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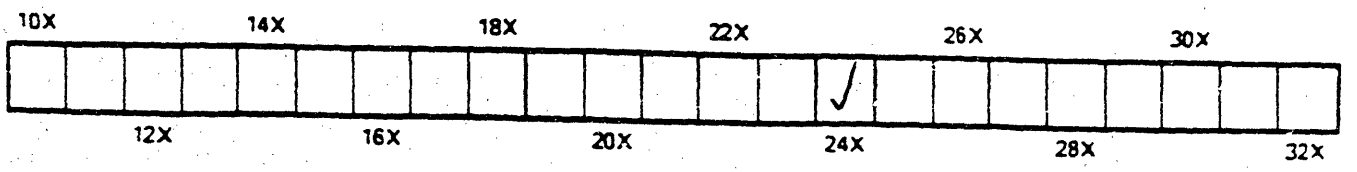


THE ADMINISTRATION OF

SIR JAMES CRAIG

CRUIKSHANK

FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

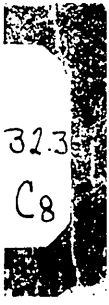
THIRD SERIES—1908-1909

VOLUME II SECTION II

The Administration of Sir James Craig.—A Chapter in Canadian History.

By

LIEUT.-COL. CRUIKSHANK



OTTAWA

PRINTED FOR THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.

1909

II.—*The Administration of Sir James Craig.—A Chapter in Canadian History.*

By LIEUT.-COL. CRUIKSHANK.

(Read May 26th, 1908.)

The lamentable attack upon the frigate *Chesapeake* on June 21st, 1807, at once brought the United States and Great Britain to the verge of war. A portion of the militia of Lower Canada were immediately embodied, and seem to have obeyed the call with great alacrity. A soldier of high reputation, Sir James Henry Craig, lately in command of the British army of occupation in Sicily, was appointed Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in British North America, and a division of ten thousand regular troops was detailed for the reinforcement of the garrisons in those provinces. This distinguished officer had attained the rank of lieutenant-general through long and meritorious service and laborious study of his profession, of which he had acquired an intimate and practical knowledge in all its branches. Born at Gibraltar in 1748, he had entered the army as ensign in 1763, but obtained permission to pursue his education in the best military schools of the Continent, where he remained for several years and became proficient in the French language. During the revolutionary struggle he had served in America from the beginning of the war. He commanded a company of the 47th Regiment and was severely wounded in the assault of the insurgents' position at Bunker's Hill, and next year accompanied Lieut.-General Burgoyne to Canada. He took part in the action at Three Rivers, and afterwards commanded the advance guard of the force engaged in the pursuit of the Americans until they were finally expelled from the province. In the spring of 1777, he was put in command of a considerable body of French-Canadian militia, which was embodied to co-operate with the regular troops in their advance upon Albany. He was wounded in the engagement at Hubbardton, and again in that at Freeman's Farm. His ability and good conduct were so conspicuous during the campaign that Burgoyne appointed him one of the officers to whom was entrusted the painful duty of arranging the terms of capitulation with General Gates. Being then sent to England with despatches, he was promoted to be major without purchase and returned to America with little delay. He next served under Brigadier-General Allan Maclean during the defence of Penobscot, and joined Lord Cornwallis in North Carolina in 1781, under whose command he displayed such readiness and good judgment in the conduct of light

infantry that he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the 82nd Regiment. When peace was restored he spent much time in France and Germany studying foreign systems of tactics and drill, and became such a recognized authority on these matters that he was frequently consulted by Sir David Dundas, while preparing his famous manual known as the "Eighteen Manœuvres," which was first adopted in Craig's own regiment, the 16th Foot. He acted as Adjutant-General of the Duke of York's army during its inglorious campaign in the Netherlands in 1794. In the following year he became a major-general, and commanded the small land force which invaded the Dutch Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, won the battle of Muysenburg and drove the enemy into their entrenched camp, which they surrendered on the arrival of the British reinforcements. In recognition of these services he was knighted and placed in command of the Benares District in India. While there, he was designated for the command of an expedition against the Philippine Islands, which was not carried into effect. When selected as commander of the picked force destined for special service in the Mediterranean in 1805, he was universally considered as one of the ablest generals in the British army, and his conduct while in Sicily and Naples was uniformly characterized by coolness, firmness and judgment, but he was compelled to return to England by ill health about a year later, and had not since been actively employed.

In person, he was short, but so remarkably broad-shouldered and muscular that a friend aptly described him as "a pocket Hercules." His face was remarkably white and his regular clear-cut features seemed carved in ivory, illuminated, however, by large lustrous dark eyes. Habituated to command by more than forty years of military life, his manner was curt, peremptory and rather pompous. Highly esteemed and respected by those who knew him well, he lacked the faculty of winning wide popularity, and his political views and acts judged by the standard of to-day unquestionably seem illiberal and autocratic.[1] His familiarity with the French language and personal knowledge of Canada and its people were considered additional qualifications for the post, but unhappily he was then suffering from a painful disease which rendered him peevish and irritable, and often incapacitated him from the transaction of business altogether. In the conduct of public affairs, he was so thoroughly conscientious and painstaking that he never affixed his signature to any important despatch or other document that he had not drawn up or corrected with his own hand.[2]

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[1] Bunbury. Some passages in the War with France, p. 182. Boothby. Under England's Flag, pages 3-8.

[2] Ryland to Lord Liverpool, 19th August, 1812.

His official instructions related mainly to the defence of the provinces he was sent to govern, and indicated the preservation of Quebec and Halifax as the first objects to be kept in view in the event of an invasion from the United States, since these were the only posts that were considered tenable with the limited number of troops placed under his command.

Accompanied by a considerable staff of officers for the organization of the militia and fortification of military posts, he arrived at Quebec on 21st of October, 1807, but immediately after landing was disabled for several weeks by a severe attack of illness which prevented him from even writing a letter.

Returning to Canada after the lapse of nearly thirty years, the new Governor-General could not fail to be greatly impressed by the improved condition of that province. When he went away the population numbered not more than 75,000 persons plunged in abject poverty. There were no merchants of any standing and the exports consisted entirely of furs and fish. There was no trade in timber. Shipbuilding had been wholly discontinued. The quantity of grain grown in the colony was scarcely sufficient to meet the wants of the scanty population. Mills were few and inefficient. Hops and barley were not grown at all. The only foundry in the province was about to be closed. Quebec contained hardly six thousand inhabitants, and Montreal less than two thousand. There was not a single white settler between the Ottawa and Detroit rivers.

In 1807, the population had increased more than three-fold, and was sometimes estimated to amount to 300,000. The number of English-speaking inhabitants had grown from less than one thousand to more than twenty thousand. The new province of Upper Canada had a white population of between sixty and seventy thousand. The cities of Quebec and Montreal with their suburbs each contained about twelve thousand people, of whom three-fourths were French-Canadians. The area of cultivated land had increased from 1,569,818 acres in 1783 to 3,760,000 in 1807. The number of horses and horned cattle had more than doubled, and that of sheep and swine had tripled. A continuous chain of farm buildings fronting upon the St. Lawrence from Kamouraska upwards gave it the appearance of a village street, interspersed with narrow fields of grain and pasture land. The seigniories of Rivière du Loup, Machiche, Maskinongé, York, and Berthier were particularly noted for their fertility and the heavy crops of wheat they produced. The island of Orleans also was well cultivated, and annually exported much grain. Fruit, however, was not grown to any extent anywhere except upon the island of Montreal, which was called the garden of

Canada. Hops were successfully grown at Sillery and a sufficient quantity of barley was raised for the supply of several small breweries at Quebec, which furnished the province with ale, porter, and table beer. The recent great demand for wheat in England and the consequent advance in price had given a great stimulus to its cultivation in Canada. In 1796, the colony had exported only 3,106 bushels of wheat, 4,352 barrels of flour, and 3,882 cwt. of biscuit. In 1802, the exports of wheat amounted to 1,010,033 bushels, besides 28,301 barrels of flour, and 22,051 cwt. of biscuit. In 1807, the exports had diminished, however, to 234,543 bushels of wheat, 20,424 barrels of flour, and 28,047 cwt. of biscuit. Colonel Henry Caldwell, the Receiver-General of the province, and other English residents, had built several large grist mills which carried on a very profitable trade. The French-Canadians in general were considered rather slovenly and negligent farmers, and were slow to adopt improved methods of cultivation. The average crop of wheat was estimated as low as twelve bushels to the acre.[1]

Since the ports of the Baltic had been closed to British commerce, the timber trade of Canada had flourished greatly. In 1797, the total exports of oak and pine timber were valued at £32,144. Ten years later they amounted to £134,344. Shipbuilding had also been successfully carried on at Quebec and Montreal for many years. There were four ship-yards at the former and one at the latter city, each launching annually six or eight vessels of from 200 to 500 tons burden, and paying out in wages more than £20,000 among them. The forges and iron foundry at St. Maurice near Three Rivers had been much enlarged and employed three hundred workmen, who were chiefly engaged in the manufacture of stoves, potash kettles, plough shares and mill machinery. The iron made from the native ore was considered as good if not better than the best Swedish. The furnaces were kept in operation with charcoal burnt in the neighbouring forests. Another smelting works had lately been established at Batiscan.[2]

The town of Three Rivers contained 1,500 inhabitants, and besides being the distributing point for the products of the St. Maurice forges carried on a very thriving trade in furs and potash, which were brought in from the adjacent country and exchanged for manufactures of all kinds. The principal merchants were the three brothers Hart, English Jews, who had acquired considerable wealth and influence and were much respected. Here also was situated the only brick-yard in the province.

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1 Lambert Travels, Vol. I, pp. 134, 232.

2 Lambert Travels, Vol. I.

Sorel was smaller than Three Rivers, and had declined in importance in consequence of the recent closing of a ship-yard which had been in operation for some years.

Montreal was the headquarters of the fur trade with the western Indians, and of all kinds of trade with Upper Canada. The Northwest Fur Company, composed exclusively of Scotch and English residents of Montreal, employed fully 3,000 clerks, *voyageurs* and trappers. The goods for conducting this trade were forwarded in a flotilla of forty or fifty large canoes, which set out from Lachine annually about the 15th of May, by the way of the Ottawa river for the head of Lake Superior. Their posts were established as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and as far south as the Missouri river, some of which were so distant and difficult of access that returns were not usually received until the fourth year after the despatch of the goods. This trade was so extremely profitable, that it was said that it was not unusual for a clerk to retire after fifteen or twenty years' service with a fortune of £20,000 and a broken constitution. Another powerful association of Montreal merchants had lately been formed under the name of the Southwest or Michilimackinac Company, to carry on the fur trade within the territories of the United States in the vicinity of the Mississippi and its affluents. At Montreal also were the stores of the Indian Department, from which a fleet of thirty canoes conveying goods to the value of about £10,000 was annually despatched for distribution among the western Indians, among whom they were apportioned by the resident agents at the upper posts. The trade with Upper Canada had begun to attain large dimensions. Between April 27th and November 28th, 1807, thirty-nine scows from that province arrived at Montreal, carrying 19,693 barrels of flour, 1,460 bushels of wheat, 127 barrels of potash, 48 barrels of pork and eight packs of furs, besides 340 rafts containing 277,010 feet of oak timber, 4,300 feet of pine timber, 691,200 staves, 72,440 planks and 985 masts and 701 cribs of firewood, containing 6,300 cords.[1]

The influence of the *Noblesse* and seigniors had greatly diminished since the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791. Several of them had secured seats in the first Legislative Assembly of the province, but few had been elected since. Many of them had removed into the cities and towns and only visited their estates at intervals for the purpose of collecting their rents, which were usually paid in kind, and their relations with their tenants were frequently far from cordial. On the other hand many shop-keepers and notaries had grown comparatively

[1] Lambert Travels, Vol. I, pp. 236-249.

wealthy and some of them had become the possessors of considerable estates. Some of the seigniories had already passed into the hands of strangers. Ross Cuthbert, a son-in-law of Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, had become seignior of Berthier. Colonel Gugy, an *émigré,* formerly an officer in the Royal Swiss Guard of France, had inherited the seigniory of Machiche. Colonel Bruyeres of the Royal Engineers had purchased the seigniory of Beçancour. Moses Hart, a Jewish merchant in Three Rivers, owned the seigniory of Grondines, a rather barren possession. Several noble families had lately retired to the beautiful little village of Boucherville, near Chambly, where they could live modestly upon their diminished incomes in a circle of friends of their own choice.

The farms occupied by the *habitans* along the St. Lawrence usually were not more than twenty or thirty chains in width by ninety or one hundred in depth. Their houses with few exceptions were built of squared logs dovetailed together at the ends, with the interstices tightly packed with clay, and were scrupulously whitewashed with lime, both inside and out. As a rule, they were but one story in height with a garret or sleeping loft, divided into four rooms, one of which was the kitchen, the remainder being bedrooms. The chimney was built in the centre of the house, with a large fireplace opening into the kitchen, in which a large kettle of soup constantly hung over the fire. The furniture consisted of a few wooden chairs, a table and two or three beds. The best room sometimes contained a tall clock, and a crucifix and a few prints or wax figures of the Virgin and the Saints looked down from the walls.

Fat pork was the principal article of food in the winter. Their bread was made of a mixture of rye and wheat flour, and was generally sour, coarse and heavy. Pea soup with a large piece of pork boiled in it often furnished breakfast, dinner and supper for a family day after day, varied occasionally with fried sausage and bread. Tea was little used, the younger people of both sexes usually drinking milk or water at their meals. Rum was very cheap, and drunkenness was so common that it was remarked that the old men rarely returned home sober from market.[1]

The ordinary costume of the adult male *habitan* consisted of a long-skirted grey frock coat with a hood, girt about the waist with a worsted sash of some bright colour, ornamented with beadwork, a waistcoat and trousers of the same material and moccasins or swamp-boots. On his head he wore a knit woollen cap or *bonnet rouge.* His hair was tied in a long thick *queue,* and he was seldom seen without a short black

[1] Lambert, Travels, Vol. I; Gray, Letters from Canada.

clay pipe in his mouth. The *habitans* produced or manufactured almost everything they used. They cultivated flax, which they dressed and wove into linen. Their clothing was made of homespun cloth from the wool of their own sheep, and their moccasins and boots were in like manner manufactured from the leather they had tanned themselves. They knit their own stockings and caps and plaited their own straw hats and bonnets. They built their own houses, barns, stables and ovens and made their carts, ploughs, harrows and canoes. Their bread, butter, cheese, soap, candles, sugar and tobacco were all home-made. They rarely purchased any article which they could make themselves or do without, and were slow to adopt improved implements and methods of agriculture introduced by British settlers. There were few schools outside the cities of Quebec and Montreal, and the mass of the people, including many persons of influence, were so illiterate that the Quebec *Mercury* in May, 1808, sarcastically suggested that an elementary school should be established for the instruction of the members of the Legislative Assembly in reading and writing. In general, the inhabitants were abundantly provided with the necessaries of life. They paid low rents and no taxes. Their desires were simple and they seemed contented and happy. Their manners were easy and courteous and they were gay and hospitable.

The commerce of the province was conducted mainly by Scotch and English merchants, most of whom were prosperous and wealthy. Four weekly newspapers were published in Quebec and two in Montreal. The two oldest of these, the Quebec *Gazette,* founded in 1764, and the Montreal *Gazette,* founded in 1778, were printed partly in English and partly in French, while the Quebec *Mercury,* founded by Thomas Cary in 1805, and the *Canadian Courant,* established at Montreal in 1806, by Nahum Mower, an American, were printed entirely in English. *Le Canadien,* established at Quebec in November, 1806, was absolutely conducted as the political organ of the opposition to Government measures in the Legislature. The expression "La Nation Canadienne," frequently appeared in its columns, while the English speaking inhabitants were designated as "intrus" and "étrangers." The only other French newspaper, *Le Courrier de Quebec,* was very small, and devoted almost entirely to literature. The printing offices were the only places where books were sold and their stock was scanty. There was but one public library—that in the Bishop's Palace at Quebec.[1]

It could scarcely be contended that the French-Canadians had any good ground for complaint against the existing government, and it was generally acknowledged that the country was better governed and that

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[1] Lambert's Travels; Gray, Letters from Canada.

the inhabitants were much more prosperous than when Canada was a French dependency. Still it was evident that there was an undercurrent of discontent and hostility to Great Britain, which might easily be fanned into a flame. The gentry and land-owners generally and many of the clergy were believed to be well-disposed, but many of the townsfolk and *habitants* alike were strongly suspected by British residents of rooted disaffection, and of entertaining a desire to be reunited to France. Writing to Colonel William Claus on the 23rd of September, 1805, before the battle of Trafalgar, had put an end to Napoleon's hopes of gaining the mastery of the seas, Colonel Isaac Brock said, "These ungrateful wretches (the French Canadians) expect fully to be French subjects before the end of the war." After a residence as Governor-General for more than two years, Craig described them in an official letter to Lord Liverpool (21st May, 1810) as being "French," adding—"I use the term designedly, My Lord, because I mean to say they are in language, in religion, in manner and in attachment completely French, bound to us by no one tie but that of a common government, and on the contrary viewing us with sentiments of mistrust and jealousy, with envy, I believe I would not go too far, were I to say, with hatred. So complete do I consider this alienation that on the most careful review of all that I know in the province, there are very few I could venture to point out as not being tainted with it. The line of distinction between us is completely drawn. Friendship, cordiality, are not to be found, even common intercourse scarcely exists. The lower class of the people to strengthen a term of contempt add "Anglois," and the better sort with whom there formerly did exist some interchange of the common civilities of society, have of late entirely withdrawn themselves. The alleged reason is that their circumstances have gradually declined in proportion as ours have increased in affluence. This may have had some effect, but the observation has been made that this abstraction has taken place exactly as the power of the French in Europe has become more firmly established."

Craig cannot be regarded as an unprejudiced witness, and his letter was written in the heat of his struggle with the French-Canadian majority in the Legislative Assembly, but strong evidence can now be adduced to sustain his statement.

General Turreau, the French minister to the United States, relates that soon after his arrival at Washington in 1806, a French-Canadian farmer who lived near the frontier called upon him to make known the hopes and wishes of his countrymen, which he desired him to communicate to the French Government. Turreau told this man that it would be necessary for him to furnish him with further details as to the character of the men who were prepared to lead a revolt and the means they

possessed. A few months later he received a letter dated at Newark, N.J., and signed by J. Perreault and Finlay de Gros Pin, "Canadian officers," who represented that they had been authorized by the northern nations of Indians and their Canadian brethren to inform him that they had determined to dig up the hatchet, so often stained by the blood of the English, and seek the assistance of the Emperor of France. Turreau returned an encouraging reply and invited his correspondents to meet him at Baltimore. On the 27th of October, 1806, he received a second letter from them dated at New York, stating that they had been warned by their relatives in Canada that their design had been suspected by the government and instead of supplying them with money as expected, they had urged them to return home without delay.

"The Canadians are French," they continued. "Their ancient patriotic devotion has not diminished. They are treated as a conquered people. Foreign upstarts oppress them. These tyrants avoid the punishment of their peculations and horrible crimes by a feigned loyalty, which a base interest would cause them to abjure very quickly. Their number is small. The mass of the people suffer and languish, hence their hope and desire for a change."[1] They added that they would await his reply at New York. Turreau then invited them to visit him at Washington, but as they had given him no address he caused a search to be made in New York, which revealed the fact that they had returned to Canada five or six days after their arrival in that city. Meanwhile, on November 4th, a man named Johnson gave Turreau a letter in English, dated at Quebec sometime in October, and signed by one Samuel Turner, who styled himself a captain in the Canadian militia, stating that the writer and his friends deemed the time propitious for the reconquest of Canada by the French. They had all their plans laid, the writer stated. They knew the strength of the garrison of Quebec and the condition of its fortifications. They could furnish pilots acquainted with the navigation of the St. Lawrence and were ready and able to enlist a large number of men for service in the French army. They had already at their command a sufficient number of adherents to form a garrison for Quebec until re-inforcements could arrive. There could be no doubt of success.

Turreau again signified his approval, but desired more definite and

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[1] Les Canadiens sont Francais; le local n'a point degenere leur ancien amour patriotique. On les traite comme un peuple conquis. Des parvenus étrangers les tyranisent. Ces tirans n'évitent le châtiment de leurs peculats et crimes horribles que par une loyauté simulée qu'un vil intérêt leur ferait abjurer bien vite. Ils sont en petit nombre. La masse du peuple souffre et languit. De là les souhaits et désirs d'un changement."

detailed information as to the extent of co-operation an invading force might expect from the inhabitants. No answer was returned, and the years 1807 and 1808 elapsed without any message reaching him from Canada, but indirect information confirmed him in the opinion that "The Canadians hated the English and were sighing for French domination."[1] The encounter between the *Leander* and the *Chesapeake,* stimulated his hopes that the United States might declare war against Great Britain, and on the 18th of July, 1808, he reported to Talleyrand that the President had said to him, "If the English do not give us the satisfaction we demand, we will take Canada, which wants to enter the union, and when together with Canada we shall have the Floridas, we shall no longer have any difficulties with our neighbours and it is the only way of preventing them."[2]

When Craig arrived at Quebec, he found the country practically defenceless against a well directed invasion from the United States. None of the military stations in Upper Canada were in a position to resist an attack for two days together. "The posts that do exist," he wrote, "are just calculated to insure the loss of such men as may be put into them." The Provincial Marine, however, although weak in seamen, was still superior on Lakes Ontario and Erie, but in the spring of 1808, the American government began the construction of the brig *Oneida,* of 18 guns at Oswego, to counterbalance which Craig immediately directed a ship of 22 guns to be built at Kingston. On Lake Champlain there was not a single British vessel afloat, and he dared not undertake the construction of any as there was no fort or harbour of any kind to shelter them, nor had he any troops which he could detach for their protection, while the flourishing state of the American settlements on both shores of the lake would afford them every facility for interrupting the work and destroying the dockyard. The fortifications at Isle aux Noix, and St. Johns had fallen into ruins, the fort at Chambly was badly situated and at best defensible only against musketry, while a projected work at William Henry (Sorel), had not yet been commenced. The defences of Quebec were greatly out of repair. An English traveller looking from the city at the Citadel upon Point Diamond could see nothing but "a heap of ruins and rubbish, a heterogeneous collection of log houses and broken-down wall."[3] Craig made no effort to strengthen any of the frontier forts as he found it necessary to employ all the means

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[1] Faucher de St. Maurice. Notes pour servir a l'histoire des officiers de la marine et de l'armée Française qui ont fait la guerre de l'independance Americaine. Appendix B.

[2] Henry Adams, History of the United States, Vol. IV, p. 56.

[3] Lambert, Travels in Canada, Vol. I, p. 41.

at his disposal upon the fortifications of Quebec, and he deemed it useless to establish posts which he had not troops to garrison. Outside of that city, with the exception of a few field guns, there was not a single piece of artillery mounted or dismounted anywhere in Lower Canada as Colonel Brock, who was in command before Craig arrived, had brought in for safety all the guns that had been distributed at the various military posts. Although several new roads had been recently opened to the American frontier, by which small parties of troops might enter the province, the principal army of invasion must still advance by the main route from Lake Champlain by way of St. Johns. The smallest regular force with which Craig considered that the two provinces might be successfully defended, was twelve thousand men,—of whom he proposed to station two thousand in Upper Canada, two thousand as garrisons at Quebec, and other posts in Lower Canada, leaving eight thousand available for operations in the field. A considerable body of militia had offered their services in the summer of 1807, and about one thousand of these in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, had already been armed and equipped and had provided themselves with uniforms at their own expense.

"My confidence in the service to be derived from the militia is, I confess, not very great," Craig reported. "Yet at the same time, I am bound to do them the justice of observing that they express every good disposition that can be desired, at least such is the substance of all the reports I have on the subject; but however this may turn out, I hold it is a certainty that the benefit to be derived from them can only be in proportion to the support they may have from regular troops."[1]

Craig's illness prevented him from giving any instructions to Lieut.-Governor Gore, of Upper Canada, until December 6th, 1807, when he despatched a letter to him by a special messenger, directing him to put that province into an immediate state of defence as far as his means would permit, but at the same time expressing the opinion that if the Americans attempted to invade Lower Canada as he expected they would, that undertaking would absorb all their forces and prevent them from a simultaneous attack elsewhere. With the small regular force then at his disposal, he could not hope to do more than delay the invaders' advance and must eventually retire into Quebec and defend that place to the last extremity. In that event he wished a force from Upper Canada to operate in rear of the besieging army by breaking up their communications and cutting off convoys. If the Indians were not employed by the British he entertained no doubt they would be employed against them and the valuable fur trade with the western nations would be lost, but great

[1] Craig to Castlereagh, Canadian Archives, Q., 109, p. 10.

caution must be observed in dealing with them before hostilities actually began.[1]

In his reply a month later, Gore replied that little could be done for the defence of Upper Canada except as far as repelling incursions by small parties might be concerned. The inhabitants from Kingston downward could be depended upon, but he entertained grave doubts as to the loyalty of many persons residing near Niagara and Long Point. If the American posts at Mackinac and Detroit could be taken, he believed that many of the western Indians would declare for the British and agreed that they would certainly side with one party or the other. The prophet of the Shawanese, who was supposed to be able to influence about a thousand Indians, appeared to be well disposed. Thomas McKee, the Deputy Superintendent at Amherstburg, reported that the Americans were making great efforts to win over the Indians, who were leaving that place daily in consequence; and he complained that he had been compelled to buy ammunition with his own money to supply them as the government store contained none.[2]

Craig soon after cautioned Gore to do nothing to irritate the Americans in his efforts to preserve the attachment of the Indians as any public communication with them would furnish the war party in the United States with a fresh subject of complaint. He was able to report that the utmost good feeling prevailed in Lower Canada and that great cordiality had marked the proceedings of the House of Assembly which met in February, 1808. The Non-Intercourse Act passed by Congress had been openly set at defiance by the people of Vermont and New York all along the frontier of Lower Canada. A mammoth raft, said to cover ten acres of water had been built by the smugglers on Lake Champlain, on which an immense quantity of potash, provisions and staves was stored, and it was then towed near the boundary line where it was moored for several days, in sight of an United States Revenue cutter stationed there to enforce the law. A high gale finally forced it into British waters

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[1] Canadian Archives, Craig to Gore, Q., 107, p. 209.

[2] On January 16th, 1808, *Le Canadien* published an extract from a letter from the captain of a merchant vessel on Lake Erie, dated Fort Erie Roads, 3rd October, 1807: "The British have armed all their vessels on this lake, that is to say, the *Camden*, brigantine, of 18 guns, the *General Hunter*, of 10 guns, and all their merchant vessels. On Lake Ontario, as I am informed, they have the *Duke of Kent*, brigantine, of 18 guns, a ship, the *Toronto*, of 24 guns, and the Governor's Yacht. The last a few days ago exercised its seamen and guns alongside the brig *Adams*. If hostilities begin immediately, the posts of Mackinac and Chicago will be the first attacked by the English to expose a more extensive frontier to the savages with whom they are negotiating for an alliance."

and the men in charge declared that they would resist any attempt to make them return by force and were permitted to proceed to St. Johns.[1] Other rafts afterwards succeeded in crossing the boundary in a similar manner. Elsewhere, houses were built as smuggling resorts, half being in Canada, and the other half in the United States. The Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts, consequently became a source of great profit to Canadian merchants and shipmasters. The harbour of Quebec was thronged with vessels and rafts while the American seaports were silent and deserted. So numerous and well organized were the bands of smugglers that President Jefferson finally issued a proclamation declaring that certain districts of Vermont were in a state of insurrection and requiring the Governor of that State to call out a force of militia to restore order.[2]

Craig lost no time in strengthening the defences of Quebec. The old walls were repaired and new works built. A powerful battery was built on the highest ground within the Citadel and several martello towers were constructed on commanding points without.

A line of telegraph stations was established connecting the Citadel of Quebec with Bic. Six regular officers were appointed inspecting field officers of militia, and put in charge of the several districts into which the province was divided. Preparations were made to embody one-fifth of the militia, but were not carried into effect. The expenditure of public money upon the fortifications of the city created considerable industrial activity, and the Governor-General himself maintained a much greater retinue of servants than his predecessors in office, and entertained liberally. During the summer of 1808, he resided at the Powell House, near Wolfe's Cove, four or five miles from the city, where, from time to time, he invited most of the principal inhabitants to breakfast with him in the open air. He kept a large number of horses and gave his patronage to races, which were held on the Plains of Abraham.

His apprehensions of a war with the United States were much abated by the arrival at Washington of Hon. D. M. Erskine, as a special envoy from Great Britain; and Craig readily promised that every pre-

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[1] Lambert, Travels, Vol. I, 254-5.

[2] *Le Canadien* quotes a statement from the Louisville *Gazette* (18th June, 1808): "There are in Upper Canada more than 740 persons who have deserted at different times from the service of the United States. There are now in prison in Canada about 140 who have refused to perform military service and to bear arms against the United States. Many of these are citizens of the United States who have emigrated to Canada in the hope of obtaining grants of land. Within two months about 300 families have returned to the State of Vermont who had been lured from the United States to the British Colonies."

caution would be taken to avoid irritating the Americans along the Canadian frontier. By that time he had begun to suspect that attempts would be made by French agents to weaken British influence among the Indians, and he consequently added several officers to the Indian department, and gave directions that intercourse should be maintained with the distant nations without any reference to the probability of hostilities.

The general elections for the Legislative Assembly took place in May, 1808, during which *Le Canadien* assailed the government with great bitterness and displayed marked animosity towards the English-speaking residents as a body.

"The avowed object of this paper," Craig informed Lord Liverpool, "has been to vilify and degrade the officers of the Government under the title of *gens en place*, and to bring into contempt His Majesty's Government itself under the affectation of the supposed existence of a ministry, the conduct of which was as much open to their animadversion as that of His Majesty's ministers at home.[1]

"Any topic that is calculated to mislead and influence the people has at times occupied the pages of this paper. Nothing has been omitted. The various circumstances that brought about the abdication of James II, have been pointed out with allusions as applicable to the Government here, inferring a similarity in the occurrences of the present day, and as if to impress them with that confidence that might be necessary in asserting their rights when the occasion should call for it, several numbers were employed in narrating the actions of the wars of 1747 and 1756, in which Canadian prowess was held up in a very conspicuous point of view, and their advantages and victories dwelt upon in an emphatic manner. It need scarcely be added that the history was derived from a very partial and exaggerated source."[2]

The revolutionary leaven was still at work and it can scarcely be doubted that some at least of the younger and more reckless agitators looked forward to an insurrection in which they might play a leading part. Some of them had been educated in the United States, where it was not unreasonably suspected that they had become imbued with republican prejudices. These references to the triumphs of French-Canadians over British troops in past wars were particularly galling to the British residents when hostilities with France were in progress and the Quebec *Mercury* retaliated with equal violence. Party feeling ran high

[1] The editor of the Quebec *Mercury* was denounced in *Le Canadien* as "a Yankee" and an "anti-Canadien." March 16, 1807. Disparaging references to the "Yankees" of the townships may be found in the issue of 17th December, 1808.

[2] Canadian Archives, Craig to Liverpool, 21 May, 1810. Q., 109, p. 134.

in consequence. One French-Canadian candidate for the House of Assembly "after using very unwarrantable language with respect to the views of the Government and the English, did not scruple to say that if an Englishman was elected for his colleague, he would not attend the parliament."[1]

Fourteen members of British origin were, however, returned to the new House of Assembly, among them Ezekiel Hart, who was elected for the borough of Three Rivers. Mr. J. A. Panet, who had been Speaker of the Assembly from its organization in December, 1792, was defeated in the Upper Town of Quebec, through the influence of the Government, but was immediately returned for a rural constituency. Among the French speaking members there were fifteen lawyers and notaries and fourteen *habitans*, and only seven seigniors. Three-fifths of the members belonged to the opposition party, but several of them were rather negligent in their attendance.[2]

Immediately after the elections the Governor-General unwisely determined to assert his authority by the dismissal of all persons holding office under the Government who were in any way concerned in the publication of *Le Canadien*, which was declared a seditious newspaper. One of these, Joseph Planté, a member of the last Assembly, who held the offices of "clerk of the terrars" and Inspector-General of the King's domain, immediately declared his disapproval of many articles that had appeared in that paper and denied all responsibility for their publica-

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[1] Craig to Castlereagh, Can. Archives, Q., 109, p. 134.

[2] In No. 38 of *Le Canadien*, there appeared an address to "mes compatriotes canadiens," in which the writer said:—

"Nous sommes absolument obligés, le par devoir parceque tout sujet se doit entier à son roi, à son pays et à son Dieu et ennemi de son Souverain s'il s'écarte de ses engagements; 2d. Par intérêt parceque depuis la conquête du Canada nous n'avons cessé d'éprouver combien il est heureux de vivre sous un Gouvernement doux. Il est pourtant vrai de dire que quelques intrus se sont souvent permis des réflexions noires sur notre compte, mais je suis persuadé qu'ils sont alliés de très près aux ennemis dont nous sommes menacés, nous devons donc avec raison craindre que puisqu'un si petit nombre de ces méchantes créatures nous a fait éprouver tant de disgrâces quand ils seront plus considérables et maîtres de nos foyers nous deviendrons leurs plus vils esclaves. 3d. Par reconnoisance; oui, je repète, mes chers compatriotes, notre reconnoissance doit être sans bornes pour pouvoir égaler et contrebalancer, s'il est possible, les bontés infinies du plus digne des monarques envers le peuple canadien. Qu'a-t-il exigé de nous? Que vous a-t-il demandé? N'avons-nous pas toujours joui de toutes les prérogatives qu'il a accordées à ses fidèles sujets? Et ne serait-ce pas pousser l'ingratitude au dernier point que de se refuser au devoir et à l'intéret qu'on a de le maintenir dans ses droits."

tion, while he admitted that he had been concerned in its establishment as the political organ of the French-Canadians. He had a large family dependent upon him, and the Governor-General, who probably desired to show the people that he was neither implacable nor ungenerous promptly re-instated him. The commissions as officers of the militia held by four members of the new Assembly, Panet, the former Speaker, Bedard, Borgia and Blanchet, were at the same time revoked. Panet was lieutenant-colonel; Bedard, a captain; Borgia, a lieutenant, and Blanchet, a surgeon in the town militia of Quebec. The commission of J. T. Taschereau, another captain, was also cancelled, and his father, Hon. G. E. Taschereau, the *Grand voyer* of Quebec, was directed to cease employing him as his deputy. These dismissals naturally provoked a storm of indignation in the columns of *Le Canadien,* whereupon the *Mercury* tartly reminded the complainants that during the election for the county of Quebec, a hand-bill had been circulated in which the Government had been described as "feeble." "Those concerned in the hand-bill," it added, "now it seems, feel that they are not quite under the government of King Log." [1]

The Legislature did not meet until April 9th, 1809, when Panet was immediately re-elected Speaker of the Assembly in the expectation, it was generally supposed, that Craig would refuse to recognize him, but he deemed it politic to confirm their choice which was done through the Speaker of the Legislative Council in rather chilling terms.

In his speech from the throne, the Governor-General referred to the satisfactory results of the Embargo Act of the United States, which he declared had called forth the energies of the people of Canada, and made them better acquainted with the resources of their own country. By industry and perseverance he anticipated that the advantages already secured might be made permanent and he expressed his hope that the Legislature would not allow causeless jealousies and suspicion of the Government to blight these fair prospects.

The question whether judges should be permitted to sit in the Assembly, which had been debated in the preceding parliament, was again brought forward, but a motion to expel Hon. P. A. de Bonne, a justice of the King's Bench, who had been re-elected for the County of Quebec, was defeated and the question was referred to a committee. The expulsion of Mr. Hart was, however, effected by a resolution declaring that "Ezekiel Hart, professing the Jewish religion, cannot sit or vote in this House." The majority obstinately refused to hear any argument founded on the

[1] Christie, Hist. Canada, Vol. I, p. 277.

act of the British Parliament in the 31st year of the reign of George III, and while not directly challenging the supremacy of Parliament or the validity of that Act, yet they asserted that they were to be regarded as the sole judges of their own proceedings, and refused to be controlled or bound by the acts of another legislature. They did not even ask Mr. Hart to avow or deny his religious belief, and it appeared that he had taken the oath in exactly the same manner as every other member of the House. Craig and the Executive Council, to whom he submitted the case, on the other hand, were unanimous in the opinion that he was eligible, providing he took the oaths prescribed by the Act of Parliament. A month was consumed in desultory and profitless discussion, while the number of members present seldom exceeded twenty-five or thirty. The Governor-General had apparently considered the expediency of dissolving the House as soon as he found a reasonable pretext, even before it had met, and he then determined to act. On May 15th, after giving his assent to half a dozen unimportant bills, he prorogued and dissolved the Assembly, scolding them soundly in a lengthy speech for wasting their time in frivolous and factious debates while he as warmly commended the Legislative Council for their zeal, unanimity, and public spirit. This indiscreet and arbitrary act seems to have commanded the approval of the greater part of the British and a portion of the French inhabitants. Soon after the dissolution of the Assembly, he visited Three Rivers, Montreal, St. Johns, and Sorel, where he was warmly welcomed. At all of these places he was presented with addresses signed by many of the principal residents, strongly approving of his conduct. Upon his return to Quebec, he received another, in which many citizens of that place congratulated him upon his "judicious and firm administration." These indications of popular approval certainly induced him to believe for a time that the coming elections might result in the return of a majority of members favourably disposed towards the Government.

But Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, was not inclined to view his action in this respect with unqualified approbation.

"I have no doubt," he informed him, "that in the measures you have taken you have been really influenced by a sense of your duty to His Majesty, and as you represent that it is approved by the English part of the community and the sensible part of the Canadians, I shall entertain a hope that it may not be attended with any prejudicial effect.

"I am at the same time to impress upon you this counsel that if any unfortunate difference should arise hereafter between you and the Legislative Assembly, which may render it necessary for you to advert to their proceedings, (which should always be done cautiously), and in

consequence thereof to prorogue and dissolve them you will take care to use such temperate and chosen language as may not leave it in the power of the Legislative Assembly, which may afterwards be chosen to question the propriety of your statements as affecting their privileges or the Constitution." [1]

In a private letter of the same date, he added this further warning for his guidance in the future:—

"Nothing appears to me more difficult or delicate to manage than a Provincial Assembly constituted like that of Lower Canada, wherein all the privileges of the House of Commons of Great Britain are claimed or exceeded, where there exist little means of influencing and inducing them to coalesce with the Government, and wherein from the example of the American States and the very nature of a popular Assembly, active and turbulent minds have great materials and opportunities to raise themselves into imaginary or real importance by opposing the administration, and the difficulty becomes thus great from another peculiar circumstance that there is no means whatever of punishing an Assembly but by dissolution, and this method when the conduct of the Assembly is popular is sure to fail of success and to increase the evil it is intended to cure.

"It is therefore of the utmost consequence to take care that in any difference which may arise between a Governor and a Provincial Assembly, he should not advert to any particular proceeding of the Assembly that is not clearly unconstitutional and illegal, and that when the improper opposition of the Assembly arises from discussion of a mixed nature when they can plausibly plead their privileges and rights in favour of their conduct, however, improper, no particular allusion to such conduct should be made by the Governor on which the Assembly might fasten a complaint.

"Neither of the grounds on which the Assembly was dissolved appear to have been unconstitutional.

"In regard to the measure of excluding the judges from a seat in the Legislature, there is no repugnance felt to the measure should you at any time see it right to acquiesce in it." [2]

This unmistakable rebuke produced an almost immediate alteration in the Governor-General's bearing, and it was soon surmised by the leaders of the opposition that his conduct had in some way incurred the disapproval of the ministry, but of this they were unable to secure any confirmation to strengthen their position.

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[1] Craig to Castlereagh, 7th Sept., 1809, Canadian Archives, Q., 109, p. 217.
[2] Canadian Archives, Q., 109, p. 219.

Early in 1809, Craig was warned by the British Minister at Washington, that war might be commenced at any time by the United States without any formal declaration, and he at once resumed his preparations for defence. About the same time General Turreau renewed his efforts to communicate with the malcontents in Lower Canada, by authorizing the Chevalier Le Blond de Saint Hilaire to proceed to that province as his agent with secret instructions to make arrangements for an insurrection which was not to be commenced until the French Government was prepared to support it. Saint Hilaire seems to have resided in Canada for several months unmolested and did not return to the United States until March 1810.[1]

The elections of 1809 resulted in little change in the complexion of the Assembly. Joseph Papineau who had sat in the first and second parliaments of the province now returned to the Assembly after an absence of nine years and at once assumed a position of influence and authority. His son, the noted Louis Joseph Papineau, was also re-elected as a member of the extreme opposition, with which the father warily declined to identify himself. Acting upon the instructions conveyed in Castlereagh's private letter of the 7th September, 1809, the Governor-General announced in his speech that he was prepared to give his assent to a bill disqualifying judges from sitting in the Assembly, which had been the subject of such prolonged agitation.

"This measure," he said in a letter to his confidant, Colonel Bunbury, "had a very considerable effect, so much so that though the leaders felt no small degree of mortification, and one of them was even heard to say, 'Ma foi! Il est plus fin que nous,' yet they could not do otherwise than join in the general sentiment."

There is not much doubt, however, that this concession was at the same time construed by many into a confession of haste and indiscretion in dissolving the preceding legislature. Craig's whole manner was conciliatory, and two days later he entertained all the members at dinner, except two who were not invited.

"Had anyone peeped in after dinner," Craig wrote to Bunbury, "he would certainly have supposed it to be a marriage feast and not a meeting of grave legislators."

Still the majority were by no means disposed to overlook the discourteous manner in which the late Assembly had been dissolved and a resolution was soon introduced and carried declaring that every attempt to censure the proceedings of the House by the disapproval of the conduct of certain members and the approval of others was a breach of

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[1] Faucher de St. Maurice.

privilege and a dangerous attack upon the rights and liberties of His Majesty's subjects in this province. This defiant motion, Craig considered it prudent to ignore. "As however, it may be considered an abstract proposition," he said, "which I could contend did not apply to the case, as by including in it the other branch of the Legislature, it was completely generalized, (if I may use the term), and as it was not presented to me or followed up by any other proceedings whatever, I did not think myself called upon to take any notice of it."

A bill rendering the judges ineligible to sit in the Assembly, which was solely aimed at Hon. P. A. de Bonne, who, like Panet and Pierre Bedard, enjoyed the distinction of having been a member of the House since 1792, but had incurred the hostility of the dominant party by his steady support of government measures, was passed and sent up to the Legislative Council, by whom it was amended so as not to come into effect until the dissolution of the existing Assembly. This provoked the majority of the House to propose a resolution declaring that the "Hon. Pierre Amable de Bonne, one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench, cannot sit or vote in this House as one of the members for the County of Quebec." This was an exactly similar motion to that by which Ezekiel Hart had been expelled and the Governor-General seems to have believed that if they were permitted to pass it they might some day declare that no English-speaking person or British-born resident was competent to occupy a seat in the Assembly, and accordingly on the following day he again prorogued and dissolved the House, in order, he said, that the whole question might be referred to the people. On arriving at and leaving the Council Chamber he was loudly cheered by the crowd which had assembled in the streets. His next step was the publication of a long address to the public, justifying his conduct. Congratulatory addresses approving of the dissolution were soon presented to him from the city and county of Quebec, the city of Montreal, the town of Three Rivers, the borough of William Henry, the counties of Warwick and Orleans, the parish of Terrebonne and other places. *Le Canadien* retorted by such vehement attacks upon the Government and the British population who were designated as "choyens," "intrus," "étrangers," and "anti-Canadiens," that Craig determined to suppress that paper and arrest the principal persons concerned in its publication upon a charge of fomenting sedition.

"A violent and numerous democratic party," he informed Lord Castlereagh, "has long been busily employed in sowing their pernicious principles among the truly ignorant, credulous people, and as unfortunately no sufficient means of counteraction have been found they have succeeded in disseminating among them a strong spirit of jealousy, dis-

affection and mistrust of His Majesty's Government, mixed with a considerable degree of animosity towards the English part of their fellow-subjects. These have at length shown themselves in very many, indeed, I may almost say in every part of the colony and that with respect to the press in so open and daring a manner that it became indispensably necessary to take decisive steps to avert the evil that was threatened by it. I am singularly happy in feeling warranted in giving your Lordship my opinion that those steps have been adopted precisely at the most favourable moment, when the mischief is sufficiently obvious to arouse the exertions of the well-disposed at the same time that it is not so far advanced as to give reason to doubt the effect of their exertions in support of the energy of Government.

"With the advice of the Executive Council I have seized the press that was employed in the service of this party and by the same advice and under their warrant, three of their leaders, Bedard, Blanchet and Taschereau, together with the printer, have been arrested on a charge of treasonable practices. Fortunately the act for the better security of His Majesty's Government, which is in fact an act for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* was one of the only two that were passed last session, and it is under the authority vested in the Executive Council by that act that they have been apprehended."

Three other persons were also arrested in the District of Montreal, Pierre La Forée and Pierre Papineau of Chambly, and François Corbeil of Ile Jésus; and a reward was offered for the apprehension of a man named Cazeaux, who was suspected of being an agent of the French Government. Cazeaux could not be found, and Turreau's correspondence reveals the fact that these arrests quite dismayed Saint Hilaire, who instantly returned to the United States and reported that the Governor-General's action had been caused by the indiscretion of one of his agents.[1]

General Brock, who was in command of the military forces in Lower Canada at that time, warmly approved of the coercive measures adopted to repress disaffection.

"We have been in a bustle and on the alert for the last ten days,"

[1] Quebec, 8th August, 1807. Tuesday last Mr. O'Sullivan, of Montreal, returning from Newfoundland, where he had been travelling, was examined by Colonel Brock on a suspicion caused by his resemblance to a suspected person, supposed to be in the city. After a short interview he was politely released. *Le Canadien*, No. 38, August 8th, 1807. A reference is made to a reward offered for the apprehension of one Cazeau or Casserio, 23rd January, 1808.

he wrote to Colonel William Claus from Quebec on March 22nd, 1810. "The spirit of insubordination and revolt was advancing so rapidly among the Canadian population of the province that it became absolutely necessary for the peace to put a check to it, and fortunately a person was found at the head of the Government of sufficient energy to meet and crush at once the monster who strived to draw the people from the state of unexampled prosperity to all the horrors of civil commotion. Several persons have been arrested. Bedard, Blanchet and Taschereau are the principal. I hope at any rate, terror will prove effective, for I begin to think gratitude and a recollection of the sacrifice any change would produce will scarcely operate a reform in their rooted animosities against all anyway connected with the name of Englishman. All confidence has forever vanished, and the bubble set up by Lord Dorchester and Sir R. S. Milnes, has completely burst never to rise again." [1]

Turreau relates that Saint Hilaire informed him that a French expedition for the recovery of Canada would simply be a matter of entering into possession as the hearts and arms not only of the French inhabitants but of the neighbouring Indians were devoted to the Emperor. The English, he said, were so fully convinced of the strength of this sentiment of disaffection to them, that as soon as the French flag was seen in the St. Lawrence the scattered detachments of regular troops would be withdrawn into Quebec and Halifax and the invaders would be permitted to become masters of the rest of Canada, probably without firing a shot. He had, in fact, been informed that instructions had been given not to attempt the least resistance in the field.[2] But Saint Hilaire died suddenly a few months later and Turreau failed to re-open communications with the Canadian conspirators.

By a goodly majority of the French-Canadians, Craïg was undoubtedly viewed as a thorough-paced tyrant, but there seemed to be very little inclination on the part of their leaders to further endanger their liberty and perhaps their lives by open resistance, and the suppression of *Le Canadien* seemed to restore tranquillity for a time. In his proclamation he asserted that the "most base and diabolical falsehoods" had been insidiously promulgated and disseminated. "In one part," he continued, "it is announced as my intention to embody and make soldiers of you, and that, having applied to the late House of Representatives to enable me to assemble twelve thousand of you for that purpose, and they having declined to do so, I had therefore to dissolve them. This is not only directly false, such an idea never having entered into

[1] Original letter in possession of Miss C. Claus, Niagara, Ont.
[2] Faucher de St. Maurice.

my mind, but it is doubly wicked and atrocious because it has been advanced by persons who must have been supposed to speak with certainty on the subject and was therefore the more calculated to impose upon you. In another part you are told that I wanted to tax your lands and that the late House of Assembly would consent only to tax wine, and that upon that account I had dissolved the House. Inhabitants of St. Denis, this is also directly false. I never had the most distant idea of taxing you at all."

He appointed Hon. P. A. de Bonne to a vacant seat in the Executive Council and despatched Ryland, his private secretary, to England, to justify his policy to the ministry and recommend the repeal of the Constitutional Act, upon which the province would revert to the position of a Crown Colony.

Lord Liverpool, however, frankly told Ryland that even if the ministers were inclined to approve of such a drastic proposal, they would not dare to bring it before Parliament, and suggested a reunion of the provinces or a redistribution of constituencies to increase the number of English-speaking members in the Assembly. Referring to an intimation conveyed in one of Craig's despatches that the policy of the leaders of the opposition was inspired by the hope and desire of forcing themselves into office, he inquired whether some of them could not be "brought over." To this Ryland replied that this policy had already been adopted in several instances, but that there were very few posts of emolument at the disposal of the Governor-General.

The Attorney-General for Great Britain gave an opinion that Parliament possessed the authority to reunite the provinces, but not to alter the number of representatives of the boundaries of the electoral districts which could only be changed by the Legislature. He also held that the statements in *Le Canadien*, upon which the action of the Executive Council in the suppression of that newspaper was based, were not actually sufficient to justify a charge of treasonable conduct, but as they were undoubtedly designed to cause mischief, the publishers might be prosecuted for seditious libel.

During the summer, both Blanchet and Taschereau, humbly expressed regret for their conduct and were promptly released, but Bedard resolutely denied that he had committed any offence and demanded that he should either be released unconditionally or brought to trial. A writ of *habeas corpus* was refused, and he remained in prison. An attempt by his political associates to buy another printing press which was offered for sale in Montreal was thwarted by the vigilance

of the Governor-General, who engaged a secret agent to outbid them and dispose of it again piecemeal to other printers.

But the elections of 1810 resulted in a more decisive victory for the opposition than ever before. Bedard was elected for the County of Surrey, and the English-speaking members were reduced to ten. This rebuff in conjunction with the total failure of Ryland's mission, persistent ill-health and the constant apprehension of a war with the United States, so effectually disheartened Craig that he tendered his resignation to Lord Castlereagh in a despatch dated 23rd November, 1810, declaring, however, his willingness to remain for some time longer if it was considered that his services were indispensable.

The session of the Legislature which began in December, 1810, and ended in March, 1811, was far quieter and more business-like than had been anticipated, although as Craig remarked, "the party which rules the House came down full freight with every hostile intention, and amply supplied as they imagined with subjects to exercise it." The Governor-General was equally determined to persist in his former line of policy. Papineau, the elder, had again been returned for the east ward of Montreal, and his influence had increased to the highest point although he was studiously moderate in his public utterances. Craig described him "as a man of sense, but extreme vanity, of great art but degenerating into a species of cunning which shows itself in spite of him, well calculated for a demagogue and little scrupulous in the means he employs. This person," he added, "had made his appearance in the House under professions of great moderation and a desire to allay the heat and animosities that existed in it. Under these, however, he was assiduously endeavouring to acquire the general confidence."

In a characteristically verbose speech, Craig directed the attention of the Legislature to the necessity of re-enacting the Acts respecting aliens coming into the province and for the better security of His Majesty's Government, which it had been the practice to pass annually, but which had lapsed as the last Assembly had failed to enact them before its sudden prorogation. In its reply, the House boldly announced its decided reluctance to pass the latter Act through "fears and apprehensions," that it might be misapplied. This was, of course, an unmistakable allusion to the recent arrests; and the prolonged imprisonment of Pierre Bedard, without trial, was accordingly one of the first matters they considered, and a committee of eight members, among whom were Joseph and his son, L. J. Papineau, was appointed to prepare and present to the Governor-General an address praying for his immediate release. The elder Papineau had, however, already committed himself

on this question by a public declaration that he considered Bedard's detention perfectly justifiable and was thus placed in an awkward position. To extricate himself, he solicited a private interview with the Governor-General, which was readily granted, although Craig suspected him of a design of intimidating or entrapping him into some rash declaration on this subject.

"He certainly said everything that could be said in its support and in every way in which it could be said," Craig reported. "The firm ground on which I stood gave me, however, every advantage over him and I did not hesitate to tell him that no consideration should induce me to consent to the releasing Mr. Bedard at the interference of the House or even during the period of its sitting, that I knew the general language of its members had encouraged the idea which generally prevailed in the province that the House of Assembly would release Mr. Bedard, an idea so firmly established that not a doubt was entertained upon it, that the time was therefore come when I felt that the security as well as the dignity of the King's Government imperiously required that the people should be made to understand the true limits of the rights of the respective parts of the Government, and that it was not that of the House of Assembly to rule the country.

"This gentleman took the next day the singular method for extricating himself from a dilemma into which he felt he had got by declaring in the House that he had had the honour of an interview with me, and that I had convinced him that the House ought not to interfere; and such was his influence that he actually prevented the resolutions from being presented though he had himself drawn them up and was of the committee appointed for the purpose of laying them before me, and though the subject was several times brought forward and a motion made to compel them to report, which though not negatived, was adjourned and suffered to die away."[1]

The minutes of the Assembly show that on January 5th, 1811, a resolution was adopted requiring the committee to acquaint the House with their proceedings on the following Monday. When the matter came up, Messrs. Bourdages, Debartsch, Bruneau, and Lee, members of the committee stated that the address had not been officially presented while Messrs. Viger, Bellet and L. J. Papineau, declared that they had never been required to wait upon the Governor-General for the purpose of presenting it.

Mr. Borgia then moved, seconded by Mr. Huot, that "an enquiry be made of the causes for which the messengers did not officially present

[1] Craig to Liverpool, 28th March, 1811, Canadian Archives, Q. 114, p. 12.

the address voted by this House on 24th December last to His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief." Mr. Coffin moved in amendment, seconded by Mr. Bowen, to leave out all words after "that," and insert "the messengers be discharged from presenting the said message." Mr. Joseph Papineau moved, seconded by Mr. Debartsch, that the consideration of the main question and of the question in amendment be adjourned, and this motion was carried by sixteen votes to thirteen. No further action was taken. Joseph Papineau's conduct in this matter seems to have been perfectly straightforward and consistent, and nothing but his great personal influence and tact could have possibly averted another conflict with the Governor-General and a dissolution of the Assembly.

The Alien Act and the Act for the prevention of seditious practices recommended by the Governor-General were first introduced in the Legislative Council, by which they were promptly passed without discussion and transmitted to the Assembly. A new clause had been inserted in the latter Act, providing that no member of the Legislature should be imprisoned during a session unless the cause of his arrest had been previously made known to the House and its consent obtained. The opposition lacked the courage to resist this measure and it was passed without a division, although they had declared within twenty-four hours that it was "a subject of much apprehension in the province and required their most serious consideration." Dissensions soon arose in their ranks. They quarrelled bitterly amongst themselves and several of the strongest opponents of the Government returned to their homes in great disappointment before the session concluded. The behaviour of the remainder towards the English members became decidedly more friendly and even cordial.

"It has been observed," said Craig, "that their manner and deportment towards the English party has been in general very different this session from what it was during the two or three last meetings. Some few, however, of the most violent continued to observe the same distance, and among themselves the usual scenes of extravagance and indecorum have occurred even so far as to afford the spectacle of one member pursuing another around the Salle." [1]

After the prorogation of the Legislature the Governor-General's health failed so much that he determined to return to England by the first opportunity without waiting for permission. On June 19th, 1811, he accordingly embarked on the frigate *Amelia* amid the strongest expressions of esteem from the English population of Quebec, and the ad-

[1] Craig to Liverpool, 28th March, 1811, Canadian Archives, Q. 114, p. 12.

ministration of the Government again devolved upon Hon. Thomas Dunn as the oldest Protestant member of the Executive Council.

A despatch had been prepared by Lord Liverpool on the last day of May, authorizing Craig to turn over the Government to Sir George Prevost, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, who was at the same time directed to proceed to Quebec as soon as he was informed by Craig that he intended to resign. But these letters did not reach Canada until several weeks after Craig's departure, and consequently Prevost did not arrive at Quebec until September 13th, 1811.