented to the House, and read for the first time.

According to order, the Bill to regulate and grant for a limited time, certain fees to the clerks of the markets, of this Province, was read a second time and committed for Friday.

An humble Address was then voted to his Excellency the Governor in Chief, praying his Excellency would be pleased to inform the House whether his Excellency had received any communication from his Majesty's Ministers on the subject of the Address to the King respecting Education, and the Estates of the late Order of the Reverend Fathers' Jesuits in this Province, and that he would be pleased to lay such information before the House.

Then the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, 26th January.

This day at the hour appointed, the Honourable Speaker, accompanied by the House, went up to the Castle of St. Louis, with the Address of the House, in answer to the Speech of his Excellency the Governor in Chief to both Houses of the Provincial Parliament, at the opening of the Session; and the said Address was delivered to his Excellency by Mr. Speaker, and is as follows:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and their several dependencies, Vice Admiral of the same, Lieutenant General and Commander of all His Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and their several dependencies, and in the Islands of Newfoundland, Prince Edward, Cape Breton, Bermuda, &c.

May it please your Excellency,

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of

Lower Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled, beg leave to return to your Excellency our humble thanks for your gracious Speech at the opening of this session.

We have great satisfaction in concurring with your Excellency in thinking that the Provincial Parliament has seldom met under circumstances more interesting to the country at large, or at a period at which its inhabitants were more sensible of the happiness experienced by them under His Majesty's paternal Government.

While we observe that the many blessings which Providence has conferred on this Province have not failed to inspire a just sense of gratitude in the people, who also fully appreciate the advantages they enjoy under their laws, we are aware, with your Excellency, that the rapidly improving state of this Province calls for new measures, calculated to give encouragement, where a disposition to industry and enterprise is so manifest and so general.

In directing our attention to these, as principal subjects for our inquiries, your Excellency has imposed on us a duty which we shall be anxious to discharge in such manner as may most effectually advance the growing prosperity of the country, by promoting and aiding industry and enterprise in the development of its resources. Measures of this tendency, we concur with your Excellency, in considering as particularly important at this time, when the Imperial Parliament, in a spirit of liberality and justice, which demands our profound gratitude, has made so great a change in the commercial policy of the State, by allowing to the Colonies an extensive participation in the advantages of trade hitherto reserved to the Mother Country.

Coinciding as we do with your Excellency's views on this subject, we shall be desirous of affording all the aid in our power in the advancement of them; by which the country will feel the benefits that always result

from the cordial co-operation of the several branches of the Legislature.

We will receive with respectful attention, the accounts of Revenue and Expenditure in the last year and the Estimates of the probable Revenue and Expenditure of the current year, which your Excellency purposes to cause to be laid before us. In the final removal of the differences which have so long subsisted in the Legislature, on financial matters, we shall experience with your Excellency, the greatest satisfaction; the effect of which will be to obviate difficulty in granting supplies for the support of His Majesty's Government.

The Acts of the Imperial Parliament, to which your Excellency is pleased to call our attention, will receive our most deliberate consideration, with a view to such respectful representation of them as the interests of this Colony may require.

We are fully impressed with the importance of your Excellency's recommendation on the subject of an alteration and improvement of the system of Judicature, as well as of that which relates to the establishment of Register Offices, and will deem it incumbent on us to apply our attention, most assiduously, to these measures.

Of the urgent expediency of extending to the remote inhabited parts of the Province an efficient administration of the law, and the powers of Government, we are fully sensible, in order to remedy existing evils, and afford protection where the want of it at present checks the general improvement; and in connexion with such measures, your Excellency's judicious recommendation of a more accurate subdivision of the Province will receive our particular attention.

The importance of other subjects noticed by your Excellency as deserving our consideration, we fully appreciate; and among these, that of Education, which has long occupied public attention and has acquired increasing interest by the increasing desire for its inestimable advantages,

will receive our most zealous consideration. From your Excellency's recommendation of these subjects, we shall derive an increased sense of obligation to adopt such measures respecting them as may fall within the scope of our power.

In recommending to us with earnestness the general interests of the Province, your Excellency has followed the impulse of your well known zeal for advancing the prosperity of this important colony, and has given a new proof of your solicitude for its welfare. Actuated, as we are, by a sincere desire to co-operate cordially with the other branches of the Legislature in every measure designed to advance the public interests, we most willingly entertain, in common with your Excellency, the agreeable hope that under the influence of a wise and liberal policy, the progress of public improvement and prosperity may be so promoted and assisted by the measures of the present Session, as not to disappoint the expectations of the country.

To which his Excellency was pleased to make the following answer :

Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

It is highly gratifying to me to find that your sentiments so fully coincide with mine on the present state of the Province. From the assurances which this address conveys to me in terms so cordially expressed, I cannot but anticipate the happiest result from our mutual labours for the public good.

FRIDAY, 27th January.

Mr. Secretary Cochran delivered the following Message :—

“ The Governor in Chief lays before the House of Assembly, in compliance with an Act passed in the last session of the Provincial Legislature, authorising an Enumeration and Return of the Population of the Province, copies of all the returns which have as yet been received from the Commissioners appointed under the Act in the several counties, according to the Schedule annexed.

Signed DALHOUSIE.

“ Castle of St. Louis, Quebec, 25th January, 1826.

“ The Governor in Chief takes an early opportunity of communicating to the Assembly a despatch which he has received from the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick and of acquainting the House that he felt it to be his Duty to authorize an immediate relief to be sent on the part of His Majesty's Government to the sufferers under the dreadful calamities stated in that despatch.

“ Having accepted the offer of assistance most handsomely made by several Merchants and Inhabitants of Quebec, to expedite these supplies, he also transmits to the House a report of their proceedings and expenditure and a statement of the additional supplies which he caused to be furnished from His Majesty's Military Magazines.

“ The Governor in Chief not doubting the generous sympathy which the Legislature of this Province will feel in these details submits this expenditure to the consideration of the House of Assembly, and recommends that provision may be made for the balance of £2243 3s. 1d. sterling, which he has caused to be advanced by warrant upon the Receiver-General, or for such part of it as the Assembly shall see fit to cover by appropriation. DALHOUSIE.

“ Castle of St. Lewis, Quebec, 27th January, 1826.

The following Schedule is alluded to in the preceding Message.

Schedule of Enumeration and Return of the Population of Lower Canada, according to the Returns received.

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| County of Bedford, | 23412 |
| Buckinghamshire, | 33620 |
| Cornwallis, | 20012 |
| Dorchester, | 19707 |
| Devon, | 11342 |
| Effingham, | } 14921 |
| Gaspé, | |
| Hertford, | 14044 |

• From Cape Chat to Point Macquerel.

| | |
|-----------------|-------|
| Hampshire, | 13285 |
| Huntingdon, | 39586 |
| Kent, | 11265 |
| Leinster, | 19757 |
| Montreal, | 37252 |
| Northumberland, | 11807 |
| Orleans, | 4022 |
| Quebec, | 28917 |
| Richelieu, | 36328 |
| Surrey, | 11578 |
| St. Maurice, | 21087 |
| Warwick, | 15935 |
| York, | 30198 |

Total,.....420,797

Mr. *Curon* presented the report of the Commissioners for the District of Three-Rivers, under the Act for the maintenance of the insane, &c.

Mr. *Taschereau* brought up the petition of Lt. Col. Vassal de Monviel, praying remuneration for extra services—referred.

Mr. *Clouet* brought up the petition of Bernard A. Panet and Thos. Aylwin; Mr. *Cannon*, the petition of Fleury de la Gorgendière and F. A. Larue, Commissioners to take the Census for Quebec and Hampshire, praying additional remuneration for their services—referred.

Mr. *Berthelot* brought up the petition of the Wesleyan Methodists of Three-Rivers, praying right to marry, baptize and bury—referred.

Mr. *Simpson* brought up the petition of divers inhabitants of the County of York, praying relief in relation to lands held on the lines between the two Provinces—referred.

Mr. *Berthelot* brought up the petition of Sarah Sills of Three-Rivers, praying payment of an account due her late brother as Inspector of the Gaol at Three-Rivers, and also the petition of divers Inhabitants of Three-Rivers, praying regulations as to Bakers and the price of bread—both referred.

Mr. *Belanger* brought up the petition of divers Merchants of Quebec, praying the construction of a Canal at Chambly; and also that of divers

Merchants at Quebec, praying for the improvement of the navigation of the River Richelieu—referred.

Mr. *Valieres* brought up the petition of the St. Lawrence Association praying an aid—referred.

Mr. *Blanchet* brought up the petition of Hamilton Leslie, of Quebec, praying a premium for a new system of teaching languages about to be published—referred.

Mr. *Blanchet* moved for the reading of the several entries in the Journals relating to Register Offices; the House divided, Yeas 13, Nays 9—and they were accordingly read.

Mr. *Neilson* from the Committee on the Petitions of the Wesleyan Methodists reported favourably; the House, after being in committee on the report, came to the following

Resolve, “That it is expedient to empower the Wesleyan Ministers in connexion with the British Society, known by the name of the British Conference, to keep Registers of marriages, baptisms and burials, according to the Laws of this Province, under certain restrictions and considerations.”

Mr. *Valieres* obtained leave to bring in a Bill according to this resolution—second reading on Monday next.

Mr. *Taschereau* obtained leave to bring in a Bill to continue for a limited time the 4th Geo. IV. for the speedy remedy of abuses prejudicial to Agriculture; and also another to continue two Acts relating to persons keeping houses of public entertainment—second reading on Tuesday next.

The Bill for a new sub-division of the Province to effect a more equal representation in the Assembly—was read a second time and referred to a Special Committee.

Mr. *Neilson* moved, and it was accordingly resolved:

That an Address be presented to His Excellency praying that he would be pleased to lay before the House a statement of the monies advanced on Letters of Credit not accounted for, or the persons, accountable not yet

discharged; and also a statement of monies advanced on accountable warrants or otherwise not yet accounted for.

And also;—another Address praying that there may be laid before the House any despatch from His Majesty's Government on the subject of the defalcation of the late Receiver-General, subsequently to the Address of the House of 17th February 1824, praying that the defalcation should be made good to the Province, or such parts of the despatch or other information as His Excellency may be in possession of.

SATURDAY, 28th January.

Mr. *Latourrette* brought up the petition of divers Inhabitants of the County of Northumberland—referred.

The returns of the population were referred to a Special Committee, with instructions to inquire into the progressive increase of the population, and whether the returns are according to the requirements of the Act and are correct.

Mr. *Taschereau* obtained leave to bring in a Bill to continue for a limited time the Act for the establishment of Fairs—second reading on Tuesday.

The House in Committee on that part of His Excellency's speech relating to the administration of Justice, resolved, that it is expedient to amend the Judicature Act of the 34th Geo. III, Mr. *Viger* accordingly presented a Bill—second reading on Wednesday next.

Mr. *Vulieres* moved, and it was ordered that a Committee be appointed to inquire into the execution of the Act of last year to reprint certain Laws of the Province.

Mr. *Blanchet* moved, and it was resolved, that on Wednesday the House go into Committee on that part of His Excellency's speech recommending Register offices; and that on Friday next the House go into Committee on His Excellency's recommendation to provide an Asylum for the Insane.

Mr. *De Lery*, Master in Chancery, delivered a Message from the Legis-

lative Council, informing the Assembly that the Council had passed a Bill "to render persons convicted of petty larceny competent witnesses"—second reading on Tuesday next.

Mr. *Neilson* obtained leave to introduce a Bill to extend the provisions of an Act regarding purchasers of property sold at Sheriff's sales—second reading on Tuesday.

The Bill regulating the Fees of the Clerks of the Markets was passed in Committee of the whole House, and ordered to be engrossed.

The *Cessio Bonorum* Bill was read a second time, and referred to a Committee of the whole House on Tuesday next.

MONDAY, 30th January.

Andrew Stuart, Esquire, Member for the Upper Town of Quebec, having taken the oath according to Law, took his seat in the House.

The Messengers charged with the Address of this House to His Excellency the Governor in Chief, praying he would be pleased to inform this house whether he had received any communication from His Majesty's Ministers on the subject of the Address of this house to the King respecting education and the Jesuits estates; reported that His Excellency had been pleased to say that the Address on the above subject had been laid before the throne, but that he had not yet received any answer thereof.

Andrew William Cochrane, Esquire, Civil Secretary to His Excellency the Governor in Chief, was admitted with a message from His Excellency, relating to the Assembly accounts and other statements of the Revenue and expenditure of Lower Canada.

Mr. *Taschereau* brought in a Bill to make perpetual a certain Act, relating to the Judicature in the Inferior district of Gaspé, which Bill was read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday next.

Mr. *Viger* brought in a Bill to authorise Counsel to address Juries on behalf of prisoners in capital cases.

which was read for the first time and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday next.

Mr. Belanger brought in a Bill to facilitate the operation of the existing laws relating to leases, which was read for the first time and ordered to be read a second time on Saturday next.

It was resolved that on Saturday next the house do form itself into a general committee to consider the expediency of making regulations to obviate the inconvenience arising from the large number of dogs in the streets of Quebec and Montreal, and to reduce the number by means of tax.

The House resolved itself into a Committee, on His Excellency the Governor in Chief's Message, relating to the sufferers by fire in the Province of New Brunswick, and the report was ordered to be received tomorrow.

A Bill relating to privileges on behalf of religious classes, denominated Wesleyan Methodists; was read a second time, and referred to a Committee of the whole House on Friday next.

The House adjourned.

TUESDAY, 31st January.

The Messengers charged with the addresses of the House to his Excellency the Governor in Chief, praying he would be pleased to lay before them a statement of the money advanced on letters of credit, and on accountable warrants; and also to lay before the House any despatch from his Majesty's Government on the subject of the defalcation of the late Receiver General, &c., reported that his Excellency had been pleased to give for answer that he would comply with the desires of this House.

A Petition from the Ladies of the Compassionate Society, praying for pecuniary aid to support their Institution—referred.

A Petition from the Quebec Friendly Society, praying to be incorporated—referred.

A Petition of divers Merchants of Quebec, praying the remission of the

Ordinance of the 17th Geo. III. cap. 3, relating to Bills of Exchange.

A Petition of Joseph Dorion, Esq. and other electors of the County of Hampshire, praying that the Commissioners may resume the examination of witnesses—to be considered on Friday next.

A Bill was introduced for the qualification of Justices of the Peace, second reading on Monday next.

A Bill was introduced to facilitate a legal remedy to such as have demands on his Majesty's Provincial Government—second reading on Monday.

It was resolved that the House do form itself into a General Committee on Wednesday the 8th February, to consider if it is expedient to adopt measures for the security of the public monies, &c.

An humble address was voted to his Excellency the Governor in Chief, praying he will be pleased to order to be laid before the House, a statement of such monies as may have come into the hands of P. A. De Gaspé, Esq. as Sheriff of the District of Quebec, &c.

An engrossed Bill respecting fees to the Clerks of the Markets, was read for the third time, and ordered to be carried to the Legislative Council.

A Bill was introduced for the relief of the sufferers by fire in the neighbouring Province of N. Brunswick—second reading for Friday next.

A Bill to continue for a limited time, an Act relating to Agricultural improvements and industry in this Province, was read a second time, and referred.

A Bill relating to persons who keep houses of public entertainment, was read a second time and referred.

A Bill from the Legislative Council, to render persons, convicted of petit larceny, competent witnesses, was read a second time and referred.

A Bill concerning purchasers of real property, sold at Sheriff's sales, read a second time and referred.

The House resolved itself into a Committee on the Bill relating to cession of property, and reported the Bill without any amendments; ordered to be engrossed.

Then the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 1st February.

The Messengers appointed to carry up the Address of the House to his Excellency the Governor in Chief, praying for an advance to the Clerk, on account of the contingencies, reported that his Excellency had given for answer, that he would comply with the wishes of the House.

The public statement of the Provincial Revenue of the Crown, and of the expences of the Civil Government of this Province, laid before the House on Monday last, were referred to a Committee of seven members.

Leave was given to introduce a Bill to continue the Act regulating the measure of Coals, and the said Bill was received and read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday next.

The Committee on the Petition of the ministers, deacons and congregation of St. John's Chapel, in the city of Quebec, reported, that they had examined the allegations of the said petition, are of opinion that the prayer thereof ought to be granted. A bill was accordingly presented for the relief of certain Protestants therein mentioned, and the same was received and read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Saturday next.

The Committee on the Petition of the inhabitants of the *Fief Gros Bois*, county of St. Maurice, reported, that they had examined the allegation of the said petition, and are of opinion that the conclusions thereof ought to be granted.

A Bill to enable the inhabitants of the *Seigniory of Gros Bois*, in the county of St. Maurice, to provide for the better regulation of the common in the said Seigniory, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday next.

The Committee on the Petition of

the ministers, elders, and members of the Presbyterian Churches at Montreal, reported, that they had examined the prayer of the petitioners, and are of opinion that it ought to be granted.

A Bill was accordingly presented to afford relief to certain religious congregations at Montreal, denominated Presbyterians, and the same was received and read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Saturday next.

It was resolved, that on Tuesday next, the House in Committee, would take into consideration the expediency of repealing the Ordinance 28th George III. cap. 8. to prevent persons practising physic, surgery, and midwifery in the towns of Quebec and Montreal without licence.

The Message of his Excellency Sir Francis Burton, of the 8th February last, accompanied with a presentment of the grand Bay of Gaspé, relating to the building of a Canal, being read, upon the motion it was resolved, that on Wednesday next the House, in Committee, would take the said Message and presentment into consideration.

A Petition from the Quebec Fire Assurance Company praying for an Act of Incorporation, was presented and referred to a Committee of five members.

A Petition from the Members of the British and Canadian School Society of Quebec, and a Petition from the members of the like establishment at Montreal, also a Petition from the members of the National and Free School at Montreal, were respectively presented to the House, and referred to a Special Committee.

A Petition from the branch Pilots above and below the bar' jur of Quebec, praying for some further regulations, was presented and referred to a Committee, of five members.

Andrew Wm. Cochrane, Esquire, Civil Secretary to his Excellency the Gov. in Chief, was admitted within the Bar, and delivered to Mr. Speaker three Messages from his Excellency

cy, which were read by Mr. Speaker, all the members of the House being uncovered, which are as follows :—

“ The Governor in Chief informs the Assembly, that having, while in England, submitted and strongly recommended to his Majesty’s Government, a memorial from the Chief Justice and Judges of this Province, praying that their Commissions may be granted them during good behaviour, and that a provision be made for their retirement after a certain number of year’s service, he received a dispatch from Earl Bathurst, his Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Colonies, informing him, that he would recommend to his Majesty that the appointments of the Judges in this Province should be placed on the footing on which corresponding appointments are placed in England, provided that the Legislature of this Province should make a provision for their retirement according to the scale which is adopted in England.

“ The Governor in Chief takes this opportunity of again bringing under the consideration of the House the expediency of increasing the pension granted to Sir James Monk, late Chief Justice of Montreal; and also of submitting to them a recommendation that some provision be made for the widow of the late Mr. Justice Ogden; and he communicates to the House a copy of a dispatch relating to these subjects, which he has received from his Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Colonies.

(Signed) “ DALHOUSIE.

“ Castle St. Louis, {

Quebec, 1st Feb. 1826. }

“ *Downing-street, 28th July, 1825.*

“ MY LORD.—“ I have received his Majesty’s commands to desire that your Lordship will in the next Session of the Legislature of the Province of Lower-Canada, recommend, in the strongest manner, the claims of Sir James Monk to an increase of the pension which has been granted to him as late Chief Justice of Montreal; and you will express his Majesty’s confident expectation, that on a considera-

tion of the case, he will be considered entitled to three fourths of his salary as a reward for his long and faithful services; and which his Majesty is of opinion is not more than an adequate provision with reference to the zealous and upright manner in which Sir James Monk executed the important duties confided to him, and the advanced age at which he retired from the Bench.

“ In an Act of Parliament passed in the last Session for making provision for the Judges of England on their retirement, and as the justice and policy of granting a liberal superannuation is equally applicable to Judges in the Colonies, I have had less hesitation in submitting to his Majesty the propriety of again bringing Sir J. Monk’s claims under the consideration of the Legislature,

“ I am also to instruct your Lordship to recommend to the Legislature to make some provision for the widow of the late Mr. Justice Ogden; and your Lordship will state, that his Majesty considers that lady to have strong claims to favourable consideration, from the long and able services of her late husband, and the straitened circumstances which it is understood she is left at her advanced period of life.

“ I have the honor to be &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) BATHURST.

“ Lt. G. the Earl of Dalhousie,

G. C. B. &c. &c. &c.

“ The Governor in Chief informs the Assembly that he has received instructions from his Majesty’s Government to recommend to the Legislature of this Province, and he does accordingly recommend, that a sum not exceeding 500*l*. be granted for the purpose of enabling his Majesty to remunerate the Honorable John Hale, who acted as arbitrator on the part of this Province in the year 1823, for determining and adjusting the question of arrears, and the proportion of duties payable to the Province of Upper Canada, under an Act of the Imperial Parliament 3d Geo. IV., cap. 119, out of the revenue raised in the

Province; and also, that provision be made for the proportion belonging to this Province, of the like sum to be granted to Mr. Robert Morrogh, who was chosen and acted as third arbitrator under the said Act, for the aforesaid purposes.

(Signed) "DALHOUSIE."

"Castle of St. Louis, Quebec, 1st February, 1826."

"The Governor in Chief informs the Assembly, that having, while in England, had communication with his Majesty's Government on the subject of the Address of the Assembly of the 11th February, 1824, respecting a road of communication between this Province and New Brunswick, he has been authorised to inform the Legislature of this Province that although his Majesty's Government cannot hold out any expectation of a direct aid by Parliamentary grant for such a purpose, there will be no objection on the part of his Majesty's Government to advance, as a loan, any sum of money which may be required, either for this object, or for any other public undertaking of the like nature, in this or the neighbouring provinces of his Majesty's North American dominions, if the Provincial Legislatures will respectively, and in their several just proportions, guarantee the payment of an interest of three per cent. on such advances, and provide a sinking fund for the gradual liquidation of the principal loan.

(Signed) "DALHOUSIE."

"Castle of St. Louis, Quebec, 1st Feb., 1826."

Mr. Vallieres moved an address to the King, thanking his Majesty for his commands signified by message, by which his Majesty has manifested his beneficent and paternal intentions towards his loyal subjects, by giving his royal consent to the appointment of the Judges in this Province on the footing on which they are in England:—

And a committee of seven members was appointed to prepare the draft of

an address accordingly.

An humble address was then voted to his Excellency the Governor in Chief, to thank his Excellency for his message of this day, relating to the appointment of the Judges in this Province, and placing them upon the same footing as corresponding officers are placed in England.

A Message was received from the Legislative Council, with a bill for removing all doubts respecting the construction of a certain part of an Act of the 35th Geo. III. cap. 4. intitled, An Act to establish the forms of Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, &c. desiring the concurrence of the House; and the said bill was read for the first time.

It was resolved, that on Saturday next, the House in Committee, will consider the expediency of authorizing the Governor to grant Licences in certain cases for keeping houses of public entertainment, without payment of any duty or fee.

An engrossed bill to remove any doubts with respect to the benefit of the cession of property, was read a third time, passed and ordered to the Legislative Council.

The order of the day for the second reading of the bill to facilitate the administration of justice was postponed till Friday next.

B Bill to continue and render perpetual two certain acts relating to the Judicature of the District of Gaspé, was read a second time, and referred to a Special Committee, with instruction to report a clause limiting the duration of the said Act.

A Bill to authorise Counsel to address divers Juries on behalf of prisoners in capital cases, was read a second time, and referred to a Special Committee.

The order of the day for the House in Committee on that part of his Excellency the Governor's Speech at the opening of the Session, relating to Register Offices, was postponed till Saturday next; then the House adjourned till Friday next.

FRIDAY, February 3, 1826.

Mr. Speaker lays before the House the Clerk's account of contingent expenses from the 1st November 1824, to the 1st November 1825,

Mr. Blanchet brings up the petition of Joseph Bouchette, Esquire, Surveyor General, praying an aid for the publication of a Topographical Atlas of Lower-Canada.—referred.

Mr. Viger brings up the petition of John Cannon, Esquire, Member of the House, praying that he may be heard at the bar by counsel, on the matter of his election contested by Mr. Dorion—on the motion of Mr. Viger that the petitioner be heard, the House divides Yeas 15, Nays 12,—ordered accordingly.

Mr. Simpson brings up the petition of Horatio Gates, Charles Ogden George Davies and other inhabitants of the District of Montreal, praying an Act to authorize them to construct a Canal navigable for boats, commencing at St. Johns, (River Richelieu) and terminating at Laprairie or Longueuil—referred.

Mr. Berthelot brings up the petition of Susannah, widow Johnson, late jailor at Three-Rivers—praying a pension—referred.

Mr. Secretary Cochran presents the following Messages and Documents:—

“The Governor in Chief lays before the Assembly a copy of a letter lately received by him from the Lieutenant Governor of Upper-Canada, together with the accompanying copy of a Joint Address of the Legislative Council and Assembly of that Province, expressing their readiness to concur in any measure which the Legislature of this province shall deem expedient, for carrying into effect certain objects set forth in the petition presented to the Legislature of that Province by the Agents of the Honourable the East India Company for the sale of their Tea in the Canadas, which objects are in part recited in the said Address: and the Governor in Chief being informed that a petition to a similar effect has been pre-

sented to the Legislature of the Province, recommends the subject to the inquiry and consideration of the Assembly.”

“Castle of Saint Lewis, Quebec, 2d February, 1826.

(Signed) DALHOUSIE.”

“The Governor in Chief lays before the House of Assembly copies of an Address of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Upper Canada to the Lieutenant Governor of that Province, and of joint resolutions adopted by those two bodies, respecting the opening a canal from the Ottawa River to Lake Ontario, in which important object they are desirous of securing the co-operation of this province, and the Governor in Chief recommends this subject to the favourable consideration of the Assembly.”

“Castle of St. Lewis, Quebec, 2d February, 1826.

(Signed) DALHOUSIE.”

“The Governor in Chief, in compliance with the request of the House of Assembly in their address on the 27th instant, communicates to that House, a copy of the despatch from Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, to his Excellency Sir Francis N. Burton, dated 10th January 1825, respecting the balance due by John Caldwell, Esquire, the late Receiver General to the Crown, and also a copy of a despatch received by him in answer to one which he addressed to the Secretary of State, requesting to be informed of the decision of his Majesty's Government upon the Address of the Assembly of the 17th February 1824, praying that the said debt might be made good to the Province by his Majesty's Government; and the Governor in Chief informs the Assembly that no other or further despatches have been received from his Majesty's Government on this subject. He further communicates to the Assembly a copy of a report of his Majesty's Attorney General for this Province, shewing the state of the legal proceedings which he was

directed to adopt for the recovery of that debt under the instructions of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, as conveyed in the first mentioned despatch; and he acquaints the House that the Attorney General has been instructed to take further proceedings under the judgment obtained against Mr. Caldwell, for the purpose of bringing to a speedy decision a claim of entail upon the Seignior of Lauzon, which has been set up by the son of Mr. Caldwell, and in the will of the late Mr. Henry Caldwell, formerly Receiver General of this Province.

(Signed) "DALHOUSIE."

"Castle of St. Louis, Quebec,
2d Feby. 1826."

Downing-street, 10th Jany. 1825.

"Sir,—The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury having had under their consideration Lord Dalhousie's despatches on the subject of the balance due by Mr. Caldwell to the Crown as Receiver General of Lower Canada, I have to acquaint you that upon a consideration of those communications, and of Mr. Caldwell's proposals for the liquidation of the debt due by him to the public; it does not appear to their Lordships that the objects adverted to in my under Secretary's letter of the 9th Oct. 1823, would by the acceptance of the said proposal be in any degree secured; and they are therefore of opinion that Mr. Caldwell should not be restored to his office of Receiver General of Lower Canada; but that you should direct the Law Officers of the Crown in Canada, to take the necessary measures for securing to the public, the whole of the property which Mr. Caldwell may possess, or which can be made available towards the liquidation of his large debt to the public; and that you should give directions for bringing his property to a sale in such a manner, and at such times, as may appear to be most expedient for the public interest; reporting very fully the measures which you may direct for effecting this object.

"With respect to the nature and extent of the property and assets of Mr. Caldwell, which in his letter to Lord Dalhousie of the 10th April last, he proposes as a means of liquidating this debt, their Lordships observe, that the claim which he professes to have on the Provincial Government as a remuneration for his own and his father's services, and which he estimates at £45,471, 9s 3d, is altogether illusory, as they cannot conceive that the Colonial Legislature can be advised to admit any such claim. The salary of £500 per annum, attached to the office of Receiver General of Lower Canada, might be considered as an inadequate remuneration for the duties and responsibility of the situation, if there were no other profits or emoluments attached to it; and although their Lordships are of opinion that there are many objections to the system of permitting public officers to derive any part of the emoluments of their offices from the use of the public money in their hands, yet when such a system has been recognised, they do not see how an officer so circumstanced can afterwards apply for remuneration in any other shape, particularly when by mis-management or speculation he has wasted the property committed to his charge.

"With respect to the property described under the third head of his Schedule, and estimated to be worth £105,500, and upon which Mr. Caldwell proposes to give a security in the event of his being restored to office, their Lordships presume, that this is the property referred to in the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in Canada, transmitted in Lord Dalhousie's letter to me of the 8th March last, and which was entailed by Mr. Caldwell's father after he resigned the office of Receiver General. It appears from that opinion that the said entail was informal, and that the property may be seized in liquidation of the debt due by the present Receiver. Their

Lordships suggest that the law officers of the Crown should be instructed to take all the measures which may be necessary for setting aside the entail, not only on the ground of its informality, but also on the ground adverted to in the answer to the third question put to the law officer of the Crown, namely, that the balance due upon the late Mr. Caldwell's accounts was not actually paid to the present Mr. Caldwell, but that the *quæctus* was granted upon the present Mr. Caldwell's assuming such balance, and therefore if the balance was not really in the Chest at the time the present Mr. Caldwell succeeded to the office, nor was subsequently paid him, a very considerable part of his present deficiency would have arisen from that circumstance: and as it is probable that such money was applied by the late Mr. Caldwell in the purchase or improvement of the property which he subsequently sought to entail, so as to render it unavailable to the public towards the payment of any balance which might become due from his son, who had assumed and given credit to the father for a sum which he did not actually receive; and therefore it is but reasonable that this property should be made available to the public.

"I have therefore received his Majesty's commands to direct you to take immediate steps for legally securing to the public the whole of Mr. Caldwell's property, and for invalidating that disposition of the property of the late Mr. Caldwell by which the just rights and interests of the public are reported to have been unduly defeated, and you will report to me very fully the measures which you consider it advisable to be pursued hereafter, for realizing the property in order to recover the deficiency due to the public, and at the same time extending every reasonable indulgence as to the mode and time of bringing the property to sale.

"You will consider yourself authorized to make such advances from

the Military Chest as may be indispensable for enabling you to carry on the public service; and if a just estimate has been formed of the value of Mr. Caldwell's estates, it is to be hoped that no loss will be ultimately sustained by the public.

"I have the honor, &c.

(Signed) BATHURST.

(A true copy) (Signed)

A. W. COCHRANE, Secretary.

Downing-street, 28th Feby. 1825.

MY LORD,

"I am directed by Earl Bathurst to acquaint you, in reply to your Lordship's letter of the 17th inst., that no answer has yet been received from the Treasury to the Petition of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, praying 'the deficit of the Receiver General's Chest may be repaid to the Province by the Imperial Treasury.'

"I have the honor, &c.

"R. W. HORTON."

"Lt. Genl. the Earl of Dalhousie,
G. C. B.

(A true copy) (Signed)

A. W. COCHRANE, Secretary.

To his Excellency the Right Honorable George Earl of Dalhousie, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of Lower Canada, Vice Admiral of the same, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Excellency,

In obedience to your Excellency's order in Council made on the 14th day of October last, requiring me to report at the end of the then present, and each succeeding term, of the Court of King's Bench, the steps which have been taken by me, for recovering from John Caldwell, Esquire, the money due by him to the Crown as late Receiver General of the Province, I have the honor to report as follows:

Under the orders received by me from his Majesty's Government to take legal measures for the recovery

of the debt due by Mr. Caldwell, two actions were instituted against him in the term of June last, the one against him personally, and in his own name, for the recovery of a balance of two hundred and nineteen thousand and sixty four pounds and 7d¹/₂ stg. with interest, being the balance of an account rendered by him on the 17th day of Nov. 1823; and the other against him as heir at law of his late father, Henry Caldwell, Esquire, heretofore Receiver General of Lower Canada, for a balance of £39,868 17s. 10d. stg. due by him as Receiver General at the time of his decease, to the Crown upon an account rendered. In these actions the writs were returned on the 13th June last, but pleas were not put in by the defendant till the beginning of the last October term. To the former of these actions a general denegation of fact or the general issue, and also a plea of payment were pleaded. To the latter Mr. Caldwell has pleaded that he is not liable in this action, as heir at law of his father, having renounced to his succession; and he also sets up an holograph will of his father, by which he was made his universal legatee, in which character and not in that of heir at law, he alleges that he entered into possession of the estates whereof his father died possessed.—He also pleads payment of the debt demanded. In this latter action proceedings will be had, in the next term, to obtain a determination on these grounds of defence. In the former, final judgment was rendered in his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, for the District of Quebec, on the 20th day of October last, of which Judgment the following is a copy:—

“It is considered and adjudged by the Court of our Lord the King now here, that the defendant, the Honourable John Caldwell, do pay to our Sovereign Lord the King, the sum of ninety-six thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds, thirteen shillings and one half-penny, by, sterling money of Great Bri-

tain, equal to the sum of £106,79⁶/₁₀₀ 6s. 8d. current money of this Province of Lower Canada, being the balance admitted to be, by him, due to our said Sovereign Lord the King, on the 17th day of November, which was in the year of our Lord 1823.”

All which is humbly submitted to your Excellency's wisdom.

By your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) J. STUART,
{A true copy} Atty. General.
A. W. COCHRANE, Secy.

Mr. Taschereau has leave to bring in a bill to continue for a limited time the Act to erect the Inferior District of St. Francis, and to establish Courts therein.

Mr. Viger has leave to bring in a bill for better regulating authentic actes passed before Notaries, and for registering the same.

Mr. Taschereau moves, and it is ordered, that a Committee be appointed to enquire what Acts of the Imperial Parliament are in force in this Province, which it is expedient to reprint for distribution in the usual way.

Mr. Clouet presents the report of the Emigrants Hospital of Quebec—referred, with an instruction to enquire if it be expedient to make the Hospital permanent. [18 patients were in the Hospital at the beginning of last year—371 persons have been admitted in 1825—of these 332 were discharged cured—40 died and 17 remain. Expences £780 19 0¹/₂—a balance of £46 9 8d in hands—an advance of £200 on the yearly vote was obtained.]

Mr. Simpson moves, and it is resolved, that an Address be presented to the Governor in Chief, to inform the House what measures have been taken to open a road from Coteau du Lac to the Upper Canada boundary, and to explore the country between Frampton and the River St. John.

Mr. Lagueux moves, and a Committee is appointed on that part of the

Governor's speech which relates to Education.

Mr. Lagueux brings up the petition of divers Students of Law and Medicine in Quebec, praying an aid for a building to deliver public lectures—referred to the Committee on education.

The Judicature Bill is read a second time, and referred to a Committee of the whole House on Wednesday next.

The Bill to continue the Act to regulate the measure and weight of Coals, is amended and passed in Committee, and ordered to be engrossed.

The House after being in Committee on the subject of relief to the Insane, came to the following

Resolve, "That it is expedient to make more ample provision for the reception and curative treatment of insane persons."

A Special Committee was appointed to enquire into the best means of carrying the same into effect.

SATURDAY, 4th February.

The Messengers charged with the Address to His Excellency the Governor in Chief praying he would be pleased to order the proper officers to lay before the house a statement of all such monies as may have come into the hands of the late Sheriff of Quebec, P. A. De Gaspe, and not accounted for, &c. reported that his Excellency had been pleased to give for answer that he would comply with the desires of the house.

A Bill was introduced for the relief of certain persons, authorizing them to associate themselves by the name of the Quebec Friendly Society, under certain restrictions; the same was received and read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday next.

A Bill was introduced to regulate the Common of Three Rivers, the same was received and read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday next.

It was resolved that each Bank in Lower Canada respectively, should be required to lay before the House

a general statement of their affairs.

It was resolved that on Wednesday next, the house would resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider the expediency of dividing the District of Quebec and establishing new jurisdictions therein.

A Petition from George Scott, Guager at the Port of St. Johns, praying for an augmentation of salary, was received and referred.

A Petition of divers inhabitants of l'Ange Gardien, praying that the House will adopt no measures to prevent them from grazing their cattle on the beach, &c. was received and referred.

A Petition of the Members of the Society of Education, praying for a School-House, and a piece of ground to build the same, was received and referred.

A Petition from Frederick Tremblay and others, praying for a remuneration for divers losses which they sustained, was received and referred.

An engrossed Bill relating to the sufferers of Miramichi, was read for the third time and ordered to be carried to the Legislative Council.

An engrossed Bill relating to the measure and weight of Coals, was read for the third time and ordered to be carried to the Legislative Council.

A Bill to facilitate the operation of the existing laws relating to leases of houses and farms; was read a second time and referred.

A Bill relating to certain Protestants was read a second time and referred to a Committee of the whole House on Friday next.

A Bill to afford relief to Presbyterians in Montreal, was read a second time and referred to the above Committee.

The Committee of the whole house, to consider the expediency of reducing the number of dogs in the Cities of Quebec and Montreal, reported progress, and asked for leave to sit again on Saturday.

The Committee of the whole house concerning Houses of Public Enter-

tainment reported progress and moved for leave to sit again on Friday next.

The order of the day relating to Register Offices, was postponed till Wednesday next.

Then the House adjourned.

MONDAY, 6th February.

An Address was voted to His Excellency the Governor in Chief, praying he would be pleased to lay before the House any answer which he may have received from His Majesty's Government, to a prayer of this house relating to reserved lands for a Protestant Clergy in this Province.

The Report of the Special Committee on the petition from divers inhabitants of the County of Northumberland, was referred to a Committee of the whole, to sit on Saturday next.

A Bill was introduced to authorise Robert Jones, junior, to build a toll bridge over the River Richelieu, at the Town of Dorchester, and the same was ordered to be read a second time on Saturday.

A Bill for the qualification of the Justices of the Peace was read a second time and referred.

A Bill to facilitate a legal remedy to such as have claims or demands on His Majesty's Provincial Government was read a second time and referred.

A bill to enable the inhabitants of the Seignory of Gros Bois to regulate the Common of the said seignory, was read a second time and referred.

A bill for better regulating the formalities of Authentic Acts passed before Notaries, &c., was read a second time and referred—Then the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, 7th February.

The Messengers charged with the Address of this House to His Excellency the Gov. in Chief, praying he would be pleased to inform the House whether any and what measures have been adopted in consequence of the Provincial Acts relating to the improvement of the communication with Upper Canada, &c. reported

that His Excellency had been pleased to give the following answer:—

"I find that Sir Francis Burton did not take any steps on this subject before his departure, and it escaped my attention until too late in this season to accomplish the purpose in this last year."

The statement of the Quebec Bank was laid before the House, in pursuance to a resolution of this House.

Statement of the Funds of the Quebec Bank.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Cash paid in, | £59127 10 0 |
| Debts due to the Bank, | 111523 15 5 |
| Deposits, | 33305 13 0 |
| Notes in circulation, | 36416 10 0 |
| Cash in hand, | 20693 5 1 |

The report of the Special Committee on the Petition of the Agents of the Honorable East India Company, was referred to a Committee of the whole House, to sit on Monday next.

A Petition of the Wesleyan Methodists of the Township of Barnston, praying for Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, &c., was received.

A Petition of divers Inhabitants of the counties of Huntingdon, Kent, Bedford and Richelieu, praying for the opening of the Canal of Chambly, and for the improvement of the navigation of the River Richelieu.

It was resolved that the House would on Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole house to consider the expediency of altering the Statutes relating to roads.

His Excellency the Governor in Chief's message received last Friday, relating to the deficit in the Receiver General's chest, was referred to the Committee of the whole house to enquire into the expediency of taking measures to secure the monies in the hands of the Receiver General of this Province.

A bill to erect certain Townships, into an Inferior District, to be called the Inferior District of St. Francis, was read a second time and referred.

The Committee of the whole House to consider the expediency of repealing and amending the Act relating to

the practice of Physic, Surgery and Midwifery, without licence reported a resolution, which was concurred in by the House.

A bill was introduced to repeal a certain Act or ordinance therein mentioned, and to provide effectual regulations concerning the practice of Physic, Surgery and Midwifery in this province, and the same was ordered to be read a second time on Monday the thirteenth inst.

The committee on the bill relating to certain religious class of persons, denominated Wesleyan Methodists, reported the bill with amendments, which report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

The order of the day on the bill for the qualification of the Justices of the Peace, and on the bill for facilitating a legal remedy to such as have any claims or demands on His Majesty's Provincial Government; were postponed till Saturday next.

Then the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 8th Feb.

The Messengers charged with the Address to His Excellency the Governor in Chief, of Monday last, praying he would be pleased to lay before the House any answer which he may have received from His Majesty's Government to an address relating to lands reserved for a Protestant Clergy reported that His Excellency had been pleased to give the following answer:

"The address now alluded to was transmitted by me on the 10th March, 1824, but no answer has been received to it."

A bill was introduced for vacating the seats of members of Assembly in certain cases therein mentioned, second reading on Tuesday next.

The bill to authorise Counsel to address Juries on behalf of prisoners in capital cases, was referred to a general committee on Tuesday next.

The report of the special committee on the petition of divers merchants and inhabitants of the city of Quebec, was referred to a general committee, on Tuesday next.

It was resolved that His Excellency's message relating to the independence of the Judges, be referred to a general committee, and be the first order of the day on Monday next.

The special committee on the bill to extend certain privileges therein mentioned to the religious class of persons denominated Wesleyan Methodists, reported the bill with an amendment, which was concurred in by the House.

A bill to authorise certain persons to associate themselves under the name of the Quebec Friendly Society, was read a second time, and referred to a general committee, on Tuesday next.

A bill relating to the Common of Three Rivers, was read a second time and referred to a special committee.

The committee of the whole house to consider the expediency of adopting measures to secure the monies in the hands of the Receiver General of this Province, &c. reported a resolution which was concurred in by the House and referred.

The committee of the whole house on the message of His Excellency, Sir Francis Burton, relating to the presentation of the Grand Juries for the district of Gaspé, &c. reported progress. To sit again on Wednesday next.

The committee of the whole house on the bill to facilitate the administration of justice throughout this Province, reported progress. To sit again on Tuesday next.

The committee of the whole house on the expediency of dividing the District of Quebec, reported progress. To sit again on Wednesday next.

The committee of the whole house relating to the establishment of Register Offices, reported progress. To sit again on Tuesday next.

The house adjourned till Friday next.

FRIDAY, Feb. 10.

Mr. De Lery, from the legislative council, delivered a bill passed by that body, more particularly to ascertain damages on protested bills of ex-

change—second reading on Wednesday next.

Mr. Taschereau, presented Mr. Ware's report and survey between the last settlements in Frampton and the sources of the river St. John.

Mr. Taschereau, from the committee to continue and make perpetual, two acts relating to the Judicature of Gaspé, reported—which report to be considered in committee of the whole on Wednesday.

The Message of the Governor in Chief relating to the pensions to Sir James Monk, and the widow of Mr. Justice Ogden, was referred to a special committee.

Mr. Taschereau obtained leave to extend the provisions of a bill, to give, for a limited time, the provisions of the Police Act to the District of Gaspé: also for a bill to continue, for a limited time, three acts mentioned, relating to the trade with the United States—both of which were ordered for a 2d reading on Tuesday.

The house took into consideration the petition of Joseph Dorion, against the election of Mr. Cannon. Mr. Plamondon, counsel for Mr. Cannon, was heard at the bar.—Mr. Neilson moved, that the commissioners appointed last session to examine witnesses in this contested election, meet at Point aux Trembles, on Wednesday the 22d instant: Mr. Taschereau, in amendment, moved to refer the motion to a special committee, to inquire into the Law and Parliamentary usage, if it were not the duty of Joseph Dorion to transmit a list of witnesses to the commissioners—the house divided on the amendment; yeas 12, nays 24. The first question being put, the house divided—yeas, Messrs. Corteau, Montigny, Drolet, Caron, Heney, Clouet, Belanger, Amiot, Massuc, Delingy Bureau, Proulx, Fortin, Neilson, Fraser, Lagucux, Ranvoze, Stuart, Borgis, Blanchet, Boissoinnault, Viger, Rochon, De Rouville, Leslie and Quirout: (26) nays, Messrs. Taschereau, Vallières, Simpson, Desprès, Latterrière, Dumont, De St. Ours, Robitaille, Itay-

mond and Bertholet: (10)—which being carried in the affirmative, the clerk was ordered to transmit to the Commissioners before the 21st, copies of the lists of witnesses, &c. whereby the Commissioners might proceed to business.

The bill for the relief of certain Protestants, (John's Chapel, Quebec) was ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for the relief of Presbyterians of Montreal, was referred to a special committee.

SATURDAY, 11th Feb.

Mr. Lagneux brought up the petition of divers inhabitants of Quebec, praying a tax on dogs—referred to the committee of the whole House on that subject, on Saturday next.

Mr. Viger obtained leave to bring in a bill to incorporate the Quebec Fire Assurance company—ordered for a second reading on Tuesday.

The engrossed bill to authorise the ministers of the Wesleyan Methodists to marry, baptize and bury—also the engrossed bill to relieve certain Protestants, (John's Chapel, Quebec,) and confer upon them the same rights; were both read a third time, and ordered to the Council.

Mr. Bertholet, from the committee on the petition from Three Rivers to regulate the assize of bread, reported that the number of petitioners [44] was not sufficient to introduce into Three Rivers, measures which, in other parts of the Province, were considered as a useless impediment to the development of industry.

Mr. Bertholet from the committee on the petition of widow Johnson, of Three Rivers, praying a pension, reported, that the prayer should not be granted.

Mr. Taschereau, from the committee on the petition of the St. Lawrence Association, praying an aid, reported that an aid, proportionate to the amount contributed by subscription, should be granted, on condition that the progress and suggestions for the improvement of the river, be reported to the Legislature at the next session.

Mr. Simpson, from the committee on the petition of Horatio Gates and others, reported that the prayer ought to be granted, provided it would not injure the navigation of the Richelieu, by diminishing the waters thereof, or affect the supply of water for the projected Canal from St. John's to Chambly. The bill was introduced accordingly—and its second reading on Friday next. He also obtained leave to bring in a bill to allow licences to keep houses of public entertainment to be given in certain cases without fee or reward—second reading on Friday.

Jones' Bridge bill was referred to a special committee.

The house went into committee on the Justice of Peace qualification bill; the bill to facilitate legal remedies against the Provincial Government, & went through both bills.—Adjourned.

MONDAY, Feb. 13.

The statements of the Montreal and Canada Banks were laid before the house.

A petition of the committee of Merchants at Montreal, praying for an aid to clear the channel of the St. Lawrence, at the Isle Platte, and in the Lake St. Peter, &c. was received and referred.

A bill was introduced to appropriate a certain sum of money towards the settlement of the road between St. Joachim and the Bay St. Paul, in the county of Northumberland; the same was read for the first time, and to be read a second time on Wednesday next.

A bill to repeal a certain act therein mentioned, relating to the practice of Physic, Surgery and Midwifery, was read a second time, and referred to a committee of the whole house, on Friday next.

The order of the day relating to the East India Company, was postponed 'till Friday next.

The committee of the whole house on the expediency of altering the Statutes relating to Roads, reported a resolution which was concurred in by the house, and referred.

The committee of the whole House on the bill to continue for a limited time, an act to erect certain townships into an inferior District, to be called the Inferior District of St. Francis, reported the bill with an amendment, which was concurred in by the House, and the bill ordered to be engrossed.

The order of the day on the report of the special committee, on the petition of Lieut. Col. Vassal de Monviel, was postponed till Monday next.

Then the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, Feb. 14.

A message from the Legislative Council: concurrence to the bill, relating to the sufferers at New-Brunswick.

The House resolved itself into a Committee, to consider the expediency of suspending certain Ordinances for preventing accidents by fire, and reported a resolution, which was concurred in by the House.

A bill was introduced, to suspend for a limited time certain ordinances therein mentioned, as far as the same relates to the city of Montreal, and to establish a society therein, for preventing accidents by fire, which was read for the first time; second reading on Monday next.

A bill for vacating seats of Members of the Assembly in certain cases therein mentioned, was read a second time, and referred to a committee of the whole House, on Monday next.

A bill to extend the Police Acts to the District of Gaspé, was read a second time and referred.

A bill to continue for a limited time, certain acts relating to the trade with the United States of America, was read a second time and referred.

The order of the day for the second reading of the bill, to incorporate the Quebec Fire Assurance Company, was postponed 'till Friday next.

The committee on His Excellency the Governor in Chief's Message relating to the independence of the Judges, reported several resolutions, which were concurred in by the house.

Then the house adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, 15th Feb.

The order of the day, for the house in committee on the bill, to facilitate the administration of Justice throughout this Province, lost by the adjournment of yesterday, was revived for Friday next.

The report of the Agricultural Society for the District of Montreal, was presented to the House, and referred, together with similar reports, for the Districts of Quebec and Three Rivers.

The order of the day relating to the establishment of Register Offices, lost by the adjournment of yesterday, was revived for Monday next.

The special committee on the bill concerning Laws, relating to leases of houses and farms, reported the bill without any amendment, which said bill and report, were referred to a general committee, on Saturday next.

The order of the day on the report of the special committee, on the petition of divers merchants of Quebec, relating to the Chambly Canal, and to the improvement of the navigation of the River Richelieu, lost by the adjournment of yesterday, being read, the house resolved itself, and the committee reported a resolution, which was concurred in by the house.

A bill was introduced to facilitate the improvement of the navigation of the River Richelieu, in pursuance of an act of the fifty seventh year of the reign of His late Majesty George III, chap. thirteen, and read for the first time; second reading on Monday next.

The order of the day on the bill to authorise Counsel to address juries in behalf of prisoners in capital cases, lost by the adjournment of yesterday, was revived for Tuesday next.

The special committee on the bill to afford relief, to certain religious congregations at Montreal, denominated Presbyterians, reported the bill with an amendment, which was concurred in by the House, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

An engrossed bill to continue for a limited time, an act to erect certain

townships into an Inferior District, to be called the Inferior District of St. Francis, and to establish courts of Judicature therein, was read for the third time, and ordered to the Legislative Council.

An engrossed bill for facilitating a legal remedy to such as have claims and demands on His Majesty's Provincial Government, was read for the third time, and ordered to the Legislative Council.

An engrossed bill for the qualification of the Justices of the Peace, was read for the third time, and ordered to the Legislative Council.

An address was voted to His Excellency the Governor in Chief, praying His Excellency would be pleased to lay before the House, copies of such original accounts regarding the Civil Expenditure of this Province, for the year ending 16th October last, as may be required by the special committee, to whom the above accounts, &c. are referred.

A bill was introduced to incorporate the city of Montreal; read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday next.

A bill was introduced to incorporate the city of Quebec; read for the first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday next.

The following bills were read for the second time, and referred to special committees:

Bill (from the Legislative Council) for removing doubts, respecting the construction of a certain part of the Act of the 35th year of the reign of his late Majesty George III, cap. 4, intituled, "An act to establish the forms of the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, to conform and make valid in law, the Register of the Protestant Congregation of Christ Church, Montr. and others, which may have been informally kept, and to afford the means of remedying omissions in former Registers, as also, for removing doubts, about the validity of certain Marriages herein mentioned.

(To be concluded.)