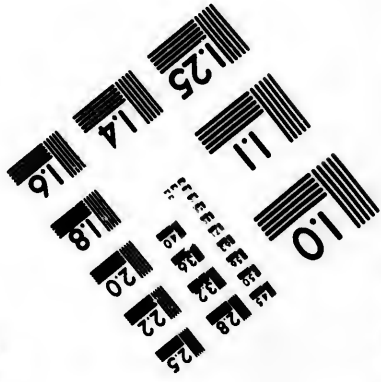
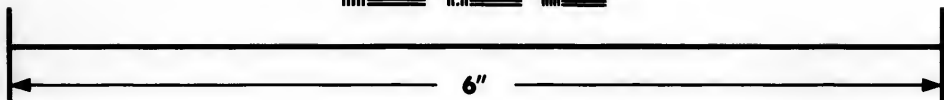
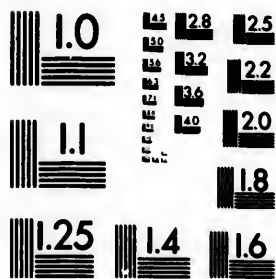


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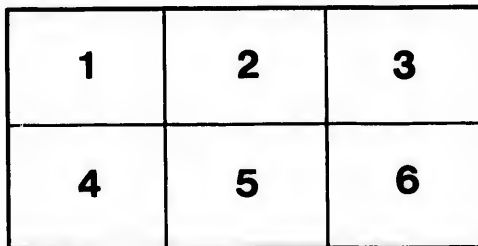
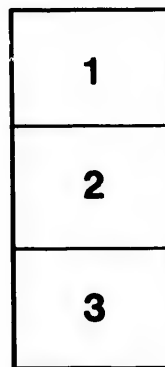
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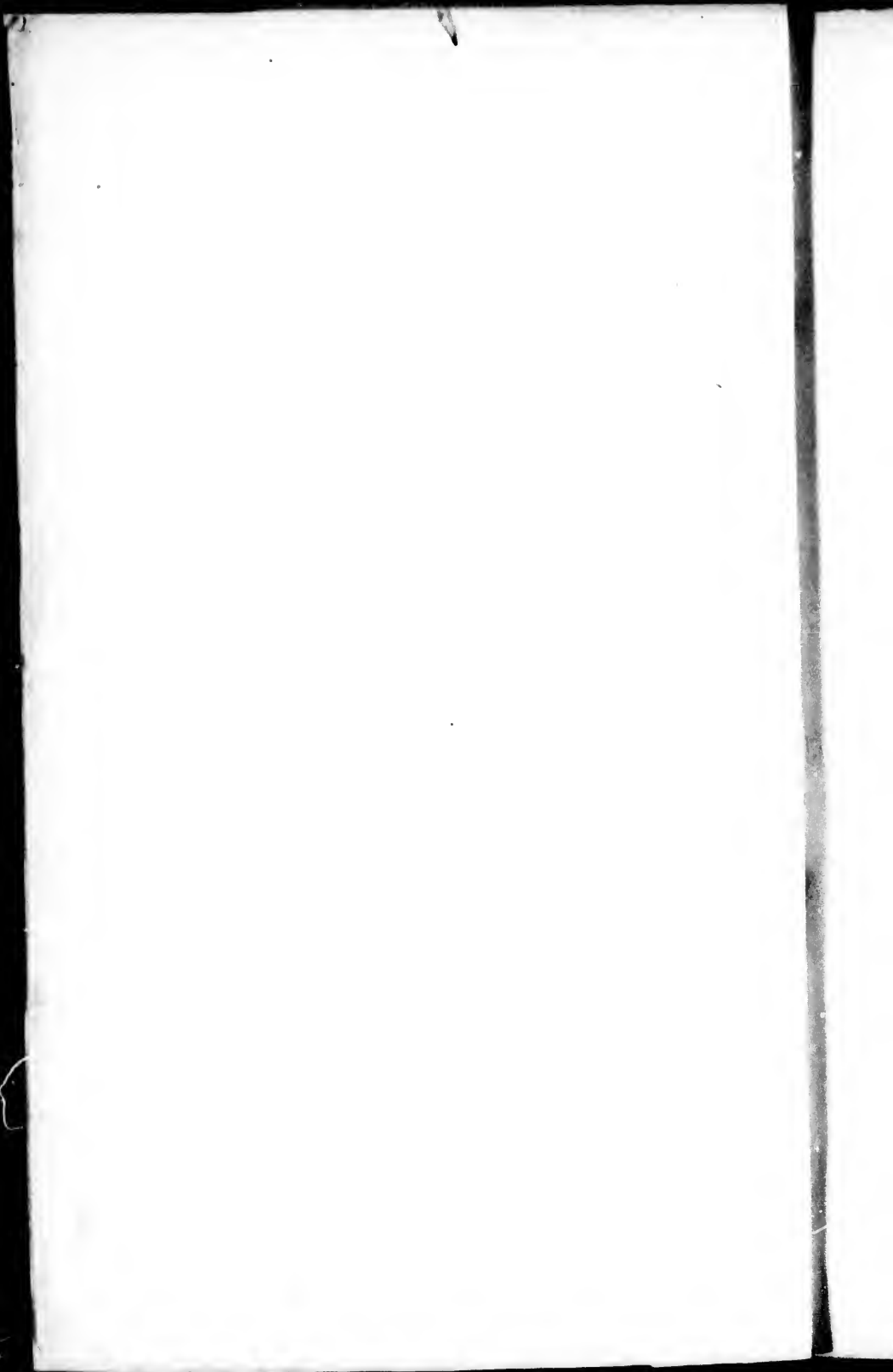
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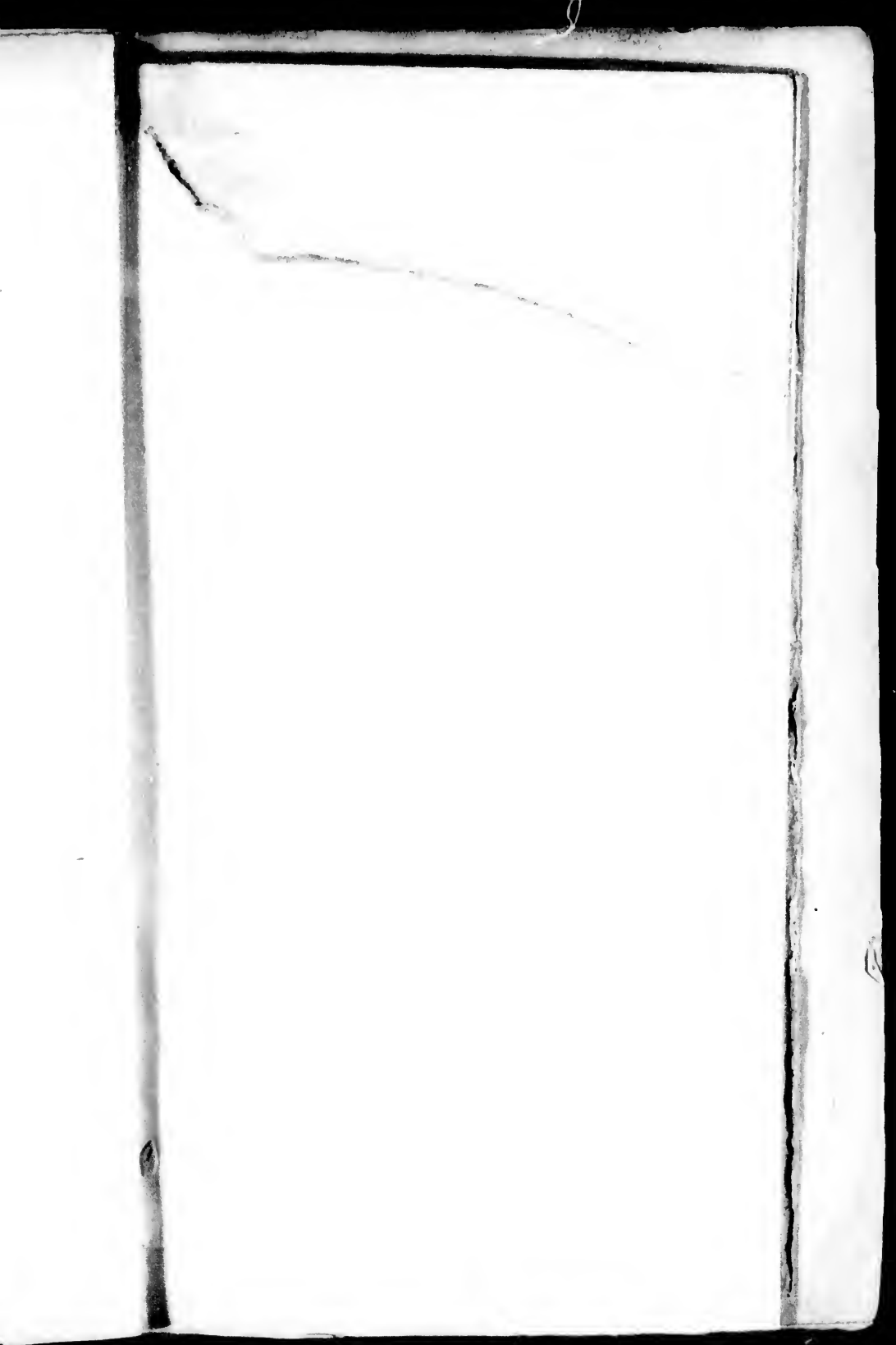
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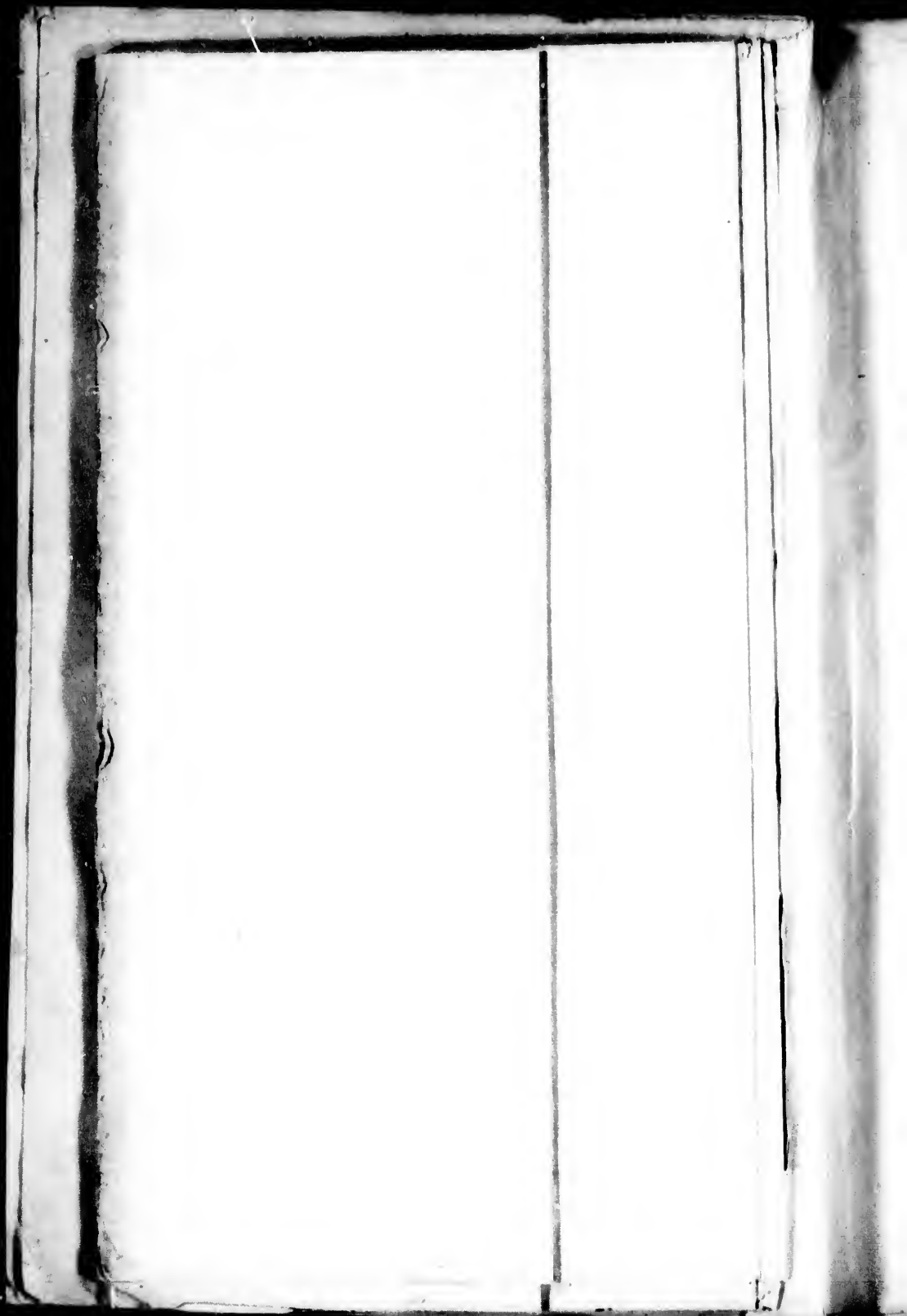


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84

83

82

81

80

79

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49

48

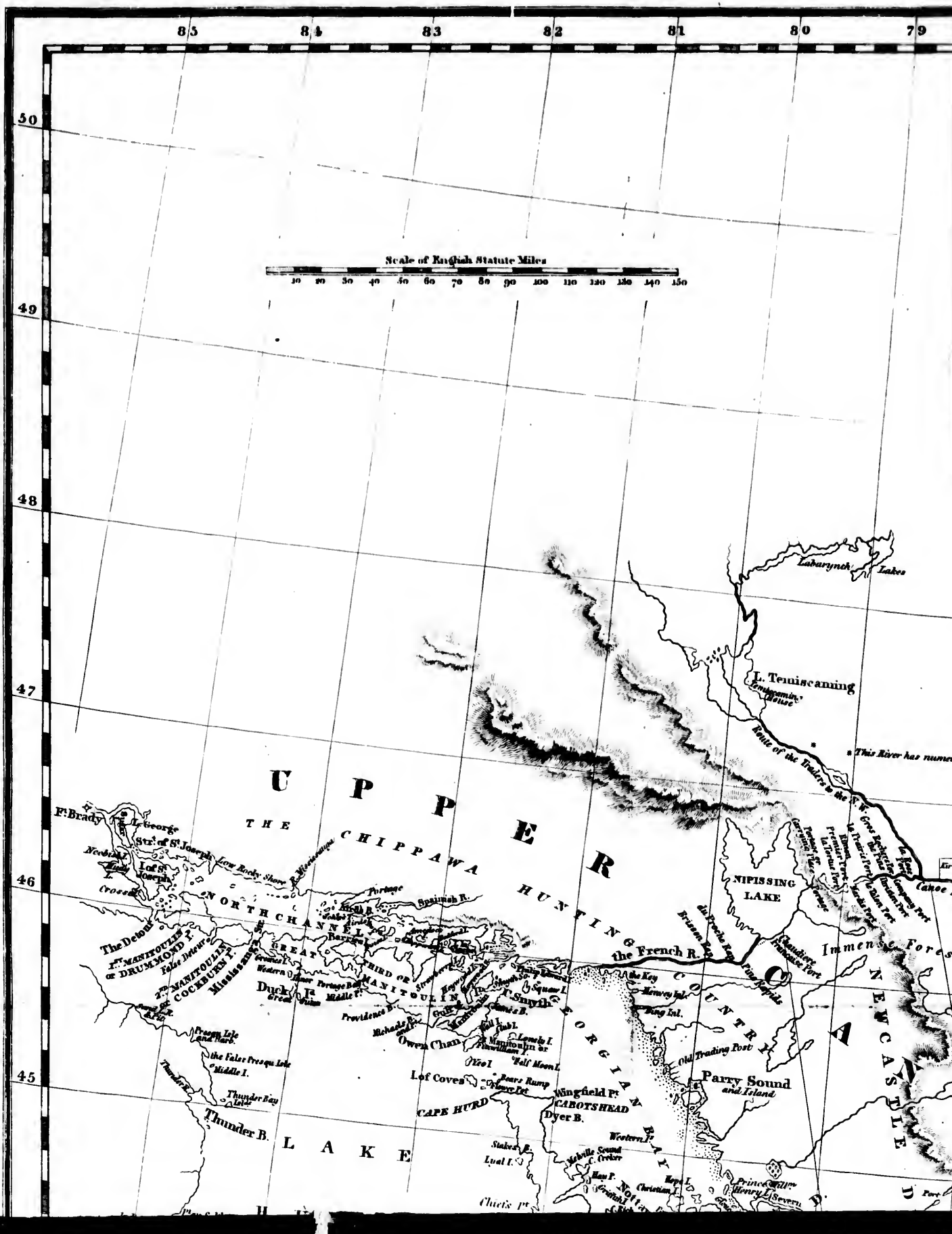
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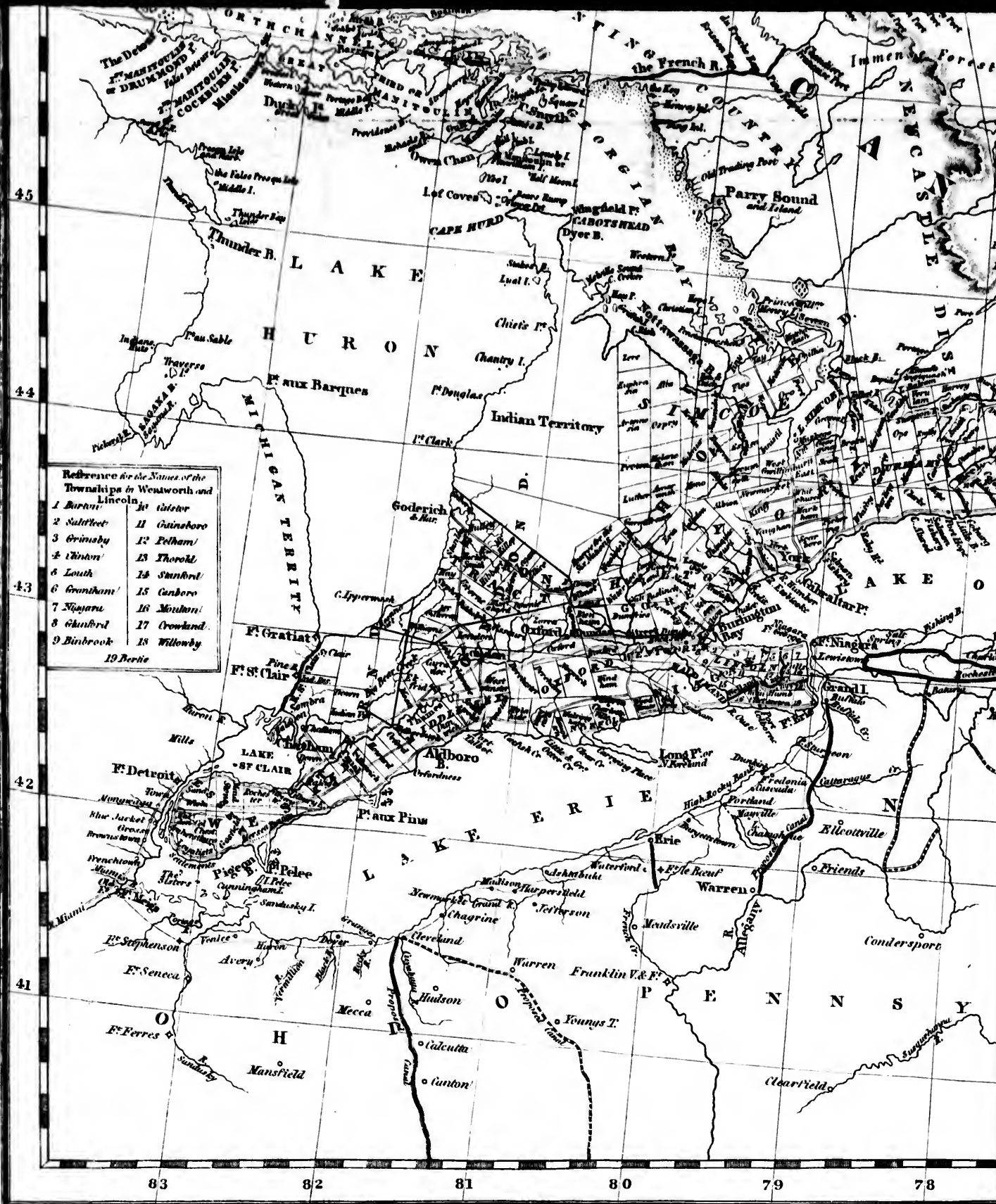
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Scale of English Statute Miles

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Reference for the Names of the Townships in Westworth and Lincoln

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3 Grimsby	12 Pelham
4 Clinton	13 Thorold
5 Louth	14 Stanford
6 Grantham	15 Canboro
7 Niagara	16 Moulton
8 Chatham	17 Crowland
9 Binbrook	18 Willowby
	19 Bertie

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44

43

42

41

83

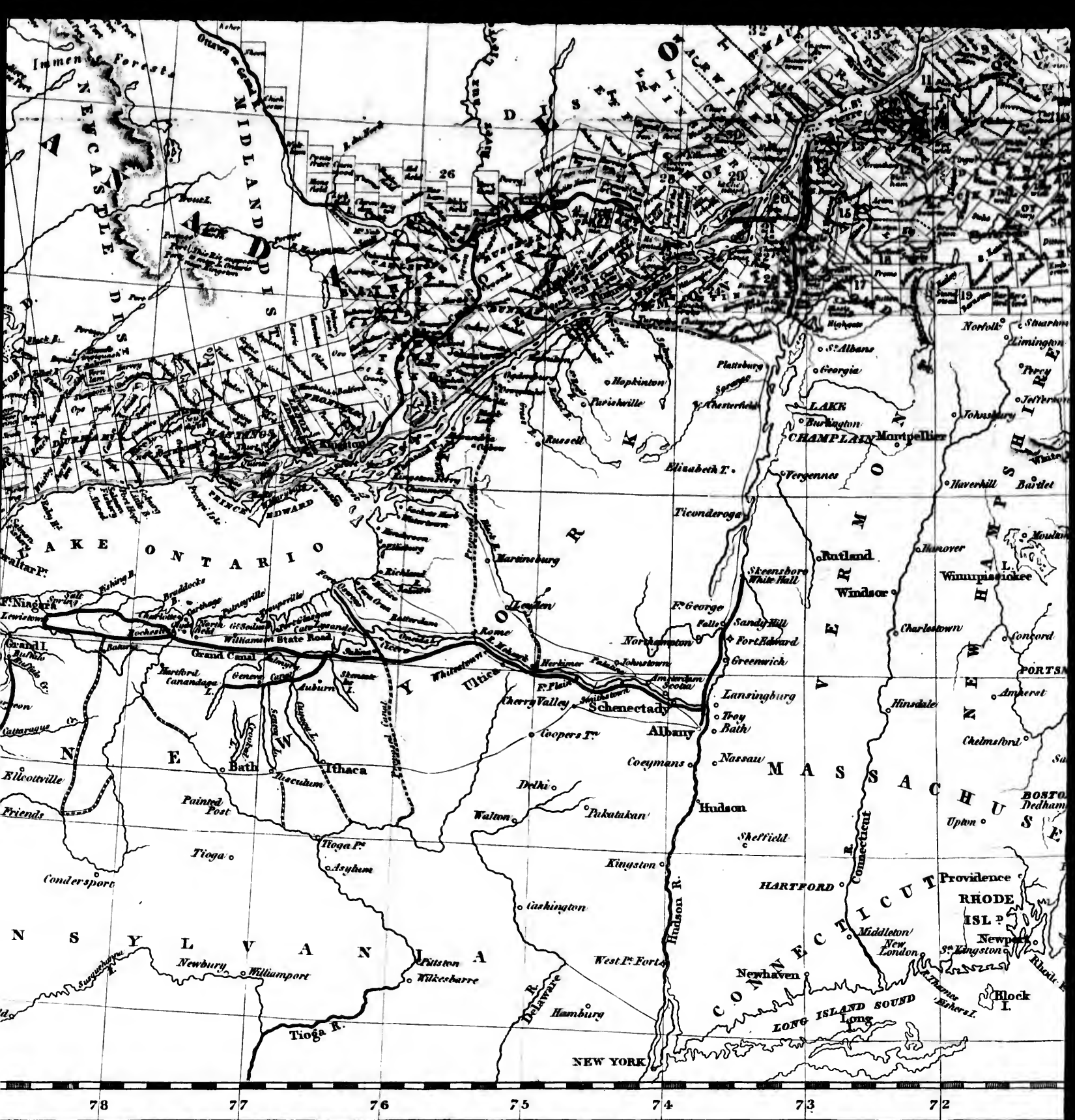
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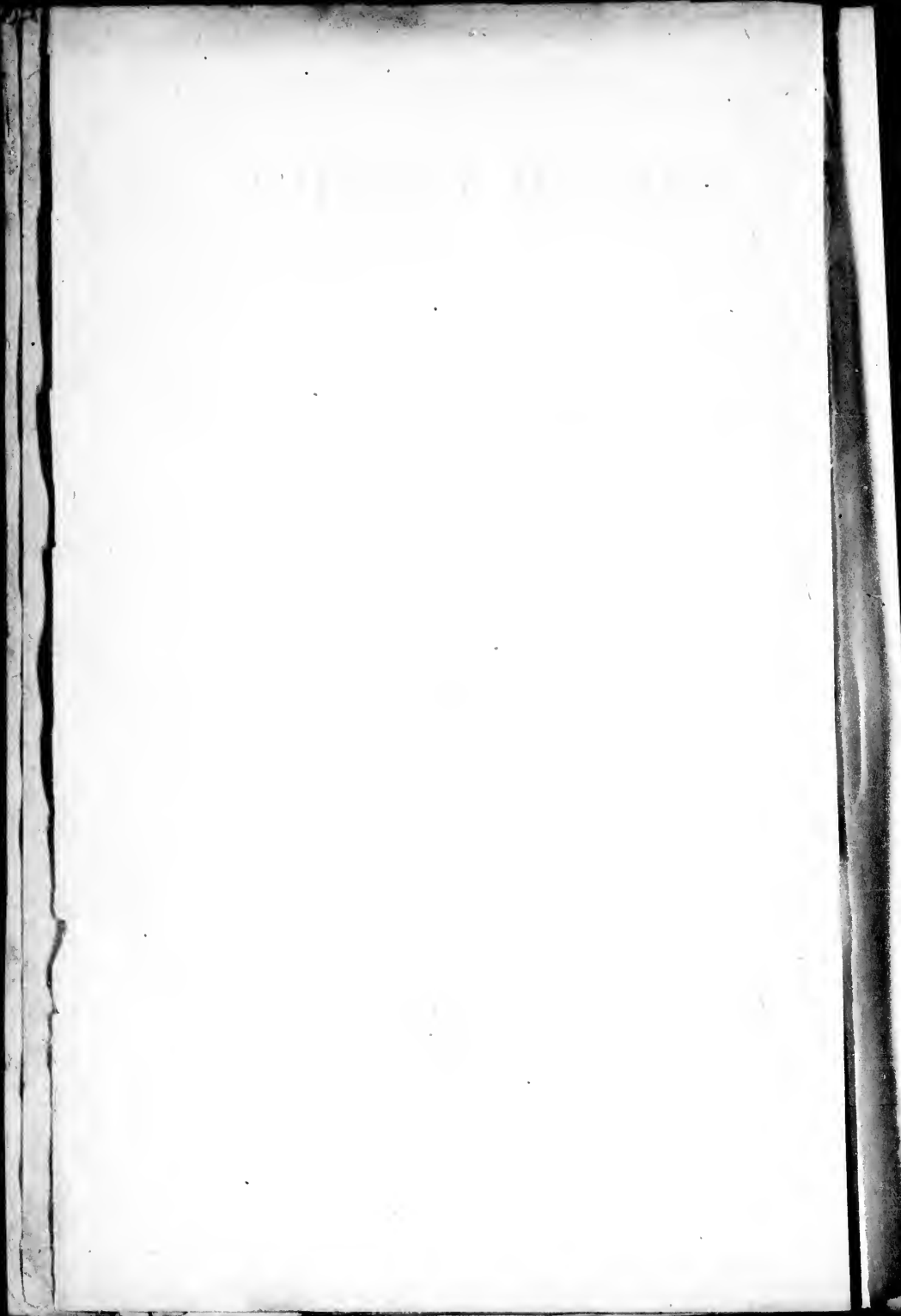
71

70

69

68

67



CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOOK VI.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Geographical Boundaries. Geological Features. Minerals. Wild Animals. Fishes, &c. Climate, &c. HISTORICAL SKETCH. Settlement of the Country. Sufferings of early Settlers. Governor Carlton. General Smyth. Sir Howard Douglas. Constitution. Administration of the Laws. Revenue. Quit Rents, &c.	1

CHAPTER II.

Divisions of the Province. Description of the City and River of St. John. Prairie. Suburbs of Portland and Carleton. Society, &c.	13
---	----

CHAPTER III.

River St. John. Lower Cataracts. Indian Town. Steam Boat. River Scenery. Grand Bay. Kennebecasis. Alwington Manor. Long Reach. Belle-Isle Bay. Washedemoak. Grand Lake, &c.	21
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

FREDERICTON. Beauty of its Situation. Luxuriant Scenery. Public Buildings. Governor's House. New Brunswick College, &c.	25
---	----

	PAGE
CHAPTER V.	
River St. John above Fredericton. Tributary Rivers. Tobique, Restook, Woodstock. Houlton Plantation. American Encroachments. Mars' Hill. Presque Isle. Grand Falls. Acadian Settlements. Madawaska. Rout to Canada. Lake Tamisquata, &c. - - - -	29
CHAPTER VI.	
Coast of the Bay of Fundy. Passamaquoddy Bay, and Islands. Grand Manan. Campobello. Deer Island. American Frontier. Eastport and Robinstown. Town of St. Andrew. St. Stephen's. Rivers St. Croix and Schoodic. Digdaquash. Magaquadavic. L'Etang. Le Preaux. Musquash. Quaco. Chepody. Petit Coudiac. Memramcook. Westmoreland. Great Roads. Interior Settlements, &c. - - -	35
CHAPTER VII.	
Coast of New Brunswick within the Gulf Shore. Miramichi River and Settlements. Chatham, Newcastle, &c. Occupations of the Inhabitants. Timber Trade. Cultivation of the Soil. Salmon Fishery. Tremendous Fire of 1825. Effects on the Soil. Harbours on the Gulf Coast, &c. -	45
CHAPTER VIII.	
BAY DE CHALEUR.	
Miscou. Shippigan. Caraquette. New Bandon. St. Peter's. Rustigouche. Dalhousie. Salmon Fishery. Lumberers, &c.	61
CHAPTER IX.	
DISRICT OF GASPÉ.	
Bonaventure. New Carlisle. Paspabiac. Percé. Gaspé. Whale-fishers, &c. - - - -	69
CHAPTER X.	
Trade. Imports and Exports. Timber Trade, &c. - -	78
CHAPTER XI.	
Agriculture. Sir Howard Douglas' Attention to the En-	

CONTENTS.

vii

PAGE

PAGE

couragement of Husbandry. Agricultural and Emigrant Societies. Live Stock, and Average Crops. - - - 87

CHAPTER XII.

Population. Religion. Education. College of New Brunswick. Madras Schools. - - - 95

BOOK VII.

CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery and History. Jacques Cartier. Champlain finds Quebec. War with the Indians. Company of New France. Recollet Friars. Quebec taken by the English. Restored to France. Mission of Sillery. Jesuits' College at Quebec founded. Hôtel-Dieu. Convent of St. Ursula. Death of Champlain. Order of St. Sulpicius found an Establishment at Montreal. Hostilities of the Iroquois. Introduction of Brandy among the Savages. A Bishop arrives at Quebec, and a Seminary founded. Sisters of the Congregation. Tremendous Earthquake. - - - 103

CHAPTER II.

Company of New France surrender their Charter. Canada placed under the Government of the Company of the West Indies. Wars with the Iroquois. Church of Quebec. De Frontenac's energetic Government. Attempts of the Jesuits to convert the Savages. Clergy. Administration of the Laws. Calamities of the Indians from the Ravages of the Smallpox. Discovery of the Mississippi. - - - 120

CHAPTER III.

Jealousies of French and English, in regard to the Fur Trade. Indian Warfare. Perilous Condition of Canada. Marquis Denonville arrives as Governor, with a strong Reinforcement. Seizes the Iroquois Chiefs, and sends them to France as Galley Slaves. Ravages of the Iroquois. Political Treachery and Barbarity of Kondiaronk. Devastation of Montreal, &c. 129

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE

Critical Condition of Canada. Re-appointment of M. de Frontenac. War with the Indians. Sir William Phipps attacks Quebec. Hostilities between the English and French Colonists. Conferences with the Indians. Death of Count Frontenac. M. de Vaudreuil. Indian Perfidy. War with the Autagamis. Death of M. de Vaudreuil. M. de Beauharnois. War between France and England, &c.	- 139
---	-------

CHAPTER V.

Preparations made by the English for conquering Canada. Forces under General Wolfe land and ascend the Heights. Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Death of Wolfe. Surrender of Quebec. Death of Montcalm. Surrender of Niagara. Ticonderago. Crown Point and Montreal. The Intendant-General M. Bigot's Fraudulency. Governor Murray's Report.	- 151
---	-------

CHAPTER VI.

Sir Guy Carleton's Administration. Quebec Act of 1774. American War. Montreal surrenders to General Montgomery, who is afterwards killed at Quebec. The Americans retreat from the Province. Constitutional Act of 1791, and Partition of the Province, not agreeable to the English Inhabitants. Sir Guy Carleton created a Peer. General Prescott Governor. Sir R. Milnes. Sir James Craig.	- 161
---	-------

CHAPTER VII.

Sir George Prevost. Operations during the American War. Sir George Gordon Drummond. Sir John Coape Sherbrooke.	- 168
--	-------

CHAPTER VIII.

Government of the Duke of Richmond. Civil List. Earl of Dalhousie. Sir James Kempt. Lord Aylmer.	- 173
--	-------

CHAPTER IX.

Administration of Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt.	- 180
---	-------

CHAPTER X.

General Election under the New Representation Act. Lord Aylmer Governor. Troops fire at the Electors in Montreal, and kill three Men.	- 187
---	-------

CONTENTS.

ix

PAGE

CHAPTER XI.

PAGE

Government and Laws of Canada. Quebec Act. Partition of the Province. Counties and Representation. Coutume de Paris. New Division of the Province. Constitution of the Government. Administration of the Laws. Districts. . 192

CHAPTER XII.

Courts of Justice. Districts. Judges. Lawyers. Notaries. Canadian Laws. Estates. Tenures. - - - 205

CHAPTER XIII.

Revenue and Expenditure. Public Offices, &c. - - - 216

CHAPTER XIV.

Configuration and general Aspect of Canada. Geological Structure. Organic Remains. *Steps*. Mineralogy. Western Region. Rocky Mountains, Climate, &c. - - - 222

CHAPTER XV.

Coast of the River St. Lawrence from Gaspé to Quebec. Bay of Seven Islands. Trinity. Manicougan Shoals. Port Neuf. South Shore. Cape Gaspé. Anse de L'Etang. Matane. Mitis. Rimouski. Bique. Trois Pistoles. Appearance of the South Coast. Roads, Travelling. Canadian Parishes. Auberges. Churches. Habitans' Houses. Rivière de Loup. Kamouraska. St. Anne's. St. Thomas's. Habitans on Sunday. Moral Character. Point Levi. - 233

CHAPTER XVI.

Country of the King's Posts. The River Saguenay. Tadousac. Islands in the St. Lawrence, &c. - - - 253

CHAPTER XVII.

City of Quebec. Appearance from the River. Lower Town, Wharfs, *Hangards*, Streets, Houses, Upper Town, Public Buildings, English and Catholic Cathedrals, Churches, Nunneries, Jesuits' College, Market, Populace, Society, Canadian Gentry, Amusements, Summer, Winter, Classification of Ranks, Hotels, *Table d'Hôte*, Public Institutions, Literary and Historical Society, &c., Trades-people, Auctions,

de
pps
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h of
Var
de
- 139

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nts.
ur-
of
he
nor
- 151

74.
nt-
ns
nd
n-
s-
- 161

r.
r-
- 168

f
- 173

- 180

l
- 187

	PAGE
Walls, Fortifications, Citadel of Cape Diamond. Wolfe and Montcalm's Monument. View from Cape Diamond, &c.	265

CHAPTER XVIII.

Environs of Quebec. St. Roche. Road to Montmorenci. Falls. Patterson's Mills. Road to St. Foix. Sillery. Jeune Lorette. Hurons. Cascades. Lake St. Charles. Falls of the Chaudière. River St. Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal. Post Roads. Winter travelling. Steam-Boats. New Liverpool. Rapids of Richelieu. Trois Rivières. Ursuline Convent. Abbé de Calonne. Forges of St. Maurice. Lake St. Peter. Delta. Fort William Henry. River Richelieu. Summer Residence of the Governor. Fort Chambly. St. Jean. Isle aux Noix. Rouse's Point. Lake Champlain. St. Lawrence from Fort William Henry to Montreal.	- 285
---	-------

CHAPTER XIX.

Montreal. General Appearance. St. Paul's and Notre Dame Streets. Nelson's Monument. Champ de Mars. Suburbs. Public Buildings. Catholic Cathedral and Churches. English Church. Scotch Kirk. Court-House. Gaol. Government House. Nunneries. French College. M'Gill College. Natural History Society. Mechanics' Institution. Hospital. Public Schools. News Room. Libraries. Periodicals. Position of Montreal. Trade. <i>Bateaux</i> . Scows. North-west Company. Bank. Committee of Trade. Population. Society. Hotels. Amusements. Theatre and Circus. Environs of Montreal. The Mountain Scenery. Outlets of Montreal. Lachine, &c.	- 300
---	-------

CHAPTER XX.

The River Ottawa, or Grand River. Lakes. Seigniories. Canals. Hull. Philemon Wright. Macnab. Bytown. Union Bridge. Chaudière. Rapids. General Characteristics, &c.	- 318
--	-------

CHAPTER XXI.

Jesuits' Estates.	- 323
-------------------	-------

CHAPTER XXII.

Population. Religion. Schools. Education, &c.	- 327
---	-------

CONTENTS.

xi

CHAPTER XXIII.

PAGE

Manners, Customs, and Amusements of the Inhabitants of Lower
Canada. - - - - - 334

CHAPTER XXIV.

Statistics of Lower Canada. - - - - - 434

BOOK VIII.

UPPER CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Sketch. - - - - - 349

CHAPTER II.

Partition of Canada. Policy of the Measure. Civil Divi-
sions. Districts. Counties. Townships. Clergy and Crown
Reserves. - - - - - 360

CHAPTER III.

Constitution. Administration of Justice. Revenues. Militia. 364

CHAPTER IV.

Configuration. Soil and Climate. Wild Animals. Birds,
Fishes, &c. of Upper Canada. - - - - - 370

CHAPTER V.

Descriptive Sketches of Upper Canada. Routes from Mont-
real by the Ottawa. Hawkesbury. Grenville Canal. By-
town. Lake Chaudier. Chief MacNab. Rideau Canal.
Splendour of the Ottawa at the Union Bridge. Timber
Rafts. Country between the Ottawa and Kingston. La-
mark, Perth, Richmond, &c. - - - - - 377

CHAPTER VI.

Route by the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Kingston. La-
chine. Lake St. Louis. Cagnawagha. Scenery, Cascades, &c.
Côteau du Lac. Glengarry. Lake St. Francis. St. Regis,
Cornwall, American Banks of the St. Lawrence. Prescott.
Brockville. Ogdensburg. The Thousand Islands, &c. - 380

PAGE
e and 265
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New
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Lake
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St.
lain.
- 285
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Pe-
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Po-
and
ery.
- 300
ies.
wn.
er-
- 318
- 323
- 327

	PAGE
CHAPTER VII.	
KINGSTON Naval Establishment. Dock-yard. Ships of War. Sackett's Harbour. Lake Ontario. Steam ships. New Settlements. Marmora Iron Works. Bay of Quinté.	- 384
CHAPTER VIII.	
YORK. Lake Simcoe. Burlington Bay. Ancaster. Dundas. Roads. Coote's Paradise. Niagara Frontier. Brock's Monument. St. Catherine's Salt Springs. Welland Canal, &c.	- 393
CHAPTER IX.	
Cataract of Niagara.	- 397
CHAPTER X.	
Lake Erie. Chippawa. Fort Erie. Buffalo. Sugar Loaves. River Ouse. Port Talbot. Long Woods. River Detroit. Lake St. Clair. Lake Huron. Canada Company. Guelph. Goderich. "The Far West."	- 405
CHAPTER XI.	
Lake Huron. Georgian Bay. Makillimakinak. Michigan Lake and Territory. Straits of St. Mary and Falls. Lake Superior. Depths of the Great Lakes, &c.	- 412
CHAPTER XII.	
NORTH-WEST AND HUDSON BAY TERRITORIES. Lakes, Rivers, and Rocky Mountains. COAST OF THE PACIFIC. HUDSON BAY AND ARCTIC REGIONS. Lord Selkirk's Lands and Settlement, &c.	- 416
CHAPTER XIII.	
INTERNAL NAVIGATION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA. Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. Canals. Navigation of the St. Lawrence from Lachine to Kingston, by the St. Lawrence and by the Ottawa. Grenville Canal. Rideau Canal. Lake Ontario. Welland Canal. Ohio Canal. Erie Canal, Detroit, Lake Huron. St. Mary's Strait, &c. &c.	- 422
CHAPTER XIV.	
Population. Religious Denominations and State of Educa- tion in Upper Canada.	- 429

CONTENTS.

xiii

CHAPTER XV.

PAGE

Agriculture. Occupations of the Inhabitants. Domestic Manufactures and Trade of Upper Canada.	-	-	436
---	---	---	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

Customs, Manners, and general Characteristics of the Inhabitants of British America.	-	-	442
--	---	---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

Sketches of the North American Indians.	-	-	457
---	---	---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

TRADE OF THE CANADAS. Commerce while under the French Government. Annual Expenses. Fur Trade. Coureurs de Bois. North-west and Hudson Bay Companies. South-west and New York Companies. Pot-ash. Agricultural Produce, &c.	-	-	482
--	---	---	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

SHIP-BUILDING AND THE TIMBER TRADE. Various Modes of preparing the Produce of the Forest for Exportation. Lumberers. Raftsmen. Mills, &c.	-	-	491
---	---	---	-----

CHAPTER XX.

General Account of the Imports and Exports of the Canadas.			502
--	--	--	-----

BOOK IX.

MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.

Practical Remarks on Emigration.	-	-	517
----------------------------------	---	---	-----

CHAPTER II.

Clearing Forest Lands. Building Log Houses, &c. Cultivating the Soil.	-	-	557
---	---	---	-----

PAGE

War. New - 384

Canadas. Brock's Canal, - 393

- 397

aves. Croit. elph. - 405

gan lake - 412

kes, ric. nds - 416

A. of St. au ie - 422

429

	PAGE
CHAPTER III.	
Remarks on Intercolonial and Transatlantic Steam Navigation.	561
CHAPTER IV.	
Falmouth and Halifax Packets, and Post Office Establishment in America. - - - - -	571
CHAPTER V.	
Remarks on the Currency of the British Colonies, and on the State of the Banks. - - - - -	575
CHAPTER VI.	
Joint Stock Companies. - - - - -	583
CHAPTER VII.	
General Summary of the Statistics of British America. -	589

igation. 561

hment

- 571

on the

- 575

- 583

- 589

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

VOL. I.

Chart of the Atlantic and part of Europe and America, to face the
Titlepage of Vol. I.

Map of Newfoundland, to face page 123.

Map of Nova Scotia, to face page 259.

Map of Halifax Harbour and Shubenacady Canal, to face page 323.

Map of Pictou, and Position of the Coal Mines, to face page 376.

Map of Cape Breton, to face page 428.

Plan of Louisburg, to face page 436.

Map of Sydney and Lingan, with the Mines, to face page 442.

Map of Prince Edward Island, to face page 485.

VOL. II.

Map of the British Colonies, to face the Titlepage of Vol. II.

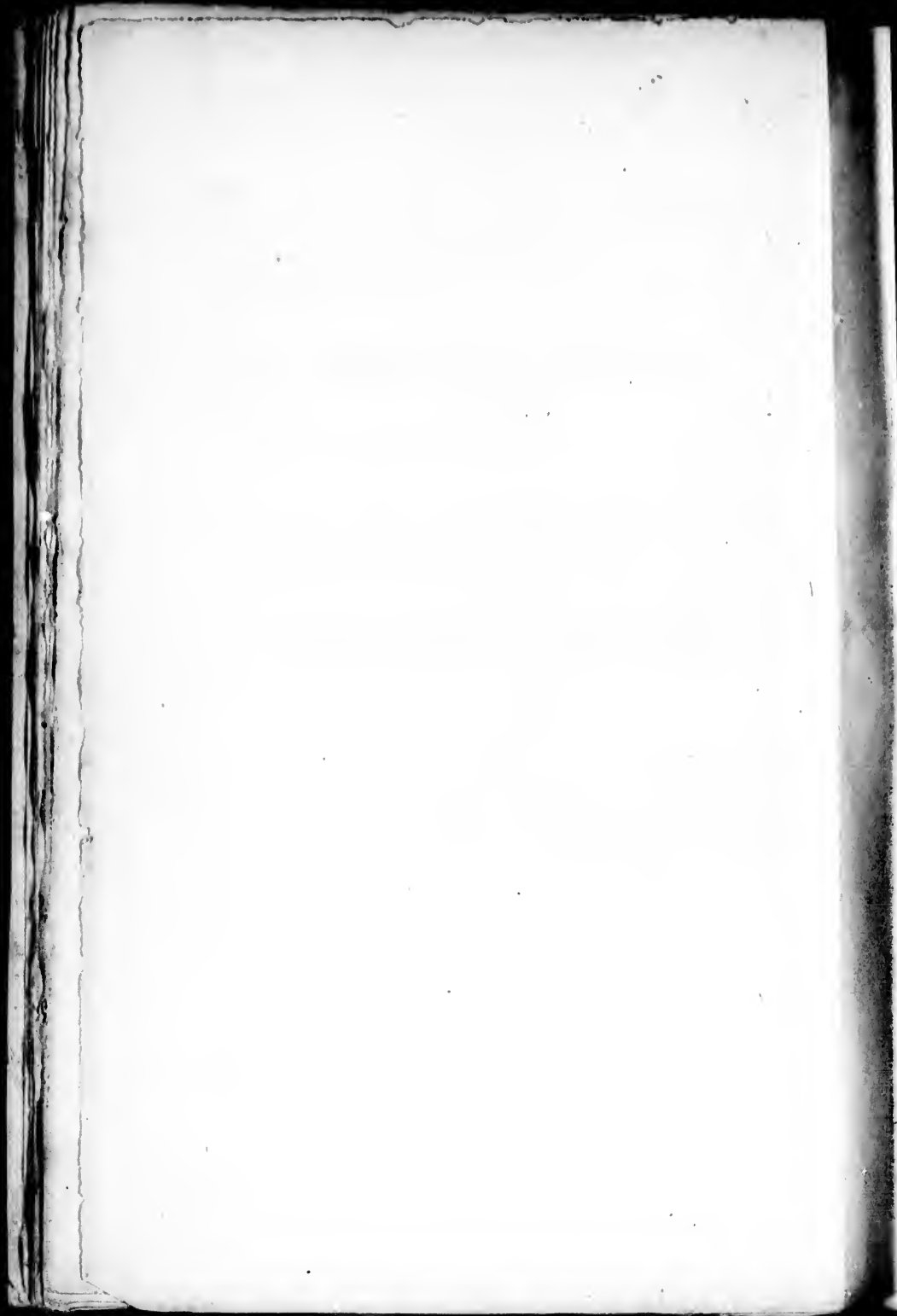
Map of New Brunswick, to face page 1.

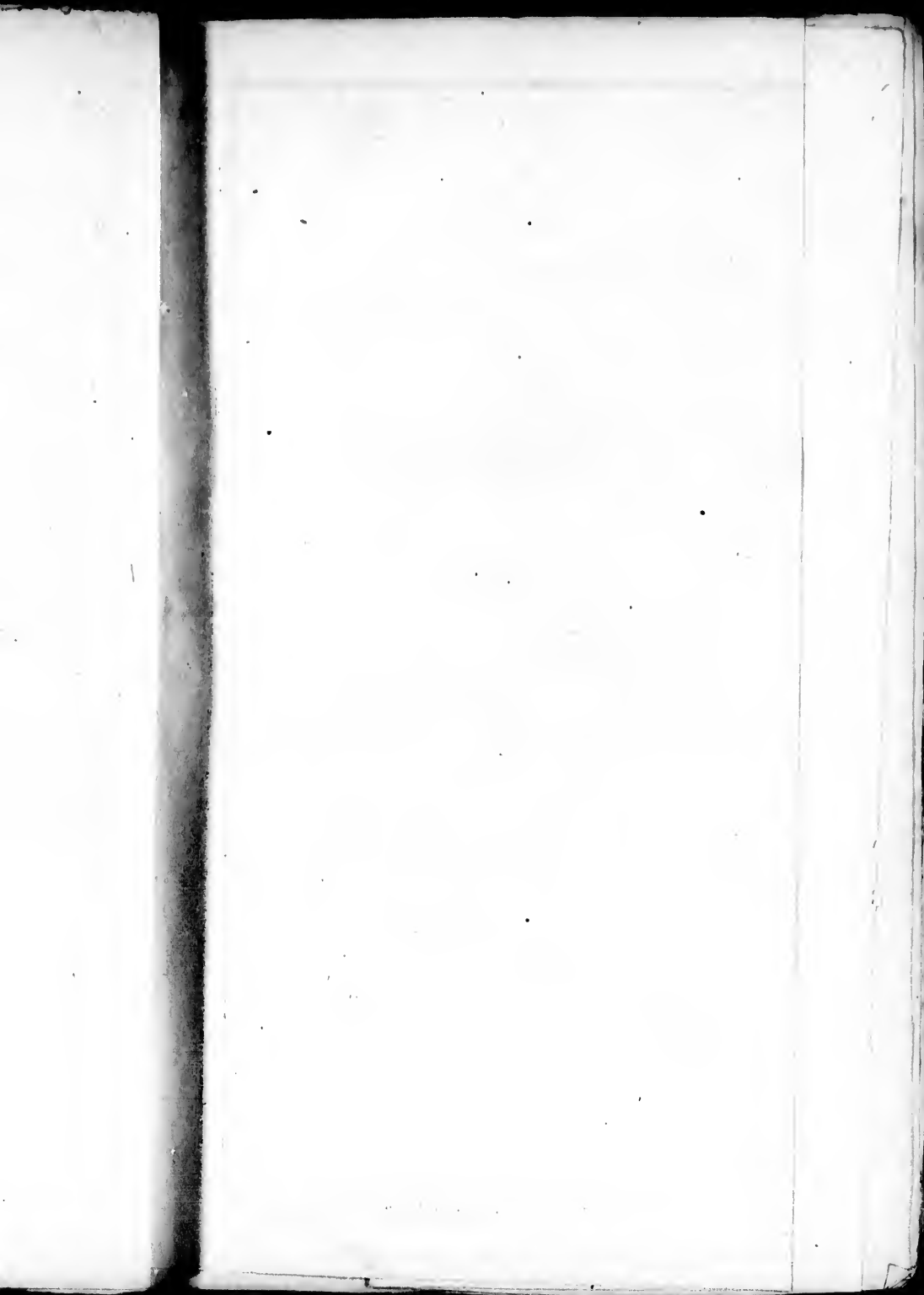
Map of the River St. Lawrence, to face page 103.

Plan of St. James's Street, &c., Montreal, to face page 190.

Map of Quebec and Environs, to face page 265.

Map of Montreal and Environs, to face page 300.







BRITISH AMERICA.

BOOK VI.

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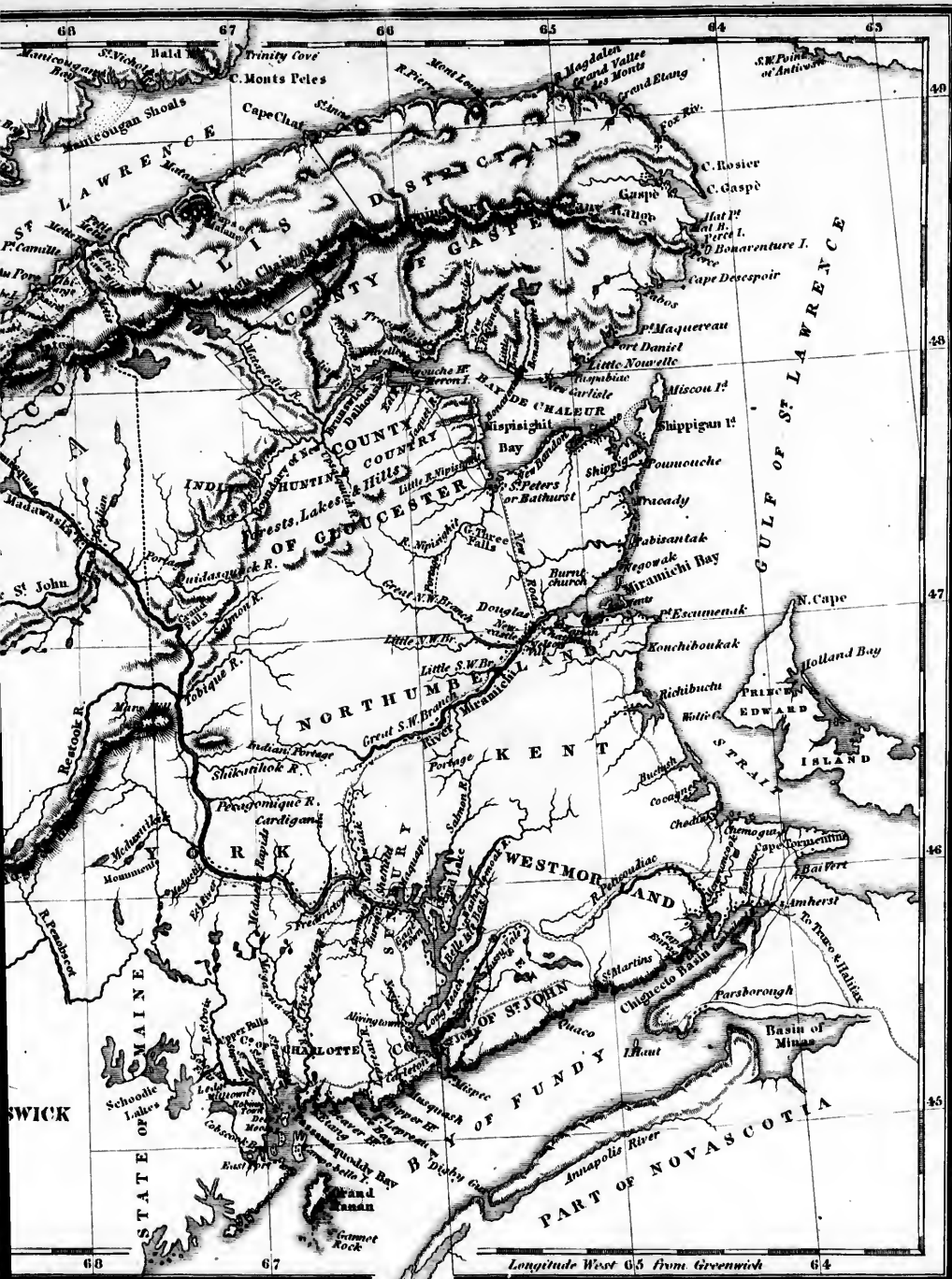
CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES. — GEOLOGICAL FEATURES. — MINERALS. — WILD ANIMALS. — FISHES, ETC. — CLIMATE, ETC. — HISTORICAL SKETCH. — SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY. — SUFFERINGS OF EARLY SETTLERS. — GOVERNOR CARLETON. — GENERAL SMYTH. — SIR HOWARD DOUGLAS. — CONSTITUTION. — ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS. — REVENUE. — QUIT RENTS.

THE province of New Brunswick extends from the River St. Croix, which is considered the boundary line of the United States, to the Bay de Chaleur and the River Restigouche, which divide it from Canada. The greater part of this colony is yet in a wilderness state, although its soil, with the exception of a few rocky districts, principally on the Bay of Fundy coast, and several but not extensive swampy tracts, is rich and fertile.

The River St. John, with its lakes and myriads of

Eng. by W.H. Lizner



Longitude West 65 from Greenwich

Eng. by W.H. Lister

streams; the tributary waters of one side of the St. Croix; the River Petit Coudiac; the Miramichi, with its majestic branches; the river Nipisighit, and many lesser rivers, open an inland navigation into almost every part of the province.

Dense forests cover nearly the whole country; and the trees, which grow to an immense size, are of the same kind and quality as already described under the head of forest trees. Pine abounds in greater plenty than in any of the other lower provinces. Birch, beech, and maple are the prevailing hardwood trees.

The quality of the soil here, as elsewhere in America, may always be ascertained by the description of wood growing on it. Along the countless rivers of this province there are innumerable tracts of what is termed *intervale* land: this kind of soil is alluvial, with detached trees of luxuriant growth, principally elm, maple, black birch, and butternut; and, like the lands of the Nile, annually irrigated and enriched by the overflowing of the rivers. In several parts of the interior country, generally along small brooks, are wild meadows, caused originally by the irrigation of a flat tract with the water arrested by the dams constructed by the industry of the beaver.

The aspect of the coast of New Brunswick, along the Bay of Fundy, is generally rugged, and the soil near the shore stubborn, and difficult to cultivate.

The geology of the province is very imperfectly known. Limestone, greywacke, clay slate, with sandstone, interrupted occasionally by gneiss, trap, and granite, seem to prevail on the southern coast. Among these, however, calcareous rock appears to predominate. Marble, of fair pretensions to beauty,

abounds at Kennebecasis, and probably in other parts of the country. Coal is plentiful*, and iron ore abundant. Copper, plumbago, and manganese have also been found, and greater research may likely discover many other minerals. Gypsum and grindstone are abundant near Chignecto Basin.

Along the shores of this province, facing the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Chaleur Bay, sandstone prevails. Grey sandstone and clay slate seem to predominate, as far as I could observe, along the course of the Miramichi; among which, granite, mica, quartz, and ironstone, in detached rocks, occasionally occur. Specimens of amethyst, carnelian, jasper, &c., have been picked up in various places. Some sulphurous or hepatic springs, of much the same properties as the waters of Harrowgate, have lately been found. Salt springs, strongly saturated, are numerous. Some of the salt produced by boiling the water of one of these springs was shown me, which resembled the finest table salt we have in England.

As we proceed from the sea-coast up the rivers of this province, the rich fertility of the country claims our admiration. A great flat district may be said to prevail from the parallel of the Long Reach, up the River St. John, to the foot of Mars' Hill. High hills occasionally rise in various places, but no part of New Brunswick can be considered mountainous.

The scenery of the rivers, lakes, and cataracts is beautifully picturesque, and often grandly romantic.

The wild animals are bears, moose-deer, and car-

* A company has lately (February, 1833) been incorporated by an act of the Legislative Assembly, for working the coal mines at the Grand Lake, with a capital of only 30,000*l.*, and for a term of thirty years.

riboo; foxes, loup-cerviers, tiger-cat, racoon, porcupine, marten, beaver, otter, mink, musquash, fisher, hare, weasel, &c. Most of the birds enumerated as common to America are also plentiful.

Along the coasts, cod, haddock, mackerel, and nearly all the kinds of fishes caught in the North American seas, are abundant; salmon, shad, bass, &c., frequent the rivers and shores; and a variety of other descriptions of fish, among which are chub, smelt, trout, eel, and perch, are plentiful in the streams or lakes. A kind of fish, called in New Brunswick cusk, and considered excellent eating, is caught in the rivers. I have not seen it elsewhere. It somewhat resembles the whitefish of the Canada lakes, but is less in size, and quite a different species.

The climate of New Brunswick is salubrious; the epidemic fevers of the southern states are unknown; and colds, and their consequent diseases, can only be considered as common in this province. An erysipelatous disease, previously unknown in the country, made its appearance three or four years ago; at which time it prevailed also in Nova Scotia. It must have been produced by some peculiarity in the season of that year, or brought on by accidental circumstances. Consumption, although not apparently so common as in England, is the principal cause of death among the young, or those between twenty and thirty. Fevers, generally in the form of mild typhus, occur frequently in the beginning of winter, most probably for want of proper attention in fortifying the body, in time, with additional clothing against the sudden change from warm to cold weather.

In a country like New Brunswick, where the inhabitants expose themselves to all the varieties of

climate, and to the waters of the sea and rivers, rheumatism often afflicts the working classes, especially the lumberers, who are often, during fall and spring, drenched in the remarkably cold waters of the rivers. The diseases, however, that are most fatal to life, such as fevers, small-pox, and measles, are brought to the province from other countries; principally by passenger-ships. Generally speaking, the climate may be considered at least equally healthy as that of England.

The temperature of the climate of the southern parts is much milder than that of those parts which border on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Bay de Chaleur, and Lower Canada. Sea-fogs frequently envelope the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and render the culture of wheat near the coast uncertain, but do not appear to cause any unhealthy consequences.

With the difference of more humidity in the southern coast, and a few miles inland, and that the harbours within the Bay of Fundy, at least from St. John to the State of Maine, are seldom long obstructed with ice, and the frosts in the northern parts being somewhat more severe, what I have observed in treating of the climate of America generally, will apply equally to this province.

The natural advantages of New Brunswick are equal to those of any wilderness country in America; and it requires only a great addition of industrious settlers to its present population, to secure its prosperity, and to make it one of the most important of his majesty's colonies. Its resources are great, and it is capable of maintaining at least three millions of inhabitants.

The history of New Brunswick is embodied with

that sketched of Nova Scotia, of which province it formed a part until 1785. The first settlement attempted by the British was in 1762, by a few families from New England, on the River St. John, about fifty miles from its mouth, and named Maugerville.

These people experienced great misery, and met with many obstacles, before they established themselves. The difficulties inseparable from settling in the finest wilderness country in the world are sufficiently formidable and discouraging, but the hostile spirit of the Indians harassed them still more, and the savages were only at last appeased by the payment of large sums for the wild animals which the English colonists had killed.

During the American war several other families left New England, and planted themselves on the lands adjoining Maugerville. This district became then the seat of the court of law, and obtained the name of Sunbury.

At the peace of 1783, there were about eight hundred inhabitants in this part of the province. They endured many hardships before they secured ample means to subsist on; but it appears, however, that private dissensions and separate interests formed no small share of the evils that prevented their prosperity.

Three thousand persons from Nantucket arrived at the River St. John in the spring succeeding the peace with America: many of these were men who served during the war. Twelve hundred more from the same place followed during the autumn of the same year. The sufferings of these settlers were extremely severe. They had previously enjoyed all the comforts which a country, subdued and cultivated

by the endurance and industry of their forefathers, afforded; and they had suddenly to encounter all the horrors of an approaching winter, without houses to shelter them, amid the wilds of New Brunswick. Their sufferings are described as follow, by a gentleman now residing at Fredericton, in a small pamphlet descriptive of the province:—"The difficulties," he says, "which the first settlers were exposed to, continued for a long time almost insurmountable. On their arrival, they found a few hovels where St. John's is now built, the adjacent country exhibiting a most desolate aspect; which was peculiarly discouraging to people who had just left their homes in the beautiful and cultivated parts of the United States. Up the River St. John, the country appeared better, and a few cultivated spots were found unoccupied by old settlers. At St. Ann's, where Fredericton is now built, a few scattered French huts were found; the country all round being a continued wilderness, uninhabited and untrodden, except by the savages and wild animals; and scarcely had these firm friends of their country (American loyalists) begun to construct their cabins, when they were surprised by the rigours of an untried climate; their habitations being enveloped in snow before they were tenatable. The climate at that period (from what cause has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained) being far more severe than at present, they were frequently put to the greatest straits for food and clothing to preserve their existence; a few roots were all that tender mothers could at times procure to allay the importunate calls of their children for food. Sir Guy Carleton had ordered them provisions for the first year, at the expense of government; but, as the country was

not much cultivated at that time, food could scarcely be procured on any terms. Frequently had these settlers to go from fifty to one hundred miles, with hand-sleds, or toboggans, through wild woods, or on the ice, to procure a precarious supply for their famishing families. The privations and sufferings of these people almost exceed belief. The want of food and clothing in a wild country was not easily dispensed with, or soon remedied. Frequently, in the piercing cold of winter, a part of the family had to remain up during the night to keep fire in their huts to prevent the other part from freezing. Some very destitute families made use of boards to supply the want of bedding; the father, or some of the older children, remaining up by turns, and warming two suitable pieces of boards, which they applied alternately to the smaller children to keep them warm; with many similar expedients.

“ Many of these loyalists were in the prime of life when they came to this country, and most of them had young families. To establish these they wore out their lives in toil and poverty, and by their unremitting exertions subdued the wilderness, and covered the face of the country with habitations, villages, and towns. I have not noticed these circumstances as if they were peculiar to the settlers of New Brunswick, but to hold up to the descendants of those sufferers the hardships endured by their parents; and to place in a striking point of view the many comforts they possess, by the suffering, perseverance, and industry of their fathers.

“ Under the judicious and paternal care of Governor Carleton, assisted by several of the leading characters, many of the difficulties of settling an infant

and distant country were lessened. The condition of the settlers was gradually ameliorated. The governor himself set a pattern, in which he was followed by several of the leading men in the different offices. A variety of grains and roots were cultivated with success, and considerable progress made in clearing the wilderness."

In 1785, a royal charter was granted to New Brunswick as a distinct province, and the administration confided to Governor Carleton. The safety of property, and the personal protection of the inhabitants, secured the improvement of the country; and its settlement, agriculture, and trade advanced from this time with little interruption: the inhabitants following such pursuits as necessity directed, or those that were most profitable, or at least agreeable to their inclinations.

Few men have been more anxious to promote the prosperity, and to guard the interests of a country committed to their care, than Governor Carleton. He left New Brunswick for England in 1803, where he resided until his death in 1817. During this period the government of the province was administered by presidents.

Major-General George Stracey Smyth was appointed lieutenant-governor in February, 1817. He administered the government until his death in 1823, from which time it was held by Mr. Chipman, as president, and afterwards by Mr. Bliss, until the arrival of Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, Baronet, in August, 1824, as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief.

His administration was uniformly directed to the welfare of the province. His indefatigable exer-

tions to promote its agriculture and trade, to open roads through the country, and his anxious attention to the administration of justice, and the establishment of seminaries of education, merit the highest praise. But, while in England in 1831, having advanced opinions, in his able pamphlet on the value of the North American Colonies, at variance with those of the government on the timber question, he considered it proper to tender his resignation, which, under such circumstances, was, as might be supposed, accepted.

The province is, however, so far fortunate, as to have a governor, in the person of his successor, Sir Archibald Campbell, whose previous character justifies the expectations formed of his administration, which has hitherto been wise and highly satisfactory.

The constitution of New Brunswick is similar to that of Nova Scotia. The Council consists of twelve members, and the Legislative Assembly, which meets in winter, of twenty-six representatives.* The courts are, the Courts of Chancery, of which the governor is chancellor. In the Supreme Court, which represents in its practice the King's Bench, one chief justice and three assistant justices preside. All important civil causes are decided, and all capital crimes tried, in this court. The salary of the chief justice is 750*l.* and that of the assistant justices 500*l.* each. The terms are in February, May, July, and October.

There is also an inferior court, or Court of Common Pleas, held in each of the counties, in which two or more justices preside. In this court petty crimes are tried, and civil causes of small amount are deter-

* A Legislative Council, similar to that of Upper Canada, has lately (1833) been constituted. May it be attended with happier results.

mined. It exercises also within the county extensive powers in the appointment of parish and police officers, auditing parish accounts, regulating the licences of public houses, and fixing such small parish assessments or county rates as may appear necessary.

Debts under five pounds are recovered before magistrates, who take cognisance also of breaches of the peace, as in England. The provincial laws are much the same as those of Nova Scotia, differing only in some instances, to accord with local circumstances.

The public burdens are so very similar to those of Nova Scotia, already described, and so trifling, that an account of them is unnecessary. The statute labour and militia laws also correspond. The revenue is raised by trifling imposts: and a casual revenue to the king arises from the rents of wild meadows, timber licences, and sales of lands belonging to the crown. It is also contemplated to enforce the payment of quitrents, on lands granted previously to the late regulations for selling the crown lands, and conveying titles, without any reservation, in feu and common soccage, as lately agreed for by the New Brunswick Company. The amount of the revenue, raised by imposts and legislative enactments, averages about 43,000*l.* The casual revenue is stated to be about 14,000*l.*; and the legislature, during the sitting of the last session, complain that half of this amount is absorbed by the commissioner and his deputies, and that the legislature has no control whatever over it. The casual revenue will, or should, greatly increase, and a general spirit of opposition to the expenditure of any revenue without legislative approbation prevails in this province, as well as in all the British American colonies.

The opposition to the collection of the quitrents in the legislative assembly (February, 1833) is general, and the measure will be attended with great difficulty. It appears that the attorney-general does not think he has sufficient authority, without an act of the provincial legislature, to enable him to collect those rents. There is no doubt but that his majesty has a right to those rents; viz.

	£	s.	d.
On 1,254,503 acres granted under the great seal of Nova Scotia, at 2s. per 100 acres, annually	1,524	10	0½
On 2,344,941 acres, under the seal of New Brunswick, at 2s. per 100 acres	2,539	13	5½
52,954 acres granted at ½d. sterling per acre	122	11	6¾
	£4,186	15	0¾

But the annual collection of the above sum, especially from being due in very small sums from the inhabitants, would cause endless discontent, and expensive law proceedings, as in the notorious instance in 1824 of Prince Edward Island. It appears that, even without law proceedings, the actual expense of collecting the quitrents would not leave one third of the whole to the crown. It is even doubtful if the annual collection be practical; and, if their payment be urged, the grievance can only be removed by a commutation to be satisfactorily appropriated by the Legislature for the purposes of opening and improving roads, erecting public buildings, encouraging agriculture and the fisheries, supporting seminaries of education, and general improvements.

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CHAP. II.

DIVISIONS OF THE PROVINCE. — DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY AND RIVER OF ST. JOHN. — PRAIRIE. — SUBURBS OF PORTLAND AND CARLETON. — SOCIETY, ETC.

THE representative constitution of the province, and the administration of justice, required that it should, like Nova Scotia, be divided into counties: these are—St. John's, Westmoreland, Charlotte, Sunbury, Queen's, and York counties, through which last the River St. John winds, and the county of Northumberland*, which fronts on the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay de Chaleur, and which is watered by the Miramichi, and other rivers.

The principal settlements are along the River St. John and its lakes, on the north banks of the St. Croix, on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the River Miramichi, and on the shores of the Bay de Chaleur.

The corporate town or city of St. John is situated in 45° 20' N. latitude, 66° 3' W. longitude, on the southern declivity of a peninsula, and on the northern side of the entrance from the Bay of Fundy to the River St. John.

* In consequence of the great extent of the county of Northumberland, and the inconvenience to the inhabitants of attending distant courts of law, and also to increase the representation of the province, Sir Howard Douglas very judiciously divided it into three counties, by the names of Northumberland, Kent, and Gloucester.

On approaching St. John from the Bay of Fundy, the aspect of the country on each side is bold and rugged. Meogenes Island and several coves open to the left ; a bold headland on the right, between which and Partridge Island, on which there is a lighthouse, is the proper entrance to the harbour. The town, with part of Carleton on the opposite side, opens to view several miles distant ; which, with the wooded mountainous background, and general picturesque scenery, enlivened by shipping, wharfs, stores, houses of various sizes and colours, spires of churches, forts, and the beautiful range of new barracks, form altogether a very splendid picture.

The rise of the tide is from twenty-five to thirty feet. When the sea flows so as to cover the shores, the appearance of the harbour of St. John, viewed from Carleton, and all the surrounding objects which fill up the landscape, is beautiful and magnificent ; but at low water the aspect of the front of the town, which exhibits muddy shores, high wharfs, and timber booms covered with slime, is exceedingly disagreeable. One of the most interesting and extensive prospects of scenery is, however, from the heights on which are the ruins of Fort Howe, over that part or division of the town named Portland. The view from this station is really magnificent : the harbour, prairies, mountains, woods, a bird's-eye view of the town and shipping, a broad prospect of the Bay of Fundy, with Nova Scotia high and darkly blue in the distance, are its prominent features.

Fort Howe is now in ruins : its position is very commanding. On the Carleton side, situated also on a commanding height, there is another fortification, and some guns are also planted on Partridge Island.

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St. John is not the metropolis, although the largest town in the province. It is about half the size of Halifax, but contains nearly two-thirds as many dwelling-houses. The government and public buildings, if not splendid, are certainly handsome structures. The wharfs, with warehouses built either over them or immediately adjoining, and the private houses, closely resemble the buildings in Halifax. The ground on which the town is built is rocky and very irregular, and the forming and levelling of the streets required vast labour. Much improvement is still necessary to level them sufficiently for carriages to drive along agreeably ; and the abruptness of some of the streets renders them very dangerous in winter.

The public buildings are, a very commodious and handsome stone court-house, built lately on the high ground above the middle of the town, a marine hospital, poor-house, and, of course, a gaol. Previous to this period, the courts were held over the market-house, a very mean building.

There are two Episcopal Churches ; the oldest, built of wood, but painted so as to resemble white stone, is a very handsome edifice, with a pretty spire. The interior is arranged nearly in the same manner as most modern English churches of the same size.

The new Episcopal church is a substantial edifice, built in the Gothic style, of rough stone, and its interior very handsomely planned and finished. Both these churches have good organs.

The Scotch kirk is a plain building, with a tall spire, and neatly fitted up within. Besides these places of worship, there are, a Catholic chapel, two or three Methodist chapels, and one Baptist meeting-house.

There is a grammar school, a central school on the Madras system, and some other institutions, principally Sunday schools, where the rudiments of education are taught.

There are also two or three Bible and religious societies, and the benevolent societies of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. The poor-house is made to answer also the purposes of an hospital.

The provincial bank, or, in reality, the bank of St. John, established under an act of the legislature, with a capital increased since its formation to 50,000*l.*, has paid handsome dividends, and has been of great benefit, as well as occasional injury, to those engaged in trade. It facilitates sales, by discounting promissory notes at three months' date; but this accommodation is apt to tempt men into imprudent transactions. The directors, however, are said to guard with much caution against risks. When its stock was increased, in 1824, by legislative enactment, the new shares sold at 175 per cent.* There is also a bank for savings; and a marine assurance company, established also by an act of the legislature, seems to prosper, and has hitherto been singularly fortunate in its risks. There are two public libraries, and a respectable news-room, where the English, Colonial, and United States papers are taken.

The Chamber of Commerce is formed on much the same plan as that at Halifax. Four or five respectably conducted weekly newspapers are published at St. John, one at Fredericton, one at St. Andrew, and one at Miramichi.

* Another bank is considered necessary; and a bill for the purpose has lately (February, 1833) been brought into the House of Assembly. A great part of the stock has been subscribed for at Boston and New York.

St. John is a corporate town, and styled a city. Its municipal government is lodged in a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and six assistants, designated "Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of St. John."

The other civil officers are a sheriff, coroner, town-clerk, chamberlain, two marshals, a high constable, and six petty constables.

The mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, and town or common clerk, hold their appointment of the governor, continuing in office from one year to another. The aldermen are elected annually by the freemen. The mayor and council appoint the other officers.

The mayor and council make laws for the improvement or government of the town, which expire in one year, unless confirmed by the governor and council; they have also an annual revenue at their command for public improvements, &c.; and they constitute a Court of Record, or Common Pleas, for the "City and County of St. John." Small debts are recovered before an alderman's court, held once a fortnight. The aldermen are all justices of the peace.

On the opposite side of the river to St. John, and under its municipal government, stands the pretty little town of Carleton, with a neat English church and a chapel. The saw mills within the aboiteux, a little above this place, are well worth visiting. On the Point of Carleton several ships have been built.*

The upper part of St. John is named Portland, and the whole, including Carleton, is divided into

* A fine vessel, intended for a steamer, was on the stocks when I visited this place.

six wards. Opposite to the town, in the middle of the stream, is Navy Island, small, low, and muddy; and, as the Indians would have it, carried down *en masse*, by an extraordinary overflowing of the stream. It is evidently formed by alluvial deposits.

There are always some troops stationed at St. John; and the barracks, situated above the lower cove, and near the extremity of the peninsula, are spacious, handsome, and commodious.

The country in the vicinity is stubborn, but, when subjected to cultivation, fertile. An extensive prairie, named the marsh, containing about 3000 acres, and occupying a space which is by some considered to have been once the bed of the River St. John, lies near the town. The tide is shut out by an aboiteux, over which the road to Indian Town passes. The soil of this beautiful alluvial tract is remarkably rich, and mellowed by the application of lime, which is abundant in the neighbourhood.

There are several handsome houses along the rising grounds which follow the course of the prairie; and their situation and appearance seem to render them desirable and comfortable residences.

As to the condition of society, I am not able to treat so explicitly as I have done in respect to Halifax, from having less intercourse with the inhabitants than a traveller could have wished. There were no public amusements there at the time, or if there had been, these are not the places to draw a just picture of society. At both the churches, and at the Scotch kirk, the general appearance of the congregations was highly respectable; and their dresses were in the fashions prevailing about a year previously in England.

Many of the ladies are very pretty, but appeared to walk rather awkwardly. The steep uneven streets are certainly unfavourable to graceful movements. Of their manners or accomplishments I can say little. The gentlemen that I have had an opportunity of being acquainted with while there, or that I have met with from St. John in other places, were generally well educated and well bred.

From the information given me by people living at St. John, it would appear that a very tolerable share of bickerings and divisions prevails among the inhabitants;—one family arrogating a rank and respect which others will not admit; and some building their pretensions on their families being of the number of the first royalist settlers; others measuring their respectability by the length of their purses. All this, however, is common in much larger towns; and the same ease and freedom of manners which have gained the ascendant at Halifax, will likely, as the population increases, and a greater intercourse with the world takes place, distinguish this city. When we also consider the late period of its foundation, we must make the most charitable allowance for any defect in the condition of its society. To Sir Howard Douglas there is much praise due for his attention to whatever rendered private and public life pleasing and elegant; nor did the influence of his amiable family fail in lending an agreeable tone to domestic manners.

Assemblies are common once a month, or oftener, during winter. They excite, as elsewhere in America, from the necessity of forming some fixed line of demarcation as to admission, the angry bile of those who are excluded. Carriolling, pic-nic, and

private parties, are also common; and there are races annually near the town. There is excellent fishing and shooting at no great distance from the town.

Fifty years ago, the site of this thriving city, with the exception of a few straggling huts, was covered with trees. This was its condition at the peace of 1783; and when we now (1833) view it, with its population of nearly 14,000, its stately houses, its public buildings, its warehouses, its wharfs, and the majestic ships which crowd its port, we are more than lost in forming even a conjecture of what it will become in less than a century. Its position will ever command the trade of the vast and fertile country watered by the lakes and streams of the River St. John, as all towns through which the bulk of the imports and exports of the country in which these towns are situated necessarily pass have, in consequence, flourished.

We view this in the long and continued prosperity of Hamburgh, the boundless commerce of Liverpool, and the amazing prosperity of New York.

CHAP. III.

RIVER ST. JOHN. — LOWER CATARACTS. — INDIAN TOWN. —
 STEAM BOAT. — RIVER SCENERY. — GRAND BAY. — KENNEBEC
 CACIS. — ALWINGTON MANOR. — LONG REACH. — BELLE ISLE
 BAY. — WASHEDMOAK. — GRAND LAKE, ETC.

THE River St. John, called by the Indians Loosh-took, or the long river, is, next to the St. Lawrence, the finest river in British America. About a mile above the city of St. John, at rugged narrows, the river is interrupted by huge rocks, over and among which the waters of this great river, and its tributary streams, roll in foaming impetuosity, and render the navigation, except for four short diurnal periods, impracticable. The great rise of tide at St. John, however, so far overflows these falls or rapids, that, when the flood rises twelve feet at the fort, sloops and schooners pass in safety for about twenty minutes, and for the same time when the tide ebbs to twelve feet.

This cataract, viewed from the high ground on the Carleton side, forms, with the adjoining scenery, a picturesque and, indeed, romantic picture. The foam is frequently carried down in frothy bodies past St. John; and the agitated waters, holding the juices of mossy deposits from the interior in solution, and running to the sea, impart to it, in the spring, at the harbour, and for some miles out at the Bay of Fundy, a dark-brown colour.

A chain-bridge, at the cost probably of not more than £10,000, might be suspended across the river at the Falls. The breadth is not more than four hundred feet, and the precipices on each side sufficiently high; there are also more than one rock in the centre, on which abutments might be built; but these would not, I think, be found necessary.

The prairie, lying between the town and the height of land that separates the former from the present channel, is considered by the speculative as the ancient bed of the river. I admit this conjecture to be quite within the bounds of probability; but, on examining the features of both places, I could observe no reasonable ground to conclude that any other than the one over which this great river now rolls, was at any former period its channel.

Above the Falls, the river widens, and forms a bay of some magnitude, surrounded by high and rugged woodlands. At the lower part of this bay, there is a small village called Indian Town, about a mile and a half, by a good road, from the city. From this village the steam-boat for Fredericton starts. Passing up the bay, we are struck with the extraordinary wildness and desolation of the country, although within a few miles of St. John. Huge calcareous rocks, bursting through stern dark fir forests, stretching up the sides of lofty hills and promontories, which frown over the dark waters, impart a most savage and menacing character to the scenery. A miserable hovel, in a mere speck of cleared land, occasionally opens to view; and the inhabitants derive little more benefit from the soil, than the lime which the rocks afford, and the fuel which the

forest supplies, for both of which they find a market at St. John.

Proceeding up the river, and entering Grand Bay, scenery of much the same character prevails. From this extensive bay, Kennebecasis Bay and River bends off to the eastward for nearly forty miles; twenty of which are navigable for large vessels. The shores of the Kennebecasis are generally abrupt and rocky; but, near the head, we arrive at a beautiful tract of country, called Sussex Vale, populously settled, and allowed to be one of the most fertile districts of the province. Leading roads, but not in very good condition, lead through it from St. John to the River Petit Coudiac, and to the settlements on the River St. John. The banks of the Kennebecasis abound in limestone, gypsum, coal, and salt springs. The inhabitants manufacture great quantities of maple sugar.

Fatal accidents frequently happen to the raftsmen in passing down Grand Bay; and few years occur without some of them being drowned. A small arm, named South Bay, branches off to the south; and, as we proceed up the river, the country begins to assume less forbidding features. On the left, we pass a beautiful and picturesque spot, called Alwington Manor*, near which, on receiving the Neripis from the west, the river bends rather abruptly, and forms a beautiful vista of eighteen miles, called the Long Reach; along which the cultivation of the soil appears to be attended to, but carrying firewood to

* Alwington Manor once belonged to General Coffin. He cleared and cultivated it; but I was told on passing it, that, like the American backwoodsmen, he had then removed several miles back into the forest, to subdue a fresh tract of the wilderness.

St. John is said to occupy the chief attention of the settlers. The lands are stony, but, when subjected to cultivation, very productive.

At the head of the Long Reach, the lands on each side the river, and the pretty islands which divide it into several streams, present beautiful and rich features. Belle Isle Bay, a fine sheet of water, receiving several rivers, branches off here, for upwards of twenty miles, to the eastward. The River St. John then winds to the north, from the head of the Long Reach to Fredericton, receiving the waters of the Washedemoak and Grand Lake from the east, and the Oromucto from the west. No part of America can exhibit greater beauty, or more luxuriant fertility, than the lands on each side, and the islands that we pass, in this distance. I can only compare it to the St. Lawrence, from Fort William Henry to Montreal; and those who have had the opportunity of observing both, will readily agree with me in considering the banks of the River St. John to be naturally quite as beautiful and fertile as those of the St. Lawrence.

The parishes of Maugerville and Sheffield, on the right; Gage Town and Oromucto, on the left; and Long Island, with its neat church, are truly imposing.

This part of the province, including the lands around the Grand Lake, and along the Washedemoak *, must become a very populous and rich country. A great proportion of the soil is intervale or alluvial, and excellent coal is found in great plenty, near the Grand Lake, where a mine has lately been opened.

* The folly of many of those who occupy some of the fine *cleared* farms in this part of the province, in neglecting their cultivation, has been attended by the usual consequence. Their farms are, I am informed, in most instances, heavily mortgaged.

CHAP. IV.

FREDERICTON. — BEAUTY OF ITS SITUATION. — LUXURIANT SCENERY. — PUBLIC BUILDINGS. — GOVERNOR'S HOUSE. — NEW BRUNSWICK COLLEGE, ETC.

FREDERICTON, although yet but little more than a village, is the seat of government; and situated on a pretty point of land formed by a bend in the river, nearly ninety miles above St. John, and in front of as richly wooded hills as ever eye beheld: — for soft picturesque scenery it is not surpassed by any part of the province. In front, the River St. John, something more than half a mile in width, flows past, sometimes smoothly, but often in rapid overflowing grandeur; and immediately opposite, it receives the Nashwaak, a rapid stream, which winds from the west thirty miles through fertile lands, settlements, and forests. The magnificent view from the College, lately built on the brow of a hill above the town, embraces, during summer and autumn, much of what poets and romance-writers tell us about Fairyland. Before us we have the neat white buildings of the town, with their pretty gardens, and the verdant foliage of their trees; then the River St. John, with the *débouché* of the Nashwaak, and an extensively ascending forest country, stretching far to the north. Downwards, we have a commanding prospect of several windings, for many miles, of the river; the

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banks and headlands of which are beautifully adorned with clumps of trees, interspersed among the cultivated uplands, or intermingled with the rich fringes of alluvial soil, which its waters have created. Upwards, our eyes and imagination feast on a splendid view of luxuriant islands, water, cultivated farms, farm-houses, blue distant hills, wooded to their summits; with the presence of human industry—herds of cattle on the farms and islands, one or more sloops on the river, timber-rafts, *bateaux*, and the white canoe of the savage—to lend animation to the whole.

The plan of the town is regular, the streets crossing at right angles, and in appearance much like Charlotte Town, in Prince Edward Island. The building-lots contain each a quantity of an acre, eighteen of which form a square. The public buildings are, a provincial hall—a mean-looking building, in which the courts are held, and in which the Legislative Assembly sit—a jail, and a building which answers the double purpose of a market and county court-house. There are also an Episcopal church, of very humble appearance, but standing in a sweet spot, near the river, and three chapels, one each for the Catholics, Presbyterians, and Baptists. The barracks are handsome and commodious. Detachments of troops are always stationed here. Here also are the offices of the surveyor-general and commissioner of crown lands, the registry office, and the legislative records.

The new stone building, erected for the residence of the governor, stands at the west end of the town, in a charming situation. It is rather a large house, the front and elevation striking, but not elegant; and

to me the design appeared, in many respects, to outrage good taste, as well as the rules of architecture; while convenience and comfort as to interior arrangements have also been either disregarded, or not understood. The drawing-room, ball-room, and presence-chamber, are, however, magnificent.

The college is a spacious handsome stone building, and, in my opinion, exactly what it should be. Some consider it too large. For the present state of the province, it certainly is; but it will not be thought so, when twenty years more pass away.

The dwellings, however, are principally built of wood, and look clean and handsome.

The pretty residence of the commissioner of crown lands, on a beautiful spot near the river, and above the town, attracts particular observation.

The inhabitants are principally loyalists, or their descendants. Society is limited, but respectable. The trade of Fredericton consists principally in selling British goods to the settlers along the River St. John and its streams, and receiving in return timber and agricultural produce. The town being at the head of the sloop-navigation, must increase and prosper in the same ratio as the settlement and prosperity of the vast interior country will necessarily advance. Many people consider that the capital should be at Oromucto, twelve miles below, and above which the river is much shoaler; others consider it should be still higher up. My own opinion is, that Governor Carleton, who founded it in 1785, could not have been more judicious in selecting any other spot. It has three or four religious institutions, an agricultural and emigrant society, printing establishment, a weekly paper, a public library, an

academy, and some minor schools. Being the seat of government, and the place where the legislature meet, it is an agreeable, but quiet residence. The roads leading from it afford pleasant rides, varied by the prettiest scenery imaginable.

CHAP. V.

RIVER ST. JOHN ABOVE FREDERICTON. — TRIBUTARY RIVERS. — TOBIQUE, RESTOOK, WOODSTOCK. — HOULTON PLANTATION. — AMERICAN ENCROACHMENTS. — MARS' HILL. — PRESQUE ISLE. — GRAND FALLS. — ACADIAN SETTLEMENTS. — MADAWASKA. ROUTE TO CANADA. — LAKE TAMISQUATA, ETC.

PROCEEDING from Fredericton up the River St. John for nine miles to where it receives the Madame Keswick, we pass several beautiful alluvial and cultivated islands, and the banks of the river are lined with farms, under fair tillage. The tide is not perceived to rise above this place; and at Fredericton it only rises from six to ten inches. We may still, however, ascend the river in *bateaux*, or tow boats, encountering, it is true, many rapids, for one hundred and thirty miles. In this distance, the St. John winds through a fertile wooded country, and receives several rivers, the principal of which are the Maduxnikik, Tobique, Restook, and Salmon rivers. The Tobique, famous for its red pines, is, following its windings, two hundred miles in length. The Indians have a chapel here.

The Restook has been explored for about a hundred miles, and it is tolerably well settled along its banks. The principal places on the St. John, are Woodstock

and Northampton, sixty-three miles above Fredericton, and on opposite sides of the river, where many beautiful islands are also situated. The banks of the St. John have, above Fredericton, besides these places, on each side, farms and settlements; but the houses are very thinly scattered, when compared to the St. Lawrence. In the rear of Woodstock the Americans have established themselves, and formed an extensive settlement, which they have named Houlton Plantation. The river, indeed, approaches within a few miles of the American line, from Eel river, about forty miles above Fredericton, to Mars' Hill. This height of land forms the point of dispute between the British and Americans, as to the boundary question; the latter claiming the vast and valuable country lying to the north-west of this eminence, which was undoubtedly the height of land understood by the British commissioners at the treaty of Ghent. At Presque Isle, appear the ruins of a garrison, which has been long mouldering to dust, accompanying, as it were, the fate of all those who formerly planned, occupied, and maintained it. The scenery up the river, from this place to the Grand Falls, assumes a bolder character than below. The banks are frequently abrupt, and the rugged bed of the river, in many places, from the Grand Falls to within a few miles of Fredericton, renders the navigation dangerous. The part most dreaded, is the Maductic Falls, or rather rapids; yet rafts and *bateaux* are dexterously navigated through the unbroken channels that divide the foaming torrent.

On ascending Mars' Hill, we have on all sides an extensive prospect of uninhabited country. The scope of vision, however, only ranges over the sur-

face of boundless woods, varying in shade from the funereal green of the firs, to the bright verdure of the birch. Imagination alone penetrates underneath the silent indomitable covert, amidst the intricacies of which, the traveller may suddenly wander into bewildered paths, and lose his way for ever, in perplexing ignorance of the course that will lead him back to civilisation. Within these forests the moose, cariboo, and bear, safely feed and wander, until pursued by the wants, and ensnared by the wiles of man.

Ascending the river until we reach the latitude of $46^{\circ} 53'$, our progress on the water is arrested by its turbulence; and we stop at a cove or small bay, the usual landing-place of the *bateaux* and other craft that come up the river; and which, to avoid the falls, are often carried across a neck of land to another small bay, a little above the mighty turmoil of waters.

Immediately below this bay, the river suddenly contracts between rugged cliffs, overhung with trees, and sweeping along a descent of several feet with furious impetuosity, until the interruption of a ridge of rocks, close to the edge of the Grand Falls, changes the hitherto unbroken volume into one vast body of turbulent foam, which thunders over a perpendicular precipice, about fifty feet in height, into a deep vortex among huge black rocks, where the magnitude of the waters is for a moment partially lost; but, still whirling and roaring, rolls out impetuously through a channel, still more confined in width; dashing along afterwards with inconceivable velocity, over a succession of falls of some feet each, for more than half a mile. The cliffs on each side in this dis-

tance overhang and frown over falls and rapids, in terrific sublimity, and in some places, so far do the rocks project, that the waters are nearly hidden from view.

Although these falls (hitherto, I believe, scarcely ever described by any traveller) bear in magnitude no comparison to those of Niagara, yet there is a *tout-ensemble* of tremendous rocks, gigantic woods, and a continuity of cataracts and broken waters, below the Grand Falls of St. John, which impart much greater variety to the magnificent scene, than the otherwise unparalleled Niagara can boast of.

Proceeding up the River St. John, from the cove above the falls, its waters become smooth, deep, and sluggish. The boats and *pirogues* of the Acadians, and occasionally the white bark canoe of the Indian, appear now and then on its surface, while we pass for some miles along the wild but fertile lands through which it flows, until we arrive at the straggling settlement of Acadian French at Madawaska. This is comprehended within the vast rich country claimed by the Americans, which if we be so supine as to relinquish, farewell to firmness in the councils of Great Britain.

The Acadians of Madawaska are even more simple in their manners, and much more limited in the extent of their intelligence, than those I have described in a former book. This arises from their situation: living since their childhood along the banks of an unfrequented river, which flows through an almost boundless forest, they have had no intercourse with the rest of the world, unless it were once a-year to Fredericton, to sell their surplus grain. They are descendants of the original French settlers in Nova Scotia,

who retreated here to avoid the English. A few families from Canada also joined them; and since that period they have remained a quiet, loyal people, confined to their own means of procuring subsistence, and to their local resources alone for social enjoyments. They have a chapel, and a priest from Canada officiates among them; they live by agriculture, but they are slovenly farmers, and regardless of cleanliness or comfort in their houses. Their wants are, however, so few, that little serves them; and as their wives make, of the wool of their sheep, and the flax they raise, all the clothes they require; and being ignorant of the luxuries of the world, and what we are accustomed to call comforts, they are, therefore, independent of them, and live among themselves happy, and comparatively free from the cares which accompany the refinements of civilisation. They are hospitable to strangers, chaste, strongly attached to hereditary customs, strict in their religious observances, and very superstitious.

Some miles above the Acadian settlements, the St. John receives the waters of the Madawaska, which previously winds through the forest, about thirty miles after issuing from the Lake Tamisquata. This lake, which is about twenty-three miles long, and in some places two and a half miles across, and in many parts deep, receives numerous streams, several of which issue from smaller lakes. In 1823, the principal proprietor (Mr. Frazer) of the surrounding lands, which are Canadian fiefs, established his residence on the shore of Lake Tamisquata, and named the village Strathern. The country surrounding these waters appears to be very fertile; the mountainous ridge of the Alleghany chain lies between them and the River

St. Lawrence; and by this route the courier with the mail for Canada travels by way of Kamouraska to Quebec.

Leaving the Madawaska, the River St. John winds to the westward, branching over an extensive and fertile country into numerous streams, the largest of which, except the main river, is the St. Francis. It approaches within a mile or two of those falling into the St. Lawrence. The St. John issues from some small lakes near the source of the River Penobscot; and, with its tributaries, waters the disputed territory.

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CHAP. VI.

COAST OF THE BAY OF FUNDY. — PASSAMAQUODDY BAY, AND ISLANDS. — GRAND MANAN. — CAMBOBELLO. — DEER ISLAND. — AMERICAN FRONTIER. — EASTPORT AND ROBINSTOWN. — TOWN OF ST. ANDREW. — ST. STEPHEN'S. — RIVERS ST. CROIX AND SCHOODIE. — DICDAQUASH. — MAGAQUADAVIC. — L'ETANG — LE PREAUX. — MUSQUASH. — QUACO. — CHEPODY. — PETIT COUDIAC. — MENRAMCOOK. — WESTMORELAND. — GREAT ROADS. — INTERIOR SETTLEMENTS, ETC.

THE bay of Passamaquoddy separates the sea-coast of New Brunswick from that of the state of Maine. This magnificent and beautiful inlet is studded with numerous islands, some of which are richly wooded, and afford soil of fair quality, and most of them have convenient advantages for fishing.

Grand Manan, which lies at the entrance of the bay of Fundy, is about thirty-five miles from Brier Island, on the coast of Nova Scotia, and from eight to nine miles from the shores of Maine. Its length is about fourteen miles, and its breadth six or seven. It is chiefly covered with trees, growing on a soil of tolerable fertility, 4000 to 5000 acres of which are under fair cultivation. A great portion of the remaining surface is occupied by heaths, and seven small lakes or ponds. The population, about 800, consists principally of families whose parents or the selves removed from the United States, and whose habits and manners resemble very much those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring state of Maine.

They have often been considered as particularly *au fait* at scheming and over-reaching; but I think the reputation of the multitude has been too severely charged with all the villainy of some daring adventurers. The situation of the island certainly offers all that could be desired, either for a school or rendezvous for smugglers; and the late American tariff offers temptations to evade revenue laws, and to despise the vigilance of revenue cruisers, of which they take the full benefit. It forms a parish, and has an Episcopal church.

Ship-building, fishing, and agriculture, as well as interchanging commodities, either by open or illicit means, are each followed by the inhabitants, in their turn. The dangerous ledges and rocks that abound round Grand Manan, particularly on the south and south-east; its perpendicular rocky cliffs, in some places 600 feet high; its position, at the entrance of the bay of Fundy, with the violence of the tides, and the fogs which prevail, when the winds blow from the Atlantic, render this island at all seasons the dread of mariners. A lighthouse, as projected by the late Mr. Lockwood, surveyor-general of the province, on Gannet Rock, and an efficient light on Brier Island, in place of the beggarly one now on it, are objects that should seriously engage the consideration of the respective legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.* On Quoddy-head, the Americans have a

* On my passage to New Brunswick, in 1828, we approached the Bay of Fundy, on a remarkably fine evening in September. At sunset, we saw the high lands of Mount Desert to the west. The wind was fair, yet the master, an experienced and very able seaman, seemed unusually anxious and watchful in shaping his course, so as to be at a safe distance from the ledges of Manan and those

good lighthouse, which renders the passage between it and Grand Manan comparatively safe.

Campobello Island, which is about ten miles long, lies within the Bay of Passamaquoddy; and a narrow deep channel separates it from Maine, in the United States. Its harbour is safe, and conveniently situated, and by many considered far superior to St. Andrew's for a free port, more particularly for transshipping gypsum, or plaster of Paris, from British to American vessels. No place can possibly be better calculated for smuggling; and many of the inhabitants here, and on the opposite coast, may be considered sufficiently vigilant and daring in carrying on a successful illicit trade, to rival even the far-famed "Dirk Hatteraick."

There are many other islands within this bay, of which Deer Island is the largest; some of which are cultivated, and nearly all have convenient places for fishing establishments.

In no part of America, north of New York, can vessels, during the severity of winter, proceed without being obstructed by ice, so far from the ocean, as up Passamaquoddy Bay and the River St. Croix. This is important, particularly to vessels which load with timber during winter for the West Indies.

of Brier Island. The tide, however, baffled all his attention and reckoning; and when we thought we had passed both, we were suddenly alarmed by land appearing close *a-head*, and to leeward of us, which proved to be the coast of Nova Scotia, between Cape St. Mary's and Cape Forchu; and on sounding, we found ourselves passing over a ledge in three fathoms water. Had it been foggy, we should soon have been on the rocks. The light-house on Brier Island has lately been greatly improved.

On a point of low land at the mouth of the St. Croix, and in front of a hilly ridge, stands the town of St. Andrew. Its houses are respectable in size and appearance; and it has two principal streets, which are crossed by several others; a population of about three thousand; an Episcopal church; and a handsome Scotch kirk, built at the expense of a resident merchant, Mr. Scott, and gratuitously presented by him to the members of the Church of Scotland. It has also its government school, courthouse, jail, printing establishment, weekly newspaper, commercial bank, savings' bank, emigrant and agricultural society, Bible society, &c.

The site of the town is pretty, and the prospect from it, embracing the spacious Bay of Passamaquoddy, and a distant view of the islands, the coast of Maine, and the lands to the eastward, is truly grand and picturesque; yet, in more than one respect, objections to its situation are very apparent. The harbour is by no means a good one for large vessels, which can only enter it at full tide, while they have to lie aground within it nearly twelve hours out of twenty-four, and a bar and ledge render its entrance dangerous to strangers. The principal article of export, lumber, has also to be rafted at great expense to it down from the Rivers St. Croix and Schoodic, and from Magaquadavic. It is, however, a thriving place, and carries forward a brisk trade in exporting square timber, deals, and staves. Ship-building has also been a source of adventurous rather than profitable enterprise, in which the inhabitants of St. Andrew and its neighbourhood have for some time been extensively engaged.

Proceeding twelve miles further up the St. Croix, near that part of the river called the ledge, its navi-

gation for large vessels is interrupted; but here they can load near St. Stephen's in safety, and this appears, in many respects, the very place where the principal town on the river should be built.

A few miles above St. Stephen's, the St. Croix divides into two main branches; that leading to the westward, called the River Schoodic, penetrates the state of Maine, and receives the waters of an extensive chain of lakes. The other, or the St. Croix, stretching far to the north and north-west, receives also the waters of several streams and lakes; and flows through a fertile country covered with lofty forests, but its navigation is often interrupted by rapids and cataracts. There are numerous saw-mills on these rivers, and the annual average quantity of lumber sawed by the whole is estimated at twenty-two millions of feet. On the Digdaquash, a few miles east of St. Andrew, there are also several saw-mills.

The river Magaquadavic, or, as it is usually pronounced, Macadavick, falls into the bay about ten miles east of St. Andrew, and carries down the waters it receives from numerous streams and lakes, along a course of more than sixty miles through the province. Its resources are great, having extensive fertile lands and excellent timber on its banks. Its navigation is, however, interrupted near its mouth by high falls; and numerous cataracts and rapids occur in its course; but still a vast quantity of timber is rafted down to the harbour.

There are several other settlements along the coast, between Passamaquoddy and St. John, among which L'Etang, Beaver Harbour, Le Preaux, and Musquash, are the principal, and at each of which ship-building, hewing timber, fishing, and a little agricul-

ture, have alternately been followed by the inhabitants.

From St. John Harbour, along the coast, up the Bay of Fundy, a distance of about eighty miles, to Shepody Bay, small settlements are scattered. The principal of these is Quaco.

The lands near the sea-coast, along this extensive distance, are remarkably stubborn, and difficult to cultivate, but not unfruitful in producing barley, oats, potatoes, &c. The ripening of wheat crops cannot be depended on. The shores of Shepody Bay, which receive the Rivers Petit Coudiac and Memramcook, are thickly settled. The Petit Coudiac is a rapid river, and, following its winding course, is about seventy miles long, up which the tide flows forty miles. It has excellent marshes, and remarkably fine lands, well wooded along its banks, which are in many places, particularly at the beautiful settlement of Dorchester, thickly inhabited. Ships occasionally proceed as far up as Dorchester for timber; but the impetuous tides of the Bay of Fundy render the navigation difficult. The river Memramcook has fine extensive diked marshes, and is settled by Acadian French. Large clearings abound along the river, and many farmers, living a great way up, follow agriculture alone; but most of the inhabitants have devoted their time occasionally to the timber business.

In that part of the province comprehended within the county of Charlotte, the spirit of agriculture appears lately to have acquired fresh animation; and the cultivation of the soil is followed with greater attention than before the eventful commercial crisis of the year 1826.

The country bordering on Shepody Bay, Cumberland Basin, and the rivers which fall into them, and which are included in the county of Westmoreland, is equal in respect to population, soil, and cultivation, to any part of the province. It was formerly comprehended in the county of Cumberland, as belonging to Nova Scotia, which it adjoins. The inhabitants are principally farmers and graziers; among whom are several settlements of industrious Acadian French. The most thriving settlers, however, are Englishmen from Yorkshire, or their descendants, who rear large herds of cattle, and raise luxuriant crops of grain and hay on their fine diked marshes. They export their overplus butter and cheese, and drive their fat cattle to the markets of Halifax, St. John, and Miramichi. Great quantities of grindstones are sent from the county of Westmoreland, most of which find their way to the United States.

Along the principal roads of this province settlements are gradually forming; accordingly, while travelling along, we pass by farms and houses in all the various gradations of improvement, from the miserable rude hut, and the first few trees felled in the forest, to the handsome, clap-boarded, shingled, and painted house, and large barn, amidst several acres of land cleared of the stumps, and under grass, grain, and potatoes.

The roads in New Brunswick were, with scarcely ten miles in one place of an exception, worse than the generality of those I have travelled over in any of the other colonies, always leaving Newfoundland, which can only boast of one short road, out of the question.

The road from Fort Cumberland, through Westmoreland, and along the River Petit Coudiac, and

thence through Sussex Vale, and across Hammond river to St. John, is the best I know of, and the bridges it crosses are tolerable.

The road from St. John to St. Andrew is truly bad and dangerous. The road opened at Carleton, opposite St. John, by the way of the River Nerepis, to Fredericton, is particularly bad from the Nerepis to Oromucto; and from Fredericton to the Canada line there is only about 65 miles on which we can attempt to drive any sort of carriage. The distance from St. John by this route, which follows the river to the falls of Madawaska, and from thence across the high lands to the St. Lawrence below Kamouraska, is 347 miles, from which, by an excellent road along the banks of the St. Lawrence, the distance to Quebec is 107 miles.

The road from opposite Fredericton, along the Nashwaak, and thence to Miramichi, is also very bad; as is also the road from Fredericton to St. Andrew. There is a pretty good road from the Petit Coudiac to Chediac, on the gulf coast, by which hay is frequently hauled to the latter place. The road from Chediac to Miramichi is, particularly from Richibucto to the last place, abominable. Several paths, which are misnamed roads, have also been opened between the various settlements.

The Legislative Assembly have certainly at different times appropriated large sums in aid of the statute labour, for the purpose of opening and improving the roads of the province. But, somehow or other, road-making was, until lately, either not understood, or the labour and money must have been misapplied, as good leading roads were, at least three years ago, an essential *desideratum* in New Brunswick. The ex-

pense of making a good road through a forest will be about 100% per mile.

An object of paramount importance and convenience to the lower and upper colonies, would be to open a good carriage road from Nova Scotia to Fredericton, and thence to the River St. Lawrence. It should be made at the joint expense of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, as all would derive equal advantage from accomplishing an undertaking that would open a direct line through all the British colonies. The tardy conveyance of the mails is one of the great evils under which Canada and the lower province labours, in consequence of there being no proper route for travelling rapidly from Nova Scotia to the St. Lawrence.

Another line of road, and certainly a most desirable one, was pointed out by Governor Sir Howard Douglas, as a great military road from Halifax to Quebec. This line would be a continuation of the road from Halifax to the bend of the River Petit Coudiac, thence to the gulf coast, to the River Miramichi, and thence, by the way of the River Ristigouche, to the St. Lawrence at Metis, about 200 miles below Quebec.

The benefits of such roads would be great. The colonies would be connected so much closer in their interests by greater facility of communication; the military forces could easily and speedily move wherever required; the crown lands would be disposed of at a much better price; and, by throwing open the rich lands of the interior, they would be settled upon rapidly.*

* Since I formerly travelled in New Brunswick, the roads have been wonderfully improved. The most abominable of them,

Several small settlements along the roads in New Brunswick appear to be in a flourishing condition. Disbanded soldiers do not generally make good settlers, unless placed under proper officers or superintendents. On the woodlands, along the road from the Nashwaak to Miramichi, I observed several untenanted huts, which were occupied by disbanded soldiers, who had the lands granted them, but who deserted their habitations as soon as they expended the rations received from government.

While travelling over this province we cannot help being amused at the names given to many places in the colonies by the whim of the first settlers. It is natural for people to cherish associations connected with their birthplace, and we are not surprised, on arriving at a fine thriving settlement, inhabited by Welshmen, who planted themselves amidst the forest about fifteen miles from Fredericton, that it is named Cardigan; nor that an equally thriving settlement of industrious Irish, on the shores of the Bay Chaleur, is called New Bandon; but we can hardly repress a smile on hearing places through or by which we pass, called Canaan, Mount Pisgah, &c.

that from Westmoreland to Miramichi, and that by the Nerepis to Fredericton, are made fit for carriages. Since the appointment of Sir Archibald Campbell to the government, a great military road, which passes through the New Brunswick Company's lands, has been partially opened, and several miles completed. Another road through the same territory to Miramichi is marked out, and will be completed by the government.

CHAP. VII.

COAST OF NEW BRUNSWICK WITHIN THE GULF SHORE. — MIRAMICHI RIVER AND SETTLEMENTS. — CHATHAM, NEWCASTLE, ETC. — OCCUPATIONS OF THE INHABITANTS. — TIMBER TRADE. — CULTIVATION OF THE SOIL. — SALMON FISHERY. — TREMENDOUS FIRE OF 1825. — EFFECTS ON THE SOIL. — HARBOURS ON THE GULF COAST, ETC.

MIRAMICHI* River enters the province of New Brunswick in latitude $47^{\circ} 10' N.$, and in longitude $64^{\circ} 40' West$. From Point Erscuminae, forming the south side of the bay, a dangerous reef extends three miles into the gulf. There is a sand bar across off the entrance, but the channel over it is broad, with water for ships of from six hundred to seven hundred tons; and vessels entering the river seldom meet with any accident. The land near the sea, like the whole of the north-east coast of New Brunswick, is low, and clothed near the shore with dwarf spruce and birch-trees; beyond which the whole country is covered with heavy timber. This magnificent river divides into two great branches, and these again into numerous streams. It is navigable for large ships for about forty miles. The south-west branch winds from its source, in a small lake near the Tobique Hills,

* Miramichi is not the Indian name, as generally supposed, but probably a corruption of Miracheet, the name of a tribe of Micmacs that once occupied its banks. The Indian name is *Lis-tee-gooi deetch*, and its north-west branch is called by the Indians *Atlee-managan*.

189 miles before it joins the north-west branch, which is about 100 miles long. Each receives several large streams of from 20 to 40 miles in length.

The importance attached to Miramichi has arisen within the last thirty years, in consequence of the vast quantities of pine timber exported from thence.

It was scarcely known thirty years ago, except to a few adventurers, who traded with the Indians for furs; and those who first settled on the banks of the river were attracted thither by its plentiful salmon-fishery, which formed for some years a profitable source of enterprise. The French, when the country was possessed by their government, had temporary establishments on the islands at the entrance, for trading with the Indians for furs and salmon. Some small settlements were formed at Bay des Vents, at Negowack, and one said to contain two hundred houses, but this is likely an exaggeration, on Beaubair's Island. All the French posts were, however, nothing more than *entrepôts* for the fur trade. The first English vessel that entered Miramichi, was the ship that carried the remains of General Wolfe from Quebec, and driven in by stress of weather. Part of her crew, while ashore for water, were massacred by the Indians. The first British settler was a Mr. William Davidson, a Scotchman of enterprise and intelligence, who planted himself on the banks of this river in the year 1765, when there was not an European living in the whole territory between the Bay of Fundy and the Bay des Chaleurs.

In 1790, Mr. Davidson, on account of government, exported three cargoes of masts and spars from Miramichi. From that period the exportation of timber has superseded almost every other pursuit; and the

waters of the river being much disturbed by vessels, boats, and rafts of timber, a decrease in quantity has followed in the salmon-fishery; but whether in consequence of this circumstance, as the inhabitants always assert, or from some unknown natural cause, must, I think, be difficult to determine. The salmon-fishery on the river still affords more than is required for the use of the settlers and lumbering parties.

On the south side of Miramichi, a little within its entrance, lies Bay des Vents, where ships occasionally load, and where there is safe and sheltered anchorage; on the north is the bay and settlement of Negowack, where ships also load, but where there is not much shelter.*

Houses are seen thinly scattered along the bay and on each side as we sail up the river; but little cultivation appears. About twenty miles up, on the south

* Shoals extend for a great distance from the islands at the entrance of Miramichi. I have some cause to remember them. After crossing the province from Fredericton to Chatham, I embarked on board a coasting schooner bound for Pictou, the master of which engaged to land me on Prince Edward Island. The night was dark. It blew a gale; yet the master incautiously ventured to pass through an intricate channel among the shoals. The vessel struck, and beat for some distance over, and at last bedded in the sands, at a great distance from the shore, and there we lay for three days and nights, until a man, who contrived to gain the shore, travelled by a circuitous route forty miles to Chatham, from whence a vessel was despatched to take us off.

There were several passengers, among whom were two ladies, a clergyman's wife, and a young lady, daughter of Dr. Mac Culloch of Pictou. The people of the vessel were awkward, and not cleanly. We were not prepared for such a disaster; and my friend Mr. Noble of Halifax, who was on board, and I, had to officiate as cooks for the ladies and ourselves. We contrived to stew mutton and potatoes so as to be very palatable, considering our situation.

side, stands the town or village of Chatham, where many of the timber ships load, and where several of the merchants are settled, who have erected stores and wharfs. Some of the latter, particularly the fine stone warehouse, stores, wharfs, and timber booms, belonging to the very extensive establishment of Messrs. J. Cunard and Co., are on a most respectable scale. It has also a handsome Presbyterian church, a Methodist chapel, two or three good schools, and a printing office, which sends forth a weekly newspaper. About four miles further up, Nelson village, which has a handsome Catholic chapel, rises along the banks of the river; and here, also, a few vessels occasionally load with timber. On the opposite side, the village of Douglas, which has an excellent school, and the extensive mercantile establishment of Messrs. Gilmour and Rankin, where several ships load, appear rising along the shore. Some miles below, the same firm have erected one of the best saw-mills in America; working 28 saws, which cut about 27,000 feet of deals daily.

Four miles further up than Chatham, and on the north side of the river, stands the village or town of Newcastle, with its wharfs and stores. It is considered the shire town for the county of Northumberland. Its public buildings, and most of the dwelling-houses and stores, were consumed by the fire of 1825, which reduced almost every thing else it contained to ashes; even in the churchyard I observed, three years afterwards, marks of that terrible conflagration. A new church, court-house, gaol, and many private buildings, have been since built.

It is much to be regretted that the houses, stores, and wharfs, which are now scattered in four different

places, each claiming the designation of a town, were not all built in one convenient place, where, together, they would now form a town of some consequence in extent; and where the operations of commerce would be carried forward with much greater convenience.

A little above Newcastle, and a short distance below the confluence of the two great arms of the river, lies Beaubair's or Frazer's Island, where there are stores, and a ship-building establishment.

On the banks of this river and its great branches, there is yet but a thinly scattered population, who employ themselves chiefly in hewing timber during winter in the woods, and in rafting it down the river in summer, to where the ships load.

Fertile tracts of intervale, and excellent uplands, abound along its banks and in the extensive upper country, watered by its numerous streams, which are capable of most profitable cultivation; but the lumberers, who compose probably more than half the population, are neither from habit nor inclination likely to become constant or skilful farmers; which accounts for the cultivation of the soil having been so long neglected.

The depression, however, in the value of timber, which took place in 1826, and the poverty and distress occasioned by the fire the preceding year, drove the actual settlers to the cultivation of the soil for the means of subsistence; and since that time they have devoted their attention nearly with as much industry to agriculture as to the timber business.*

* On coming down the south-west branch, in the autumn of 1828, from where the road from the River St. John joins the Miramichi, about eighty miles above Chatham, I was astonished at the unexpected progress made during so short a period in the cultivation of the soil.

In October, 1825, about a hundred and forty miles in extent, and a vast breadth of the country on the north, and from sixty to seventy miles on the south

Near where the foregoing road parts off for Fredericton, an American, possessing a full share of the adventurous activity of the citizens of the United States, has established himself. He told me, that when he planted himself there, seven years before, he was not worth a shilling. He has now more than three hundred acres under cultivation; an immense flock of sheep, horses, several yokes of oxen, milch cows, swine, and poultry. He has a large dwelling-house, conveniently furnished, in which he lives with his family, and a numerous train of labourers; one or two other houses, a forge, with a powerful trip-hammer worked by water power; fulling-mill, grist-mill, and two saw-mills — all turned by water. Near these, he showed me a building, which he said he erected for the double purpose of a school and chapel, the floor of which was laid, and on which benches were arranged, so as to resemble the pit of one of our theatres. He said that all preachers who came in the way were welcome to the use of it. An English parson, a Catholic priest, a Presbyterian minister, or a Methodist preacher, should each, he said, get something to eat at his house, and have the use of the chapel, with equal satisfaction to him.

He then showed me his barn, and in one place a heap, containing about ninety bushels of Indian corn, that grew on a spot, scarcely an acre, which he pointed out to me. This man could little more than read and write, — his manners were quite unpolished, but not rude; yet he had wonderful readiness of address, and as far as related to his own pursuits, quick powers of invention and application. He raised large crops, ground his own corn, manufactured the flax he cultivated, and the wool of his sheep, into coarse clothes; sold the provisions which his farm produced, and rum and British goods, to the lumberers, kept a tavern, employed lumberers in the woods, and received also timber in payment for whatever he sold. He made the axes and other tools, required by the lumberers, at his forge. He ate, gambled, and associated with his own labourers and with the lumberers, and all others, who made his house a kind of rallying point. He appeared, however, to be a sober man, and a person who had in view an object of gain in every thing he engaged in.

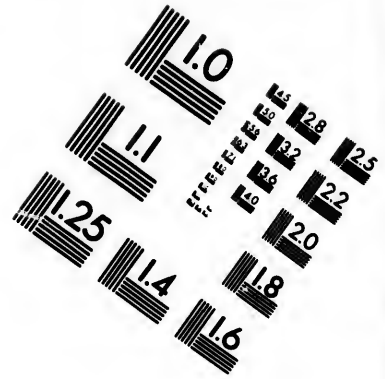
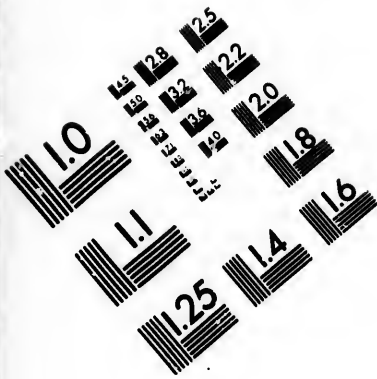
side of Miramichi River, became a scene of perhaps the most dreadful conflagration that occurs in the history of the world.

In Europe we can scarcely form a conception of the fury and rapidity with which fires rage through the forests of America during a dry hot season, at which period the broken underwood, decayed vegetable substances, fallen branches, bark, and withered trees, are as inflammable as the absence of moisture can render them. To such irresistible food for combustion, we must add the auxiliary afforded by the boundless fir forests, every tree of which contains, in its trunk, bark, branches, and leaves, vast quantities of the most inflammable resins.

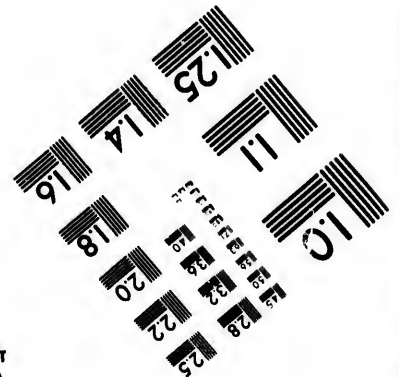
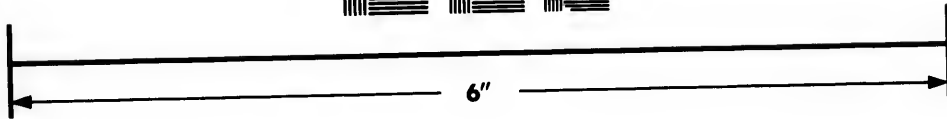
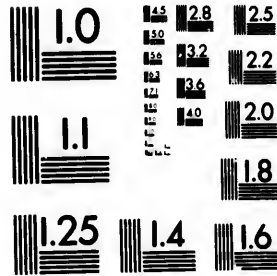
When one of these fires is once in motion, or at least when the flames extend over a few miles of the forest, the surrounding air becomes highly rarified; and the wind consequently increases till it blows a perfect hurricane. It appears that the woods had been, on both sides of the north-west, partially on

He talked much in praise of the rich interior country, and how rapidly it would be settled and cultivated if possessed by the Americans. He complained of the alien act, as he was born a citizen of the United States, and consequently held his lands only by sufferance, as he did not find his conscience (I doubt if that monitor troubled him much on this subject) would allow him to take the usual oaths, or, as he added, to receive the sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England. I have noticed the condition of this man merely as being strictly characteristic of thousands of Americans who settle on wilderness lands. He would, however, willingly sell his improvements, and commence *de novo* in the interior. The New Brunswick Company would find it a desirable nucleus for their operations on the rivers Texas and Miramichi, and I believe the Directors have offered a fair valuation for this property.





**IMAGE EVALUATION
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fire for some days, but not to an alarming extent until the 7th of October, when it came on to blow furiously from the westward; and the inhabitants along the banks of the river were suddenly surprised by an extraordinary roaring in the woods, resembling the crashing and detonation of loud and incessant thunder; while at the same instant the atmosphere became thickly darkened with smoke. They had scarcely time to ascertain the cause of this awful phenomenon, before all the surrounding woods appeared in one vast blaze; the flames ascending from one to two hundred feet above the tops of the loftiest trees, and the fire, rolling forward with inconceivable celerity, presented the terribly sublime appearance of an impetuous flaming ocean. In less than an hour, Douglas Town and Newcastle were in a blaze, and many of the wretched inhabitants, unable to escape, perished in the flames. The following account was obtained and printed in the papers for public information a few days afterwards:—

“ More than a hundred miles of the shores of Miramichi are laid waste, independent of the northwest branch, the Baltibog and the Nappan settlements. From one to two hundred people have perished within immediate observation, while thrice that number are miserably burnt, or otherwise wounded; and at least two thousand of our fellow-creatures are left destitute of the means of subsistence, and thrown at present upon the humanity of the Province of New Brunswick.

“ The number of lives that have been lost in the remote parts of the woods, among the lumbering parties, cannot be ascertained for some time to come; for it is feared that few are left to tell the tale.

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“ It is not in the power of language to describe the unparalleled scene of ruin and devastation which the parish of Newcastle at this moment presents. Out of upwards of two hundred and fifty houses and stores, fourteen of the least considerable only remain. The court house, gaol, church, and barracks ; Messrs. Gilmour, Rankin, and Co.’s, and Messrs. Abrams and Co.’s establishments, with two ships on the stocks, are reduced to ashes.

“ The loss of property is incalculable ; for the fire, borne upon the wings of a hurricane, rushed on the wretched inhabitants with such inconceivable rapidity, that the preservation of their lives could be their only care.

“ Among the vessels on the river, a number were cast on shore ; three of which, namely, the ships Concord of Whitby, and Canada of North Shields, together with the brig Jane of Alloa, were consumed ; others were fortunately extinguished, after the fire had attacked them.

“ At Douglas Town, scarcely any kind of property escaped the ravages of the fire, which swept off the surface every thing coming in contact with it, leaving but time for the unfortunate inhabitants to fly to the shore ; and there, by means of boats, canoes, rafts of timber, timber logs, or any article, however ill calculated for the purpose, they endeavoured to escape from the dreadful scene, and reach the town of Chatham : numbers of men, women, and children, perishing in the attempt.

“ In some parts of the country, the cattle have all been destroyed, or suffered greatly ; and the very soil is in many places parched and burnt up, while

scarcely any article of provisions has been rescued from the flames.

“The hurricane raged with such dreadful violence, that large bodies of timber, on fire, as also trees from the forest, and parts of the flaming houses and stores, were carried to the rivers with amazing velocity, to such an extent, and affecting the water in such a manner, as to occasion large quantities of salmon and other fish to resort to land; hundreds of which were scattered on the shores of the south and west branches.

“Chatham at present contains about three hundred of the unfortunate sufferers, who have resorted to it for relief, and are experiencing some partial assistance; and almost every hour brings with it great numbers from the back settlements, burnt, wounded, and in the most abject state of distress.”

Great fires raged about the same time in the forests of the river St. John, which destroyed much property and timber, with the governor's residence, and about eighty private houses at Fredericton. Fires raged also at the same time in the northern parts of the province, as far as the Bay de Chaleur.

It is impossible to tell how many lives were lost, as many of those who were in the woods among the lumbering parties had no friends or connections in the country to remark their non-appearance. Two hundred have been computed as the least number that actually perished in the flames.

The destruction of bears, foxes, tiger-cats, martens, hares, and other wild animals, was very great. These, when surprised by great fires, are said to lose their usual sense of preservation, and becoming, as it were, either giddy or fascinated, often rush into the face of inevitable destruction. Even the birds, except

those of very strong wing, seldom escape; some, particularly the partridge, become stupefied; and the density of the smoke, the rapid velocity of the flames, and the violence of the winds, effectually prevent the flight of most others.

If the benevolence and charity of mankind were ever manifested in a more than common degree of feeling for the sufferings of unfortunate people, it was assuredly on this memorable occasion. No sooner did accounts of the calamity arrive in the neighbouring colonies, than clothing and provisions were collected and sent, with the utmost expedition, to ameliorate the distress of the sufferers; and the governor, Sir Howard Douglas, crossed the country, without any delay, to ascertain personally the extent of the calamity. Subscriptions, for the relief of all those subjected to want, were raised, to an amount hitherto unexampled in Great Britain, in the United States, and in all the British Colonies; and the funds placed for distribution under the management of Sir Howard, and a committee appointed for the purpose in the province. Two hundred pounds, which remained in the hands of the committee at Liverpool, was afterwards appropriated in aid of a school at the scene of the calamity.

Miramichi may now be said to have completely surmounted the misery and loss occasioned by the ravages of so terrible a visitation. Newcastle has not only arisen from its ashes, but contains as many and much better houses, and as great a population, as formerly. The country laid waste by the insatiate element, is of much less value, it is true, when compared with its former worth. The majestic timber trees, which acquired their gigantic size by many

ages of growth, have been destroyed, and a smaller species, originally common to sterile soils, and scarcely ever fit for the timber of commerce, have sprung up in their room.

I have often heard it maintained in England, by people unacquainted with America, that the lands must become much more valuable by being cleared of the woods by fire, as immense labour and expense in clearing the forest-lands would consequently be saved. No opinion can be more erroneous. Settlers, who understand the value of wilderness lands, always choose those covered with the heaviest trees, of promiscuous kinds; and the strongest objection that can be made to a plot of land is, its having been previously subjected to fire, which kills and hardens the standing trees, and leads to the exhaustion of fertility in the soil, by its producing afterwards two or three tall crops of weeds, which require as much nourishment as the same number of corn crops would. From the nature of those plants, very little of the sustenance drawn by them from the ground is again returned to it, as they wither, standing, into dry hollow stalks; and their juices, escaping gradually by exhalation, and mixing with the surrounding atmosphere, are carried off by the winds.

If the *burnt lands*, as they are termed, were, immediately after being overrun by fire, brought under cultivation, they would then be of exactly the same value as those cleared in the usual way; but even in this case they are objected to, as the great fires scour over the surface with such rapidity, that the trunks of the large trees are only very partially destroyed, and scarcely ever levelled; while, by losing their sap, they soon become much harder, and more

difficult to cut, than green wood; and, by being all charred on the outside, exceedingly disagreeable to work among. The clearing and cultivating of ground on which the trees are all in a fresh growing state is, therefore, preferred to that which has been subjected to fire; which seldom consumes effectually more than the underwood, decayed fragments, and the branches of the large trees.

The great business of Miramichi is the timber trade. Scarcely any other branch of trade is attempted; yet vast quantities of fish might be brought in from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which, with the salmon caught in the river, would form portions of assorted cargoes with lumber for the West Indies. This business has lately been partially prosecuted. In 1824, 141,384 tons of square timber were exported from Miramichi to ports in the United Kingdom, in nearly three hundred ships; and, although a depression occurred in 1826, the trade has since then been extensively followed. About 350 cargoes were shipped in 1832. The cod and herring fisheries are also increasing: assorted cargoes are shipped to the West Indies, and various kinds of prepared lumber exported to Halifax and Newfoundland.

The principal articles of provisions, and all others of general consumption, are still imported, to supply the wants of the settlers and lumberers. When the interior country, watered by the branches of this river, becomes tolerably well settled by farmers, the importation of provisions must, from want of demand, necessarily cease. The fixed property, in saw-mills on this river and its tributaries, is of important value.

To the southward of Miramichi, New Brunswick extends about seventy-five miles, along the strait of Northumberland, to Cape Tormentine. On this coast are the harbours of Richibuctu, Buctush, Cocaigne, Chediac, and the harbour of Chemogui for small vessels. Several rivers also occur in this district. The soil is generally fertile; but the lands are very thinly inhabited, although many thousands of settlers might be *located* on the vacant lands lying between the sea and the Rivers St. John and Petit Coudiac.* The few roads opened as late as 1827 were then bad beyond the powers of description. Since then the energy of Sir Howard Douglas, with the co-operation of the legislature, have improved them greatly.

Richibuctu harbour has a bar across the entrance; but, at high water, ships drawing sixteen feet may pass safely over it. Within the last few years, vast quantities of timber have been exported from this place; and several fine ships have been built here. It has six or seven mercantile establishments, a custom-house, and a government school. Its river, dividing into several streams, flows through an extensive country. It is navigable for several miles; and many of the settlers are Acadian French, who live in a village near the entrance of the harbour. It has a chapel and school. The timber business, hitherto, has been chiefly attended to, as affording the most ready means of living; but agriculture, long considered of minor importance, now also engages the

* An extensive tract was laid out, in 1826, under Col. Cockburn's direction, with the intention of settling it with emigrants to be sent out by Government. The plan contemplated having been abandoned, this fine portion of the province is still neglected. It is generally called *Colonel Cockburn's Cabbage Garden*.

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attention of the settlers. The town or rather village called *Liverpool*, four miles up the river, stands on the north bank. It has a court-house, gaol, and post-office, and about fifty dwelling-houses. There is a Presbyterian church in the settlement above the town ; and on the opposite side of the river, two miles below, there is a ship-yard near the custom-house.

Buctush is also a bar-harbour, and a port from which timber is exported. Several families of Acadian French are settled at this place.

Cocaigne lies to the southward of Buctush. Its entrance is very intricate ; but ships of three hundred tons may load within the bar. Several cargoes of timber have been exported from this place, and a few ships have also been built here. It receives a fine river, but the population is yet trifling.

Chediac River is shallow at the entrance ; and the inhabitants divide their labour between hewing timber and a little farming.

Chemogui River has also a shallow entrance ; but the lands are under tolerable cultivation, and agriculture and rearing cattle occupy the principal attention of the inhabitants. Between Chemogui and Cape Tormentine there are many extensive and well-cultivated farms. The soil resembles that of Prince Edward Island, immediately opposite ; and here the distance across the strait is not quite ten miles.

From Miramichi, north to Point Miscou, at the entrance of the Bay de Chaleur, the distance is about seventy miles. The sea-coast, and back lands of this part of the province are very low ; and the shore is nearly altogether fringed with sandy ridges, or small islands, producing bent-grass. Within these are la-

goons, with shallow entrances. To Taboo-in-tac and Tracadie, the principal of these places, several thousand tons of timber are annually hauled out of the woods, and rafted to Miramichi.

To the northward of Tracadie, and near the passage of Shippigan, which divides the island of that name from the continent, are the small and shallow harbours of Little and Great Poumouche, inhabited principally by a few families of Acadian French. The inhabitants along this coast are scattered thinly near the shores, and subsist by means of fishing, cultivating potatoes, and a little grain, and hewing timber. They are poor, ignorant, and unambitious. Want of industry, or rather the improper application of their labour, alone prevents their prosperity; and a few worthless characters, mingled with the Acadians, and who have probably been driven by their roguery from among the English and Scotch settlements, while they want the simplicity and honesty of their neighbours, are equally bad farmers, and less industrious as fishermen.

CHAP. VIII.

BAY DE CHALEUR.

MISCOU. — SHIPPIGAN. — ST. PETER'S. — RUSTIGOUCHE. — SALMON FISHERY. — LUMBERERS.

THIS bay, or rather gulf, and the River Rustigouche, which falls into it, divide Canada and New Brunswick, Cape Mackerel (Maquereau) on the Canadian side, and Point Miscou on the south, distant from each other fifteen miles, from the entrance to this bay.

Point Miscou is in latitude $47^{\circ} 58'$, and in longitude $64^{\circ} 30'$. The length of this magnificent gulf, from Point Miscou west to the mouth of the River Rustigouche, is about eighty-five miles. In one place it is twenty miles broad; in others, from fifteen to thirty miles. On the Canadian or north side, the land rises into lofty mountains; on the south side, except within twenty miles of the head of the bay, the interior country is low; although along the shores the cliffs are in some places perpendicular.

In 1534, Jacques Cartier sailed into this bay, previous to his discovering the St. Lawrence. From the intensity of the midsummer heat which he then experienced, he gave it the name of Bay de Chaleur.

Miscou Island is about ten miles round. Here the French, previous to the conquest of Canada, had an extensive fishing plantation, conducted by the "Company of Miscou." The remains of their buildings,

&c.; still appear. In 1819, I landed on this island; there was living on it one family, consisting of a disbanded Highland soldier, of the name of Campbell, his wife, son-in-law, and two daughters.* He chose this spot, from a truly Highland attachment to flocks and herds. It affords excellent pasturage in summer, and produces plenty of hay for winter fodder. There is a safe and deep harbour formed between this island and Shippigan. The entrance, from the gulf, must not be attempted, as it will scarcely admit boats; but the other, from the bay, has water sufficiently deep for large ships. There is little wood on it; the trees are dwarf birches and firs. Several varieties of wild fruit abound.

Shippigan is about twenty miles long, low, and sandy. It produces bent-grass, fir, and birch-trees, shrubs, and abundance of cranberries, blueberries, &c. We saw some foxes running along the downs, and were told they were numerous. Wild geese and ducks occasionally hatch their young on these islands: both are great resorts of wild fowls. The passage between Shippigan and the continent, being at the eastern entrance choked with sand, has only seven or eight feet depth of water. The channel leading

* Three individuals of this family were, I have learned since, drowned; the boat in which they were attempting to cross over to Caraqueette having swamped on a reef about two miles from the land. One of these was the unmarried daughter. Her appearance was certainly interesting when I saw her; and I could not help thinking, at the time, that it was a matter of regret that she should wear out life on an island thirty miles from any one but her own family. A black servant, that I had with me, told me, after we left, that she was anxious to escape from *her prison*, as she named it, and would gladly do so then, if she could. Two months after, the unfortunate girl was drowned.

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from the Bay de Chaleur is deep and broad; but on each side, flat, rocky, and sandy shallows stretch two or three miles from the land. On this island, and on the mainland opposite, there are about ninety families of Acadian French, whose principal occupation is fishing. The soil is tolerably fertile, and produces wheat, potatoes, and oats; which, however, the inhabitants raise but in small quantities. A few cargoes of excellent timber have been exported from Shippigan, chiefly rafted from Poumouche, a few miles to the southward; and from which place, large rafts of timber have frequently been *poled* along the shore, sixty or seventy miles, and delivered at Miramichi.

Caraquette is situated a few miles west of Shippigan. There is an island at the entrance, which forms the harbour; on each side of this island there is a deep but intricate channel. A long, populous, but straggling village, extends several miles along the south side of Caraquette Bay; at the head of which stands the old Catholic chapel, in one of the most beautiful spots imaginable—at least, it is so during summer and autumn. On one side is a beautiful transparent stream, issuing from between the crevices of a rock; on the other, before the skirts of a luxuriant forest of birch and maple, are a few acres of green sward, on which the villagers, during the interval between mass and vespers, delight, in fine weather, to repose in groups, to talk over the incidents of the week. In front of this spot a beautiful view opens of the harbour, Caraquette Island, and a broad prospect of the Bay de Chaleur, and the highlands of Lower Canada.

In the middle of the village, and on pretty high ground, stands the new stone church—a large plain

building, with a high spire, and one or two bells. The inside is lined with pictures of a showy cheap description. The inhabitants felt great reluctance in abandoning the old chapel, which, with every object surrounding it, had been for twenty or thirty years familiarised to them; and they were anxious, although the distance was very inconvenient, to build the new one on the same spot.

The soil about Caraquette is very fertile. I have seen as fine wheat growing there as in any part of America. The inhabitants of this place and Shippigan, particularly the women, show more of the features and colour of the Micmac Indians, than any of the Acadians that I have elsewhere seen. This circumstance arises from the first settlers, of whom they are descended, having intermarried with the savages. These people employ themselves principally in the cod and herring fisheries, and depend only as an auxiliary means of subsistence on the cultivation of the soil, which they leave, in a great measure, to the management of the women and younger sons. There are some excellent grindstone quarries in this place. Red ochre, also, of excellent quality, abounds.

Between Caraquette and Nipisight Bay, there are three or four small Acadian settlements, the inhabitants of which live by fishing.

On the east side of Nipisight (or St. Peter's) is situated the young flourishing settlement of New Bandon; the inhabitants of which, now consisting of seventy-two families, went from Ireland a few years ago, and have, by confining their labour chiefly to agriculture, and by persevering industry and good management, succeeded in rising, from comparative

poverty, to the acquisition of considerable property in land and cattle. They have about thirty acres each under cultivation.

St. Peter's, lately named Bathurst, is the harbour of Nipisighit Bay; there is a bar across the entrance, but large brigs can load inside of it. The River Nipisighit winds and branches over a great extent of the northern part of New Brunswick. I have before observed, that it appears to be in a line of contact between a region of sandstone to the eastward, and a part of the vast granitic range of the Alleghanies. The main branch, about 100 miles in length, is broken by a magnificent fall and several rapids; and I was informed that all the other branches rolled over falls and cataracts. The interior country is but little known; but from the information given me by the lumbering parties and Indians, its configuration presents innumerable streams, lakes, excellent lands, forests, valleys, and hills, which occasionally assume the character of mountains.

For some years, several ships have loaded with timber at Nipisighit, the quality of which is excellent. The number of settlers in this place, many of whom are Acadian French, is not more than six hundred; but a vast population might be located advantageously on the lands watered by this river. There are two or three merchants at St. Peter's, and it is the port of entry, under St. John, for all the harbours on the south side of the Bay de Chaleur. It has a courthouse, gaol, and post-office. The shore from Nipisighit to Rustigouche is all lined with inhabitants.

The River Rustigouche, which separates Canada from New Brunswick, falls into a spacious harbour at the head of the Bay de Chaleur. This majestic

river, and its numerous appendant streams, branch over more than six thousand square miles of New Brunswick and Canada. The largest stream running into it from the north, is the Matapedia, rising in a lake of that name, situated in the middle of the county of Cornwallis, in Lower Canada. From one of the southern streams of the Rustigouche, the distance to the River St. John is but a few miles, and by this route the courier travels with letters to New Brunswick and to Canada. A road, to open a direct communication between the settlements on the Bay de Chaleur and Canada, by the lake Matapedia, has been contemplated. It might form a continuation of the new road from Miramichi to Nipisighit, from which a tolerable road is open to Rustigouche, and then complete the great military road projected by Sir Howard Douglas, by leading along the Matapedia, and then by the Metis to the St. Lawrence. Next to a good road from Fredericton to the St. Lawrence, I consider a road that would enable the inhabitants of the Bay de Chaleur, particularly those on the north side, to have a direct and certain intercourse with Quebec, an object of the greatest importance. To this neglected and almost forgotten, but still truly valuable part of Canada and New Brunswick, such a line of communication with Quebec is absolutely necessary. The opening of these roads would facilitate the settlement of vast tracts of fertile country, through which the Rustigouche, Matapedia, and Nipisighit Rivers flow.

The settlement of Dalhousie, laid out as a town, is prettily situated, two miles up, on the New Brunswick side of the Rustigouche. It has two or three mercantile establishments. The principal one is that

conducted with much spirit by Messrs. Montgomery. The harbour is safe, and sheltered by two rather high islands. Several large timber ships are loaded here annually.

A profitable salmon-fishery has, for many years, been followed on the River Rustigouche. I have been told by those longest settled on the river, that an extraordinary annual decrease in the number of salmon frequenting it has taken place, which they account for as a consequence of its waters being much more disturbed than formerly.

The inhabitants at what may be considered the harbour of Rustigouche, and at Dalhousie on the New Brunswick side, where many of the timber ships load, and those at the settlements of Nouvelle, New Richmond, Tracadigash, and Cascapedia, consist of a mixed population of English, Scotch, Irish, Americans, and Acadian French, who employ themselves in the different occupations of fishing, hewing timber, and farming on a very humble scale.

Eighteen miles up the Rustigouche there is an Indian reserve of 1200 acres of rich land, on which the Micmacs have a chapel, and a small village of huts and wigwams, forming residences for about 200 persons, who are considered residents; but for many of them it is only a rendezvous, where they assemble for a few weeks; and then, displacing and packing up their portable habitations, and whatever else they possess, embark in their canoes for some other part of the country. There are about twenty families who are permanent residents, and own some oxen, cows, and pigs, a few fishing-boats and a shallop, besides their canoes. They raise some maize, potatoes, &c.

The land, on each side of the river Rustigouche,

is high and mountainous. In some places the river appears to have actually broken through ramifications of the great chain between it and the St. Lawrence. In the valleys, and along the river where intervale lands abound, the soil is capable of producing luxuriant crops of grain, and all sorts of green crops. A vast population might be settled on these parts of New Brunswick and Lower Canada. The trees, particularly the fir tribes, grow to immense heights and sizes, and a great timber country may be opened along this river. The quality is in great repute among the timber dealers in England, especially in the port of Liverpool, and considered equal to that imported from Miramichi.

The greatest difficulty to surmount appeared to me to be the hauling or bringing it out to the rivers, as the best timber groves are in the valleys behind the mountainous ridges, which in most places follow the winding of the streams. Such, however, is the indefatigable spirit of the lumberers, that they overcome natural obstacles that stagger the resolution of all other people. They cut the timber, and haul it, in winter, to places where there is often no water, either in summer or winter; but which, they well know, will be overflowed when the spring thaws dissolve the snow on the mountains and in the woods.

There are three or four timber merchants at and near Rustigouche, who have exported several cargoes of timber during the last few years. Besides the quantity of salmon used by the inhabitants and lumbering parties, a great share of the salmon caught in this river is sold to the traders, who export the same to Quebec, Halifax, or direct to the West Indies.

CHAP. IX.

DISTRICT OF GASPE.

BONAVENTURE. — NEW CARLISLE. — PASPABIAC. — PERCÉ. —
GASPÈ. — WHALE-FISHERS, ETC.

ALTHOUGH the country between the Bay de Chaleur and the River St. Lawrence, forming the district of Gaspè, is in Lower Canada, I continue its description in this part of the work from the connection that subsists between one part of the bay and another.*

The River of Bonaventure, on the north side of the bay, is about thirty miles below Rustigouche. It rises in a fine lake about forty miles in the interior, and flows rapidly through a richly wooded country to its *débouché*, where there is a small harbour, which at high water will admit brigs of two hundred tons; and on each side of which there is a thickly-settled population of industrious Acadian French. These people have much simplicity in their manners, and strangers always meet with kindness and hospitality among them. They are principally engaged in the herring and cod fisheries; next to which, they derive considerable assistance from the cultivation of the soil. They build boats and fishing vessels

* Mr. Christie, who has been repeatedly elected to represent this county in the parliament of Lower Canada, has been as frequently expelled, the Canadian legislature considering him an improper representative.

for themselves; and, during the winter, some of the young men have, since 1817, spent part of their time in hewing timber in the woods: this, however, is an employment which they do not seem fond of. There is a Catholic church in this village; and on the beach, near the mouth of the harbour, there are salt stores, fish houses, &c.

A more contented, honest, and amiable population than the Acadians of Bonaventure, I have not met with.

Carlisle is the principal place in the district of Gaspè. It is laid out for a town; and its situation, during summer, is agreeable and beautiful. There is a substantial and handsome stone building here, in which the district court is held, and in which there is also a jail.* The population is composed of people from different parts of America and Europe, and the character of the majority of them is considered not of the most honest description by the inhabitants of the neighbouring settlements. Carlisle has no harbour, but vessels anchor with safety in the road during summer and autumn. Vast quantities of red

* I saw, in 1819, the judge of this court and his brother, who had been a captain in the army. They were certainly as perfect pictures of penury as could well be discovered in any country; and yet both were men of liberal education. They lived in a small house without a servant; they cooked for themselves, and mended their own clothes, which were patched all over with various colours, and seldom subjected to the influence of soap and water. The judge was formerly a lawyer at Quebec, but said to be promoted to the bench of the district of Gaspè by the joint efforts of the bar of which he was a member, in order to get rid of so dirty and penurious a being. Hoarding money was the apparent object of their existence. The military man died since, I believe, of a fever; the judge soon after committed suicide. He left a considerable fortune.

herrings are cured in this place; and some of the lands are under tolerable cultivation.

Two miles below Carlisle is the settlement of Paspabiac, inhabited chiefly by Acadian French, who employ themselves principally in fishing. There are also several people from Jersey, attached to the highly respectable fishing establishment of Messrs. Robin and Co. The harbour or lagoon of Paspabiac admits only very small schooners and boats; but ships and large schooners ride safely at anchor in the road. The fish stores, flakes, &c., are ranged along a very fine beach, where the people connected with the fisheries are incessantly employed during the summer and autumn; in winter they retire back near the woods. Messrs. Robin's establishment was formed, I believe, nearly fifty years ago, by the elder partner and parent of the firm; and its admirable plan of systematic management, the essential characteristics of which are ceaseless industry, frugality, and prudent caution, and particularly in having no one engaged about the business that is not usefully or productively employed, has long secured to it the most solid prosperity. During summer, their ships, ten, or often more, in number, are moored in the road, with their top-masts and yards lowered, and the whole, I believe, given in charge to one master and his crew; while the other masters, with their crews, are despatched in shallops to various parts of the bay, either to fish, or collect the cured fish from the fishermen who receive their supplies from Messrs. Robin and Co. In autumn, the ships depart with full cargoes of the best fish for ports in Portugal, Spain, and within the Mediterranean. They have also a ship-building establishment, where they have built a ship annually; and I know one of these

ships, the "Day," now in good condition, although built more than twenty-six years ago.

A few miles below Paspabiac is situated the small harbour and pretty settlement of Little Nouvelle; below which, as far along the coast as Cape Desespoir, the land and soil assume a rugged and rather barren appearance.

Port Daniel is the best harbour within the Bay de Chaleur, and the features of its scenery are dark, wild, and prominent. There are but a few families in this place, and they appeared to me to be in great poverty. It is convenient for fishing; but the soil near the shore is rocky and barren.

Great and Little Pabos, and Grand River, are small harbours, with intricate entrances, situated along the coast between Port Daniel and Cape Desespoir. The inhabitants, few in number, support themselves by the means of fishing and a little cultivation. The soil near the shore is indifferent; but at some distance back, along numerous streams flowing from several lakes, there are many fertile spots.

Percé is the oldest fishing settlement in this district. It has a gaol, court-house, and chapel. Immediately over it a mountain rises abruptly, and its romantic summit ascends to the clouds. This mountain, or cape, I consider to be the first rise or commencement of the great Alleghany chain. This immense granitic range, branching into numerous ramifications, follows a course nearly parallel to the St. Lawrence; and then, to the eastward of Lake Champlain, bends to the southward, until it is finally lost by dipping into the Carolinas.

Bonaventure Island lies about a mile east from Percé. Its south, east, and north sides present in-

accessible cliffs. On the west, opposite Percé, boats may always land, where there are two or three fishing plantations established by industrious adventurers from Jersey. This island and Percé are both important fishing ports, and the inhabitants are all fishermen.

The channel between Percé and Bonaventure Island is deep, and without rocks or shoals, with the exception of Roc Percé, which stands at the northern entrance. This extraordinary and picturesque rock is nearly two hundred feet high, of a zig-zag narrow shape, and about three hundred feet long; it has two arches or openings through it, sufficiently large to allow boats carrying sail to pass under. The settlement of Percé has its name from the rock; the Canadian French having called it Roc Percé, from its appearance.

About two miles to the northward of this place, the inhabitants say that two English men-of-war were wrecked, which belonged to the squadron (Commodore Phipps's) that attempted to take Quebec in 1711, and that the sailors after landing perished from cold and want of food. This may be true, as few of Phipps's ships were ever heard of. The most superstitious stories of apparitions having often been seen, and of shouting and talking after the manner of sailors having been frequently heard, are related by the *habitans*, who are of French descent. The wild, lofty, and terrific character of the scenery, particularly in the fall and winter, when the winds blow furiously against the cliffs and round the mountains, with the impression that the crews of two ships perished there after landing, and that their bodies were never buried, are sufficient to work imaginations,

naturally credulous, into the most unlimited belief in the marvellous.

For three or four months in summer and autumn, the climate of this district is remarkably fine, and the country, which is all covered with wood, exhibits a luxuriant, but, from the sombre hue of the fir trees, which predominate, a wild, dark, romantic appearance.

I never felt the fascinating power of nature more strongly than, in 1824, on approaching the land, and sailing from the southward through the passage of Percé. The landscape was the richest imaginable: the sun was setting beyond the mountainous background; the heavens had just cleared up, after lightning and thunder, and a heavy shower of an hour's duration, which had then passed over us; the clouds were magnificently adorned with the effulgent brilliancy of the most inimitable colours; the sea was quite calm, and extended up the Bay de Chaleur, on the one hand, and into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the other, beyond the scope of vision; while its surface, smooth as that of a mirror, reflected with precision the splendour of the heavens, the sombre cast of the wooded mountains, and the enlivening counterpart of the houses, stores, and fish-flakes. Roc Percé stood in bold ruggedness, with its arches near the middle of the passage; Cape Gaspé, high, steep, and black, but its rocky ridge at this time gilded with the setting sun, appeared in the distance. Bonaventure Island, with its steep cliffs, and deep green firs, rose on the right; Mount Percé on the left. Several vessels were within view; two schooners were anchored near the fish stores, and the sea was spotted over with more than a hundred fishing boats.

Gaspè Harbour is one of the best in the world ; it is situated immediately below the entrance of the River St. Lawrence. The inhabitants are thinly settled in three or four places, and are employed chiefly in the cod and herring fisheries. Little cultivation appears, and there does not seem to be any great extent of good land, about the harbour : farther back, in the valleys, excellent soil, covered with large trees, is met with. A few cargoes of timber have been shipped here for England ; and some of the inhabitants pursue the whale-fishery, which has for some years been carried on at Gaspè.

The whales caught within the Gulf of St. Lawrence are those called "*hump-backs*," which yield, on an average, about three tons of oil ; some have been taken seventy feet long, which produced eight tons. The mode of taking them is somewhat different from that followed by the Greenland fishers ; and the Gaspè fishermen first acquired an acquaintance with it from the people of Nantucket. An active man, accustomed to boats and schooners, may become fully acquainted with every thing connected with this fishery in one season. The vessels best adapted for the purpose are schooners of from seventy to eighty tons burden, manned with a crew of eight men, including the master. Each schooner requires two boats, about twenty feet long, built narrow and sharp, and with *pink* sterns ; and two hundred and twenty fathoms of line are necessary in each boat, with spare harpoons and lances. The men row towards the whale, and, when they are very near, use paddles, which make less noise than oars. Whales are sometimes taken fifteen minutes after they are struck with the harpoon. The Gaspè fishermen never

go out in quest of them until some of the small ones, which enter the bay about the beginning of June, appear; these swim too fast to be easily harpooned, and are not, besides, worth the trouble. The large whales are taken off the entrance of Gaspè Bay, on each side of the Island of Anticosti, and up the River St. Lawrence as far as Bique.*

The district of Gaspè affords many tracts of soil fit for the raising of wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, turnips, flax, hemp, &c.; and the climate, although nearly as cold in winter as in Sweden, is, in summer and harvest, very warm, and of sufficient length to ripen to perfection all the kinds of grain and vegetables that grow in England. The interior is little known. The Indians and furriers have represented it to me, as traversed by valleys, rivers, and lakes. The whole country is thickly wooded, and the highest mountains appear to approach the shores of the St. Lawrence on the north, and the Bay de Chaleur on the south; bounding, as it were, a great valley in the middle of the district.

The want of roads will long prevent its settlement. With the exception of a few miles occasionally along

* On the north side of the St. Lawrence, some miles farther up than *Isle de Bique*, I saw in a small cove the skeletons of several whales, that had been towed ashore for the purpose of stripping off the blubber, which was afterwards melted into oil in boilers, which I observed fixed on shore for the purpose. Several large American schooners pursue the whale-fishing within the Gulf, and, I am told, melt their blubber on the Labrador shore.

In 1824, a whale, more than seventy feet in length, after proceeding further than the common distance up the St. Lawrence, apparently lost its usual instinct, and still continued its course until stopped by the shoals above Montreal, where it was killed, two hundred and seventy miles from salt water.

the Bay above Little Nouvelle, there are no roads except *bridle paths*. Granite, limestone, freestone, are the principal rocks. Indications of coal appear frequently. Carnelian, jasper, agate, and some other varieties of beautiful pebbles are often picked up.

The soil, west of Port Daniel, is generally a red clayey loam. Marl occurs but seldom.

The population of the north coast of the bay may be estimated at about 9000, exclusive of about 350 Micmac Indians at Cascapedia and the Rustigouche.

Timber, fish, oil, and furs form the exports.

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CHAP. X.

TRADE. — IMPORTS AND EXPORTS. — TIMBER TRADE.

THE trade of New Brunswick consists chiefly in exporting square timber, deals, spars, staves, and a few firs, to Great Britain and Ireland, in return for British manufactures; and in shipping boards, shingles, scantling, and fish, to the West Indies, for which rum, sugar, tobacco and dollars, are brought back. Gypsum and grindstones are shipped on board of American vessels, from the free ports of St. John and St. Andrew; and, to the disgrace of the inhabitants of the province, who might be independent of others for bread stuffs by more industrious attention to the cultivation of the soil, from 50,000 to 60,000 barrels of flour and meal, and from 3000 to 4000 quintals of bread, besides Indian corn, have been for some years annually imported from the United States, for which scarcely any thing but Spanish dollars is paid.

The imports during the speculative year 1824 were in 1273 vessels, measuring 262,294 tons, and navigated by 12,271 men. The estimated value of their cargoes was 614,557*l.* sterling. The exports during the same period were in 1265 ships, measuring 260,154 tons, navigated by 12,214 men. The value of their cargoes was estimated at 432,048*l.* sterling; and to

this amount must be added 74 new ships, which were built during the year within the province, and sent to the United Kingdom for sale as remittances for British merchandise. These vessels measured 20,621 tons, which, at the estimated value of 10*l.* per ton, amount to 206,210*l.* sterling, which, added to the value of the cargoes, 432,048*l.* makes the whole 638,258*l.*; an extraordinary amount for a population then not above 80,000.

The average number of vessels entered and cleared at the different ports in the province, for the years 1827, 1828, 1829, shows an increase in the number of vessels, but a decrease in the amount of tonnage. The average of these years gives 2071 vessels, 237,189 tons, and 11,769 men. This difference arises, first, from the circumstance of the timber trade, in which the largest ships, and consequently a greater number of men, were employed, having, in the years 1824 and 1825, been carried on to an extraordinary extent, which, after the repeal of the navigation laws, suddenly diminished; and, secondly, from the great increase in the number of smaller vessels employed in the trade with the West Indies, in the coasting trade, and in the fisheries. The average imports for the last three years amount to about 550,000*l.* sterling; and the exports, exclusive of about 120 new ships, measuring 24,000 tons, built during the whole period, amount to about 460,000*l.* sterling; the balance being partly paid for in dollars to the Americans, and partly by freight of new ships sold in England.

The fisheries have for some time received encouragement in the shape of bounties from the legislature,

and this branch of trade is gradually increasing. A few vessels have also been engaged in the seal fishery. The gypsum trade is also a branch of traffic that employs several coasting schooners.

The timber trade, which has hitherto constituted the great business of the colony, will likely, for many years to come, continue to engross the principal attention of the merchants. Great gains were at first realised both by it and by ship-building; and although the merchants and others concerned in these pursuits were nearly all ruined afterwards by the extent of their engagements, yet it must be recollected, that these trades have enabled New Brunswick to pay for her foreign imports, and to build St. John, St. Andrew, Fredericton, the towns on the banks of the Miramichi, and the villages at the outposts.

To the new settler on wilderness-lands, it presented also an immediate resource; and it was wise, if not necessary, for him, under most circumstances, to engage in it for a few winters. It enabled him to stock his farm, and procure food and clothing for himself and family. The province and its inhabitants were, therefore, benefited by this trade; and although it is not less certain that it has been prosecuted much farther than the extent of a remunerative demand for timber, it would, notwithstanding, be extreme folly to abandon it altogether. Half of the people engaged in the timber trade and ship-building have only to give their industry another direction, and the remainder may work to advantage. In this view, agriculture offers the most alluring, and, at the same time, the most certain source of employment. The fisheries follow next. Let the industry of the inhabitants be but judiciously divided between agriculture, the tim-

ber trade, and the fisheries, and the inhabitants will prosper, and this beautiful and fertile province will become independent of other countries for all articles of necessity ; and possess the means of commanding the comforts and luxuries of life. But the farmer, unless he be a settler on woodlands, must adhere to agriculture alone ; the lumberer will do better, or at least realise more money, by following his own business ; and those engaged in the fisheries will find it their interest to confine themselves chiefly to the same pursuit.

The effects of the projects of 1824 have scarcely yet spent their force ; the reaction has indeed been terrible to the merchants of New Brunswick. What Halifax suffered after the last American war, St. John was now doomed to endure. The docks of London and Liverpool were at this time crowded with fine ships, built by the merchants in North America, and sent to England for sale. The demand and price for such vessels having previously increased to an unusual rate, the commercial men of New Brunswick were not only more extensively engaged in this trade, than the merchants in the other provinces were ; but, from the facility which they had experienced before this time in making large remittances to England, in ships and timber, they incautiously plunged themselves deeply into debt, by importing large quantities of goods of all descriptions.

The consequence was, that their ships have been disposed of for less than half the prime cost ; their timber was sold for less than the expense of carrying it to the United Kingdom ; bills drawn by houses of long standing, and the highest respectability, were returned dishonoured. The unparalleled suddenness

of so unexpected a commercial calamity, prevented the most cautious and experienced from guarding against the ruin which awaited them. They had all their funds locked up, either in ships already built and rigged, in ships on the stocks, or else in timber. It became necessary, at whatever sacrifice, to finish and send to England the vessels then in progress of building, or submit to lose all the money they had expended. In most instances, it would have been wise to have done so.

The trade and industry of the province has gradually overcome nearly all these losses, and greater resources must continue to develop their benefits, in the same ratio its population and properly directed industry increases.

The imports, during the year 1832, after correcting various miscalculations in some portions of the returns from the port of St. Andrew's, including the whole province, are —

From Great Britain	-	-	-	£357,483
North American Colonies	-	-	-	167,211
West Indies	-	-	-	54,272
United States	-	-	-	97,630
Elsewhere	-	-	-	2,210
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Currency	-	-	-	£678,806
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Total Sterling	-	-	-	£611,025
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EXPORTS.

To Great Britain	-	-	-	£341,317
North American Colonies	-	-	-	67,942
West India Colonies	-	-	-	51,695
United States	-	-	-	32,427
Foreign States (fish)	-	-	-	4,215
Elsewhere	-	-	-	7,120
				<hr/>
				£504,716

The apparent balance of about 105,000*l.* against the colony is paid for, by charges and commissions on shipments, advances on account of freight in the form of supplies to ships, sailors, and labourers, in new vessels sold in England, the proceeds of which go to the credit of the importers of goods from England, and in dollars paid to the Americans for the balance of trade in their favour. The account of imports includes all charges.

The number of vessels entered and cleared, during the year 1831, according to the customs' returns, are—

ENTERED.

From Great Britain	470 vessels	142,052 tons.
British Colonies	- 1379	- 73,723
United States	- 230	- 15,168
Foreign	- 1	- 106
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	2080 ships	231,049 tons 11,482 men.

CLEARED.

Great Britain	- 540 ships	160,063 tons.
British Colonies	- 1338	67,003
United States	- 217	13,505
Foreign States	- 3	354
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	2098 vessels	230,925 tons 11,270 men.

The above statements do not exactly tally with the returns, as I have discovered various errors in the entries of coasting vessels, the same vessel being frequently enumerated twice; and I hope my calculation will be found near the truth.

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£341,917
67,942
51,695
32,427
4,215
7,120

£504,716

The number of saw-mills in the colony, and their lowest estimated value, will appear from the following statement :—

Saw-mills, to most of which grist-mills, and occasionally fulling-mills, are attached.	Feet of lumber sawed.	Estimated value of mills.	Estimated cost value of lumber sawed.
St. John County - 30	11,305,000	£31,700	£28,262
King's County - 29	3,905,000	14,800	9,782
County of Gloster - 7	2,920,000	15,500	6,050
County Westmoreland 53	8,805,000	18,530	22,012
County Kent - - 10	2,650,000	6,950	6,575
Co. Northumberland 15	15,600,000	44,350	39,800
County Sunberg - 7	4,500,000	8,500	11,250
County York - - 30	9,000,000	18,000	22,500
County Queen's - 6	6,200,000	9,200	15,000
County Charlotte - 42	38,950,000	64,500	99,475
Total - 229	103,335,000	£232,030	£260,706

St. John, New Brunswick, Dec. 7. 1831.

During the year ending December, 1832, several new mills have been finished, and are in operation. In many of the mills circular saws, for extra work, have been introduced.

In the county of St. John, the fixed capital, wharfs, houses, stores, booms, oxen, &c., belonging to the lumber trade, including also about fifty vessels employed in carrying the lumber to places of shipment, is estimated at more than	- £100,000
The moveable capital annually employed in the payment of wages, &c., to the persons engaged, which includes those who navigate the lumber druggers, and the men (mostly emigrants) employed in piling and removing deals, &c.	- 120,000
Fixed capital in King's County, exclusive of mills	80,000
Moveable capital as above	- 60,000
County of Gloster, fixed capital, exclusive of mills	100,000
Moveable	- 55,000
Carry over	£515,000

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the following

Value	Estimated cost value of lumber sawed.
00	£28,262
00	9,782
00	6,050
30	22,012
50	6,575
50	39,800
500	11,250
000	22,500
200	15,000
500	99,475
030	£260,706

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- 60,000
f mills 100,000
- 55,000
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Brought forward		£ 515,000
Westmoreland County, fixed capital, exclusive of mills	-	30,000
Moveable capital employed	-	45,000
County Kent, fixed capital, exclusive of mills	-	12,000
Moveable capital	-	15,000
County of Northumberland, fixed capital, exclusive of mills, in wharfs, &c. ; and exclusive of houses and real property, valued at £300,000, belonging to persons carrying on the lumber trade	-	58,750
Moveable capital annually invested in the lumber trade of this county	-	150,000
County Sunberg, fixed capital, exclusive of mills	-	10,000
Moveable (no return), say	-	10,000
County of York, fixed (no return), say	-	5,000
Moveable (no return), say	-	5,000
County Queen's, fixed, about	-	4,000
Moveable, about	-	6,000
County Charlotte, fixed, at the ledge, at St. Andrews, &c.	-	35,000
Moveable, &c. &c., about	-	40,000

£940,750

Total fixed capital at present in mills, including those built since the estimate of the year ending Dec. 1831

238,000

Total - - - £1,178,750

Total fixed capital in the timber trade of the province, including mills - - - £ 672,750
Annual moveable capital employed in this trade in the province - - - 506,000

Total - - - £1,178,750

The above calculations I have drawn up, with great care, from the various returns sent me from the province.

It is difficult to ascertain the quantity of gypsum exported. A confusion appears in the returns made from the port of St. Andrew's, and a great portion is imported for re-exportation, from Nova Scotia. The whole quantity of gypsum is about 10,000 tons; value 5000*l*.

Grindstones form another commodity of export; in value about 30,000*l*.

The average annual exports of timber and lumber, for the years 1830, 1831, 1832, equal—

Square timber	- -	221,470 tons, value	£180,000
Boards	- -	4,821 m. sq. ft.	10,210
Deals	- -	24,380 m. do.	58,214
Staves	- -	2731 m.	12,410
Shingles	- -	5248 m.	4,281
Handspikes	- -	1672	40
Oars	- -	6290	540
Trenails	- -	7516	55
Lathwood	- -	4620 bords	4,620
Masts and spars	- -	3270	1,140
			<hr/> £271,510
Grindstones and plaster	- -	-	35,000
			<hr/> £306,510
Balance of exports	- -	-	198,206
			<hr/> £504,716

The balance of exports consists of the value of dry and pickled fish, about 36,000*l*. Cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry, a little agricultural produce, hides, horns, butter, cheese, lard, furs, which, with the gypsum, grindstones, and timber, form the articles of export actually belonging to the colony. The remaining exports consist of West India produce, received in return for lumber and fish, and British manufactures re-exported.

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CHAP. XI.

AGRICULTURE.

THE agriculture of New Brunswick, which must one day be the essential pursuit of the majority of its population, was long considered unworthy of attention, as if the lands of the province were incapable of yielding any valuable production excepting pine-trees, and as if these, and the furs of wild animals, with the salmon that frequented its rivers, and the cod, herring, mackerel, gaspereaux, and shad, that swarmed round its shores, were the only means from which the inhabitants should ever derive their subsistence, or upon which they could depend as sources of wealth.*

The cultivation of the soil was, therefore, a pursuit that continued for a long time without attractions. The fertile diked marshes of Westmoreland, and the rich intervale lands on the St. John and other rivers, were, it is true, under tillage, or appropriated

* A gentleman of talent, experience, and high standing, residing in the colonies, when comparing the condition of Nova Scotia with that of New Brunswick, observed to me, "Every country has its age. The present age of New Brunswick is the 'age of wood.' It must necessarily be so, until it become more populously settled, and then the lands will be well cultivated. It will have its 'age of agriculture' in due time. In new countries, you must allow people to gain their living as they best can; you cannot force them into any path of industry; but you may gradually lead them by example, when they observe that you are thriving."

to grazing; but, further than raising a sufficient quantity of grain and potatoes for a bare subsistence, and rearing a horse or two, and a few horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, agriculture in reality languished; and the majority of the most valuable farms were, after the reaction which succeeded the peace in 1815, and again in 1826, mortgaged to their full value. Many of the best farms in this, and in all the other North American colonies, may, I believe, be found, at the present day, under similar embarrassments, wherever the possessors have followed other pursuits, in preference to the cultivation and improvement of their lands.

The establishment of agricultural societies in Nova Scotia had some influence on the farmers of New Brunswick; but it does not appear that the spirit of agriculture began to diffuse itself with any degree of animation, until after the appointment of Sir Howard Douglas to the administration of the government.

The penetration of Sir Howard immediately discovered that the fertile lands of the province afforded the only substantial source of subsistence and plenty to its inhabitants. He accordingly requested a meeting, at Fredericton, of the members of the legislature, and of intelligent men from all parts of the province, in February 1825. He addressed them in a speech, which explicitly stated his views in calling them together. His address, on occasion of this meeting, proved how well he knew the condition of the province. He adverted, with great truth, to the vast sums the colony paid to other countries for food, and to the necessity of cultivating its extensive fertile lands. He then directed their attention to whatever might render the condition of emigrants

comfortable, or their labours useful; and recommended the establishment of a savings' bank and the formation of agricultural and emigrant societies.

These were established immediately after; and, in order to improve the breed of live stock, horses, bulls of the short-horned Durham breed, rams of the Dishly or Leicestershire breed, pigs, &c., with various improved implements of husbandry, as models by which to make others, were imported by the agricultural society. District agricultural societies were formed soon after; and the spirit of agriculture has since that period been gradually diffusing itself among the farmers all over the province. Emulation is also excited by ploughing-matches, the exhibition of cattle and agricultural productions, and by the distribution of premiums. Farming, however, is yet in a rude state. There still exists a lazy attachment to the make-shift system, an absence of neatness amidst luxuriant vegetation. In short, the mere means of living are too easily obtained; and when this is the case, the stimulus to improvement and the attainment of order seems to cease.

It is difficult to change confirmed habits; and the colony requires a vast addition of industrious agricultural settlers to its present population, before it can possess that prosperity, independence, and wealth, for which its valuable lands afford a solid and permanent foundation.

Horses, black cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, thrive as well in New Brunswick as in England.*

Near the sea-coast of the Bay of Fundy, wheat

* A young ox, reared in the province by Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, weighed, when killed —

crops, owing to the fogs, are uncertain ; but, in the interior, all kinds of grain and vegetables, besides some others, ripen in full perfection, and on alluvial lands yield great returns. The average return of Indian corn may be rated at eighty bushels an acre.

The general returns of wheat crops are about eighteen bushels per acre or upwards. On intervalles, or newly cultivated lands, the returns are often thirty bushels or more. Much depends upon the seed being good. Accident bequeathed to the province a great benefit in this respect. Some years ago, a person, on opening a chest of tea, found in one corner a small quantity of wheat ; how it got there no one can tell. Whether in London, on the chest being opened by the East India Company, or in China, is equally uncertain ; but the seed was sown in New Brunswick ; it grew and flourished better than any previously sown. The produce was preserved, sown again, and multiplied so rapidly, that it is, at the present time, the kind of seed-wheat generally sown, and known by the distinction of " tea-wheat."

What I have remarked, in treating of the agricultural productions, seed-time and harvest, of Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, applies equally to this province.

Vast quantities of hemp and flax, for which the intervalle lands are well adapted, might be raised in

The carcass, exclusive of the offal,	1147 lbs.
Tallow - - - -	140
Hide - - - -	136
	<hr/>
	1423 lbs.

A lumberer, at the south-west branch of the River Miramichi, killed a hog that weighed 1232 lbs. ; its head alone weighed 93 lbs.

all parts of New Brunswick. Beans, peas, turnips, carrots, mangel-worsel, and beets, thrive well. Good uplands will produce 200 bushels of potatoes per acre. Uplands are always fertile when they naturally produce maple, beech, black or yellow birch, with a mixture of other trees.

In several parts of the woods, usually on small brooks, there are several wild prairies or meadows interspersed. They owe their formation to the industry of the beaver, and produce a rich grass called *blue-joint*.

A plant called *cow-corn* abounds on the hardwood uplands, on which cattle, that are turned out very lean in the spring to range the woods for food, fatten rapidly.

Red and white clover and timothy are the grasses most cultivated; two to four tons per acre are the usual crops.

Buck-wheat, oats, and barley fill well in the ear, and ripen in perfection.

The following extracts from the Reports of the New Brunswick Agricultural Society may be interesting, as affording proofs of successful cultivation.

“It is most gratifying to the Society at this early stage of its progress to announce that the operations of this and the several county agricultural associations, have tended powerfully, though silently, to the advancement of agriculture, not only with regard to the cultivation of the soil, but also with respect to the improvement of the breed of our domestic animals.

“Mr. Nicholas Cunliffe, of Woodstock, commenced clearing his farm in May 1824. The work was done by contract, at the rate of from 3*l.* 10*s.* to

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4l. per acre. He has now 107 acres of land cleared, excepting the stumps of the trees; 74 acres were cleared since May last; and the crop raised from this land last season was 900 bushels of good clean wheat, weighing 63 pounds to the bushel, 400 bushels of Indian corn, nearly 1000 bushels of potatoes, besides a quantity of beans and garden stuff, of which no particular account was kept. This crop alone will leave a profit of about 100l. over and above the expense of clearing the whole of the land.

“ Mr. Joseph Bedell commenced clearing his farm at Richmond, in the parish of Woodstock, about four miles from the river St. John, in May 1821. Without any other assistance than that of his three sons, the oldest of whom is now but 16, the next 12 years of age, and the other still younger, he has cleared 50 acres of land, from which he raised last season 240 bushels of wheat, 250 bushels of oats, 50 bushels of buck-wheat, 600 bushels of potatoes, 150 bushels of turnips, and a small quantity of Indian corn. He has paid 110l. since he went on the farm, is now clear of debt, and owns four cows, one pair of horses, eight head of young cattle, twelve sheep, and 800 acres of good land.

“ It is also mentioned, that from one acre Mr. Upton raised 84½ bushels of Indian corn, and that from the same quantity of land Mr. Miles raised 34 bushels of wheat; and the report concludes by stating, that the Southdown sheep could not now be purchased for three times the price for which they were sold in 1826, so superior are they and their lambs to the native breed.

“ It is no wonder that in a new country, whose first inhabitants, many of whom are yet living, had

to struggle unassisted in what was a few years ago a gloomy wilderness, and where the fisheries and the manufacture of timber have always employed a considerable portion of its population, the more improved modes of farming have but in a few instances been practised.

“The goodness of Providence has cast our lot in a highly favoured land; and all that is requisite on our parts, is the general adoption of that industry of which, in various parts of the province, there are so many honourable examples, and that industry differently and more judiciously applied.”*

Besides the numerous individual instances of thriving farmers, we find settlements merely agricultural, which have flourished with extraordinary rapidity. Among these we may allude to the Cardigan settlement of Welsh emigrants near Fredericton, and joining the New Brunswick Company's lands; the Irish settlement of New Bandon, consisting of a colony from Ireland, who formed a sort of compact of mutual assistance on settling in the province; the English settlement, of which the British Colonist, a newspaper printed at St. John, says, “We feel pleasure in having to report so favourably of this thriving little colony. It is eight years since the inhabitants began to clear the forest; and, short as is the period, the settlement at this time affords a surplus of produce adequate to the support of double its population. It has thirty families, thirty farms, each of which has from twenty-five to thirty-five acres under cultivation, about 300 head of horned cattle, and a proportionate number of horses, sheep, pigs, poultry, &c. It

* Reports of 1826, 1827, 1828.

is within our knowledge that they were burdened with a number of small children at the time of their going on their allotments of land; add to which, they were destitute of almost every resource, and nothing but a steady perseverance and industrious course could, in so short a time, have placed them in circumstances comparatively independent. They have with the axe chopped out a home for themselves and their rising progeny, and feel that they are lords of the soil they till."

It is therefore evident, that industry, economy, and skill, will insure the prosperity of the present settlers, and of those who hereafter inhabit this colony.

AVERAGE PRICES OF LABOUR AND COMMON ARTICLES IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

Men servants, 20*l.* to 30*l.* per year, board, &c. — Labourers, per day, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* — Maid servants, 8*l.* to 12*l.* — Tradesmen, 6*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* finding their own provisions. — Tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, &c., are paid for the articles they make. — Wheat, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* — Indian corn, 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* — Oats, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* — Barley, 2*s.* to 4*s.* — Rye, 3*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* per bushel. — Potatoes, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* — Turnips, 1*s.* 6*d.* — Beef, 3*d.* to 6*d.* — Mutton, 4*d.* to 8*d.* — Veal, 3*d.* to 5*d.* — Pork, 4*d.* to 7½*d.* — Ham, 6*d.* per lb. — Geese, 2*s.* 6*d.* — Fowls, 8*d.* to 10*d.* — Herrings, salt, 16*s.* per barrel. — Mackerel, 20*s.* — Salmon, 50*s.* — Shad, 40*s.* — Flour, 35*s.* to 40*s.* per barrel of 196 lbs. — Hares, 6*d.* — Partridges, 8*d.* — Pigeons, 1*s.* to 2*s.* per dozen. — Eggs, 4*d.* to 1*s.* — Indian meal, 20*s.* per barrel. — Buck-wheat meal, 18*s.* — Fresh salmon, 2*s.* to 3*s.* each. — Fresh herrings, 2*d.* to 4*d.* per dozen. — Cod, 6*d.* to 1*s.* each. — Butter, 10*d.* per lb. — all in currency, which reduces the price nearly twenty per cent.

CHAP. XII.

POPULATION. — RELIGION. — EDUCATION. — COLLEGE OF NEW
BRUNSWICK. — MADRAS SCHOOLS.

THE population of New Brunswick, according to the census taken in 1824, was 74,176. This was considered much below the actual number, from the well-known suspicion which prevails among the labouring classes all over America, that the object of numbering the inhabitants has in view a poll-tax, or some species of taxation to be borne by them, in consequence of which it is pretty well understood that the names of all the individuals of a family are not given.

The present population, according to the best information, and the opinion of intelligent men residing in the province, may be considered somewhat over 110,000. The augmentation has arisen from natural increase, and the arrival of emigrant settlers.

This population, like that of all the other colonies, consists of a mixed people from various parts; but differing, in their relative proportion to each other, from those of the adjacent colony of Nova Scotia, in which Scotchmen and their descendants predominate.

The oldest families are those, or the descendants of those, who settled in the colony previous to the American Revolution. They are scattered over most

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ARTICLES IN NEW

Labourers, per
Tradesmen, 6s.
rs, shoemakers,
Wheat, 4s. 6d.
s. 6d. to 2s. —
hel. — Potatoes,
6d. — Mutton,
d. — Ham, 6d.
errings, salt, 16s.
d, 40s. — Flour,
Partridges, 8d.
— Indian meal,
salmon, 2s. to 3s.
d, 6d. to 1s. each.
reduces the price

parts of the province; but chiefly on the banks of the River St. John and its tributaries. A still more numerous body than these, consists of the loyalists, or their families, who removed to the colony from sincere attachment to the government and laws of England, for which they submitted to the sacrifice of much valuable property, which they possessed in the United States, and exposed themselves to all the sufferings that I have already adverted to in the first chapter of this Book. These are also to be found principally in the parishes fronting on the River St. John, and partially among the other settlements.

The French Acadians who are settled in the province I have also alluded to in a former chapter.

Emigrants from Europe, consisting principally of English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh, among whom those from Ireland greatly predominate, are found either intermixed among the early inhabitants, or, in some parts, forming distinct settlements.

In a few places, we find a number of negro families huddled together as cottagers; but I have discovered them to be, like those of Nova Scotia, all in a state of miserable poverty. Whenever I asked a thrifty old farmer, what was the cause that prevented the negroes from thriving, the reply invariably amounted to their being restless and dissipated in their habits, improvident, and destitute of the steady energy of mind so essential in the labours of husbandry. The grown-up male and female negroes are, however, chiefly employed as domestic servants. I find, that a settlement of these wretched beings, at Lochlomond, near St. John, were, in February (1833), actually, from improvidence, only prevented from famishing by benevolent contributions.

The Indians are fast declining in number, and all the attempts to civilise them, or to improve their condition, have hitherto failed. A school was established for them some time ago, in which some of their children were taught to read; but a gentleman, settled many years at Fredericton, told me that they turned out idle, and worse than the rest of the tribe. He considered them now so long neglected, so degenerated, and dwindled into such insignificant numbers, as to be incapable of civilisation. They have a small village ten miles above Fredericton, one at Meductic Point, on the River St. John, another at the River Tobique, and one at Richibuctu. They are all Catholics.

The manners and customs of the inhabitants of New Brunswick resemble generally those of the other colonies already treated of—differing only, in there being much less of the Scottish traits of character, amusements, and customs, prevailing among the inhabitants of New Brunswick, than among those of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. In their pursuits, also, the greater proportion of the people of New Brunswick are engaged in the timber business; those of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton chiefly in cultivating the soil, and in the fisheries; those of Prince Edward Island chiefly in agriculture.

As to the natives of New Brunswick, the women are handsome; the men generally tall, well-made, muscular, rather lank than otherwise, and scarcely ever corpulent. They are remarkably loyal, adventurous, spirited, and, if properly disciplined, would undoubtedly form excellent soldiers.

From the circumstance of its being a frontier

colony, a great many adventurers, of doubtful and worthless characters, have found their way into the province; few of whom become farmers; but belong to that order who continue to live by "head-work," or scheming. Many of the transient lumberers are of this description. They must not by any means be confounded with the established settlers, whose characters are generally correct.

There are four or five military settlements in the province; and if such settlements were placed under the superintendence of proper officers, the number might be advantageously increased. Government should lend every possible encouragement to retired officers, who may be disposed to settle in this colony. Such men would diffuse and maintain a spirit of loyalty, and high ideas of honourable character among the inhabitants, which, particularly in a frontier colony, is a consideration of very great importance.

The religious denominations are the same as in Nova Scotia.

There are about twenty clergymen of the Church of England in the province, which is comprehended as within the diocese of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. They are supported by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts, with the exception of the archdeacon, who receives 300*l.* out of the casual revenue. The Catholics are principally Irish, French, and Indians, who have seven or eight clergymen, whom they support, in different parts of the province.

There are but two or three ministers in immediate connection with the Kirk of Scotland in the colony.

One of these, Dr. Burns of St. John's, is a preacher of superior talents and respectability. With the exception only of a solitary allowance of about 50*l.*, these ministers are supported by their hearers.

There are several ministers of the Secession Church in the province, who have respectable congregations, and commodious places of worship. They are connected with the Synod of Pictou, and supported also by their own congregations.

The Methodists are numerous; many of them respectable, and many of them visionary fanatics. They have several missionaries and preachers, who attend the annual conference, held either in the province, or in Nova Scotia. They are chiefly supported by their hearers.

The Baptists are numerous, and most of them are respectable. About thirty years ago, their leaders departed from the "New Light" path of Whitfield, by baptizing only adults, and establishing a standard of faith, embodied in seventeen articles. They have several chapels, and support their own ministers. There are still some New Lights, and Quakers, a few Jews, and a number who attach themselves to no particular creed, to be met with in the province.

There is no want of religious instruction; but New Brunswick has by no means escaped the contagious frenzy of fanaticism. Low uneducated preachers, who are either hypocritical canters, designing villains, or visionary enthusiasts, and who unfortunately have been too readily and too often admitted or acknowledged by sectarians, have frequently disturbed the settlements of the province.

Some years ago, a most indecent rogue, of the

name of Lunt, prowled and raved among the inhabitants, with such address and success, that at length many hundreds of them believed him little less than a special messenger and prophet sent to them by the Most High. For a long time nothing was too good for him; but at length his excesses, and his violation of virgin chastity, roused public indignation against him, and obliged him to fly from the province. I was informed that he immediately afterwards became an attorney in the United States, and ridiculed all religions.*

For a long time after the first settlement of the colony, the benefits of education were slenderly provided for. At present, a liberal education may be obtained in the province at a moderate expense.

Soon after the arrival of Sir Howard Douglas as governor, a new charter was obtained for the College of New Brunswick, which allows the matriculation of students, without subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, except on taking degrees in divinity, which is confined to the Church of England. I believe Sir Howard applied, or intended to apply, for some arrangement to obviate this inconvenience, in respect to students at the College of New Brunswick, who might wish to become ministers of the Church of Scotland.

A plat of six thousand acres of excellent land is immediately attached to the college for its benefit.

* It is the conduct and success of such wretches which afford materials to many travellers for all they write in ridicule of Methodists, New Lights, and Baptists. In the British colonies, generally, all the Wesleyan ministers are men of respectable ability, and correct, inobtrusive private characters. The Baptist ministers are equally so.

The college was built under the auspices of Sir Howard Douglas. I have already described its situation. It has been opened for some time ; and great and happy results may be expected from so well-founded an institution.

The grammar schools are supported partly by legislative aid. The one at St. John's receives annually 250*l.* ; that at St. Andrew's, 200*l.* ; those in the other counties, 175*l.* each.

Schools on the Madras system are established in all the settlements, under the control of the governor and some of the most respectable gentlemen in the province, who are incorporated under the designation of the "Governors and Trustees of the Madras School in New Brunswick." The legislature grants about 20*l.* in aid of each school on this system.

From the casual revenue a donation is given of 1000*l.* to King's College : this will not continue to be satisfactory to the legislature, unless some modification is made on taking degrees in divinity.

In concluding an account of New Brunswick, which has hitherto been only known in England as a timber colony, I observe that Colonel Bouchette, Surveyor-General of Canada, has formed conclusions which are in perfect accordance with my description of this province.

He says, "Great as is its extent, and almost incalculable as are its resources, so small a portion of the former has been appropriated, and so little of the latter called into action, that it may almost yet be termed a vast wilderness.

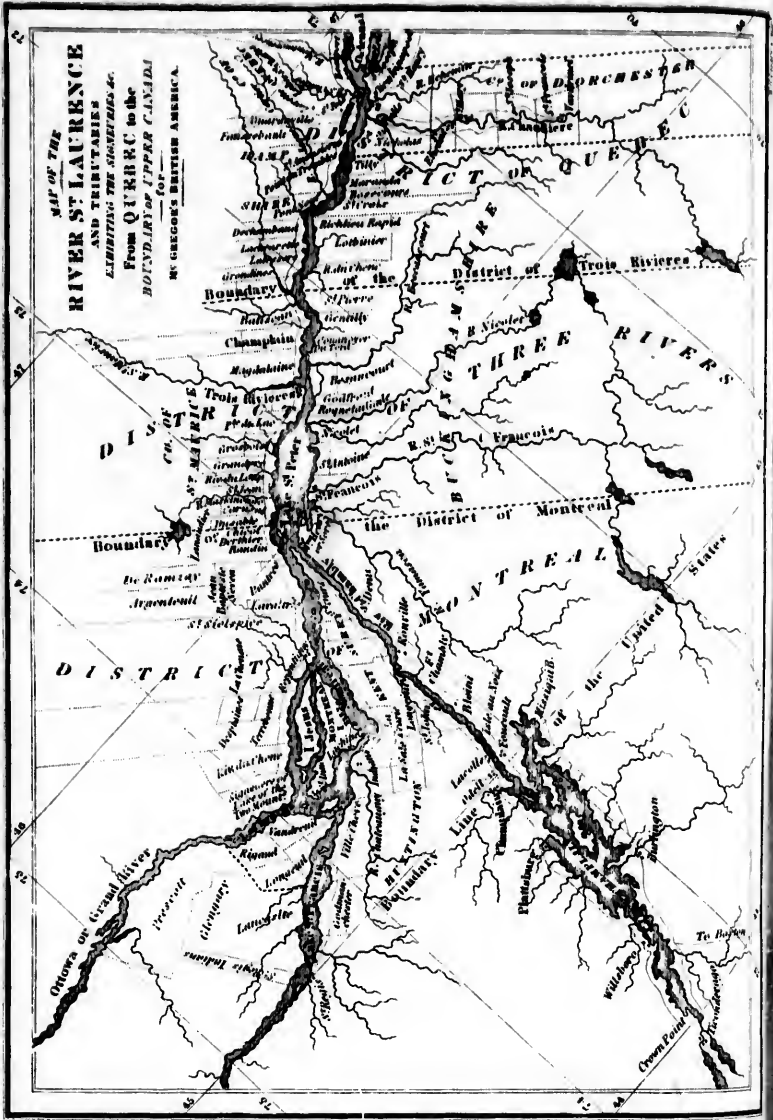
"Its luxuriant forests bear strong testimony to its fertility ; its extent of sea coast, and abundance of harbours, so inviting to commerce ; its multiplicity

of navigable streams, affording ready access to its very heart, furnishing such facility of intercourse ; and its intersection in every direction by chains of settlement, give at once an earnest of what may be done ; and convince all those who have the hardihood to tax the productiveness of nature for subsistence, and subdue her ruggedness to the sagacity and industry of man, that nowhere can a more profuse reward, a more certain or more profitable result, be promised to their perseverance."

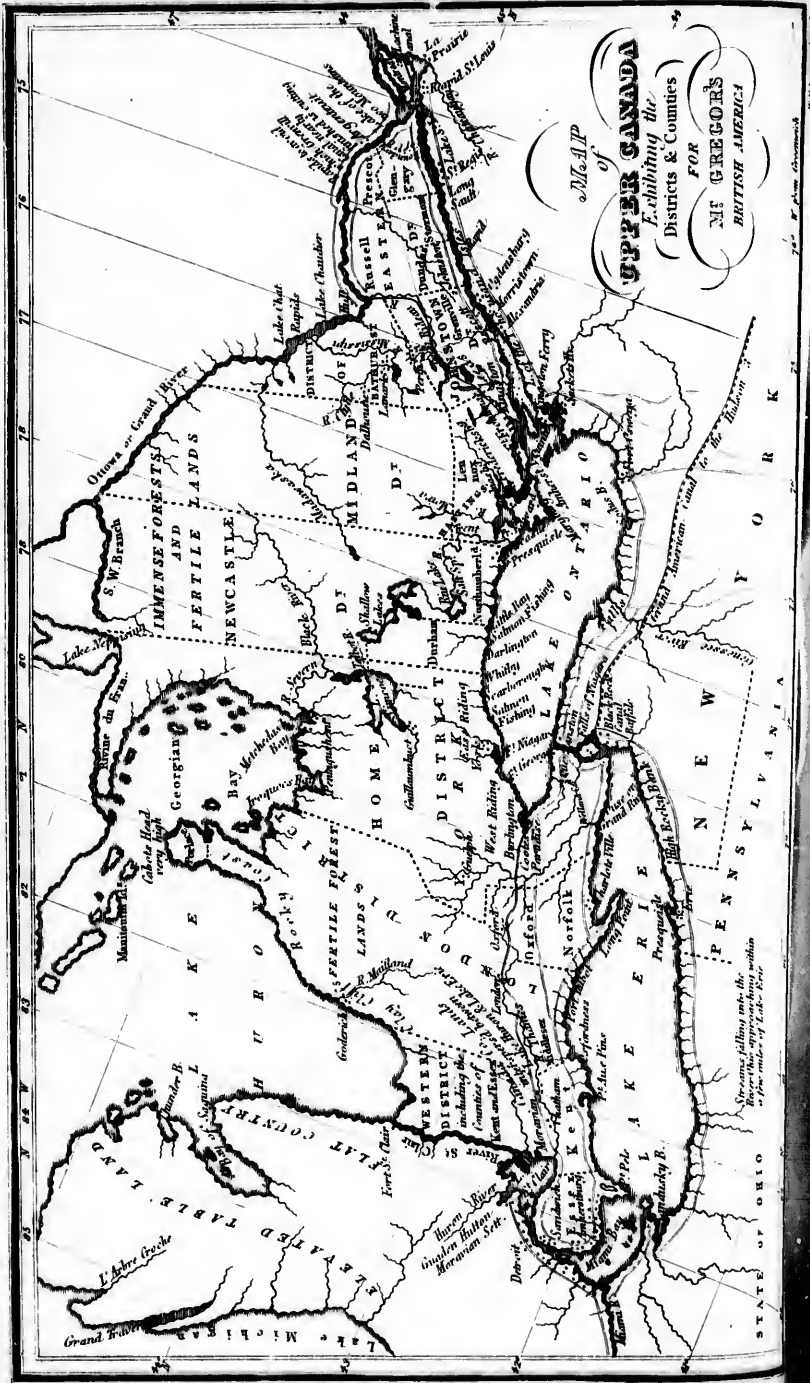
To avoid recapitulation, further details of revenue, expenditure, salaries of public officers, customs, and post-office regulations, granting of lands, companies, and recapitulation of the trade, stock, cultivated lands, and total fixed and movable property, will be included under one general head, for all the colonies, at the conclusion of this work.

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MAP
 of
UPPER CANADA
 Exhibiting the
 Districts & Counties
 FOR
MR GREGGORS
 BRITISH AMERICA

Scale of Miles
 Shows the distance in miles
 from the upper extremity of the
 River to the lower extremity of the
 Lake Erie

BOOK VII.

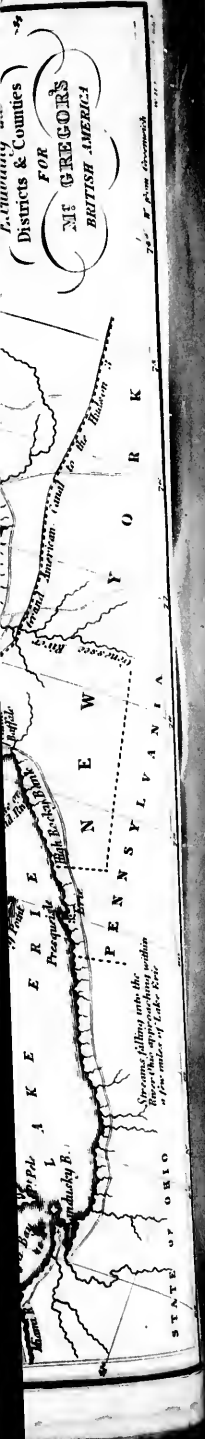
CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY AND HISTORY.—JACQUES CARTIER.—CHAMPLAIN
 FOUNDS QUEBEC.—WAR WITH THE INDIANS.—COMPANY OF
 NEW FRANCE.—RECOLLET FRIARS.—QUEBEC TAKEN BY THE
 ENGLISH.—RESTORED TO FRANCE.—MISSION OF SILLERY.—
 JESUITS' COLLEGE AT QUEBEC FOUNDED.—HÔTEL-DIEU.—
 CONVENT OF ST. URSULA.—DEATH OF CHAMPLAIN.—ORDER
 OF ST. SULPICIUS FOUND AN ESTABLISHMENT AT MONTREAL.—
 HOSTILITIES OF THE IROQUOIS.—INTRODUCTION OF BRANDY
 AMONG THE SAVAGES.—A BISHOP ARRIVES AT QUEBEC, AND
 A SEMINARY FOUNDED.—SISTERS OF THE CONGREGATION.—
 TREMENDOUS EARTHQUAKE.

CANADA is said to have been first discovered by
 the Spaniards; who, not finding any of the precious
 metals which formed the grand object of all their
 discoveries and conquests, abandoned any claim to a
 country which only appeared to afford the means of
 living by the cultivation of its soil.*

* It appears, however, that the Kings of Spain and Portugal
 complained of the French King "treading in their footsteps by send-
 ing Cartier to Canada;" and Francis I. is said to have exclaimed,
 "What! shall they quietly divide America between them, without



When the French afterwards visited this part of America, the Indians repeated so frequently the words "Aca nada," *here is nothing*, (which they are said to have heard the Spaniards exclaim,) that Cartier imagined them to mean the name of the country; and to this circumstance is usually attributed the origin of the appellation Canada, by which it has been designated since that period, although it bore also for some time, in common with the adjacent territories, the general name of New France.

Jacques Cartier was a master mariner of St. Maloes. He was intrusted, at the recommendation of Chabot, Admiral of France, with a commission of discovery, for the purpose of establishing a colony in America, and he sailed from St. Maloes on the 20th of April, 1534, with two vessels, neither of which were more than twenty tons burden. He arrived at Newfoundland, near Cape Bonavista, on the 10th of May, and then traversed the coast to the south, landing at a harbour which he named St. Catherine. Proceeding west and northward, he entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and passed in sight of Birds' Islands, which he named "Isles aux Oiseaux." After sailing for some days along the western coast of Newfoundland, he crossed the gulf, and entered a large deep inlet, which he named Bay de Chaleur, on account of the intense summer heat which he experienced while exploring its shores. This bay was previously, it appears, known to the Spaniards, and in very old charts it is termed Bay des Espagnols. After exploring the

suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them."

greater part of the gulf, he returned towards France on the 15th of August, and arrived at St. Maloes in twenty-one days.

In consequence of the favourable report he gave of his voyage, he was invested, the following year, with the command of three ships of superior size, and well equipped with all sorts of necessaries. On board the largest of these, "La Grande Hermoine," he embarked on the 19th of May, and on the 26th of July he was joined by the other vessels, which had been separated from him during a storm, at an appointed place of rendezvous within the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They then proceeded together on their course up the great River St. Lawrence, so named, according to some, from Cartier having either returned to the gulf on the 10th of August, the festival of St. Laurent, or his having called a cape on the coast of Cape Breton, at the entrance of the gulf, by the name of the Cape St. Laurent, which was afterwards given to the Gulf and River of Canada. There appears, however, some uncertainty in the account transmitted to us on this subject. He named the Island of Anticosti, Assumption, an appellation which it did not long retain. On the 1st of August he was driven into a harbour on the north coast, which still retains the name of St. Nicholas, which he gave it. He then proceeded up the River St. Lawrence until he entered the Saghunny, from which he continued his course, passing the islands which he named Isle aux Coudres, and Isle de Bacchus, now Orleans. He then proceeded in the Hermoine until his ship grounded on the shoals of Lake St. Peter, from whence, in two boats, he explored the river to the island on

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which Montreal now stands, and which was at that time inhabited by a tribe of the Huron nation, who lived in a village called Hochelaga. The river was then designated the Great Hochelaga, and afterwards, before it acquired that of St. Lawrence, the River of Canada. Cartier was received by the natives with great kindness and hospitality.

He returned from the village of Hochelaga on the 5th of October, and on the 11th arrived at a river that still bears his name, but which he named the St. Croix. Here he wintered, and during the inclemency of that season, he and his crew were subjected to a violent attack of scurvy, which the natives taught them to cure by means of a decoction prepared of the bark of the species of fir (*Pinus balsamifera*), which yields the Canada balsam of our pharmacopœia. He returned next summer to France; but notwithstanding the favourable and unexaggerated account he gave of the countries he explored, four years elapsed before any further attempt was made to prosecute his discoveries.

In January, 1540, François de la Roche, Seigneur de Roberval, received a patent from Francis I., declaring him Seigneur of Norembegue (the name by which nearly all North America was then designated), Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga (Isle of Montreal), Saguenay (the harbour of Tadousac and country on the River Saghunny), Terre Neuf (Newfoundland), Belle Isle (an island in the strait that separates Newfoundland from Labrador), Carpon (near Cape St. John, still named Quirpon), Labrador, Le Grande Bay (Bay de Chaleur), and Baccalieu (the coast about, and south of Bonavista,

in Newfoundland*), with all the power and authority possessed by the king over those places.

Early in the summer of 1540, Roberval, with a squadron of five vessels, sailed for America, Jacques Cartier having the supreme naval command. This voyage was successful, and a fort was erected on some part of those coasts, but whether in Cape Breton or in Canada, appears quite uncertain. It was, however, injudiciously selected; the spot was much exposed both to the cold and to the incursions of the natives. Cartier was left at this station as commandant; but he was so harassed by the Indians, who were offended at strangers taking unceremonious possession of a hold in their country, and having despaired of the return of M. Roberval, that he embarked with all his people in order to return to France.

On the banks of Newfoundland he met M. de Roberval with some vessels, carrying men, arms, and provisions; and returning with him, reassumed the command of the garrison. M. de Roberval then sailed up the St. Lawrence, and landed at Tadousac, at the *débouché* of the Saghunny. He made also some attempts, of which we have no very authentic accounts, to explore Labrador; but for some time after this period Newfoundland was not known to be an island. We have no information on which we can rely, as to what occurred for some years afterwards, when we find Cartier† embarking again for America under the Viceroy Roberval, and with the brother

* Newfoundland was often called Baccalieu, or the place of cod-fish. An isle, at the north point of Conception Bay, still retains the name of "Baccalieu."

† Some accounts state that Cartier did not accompany this voyage, having died previously, heart-broken from disappointment.

of the latter, — a personage whose martial reputation was so brilliant, that the chivalrous Francis always designated him the Gen d'arme d'Annibal. Fate decreed that this voyage should be sealed by calamity. After leaving France, the slightest information respecting this spirited expedition has never been traced; and for more than sixty years, American colonisation and the glory of discovery seem to have been forgotten or disregarded by the Gallic government. The disastrous attempt of the Marquis de la Roche, in 1598, I have noticed in a former chapter, and also, in the history of Nova Scotia, the departure of M. Pontgrave, the associate of M. de Monts, from Acadia, to trade at Tadousac. M. de Chauvin had previously made two voyages, in 1600 and 1601, to Tadousac, and returned to France with valuable cargoes of furs. He died soon afterwards.

M. Pontgrave, who was at first an intelligent merchant in a house at St. Maloes, and afterwards an expert navigator, who made several voyages to Acadia and Canada, succeeded, along with M. Chatte, Governor of Dieppe, who had procured a charter with all the privileges of that formerly granted to M. la Roche, in forming a company of merchants at Rouen, for prosecuting, under the king's commission, discoveries, and establishing settlements on the River of Canada. The celebrated navigator, Champlain, being associated with them, accompanied Pontgrave, in 1603, to Tadousac, from whence he sailed up the river as far as Hochelaga, which he found nearly deserted, and to the Falls of St. Louis, now called the Rapids of Lachine. He then returned to Acadia, and afterwards, on an exploring expedition within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was nearly lost on Cape Breton, at

Cape Mabou, a name corrupted from what he termed it, "Mal-bout." He wintered at Justau-Corps, now named Port Hood.

The spirit that actuated the company of which Champlain was an associate, was exclusively governed by the gains attendant on the peltry trade, to which all other considerations were immolated. Champlain, however, inherited from nature a mind of the calibre of which extended far beyond the mere collection of peltry; and to his enterprising spirit and superior judgment does Canada owe the founding of Quebec, on a spot, the choice of which, for the capital of a great Transatlantic empire, does him immortal honour.

On the 13th of July, 1608, he fixed on a most commanding promontory on the north side of the River St. Lawrence for the site of his settlement, the name of which is said to have originated from its very peculiar and striking appearance, when it first burst into view on sailing up the St. Lawrence, occasioning a mariner, who was stationed on the foretop of the *Hermoine*, to shout loudly to those on deck, the words *Quel-bec*.* Here he left a few settlers; and on returning next year with Pontgrave to Canada, he found his embryo colony in quiet possession of their establishment, and clearing and cultivating the soil with tolerable success.

At this period, the Algonquins, who inhabited the adjacent country, and the Montagnez (Mountaineers), who occupied the hilly grounds and the banks of the Saghunny, together with the Hurons of the upper

* Some say from the Algonquin word *Quilibek*, which answers to its appearance and position. An Indian village, called *Stadaconé*, then occupied its site.

country, were in alliance as the common enemy of the powerful Iroquois nation.

Champlain, by joining those tribes in their wars against the Iroquois, committed a fatal error, which exposed the French settlements in Canada to all the calamities of savage warfare for nearly a hundred years; and the introduction of fire-arms, first among the Algonquins, and afterwards among the other Indian nations, was turned to the most terrible account for more than a century against the European settlements.

Champlain explored the Ottawa, and many other parts of the country; and then returned to France, where he succeeded in forming, under the patronage of the Prince of Condé, who assumed the title of Viceroy of New France, a new association at Rouen.

He returned to Canada in 1612, taking with him four Recollets, for the purpose of converting the savages. The war with the Iroquois seems principally to occupy the next eight years; and in 1620, Champlain brought his family to Canada. The Prince of Condé surrendered his viceroyalty this year to the Marshal de Montmorency, who continued Champlain as his lieutenant.

Two years after, the Duke de Ventadour, having entered into holy orders, took charge, as viceroy, of the affairs of New France, solely with the view of converting the savages; and for this purpose he sent some Jesuits to Canada, to the great mortification of the Recollets.

A number of Calvinists, associated with their leader the Sieur de Caen, were at this period actively engaged in the fur trade; and the jealousies and bickerings maintained between them and the Catholics, arising

in reality from the spirit of trade, but attributed, as usual, to religious scruples, greatly retarded the prosperity of the French settlements.

The Cardinal de Richelieu endeavoured to put an end to these causes of dissension, by establishing the Company of New France. This company, consisting of one hundred associates, engaged to send three hundred tradesmen to Canada, and to supply all those whom they settled in the country with lodging, food, clothing, and implements, for three years, after which period they would allow each workman sufficient land to support him, with the grain necessary for seed. The company also engaged to have 6000 French inhabitants settled in the countries included in their charter before the year 1643, and to establish three priests in each settlement, whom they were bound to provide with every article necessary for their personal comfort, as well as the expenses attending their ministerial labours, for fifteen years; after which the cleared lands were to be granted by the company to the clergy for maintaining the Catholic church in New France.

The prerogatives which the king reserved to himself, were the supremacy in matters of faith; homage, as sovereign of the country, with the acknowledgment of a crown of gold weighing eight marks, on each succession to the throne; the nomination of all commanders and officers of forts: and the appointment of the officers of justice, whenever it became necessary to establish courts of law.

The royal charter then granted to the company and their successors for ever, in consideration of their engagements to the crown, the fort and settlement of Quebec, all the territory of New France,

including Florida, with all the countries along the course of the great River of Canada, and all the other rivers which discharge themselves thereinto, or which throughout those vast regions empty themselves into the sea, both on the eastern and western coasts of the continent, with all the harbours, islands, mines, and rights of fishery.

The company was further empowered to confer titles of distinction, which however required, in the creation of marquisesates, earldoms, baronies, and counties, the confirmation of the sovereign, on the recommendation of the Cardinal de Richelieu, superintendent-in-chief of the navigation and commerce of New France. The exclusive right of traffic in peltries and all other commerce for fifteen years, with the exception of the right to fish for cod and whales, was also granted to the company.

Two ships of war were presented to the company by the king, the value of which was to be refunded, if the company failed in sending at least fifteen hundred French inhabitants of both sexes to New France during the first ten years.

The descendants of Frenchmen inhabiting Canada, and savages who should be converted to the Catholic faith, were also to be reputed as natural born Frenchmen, and to enjoy the same privileges; and all artificers who were sent by the company to their American territories, and spent six years there, were permitted, if so inclined, to return to their native country, and to establish themselves in any trading town in France.

Such were the principal immunities and provisions of this celebrated charter: it was signed in April, 1627, and created the greatest and most flattering expectations. The administration under a viceroy

being omitted, the company continued M. Champlain as Governor of Canada; but untoward circumstances, particularly the capture of the first ships, sent from France with stores, by Sir David Kirke, reduced the colony to great distress. He even appeared with his squadron before Quebec; and might easily, had he known the famished condition of the garrison, have compelled it to surrender. The prosperity of Canada was not only retarded, but even the powerful mind of Champlain, so fertile in expedients on occasions of difficulty, was subjected to the most vexatious mortifications by various unfortunate circumstances.

The hostilities of the savages were not the least of the evils that perplexed him; and the Iroquois soon perceived the advantages which the continued jealousies and quarrels between the Catholics and Huguenots enabled them to obtain over men whom they considered unwarrantable occupiers of their country.

In 1629, at a period when Champlain was reduced to the utmost extremity, by the want of every article of food, clothing, implements, or ammunition, and exposed to the incessant attacks of the Iroquois, Sir David Kirke, commanding an English squadron, appeared again before Quebec. The deplorable situation of the colony, and the very honourable terms of capitulation proposed by him, induced Champlain to surrender the fortress of Quebec, with all Canada, to the crown of England. Kirke's generosity to the colonists induced most of them to remain; but in 1632, three years afterwards, Canada, with Acadia, was restored, by the treaty of St. Germain's, to France.

On the following year, Champlain, who was very properly re-appointed governor, sailed with a squadron,

carrying all necessary supplies, to Canada, where he found, on his arrival, most of his former colonists.

The affairs of New France now assumed a more prosperous aspect; and measures were adopted for maintaining all practicable harmony among the inhabitants, and preventing, as far as possible, those religious disturbances which had previously convulsed the colony. The company was taught, by former experience, that their indiscriminate acceptance of all who presented themselves as adventurers ready to embark for New France, constituted the leading cause of disorderly conduct and unsteady habits among the colonists; and it was therefore determined, that in future none but men and women of unexceptionable character should be sent to New France.

In 1635, the Marquis de Gamache, who had, some years before, joined the society of the Jesuits, commanded the establishment of a college of their order at Quebec; and we must acknowledge that this institution was, for the time, very useful in maintaining order, and preserving or inculcating morality, among the colonists.

The death of Champlain, which happened this year, was a grievous misfortune to Canada. In establishing and maintaining the colony, he surmounted difficulties that few men would have had courage to encounter, and under which thousands of men, with minds even above the common standard, would have succumbed. The splendour of his views, which enabled him to perceive, and the soundness of his judgment, which led him to conclude, that a region possessing such advantages as Canada, must, in the common course of events, become a great empire, stimulated and supported him in prosecuting, with un-

daunted perseverance, the vast undertaking in which he engaged. During the greater part of his active life, the sole object of his heart was to become the founder of a colony which, he felt confident, would eventually attain extraordinary power and grandeur. His anticipations have, since that period, been realised beyond those of most men who have spent their lives, like him, in great undertakings.

After his death, however, although the governor, M. de Montmagny, entered into the views of his predecessor, yet, wanting the experience, the scientific and professional abilities, and probably the same regard from the inhabitants, the improvement of the colony languished, and the fur trade alone seems to have been followed with any spirit.

The ardent spirit of enthusiasm, which went forth during that age, to accomplish the conversion of the aborigines of America, led to the establishment of religious institutions in Canada; and although these establishments did little for the immediate improvement of the colony, yet, as points of possession occupied by persons whose avocations were professedly holy and useful, they formed the foundation on which arose the superstructure of those morals and habits that still, and will long, characterise the Gallo-Canadians. The conduct of the nuns was, however, highly reprobated in the following century.

In 1636, a little after the College of the Jesuits was commenced, an institution for instructing the Indians was established at Sillery, a few miles above Quebec; and two years after, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, under whose patronage the Hôtel Dieu was founded, sent three nuns from Dieppe to superintend its services. About the same time, Madame de la Peltrie, a young

widow of rank, engaged several sisters of the Ursulines at Tours, with whom, in a vessel hired at her own expense, she sailed from Dieppe for Quebec, where she arrived after a tedious passage, and founded the convent of St. Ursula.

The order of St. Sulpicius, instituted by the Abbé Olivier, sent a mission this year to Canada; and a situation was chosen at Montreal for a seminary, which was consecrated with great ceremony and solemnity by the superior of the Jesuits, and for the maintenance of which, the whole island of Montreal was granted by the king.

The company of New France, who fulfilled none of the stipulations of their charter, and who also found means to prevent the complaints of the inhabitants being heard or listened to by the ministers of the crown, did nothing towards settling or cultivating the country; and the forts which they erected at Richelieu, and other places, were merely posts of defence, or storehouses for carrying on the fur trade. The characters of those employed in the service of the company were stamped with infamy, and they were described as generally licentious. From among those men arose the race of vagabonds, known since that period by the name of *Coureurs du Bois*. Under such management, Canada languished for several years; while the Iroquois, with more experience in war, continued to harass the colony with unabated ferocity.

The settlement at Montreal, which was very much exposed to the ravages of the Iroquois, suffered severely, and its extinction was only prevented by the arrival of M. d'Aillebout, in 1647, from France, with a reinforcement of 100 men. Marguerite Bourgeois,

who accompanied him, founded, at the same time, the institution of the Daughters of the Congregation.

In 1658, the Marquis d'Argenson arrived in Canada with the commission of governor-general; and, in the following summer, Laval, Abbé de Montigny, and titular Bishop of Petrie, landed at Quebec, with a brief from the pope constituting him apostolic vicar. Curacies were at the same time established in Canada. The condition of the colony, at this period, appears, however, to have been truly wretched. Its defence and support were completely neglected by the Company of New France; the associates of which, reduced to forty in number, at last gave up even the fur trade, for the seignorial acknowledgment of 1000 beaver skins.

The Iroquois, who had spread terrible destruction among their old enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, seemed also determined at this time to exterminate the French; and several hundreds of their warriors kept Quebec in a state little short of actual siege, while another band massacred a great number of the settlers at Montreal.

The governor, who complained of ill health, requested his recall, and, in 1661, he was relieved by the Baron d'Avangour, an officer of great integrity and resolution, but considered too inflexible for the situation he held. His decisive measures appear, however, to have saved Canada; the defenceless state of which, and the natural beauty and importance of the country, he stated in such forcible language to the king, who was previously ignorant of its value or condition, that he immediately ordered 400 troops, with necessary supplies, to Canada, accompanied by a special commission. Their arrival gave life and

confidence to the colonists, who were then for the first time enabled to cultivate the soil with any security.

A tremendous earthquake, which appears to have agitated the whole of Canada, and a vast extent of the adjacent countries, in the year 1663, is described by the French writers * of that time, as accompanied by most violent phenomena, rendered more than usually terrific by the continuation of the shocks, at intervals, for nearly six months.

About the same time, on the evening of the 5th of February, a loud rumbling noise, seemingly occasioned by atmospheric detonation, was heard throughout the whole of those regions. The terrified inhabitants, having never heard of an earthquake in the country, at first conceived their houses on fire, and immediately flew out of doors; and their astonishment was then increased by the violent agitation of the earth, and every thing on its surface. The walls shook, the bells of the churches rang, and the doors flew open and closed again of themselves. The forest trees were seen all in violent motion, some thrown up from the roots, then with their tops bending nearly to the ground, first to one side, then to the other, or laid prostrate on the surface, from which again they were flung up in the air. The ice, which covered the lakes and rivers, in many places some feet thick, was broken open, and frequently thrown, with rocks and mud from the bottom, a great distance upwards. Clouds of dust obscured the sky. The waters were impregnated with sulphur, exhibiting yellow or reddish colours. From Tadousac to Quebec, about 130 miles, the St. Lawrence appeared white and thickly impregnated with sulphureous matter.

* More particularly in the Journals of the Jesuits.

The convulsion of elements produced the most awful and incessant sounds; roaring at one time like the sea, then reverberating like the rolling of thunder; and again, as if mountains were bursting, and the rocks which composed them cracking and rolling over each other.

The darkness was rendered still more awful by the frequent flashes of lightning, or by the lamentations of women, the cries of children, and the howling of dogs and other animals.

Walrus and porpoises were said to have been seen as far up the St. Lawrence as Three Rivers, where they never appeared before; equally terrified with the inhabitants of the land, and the former howling in the piteous manner so peculiar to them.

The first shock continued, without intermission, for about half an hour. It was followed, about eight o'clock, by a second, equally violent. Thirty shocks were numbered during the night, and the whole country continued to be violently agitated, at intervals, until the end of July.

From all the accounts transmitted to us, it appears wonderful that no human lives were lost during this extraordinary convulsion; nor does it appear that any change was caused in the configuration of the countries said to be so long and violently disturbed by the power of its action. The River St. Lawrence and its tributaries, the Islands, Saghunny, Quebec, Lakes St. Peter and Champlain, Montreal, and the Rapids of St. Louis, or La Chine, are apparently at this day exactly in the same position as when discovered by Cartier and Champlain.

CHAP. II.

COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE SURRENDER THEIR CHARTER. —
CANADA PLACED UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMPANY
OF THE WEST INDIES. — WARS WITH THE IROQUOIS. — DIS-
COVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

THE Company of New France, who had all along mismanaged the affairs of Canada, and who even lost the vast profits of its trade by neglecting, from ill-timed avarice, to provide for the exigencies of the colony, at length surrendered their charter to the king. Its powers and immunities were transferred, in 1664, to the Company of the West Indies.

The administration of the colony, without a constitution or courts of justice, was wretchedly managed after the death of Champlain. The governor, the Jesuits, and the bishop, appear to have been equally anxious to supplant each other in power. The Baron d'Avangour, just in his views, but at the same time inflexible in his decisions, was recalled, at his own request; and M. de Mesey, who was recommended by the bishop, succeeded him as the first governor under the Company of the West Indies. This officer quarrelled soon afterwards with the bishop, who, with many good qualities, appears to have been a very arbitrary ecclesiastic. A council, composed of the

governor-general, intendant-general, the bishop, and some others, removable at the will of the governor, was established about this time; in which, as a court of justice, presided the superior of the Jesuits, as Grand Seneschal of New France, to decide matters of dispute.

The complaints of the bishop and others against M. de Mesey, the governor, induced M. Colbert to recall him; and the Marquis de Tracy, who had been for some time before Viceroy of America, arrived in Canada from the West Indies, in June, 1665, with some companies of the regiment of Carignan; the remainder of which, with their colonel, M. de Salierres, arrived soon after from France. Three forts were then erected on the River Richelieu, by which the Iroquois descended on their expeditions against the French. The first was built where the old one stood (now William Henry), and M. de Sorel, who was left there as commandant, superintended its structure, and transmitted his name not only to the fort, but to the river. The second was erected by M. de Chambly, at a place still bearing his name; and a third, further up, by M. de Salierres, which he named St. Thérèse. These garrisons kept the Iroquois for some time in awe; but they soon recommenced their depredations, with greater fury than ever, by other routes; and it required all the vigilance of M. de Tracy to preserve the settlement from destruction.

Before this officer returned to France, he placed the country in a state of defence, which enabled it for some time to enjoy profound peace; and having, established the Company of the West Indies in all the rights possessed by the Company of New

France, he left M. de Courcelles governor-general, with several officers of great abilities under his command.

From this period (1668) we find the affairs of Canada so far prosperous, that little apprehension was entertained as to the colony being established on a permanent foundation, although the ferocity of the savages left no grounds for expecting a cessation of hostilities for any definite period. Several of the officers who received grants of lands about this time, with the rights of seigneurs, settled with their families in Canada, and many of the private soldiers whom they commanded were also distributed among the other colonists, who were all equally ready to take up arms whenever the incursions of the savages rendered it necessary to defend the country. The French government, at the same time, sent 300 women of loose character to Canada, who, in less than fifteen days after their arrival, were all disposed of in marriage among the inhabitants, on which occasion considerable presents were made them. To all parents, who had ten children lawfully begotten, pensions were also given.

In 1670, the Church of Quebec was constituted a bishopric. The mission of Lorette, near Quebec, was also established about the same time; some important measures were also adopted for the better government of the country, and for maintaining peace with the savages; and, while the trade and agriculture of the colony were prospering during this interval of peace, the clerical orders became more enthusiastic than ever in their efforts to make proselytes of the Indians.

The fur trade, however, was in a great measure

intercepted by a fatal calamity, previously unknown to the inhabitants of the western world. The small-pox, more terrible to the savages than all the fire-arms of Europe, made its appearance this year among the tribes north of the St. Lawrence; and its ravages carried off more than half their number. This contagion, and the use of ardent spirits, have probably, since that time, destroyed a greater portion of the aborigines of North America, than war and all the diseases to which they were previously subjected.

Fort Frontenac was built in 1672, where Kingston now stands, for the purpose of aweing the Indians, by Louis de Baude, Count de Frontenac, for whom, however, the right of ground was obtained with great adroitness by his predecessor, M. de Courcelles, a man of great personal worth and practical abilities, but neither gifted with the splendid talents, nor blemished with the unyielding obstinacy, of M. de Frontenac.

M. de Frontenac was by birth of distinguished family, and a lieutenant-general of high reputation in the royal army. His brilliant talents were sometimes obscured by prejudices; but his plans for the aggrandisement of Canada were splendid and just; and, if his great views had not been thwarted by the jealousy of his enemies, his measures would certainly have soon placed Canada in a condition that would prevent the depredations of the Indians, and ensure its rapid settlement and cultivation. He possessed, however, a spirit which could not bear contradiction in the prosecution of his plans, either from the ecclesiastical orders, or from officers of whatever distinction in the colony. He was opposed in his measures, first by the ecclesiastics, and

soon after by the intendant-general. Violent dissensions arose between them; and M. de Frontenac was not a man inclined to execute his plans with indecision, or by withdrawing the orders he had previously given. The intendant-general, M. de Chezeau, having neglected some order, was imprisoned; the procureur-general was exiled; the Governor of Montreal was put under arrest; and the Abbé de Salignac, Fénélon, at that time in Canada superintending the seminary of St. Sulpicius at Montreal, was imprisoned under pretence of having preached against M. de Frontenac, and having defended the Governor of Montreal.

The principal point of disagreement between M. de Frontenac and the bishop arose from a circumstance of very great importance, respecting which the former bishop had quarrelled with the Baron d'Avangour. This was the traffic in brandy, in exchange for furs, with the savages. This spirit was the most fatal article that Europeans ever introduced among the aborigines of America. It produced evils among the Indians of the most deplorable description. It superinduced, on their natural habits and disposition, the most degrading of European vices, which enervated their constitutions, and destroyed all that dignified their original character. The bishop at last succeeded in obtaining an ordinance of the king, enjoining M. de Frontenac to prohibit the sale of spirits to the Indians, under the most severe penalties.

This was considered as a victory obtained by the ecclesiastics over M. de Frontenac, who, however, notwithstanding the opposition to his government, had powerful friends at court, and retained his office

as governor-general until 1682, when he and M. de Chezneau were recalled together.

During the administration of M. de Frontenac and his predecessor M. de Courcelles, the French explored the greater part of Canada; and the savages were taught to regard the colonists with some degree of awe. M. Perrot, an indefatigable traveller, visited all the nations in the vicinity of the great lakes; who shortly afterwards sent deputies to meet the sub-delegate of the Intendant of New France, at the Falls of St. Mary; where they finally agreed that he should possess and occupy that post in the name of his sovereign; and a cross was there erected, on which were placed the arms of France.

A tribe of the Hurons, who were converted and guided by Father Marquette, were soon after established at Makilimakinak; and the Iroquois who were converted, and who separated from the rest of their nation, were settled about the same time on the south side of the St. Lawrence, at the Falls of St. Louis, near Montreal.

In 1672, M. Talon, who, during the period he held the office of intendant-general, in which he was succeeded by M. de Chezneau, had extended the authority of France into the most distant parts of Canada, concluded, from the reports of the Indians, that there flowed west of the great lakes a vast river, which some of the savages called Mississippi, and others *Meshashepi*; and the course of which flowed towards the south. He therefore determined not to leave America until he should ascertain the truth of this important information. For this purpose he employed Father Marquette, who had previously travelled over the greater part of Canada, and who

was, besides, peculiarly qualified to gain the confidence and esteem of the savages. M. Tonti, a merchant of Quebec, and a man of well known abilities and experience, was associated with Father Marquette, in order to examine more fully the commercial resources of the countries they should discover. They proceeded to Lake Michigan, ascended the river, which falls into an arm of that lake called Grand Bay, up to near its source; from whence they crossed the country to the River Escousin, which they descended, until it unites with the Mississippi, in latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$. The magnitude and depth of the Mississippi, even at this point, so many thousand miles from its mouth, exceeded the most exaggerated accounts they had received from the Indians. They floated down its stream, which was deep, smooth, and seldom rapid, in a bark canoe, until they arrived at some villages of the Illinois, a few miles below the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri. The Illinois, who had heard of, but never before seen, the French, seemed anxious to form an alliance with them; and they treated Marquette and Joliet with great hospitality.

Leaving the Illinois, they descended the river to Arkansas, about 33° N., when the exhausted state of their stock, and being convinced that the river disembogued in the Gulf of Mexico, induced them to return. They ascended the Mississippi, to where it receives the Illinois; up which they proceeded, and then crossed the country to Michigan, where they separated; Marquette remaining among the Miamis, while Joliet proceeded to Quebec.

Although the Mississippi was thus discovered as a route through Canada, yet the advantages which it

held out were neglected for some time, in consequence of the death of Father Marcuette, and the return of M. Falon to France.

In 1678, the Sieur de la Sale, accompanied by the Chevalier Tonti, arrived from France. He had previously spent some years in Canada, where he maintained a favourable understanding with M. de Frontenac. The king having granted him the Seigniorship of Cataragui, he proceeded thither, and rebuilt the fort with stone. He then constructed a vessel, and sailed to Niagara, accompanied by Tonti and Father Hennepin, a Flemish Recollet. Here they remained during the winter, attending to the fur trade; and, on the following summer, they built a vessel for navigating Lake Erie. They sailed up that lake, and proceeded afterwards, by different routes, to Makilimakinak. Hennepin then proceeded to the Illinois, and La Sale returned to Cataragui. Hennepin was afterwards despatched to the Mississippi, which he ascended to the Falls of St. Anthony. Three years were spent by La Sale, Tonti, and Father Hennepin, in exploring those wild and vast regions, and endeavouring to secure the alliance of the savages and the gains also of the fur trade. Their sufferings on many occasions were exceedingly severe; and the difficult situations in which they frequently found themselves among the Indian tribes, required extraordinary address, resolution, and endurance.

On the 2d of February, 1682, La Sale, having reached the Mississippi, determined on sailing down to the ocean. On the 4th of March, he reached Arkansas, of which he took formal possession; and on the 9th of April he arrived at the sea, by one of the channels which leads the Mississippi through its

delta to the ocean. He returned by the same route to Canada; but, suffering severely from fatigue and sickness, he first sent De Tonti before him, with the news of his discovery.

The vast regions explored by those bold men, watered by such immense rivers as the Mississippi and its magnificent tributaries, although for some years closely connected with the affairs of New France, do not claim further notice in this work. Their great, almost boundless importance, as a part of the vast empire which now forms the American Republic, I have already noticed, when treating of the United States.*

* See Vol. I. p. 34.

CHAP. III.

JEALOUSIES OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH, IN REGARD TO THE FUR TRADE.—INDIAN WARFARE.—PERILOUS CONDITION OF CANADA.—MARQUIS DENONVILLE ARRIVES AS GOVERNOR, WITH A STRONG REINFORCEMENT.—SEIZES THE IROQUOIS CHIEFS, AND SENDS THEM TO FRANCE AS GALLEY SLAVES.—RAVAGES OF THE IROQUOIS.—POLITICAL TREACHERY OF KONDIARONK.—DEVASTATION OF MONTREAL.—DISASTROUS STATE OF CANADA, ETC.

THE peace of Canada still continued to be disturbed by various causes, which readily excited the ferocious spirit of the Iroquois; and which involved the Hurons, Algonquins, and Abenakis, in the wars occasioned by their suspicions, or by the jealousies of the French and English colonists.

The French had long supplied the Indians, in exchange for furs, with various articles of European manufacture, particularly coarse red cloth, which the English colonists were enabled to sell at a much cheaper rate; and there were besides no restrictions on the trade, nor any duty on the furs at New York. The English, also, in order chiefly to engross as great a share as possible of the peltry trade, formed an alliance with the Iroquois; and, as the scruples of honour were not regarded with much delicacy by those employed either by the French or English, at their trading posts, whenever their profits were at hazard, fresh difficulties were created among the

Indian nations, which were always followed by renewed hostilities on the part of the Iroquois against the French.

Soon after the appointment of M. de la Barre as successor to M. de Frontenac, the Iroquois assumed such a tone of defiance, and made such formidable preparations, as to cause the greatest apprehension of a general war among the Indians; and the condition of Canada at this time (1683) was far from that state of prosperity which it ought to have attained, and which was prevented solely by the mismanagement of an exclusive company, who cared little for the country, so long as they monopolized the fur-trade.*

The whole population consisted only of 9000 inhabitants; and M. de la Barre, to prevent the extermination of the colonists, anticipated the preparations of the Iroquois, by making an expedition to their country, with about 1000 troops, which ended, after his experiencing great hardship, in an unsatisfactory negotiation; which, however, in the mean time, gave assurance of peace.

The Marquis Denonville arrived in Canada soon after, with a strong reinforcement, as governor-

* An exclusive trading company can never be formed in America, without endangering the public welfare. A particular land company, in thinly settled countries, like Upper Canada or New Brunswick, may extend advantages to emigrants, which enable them to encounter difficulties with much fewer than the usual privations. In Lower Canada, the natural increase of a population, now consisting of 600,000 Canadians and casual emigrants, will, in a few years, settle all the land fit for cultivation, and it would be impolitic to force other settlers on the townships lying between the seigneuries and the frontiers of the United States.

general. He immediately proceeded to Cataraqui, with about 2000 troops; where he discovered that the Iroquois had assumed a spirit of defiance, that all attempts to reconcile or assimilate them to the French were altogether fruitless, and that this tribe alone prevented the conversion of the others. The latter reason, paramount, or, rather, in that age pretended to be so, to all others, was considered more than sufficient to justify any measure against the Iroquois, whose extinction as a nation seemed determined upon by the governor; and directions were also received, some time before, to send to France all able-bodied men of that tribe who were made prisoners, as slaves for the galleys.

This order, indefensible under the most aggravating circumstances, was executed with the utmost baseness and treachery, by Denonville, who even employed two missionaries to effect his purpose. These men, particularly the Jesuit de Lamberville, had gained such influence over several of the principal Iroquois chiefs, as to induce them, under various pretences, to meet Denonville at Fort Frontenac, where he immediately loaded them with irons, and sent them to France, where they were condemned to the galleys.

This act of infamous perfidy stamped eternal dishonour on the French name among the Iroquois; yet did this people, whom we call barbarians, allow Lamberville to depart in peace; and it was this same Jesuit who afterwards induced them to attend to pacific overtures.

The other missionary fell into the hands of the Agniers, who condemned him to the flames, from

which he is said to have been saved by a woman who adopted him.

Although M. Denonville received instructions from France, that a treaty was signed at London by the governments of France and England, stipulating that, whatever difference should arise between them in Europe, their subjects in America should remain in perfect neutrality; and, although the governor of New York remonstrated against his building a fort at Niagara, and urged that the Iroquois were the subjects of England, yet he persisted in his imprudent purpose of building a fort there, at a time when the seizure of the Iroquois chiefs, which had renewed the passion of revenge with unexampled fury among their warriors, formed the greatest obstacle to peace that had occurred since the French first settled in Canada.

The war had only partially commenced, when Fort Frontenac was attacked by the Iroquois, who also burnt all the corn-stacks in the neighbourhood; and 500 of their canoes, which were on Lake Ontario, captured a French bark laden with provisions and stores. The Abenakis, allies of the French, attacked at the same time the Iroquois of Sorrel, and committed depredations on the English settlements, plundering the property, and scalping several of the inhabitants.

In the meantime the Iroquois acted with great policy; and while they made overtures for negotiation, they were accompanied by preparations not to be disregarded. Deputies, attended by 500 warriors, were sent to treat with M. Denonville; and the lofty tone assumed by their orator, in stating the condition of his nations, and it being known that there were

1200 warriors within a short distance of Montreal, who would immediately fall upon the settlements; set fire to the buildings and corn-fields, and murder the inhabitants, induced the governor to accept the conditions of peace which they proposed, and to send, without any delay, for their chiefs who were then chained to the galleys of France.

The ratification of this treaty was, however, prevented by the political management of a young Huron chief, worthy of the most refined disciple of Machiavel, conducted with sufficient address and skill to rank this savage, in the annals of political intrigue, with the Richelieus, Metterniches, and Talleyrands of Europe; while his callous disregard to scruples, in seizing the means necessary to accomplish his ends, affords an example of dark resolute perseverance, not surpassed in the register of diabolical policy.

Kondiaronk, or Le Rat, although not forty years of age, rose, by the power of his eloquence, bravery, skill in hunting, and success in the enterprises he planned and conducted, to be the chief in war, and the first in counsel among the Hurons. He inherited inveterate hatred towards the Iroquois; and their total extermination was, from his youth, the ruling passion of his soul. He hated the French in his heart; but his nation considered their friendship useful in protecting them against the Iroquois; and he hated the English also, as the allies of the latter, with all the animosity which an Indian bosom can cherish; but policy made him conceal his feelings while his people found it more convenient, or more profitable, to sell their furs to the English than to the French traders.

Denonville solicited and pressed his alliance, to which Le Rat consented, on the sole condition that the war should only terminate by the extinction of the Iroquois nations. On this assurance, he soon after left Makilimakinak, with a chosen band of a hundred warriors, in order to surprise the Iroquois, and to acquire additional fame by some brilliant exploit. He stopped on his way at Fort Frontenac, where he was informed by the commandant that M. Denonville had entered into a treaty of peace with the Iroquois nations, whose deputies he daily expected, with hostages to be left at Montreal for its final ratification. Le Rat, who was also told that it was consequently necessary for him and his warriors to return to Makilimakinak, suppressed the feelings that were maddening in his bosom, and very coolly observed that the request was reasonable. He then left the commandant under the impression that he would return peaceably with his warriors to his own country. Far different, however, was the resolution seized by Le Rat. He considered his whole nation, in not being consulted before treating with their enemies the Iroquois, insulted by a species of contempt, the most galling to the proud heart of an American Indian; while the brilliant achievements he anticipated on leaving his tribe with the flower of their warriors, were at the same time completely blasted. Conceiving, therefore, that his own fame and the honour of his nation were sacrificed to the interests of the French, he formed a plan of terrible revenge; which the deep address and perseverance of this fiend carried into full execution. What was said by the courtly Clarendon of Hampden, but without truth in respect to that patriot in the last word of

the sentence, may be justly said of Le Rat :—“ He had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any evil.” Instead of returning to Makilimakinak, he proceeded with his warriors to the cascades, which are about thirty miles above Montreal, and where he knew the Iroquois deputies with their hostages would pass. Here he remained in ambush, waiting for the deputies, who arrived in a few days, accompanied by forty young men. He surprised them as they landed from their canoes, killed several, and made the remainder prisoners. He then told the captives that he was directed by the governor to occupy that position, in order to intercept a party of Iroquois warriors who were advancing by that route to plunder the French settlements, and that he must immediately conduct them as prisoners to Montreal, where there was not the least hope of mercy for them. The deputies, amazed at this intelligence, and their passions already aggravated to fury by recollecting that their chiefs were not yet sent back from France, considered the conduct of M. Denonville, and particularly this last apparent act of infamous perfidy, more horrible than all that their imagination had attributed to demons. They then related the object of their mission to Le Rat, who feigned astonishment; and, after remaining a short time silent, and seemingly affected with sorrow, assumed a ferocious air and tone, and declaimed with all the ingenuity and force of his eloquence against M. Denonville, for having made him the instrument of the most diabolical treachery.

He then released the prisoners, and told them to return and tell their tribes that the governor of the

French had made him engage in a deed so horribly treacherous, that he should never rest until he had satiated his revenge by the destruction of the French settlements. The Iroquois believed Le Rat; and his apparent clemency in setting them at liberty so fully persuaded them of his sincerity, that they assured him that the five nations would immediately ratify such terms of peace with the Hurons as they might then agree upon. He then gave them fusils, powder, and ball, to defend them on their way back; and, under the pretence of replacing one man whom he had lost in attacking the Iroquois, he retained an Indian of the Chouanan tribe, with whom he returned to Makimakinak.

This unfortunate prisoner, who believed himself safe, from Le Rat telling the Iroquois that he would retain him as an adopted son, was delivered to the French commandant, who was still ignorant of the proceedings of M. Denonville; and who, through the statements made by Le Rat, condemned the unhappy wretch to be shot.

Le Rat had an old Iroquois slave for a long time in his possession, to whom he afforded the opportunity of witnessing the execution of his adopted countryman by the French, all the circumstances of which, however, he carefully concealed from him. He then told the Iroquois, "I now give you your liberty; return to your country, and there spend the remainder of your days in peace! Relate to your people the barbarous and unjust conduct of the French, who, while they are amusing your nation with offers of peace, seize every opportunity of betraying and murdering you; and that all my persuasions could not save the life even of one man from

your tribe, whom I adopted to replace the warrior I lost at the cascades."

The Iroquois returned to his country, and related what he had witnessed, together with all that Le Rat had told him. The Iroquois warriors, as might be anticipated, were even before this sufficiently exasperated; but this last master stroke of Le Rat's policy made their very blood boil furiously for revenge; yet they dissembled their feelings of resentment so completely, that M. Denonville, who declared that he would hang Le Rat whenever he could be captured, still expected deputies from the Iroquois to ratify a peace.

Le Rat's policy, however, operated more effectually than all the attempts of Denonville; and when the Iroquois arrived at Montreal, where the governor waited for their deputies, their appearance and purpose was indeed far different from what he expected. 1200 warriors, who landed at the upper end of the island, plundered and burnt all the houses and corn-fields, destroyed and carried off the cattle, massacred men, women, and children, defeated and cut in pieces nearly the whole of a hundred regular troops and fifty Hurons, who were sent to defend the approach to the town, and carried off about 200 prisoners.

After spreading devastation over the whole island, with the loss only of three warriors, they embarked in their canoes, with their plunder and their prisoners. One of the three warriors lost by the Iroquois was brought before the governor, and declared, that the effect of Le Rat's policy was irreparable; that the Iroquois, far from condemning him, were ready to enter into a treaty with his nation; and that all the Iroquois tribes were so deeply impressed with a

belief in the infamous atrocity of the French, that their thoughts were solely bent on the most deadly revenge.

Their subsequent hostilities fully justified this information; and the devastation of the Island of Montreal was attended by other losses and calamities. The fort, which had been erected at much expense and labour at Niagara, was garrisoned by a hundred troops, among whom a malady was introduced, which proved fatal nearly to the whole; and the survivors, finding it impossible to maintain the post, abandoned and demolished it.

It was even found impracticable to maintain the important fort at Frontenac. It was also abandoned and blown up; and two ships that were built for the purpose of navigating Lake Ontario, were burnt, to prevent their falling into the possession of the Iroquois. The same malady which was so fatal to the garrison at Niagara, prevailed at the same time all over Canada; and the affairs of the colony appeared altogether desperate. War, famine, and disease, seemed combined for the utter destruction of the French inhabitants.

CHAP. IV.

PERILOUS CONDITION OF CANADA. — REAPPOINTMENT OF M. DE FRONTENAC. — WAR WITH THE INDIANS. — SIR WILLIAM Phipps ATTACKS QUEBEC. — HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH COLONISTS. — CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS. — DEATH OF COUNT FRONTENAC. — M. DE VAUDREUIL. — INDIAN PERFIDY. — WAR WITH THE AUTAGANIS. — DEATH OF M. DE VAUDREUIL. — M. DE BEAUHARNOIS. — WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, ETC.

THE critical condition of Canada, and the war between England and France imperatively required that the affairs of the colony should be intrusted to a person whose experience and abilities would give energy to the execution of his measures, and whose activity, resolution, and firmness, would command the respect of the Indians, and exact implicit obedience from those under his command.

These qualities in a person to manage, to govern, and preserve a colony with its affairs in a posture like that of Canada, were found to be only combined in the Count de Frontenac. He was accordingly appointed to the chief command, and arrived at Quebec in October 1689, accompanied by the Chevalier de Callieres as intendant, and the Iroquois chiefs who had been sent to France by Denonville.

He found the colony on the utmost verge of ruin; but he expected that the great personal esteem which the Iroquois and other Indian nations entertained for him, during his former administration, and the con-

fidence which was reposed in him by Ourèharè, one of the Iroquois chiefs whom he brought back, would enable him to bring the five nations to pacific overtures.

He was, however, disappointed. The Iroquois, while they pretended to wish for peace, avoided, with great address, coming to serious negotiations; and they soon renewed their hostilities, by rushing suddenly on the settlements, killing or making prisoners of the inhabitants, and carrying off all the moveable property.

M. de Frontenac, finding his attempts at negotiation useless, resolved to act with such determined vigour as eventually to humble the Iroquois confederacy, which alone prevented the French settlements enjoying any certain repose. He therefore collected his allies, divided them among his regular troops; and surprised with great success several of the English settlements, on account of their alliance with the Iroquois.

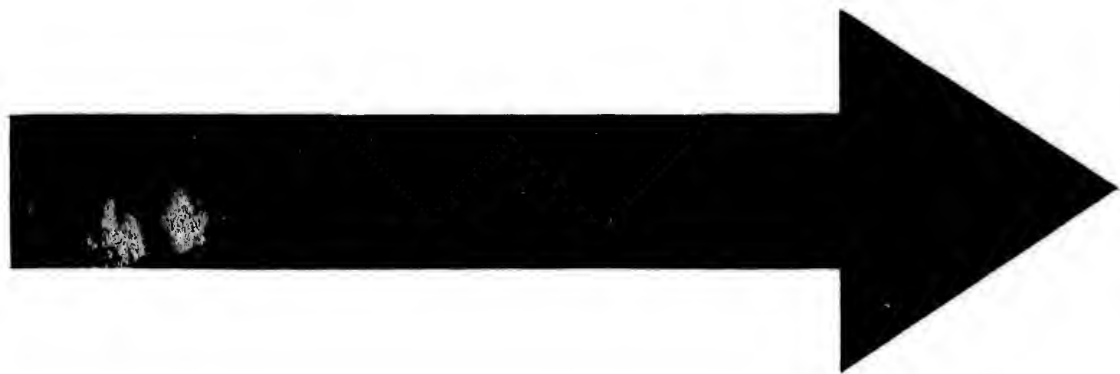
Detachments which he sent to convey to Montreal the furs stored for a long time at Makilimakinak, met also with a numerous band of Iroquois warriors, whom they defeated after a sharp skirmish, in which a great number were killed on both sides.

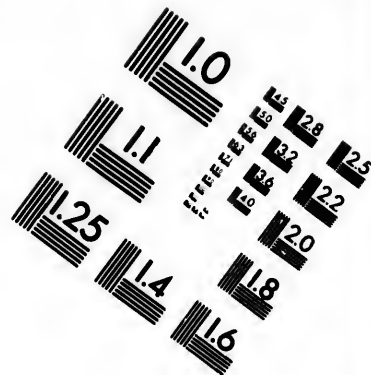
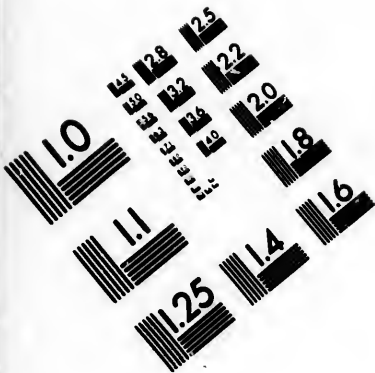
Although peace could not be secured with the five nations, yet they were convinced that M. de Frontenac was more to be dreaded than his predecessor; and the other tribes, who were about joining them, declined the alliance.

An expedition, fitted out under the command of Sir W. Phipps, for the conquest of Quebec, appeared in October, this year, (1690), as far up the river as Tadou-sac, before its destination for Quebec was known. The

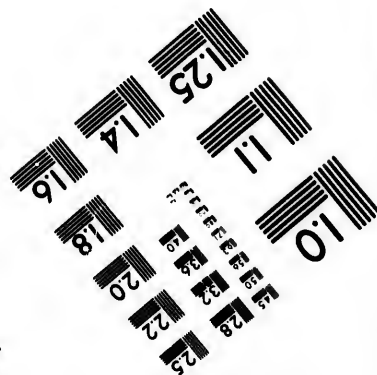
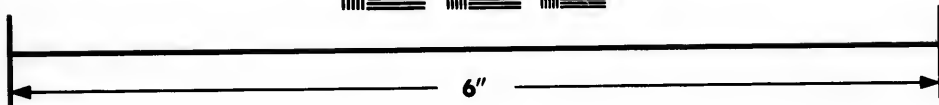
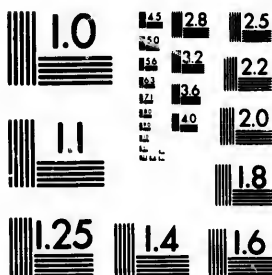
defence of the town required all the vigilance of M. de Frontenac, and he certainly lost no time in placing it in a fit condition to stand a siege. The squadron, consisting of thirty-four vessels of different descriptions, and said to have 7000 men on board, advanced as far as Beauport, when Phipps sent a flag of truce summoning the town to surrender, which was gallantly rejected by M. de Frontenac. On the 18th, the English troops disembarked near the River St. Charles, but not without great loss by the sharp fire from the French musketry. Four of the largest ships, which anchored opposite the town, commenced a bombardment; but the fire from the batteries was directed with such effect as to compel these vessels to remove up the river, beyond the range of the fortifications. A sharp skirmish between the troops took place next day; and, on the 20th, an action was fought, in which the English at first had the advantage, and pursued the French to the palisades of a large house, at which the latter made a gallant stand, and compelled the former to retreat towards Beauport, from which place they re-embarked two days after, when Sir W. Phipps raised the siege, and sailed with his squadron down the river on the 23d. Seven or eight of his vessels were lost in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Before he left Boston, it was arranged that a strong body of troops should march against Montreal, in order to create a division in the French forces. This was prevented by the defection of the Iroquois; and M. de Frontenac was consequently enabled to concentrate all his strength to defend Quebec. This circumstance, the failure of ammunition, and the





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approaching winter, rendered it expedient for Phipps to abandon the enterprise.

On the following year the Iroquois renewed their depredations.

About 1000 warriors appeared at the mouth of the Ottawa, landed on the island of Montreal at Point au Tremble, pillaged and burnt thirty houses and barns, and carried off several prisoners, whom they put to the most cruel tortures. Depredations and cruelties were also extended to many of the other French settlements; and various skirmishes took place between the French troops and the Iroquois, in which great numbers on both sides, and several French officers of rank and distinction were sacrificed. The French at last treated their prisoners with nearly as much cruelty as was practised by the savages; and M. de Frontenac at length, by the unremitting vigour of his measures, secured the defence of the colony so far, that in 1692 the inhabitants were enabled to cultivate their lands. The commerce in furs, although frequently interrupted, was also renewed, and carried on with considerable advantage.

In 1695, the fort at Frontenac was rebuilt, and additional security extended to the outposts at Mackinimakinak and St. Joseph. In the following year M. de Frontenac made an expedition to the country of the Iroquois, and without proceeding to such extremities as his force empowered him, he burnt some of their villages, and liberated a number of French prisoners.

He might, it is thought, have completely humbled the Iroquois at this time, but could not be prevailed upon to destroy the canton of Goyoquins, of which Ourèharè was the chief.

A fishery was also begun about this time at Mount Louis, on the south coast of the St. Lawrence.

The French suffered little further molestation from the Indians ; but animosities still continued between the Algonquins and Iroquois, and frequent hostilities among the other tribes. Ourèharè, in whom M. de Frontenac placed great and deserved confidence, and through whose influence he expected to bring the Iroquois to terms of friendship and permanent peace, died this year at Quebec.

Peace was concluded by England and France in 1698 ; and the English and French governors entered mutually into arrangements for maintaining harmony with the Indians. Although either the English or French would now have crushed for ever the power of the Iroquois, yet the anxieties manifested by each government to conciliate the regard of those savages, were carried to an extent, which gave them an opinion of themselves that nothing but the jealousies of the English and French could warrant, and of which the Indians well knew how to avail themselves.

Soon after the conclusion of an understanding of friendship with the Iroquois, Louis, Count de Frontenac died, in the seventy-eighth year of his life, twenty of which he had spent in Canada ; where his vigorous administration and his great personal abilities, preserved the colony with little assistance from France, and always secured to him the confidence of the king, the respect of his officers, even of those opposed to many of his measures, and the esteem of the Indians.

He was succeeded by the Chevalier de Callieres, who had been for some years Governor of Montreal, which

office was supplied in the person of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil. Some difficulties arose soon after, in maintaining a good understanding with the savages, which were principally occasioned by the English governor; but the address of the French missionaries gave M. de Callieres an ascendant, which he held with great tact and able management, until his death in 1703. His loss was great to Canada; and although his powers of mind wanted the splendid points that cast such brilliant lustre on the government of M. de Frontenac, yet, from his great excellence of character, he was beloved and respected by all; and, having never violated his word to the Indians, he always retained their implicit confidence.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was then appointed to the chief command, on account of his great services in Canada; and agreeably also to the unanimous petition of the inhabitants to the king. The Indian tribes, among whom jealousies were fomented by the English, and by numerous murders among themselves, occasioned much embarrassment in the affairs of Canada during the administration of M. de Vaudreuil. He, however, managed to prevent the colonists from being molested, and the trade and cultivation of the country continued to improve and prosper.

England and France being now, (1709,) however, at war, an expedition was sent from New York, which was joined by a great body of Iroquois and Mahingans. M. de Ramsay, with 1000 regular troops, together with a body of militia and savages, were sent to intercept them; but the want of confidence in this commander, or some jealous feeling entertained by the other officers, rendered the expedition

fruitless, and it returned to Montreal with a few prisoners only.

M. de Vaudreuil, however, lost no time in putting Quebec in a proper state of defence, and took every precaution, by strengthening the outposts, to prevent the English entering Canada.

The English were at this time fully confident of success, but the policy of an Iroquois chief not only blasted the hopes they had reasonably entertained, but subjected the army to the most severe distress. While the Iroquois warriors were exulting in the prospect of entirely destroying the French, this crafty leader, to whom they had always listened with respect and deference, said to his people, "Ah! but I have been considering what will become of us, if we destroy the French, who keep the English in check.* The latter will then assuredly crush us, in order to possess our country. Let us not, therefore, foolishly bring certain ruin upon ourselves, merely to indulge our passions, or to please the English. Let us rather leave the French and English in a position which will make either of them set a high value on our friendship." This was their former and favourite system, but as they considered it shameful to desert the English openly, they concluded on effecting their purpose by enveloping their treachery under the most profound secrecy and diabolical cruelty. "The lawless savages," says Raynal, "the

* The same argument would have been just, if made in respect to the conquest of Canada by the English. Had France remained mistress of Canada, it is not probable that the Americans would have established their independence until a later period. The nationality of the lower Canadians, if preserved, will form the most lasting and formidable defence of British power in North America.

religious Hebrews, the wise and warlike Greeks and Romans; in a word, all people, whether civilised or not, have always made what is called the rights of nations to consist in craft or violence."

The English army halted on the banks of a small river, where they encamped and waited for the artillery and ammunition, which were following at a slower rate than the march of the main body of the troops.

The Iroquois, who, in the mean time, spent their leisure hours in hunting, flayed all the animals they killed, and sunk their skins in the river, a little above the English camp. The English, who had no suspicion of the fatal treachery, continued to drink of the poisoned water; and so many were carried off in consequence, that it soon became necessary to suspend all military operations. They were therefore compelled to return to New York, where they learned that the destination of the fleet which was to proceed with troops to besiege Quebec, was changed, and sent to Lisbon to protect Portugal from the Spaniards.

The English colonists soon after renewed their preparations against the French; and an army, accompanied by some Iroquois, marched towards Canada; but, meeting with great difficulty, they returned, on receiving information that a second fleet, with the troops intended to besiege Quebec, was dispersed, and eight of the largest vessels lost near Seven Islands Bay.

M. de Vaudreuil had, however, by this time, managed to engage such numerous bodies of Indians, and to fortify Quebec so strongly, while he, at the same time, guarded the advanced posts with such vigilance,

that had the fleet and the troops from New York even arrived safely before Quebec, there would have been little risk of France losing Canada, although there would have been, in all probability, great loss of life on both sides. The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1712, gave peace to Canada, and M. de Vaudreuil had now leisure to direct his attention to the local affairs of the province.

A little before this time, a powerful tribe of Indians, called the Autagamis, or the Foxes, were instigated by the Iroquois to besiege Detroit, where they built a fort near that of the French. The allies of the latter, however, arrived in great numbers, and a furious attack was made upon the fort of the Autagamis. The latter defended themselves with the most extraordinary obstinacy; but, finding that nothing but death awaited their surrender, they contrived to escape from the fort at night, during a snow-storm. They were, however, soon afterwards overtaken, many of them massacred, and the remainder, amounting to 150 men, women, and children, were distributed among the allies, and nearly all put to death. The loss of the Autagamis amounted to about 1000, and that of the allies to no more than sixty.

The result of this expedition prevented the English from building a fort at Detroit, as they intended, which would have been ruinous to the fur trade of Canada.

Soon after the peace of Utrecht, the English built a fort on the banks of Lake Ontario, which secured them a great share of the fur trade. The French also rebuilt the fort at Niagara, and strengthened their garrison at Detroit, which commanded the

great line of intercourse in their dealings with the Indians of the west, as well as the track of communication with Louisiana, the Illinois, and the Mississippi, which was frequently interrupted by the warlike Autagamis, and their allies the Sioux and Chicasaws. M. de Vaudreuil at length brought those savages to pacific overtures; and, as a means of increasing the population of the French settlements, and strengthening the garrisons, he proposed that 150 of the convicts, which were condemned in France to the galleys, should be annually sent to Canada.

At this period, (1714,) there were no more than 4500 men, from fourteen to sixty years of age, able to bear arms, in all Canada, while the English colonies could raise about 60,000. During the remainder of M. de Vaudreuil's administration, terminated by his death in 1725, the French colonists enjoyed the blessings of peace; and the cultivation and trade of the province prospered under his vigilant, firm, and just government, which for twenty-one years was attended with the approbation of his sovereign, and the esteem and admiration of those under his command.

The Chevalier de Beauharnois, who succeeded to the government, planned an unsuccessful enterprise to cross America to the South Sea; and he also erected the important fort at Crown Point, with several others, in order to keep the English east of the Alleghany mountains. During his long administration the interests of Canada were generally attended to; the colony enjoyed the blessings of peace; some important changes were made in the laws; several church decretals, which clogged industry, and pressed heavily on the people, were repeal-

ed; and the conduct of the nuns, which was for some time complained of as irregular, and very different from the vows by which they pretended to regulate their character and habits, was controlled. In 1745, a royal edict directed that no country-houses should be built but on farms of one acre and a half in front, and by forty back. This law confined the population along the banks of the rivers.

In 1746, the Count de la Galissoniere, a nobleman of great acquirements, succeeded M. de Beauharnois; but, being unable to obtain that assistance in carrying his plans into execution which he expected from France, he was superseded, in 1747, by M. de la Jonquiere; who was also succeeded temporarily by the Baron de Longueuil, until the arrival of the Marquis du Quesne, in 1752, as governor-general. Preparations were made by him immediately after for active warfare with the English colonists, and hostilities were commenced on their traders on the Ohio. The Sieur de Vaudreuil Cavagnal succeeded him in 1755.

The English army, commanded by General Braddock, was repulsed this year; and, on the following year, the celebrated Marquis de Montcalm, who had arrived from France, with a strong reinforcement of regular troops, destroyed Fort Oswego, the outworks of Fort George, and the sloops and *bateaux* that were intended to attack Crown Point. Next year, he reduced Fort George; but the victory was disgraced by the massacre of 2000 of its inhabitants by the savages under his command, which completely roused the indignation of the British, and led to those mighty preparations which I have already noticed in the

Historical Sketch of Nova Scotia, and which finally destroyed the power of France in America.

The financial affairs of Canada, and the interests of private individuals, were also about this time placed in a ruinous position, by the profligacy and villany of M. Bigot, the intendant-general.

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CHAP. V.

PREPARATIONS MADE BY THE ENGLISH FOR CONQUERING CANADA. — FORCES UNDER GENERAL WOLFE LAND AND ASCEND THE HEIGHTS. — BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM. — DEATH OF WOLFE. — SURRENDER OF QUEBEC. — DEATH OF MONTCALM. — SURRENDER OF NIAGARA. — TICONDERAGO. — CROWN POINT AND MONTREAL. — THE INTENDANT-GENERAL M. BIGOT'S FRAUDULENCY. — GOVERNOR MURRAY'S REPORT.

SUCH was the condition of Canada when the English, exasperated by the massacre at Fort George, and animated by the surrender of Louisburg, unanimously resolved on subduing all the northern French possessions in America.

It was therefore determined to conquer Canada, by attacking Quebec, Fort Niagara, and the forts at Ticonderago and Crown Point. To the army under General Wolfe, and the fleet under Admiral Saunders, was assigned the conquest of Quebec; to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, the reduction of the forts at Crown Point and Ticonderago; and that of Niagara to General Prideaux, but which afterwards devolved on Sir William Johnston. The latter expeditions were afterwards to concentrate their forces with those under General Wolfe.

In the month of June 1759, the English fleet reached the Island of Orleans, where Wolfe landed with an army of 8000. The French disposable forces, exclusive of the garrison of Quebec, consisted

of about 10,000 men, with a reserve of 2000. Wolfe first attempted the entrenchments at Montmorenci, landing his troops under cover of the fire from the ships of war; but he was gallantly repulsed by the French. After some delay, it was determined to effect a landing, in order to carry the heights of Abraham, above Quebec. This daring resolution was effected on the 12th September, with surprising secrecy and intrepidity.

The ships of war sailed nine miles up the river above Quebec to Cape Rouge. This feint deceived M. Bougainville, who, with his division of the French army, proceeded still farther up along the banks of the river, to prevent the British debarking. During the night, the English ships dropped down silently with the current to Wolfe's Cove, and at four o'clock in the morning the troops began to land. At eight, the British army ascended the precipitous heights, with two field-pieces in front; the 48th regiment and the light infantry forming a reserve, and the royal Americans covering the landing.

The Marquis de Montcalm, who was then at Beauport, marched across the St. Charles on the 13th, and imprudently formed in front of the British army, with only one field-piece, and before he could concentrate all his disposable forces. He then advanced most gallantly; but the scattered, quick firing of his troops, which commenced when within about 250 yards of the English line, was far from being so effective as that of the British. The latter moved forward regularly, firing steadily, until within twenty or thirty yards of the enemy, when they gave a general volley, and the French were soon after routed. Bougainville had just then appeared in sight, but the

fate of Canada was decreed — the critical moment was gone, and he retired to Point au Tremble, where he encamped: from thence he retreated, first to Three Rivers, and then to Montreal. There was also a body of French troops near Beauport, which were not engaged. Had all the forces been concentrated under Montcalm, it is doubtful if the heroism of the British troops could have secured victory. The most extraordinary bravery was displayed both by the English and French. Both armies lost their commanders. Wolfe expired with victory accompanying the close of his splendid career. At the age of thirty-five, when but few men begin even to appear on the theatre of great deeds, inheriting no family pretensions, and unassisted by faction or intrigue, he held a command of the highest responsibility, and with a truly unblemished character fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of his country.

The Marquis de Montcalm, an officer of equal bravery, died of his wounds a few days after.* Quebec capitulated on the 18th to General Murray, who succeeded to the command. He, however, committed a most egregious blunder some time afterwards,

* A misunderstanding, it is well known, existed between the Governor M. de Vaudreuil and General Montcalm. The latter proposed a different plan of attack and defence from that resolved upon by the former, who in council a few days before even expressed his doubts as to the courage of the Marquis de Montcalm; who, in the spirit of wounded honour, immediately fought a precipitate battle, before concentrating the forces, within less than a day's march.

All the Canadians consider this circumstance, joined to the rapacity of the civil officers, who carried on a general system of pillage with the most audacious effrontery, as the causes which secured the easy conquest of Canada.

by leaving Quebec to attack M. Levi, who was encamped with the French army at Sillery, and who completely defeated General Murray, and compelled him to retire within the walls of Quebec, with the loss of his artillery, and nearly one-third of his army.

The fort at Niagara was in the mean time reduced by Sir William Johnston, and the forts at Ticonderago and Crown Point by General Amherst. They were consequently enabled to concentrate their forces and form a junction with General Murray. Previously to this, on learning that the English fleet was in the St. Lawrence, and that the armament sent from France to relieve Quebec was captured in the Bay de Chaleur by a squadron from Louisburg, under Captain Byron, the French forces retreated to Montreal, where the governor-general, M. de Vaudreuil, determined to make a desperate stand. Being, however, invested by the united forces of the three British generals, he found further resistance useless, and capitulated on the 8th of September, 1760, when Montreal and all the French fortresses in Canada were surrendered to Great Britain. The articles of capitulation under which Montreal surrendered were highly honourable to M. de Vaudreuil, who exacted, to the utmost that he could possibly expect to obtain, every advantage for the people he had previously commanded.

Whatever the officers of government lost by Canada changing sovereigns, the peasantry, and other industrious classes, gained great advantages. The evils of a debt due the inhabitants by the government of France were, it is true, severely felt. This arose from the fraudulent conduct of M. Bigot, the intendant-general. His peculations, it was found, amount-

ed to at least 400,000*l.*, the greater part of which he lavished on a mistress. His bills on the French Treasury, and orders to the amount of 3,333,333*l.*, 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling, were protested. When the Canadians became British subjects, an indemnity was obtained for them of only 125,400*l.* in bonds, and 250,000*l.* in specie for this immense debt. The bonds afterwards went for nothing.*

The annual expenditure of the government of Canada, in 1729, was 16,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, but it increased, in 1759, to the enormous sum of 1,083,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

For some time after the capitulation of Canada, no regard was paid to the French laws or courts. Military tribunals were instituted in the districts, from which appeals might be made to the commanding officer. General Murray carefully guarded against the abuse of power in such absolute courts.

Soon after the peace of 1763, which left to France no part of all her vast territories and power in North America, Governor Murray established new courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, in which the laws of England were introduced, and continued in force until the year 1775.

The following extracts from a letter written in 1765, by Governor Murray, to the Lords of Trade

* On further enquiry, I find the Canadians scarcely received any part of these immense claims, excepting a small proportion of the amount in specie. The French government, however, came to the resolution, several years after, to pay the bills or rescriptions due to the Canadians. These bills were purchased for trifling sums by capitalists. M. Beaujon, a financier, made a profit, it is said, of 18 millions of francs by the speculation; and it was these bills that actually insured the success of M. Necker as a rich banker, being the first step (*premier pas*) which led to his fortune.

and Plantations, afford, it is believed, a just account of the state of the province at that period. "It consists," he states, "of 110 parishes, exclusive of the towns of Quebec and Montreal. These parishes contain 9722 houses, and 54,575 Christian souls; they occupy, of arable land, 955,755 arpents. They sowed, in the year 1765, 180,300½ minots of grain, and that year they possessed 12,546 oxen, 22,724 cows, 15,039 young horned cattle, 27,064 sheep, 28,976 swine, and 13,757 horses, as appears by the annexed recapitulation, taken by his order in the year 1765.

"The towns of Quebec and Montreal contain about 14,700 inhabitants. The savages, who are called Roman Catholics, being within the limits of the province, consist of 7400 souls, so that the whole, exclusive of the king's troops, amount to 76,275 souls; of which, in the parishes are nineteen Protestant families; the rest of that persuasion (a few half-pay officers excepted) are traders, mechanics, and publicans, who reside in the lower towns of Quebec and Montreal. Most of them were followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at the reduction of the troops. All have their fortunes to make, and I fear few are solicitous about the means, when the end can be attained. *I report them to be, in general, the most immoral collection of men I ever knew: of course, little calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion, and customs; and far less adapted to enforce those laws which are to govern them.*

"On the other hand, the Canadians, accustomed to arbitrary, and a sort of military government, are a frugal, industrious, and moral race of men, who, from

the just and mild treatment they met with from his Majesty's military officers, who ruled the country for four years, until the establishment of civil government, had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had to their conquerors.

“ They consist of a noblesse; who are numerous, and who pique themselves much upon the antiquity of their families, their own military glory, and that of their ancestors. These noblesse are seigneurs of the whole country, and, though not rich, are in a situation, in that plentiful part of the world, where money is scarce and luxury still unknown, to support their dignity. Their tenants, who pay only an annual quit-rent of about a dollar for one hundred acres, are at their ease, and comfortable. They have been accustomed to respect and obey their noblesse; their tenures being military, in the feudal manner, they have shared with them the dangers of the field, and natural affection has been increased, in proportion to the calamities which have been common to both from the conquest of this country.

“ As they have been taught to respect their superiors, and are not yet intoxicated with the abuse of liberty, they are shocked at the insults which their noblesse and the king's officers have received from the English traders and lawyers, since the civil government took place. It is natural to suppose they are zealous of their religion. They are very ignorant: it was the policy of the French government to keep them so: few or none can read. Printing was never permitted in Canada till we got possession of it. Their veneration for the priesthood is in proportion to their ignorance: it will probably decrease as they become enlightened, for the clergy there are of mean birth

and very illiterate; and as they are now debarred from supplies of ecclesiastics from France, that order of men will become more and more contemptible, provided they are not exposed to persecution.*

“ Disorders and divisions, from the nature of things, could not be avoided in attempting to establish the civil government in Canada, agreeable to my instructions, while the same troops, who conquered and governed the country for four years, remained in it. They were commanded by an officer, who, by the civil establishment, had been deprived of the government of half the province, and who remained, in every respect, independent of that establishment. Magistrates were to be made, and juries to be composed, out of 450 contemptible settlers and traders. It is easy to conceive how the narrow ideas and ignorance of such men must offend any troops, more especially those who had so long governed them, and knew the means from which they were elevated. It would be very unreasonable to suppose that such men would not be intoxicated with the unexpected power put into their hands; and that they would not be eager to show how amply they possessed it. As there were no barracks in the country, the quartering of the troops furnished perpetual opportunities of displaying their importance and rancour. *The Canadian noblesse were hated, because their birth and behaviour entitled them to respect; and*

* This observation is the only one objectionable, *on account of truth, in this able letter.* I feel no fear in hazarding the assertion, that the Catholic clergy were not at that time illiterate, nor generally of low birth: and since that period, instead of becoming contemptible, they have become, with the growing intelligence of the world, more learned and respectable.

the peasants were abhorred, because they were saved from the oppression they were threatened with. The presentment of the Grand Jury at Quebec puts the truth of these remarks beyond doubt.* The silence of the king's servants to the governor's remonstrances, in consequence of their presentment, though his secretary was sent to them on purpose to expedite an explanation, contributed to encourage the disturbers of the peace.

“The improper choice and numbers of the civil officers sent out from England increased the inquietude of the colony. Instead of men of genius and untainted morals, the very reverse were appointed to the most important offices; and it was impossible to communicate, through them, those impressions of the dignity of government, by which alone mankind can be held together in society. The judge fixed upon to conciliate the minds of 75,600 foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain, was taken from a gaol, entirely ignorant of civil law, and of the language of the people. The attorney-general, with regard to the language of the people, was not better qualified.

“The offices of secretary of the province, registrar, clerk of the council, commissary of stores and provisions, provost-martial, &c. were given by patent to men of interest in England, who let them out to the best bidders, and so little did they consider the capacity of their representatives, that not one of them understood the language of the natives. As no sa-

* The Protestant Grand Jury represented the Roman Catholics as a nuisance, on account of their religion. “Ils ont laissé beaucoup de successeurs, héritiers des ces sentimens,” said a learned Canadian to me.

lary was annexed to these patent places, the value of them depended upon the fees, which, by my instructions, I was ordered to establish, equal to those of the richest ancient colony. This heavy tax, and the rapacity of the English lawyers, were severely felt by the poor Canadians; but they patiently submitted, and, though stimulated to dispute it by some of the licentious traders from New York, they cheerfully obeyed the Stamp Act, in hopes that their good behaviour would recommend them to the favour and protection of their sovereign.

“As the council-book of the province, and likewise my answer to the complaints made against my administration, have been laid before your lordships, it is needless to presume to say any thing further on that subject, than that I glory in having been accused of warmth and firmness in protecting the king’s Canadian subjects, and of doing the utmost in my power to gain to my royal master the affections of that brave, hardy people, whose emigration, if ever it should happen, will be an irreparable loss to this empire; to prevent which, I declare to your lordships, I would cheerfully submit to greater calumnies and indignities, (if greater can be devised,) than hitherto I have undergone.”*

* “Rien de plus vrai et de plus exact que les observations du Général Murray, sur les affaires du Canada après la conquête,” said a highly talented Canadian gentleman to me, on reading this letter.

CHAP. VI.

SIR GUY CARLETON'S ADMINISTRATION. — QUEBEC ACT OF 1774. — AMERICAN WAR. — MONTREAL SURRENDERS TO GENERAL MONTGOMERY, WHO IS AFTERWARDS KILLED AT QUEBEC. — THE AMERICANS RETREAT FROM THE PROVINCE. — CONSTITUTIONAL ACT OF 1791, AND PARTITION OF THE PROVINCE, NOT AGREEABLE TO THE ENGLISH INHABITANTS. — SIR GUY CARLETON CREATED A PEER. — GENERAL PRESCOT GOVERNOR. — SIR R. MILNES. — SIR JAMES CRAIG.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR GUY CARLETON succeeded Governor Murray, in 1776, but the inhabitants, particularly the English, appear to have been discontented with the new form of administering the laws. Meetings were frequently held, and petitions were forwarded, in order to obtain a constitutional legislative government, which ended, not as the English inhabitants wished, but by restoring Canada nearly to its former condition under the French government. This celebrated act, 14 Geo. III., commonly called the Quebec Act, placed Canada in a situation entirely different from any other British colony. It declared all former provisions made for the province null and void. In place of a Legislative Assembly, the administration was to be confined to the governor, and a council appointed by the king. It established the French laws according to the *Coutume de Paris*, by which all civil matters were to be adjudicated. In criminal matters, the laws of England were still to

be in force. The French language was also to be used in the courts. The Catholic Church was secured in all the immunities it enjoyed under the French king, with all its former revenues. The seignorial tenures were also to remain undisturbed.

This act, which passed rather hurriedly through the Imperial Parliament, gave no satisfaction to the English inhabitants, who expected to rule over the French Canadians as a conquered people who had lost all their civil and religious rights (*comme un peuple qui auroit été dehors de la civilisation*). The Quebec Act, however, which was the result of an examination of the statements and petitions of the Canadians, acknowledges, at least, their laws, privileges, and religious establishments.

In the mean time the Stamp Act was submitted to in Canada, which, with the Quebec Act, being considered by the people of New England as having been passed merely to favour the Catholics, and the refusal also of the Canadians to send delegates to Congress, formed the grounds on which the provincials invaded Canada.

Longueil, St. John's, and Chambly were soon after reduced by General Montgomery, an officer of high reputation. Montreal also, in which were deposited a great quantity of military stores and provisions, surrendered to him, in November, 1755. General Arnold having, by another route, reached the St. Lawrence, on the 15th December, they effected a junction of their forces, and on the 31st they attempted to storm Quebec during the night; but General Montgomery was killed, and the Americans completely repulsed. On the following year, a rein-

forcement of troops enabled the Canadians to drive the Americans from the province.

In 1776, Lord Dorchester arrived at Quebec as governor-general; but the form of government remained unaltered till 1791, when the Act 31 Geo. III., commonly called the Constitutional Act, divided the province of Quebec into the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, and gave to each a separate legislative government, consisting of a governor, council, and House of Assembly. The French laws and language were still to be in full force, as established by the Quebec Act, 14 Geo. III.

The English inhabitants, and their connections in the United Kingdom, exclaimed against the policy of allowing either the old laws or French language to remain in force or usage in Canada, and against the partition. At first their arguments appear, if not quite reasonable, certainly plausible. Some inconveniences may have resulted from the provisions of the Constitutional Act of 1791; but all who study the science of government are convinced that partial evils always attend the laws which are necessary to rule society and preserve the spirit of order in the administration of justice. In passing this act, the object of the government was, to allow the Canadians the benefits of their establishments and laws; and to confide to themselves such alterations in either, as new circumstances might render expedient.

By dividing the province, Mr. Pitt, who agreed to it, acted wisely: each division suited its particular inhabitants. The feelings and prejudices of those who emigrated to Upper Canada were repugnant to those of the lower province; and the Lower Canadians

were, from custom and early associations, naturally more attached to their own laws and constitutions.

Nothing could now be more impolitic than to reunite both colonies. Such a measure would cause endless divisions and irreconcilable party spirit.

His Majesty's ministers will, it is probable, hereafter allow each colony the management of their respective local affairs, according to their wants, tastes, habits, and affections; all uneasiness and all difficulty with respect to their government will then cease.

In 1796, General Prescott was appointed governor. During his administration several legislative acts were passed for the improvement of the province; but much of the time of the legislature appears to have been occupied in political disputes of little consequence. Much abuse in the granting of crown lands occurred also about the same time; and the members of the land-granting department having managed to grant each other large tracts of the most valuable lands, to the injury of vast numbers of settlers and emigrants, Governor Prescott and the Chief Justice Osgood disagreed openly and violently on this subject.

In 1800, the affairs of the province were intrusted to the administration of Sir Robert S. Milnes, as lieutenant-governor; and, in 1807, Sir James H. Craig was appointed governor-general. The province, during this period, enjoyed peace; and its trade, in consequence of the disturbed state of Europe, flourished and increased rapidly. Difficulties, however, arose at this time between the governor and House of Assembly; and, in 1810, the resolutions of the House expelling the judges, the pledge of the House to pay the civil list, and the expulsion of

Judge Debonne by vote, led to the dissolution of the Assembly; which, with the suppression of "Le Canadien" newspaper, the seizure of its press, the imprisonment of its printer, and of three members of the Assembly who were never tried, and many other arbitrary measures on the part of the executive, imparted to this period the designation of "the Reign of Terror."

Sir James Craig was no doubt led into those odious measures by his council, who were chiefly men who had acquired undue influence in the province; and who, under pretence of upholding his administration, but in reality with mercenary views, persuaded him to do foolish and unjust things. The judges under him interfered in the elections; and although all men acquainted with the constitution of the province knew well that no judge could represent the inhabitants in the Legislative Assembly, one of the judges of the King's Bench was elected: jealousy on the part of the Council, in respect to the House of Assembly interfering with the distribution of the public money, always led either to the untimely dissolution or prorogation of the latter. The legislature of Canada, therefore, became a nullity in its constitutional capacity of originating or passing money bills. Under Sir James Craig, the legislature was frequently dissolved by the advice of placemen. A proclamation, stating that the country was in a state of revolt (as vile a falsehood as was ever framed), was published, and the curates of all the parishes compelled to read the infamous document to as loyal subjects as any acknowledging allegiance to his Majesty. Letters to answer the objects of those interested were circulated on

Sundays at the churches. In short, the governor was completely duped, and he only discovered the delusion on his departure from the province.

It is, indeed, easy for those who have been for a long time acquiring influence, through money or interested coadjutors, in a province like Canada, to deceive a governor on and long after his arrival; and his Majesty's ministers have been equally deceived, and generally accused of unjust measures, in which they have had no concern, but an anxious wish to promote the public good.*

* Among other attempts upon the rights of the Canadians, the following facts will appear extraordinary to those who experience security under the British government:—

Some time before the arrival of Governor Craig, when Sir Robert Milnes was lieutenant-governor, the governor's council, who formed also the Court of Appeal from the law courts, pretended that M. Sanguinet, Seigneur of La Salle, conceded lands beyond the limits of his title; and they, on this assumption, resolved to dispossess him of a portion extending about three leagues in front of his seignior, and on which 300 families (*censitaires*) were settled. Proceedings were accordingly entered against M. Sanguinet; but, the Court deciding against the Crown (*i. e.* the Council), an appeal was made to *the Council*, who declared the land to belong to the Crown. M. Sanguinet not being able to appeal from their decision to the King in Council, judgment was executed against him; and some time after, these lands were conceded, in free and common soccage, to a few persons,—among others, the then English bishop, at the time a member of the Council. Sir R. Milnes having refused to sign the grants, they were presented to Sir James Craig, soon after his arrival, who, in ignorance of the iniquity of the proceedings, signed them. The grantees, or their assigns, then issued writs of ejectment against the *censitaires*. The Court of King's Bench, in the first place, and then the Court (the Judges) of Appeal, the Council, decided against the peaceable *censitaires*, all Canadians, who were born and brought up in quiet agricultural habits on the seignior.

The legislature of the province then interfered, to save these

people, with their wives and families, from spoliation and ruin ; and, after various delays, vexations, and losses, a final representation was made, during the administration of the Duke of Richmond (in 1819), which ended, not in re-establishing M. Sanguinet, but others as seigneurs of the disputed land, securing, however, the censitaires in their concessions, by paying the usual seignorial dues.

It was also injudicious policy for Sir James Craig to make large grants of lands to others, especially to men who came on speculation from the United States, to the prejudice of the loyal Canadians, who were even then too much crowded on the seignories. The latter, so wonderfully attached to their natal soil, will ever be its best defenders. Destroy their means of settlement, and, to their exclusion, let in strangers upon large grants, and then a favourite policy of the Americans is attained.

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CHAP. VII.

SIR GEORGE PREVOST. — OPERATIONS DURING THE AMERICAN WAR.

SIR GEORGE PREVOST succeeded to the administration of Canada, in 1811, as governor-general; and in the following year the United States declared war against Great Britain. The details of this war, even as far as respects Canada, would be too lengthy for this work. It will be sufficient, therefore, to observe briefly, that, notwithstanding the reports, industriously circulated by their adversaries, that if arms were placed in the hands of the Canadians, they would fight, not against the Americans, but the English government; the provincial legislature immediately adopted the most decisive measures for supporting the credit of the government, and for the defence of the Canadas. The regular forces amounted to only 4000 men; but the militia was immediately enrolled, armed, and trained for active service; the garrisons were also strengthened, and in a few weeks Lower Canada was completely prepared for defensive war.

In July, General Hull, commanding the American forces, entered Upper Canada; and on the 16th of August he was opposed by General Brock, the lieutenant-governor, who vanquished his whole force, and sent them as prisoners of war to Montreal.

The Americans, however, collected a strong body of troops on the Niagara frontier; and in the end of November they passed over into Canada, where, on the heights of Queenstone, the battle was fought, in which the enemy were completely defeated, but which was rendered still more memorable by being the field on which the heroic Brock fell.

Soon after, the Americans invaded the Niagara frontier, with little success; and the British naval force, with no better fortune, attacked Sackett's Harbour. In January following (1813), General Procter opposed General Winchester near Detroit, and made him and 500 Americans prisoners; but the British were soon after defeated at Ogdensburg; and in the end of April the Americans burnt York, and in less than a month they held possession of all the Niagara frontier.

General Procter again compelled 500 Americans to surrender near the River Miami; and on the 6th of June, the defeat of the Americans, near Burlington, by Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, restored the Niagara frontier to the British. Two American vessels were also captured at Isle aux Noix, by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor; and in July the barracks at Plattsburg and Black Rock were completely destroyed by the British. But an attack on Sackett's Harbour, by Sir George Prevost, on which great hopes were formed, completely failed; and on the 10th of September the American Commodore Perry captured all the British vessels on Lake Erie; and General Procter was defeated near Detroit in October following. The British were consequently obliged to retreat to Burlington; and an American army, in three divi-

sions, advanced towards Montreal. Colonel de Salebery, with the Canadian militia, however, defeated General Hampton and 7000 American troops, and compelled them to retreat to Plattsburg; and Colonel Morrison repulsed General Boyd at Chrystler's Farm. The whole American army then retreated to Sackett's Harbour and Plattsburg. After burning Newark, the Americans retired before winter from the Niagara frontier. Meantime the British General Rial destroyed Black Rock and Buffalo.

In March following (1814), an American force, under General Wilkinson, entered Canada, and, at Lacolle, was opposed by Major Handcoke, who repulsed and drove them back to the States; but in July the American General Brown captured Fort Erie. During this summer a desultory warfare was carried on between the Americans and British, in which the former had generally the most success. In August, the British received reinforcements: yet Sir George Prevost found it expedient to retreat from Plattsburg with an army of 11,000 men, on the 11th May, although the enemy consisted only of 1500 regular troops, and a few companies of militia. About the same time, the squadron, hastily fitted out on Lake Champlain, and commanded by Commodore Downie, was completely defeated by the American Commodore MacDonough; Downie and several officers were killed in the action.

It now became absolutely necessary for the British to act with extraordinary vigour and decision; and in the month of November the Americans abandoned all the posts they held in Canada. The command of the Lakes was at the same time secured, and several

American posts captured. The Treaty of Ghent, signed in December, 1814, terminated the war.*

Never were preparations carried on with greater expense, and never did those in power exhibit greater ignorance, than during the whole of this inglorious war. Some remarks will be found in a following chapter, on the egregious blunders in providing supplies and making naval preparations for defending the Canadas at that time against the Americans; the enormous expense of which is usually placed to the sole account of what those provinces has cost Great Britain; while it is well known that their chief and most effective security depended on the bravery of their own militia.

Sir George Gordon Drummond† succeeded Sir

* Two facts which occurred under the administration of Sir George Prevost deserve being noticed.

The Provincial Legislature, in imitation of the Imperial Parliament, passed an act, renewed annually, commencing with the war occasioned by the first French revolution, suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. Some change was proposed by the House of Assembly, to which the Council refused to consent, and the act expired nearly at the time the United States declared war against England; yet without any similar law, the people were submissive to every circumstance occasioned by the war.

On the approach of the Americans, martial law was projected by Sir George Prevost, who, however, on the consequences of its danger, and inutility in Canada, being pointed out to him by some Canadian gentlemen, relinquished the measure. Military tribunals would, at that or any other time, destroy the confidence of the Canadians; and without the consent of the Provincial Legislature, no executive government can ever *establish* a practical martial law.

† This administrator dissolved the House of Assembly, on learning that the House came to the resolution to petition the King relative to the decision of the Privy Council discharging the accusations against the Chief Justice and the Judge of Montreal.

George Prevost in the administration of the government, in April, 1815; and John Wilson, Esq. held the office of administrator after him, until the arrival of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who was appointed governor-general in July, 1816. Few political matters of consequence occurred during this period. The vigorous and judicious administration of Sir John Coape Sherbrooke was highly satisfactory. He inspired the Canadians with full confidence in the constitution and laws of the country; and, if a severe malady had not disabled him from ruling over the province, he would probably have prevented many evils and causes of discontent, which have continued to distract the civil tranquillity of the province.

CHAP. VIII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND. — CIVIL LIST. —
EARL OF DALHOUSIE. — SIR JAMES KEMPT. — LORD AYLMER.

IN July, 1818, the Duke of Richmond arrived as governor-general. His administration, if not so active as that of his predecessor, was at least satisfactory; and its duration was suddenly terminated by his unfortunate death at Ottawa, in consequence of hydrophobia, in September, 1819. Under him, the legislature agreed to pay the civil list of the province, and out of this measure arose those financial questions which created discontent and difficulty during the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie. From the death of the Duke of Richmond, until the arrival of Lord Dalhousie as governor-general, in 1820, the government of the province was administered by the Honourable James Monk as president, and afterwards by Sir Peregrine Maitland.

It is difficult to reconcile the amiable private character of the Earl of Dalhousie, and the harmony which characterised his administration in Nova Scotia, with his unhappy administration of the affairs of Canada.

The real causes of the difficulties that disturbed the tranquillity of Canada during Lord Dalhousie's government, may be discovered in the influence of parties who had long arrogated to themselves the

right of advising the representatives of his majesty ; but the presumptive cause of discontent is attributed to the legislature agreeing to pay the civil list, and the crown accepting of the same, without any specific constitutional stipulation at the time. The financial affairs of the province continued to move on smoothly, until the death of his Majesty George the Third, when a new provincial parliament was assembled, of whom it was expected, by the executive government, that they should pass a bill providing for the civil establishment of the province. The Legislative Assembly then came to a resolution to appropriate, in separate items, the whole revenue of the province, amounting to about 140,000*l.*, including about 34,000*l.* of annual permanent revenue, and a small hereditary revenue of about 3400*l.*, both hitherto received and distributed at the pleasure of the executive government. The crown, however, claimed the exclusive right of distributing the latter sums, amounting together to nearly 38,000*l.*, "on the ground that the Quebec Act of 1774, and the Constitutional Act, 1791, imposed on the lords commissioners of the treasury the duty of appropriating the revenue granted to his Majesty by the first of those statutes ; and that, whilst the law should continue unaltered by the same authority by which it was framed, his Majesty's government was not authorised to replace the revenue under the control of the legislature of the province." * This formed the grand basis of dispute between the Representative Assembly and the Executive. "Both

* On examining the acts of 1774 and 1791, we will find this construction not only evasive, but incorrect ; nor is the observation of Mr. Huskisson just, in respect to the legislature "standing on its extreme right."

parties," Mr. Huskisson observed in the House of Commons, "might be fairly considered as standing on their extreme rights." Neither, however, would yield. Lord Dalhousie came to England; and, in his absence, the late Sir Francis Burton, as lieutenant-governor, administered the affairs of the province. He assembled the provincial parliament, and asked the legislature to provide for the public expenses, in like manner as under the government of Sir John C. Sherbrooke. This they agreed to without hesitation, and with liberality.

The Lower House endeavoured also to avoid every encroachment that might invade the privileges of the Legislative Councils (*pour éviter même de blesser l'amour propre du Conseil, dont plusieurs des membres prétendoient que le revenu provençal de l'Act de 1774 étoit à la disposition de l'exécutif*).

Lord Dalhousie returned soon after (1825) to Canada, and the arrangement of the finance question became every day more difficult. He dissolved the Legislature, and a new House was elected; but he refused to approve of the appointment of Mr. Papineau as speaker: the House of Assembly would elect no other: it was prorogued accordingly; and the imperatively necessary legislative business of the province was consequently stopped, and all operations depending on the appropriation of the revenue by the House of Assembly lost to the provinces. It was impossible for matters to continue long in this state. Eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants petitioned the king. They charged his Lordship with arbitrary conduct; — of applying public money without legal appropriations; of violent prorogation and dissolution of the Assembly; of preventing the passing

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of many useful acts; of continuing the receiver-general in office after he was known to be insolvent, and a defaulter to the amount of 96,000*l.*, and of allowing similar abuses with regard to sheriffs; "of dismissing the principal militia officers for the constitutional exercise of their rights; of the sudden and extensive remodelling of the commission of the peace, to serve," they alleged, "political purposes; and of a vexatious system of prosecution for libel, at the instance of the attorney-general." His Majesty's ministers submitted the affairs of Canada to a committee of the House of Commons, who certainly devoted their serious attention to the subject. Their report recommended, "That it will be advantageous that the declaratory enactment in the Tenure Act, respecting lands held in free or common soccage, should be retained. That mortgages should be special; and that, in proceedings for the conveyance of land, the simplest and least expensive forms should be adopted, upon the principle of the law of England. That a registration of deeds relating to soccage lands should be established; that means should be found of bringing into effective operation the clauses in the Tenure Act; and they entertain no doubt of the inexpediency of retaining the seigniorial rights of the crown, in the hope of deriving a profit from them; that some competent jurisdiction should be established to try and decide causes arising out of this description of property; and that circuit courts should be instituted within the townships for the same purposes. That the Canadians of French extraction should in no degree be disturbed in the peaceful enjoyment of their religion, laws, and privileges, as secured to them by the British Acts of Parliament; and, so far from

requiring them to hold lands on the British tenure, they think, that when the lands in the seigniories are fully occupied, if the descendants of the original settlers shall still retain their attachment to the tenure of *fief et seigneurie*, they see no objections to the other portions of unoccupied lands in that province being granted to them on the same tenure, provided that such lands are set apart from, and not intermixed with the townships.

“ That although, from the opinion given by the law officers of the crown, the committee must conclude that the legal right of appropriating the revenues arising from the act of 1744, is vested in the crown, they are prepared to say, that the real interests of the provinces would be best promoted by placing the receipt and expenditure of the whole public revenue under the superintendence and control of the House of Assembly. On the other hand, the governor, the members of the executive council, and the judges, should be independent of the annual votes of the House of Assembly for their respective salaries. That the committee were fully aware of the objections in principle, which may be fairly raised against the practice of voting permanent salaries to judges who are removable at the pleasure of the crown; but being convinced that it would be inexpedient that the crown should be deprived of that power of removal, and having well considered the public inconvenience which might result from their being left in dependence upon annual votes of the Assembly, they have decided to make the recommendation, in their instance, of a permanent vote of salary; that although the grant of permanent salaries has been recommended to a much greater number of persons con-

nected with the executive government than they have included in their recommendation, they have no hesitation in expressing their opinion, that it was unnecessary to include so large a number ; and if the officers above enumerated are placed on the footing recommended, they are of opinion that all the revenues of the province (except territorial and hereditary revenues) should be placed under the control and direction of the Legislative Assembly ; that the committee could not close their observations on this branch of their enquiry, without calling the attention of the House to the important circumstance, that in the progress of these disputes the local government has thought it necessary, through a long series of years, to have recourse to a measure (which nothing but the most extreme necessity could justify) of annually appropriating, *by its own authority, large sums of the money of the province, amounting to no less than 140,000*l.* without the consent of the representatives of the people, under whose control the appropriation of these monies is placed by the constitution.*

“ The committee cannot but express their deep regret that such a state of things should have been allowed to exist for so many years in a British colony, without any communication or reference having been made to Parliament on the subject.”

The Earl of Dalhousie soon after returned from Canada. His Majesty's ministers at the time declaring in Parliament their approbation of his lordship's conduct ; and his appointment, soon after, to a high command in India, impressed the colonists with a belief that his lordship only acted in Canada according to instructions he received from England. That

the Earl of Dalhousie's "heart was in the right place," I have no doubt; that he felt anxious to promote the prosperity of the great country of which he was governor, I am fully convinced. Its agriculture, its trade, and the education of its youth, though the measures adopted in regard to the latter were illiberal to the Canadians in respect to their religion and language, he was ardently bent on encouraging and fostering; but he failed, and that most unfortunately and most egregiously, either in making the experiment of bringing the representatives of the inhabitants to act agreeably to his own wishes or ideas, or, more likely, those of his advisers; or, probably, as is more generally believed, in forcing the instructions of the Colonial Office into impracticable operation. That he should have persisted in such measures is to be regretted.* Such men as Sir Howard Douglas and Sir James Kempt would have acted otherwise; the former, I know, and the latter, I believe, would have immediately resigned, sooner than remain administering the government of a British colony under similar circumstances to those of Canada previous to the departure of the Earl of Dalhousie.

* "On ne doit juger les hommes public que d'après leur conduite publique," said a member of the legislative council of Canada to me; "and in this light only, and not as private gentlemen, do we regard our governors and other public officers." The interference of Lord Dalhousie with the Quebec Gazette, merely on account of its editor, Mr. Neilson, having always honestly advocated the constitutional rights of the Canadians, and his Lordship establishing another Gazette, formed a measure as objectionable and ill-advised as it was impolitic and unjust.

CHAP. IX.

ADMINISTRATION OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JAMES KEMPT.

SIR JAMES KEMPT entered upon the duties of the administration of Canada under peculiarly delicate circumstances ; yet, on calling a meeting of the legislature, and formally accepting the election of Mr. Papineau as speaker*, his speech, at the opening of the session, was conciliatory, mild and wise. "Placed," said his Excellency, "in a situation of so much importance at a period of peculiar difficulty, I cannot but feel that very arduous duties are imposed upon me ; duties, indeed, which I should despair of being able to discharge to the satisfaction of his Majesty,

* Sir James also brought M. Viger, a Canadian gentleman of great ability, and in whom the inhabitants have always had the utmost confidence, into the legislative council. This gentleman has been in England for some time as the agent of the Legislative Assembly, and representing the true interests of the province, and candidly stating the measures which will long secure the colony and the loyalty of its inhabitants to Great Britain. One great error in the administration of the government of Canada was, excluding Canadians of French race from offices of trust. Sir James Kempt soon discovered this, and he would, had he remained in the colony, have no doubt gradually removed so just a cause of discontent. I may here observe, in respect to another portion of the western hemisphere, as not irrelevant, that Don Pedro lost the empire of Brazil chiefly through the dissatisfaction originated by appointing to his councils, and to all offices of trust, men who were born in Portugal, to the exclusion of Brazilians of Portuguese race.

and his faithful and loyal subjects the inhabitants of this province, if I did not look forward, with a sanguine hope, to the enjoyment of your confidence, and your cordial co-operation in my administration of the government.

“ Without a good understanding between the different branches of the legislature, the public affairs of the colony cannot prosper ; the evils which are now experienced cannot be effectually cured ; the prosperity and welfare of his Majesty's Canadian subjects cannot be promoted ; and you may therefore believe that no exertions will be spared on my part to promote conciliation, by measures in which the undoubted prerogatives of the crown and your constitutional privileges are equally respected.

“ His Majesty's government has, however, relieved me from the responsibility attendant upon any measures to be adopted for the adjustment of the financial difficulties that have unfortunately occurred, and I shall take an early opportunity of conveying to you, by message, a communication from his Majesty, which I have been especially commanded to make to you upon the subject of the appropriation of the provincial revenue.”

After stating that he would direct the public accounts to be laid before the House, he continued ; —
 “ Possessing, as yet, but an imperfect knowledge of the great interests of the province, and the wants of its inhabitants, I refrain, at the present time, from recommending to you measures of public improvement, which it will be my duty to bring under your consideration at a future day. In all countries, however, good roads, and other internal communications, — a general system of education, established upon

sound principles, — and a well-organised militia force, are found to be so conducive to the prosperity, the happiness, and the security of their inhabitants, that I may be permitted to mention them at present, as objects of prominent utility.

“ But an oblivion of all past jealousies and dissensions is the first great step towards improvement of any kind; and, when that is happily accomplished, and the undivided attention of the executive government and the legislature shall be given to the advancement of the general interests of the province, in a spirit of cordial co-operation, there is no reason to doubt that Lower Canada will rapidly advance in prosperity; and emulate, ere long, the most opulent and flourishing portions of the North American continent.”

The message which his Excellency conveyed, by the command of his Majesty's government, intimated, however, a perseverance in the finance measures which had caused such difficulties during Lord Dalhousie's government. It stated, that “ his Excellency was commanded to say, that the statutes passed in the fourteenth and thirty-first years of the reign of his late Majesty have imposed upon the lords-commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury the duty of appropriating the produce of the revenue granted to his Majesty by these statutes; and that, whilst the law shall continue unaltered by the same authority by which it was framed, his Majesty is not authorised to place the revenue under the control of the legislature of this province.”

Every other part of the message contained nothing but what was calculated to maintain harmony in the province. The old “ bone of contention” was, how-

ever, persisted in; and the representative assembly passed sixteen resolutions. The first five and the sixteenth are worthy of quoting, and are as follows:—

“ 1. That this House has derived the greatest satisfaction from the gracious expression of his Majesty's beneficent views towards this province, and from the earnest desire of his Excellency, the administrator of the government, to promote the peace, welfare, and good government of the province, as evinced in his Excellency's message of Friday last.

“ 2. That this House has nevertheless observed, with great concern, that it may be inferred from the expression of that part of the said message which relates to the appropriation of the revenue, that the pretension put forth at the commencement of the late administration, to the disposal of a large portion of the revenue of this province, may be persisted in.

“ 3. That under no circumstances, and upon no considerations whatsoever, ought this House to abandon, or in any way compromise its inherent and constitutional right, as a branch of the provincial parliament representing his Majesty's subjects in this colony, to superintend and control the receipt and expenditure of the whole public revenue arising within this province.

“ 4. That any legislative enactment in this matter, by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in which his Majesty's subjects in this province are not and cannot be represented, unless it were for the repeal of such British statutes, or any part of British statutes, as may be held by his Majesty's government to militate against the constitutional rights of the subject in this colony, could in no way tend to a settlement of the affairs of the province.

“ 5. That no interference of the British legislature with the established constitution and laws of this province, (excepting on such points as form the relation between the country and the Canadas, and can only be disposed of by the paramount authority of the British Parliament,) can in any way tend to the final adjustment of any difficulties or misunderstandings which may exist in this province, but rather to aggravate and perpetuate them.

“ 16. That amongst these questions not particularly mentioned on the present occasion, this House holds as most desirable to be adjusted, and most essential to the future peace, welfare, and good government of the province, viz. —

“ The independence of the judges, and their removal from the political business of the province.

“ The responsibility and accountability of the public officers.

“ A greater independence of support from the public revenue, and more intimate connection with the interest of the colony, in the composition of the legislative council.

“ The application of the late property of the Jesuits to the purpose of general education.

“ The removal of all obstructions to the settlement of the country, particularly by the crown and clergy reserves remaining unoccupied in the neighbourhood of roads and settlements, and exempt from the common burdens.”

The good sense and vigorous mind of Sir James Kempt disregarded, for the time, formal obstacles which had for some years deprived the province of the indispensable advantage of legislative appropriation. He therefore assented to a supply bill, formed

upon the constitutional principles contended for by the House of Assembly, "that all the revenue accruing in the province shall be under the control and appropriation of the provincial legislature." The following extract from his Excellency's despatch to Sir George Murray on the subject, will best illustrate the wisdom of his decision:—"I could entertain no hope," says Sir James Kempt, "after the resolutions adopted by the House of Assembly, (previously transmitted to Sir George Murray,) that it would be disposed to pass any act in which the king's right to appropriate the revenue raised by the 14th Geo. III. c. 88., would be specifically acknowledged; and, although the present bill is substantially the same as the supply bill passed in 1825, to which objections were stated by Earl Bathurst, in a despatch addressed to Sir Francis Burton, dated the 4th June, 1825, yet, as you admit in the despatch of the 29th September, 1828, which I had the honour of receiving from you, that, 'as long as the House of Assembly is called upon to provide for, and to regulate any portion of the public expenditure, it virtually acquires a control over the whole;' and as a scheme for the permanent settlement of the financial concerns of the province is in contemplation, I assented to the present arrangement, viewing it as a temporary measure to meet the difficulties of the present year, until such a scheme is matured, and a permanent settlement effected of the question in controversy by his Majesty's government at home.

"I was further induced to give my assent to the present measure by the consideration, that without a supply of some kind by the provincial legislature, the public service could not be carried on under the

instructions which I have had the honour of receiving from you, the funds which the law has placed at his Majesty's disposal being insufficient to defray the expenses of the civil government; under all circumstances, therefore, I entertain a hope, that the arrangement which I have sanctioned will be approved of by his Majesty's government."

It would have been impossible for Sir James Kempt, with all the power of his well-known great abilities, to have established harmony in the province, had he not taken upon himself to assent to the finance bill passed by the provincial parliament. His administration throughout was conciliatory and constitutional; and, if he had remained sufficiently long in the province to examine and reform the condition of its magistracy, and to ascertain the actual moral and physical condition of Canada, he would certainly have effected a completely satisfactory understanding and lasting harmony between the legislature and his Majesty's government.

CHAP. X.

GENERAL ELECTION UNDER THE REPRESENTATION ACT. — LORD AYLMER GOVERNOR. — TROOPS FIRE AT THE ELECTORS IN MONTREAL, AND KILL THREE MEN.

AN act of the provincial parliament was passed in 1828, which received his Majesty's sanction in August 1829, to increase the representation of Lower Canada from fifty to eighty-four members. In 1830, a general election took place, agreeably to this act; and on the return of Sir James Kempt to England, Lord Aylmer, the present governor, was appointed his successor.

Soon after the meeting of the first provincial parliament, under Lord Aylmer, the civil list, the branch of revenue still held by the executive power, the charges against the Attorney-General, and, in fact, the interference of his Majesty's government in the local affairs of the province, renewed discontents. The Governor, although he did not abandon the distribution of that portion of the revenue which the legislative assembly claimed the disposal of, yet suspended the Attorney-General, who has been dismissed from office since his return to this country. No measure, indeed, could have been more unwise than for Lord Goderich to have sent that gentleman back to Canada as Attorney-General. Such an act, on the part of his Majesty's government, would have greatly alienated the loyalty of the

Canadians, and weakened their confidence in British justice.

A most indefensible and disastrous circumstance occurred during the contested election last May (1832), for the representation of the city of Montreal in the provincial parliament.

Mr. Tracey was opposed by Mr. Bagg, who was supported by a large majority of the magistrates of Montreal.

It became evident that Mr. Tracey would be elected by the inhabitants; and, on the 20th of May, a novel mode of securing the election of Mr. Bagg was attempted. The latter, and his friends, alleging that the public peace would likely be endangered, demanded the attendance of a strong constabulary force. To make a show of necessity for this demand, it was afterwards reported that the Canadians were prepared to revolt, or to burn Montreal; when the apparent object seems to have been dispersing the electors.*

The first charge, as has since been proved, was unfounded, inconsistent, and iniquitous, when we

* An inquiry, which has been instituted during the late session of the Canadian Parliament, has developed the circumstances connected with the tragical 21st of May, in a much more indefensible character than that stated in the text, but conforming with the details there given. We are apt, in England, to treat these matters much in the same way as we do an account of three or four persons being killed in Ireland; but the effect on the inhabitants of Canada is lasting and melancholy. A general officer, well acquainted with the colonies, remarked to me, on hearing of the massacre at Montreal, that he only considered it second in degree to the blood of the colonists first shed by the military at the fatal affair of Lexington. Perhaps, of all colonial appointments, that of a successor to Mr. Stewart is that which should be made with the most judicious care.

consider the well-known loyalty of the Canadians, and their obedience at all times, when the country was attacked by foreign foes.

The second charge was, if possible, still more inconsistent and impudent, when it is well known that five-sixths, at least, of Montreal is the property of the very people who were accused of a determination to burn the city.

As to the public peace being in danger, the charge was proved equally absurd.

The magistrates, however, who had certainly no right to interfere in the election, nor had even any jurisdiction in such matters, when, in case of public disturbance, the sheriff and returning officers have all the powers of magistrates in preserving the peace, *did interfere at this election.*

Special constables were sworn in at different times, in greater numbers than would be at any time necessary to preserve order; but as the election was evidently going against Mr. Bagg, and no act of violence, unless it were occasionally loud language, being likely to occur, a dispersion of the electors seemed the only mode of defeating Mr. Tracey: the troops were, therefore, ordered to be in readiness on the morning of the 21st of May. A squabble occurred after mid-day between the electors, and the troops were sent for, even before reading the riot act. On their arrival at the poll, there was scarcely the appearance of any disturbance, yet the troops remained until six in the evening, when the poll adjourned, and Mr. Tracey departed, accompanied by some of his friends. At this moment one man huzzaed for Mr. Tracey; this was objected to by the

constables, and on the man persisting, he received several blows and was carried off as dead.

When this disturbance took place, no one had arms; and, on the troops approaching, several of them for defence picked up some of the stones broken for macadamising the street: both parties then threw stones at each other. The electors made no further attempt either in the way of assault or defence; yet the troops were ordered to fire, not over, but *at* this body of Canadians, which an ordinary constabulary force could, however, as easily have dispersed as they could any common drunken squabble in London.

Three Canadians were killed on the spot, and several were wounded. Colonel Mackintosh was certainly incautious in acquiescing readily to the request of the magistrates, although he would not be justified in refusing to lend them assistance in preserving the peace.

It must be observed, that if the constabulary force was unable to preserve the peace, and it became necessary to bring in military assistance, the soldiers should have first fired over their heads. The poor Canadians, some of whom were no doubt excited, were subjected to a direct volley of shot, when at a distance of from 340 to 380 feet.

It must also be remarked, that the Canadians had no arms of any kind, not even a stick; and at the time of *the massacre*, the greater number had gone away with Mr. Tracey; that the constables were all provided with heavy batons; and, as has been proved since, there was neither serious ground for alarm, nor any necessity for calling out the troops, but for the

he received

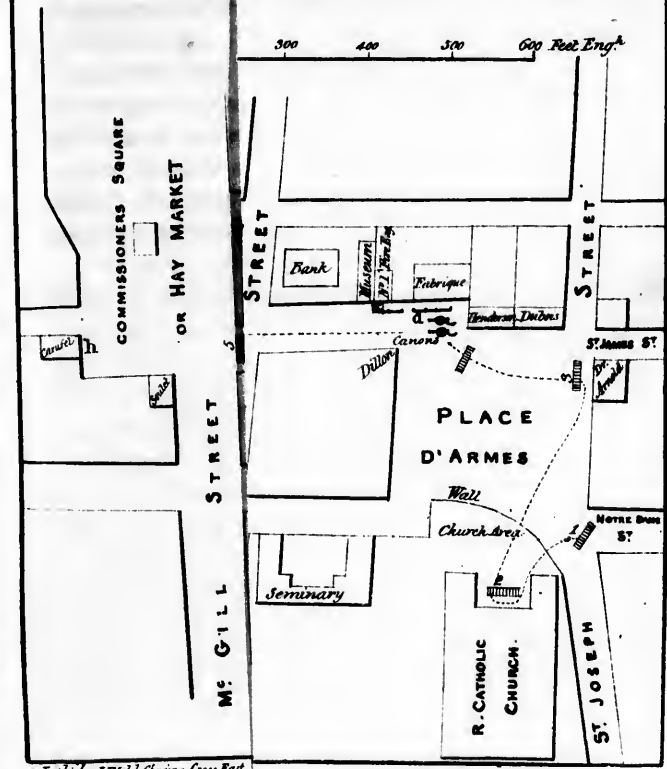
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

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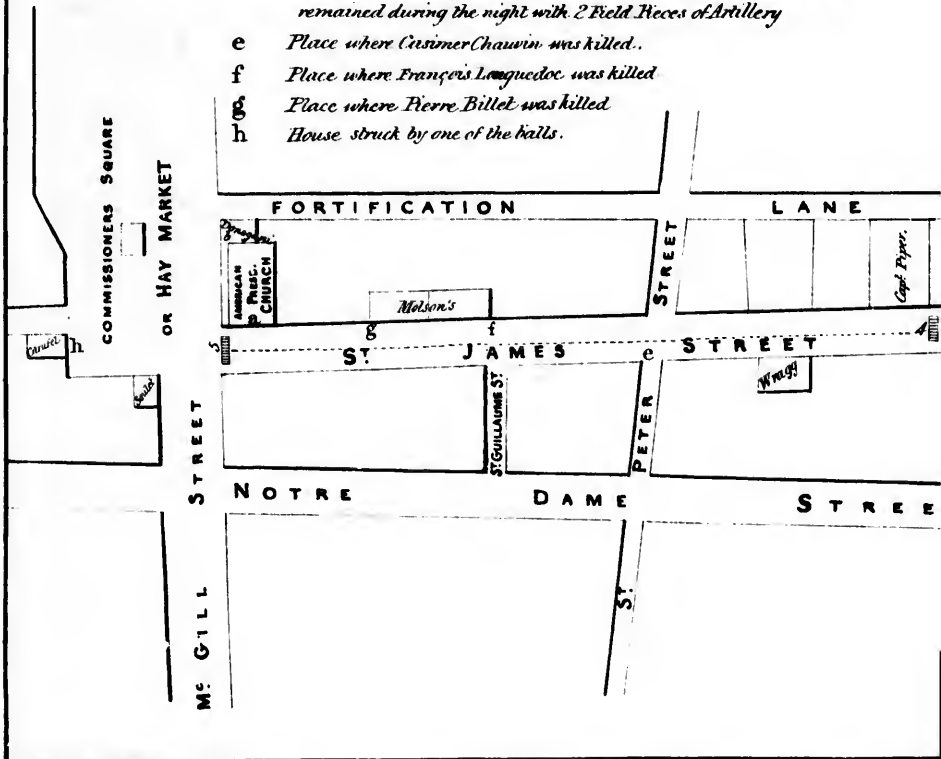
PLAN
 OF
AND ST. JAMES STREET
 AT
MTREAL.
 for the
on of the events of
21ST MAY. 183⁵.



Lith. by J. Wylie Charing Cross East

REFERENCES.

- a *Place of the Bill on the 25th, 26th and 27th April 1832.*
- b *D^o on the 28th and 30 April and 1st, 2nd and 3rd May*
- c *D^o from the 3rd to the close of the Bill on the 22nd May*
- d *Temporary Railing in front of the Bill and Fabriques lot*
 *Position of the Troops (15 Reg^t) on the 21st May on arriving at the Place d'Armes about 3 o'clock.*
-  *Position of the Troops at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock until the close of the Poll at 5 o'clock.*
-  *First advance of the Troops when they formed after the close of the Poll.*
-  *Second advance and Position where they fired.*
-  *Last advance, from which they came back to the Place d'Armes and remained during the night with 2 Field Regts of Artillery*
- e *Place where Casimir Chauvin was killed.*
- f *Place where François Languedoc was killed*
- g *Place where Pierre Billet was killed*
- h *House struck by one of the balls.*

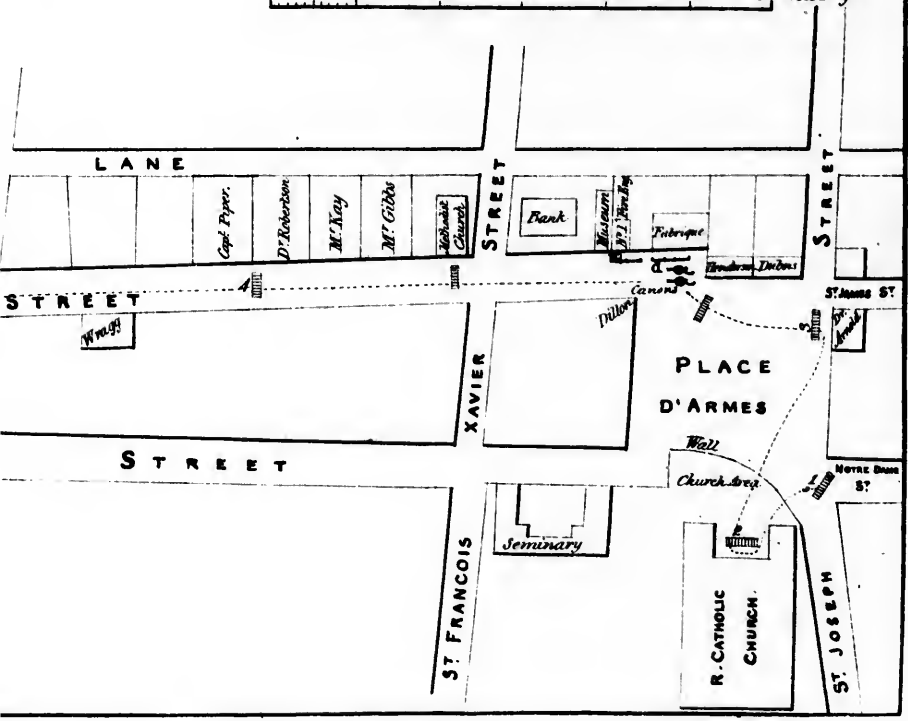


Lith. by J. W. Hill Charing Cross East

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PLAN
 OF
PLACE D'ARMES AND ST JAMES STREET
 AT
MONTREAL.

for the
Elucidation of the events of
THE 21ST MAY. 1831.





purpose, if possible, of rousing the indignation of the electors to some act of violence.

The Canadians also complain, that when a legal inquiry was afterwards instituted, the nomination of the jury, the trifling cognisances in which the parties were bound, and the manner of conducting the inquest, were all managed with partiality.

The mighty consequence of preserving the affection and loyalty of his Majesty's subjects in Canada, and the great value of that country, have never been justly appreciated. The present state of Canada requires the most serious attention of the imperial government. The measures which claim the first attention, are, *allowing the legislature to manage their local affairs; an impartial appointment of all persons in places of profit and trust; and placing the whole revenue at the disposal of the Colonial Parliament.* By wise policy, this vast province may be long secured to the British empire.

CHAP. XI.

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS OF CANADA.—QUEBEC ACT.—PARTITION OF THE PROVINCE.—COUNTIES AND REPRESENTATION.—COUTUME DE PARIS.—NEW DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE.—CONSTITUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.—ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS.—DISTRICTS.—COURTS, JUDGES, LAWYERS, NOTARIES.—CANADIAN LAWS, ESTATES, AND TENURES.—REVENUE.—CIVIL LIST.—MILITARY FORCE.—PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.—PUBLIC BURDENS AND EXPENDITURE, ETC.

THE Quebec Act, which passed in the year 1774, fixed the boundaries of Canada. It then comprehended the lower and upper provinces, according to their present limits, and also a vast tract of country lying between Lake Erie and the Ohio and Mississippi, and extending north from the St. Lawrence to the latitude of 52° , being the boundary of Hudson's Bay. The British were afterwards wheedled, certainly not forced, out of the latter valuable territory. By this act all former provisions made for the province were declared null and void; and it enacted also, "That his Majesty's subjects professing the religion of the Church of Rome, in the said province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy, the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the king's supremacy, (as by Act 1 Elizabeth,) and that the clergy of the said church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess

the said religion." "That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs or successors, to make such provision out of the list of the said accustomed dues and rights for the support of the Protestant clergy, within the said province, as he or they shall from time to time think necessary and expedient." By this act, the Canadians, religious orders excepted, were secured in all their property and possessions, with recourse to the French laws of Canada, in all matters of controversy, but not to extend to lands granted by his Majesty in common soccage. The criminal laws of England only were to be continued. It also appointed a council with the power to make ordinances, with the consent of the governor; but not to impose taxes, except for making roads. These ordinances were to be laid before his Majesty for allowance, and those touching religion not to be in force until approved of by the king. It left also to the king the power of constituting courts of criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

This act appears to have been founded on a petition and memorial to the king from the Canadians. The English residents, who held several meetings some time before, in order to obtain a legislative assembly, stated afterwards in their proceedings, "That this act was by no means agreeable to the great body of the Canadians—that the number of names to it were only 65; some of these were signed by lads of fifteen or sixteen years; while to the petition of the English residents there were 148 names; and that there was no wish to re-establish the French laws, except on the part of the priests," and "that the said act of Parliament is a *wicked* and abominable act, that authorises a bloody religion, which spreads

around it, wherever it is propagated, impiety, murders, and rebellion." The latter assertion was also made ample use of by the American provincialists as their standard argument for invading Canada during the revolutionary war. The Canadians were, however, highly satisfied with the order of government established by this act — they had every possible reason for being so ; and it must be admitted that, considering the condition of Canada at that period, there was but one possible objection to the act on the part of the English — that was, re-establishing the French laws of Canada : but, without outraging the ideas and regulations of seven eighths of the inhabitants, no other plan could be adopted.

Under this act the government of Canada was administered until 1791, when Mr. Pitt introduced the act commonly called the Constitutional Act. It divided Canada into two provinces; and each province into districts and counties, with legislative assemblies. To Upper Canada it granted a separate legislative constitution. To Lower Canada it gave a constitutional government*, consisting of a governor, executive and legislative councils, and a representative assembly. The governor, by virtue of this act, divided the province into twenty-one counties. The House of Assembly then consisted of fifty members, thirty-nine of whom were knights representing the counties — eight citizens, four each for the cities of Quebec and Montreal — and three burgesses, two for Three Rivers, and one for William Henry.

* The constitutions of the Canadas differ from those of all the other colonies, inasmuch as all the others are constitutions by royal charter, whereas those of Canada are established by act of parliament.

The lower province was accordingly divided into the following counties, viz.:—Bedford, Buckinghamshire, Cornwallis, Devon, Dorchester, Effingham, Gaspè, Hampshire, Hertford, Huntingdon, Kent, Leinster, Montreal, Northumberland, Orleans, Quebec, Richelieu, St. Maurice, Surrey, Warwick, and York; all of which elected each two representatives, excepting Bedford, Gaspè, Orleans, and York, which only elected one member for each county.

The boundaries of the province by this act are described as follows:—“To commence at a stone boundary on the north bank of Lake St. Francis, at the cove west of Pointe au Baudet, in the limit between the township of Lancaster and the seigniory of New Longueuil, running along the said limit in the direction of north 34° west, to the westernmost angle of the said seigniory of New Longueuil; then along the north-western boundary of the seigniory of Vaudreuil, running north 25° east, until it strikes the Ottawa river, to ascend the said river into the Lake Temiscaming, and from the head of the said lake by a line due north until it strikes the boundary of Hudson's Bay (in latitude 52° north), including all the territory to the westward and southward of said line, to the utmost extent of the country called or known by the name of Canada.”

The statute of the 6 Geo. IV. extends the eastern limits to a line due north to latitude 52° from Anse au Sablon, instead of the river St. John, and includes also the island of Anticosti.

The French law and language were still retained in the courts and the Legislative Assembly. In a British province both these admissions may appear (and at first they did so to me) inconvenient, if not

unwise and impolitic; inasmuch as they may preserve a line of separation between the English and French Canadians, and as forming an exception to the laws and usages of all our other colonies; and as in no other part of North America, including the United States, is the French language that of either the senate or the forum. But further examination has convinced me of the wise policy and justice of preserving the usages of the French Canadians, and of their being allowed the free use and advantages of their mother tongue in the senate and courts. Mr. Pitt also intended to create an order of nobility; but his plan was never acted upon, nor would it succeed, if attempted: the materials do not exist in America, and even the legislative council, composed of men generally unattached to the true interests of the province, has been the prime source of difficulty in administering the government.

The representation of the colony, notwithstanding the rapid increase of its population, remained unaltered, until the provincial act of the 9th Geo. IV. subdivided the counties, for the more equal representation of the inhabitants, as follows:—

GASPÈ—commencing at Point Maquereaux, at the entrance of Chaleur Bay, running N. W. 47 miles, thence south until it intersects a line from Cape Chat on the St. Lawrence along the said last-mentioned line, and the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence, including the Island of Bonaventure and all the islands in front and nearest the same, and the Magdalene Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which county comprises the fiefs of St. Anne, Magdalene, Grand Vallée des Monts, and Anse de l'Étang, the Bay of Gaspè and settlements therein, Point St. Peter, Malbay, Percé, Anse à

Beaufils, Cape Despair, Grand River, Little River, Papas, and Newport. Population, in 1833, about 3200.*

BONAVENTURE— bounded by the county of Gaspè, and consists of such part of the inferior district of Gaspè, as is included between the county of Gaspè and the district of Quebec, including all the islands in front nearest to the county, which county comprises the seigniorie of Schoolbred, the Indian village of Mission, and the settlements above, and below the same on the north of the River Restigouche, the settlements of Carlton, Maria, Richmond, Hamilton, including Bonaventure, Cox, including the town of New Carlisle, Hope, including Paspabiac, Les Nouvelles, and Port Daniel. Population about 5800.

RIMOUSKI— bounded by the inferior district of Gaspè, by the S. W. line of the seigniorie of Rivière du Loup, prolonged to the southern bounds of the province, and on the N. W. by the River St. Lawrence, including all the islands in the river, in front of the county nearest the same, which county comprises the seigniories of Rivière du Loup, Isle Verte, D'Artigny, Trois Pistoles, Rioux des Trois Pistoles, Bic, Rimouski, Barnabè, Lepage, Tivierge, Mitis, and Matane, and all other lands comprised within the said lands. Population about 11,200.

KAMOURASKA— bounded by Rimouski, by the N. E. line of the seigniorie of St. Roch des Aulnets, prolonged to the southern boundary of the province, and on the N. W. by the River St. Lawrence, together with the islands in the River St. Lawrence, nearest to the county fronting the same, and on the S. E. by

* These calculations are according to late returns which I have specially received.

the southern boundary of the province ; which county comprises the seigniory of Terrebois, Granville and Lachenaye, L'Islet du Portage, Granville, Kamouraska, St. Denis, Rivière Ouelle and its augmentation, and St. Anne, and the townships of Bungay, Woodbridge, and Ixworth. Population 15,200.

L'ISLET — comprises the seigniories of St. Roch des Aulnets, Réaume, St. Jean Port Joli, Islet, Lessard, Bonsecours, Vincelot and its augmentation, Cap St. Ignace, Gagnier, St. Claire, Rivière du Sud and Lepinay. Population 13,160.

BELLECHASSE — comprises the seigniories of Berthier, St. Vallier, St. Michel, Beaumont and augmentation, La Durantaye and augmentation, La Martinière, Montapeine, Vincennes, St. Gervais, and Lavaudière, and townships of Buckland and Standon. Population 16,370.

DORCHESTER — consists of the seigniory of Lauzon. Population 12,150.

BEAUCE — comprises the seigniories of Jolliet, St. Etienne, St. Marie, St. Joseph, Vaudreuil, Aubert Gallion, Aubin de l'Isle, townships of Frampton, Cranbourne, Watford, Jersey, Manlow, Rixborough, Spalding, Ditchfield and Woburn, and part of Clinton east of Arnold River. Population 11,950.

MEGANTICK — comprehends the townships of Somersset, Nelson, Halifax, Inverness, Ireland, Wolfston, Leeds, Thetford, Broughton, Coleraine, Tring, Shenley, Oulney, Winslow, Dorset, and Gayhurst. Population 712.

LOTBINIÈRE — comprises the seigniories of Tilly, or St. Antoine, Gaspè, St. Giles des Pleines, Bonsecours, St. Croix, Lotbinière and St. Jean d'Eschailions, and their augmentations. Population 8826.

NICOLET — bounded on the east by Lotbinière, and on the west by the line between Nicolet and La Baie du Febvre and Courval; towards the north by the St. Lawrence, and on the south by the Bécancour, the rear line of the seigniory of Bécancour, on the west of that river by the lines between the townships Aston and Godfrey, Roquetaillade and the augmentation of Nicolet, and by the rear line of the augmentation of Nicolet. Population 13,270.

YAMASKA — comprehends the seigniories of La Baie du Febvre, Courval, Lussaudière, Pierreville, St. François and its augmentation, Lavallière, or St. Michel, D'Yamaska, and Deguire. Population 9940.

DRUMMOND — contains the townships of Aston, Bulstrode, Stanfold, Arthabaska, Chester, Ham, Wotton, Tingwick, Warwick, Horton, Wendover, Simpson, Kingsey, Durham, Wickham, Grantham, Upton, and Acton, with all augmentations of said townships. Population 2272.

SHERBROOKE — contains the townships of Garthby, Hatford, Whitton, Marston, Clinton, Wobrom, Stanhope, Croydon, Chesham, Adstock, Lingwick, Weedon, Dudswell, Bury, Hampden, Ditton, Ember-ton, Drayton, Auckland, Newport, Westbury, Stoke, Ascot, Eaton, Hereford, Compton, Clifton, Windsor, Brompton, Shipton, Melbourne, and Oxford, with all augmentations of said townships. Population 6180.

STANSTEAD — contains the townships of Hatley, Barnston, Barford, Stanstead, Bolton, and Potton, with all augmentations of said townships. Population 8764.

MISSISKOU — contains the seigniory of St. Armand, and the townships of Sutton, Dunham, and

Stanbridge, with all augmentations of said townships. Population 8220.

SHEFFORD — contains the townships of Ely, Stukely, Brome, Shefford, Roxton, Milton, Granby, and Farnham, with augmentations of said townships. Population 4900.

RICHELIEU — comprehends the seigniories of St. Ours and augmentation, St. Denis, St. Charles, Sorel, Bourchemin west of the Yamaska, Bourg Marie, and St. Charles on the Yamaska, with the isles Cochon, Madame, Ronde, De Grâce, Aux Ours, Battures à la Carpe, Isles du Sable, du Moine, and du Basque in the St. Lawrence, and the isles in the Richelieu, nearest the county. Population 18,150.

ST. HYACINTHE — comprehends the seigniories of De Ramsay, Bourchemin east of the Yamaska, and St. Hyacinthe. Population 14,050.

ROUVILLE — comprising the seigniories of Rouville, Chambly, East Monnoir and augmentation, Bleury, Sabrevois, Noyan, and Foucault. Population 17,250.

VERCHÈRES — comprehends the seigniories of Contreccœur, Bellevue, Verchères, Blain, Guillodière, Cap Michel, Varennes, Belœil and augmentation, Cournoyer, and all the islands in the St. Lawrence opposite the same, isle Bouchard excepted. Population 13,720.

CHAMBLY — comprehending the seigniories of Boucherville, Montarville, Longueuil, Fief Tremblay, Chambly west, and the barony of Longueuil. Population 14,100.

LAPRAIRIE — comprehends the seigniories of Laprairie, Sault St. Louis, La Salle, and Chanteau-

guay, and the isles nearest to the county. Population 17,820.

L'ACADIE—comprehends the seigniories of Lacolle and De Lery, and the township of Sherrington, also the lands nearest to the county. Population 11,790.

BEAUHARNOIS—comprises the seigniory of Beauharnois, and the townships of Hemmingford, Hinchinbrook, and Godmanchester, and the Indian lands thereof, to St. Regis, on the boundary of the province. Population 15,430.

VAUDREUIL—comprises the seigniories of Vaudreuil, Rigaud, Soulanges, and New Longueuil, and the township of Newton. Population 14,110.

OTTAWA—comprises the seigniory of La Petite Nation, and the townships of Lochaber and augmentations, Buckingham, Templeton, Hull, Eardly, Onslow, and all the townships on the north of the Ottawa. Population 4850.

TWO MOUNTAINS—comprises the seigniories of Rivière du Chêne, Lake of the Two Mountains and augmentation, Argenteuil, the townships of Chatham, Grenville, and Wentworth, Hamington, Arundel, and Howard, the parishes of St. Eustache, St. Benoît, Ste. Scholastique, Lake of the Two Mountains, and Isle Bizarre. Population 19,740.

TERREBONNE—comprehends the seigniories of Isle Jesus, Terrebonne and augmentation, Des Plaines, Blainville, part of Mille Isles and augmentation, and the township of Abercrombie. Population 17,970.

LACHENAIE—comprehends the parishes of Lachenaie, Mascouche, and St. Roch, and townships of Kilkenny and Wexford. Population 16,127.

L'ASSOMPTION — comprehends the parishes of St. Sulpice, comprising Isle Bouchard, Repentigny, L'Assomption, and St. Jacques, and townships of Rawdon and Chertsey. Population 11,125.

MONTREAL — comprehending the seigniori of Montreal. Population 42,760.

BERTHIER — comprises the seigniories of Berthier and augmentation, Du Sable or York, part of Masquinongé, Fief Chicot, Lanoraye, Dautray and augmentations, Lavaltrie and augmentation, Daillebout and De Ramsay, part of Lanaudière, and the townships of Brandon, Kildare, and the islands of St. Ignace and Du Pas. Population 19,220.

ST. MAURICE — comprises the seigniories of St. Marguerite, St. Maurice, Point du Lac, Gatineau, Yamachiche, Rivière du Loup, Grand Pré, Fief St. Jean and its augmentation, Masquinongé, Carufel, and part of Lanaudière. Population 16,170.

CHAMPLAIN — comprises the seigniories of St. Anne and augmentation, St. Marie, Batiscan, Champlain, Cap de la Madeleine, and all the islands nearest the said county. Population 8160.

PORTNEUF — comprises the seigniories of Guadarville, Fossambault, Augustin, Guillaume Bonhomme, Pointe aux Trembles, Bourg-Louis, Belair and augmentation, Dauteuil, Jacques Cartier, Portneuf, Perthuis, Deschambault, Lachevrotière, La Tesserie, Francheville, Grondines and augmentation. Population 17,200.

QUEBEC — comprises the seigniories of Beauport, Notre Dame des Anges, Dorsainville, Lépinay, Fief St. Ignace, Fief Hubert, Sillery, and St. Gabriel, the townships of Stoneham and Tewkesbury, and the parishes of Beauport, Charlesbourg, St. Ambroise,

Jeune Lorette, part of Ancienne Lorette, St. Foi, and of Quebec. Population 32,640.

MONTMORENCY — comprehending the parishes of St. Féréol, St. Joachim, St. Anne, Chateau Richer, and L'Ange Gardien. Population 4210.

SAGUENAY — comprises part of the seigniory of Beaupré, Gouffre, Eboulements, Murray Bay, and Mount Murray, and the township of Settington. Population 9225.

ORLEANS — comprehending the whole of the island of that name. Population 4870.

The first Provincial Parliament, elected agreeably to the new scale of representation, assembled in December, 1830.

The office of the Governor of Canada is both civil and military, and he is Captain-General of all British America. There is also a lieutenant-governor, who, in the absence of the governor-general, succeeds to the administration, and, in the absence of both, the President of the Executive Council, which represents the Privy Council in England, administers the government.

The Legislative Council, representing the Lords, and the House of Assembly, now consisting of eighty-four members, representing the Commons, form the Provincial Parliament of Canada. Bills passed by both Houses become laws when assented to by the governor or his representative. Some bills require to be sent to his Majesty for the royal allowance. Acts of the Provincial Parliament, which repeal or annul such laws and customs as were formerly established respecting tithes, or laws respecting the appropriation of land for the support of Protestant clergymen; the right of the clergy to

recover dues to ecclesiastics; the constituting and endowing of parsonages and rectories; the right of presentation to the same; and the establishment and discipline of the Church of England, are to be laid before the Imperial Parliament, before receiving the royal allowance. The Provincial Parliament has the exclusive right of raising a revenue for the expenses and exigencies of the colony.

The members of the Legislative Council must be natural-born subjects; or they must be naturalised according to act of Parliament. Their appointment is for life, unless they be at one time five years absent from the province. The members of the House of Assembly for the counties, are elected by those who possess landed property of the clear yearly value of forty shillings; and for the towns, by five-pound freeholders, or 10*l.* annual-rent payers: clergymen are not eligible: men of all religions, by the constitution, are tolerated to sit. About thirty years ago, Mr. Hart, a Jew, was elected to represent Three Rivers; but the House of Assembly expelled him on account of his religion, agreeably to the opinion of the crown lawyers, and not, as is supposed, through the bigotry of the Catholic members, as often stated. He was re-elected, and again expelled, in accordance with the opinion given during the previous Parliament by the first crown lawyers and the judges of the province, who were then members of the House of Assembly.

CHAP. XII.

COURTS OF JUSTICE. — DISTRICTS. — JUDGES. — LAWYERS. —
NOTARIES. — CANADIAN LAWS. — ESTATES. — TESTURES.

In the Supreme Court of King's Bench, all civil matters over 10*l.* sterling, except those of admiralty jurisdiction, and all criminal offences, are adjudicated.

The province is divided into the superior districts of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and the inferior districts of Gaspè and St. Francis. In the Court of King's Bench at Quebec, and also at Montreal, a chief justice and three puisne judges preside.

In the court at Three Rivers the several judges of the court of King's Bench for the districts of Quebec and Montreal preside, and take precedence according to the date of their respective commissions. The judge of the district also sits in this court; but on hearing criminal matters, the chief justice of the province or the chief justice of Montreal must preside. Inferior courts, in which a judge of the King's Bench presides, are also held in each of the districts, for deciding causes not exceeding 10*l.*

The provincial court for Gaspè has, however, cognisance of all matters not exceeding 100*l.*; appeals from its decision may be made to the court at Quebec.

The provincial court for the district of St. Francis

is only empowered to decide matters of dispute not exceeding 20*l*.

There is also a Provincial Court of Appeals, which decides according to the usage of the House of Lords. The governor, the chief justice of the province, the chief justice of Montreal, and the executive council form this court.

There is no Court of Chancery in Lower Canada, nor is such a court necessary in the province. There is a Court of Vice-Admiralty; and in each of the districts quarter-sessions of the peace are held. The duties of the high and under-sheriffs and coroners are nearly the same as in England. The Court of King's Bench has also a clerk of the crown, prothonotaries, commissioners for receiving evidence, French translator and interpreter, with the usual officers, such as criers, constables, gaolers, &c.

In the seigniories and townships there are commissioners appointed for the summary trial of small causes, and justices of the peace take cognisance of offences, as in England. There are about 200 lawyers on the rolls of the Court of King's Bench, all of whom are solicitors, proctors, and attornies, as well as advocates. Many of them are men of learning and talent; and to become an able lawyer in the courts of Lower Canada assuredly requires not only superior abilities, but great application, both in English and French, to the study of the complex laws of the province. The barristers acted formerly as notaries; but the latter now form a distinct profession, which may be said to monopolise the engrossing of all records that may, by any possibility, ever become subject of dispute. Each notary's office is in fact a sort of register-office; but uncertainty must

exist in respect to tenures that may or may not be encumbered, until a general provincial record office be established. There are nearly 300 notaries in the province, and mostly Canadians.

The laws of Lower Canada may be classed under the following general heads: —

1. The criminal law, which consists of the code of England in full, with some provincial statutes.

2. The admiralty laws, which are wholly English.

3. The laws which affect matters of trade in the province, or transactions that may have originated in places or countries not within the limits of Canada, are governed by the *lex loci*, and by the commercial laws of Canada under the French government (*les anciennes lois du pays*; enfin, *les lois Françaises*); but the rules of evidence are those established by English law.

4. The French laws and jurisprudence of the *Parliament of Paris*, as it existed in 1666, when the *Conseil Supérieure* was created.

5. The civil or Roman law, where the French law is silent.

6. The *ordonnances*, edicts, and declarations of the French governors of Canada.

7. The provincial legislative laws.

Criminal matters are tried by juries according to English practice, and, in mercantile transactions and personal wrongs, either party may demand a jury for trying the case. The persons summoned by the sheriffs, as grand and petit jurors, have generally been objected to by the Canadians; and this circumstance has for many years been the subject of complaint (*plaintes les plus vives*). A provincial ordinance made in the year 1785 absurdly limits the summoning of jurors, in civil matters, in the courts of Montreal and

Quebec, to the inhabitants of the city in which the court is held, although the district of Montreal contains eight times the number of inhabitants the city does, and that of Quebec six times as many. This regulation does not contemplate the district of Three Rivers. Bills for regulating the summoning of juries have been passed by the House of Assembly, and rejected by the council. A satisfactory modification was at last agreed to, in 1832, by the Legislative Council; but only in criminal matters. In civil affairs very little amendment has been made.

The French laws affect all property, whether real or personal, in the seigniories; and by the constitutional act of 1791, lands in the townships, granted in free and common soccage, are subject to all the incidents of the ancient laws of Canada. The Canada Tenure Act of 1826 declares "that the law of England is the rule by which real property within the townships was to be regulated and administered, in regard to dower, transfer of lands, and inheritance."

According to the Canada laws and tenures, we therefore find, in the present day, estates held according to the old French feudatory system. It must be admitted that this system has its advantages, for it prevents the non-settlement of the country by land jobbers; and this object the French government seems to have had in view. "Le gouvernement François, en introduisant dans la Canada ce qu'on y appelle le système féodal, n'avoit pas prétendu y établir celui du moyen âge. Le seigneur en Canada n'étoit en réalité qu'une espèce de fidéi-commissaire, auquel on accordait une grande étendue de terre, à condition d'en faire à son tour des concessions des petits parties à des

particuliers, de les *défricher*, *cultiver*, et de les habiter.''

Under this system, estates are held nobly as *fiefs*, or *franc aleu noble*; and in *villénage*, subject to *cens*, or *censive*, and *franc aleu villain*.

All the lands on both shores of the river St. Lawrence, from Rimouski to Longueuil, thirty miles above Montreal, were granted by the French king to certain personages, who became *seigneurs*. The tenure was *feudal*, holding immediately of the king *en fief*, or *en roture*, with *foi et hommage* to him.

The *seigneurs* conceded their lands in lots of about seventy arpents (about seventy acres) to tenants, who paid nothing at first, but, on cultivating the soil, gave the *seigneur* a small sum of five shillings or more, a bushel of wheat, and a couple of fowls, or something else, which they raised on the farm, as or in the lieu of rent; and, if stipulated, with certain services; and they were also to grind their corn at his mill, of which he retained *banalité*, or *mouture*, a fourteenth part, as the miller's fee.

The *seigneur* claims also one tenth part of the fish caught on his property; and the deed of concession generally states, that he may cut down timber growing on the *censives*, for the purpose of building mills, opening roads, and making bridges, as being works of general benefit to his tenants. The *seigneurs* have certain powers which enable them to oppress the *censitaires*, but they rarely or never exercise their authority; and the *habitans*, having always experienced kind usage, are perfectly happy. A *seigneur*, however, cannot distress a *censitaire* so far as to reduce him to the pitiful state of want that a landlord in Europe can subject his

tenant to. The best proof of the happy condition of the *censtitaires*, and that tenures are not oppressive, is, that they have not felt a disposition to settle on the townships under free soccage tenures, while there was any possible space for them on the seigniories.

The King of France was feudal lord of the Canadian seigniories, and the King of Great Britain succeeded to this prerogative.

On all transfers of landed property in the seigniories, mutation fines are due, either to the feudal lord or *seigneur*. These fines, as well as some other rights, claims, and descents, have acquired names from the *Coutume de Paris*, which are now heard daily, in the language of common parlance, in Canada, and therefore require some explanation.

Quint is a fifth part of the purchase-money of an estate held *en fief*, which must be paid by the purchaser to the feudal lord, that is, to the king. If the feudal lord believes the *fief* to be sold under value, he can take the estate to himself by paying the purchaser the price he gave for it, with all reasonable expenses.*

Relief is the rent or revenue of one year for mutation fine, when an estate is inherited only by collateral descent.

Lods et ventes are fines of alienation of one twelfth part of the purchase-money paid to the *seigneur* by the purchaser, on the transfer of property, in the same manner as *quints* are paid to the king on the

* The Committee of the House of Commons, in their Report on the affairs of Canada in 1828, recommended the crown to relinquish the *quints*.

mutation of *fiefs*; and are held *en roture*, which is an estate to which heirs succeed equally.

Franc aleu noble is a *fief*, or freehold estate, held subject to no seigniorial rights or duties, and acknowledging no lord but the king.

The succession to *fiefs* is different from that of property held *en roture*, or by *villenage*. The eldest son, by right, takes the *château*, and the yard adjoining it; also an *arpent* of the garden joining the manor-house, and the mills, ovens, or presses within the seignior, belonging to him; but the profit arising from these is to be divided among the other heirs. Females have no precedence of right; and when there are only daughters, the *fief* is equally divided among them. When there are only two sons, the eldest takes two thirds of the lands, besides the *château*, mill, &c., and the younger one third. When there are several sons, the elder claims half the lands, and the rest have the other half divided among them.

Censive is an estate held in the feudal manner, subject to the seigniorial fines or dues. All the Canadian *habitans*, or small farmers, are *censitaires*.

Property, according to the laws of Canada, is either *propre*, that is, held by descent; or *acquets*, which means being acquired by industry or other means.

Communauté de bien is partnership in property by marriage; for the wife, by this law, becomes an equal partner in whatever movable property the husband possessed before or acquires after marriage, and the husband is placed in the same position in respect to the wife's movable property. Immovable property, acquired by purchase during marriages, goes into the *communauté*; but property acquired by descent belongs to the party who inherits it. This

law might operate as well as most general laws, if both *husband* and *femme* closed the *finale* of life on the same day; but very unhappy consequences have sometimes arisen when the one died before the other. For instance, when one parent dies, the children may claim half of all the property, as heirs to that parent. This law, calculated to produce family discord, may be avoided by an antenuptial contract, which bars the *communauté de bien*, and by will after marriage.

Real or immovable property possessed before marriage, except by contract, does not enter into the *communauté*; the husband and wife, and their heirs or assigns respectively, retaining or inheriting their particular estates: either may dispose of it by will, as well as their respective portions of the *communauté*.

Dower, in Canada, is either customary or stipulated. The first consists of half the movable property which the husband was possessed of at the time of marriage, and half of all the property which he may inherit in a direct line: of this the wife has the use for life, and the children may claim it on her death. Stipulated dower is a portion which the husband gives instead of the customary dower. The husband has the power of disposing of all the property during the *communauté* belonging to it, as well as his own previous real estate, and the revenue of his wife's immovable estate. The wife may also dispose of her immovable property with her husband's sanction; but not otherwise during his life. The power of the husband to sell property belonging to the *communauté* ceases on the wife's death.

There are 208 seigniories and fiefs, both feudal, in

Lower Canada, containing about 10,000,000 English statute acres, or 12,000,000 French arpents; but when the barren island of Anticosti, the stubborn territory of Mille Vaches, Labrador, and the useless lands in the rear of the Côte de Beaupré, &c. are deducted, there are not more than 6,000,000 acres fit for cultivation within the seigniories and fiefs, for an actual resident population of, in 1831, 513,000 Canadians of French race, beside others. The French Canadians may now (1833) be estimated at not less than 550,000.*

The lands granted in free and common soccage, being the freehold tenure of England, in the 160 townships laid out or projected, amount to about 3,000,000; the remaining quantity, about 3,300,000, consists, first, of the one seventh of each township laid out in ranges among the grants, for *clergy reserves*, equal to 900,000 acres, and the like quantity of 900,000 acres reserved for government purposes; leaving 1,500,000 acres in the townships still ungranted.†

The townships are generally laid out in blocks of about 9 by 12 miles, and contain (more or less, according to their boundaries,) 62,000 to 67,000 acres.

Each township is laid out in 308 lots of about 73 chains by 29 chains, containing each 200 acres. Of the 308 lots, 88 are reserved for the clergy and the crown: a great impediment to the settlement of the country; and which, if not discontinued, will form causes of difficulty that will completely defeat the objects of the government.

* See statistics of Lower Canada hereafter.

† Several lots of this quantity were granted last year, 1832.

The remaining lands in the province may be either granted in seigniories, fiefs, or in common soccage. Nor can the government act more judiciously than to grant lands, in future tenures, agreeably to the seigniorial tenures, if that mode should be recommended by the provincial parliament.

Large tracts of the best lands in the province are neglected by the grantees, who have not fulfilled the provisions of settlement. Many of these were granted to men called *leaders*. A leader was a person who, having settled on these lands, applied and received a patent, agreeably to the royal instructions of 1796, for himself and 99 associates, of 1200 acres of land each; but the leader generally contrived to secure 1000 acres of that granted to each of his associates.

From the foregoing calculations it will appear, although a great portion of the townships is without inhabitants, and the reserves not cultivated nor settled, that, with the exception of the district of Gaspè, the best part of which is claimed by the Americans, there is very little *good land*, exclusive of the townships, now to be granted in Lower Canada.

By the imperial act of 6 Geo. IV. provision for establishing a court of escheat is made. I believe no forfeitures have been declared; nor does the court, properly speaking, exist in operation.

The same act, generally called the Tenure Act, to provide for the extinction of feudal and seigniorial rights, and burdens on lands held *à titre de fief*, and *à titre de cens*, in the province of Lower Canada, and for the gradual conversion of these tenures into the tenure of free and common soccage, and for other purposes, declares,

1. Persons holding fiefs or seigniories may, on application to his Majesty, and on surrender of the ungranted parts thereof, obtain a commutation and release of feudal burdens due to his Majesty.

2. Such a fief or seigniority may be regranted to the proprietor in free and common soccage.

3. Feudal and seigniorial rights, on the granted parts of such seigniority, not to be affected until a commutation thereof shall be obtained.

4. Persons holding in fief, and obtaining a commutation as aforesaid, shall be bound to grant the like commutation to those holding under them, if required; for such price or indemnity as may be fixed by *experts*.

5. Such commutation being voluntarily agreed upon, or awarded by a court of law, all feudal rights shall cease, and the tenure be held in free and common soccage, and be subject to the laws of England.

The laws of Canada are in many respects good: they bear a resemblance to those of Scotland; and, if no conflicting usages be introduced, they might operate in Canada much in the same way as the Scottish laws do in Scotland.

CHAP. XIII.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE. — PUBLIC OFFICES, ETC.

THE revenue of Lower Canada amounts to about 140,000*l.*, exclusive of an allowance for duties to Upper Canada. It arises principally from impost duties on articles of luxury, and partly from his Majesty's rents, which consist of the *droit de quint*, depending in amount on the frequency and value of the mutation of fiefs; of the rents of the King's posts at Saguenay, Port Neuf, &c., and let as stations for the fur trade; of the rents of the royal forges at St. Maurice; of the monies arising from the Jesuits' estates, &c.

The public accounts for the year 1829 produced the following statement: —

The gross receipts of duties, &c., without any deduction	-	-	-	£172,091	2	2½
Outstanding on bonds	£19,021	1	6			
Salaries, commissions, &c.	8,774	17	10½			
Drawbacks	-	403	15	0		
				<u>£28,199</u>	14	4½
Net income paid into the Province Treasury	£143,891	7	10½			
Further expenses of collection and repayment of duties	-	-	£3,387	6	3	
Portion payable to Upper Canada, under Canada Trade Act	-	-	31,209	19	9	
				<u>£34,597</u>	6	0
Net available income of the province for the year 1829	-	-	-	£109,294	1	10½
The increase over last year is	£15,194	5s.	3½d.			

In 1807, the gross revenue amounted to only 31,000*l*. In 1829, the House of Assembly voted 35,000*l*. for the improvement of roads alone. The revenue is appropriated by the legislature to the payment of the civil list, the execution of public works, to the encouragement of education, agriculture, trade, &c.*

The principal officers of government are the governor-general, lieutenant-governor, chief-justice of Canada and of Quebec; chief-justice of Montreal, six puisne judges, judge of Three Rivers, provincial judge of Gaspè, provincial judge of St. Francis, attorney-general, solicitor-general, judge of the court of vice-admiralty, receiver-general, provincial secretary and registrar, civil secretary to the governor, auditor-general of accounts, inspector-general of accounts, surveyor-general, the officers of the Executive and Legislative Councils and House of Assembly; French translator to the governor, printers to the government, masters and clerks in chancery, inspector-general of the King's domain, and clerk of the land roll, auditor of land patents; grand voyers of the province, or chief inspectors of roads, &c., one for each district; postmaster-general, inspector-general of the King's domain, commissioner for the sale and management of crown lands, superintendent of emigrants and settlers in the Canadas; commissioner of roads throughout the province, commissioners for the improvement of internal navigation, commissioner for the erection and repairing of public buildings, commissioners for exploring the country, and commissioners for the management of the Je-

* This appropriation, and the expenses of the civil government for 1832, will appear in the general summary, at the end of this volume.

suits' estates. There are also various municipal officers in the towns. The postmaster-general is paid by his own department. Several offices have been abolished, and pensions given to those who held them.

The roads in Canada along the St. Lawrence were first opened through the seigniories by the *censitaires* or *habitans*, each of whom still repairs the road crossing his own farm. The erecting bridges, and opening new roads in difficult parts of the province, have been either accomplished, or the inhabitants assisted, by numerous grants of money voted by the legislature, and placed under the management of special commissioners.* There are scarcely any public burdens; no taxes, nor poor laws. Whenever cases of distress occur, relief is afforded by benevolent contribution.

The militia laws are much the same as in Nova Scotia, and the Canadians are ever ready to observe them. Their officers are chiefly Canadians; and the *habitans*, who are drilled in their own language, attend to their orders without dispute or hesitation.

In 1828, the total strength of the militia of Lower Canada consisted of 81,649 men liable to march in case of invasion; divided into sixty-two battalions, and commanded by 2434 officers. There are also four companies of cavalry troops, and two battalions of volunteers, which, added to the militia, makes the

* The seigniories being laid out in concessions, parallel roads divide these, along which are the houses of the *habitans*, and the road in front of which is repaired by the respective *censitaires*. Particular roads communicating from one range of concessions to another are repaired by the public, who are benefited by such roads.

effective force of the province about 85,000. The whole force is now about 92,000.* The staff of the militia consists of the governor-general as commander-in-chief, three aides-de-camp, eight lieutenant-colonels, four majors, adjutant-general, deputy-adjutant-general, assistant adjutant-general, paymaster-general, quartermaster-general, judge-advocate-general, superintendent-general of hospitals, and surgeon-general.

The Indian department of Lower Canada consists of a chief superintendent, under superintendent, resident agent and secretaries, four residents, one clerk, four interpreters, one schoolmaster, and four missionaries.

The naval department of Lower Canada is almost too trifling to notice, and consists of a small establishment at Isle aux Noix, on the Richelieu, near Lake Champlain, where there are a captain and lieutenant superintending.

There are also stationed in Lower Canada the greater part of three regiments of foot, two companies of artillery, and two companies of royal engineers.

The several departments connected with the army are, the military secretary's office, which has an assistant military secretary, and four clerks; the quartermaster-general's department, the officers of which are, the deputy-quartermaster-general and two clerks; the governor and lieutenant-governor of the garrison at Quebec; the town-majors of Quebec and Montreal; a foot-adjutant and commandant at Isle aux Noix; a foot-adjutant at Côteau du Lac; a commandant at Quebec, at Montreal, and St. Helen's.

The royal engineer department, stationed in Lower

* See statistics of Lower Canada at the end of this book.

Canada has a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two captains, two lieutenants, an assistant engineer, twelve clerks of the works, three overseers, two master smiths, a master carpenter, a master mason, and a foreman of labourers.

The ordnance department has two ordnance store-keepers, two deputies, and eight clerks; and the barrack department has a barrack-master at each of the garrisons at Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, Côteau du Lac, William Henry, Chambly, Laprairie, and Isle aux Noix.

The commissariat department is superintended by a commissary-general, under whom there are a deputy-commissary-general, assistant commissary-general, eighteen deputy-assistant commissary-generals, and four treasury clerks; and in the department of commissary of accounts, there are one deputy commissary-general, one assistant commissary-general, three deputy-assistant commissary-generals, and one clerk.

The medical department consists of a deputy-inspector of hospitals, an apothecary to the forces, two staff-surgeons, two hospital-assistants, a medical attendant, and purveyor's clerk.

The post-office department is under the same regulations as in England. The general post-office of Quebec is superintended by the deputy-postmaster-general of British North America; and there are sixty-two post-offices established for the convenience of the inhabitants in various parts of Lower Canada, and sixty-four in Upper Canada. This department, however, is far from being so satisfactorily regulated as in the United States; and it forms a subject of complaint both in Upper and Lower Canada, which

may lead to the adoption of better and more convenient regulations.*

His Majesty's customs for the port of Quebec controls the entries at all the ports of the province. The officers at Quebec are, the collector, controller, surveyor, naval officer, three clerks, four searchers, and waiters, tide-surveyor, two tidesmen, admeasurer of ships, warehouse-keeper, locker, and messenger. At Montreal there are three officers: the surveyor, waiter, and searcher, and tide-surveyors. At St. John's, Lake Champlain, there are a collector, controller, gauger, and two land-waiters. At Côteau du Lac there are a collector and a controller; at Sherbrooke, and at Nouvelle Beauce, there is at each a collector; and at Gaspè, New Carlisle, and Magdalene Islands, there is at each place a sub-collector. There are land-waiters at Lacole, Compton, and Stanstead; and inspectors of merchandise, scows, and rafts, at Chateauguy and Côteau du Lac. Before all the fees were abolished, and salaries established, the incomes of the officers of the customs, that of the collector in particular, were enormous; and the merchants of Quebec addressed the Treasury afterwards, complaining of the illegal exaction of fees by the collector, for which he was prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench; and the legislature passed several resolutions, charging him with illegally retaining 642*l.* of the monies collected at the customs. The fees of the Court of Vice-admiralty are also considered just causes of complaint.

* See remarks on the post-office department of North America, in a separate chapter, Book IX., of this volume.

CHAP. XIV.

CONFIGURATION AND GENERAL ASPECT OF CANADA. — GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE. — ORGANIC REMAINS. — STEPS. — MINERALOGY. — WESTERN REGION. — ROCKY MOUNTAINS, CLIMATE, ETC.

CANADA may be said to present the most extraordinary and grand configuration of any country in the world. From the eastern extremity of this vast region, rising abruptly out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains, the natural features of its lands and waters exhibit romantic sublimities and picturesque beauties, amidst the variety and grandeur of which the imagination wanders, and loses itself, luxuriating among boundless forests, magnificent rivers, vast chains of mountains, immense lakes, extensive prairies, and roaring cataracts.

The mind, on sailing up the St. Lawrence, is occupied under impressions, and with ideas, as varied as they are great and interesting. The ocean-like width of this mighty river where it joins the gulf, — the great distance (about 2500 miles) between its vast *débouché* and the source of the most westerly of its streams, — the numerous lakes, cataracts, and rivers, which form its appendages, — the wide and important regions, exhibiting mountains, valleys, forests, plains, and savannahs, which border on these innumerable lakes and rivers, — their natural resources, — their discovery and settlement, and the vast

field thrown open in consequence for the enterprise, industry, and capital of mankind, are subjects so great, and so fertile in materials for speculative theories, as well as practical undertakings and gainful pursuits, that the imagination strives in vain to create an empire so grand and powerful as that to which the energy of succeeding generations will likely raise a country possessed of such vast and splendid capabilities as those of the Canadas.*

The natural aspect, configuration, and geological structure of Canada, exhibit the greatest diversity of appearance.

On the south side of the St. Lawrence, from Gaspé to some miles above Point Levi, opposite Quebec, the whole country presents high mountains, valleys, and forests. These mountains appear as high as any of the Alleghany chain, of which range they form a part.

Their altitude has not, however, been ascertained. I have seen various parts of their outline and summits rising in the interior, when I was on the sea, at least a hundred miles distant. The prevailing rocks are granite, in vast strata, but sometimes in boulders

* The St. Lawrence may certainly, including its lakes, tributaries, vast breadth, and the quantity of fresh water it discharges, be considered the largest river in the world. From Cape Chat, 100 miles above Cape Rosier, where its mouth may be deemed to commence, to the head of Lake Superior, the distance is 2120 miles. At Cape Rosier its breadth is eighty miles, and at Cape Chat forty miles; at Kamouraska, where its waters are *brackish*, its breadth is twenty miles, and its average depth twelve fathoms. It discharges annually to the sea 4,277,880,000,000 tons of fresh water, of which one half may be considered melted snow. The length of the Amazon from the Andes to the ocean is 2070 miles, and its greatest width at its embouchure is twenty-three miles.

between the mountains and the shore; greywacke and clay slate also occur, with limestone occasionally; and various other rocks, usually detached, present themselves. The mountains and valleys are thickly wooded: the soil is generally very productive along the banks of the St. Lawrence; and, in the valleys of the interior, according to the usual indications of fertility, equally fit for cultivation. The lower islands of the St. Lawrence are mere inequalities of the vast granite strata which occasionally protrude over the level of the river. The Kamouraska Islands, and the Penguins, in particular, exhibit this appearance; and in the parish of Kamouraska and St. Anne huge masses of granite rise into sharp conical hills, one of which is 500 feet high, with smooth sides, and scarcely a fissure. The mountain of St. Anne is lofty and imposing. Its ascent is rugged and picturesque.

At St. Roch the post-road leads for more than a mile under a perpendicular ridge of granite, 300 feet high.

The north coast of the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, exhibits trap rocks, clay slate, various detached rocks, and granite occasionally; the latter is considered to prevail in the interior country, and particularly as forming the base of the mountains of Labrador, and of the country north of Quebec. Cape Tourment, thirty miles from Quebec, is a round massive granite mountain, about 1000 feet high, and a ramification of the rugged interior chain. The lands situated on the north shores of the St. Lawrence, below the River Saguenay, are not near so high as those on the south coast; but their features are remarkably rugged and forbidding, and apparently nowhere fit for cultivation. Numerous small rapid rivers, plenti-

fully frequented by salmon, roll from the mountains over rugged channels, or foam over precipices, into the St. Lawrence.

Except in the bogs or marshes, rocks obtrude between the trees over all parts of the surface. Although the country is generally covered with wood, yet the trees are far from attaining the size of those on the south coast. In various parts I observed extraordinary deep fissures, from six inches to two feet wide, and apparently many feet deep, dividing the rocks as if they had been cracked by the action of fire, or some volcanic shock: intense frost may have been the agent. In many places these fissures, hidden from view by various creeping shrubs, formed dangerous traps. The Indians have told me that they have seen some of these rents several miles in length, about a foot broad, and from forty to fifty feet deep.

As we approach Quebec, a reddish or dark clay slate appears as the prevailing rock, and it forms the bed of the St. Lawrence to Kingston and Niagara. Boulders of granite, limestone, sandstone, syenite, trap, and marble, occur as detached rocks in the same extensive region.

Above the Rapids of Richelieu, where the mountains commence retreating to the south and north, a flat country prevails, until we reach Queenston Heights. The greater part of the soil of the low lands is apparently of alluvial formation; and twenty to fifty-five feet rise of the waters would nearly cover the whole country between the Alleghanies and the high lands of the north. The exceptions to this general rule are, the Beleoil mountain, the highest summit of which is about 1200 feet high. This mountain

is an abrupt termination of a branch of the Green Mountains, and divides the waters of Lake Champlain from the sources of the rivers St. Francis and Yamaska. The mountain to which Montreal owes its name, the rocks of which appear to be principally of the trap family, accompanied by limestone, is another exception. Whenever rapids occur, we find the elevation of the country increasing, and limestone generally accompanying the prevailing rocks. The step of country formed by the calcareous ridge, which commences at Queenston Height, and which rests on a bluish clay slate, is elevated about 350 feet above the shores of Lake Ontario; and the upper country, the base of which is limestone, is generally level, until we approach the high lands between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. This calcareous region abounds in organic remains, some of which, particularly the serpents in nests, are very rare and beautiful*; and

* Various names applied to local appearances or peculiarities are current in the common parlance of the Americans, and introduced, sometimes, without explanation, into books; for instance:—

Vaults, which are deep glens or valleys in the forests.

Carraboo Plains are lands formerly laid waste by fire, or that from some natural cause produce little wood. They are also called barrens; and are frequented by the *Moose* and *Carraboo*.

Cedar Swamps are deep mossy bogs, soft and spongy below, with a coating sufficiently firm to uphold small cedar or fir trees, or shrubs. Such lands are difficult, almost incapable, of culture.

Buffalo or *Deer Licks* are marshes on low level grounds, over which salt springs flow, and to which buffalo and deer resort, to lick the salt that adheres to shrubs or small trees.

Prairies are lands on which, from being overflowed during spring and fall, the growth of trees is prevented.

Intervales, or *Bottoms*, are alluvial lands, along the rivers or lakes.

in many places petrified horns and bones of wild animals, shells, trees, &c. have been frequently dug up. The limestone rocks of the Manitoulin Islands, in Lake Huron, contain similar organic remains to those that occur abundantly in the limestone rocks which prevail as the base of the island of Anticosti. Along the north coasts of Lake Huron and Lake Superior granite predominates. Some distance back from the lakes and rivers, *steps*, or *ramps*, which are abrupt elevations, occur. They seem to have formed, at some period, the banks or beaches along which the waters flowed. Behind the first of these steps table land generally extends for some distance, or until a second step and flat land occur, sometimes followed by a third and fourth ramp. These appear at Malbay, Lake St. Peter, Lake Huron, and at many other places. Indications of volcanic eruptions appear at St. Paul's Bay, and on the mountains north of Quebec. The great earthquake of 1663 is said to have overturned a chain of freestone mountains 300 miles long, north of the St. Lawrence, and levelled them with the plains. We cannot, however, consider the

Mammoth Caves are *Dens* in which skeletons of the mammoth have been found.

Rattlesnake Dens are caverns, in the basins of the Ohio and Mississippi, in which myriads of living rattlesnakes are said to abound, tangled among each other. Of this circumstance I know nothing, but the common report; although I have heard the backwoodsmen swear that it is true.

Blazes are marks on the sides of trees, by chipping a small slice off with an axe, and continued in a line through a forest, for the guidance of travellers where there are no roads.

Sugarie is a plot of forest lands in which maple trees abound, and where sugar is made from the sap.

authority we find in the journals of the Jesuits as sufficient to establish this circumstance, when the configuration of the adjoining country has not apparently been disturbed.

Canada is considered rich in minerals. Iron of the best quality has been found in great abundance; silver has been picked up in small quantities; lead, tin, and copper have been discovered in several places. Coal has not yet been discovered. We are, however, still ignorant of the mineral riches, and even of the geology, of these regions. The researches of the Montreal Natural History Society lead us to expect important discoveries. The following extract enumerates most of the minerals that have been discovered:—“The mineralogy of the Canadas has hitherto been almost altogether neglected; but the imperfect researches which have been made prove it to be rich in the scarcer kinds of minerals, and not deficient in those applicable to economical purposes. Petalite, one of the rarest substances in the world, and remarkable for containing the newly discovered fourth alkali, lithia, was sent from York, in Upper Canada, in 1820, by Dr. Lyon, surgeon to the forces. Beryl is found at Lake of the Woods; Labrador felspar (Lake Huron); axinite (Hawkesbury Ottawa, the only place in North America); aventurine (Lake Huron); amethyst (Lakes Superior and Huron); apatite, a phosphate of lime (Fort Wellington), may be added among others; Aragonite (Laclina); strontian, in magnificent forms, (Erie, Ontario, &c.); schorl (St. Lawrence); and manganese, garnet (River Moira, Ontario, &c.); carnelian, agate, zeolite, prehnite, barytes, and fluor spar (Lake Superior); brown and green coccolite

(Montreal and Hall Ottawa); olivine, augite (Montreal); staurotide (Rainy Lake); and the very rare anthophyllite (Fort Wellington). Marbles and serpentine are quite common. Plumbago, ores of antimony, lead, iron, and copper, are frequently met with. The northern and western shores of Lake Ontario abound in salt springs, some of which (Stony Creek and St. Catherine's) are very productive, even with the employment of small capital. The north shore of Lake Erie exhibits immense beds of gypsum, which are quarried for the purpose of agriculture."

The region between Lakes Michigan and Superior and the Rocky Mountains is generally flat; and in this territory are situated the largest savannahs in the world. The lands separating the rivers which fall into the lakes of Canada, and those of the Mississippi and Missouri, are generally low, and sufficiently overflowed in spring to allow a communication with canoes.

The Rocky Mountains are vast chains, extending north and south from Mexico to the arctic regions, and dividing the waters that fall into the Atlantic rivers from those of the Pacific. These mountains are from 9000 to 11,000 feet high; and, where crossed between the latitudes of 44° and 48° N., covered for from forty to sixty miles over with eternal snow. They may be considered a continuation of the Andes.

The western regions are but imperfectly explored. It would appear, from the outlines of some of the old French maps, that the remote parts of Canada were better known before the conquest of Quebec than

since that period. Scientific men were employed to explore Canada by the French authorities; but their journals and maps were removed from the colony, and lodged in the "Bureau de la Marine" at Paris.

The forests and wild animals of Canada I have already described in a former book.*

The temperature of the climate of Canada is much colder at Quebec, and along the River St. Lawrence to the eastward, than at Montreal or Upper Canada. The duration of winter is frequently two months longer. Severe frosts commence in November, and ice seldom disappears until the last week of April. In summer the heat is as intensely oppressive as in the southern States; but when the wind shifts to the north, the temperature, particularly below Quebec, changes sometimes from 120° Fahr. to 60° or under. The average summer heat in the shade is about 82°; it is sometimes 120°. Snow falls in great quantities at one time, but long periods of clear frosty weather intervene between snow storms. In 1790, mercury froze at Quebec. It is often 60° Fahr. below the freezing point; 20° is about the average. Some years ago, an officer of the royal artillery tried several experiments at Quebec with bomb-shells, in order to ascertain the expansion and consequent power of freezing water. The shells were nearly filled with water, and an iron plug was driven into the fuse hole by a sledge-hammer; the temperature was 51° Fahr. below the freezing point. When the water froze, the plug was forced out with great velocity and a loud report. When a plug was used

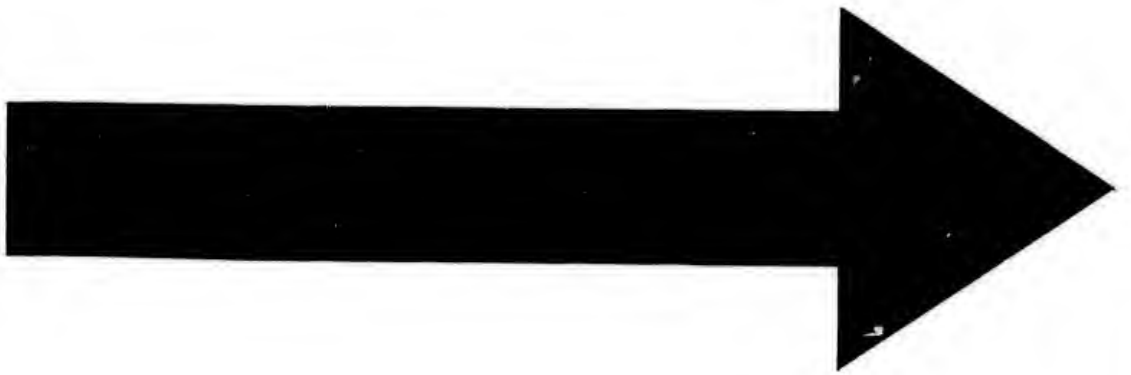
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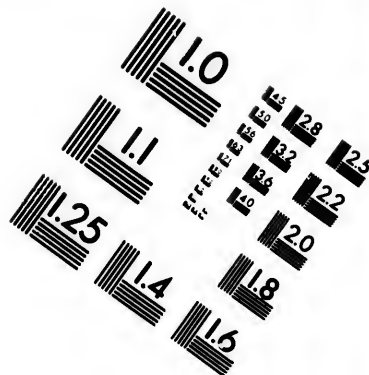
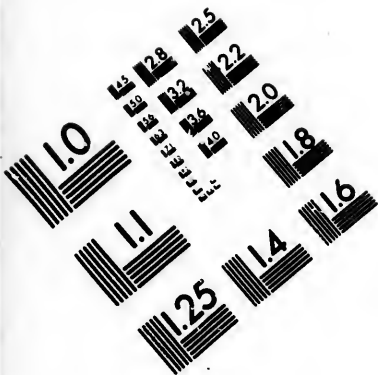
that had notched springs, which expanded within the cavity, the shell always burst. A plug two and a half ounces weight, was thrown four hundred and fifteen yards, with the elevation of the fuse axis at 45° . Rocks, particularly those of the calcareous, schistous, and sandstone order, are often rent by the expansive force of intense frosts.

The climate of Montreal and the upper country is nearly in every respect similar to the general system and theory of the climate, as treated of in the first volume of this work. The temperature of the region south and west of the bend of the Ottawa at Bytown, lying between Lakes Ontario, Huron, and Erie, are milder in winter, but in some parts less salubrious in summer. Fogs are unknown. A light mist, occasioned by the condensation at night and evaporation in the morning, appears occasionally about sunrise, but soon dissipates.

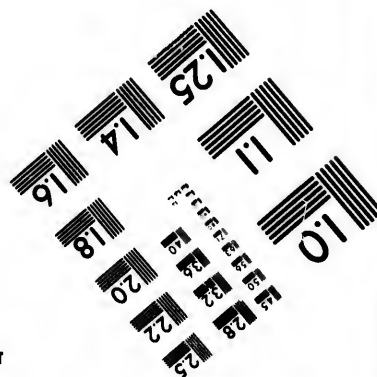
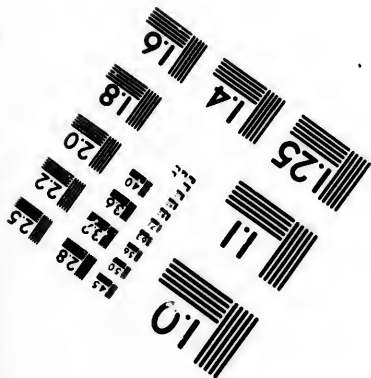
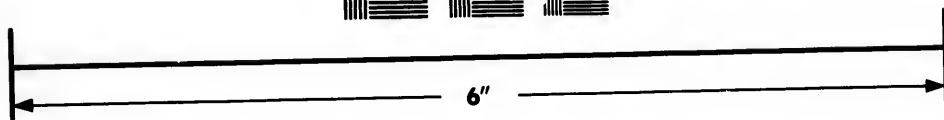
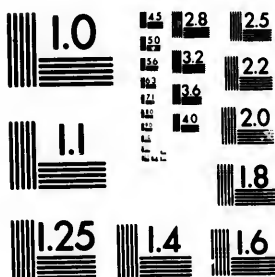
Canada is eminently blessed with a remarkably clear atmosphere. The sky at Montreal, both in summer and winter, is beautifully bright. I have often heard it compared to that of the Mediterranean. Rains in summer and autumn are far from being frequent, but they fall in great quantities at one time. Water-spouts are sometimes formed on the great lakes. Thunder storms, although of short duration, are remarkably violent, particularly at and near Quebec. Squalls of wind are frequent on the lakes and rivers, in the vicinity of high lands. Strong gales of wind occur in Canada about the 20th of October. They sometimes, particularly on the great lakes, resemble perfect hurricanes.

Volney observes, that there is a correspondence of





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time and action between these storms and those of the Gulf of Mexico; and Dr. Franklin, with his usual sagacity, on remarking this periodical disturbance of the air, inferred that the *focus* of the movement existed in the Gulf of Mexico.

CHAP. XV.

COAST OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE FROM GASPÈ TO QUEBEC.
 — BAY OF SEVEN ISLANDS.—TRINITY.—MANICOUGAN SHOALS.
 — PORT NEUF.—SOUTH SHORE.—CAPE GASPÈ.—ANSE DE
 L'ÉTANG.—MATANE.—MITIS.—MIMOUSKI.—BIQUE.—TROIS
 PISTOLES.—APPEARANCE OF THE SOUTH COAST.—ROADS,
 TRAVELLING.—CANADIAN PARISHES.—AUBERGES.—
 CHURCHES.—HABITANS' HOUSES.—RIVIÈRE DE LOUP.—
 KAMOURASKA.—ST. ANNE'S.—ST. THOMAS'S.—HABITANS ON
 SUNDAY.—MORAL CHARACTER.—POINT LEVI.

THE coast and interior country of Lower Canada, from Cape Gaspè to the Paps of Matane, a distance of about 200 miles, still exhibit the same primeval wildness which this portion of the western world presented to Cartier 296 years ago. The northern shores, from Labrador to Tadousac, are equally desolate; and, if we except the king's posts at Seven Islands' Bay and Port Neuf, we discover no signs of art or civilisation, no traces of the industry or enterprise of man. A few miserable wandering Montagnez Indians, and a few transient fishermen and furriers, are the only human beings that frequent this cold and barren region. The vast country which lies between the lower shores of the St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay, seems, indeed, unfit for any other inhabitants, save the shaggy bear, prowling wolf, ruthless Esquimaux, and hardy Mountaineer Indian, who wander along its waters, or traverse its

wastes; yet the vast swarms of salmon that frequent its rivers, and the remarkably fine fur of its wild animals, offer sufficient temptations to the adventurous, and sources of profit to the industrious. Minerals, especially iron, are believed to abound; but, from the geological formation of the country, I think that few, unless it be copper, will ever be found east or north of the Saguenay.

The Bay of Seven Islands lies on the north coast of the St. Lawrence, which at this point is seventy miles broad. It derives its name from seven high rugged islands which lie at its entrance. There is deep water close to these islands, which rise abruptly out of the sea, and from ten to fifty fathoms' depth of water in the bay. It forms, within, a large round basin; and the lands at its head appear sinking low in the horizon, while those on each side are high and rugged. Here there is a king's post, rented formerly to the North-west Company, and lately to the Hudson Bay Company. Humpback whales enter this bay, in which they are sometimes pursued, both by the American and Gaspè whalers.

The best track, sailing up the St. Lawrence, nearly as far as Tadousac, especially with contrary winds, is along the north coast. The current always runs so strongly down along the south shore, that it can only be stemmed with a fair wind. The shores of Anticosti are flat, but the soundings are regular; and lighthouses are erecting on the east and west points of this dangerous island. The Labrador coast may be safely approached. It affords harbours, and excellent anchorage, and the tides are nearly regular. Trinity, a little below Point des Monts Pelées, on which a lighthouse has lately been erected, is a place where ships anchor in

proceeding up the St. Lawrence with a head wind.* Pilots usually meet vessels between Point des Monts and Cape Chat, which is nearly opposite, on the south side. There are two formidable dangers off the north shore, between Point des Monts and Tadousac. The first is a rocky shoal, extending several miles off and along the coast at Manicougan. Several ships have been stranded on it. The other is a lesser danger, lying off Point de Mille Vaches, a little above

* On my last sailing up the St. Lawrence, we anchored here for some days, alongside of several ships. One of these was a passenger ship from Ireland; and most miserable was the appearance of the poor beings who were on board of her. Squalid poverty, aggravated by being crammed thickly together in the ship's hold, presented as deplorable a picture of human wretchedness as I have ever witnessed. Their total want of money, or requisite necessities, and their utter ignorance of the country to which they were going, or how they were to procure the means of living, afforded a subject of abundant interest for the destinies of families, consisting of old men and women, middle-aged, and young children. On board of another ship, which had sailed from London, there were a few English passengers; among whom I observed a genteel-looking woman, walking on the deck, with three pretty and neatly dressed children. She seemed, however, to have known better days, and to have been forced from a once comfortable home by the pressure of poverty; at least, the care-worn countenance of her husband, who came on deck soon after, justified this conclusion; for his wife was rather cheerful than otherwise. She certainly bore her troubles, whatever they might be, with more firmness than her husband; and I have seldom observed a more unaffected or interesting exemplification of the sacred affection of the mother and wife than in this woman. She had suffered greatly from sea-sickness; but trusted that, soon after their arrival at Quebec, they would be settled in a tolerably comfortable way in some part of Canada.

They were also ignorant of the country, and formed their conclusions according to English habits and ideas. Thousands similarly situated leave the United Kingdom for North America.

the king's post at Port Neuf. There is no further danger until we pass the mouth of the river Saguenay; from which to Quebec a pilot is absolutely necessary. I therefore return to sketch a brief description of the south coast of the St. Lawrence, which has hitherto been neglected in all the English accounts of Canada that I have seen. The counties of Gaspè, Rimouski, and Kamouraska, comprehending a valuable territory, extending about 300 miles along the River St. Lawrence, are less known in England than Kamtschatka.

Cape Gaspè is rather high, and its rocky cliffs are perpendicular. Cape Rosier is low, but the land behind rises into high round hills; and the whole is covered with trees of various kinds, except a few small spots near the Cape, cleared by some fishermen settled there. The coast preserves this character as we proceed up the St. Lawrence, and generally slopes, covered with trees, to the water's edge. At Great Fox River there are also a few fishermen; and at Anse de l'Étang, twelve leagues above Cape Gaspè, there is a small harbour for shallops. It may be known by a remarkably high wooded conical hill on the east side, and by a beach with a few huts and stages on the west. Some of the *habitans* of the parish of St. Thomas, on the Rivière du Sud, thirty miles below Quebec, frequent this place during the cod-fishing season. The river issues from several lakes, one of which is only half a mile through the woods from the fish stages.* Fishermen also fre-

* I landed at this place, and travelled up to the lake. The river descends from it by three small but beautiful falls. The mountains, which are richly wooded, rise so high on each side and about the head of the lake, that, although it is several miles long, it appeared

quent Grand Vallée des Monts, Magdalene, Mount Louis, St. Anne's, and Cape Chat, during summer; but I believe there are no permanent settlers (unless it be at St. Anne's) until we reach Matane. As far, however, as I could judge of the country, it appears to possess sufficient advantages for settlements. The shortness of the summer, and the intense cold of winter, may form strong objections to agriculture; but the severity of its climate differs little from that of the thickly settled agricultural parishes about 200 miles farther up than Cape Gaspè, nor is it so cold as many parts of the corn countries of Russia. The soil in the valleys is fertile, and the uplands appear also to be fit for cultivation. The trees, growing on the hills, and on the sloping high lands facing the coast, if used in ship-building, — and there are abundant convenient situations for building vessels, — would be found far more durable than those which grow in the valleys or along the rivers and lakes of the upper country. The "scrubby oak" of the hills, as it is called, is considered as durable as the best English oak. It is admirably adapted for the timbers of a ship, and of sufficient size for the construction of large vessels.

The country in the rear of the Canadian seigniories, east of the river Chaudière to Lake Tamiscouta, and to the south as far as the American boundary, including the ungranted lands on the two rivers St. Francis, and the valleys of the district of Gaspè, afford excellent lands, and seem the natural ground

little more than a large pond. The *habitans* had been rather successful in fishing, and they gave us some excellent small cod, and choice pieces of smoked halibut.

of settlement for the redundant population of the already crowded seigniories in front. Grand roads to connect the river St. John, and its branch the St. Francis, and Lake Tamiscouta, with the St. Lawrence, would be of great consequence in facilitating the settlement of this district.

The following account of Matane, Grand and Petit Mitis, and Rimouski, which may be considered the lowest down of the established settlements on the St. Lawrence, I have lately received from a gentleman who visited those places since I was in Canada:—

“ In proceeding up the river St. Lawrence, after passing Cape Chat, the first place of remark is *Matane* River, known by a large square white house, and a long barn, level on the top. Ten leagues farther up is Little Mitis, or Mitis, situated on a long, low, flat, rocky point, with several white houses, extending about a cable's length to the north-east. This is noticed as a guide to the anchorage of Great Mitis, which is about six miles farther to the westward. On opening the bay (say close in shore), a square house will be first observed, near the water-side; a mile farther, in the south-west corner, up the bay, in the same view, will be seen the upper part only of a house, which is the establishment of Great Mitis. A vessel may close in with Little Mitis Point into six or seven fathoms water, and turn for Great Mitis, by the lead, in from five to eight fathoms. Should the vessel be turning up on the north shore, or in mid-channel, Mount Camille, which will be seen, should be brought to bear north-west by south, which will lead from sea to the bay. As this place has only recently been visited to any

extent, I have thought it worth while entering into the particulars.

“ At Little Mitis the late John M^cNider, Esq., of Quebec, a gentleman of considerable enterprise, established a fishery, with the intention of supplying Quebec, during the summer, with fresh fish, as well as for curing. Notwithstanding the abundance of fish, the scheme did not answer, and, we believe, has been attended with considerable loss; the fish in this part of the river St. Lawrence has been found to be capricious in its haunts, perhaps annoyed by the small whales and porpoises which abound.

“ Mr. M^cNider also endeavoured to settle and clear the seigniorship for cultivation, and many settlers proceeded thither at different times; but the spirited proprietor died in 1829, without having reaped those benefits from his exertions which might have been anticipated; the situation, perhaps, not offering first-rate advantages as regards climate, or (at present) proximity to markets for surplus produce.

“ About five miles farther west is Grand or Great Mitis: this place has lately risen into notice by the erection of saw-mills by Mr. William Price of Quebec, by whom a very considerable outlay has been made; and by the constant employment afforded by the mills, and felling of logs in the winter, an active little settlement has been created.

“ The mills are on a fall of the river Mitis, about three miles up; this river, like the Chaudière, near Quebec, and most others on the south side of the St. Lawrence, comes tumbling over rugged rocks of considerable elevation, as it approaches the estuary. The river itself is a small stream, greatly impeded with rapids when not swelled by freshets; and it has

been found necessary to dam the river with wickerwork and mud for a considerable distance, to keep back water enough to float the logs down to the mill. From the mill the deals are floated down a *dall*, or *aqueduct*, to the basin for shipment, part of the distance being cut through soil and rocks fourteen feet deep. The deals produced are spruce and a very superior yellow pine.

“ At about half a mile from the *débouché* of the river is a small rocky island, by which a secure and picturesque basin is formed. Over the sand bar at the entrance of the basin there is fourteen or fifteen feet at low water, and ample room for two vessels to lie stem and stern of each other. The tide flows exactly at one o'clock at full and change, and rises from twelve to fourteen feet. The channel is now marked with buoys into the basin.

“ With a ship of great draught of water it is advisable to lie in six fathoms at low water, with the house at the east side of the river Mitis open to the eastward of the island in the bay, so that the river may be seen between them. The high land of Bic will then be just clear of Point Osnelle, some of the houses of Little Mitis will be seen, and Mount Camille will bear S.S.W. by compass : in such a mooring, the swell is broken before it comes in by the shore. The ground will be found excellent for anchorage, being clay ; and, with one anchor to the eastward and another to the westward, the vessel will ride in perfect security. A vessel of smaller draught may go within five fathoms.

“ From hence, along the shore, will be observed, at great distances, the small white houses of the *habitans* ; in general, however, occupied by pilots or fish-

ermen, who have cultivated small patches of the land around them. Occasionally, when, from a wet summer, the harvest of the westward has failed, these small farmers reap a benefit by the greater backwardness of their seasons.

“ The House of Assembly of this province lately voted money for the completion of the road from Quebec hitherto, as well as for opening a communication with Miramichi and St. John's, New Brunswick ; and, during the last season, considerable progress has been made in them.

“ At Rimouski are saw-mills, recently erected by Mr. Price of Quebec. The locks and dam by which the head of water for the mills is kept up at the mouth of the little river Rimouski, are of considerable extent, and executed with great boldness. The timber cut down here, although so near to the yellow pine of Mitis, is all red pine, which, though small in size, is of excellent quality.

“ Ships bound to the anchorage here should endeavour to close in with the land about Point au Père, or Father Point (on which are the numerous white houses of the pilots), into six or seven fathoms, and then steer due west, for about three miles, for the body of St. Barnaby's Island, until the extreme eastern point (on which is a large round stone) bears by compass WNW. about three fourths of a mile, in four and a half fathoms at low water. Rimouski church will then bear about SSW., and a round bluff island between St. Barnaby's and the main, WSW., and Father Point E. by N. As the water shoals gradually towards St. Barnaby's Island, ships of light draught of water may go something nearer, taking care to allow for three or four feet sand in the event of a

north-east gale. With westerly winds, which generally prevail, this is a most smooth and secure anchorage. Ships intending to load here should moor NW. and SE., with not less than sixty fathoms each way, so as to have an open hawse to the NE. Ships coming to anchor off the west point of Barnaby's Island, will find a most secure anchorage from east and north-eastwards, in four fathoms at low water, having the east end of Bique Island at W. by N., the point of land from Bique at W. by S., the west point of Barnaby bearing NE. and by N. half a mile."

From Rimouski we may ride, or drive in a wheeled carriage through all the Canadian parishes. At Bique there is good anchorage; but the coast, nearly as far up as Trois Pistoles, is steep and iron-bound. Small rocky islets rise along the river from two to three miles off the shore, from which mud flats, nearly dry at low water, and producing a long marine weed (*eel grass*), extend about the same distance from the coast as the islets. These mud flats occur along the St. Lawrence wherever there are eddies, and within the islands that lie between the channel and the shore, particularly at Trois Pistoles, Green Island, the Pilgrims, and Kamouraska. They are formed of deposits carried down by the river, and generally repose on flat rocks. The islets are all rocky.

The river St. Lawrence, and the whole country, from the lowest parishes to Quebec, unfold scenery, the magnificence of which, in combination with the most delightful picturesque beauty, is considered by the most intelligent travellers who have visited this part of Canada, to be unequalled in America, and probably in the world. Niagara comprehends only

a few miles of sublimity. The great lakes resemble seas; and the prospects which their shores, like those of the coasts of the ocean, afford to our limited visual powers, although on a grand scale, fall infinitely short of the sublime views on the St. Lawrence, below Quebec.

Here we have frequently, as we ascend the eminences over which the post-road passes, or as we sail up or down the St. Lawrence, prospects which open a view of fifty to one hundred miles of a river from ten to twenty miles in breadth. The imposing features of these vast landscapes exhibit lofty mountains, wide valleys, bold headlands, luxuriant forests, cultivated fields, pretty villages and settlements, some of them stretching up along the mountains; fertile islands with neat white cottages; rich pastures and well-fed flocks; rocky islets; tributary rivers, some of them rolling over precipices, and one, the Saguenay, bursting through an apparently perpendicular chasm of the northern mountains; and, on the surface of the St. Lawrence, majestic ships, brigs, and schooners, either under sail or at anchor, with pilot boats and river craft in active motion.

This beautiful appearance, however, changes to a very different character in winter; and, late in the fall of the year, a dark stormy night in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence presents the most terrific, wild, and formidable dangers.

In winter the river and gulf are choked up with broken fields of ice, exhibiting the most varied and fantastic appearances; and the whole country on each side is covered with snow; with all the trees, except the stern fir tribes, denuded of their foliage.

The south shores of the St. Lawrence are thickly

settled by the descendants of the French, who at different times emigrated to Canada; and the manners and customs of their ancestors are tenaciously and religiously preserved by the Canadians, or *habitans*, more particularly in this part of Canada, where they have held little intercourse with the English. The villages and parishes have a general similarity of appearance; and although some of them are more extensive, and much more populous than others, yet one description is sufficient for all.

We cannot but be pleased and happy while traveling through them. They assuredly seem to be the very abodes of simplicity, virtue, and happiness. We pass along delighted through a beautiful rural country, with clumps of wood interspersed amidst cultivated farms, pastures, and herds, decent parish churches, and neat white houses or cottages. The inhabitants are always not only civil, but polite and hospitable; and the absence of beggary, and of the squalid beings whose misery harrows our feelings in the United Kingdom, is the best proof that they are in comfortable circumstances. Thefts are rare, and doors are as rarely locked. You never meet a Canadian but he puts his hand to his hat or *bonnet rouge*; and he is always ready to inform you, or to receive you in his house; and if you be hungry, the best he has is at your service.

The manners of the women and children have nothing of the awkward bashfulness which prevails among the peasants of Scotland, nor the boorish rudeness of those of England. While we know that each may be equally correct in heart, yet we cannot help being pleased with the manners that smooth our journeys; and often have I compared the easy oblig-

ing manners of the Canadian *habitans* with the rough "What d'ye want?" of the English boor, or the wondering "What's your wull?" of the Scotch cotters.

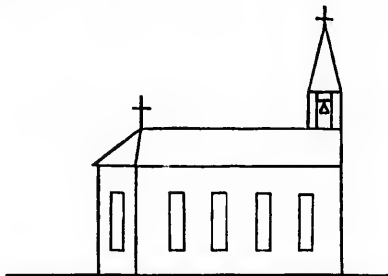
At the *auberges*, or inns, many of which are post-houses, we find civility, ready attendance, and have seldom to complain of what we pay for. The post-houses, which are established along the main roads, were formerly, but not now, regulated by an act of the Provincial Parliament; but the *maître de poste* keeps a number of horses, *calèches* on two wheels, and *cabriolets*, rather rude in shape, for the accommodation of travellers. There is seldom any delay, and nothing to pay the driver. For a *calèche* or *cabriolet*, in which two can travel, I paid a quarter dollar per league. In travelling, we now and then meet a cross erected at the side of the road, on a spot to which some trifling legend is attached. In some places we see large plaster casts of the crucifixion, under a wooden canopy, supported by four tall posts. I observed one of these in the middle of a marsh, near the post road below Kamouraska.

The house of a captain of militia is always distinguished by a tall flag-staff near it, painted red, or with circles of white, red, blue, or black.

The priest's house is always close to the church; and you never see him except in his sacerdotal robe. Enter his house, and you are welcome; nor will he let you depart hungry.

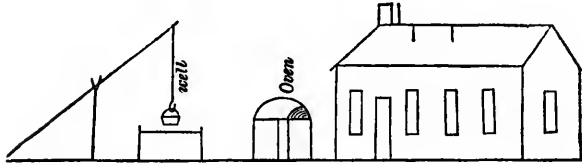
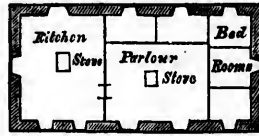
The parish church, with a pretty, bright, tinned spire, and sometimes with two, is a striking characteristic feature, which occurs at intervals of from four to eight miles, along the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The elevation seldom deviates from the following outline : —



The houses of the *habitans* are sometimes built of stone, but generally of wood, and only one story high.

The walls outside are whitewashed, which imparts to them, particularly in summer, when almost every thing else is green, a most lively and clean-looking appearance. Each contains a large kitchen, one good sitting-room, and as many sleeping or bedrooms as may be judged requisite. The garret is generally used for *lumber*, and seldom for bed-places. Some of the houses have verandas, and a small orchard and garden are often attached ; near the house there is always a clay-built bake-oven, and a well ; from the latter the water is drawn by means of a lever. The elevation and ground-plan of a family house are generally the same as the following outlines. Those of a young married couple generally want the sleeping apartments at the end farthest from the chimney.



The sitting-room or parlour, and bedrooms, are lined with smoothly planed boards, and painted with blue, red, green, yellow, &c. ; and, according to our ideas, in very bad taste ; but, according to Jean Baptiste's* fancy, very fine and *bien joli* ; and why not, if he be happy in the idea ? Wax and brass images of the virgin and child, or of the crucifixion ; and pictures of grim saints, the madonna and child, &c., all of the cheapest and most common kind, are hung round the room ; and one middle-sized and several common looking-glasses, and a common clock, are seldom wanting. Sometimes we observe a looking-glass and picture, which, from their curious wrought frames, must be from one to two hundred years old. There is also one or more cupboards, or *buffets*, in the room, which exhibit common glasses, decanters, cups and saucers, &c., and generally a large punch-bowl, for the purpose usually of making *egg nog* †, or milk punch.

* Jean Baptiste is as frequently a *nom de guerre* for Canadian *habitans*, as John Bull is for the English, or Saunders for the Scotch.

† *Egg nog*, or, as Jonathan terms it, *flip*, consists of eggs and

The geese raised on their farms afford sufficient feathers for beds ; and the *habitans* are never without them. Their sheets and blankets are rather coarse, but manufactured by themselves of the fleeces of their sheep, and of the flax they cultivate.

The barns and cattle-houses are plain oblong buildings. The farms run parallel with each other : pole fences occasionally separate them, and from ten to seventy arpents of each are cleared and cultivated. The post-road runs across them all, and each *habitan* keeps his own portion in repair.

The most populous or important parishes or fiefs below Quebec, or at least those which arrested my attention most as a traveller, are Rivière de Loup, Kamouraska, St. Anne's, and St. Thomas'.

The saw-mills, erected on a great scale at an immense expense, on the Rivière de Loup, by Mr. Caldwell, are well worth visiting.

Kamouraska, during summer and autumn, is a very delightful spot. It is the watering-place of Canada, and is frequented, during the bathing-season, by families from Quebec and Montreal, who here enjoy a salubrious atmosphere, tempered by the sea air. A steam-boat occasionally plies between it and Quebec. There are several inns here ; but the most commodious, and it was certainly very comfortable, when I visited the place, was kept by an Englishman. It had hot and cold baths, to which sea water was conducted, attached to the hotel. The St. Lawrence is twenty miles broad here ; but above this its waters are no

sugar beat up together, to which is added a little water or milk, and as much spirits as will be equal to a quarter of the whole. This is a common treat among the Canadians.

longer salt. Salmon and herring are caught at the mouth of the river, and near the islands opposite. It is a small mountain stream with a fall, some distance, of thirty feet.

The scenery is very picturesque on approaching the parish of Ouelle; the parish or village of St. Anne is also populous, and prettily situated on the western side of the River Ouelle. In front there is a wide shoal bay; and opposite, the high lands of Eboulemens frown in the distance over the St. Lawrence.

The village church and the seminary, a handsome large stone edifice, three stories high, stand in a beautiful situation on the brow of Mont St. Anne. The seminary was established by the indefatigable energy of the curé, M. Painchaud, but not yet chartered. In the bay, a porpoise fishery has long been followed, at little more expense than by driving a line of stakes placed close together in an oblique direction, so as to lead the porpoises over the shoals lying between the mouth of the Ouelle and a rocky ledge which juts into the St. Lawrence four miles below. When the tide ebbs, the porpoises are left dry. They are from nine to sixteen feet long, and yield about a ton of oil each. The seigneur claims one-tenth as his due. There is a cross planted on the ledge of rocks, which the priest sanctifies every spring, to bless the spot where a successful fishery is expected.

The parish of St. Thomas, on the Rivière de Sud, is one of the most populous below Quebec. This river flows from the south, through a beautiful, extensive, fertile, and rather thickly settled country, and rolls over a ledge of rocks, twenty feet high, into the St. Lawrence. It has several excellent bridges over it; and along its banks are many of the best cultivated

farms in Lower Canada. In the rear of the village, Chapel Hill, a pretty eminence, rises amid fertile fields.

In the village there is a handsome, though plain, stone church, said to contain near 3000 persons. I had the opportunity of being at this church on a Sunday. Nothing could be more pleasing than the scene which presented itself. It was on a delightful calm summer morning; the meadows, corn-fields, and woods were as richly decked as imagination could well fancy, and the surrounding scenery as interesting as a picturesque tourist could even wish. The whole creation was wrapt up in peaceful, but not solemn stillness; for the lively verdure of the country, thickly decked with neat white cottages, and the smooth flowing beauty of the St. Lawrence, with several tall ships carried along by the tide, banished every impression except those of the most happy admiration, while the spirits were just raised to that pitch of cheerfulness, in which neither volatility nor gloom has any share.

About 10 o'clock, the roads leading through this extensive parish exhibited a decently dressed peasantry, clad chiefly in fabrics manufactured by themselves, of the wool, and flax, and leather, and straw, produced on their farms. A great number moved on with a sober trot, in caleches or cabriolets; several on horseback, and others on foot; but no one disturbed the calm tenor of the day, farther than casual converse between two or three.

In church, if the most close and devout attention during the whole service of mass, and the delivery of a short practical, but not argumentative sermon, which dwelt altogether on their moral conduct,

without alluding to points of faith, be considered as general proofs of sincerity and piety, the *habitans* of this parish have undeniable claims to these virtues. I believe there is little difference to be found, in this respect, among the other parishes. If there be, I have failed to discover it; and admitting, as I have frequently heard, that they are religious by habit and imitation, rather than by conviction, no one who has travelled among them can deny that they are sincere, amiable, charitable, honest, and chaste. Let us leave abstract points of Christian doctrine to theological disputants; but if we look for a more correct or moral people than the Canadian *habitans*, we may search in vain. A Sabbath morning in the Scotch parishes most remote from the towns, bears the nearest resemblance to a Sunday, before mass, in Canada.

The interval, however, between morning and evening service differs, but not widely; for, in both countries, those who do not return to their houses, spend the time in conversing on local incidents, or in communicating what news is gathered during the week. But the evenings of Sunday are far more cheerfully spent than in Scotland. The people of the parish often meet in small groups, or at each other's houses, for the sake of talking; and on these occasions they sometimes indulge in dancing.*

A low belt of thickly-peopled country, lying between the St. Lawrence and the high lands, extends from the Rivière du Sud until we arrive within a few miles of Pont Levi, where the post-road ascends over a high eminence, the heights of Lauzon; from which

* See an account of the Customs and Manners of the Canadians in the last chapter of this book.

we have a rich prospect of the Isle of Orleans ; and, soon after, the city of Quebec, and the heights and citadel of Cape Diamond, burst suddenly into the view, and draw our attention from all other objects. Before I attempt, however, to describe Quebec, I will finish my sketch of the lower country, by briefly describing the settlements on the north side, and the islands of the St. Lawrence.

CHAP. XVI.

COUNTY OF THE KING'S POSTS. — THE RIVER SAGUENAY. —
TADOUSAC. — ISLANDS IN THE ST. LAWRENCE, ETC.

THE vast region extending from the seigniory of Les Eboulemens, about 400 miles along the north shores of the St. Lawrence, to Cape Cormorant on the Labrador coast, including the River Saguenay and its lake, was formerly, under the French Government, granted to an association called the "*King's Post*." It is still named the "*King's Domain*." That company had the exclusive right of fishing, hunting, and bartering within the said territory, usually styled in the King's *ordonnances*, *La Traite de Tadousac*.

The principal posts or forts are at Tadousac, at Isles Jeremie, at Seven Islands, at Labrador, and on the River Saguenay. At the Post of Chicoutimi, on the Saguenay, 58 miles up, the small chapel, built 105 years ago by the Jesuit Labrosse, with its altar and pictures, are still in tolerable preservation; and the tomb of Father Cocar, who died in the last century, with a Latin inscription, is pointed out to us by the *voyageurs*. A Catholic missionary visits the post twice each year.

The country of the King's Posts, with these exclusive rights, was leased to a Mr. Goudie of Quebec, some years ago, for 1200*l.* per annum. A Mr. Lampson succeeded to the lease; but he has not been able to continue the trade with advantage, owing, he

has stated, to the interference of the Hudson Bay Company, to whom he has been under the necessity of surrendering his lease. The trade at the various posts is, therefore, now conducted by the agents of this company, who may now be said to engross the whole fur trade of Canada, to the exclusion of all the inhabitants, and that for a matter of revenue little more than 1000%: the value of the lands thus monopolised is another serious inconvenience, which the Assembly has already represented to the Executive of the country.

About 100 persons are employed in the Indian trade and the fishing, by the agents of the Hudson Bay Company, within the country of the King's Posts.

Tadouzac harbour lies at the mouth of the Saguenay or Saguenay. It is well sheltered, sufficiently deep, and affords excellent anchorage. To it the first French adventurers who visited Canada resorted, and it continued for a long time to be one of the principal fur-trading posts. The old French post is still maintained, and rented with the other posts on the King's Domain; but the place is at present of little importance, in consequence of there being no settlements on the great river that flows past it into the St. Lawrence.*

Of this mighty river we know but little. Some of the accounts of the fur traders trace it to the foot

* In Père Charlevoix' History of New France, there is a map of the Saguenay, which nearly corresponds with the late surveys. In 1543, M. Roberval left Quebec to explore the Saguenay, in which expedition he lost one vessel and eight men. Fifty-five years afterwards, the Sieur de Chauvin sailed up the Saguenay, and died at Tadousac.

of the mountains between the Ottawa and Hudson Bay mountains; and it is deep and navigable for about ninety miles, when it is interrupted by a cataract of about fifty feet perpendicular. The banks are occasionally low, but generally high, until within a few miles of Post Chicoutimi. Magnetic ore is abundant, and renders the compass uncertain. The vast body of water which it discharges is of sufficient force to influence the stream of the St. Lawrence obliquely to the south. It flows through excellent lands, and a great timber country may be opened on this river. Commissioners are appointed for exploring it, under a provincial act. I extract the following sketch from an article lately sent me from Canada written, I believe, by a gentleman on board of the schooner *Gulnare*, employed for some time past in surveying the St. Lawrence. The information it contains respecting a river along which towns, villages, and settlements will assuredly rise, and in which the sons and daughters of industry and enterprise are as certainly destined to act their parts, cannot fail to be interesting:—

“ On the next morning we left our anchorage. As we approached the mouth of the Saguenay River, the wind died away, and we were obliged to come to anchor. We were strangers to its navigation; and though one or two of our companions professed a knowledge of it, we found, nearly to our cost, that they were not to be trusted. After waiting till the ebb tide had ceased, we took advantage of a light wind that favoured us, and shortly found ourselves securely at anchor in the little harbour of Tadousac, at the mouth of this river.

“ The view from our anchorage was of the most

picturesque description. To the southward were the long reefs off each point of the entrance of the Saguenay, forming an effectual barrier to the waves of the St. Lawrence, and affording security to the harbour. In the distance, was Red Island; beyond it, Green Island; and in their rear, the blue hills of the south shore. To the north-westward, up the Saguenay, precipice succeeded by precipice was seen in perspective, their bases washed by the dark deep waters of the river, over whose surface they cast their shadows, in gloomy, solemn grandeur. Near us was the little semicircular beach of bright sand, forming the bay or harbour of Tadousac. Rising immediately above this, a green terrace, on which stand the houses of the fur traders, ornamented in front with a row of old guns, placed round the confines of a tolerable garden, more for the sake of appearance than for use. Above this terrace appears a ridge of white granite hills, on the other side of which is a small lake. The view in this direction is finally closed by mountains of granite, rising to the height of about 2000 feet.

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“The astonishing depth of the Saguenay renders it one of the most extraordinary rivers in the world. It is the grand outlet of the waters from the Saguenay country into the St. Lawrence, which it joins on its southern shore, at above a hundred miles below Quebec; and although only a tributary stream, has the appearance of a long mountain lake, for an extent of fifty miles, rather than that of a river. The scenery is of the most wild and magnificent description. The river varies from about a mile to two miles in breadth, and follows its impetuous course in a south-east direction, through a deep valley, formed by mountains of gneiss and sienitic granite, which in

some places rise vertically from the water side to an elevation of 2000 feet.

“There is a feature attending this river, which renders it a natural curiosity, and is probably the only instance of the kind. The St. Lawrence is about eighteen miles wide at their confluence, and has a depth of about 240 feet. A ridge of rocks below the surface of the water, through which there is a channel about 120 feet deep, lies across the mouth of the Saguenay, within which the depth increases to 840 feet; so that the bed of the Saguenay is absolutely 600 feet below that of the St. Lawrence, into which it falls—a depth which is preserved many miles up the river. So extraordinary a feature could only occur in a rocky country, such as is found in some parts of Canada, where the beauties of nature are displayed in their wildest form. The course of the tide meeting with resistance from the rocks at the mouth of the Saguenay, occasions a violent rippling, or surf, which is much increased, and exceedingly dangerous to boats, during ebb tide. The extraordinary depth of the river, and the total want of information concerning it, have given rise to an idea, among the credulous fishermen, of its being in many parts unfathomable. This effect is admissible on uninformed minds, for there is always an appearance of mystery about a river when its water is even discoloured so as to prevent the bed from being seen; and the delusion is here powerfully assisted by the lofty overshadowing precipices of either shore.

“Following the course of the river upwards, it preserves a westerly direction to the distance of about sixty miles, in some parts about half a mile broad, in others expanding into small lakes, about two miles

across, their borders being interspersed with a few low islands. In the narrow parts of the river, the depth, at the distance of a few yards from the precipice forming the bank, is 600 feet, and in the middle of the river it increases to nearly 900. It is, as yet, only known to the few fur traders who deal with the native Indians, and the salmon fishermen who frequent its banks."

Mr. Bouchette, the son of the surveyor-general of Canada, who traversed the country from the trading port of La Tuque, one hundred miles up the St. Maurice, to the Oniatshouan, which discharges into Lake St. John, from which the Saguenay issues, crossed several lakes and rivers. He says, — "The territory lying between the St. Maurice, La Tuque, and Lake St. John, is generally covered with lakes and extensive swamps, occasionally traversed by chains of hills of no remarkable height or continuity, composed chiefly of primitive granite. The prevailing trees are spruce, tamarack, white birch, and pine. Around some of the larger lakes, occasional tracts of cultivable land may be found; but their remote situation, and the consequent impracticability of throwing them open to actual settlement, must render this section of country a barren waste for ages to come."

From the King's Post establishment at the mouth of the Metabetsouan, the land that borders the southern shore of Lake St. John, to the foot of the hills that form a chain with the Oniatshouan range, is generally of good quality, the soil of which is variously composed of an argillaceous and sandy loam, on which a rich vegetable mould has been deposited. The timber thereon consists of ash, black and yellow birch, basswood, elm, fir, balsam,

cedar, and spruce, intermixed with some red and white pine and maple.

Mr. Bouchette discovered limestone, marble, and marine petrifications. The valley of the Assuamoussoin, which falls into the Lake St. John, he describes as generally alluvial, or of rich argillaceous loam, *terre grasse*, from the grand rapids downwards to the lake. Several other tracts, through which rivers run, he describes as fit for cultivation. From the *Petite Nation* to the port of Metabetshuan, he considers the land generally fit for culture; forming altogether, according to Colonel Bouchette's estimate, 240,000 acres of good land.

The trading port of Chicoutimi is nearly equidistant from Tadousac and the port of Metabetshuan on Lake St. John. It has a harbour for small vessels. But the *Bay des Has*, sixty miles above the mouth of the Saguenay, and four or five below Chicoutimi, affords shelter for the largest ships of the line, and the navigation to it is uninterrupted from the ocean.

From the mouth of the Saguenay to Mal Bay the country is still in its primitive wild state; and wild indeed it is, in all the varied conceptions of the word. A row of sandhills, from twenty to forty feet high, stretches along near the river, in front of it. The mountainous seigniory of Mal Bay was formerly called the King's Farm; and here were thirty buildings when the English conquered Canada; but it afterwards dwindled into obscurity. Some time after the American revolutionary war, Major Nain was rewarded for his services with this high land seigniory, which was very little valued by the Canadians; but to him its worth was fondly associated with his recollection of the Caledonian hills. When he settled

in this place, some four or five cottages only showed their humble roofs; it now contains about four hundred inhabitants. He passed the rest of his days in this village, and left a widow, who was not long since, and may still be, living. His daughters were married, and settled in the parish; and a son of his was an officer at the battle of Chrystler's Farm, where he was killed.

A road leads from Mal Bay to St. Paul's Bay, over the bleak heights and through the village of Eboulements. The seigniory of the Côte de Beaupré, extending from Rivière du Gouffre to Beauport near Quebec, is the property of the ecclesiastics of the seminary of Quebec, or, more properly speaking, of the seminary itself, which acquired it from the original seigneur, the Sieur Cheffault de la Regnardière, to whom it was conceded in 1636; it has forty-eight miles of front along the St. Lawrence; it is mountainous, yet very fertile in the valleys, and produces excellent crops. It contains eight parishes, in each of which is a church, parsonage house, grist mills, and numerous saw-mills. The inhabitants, who have very little intercourse with the world, are primitive in customs and manners, chaste, virtuous, and hospitable. At St. Paul's Bay, into which a mountain torrent, the River Gouffre, falls, there is rather a crowded settlement, sheltered by the northern mountains; and at La Petite Rivière, near it, the cultivated low land is so well protected from cold winds, that apples, equal to those of Montreal or Niagara, as well as pears, cherries, and damsons, grow in abundance. The road from here passes over the mountain ridge of Cape Tourment, (about 1800 feet high, and the first of the granitic heights called "Les Caps,") to the interesting retired parish of

St. Joachim, where there are lands and houses belonging to the Catholic seminary at Quebec, and a rather closely settled parish. We then pass through the villages of St. Anne and Château Richer to the River Montmorency, across which, a little above the falls, there is a bridge, over which the main road leads, and winds through the beautiful and populous seigniory of Beauport, then, by a bridge over the River St. Charles, to Quebec. Before we enter this city, I must, however, in order to finish this sketch, say something of the beautiful islands which lie below.

Isle Verte, Green Island, which is well cultivated, and from which excellent butter is sent to Quebec, is six or seven miles long, and lies near the south shore, from which it is separated by shoal water and mud flats. Its east end, on which there is a lighthouse, lies about south-east from the mouth of the Saguenay; in a line with which stands Red Island (a small islet), from which a dangerous shoal extends; and here the navigation of the river becomes very intricate. The French always proceeded up on the north side; but since the English have possessed the country, the south has been preferred. Yet many say, that the north channel is by far the safest and best. By the late surveys, it is evident that the north channel is very deep and quite safe. The pilots are also required to be equally well acquainted with the north as with the south channel. There is also a mid-channel, known by the French as *Le Chenail d'Iberville*: it has been lately re-discovered by Captain Bayfield, R. N., and found more intricate than the others, but sufficiently deep. It is now called Bayfield's Channel.

Hare Island, which is about eight miles long, and from which also dangerous ledges extend, lies in the middle of the river, about fifteen miles further up than Green Island. It has some excellent salt marshes, cultivable land, and herds of cattle. Passing by the Pilgrims, and the Kamouraska Islets, we come to Isle aux Coudres, which lies close to the north coast, and in front of St. Paul's Bay. It is a seigniory about five miles long, three broad, the soil fertile, and is one of the oldest settlements in Canada. It belongs, like the Côte de Beaupré, to the seminary of Quebec, has 700 inhabitants, one church, one curé, a corn and saw mill, two decked vessels, and eighteen boats. The inhabitants live chiefly by agriculture, and raise excellent crops of wheat, oats, barley, peas, and potatoes. They have good stocks of horses, horned cattle, sheep, and hogs. Nearly opposite to it are the intricate shoals, among which the traverse, or south, channel winds. Between these shoals and Orleans, are the Goose and Crane Islands, — low, flat, in some places rocky, in others marshy, but inhabited, cultivated, and pretty. Near these, at the eastern end, the Pillars (rocks) rise abruptly out of the St. Lawrence.

The island of Orleans is about twenty miles long, and from four to five broad. Its upper end is five miles below Quebec, and on each there is a deep channel. Its soil is fertile; a belt of original wood extends from its eastern to its western extremities, between which and its shores are corn-fields, orchards, pastures, and meadows, thickly speckled with the white cottages of the inhabitants, pretty clumps of wood, and here and there a parish church. Near the west point, in a small vale close to the shore,

were built those mammoth ships, the Columbus and Baron of Renfrew; the largest masses in one body that human ingenuity or daring enterprise ever contrived to float on the ocean.* The Columbus crossed

* The Columbus was launched while I was at Quebec in August, 1824. I went down the day before to the island of Orleans, on the west end of which that gigantic ship was constructed, to see her on the stocks. Although I was before aware of her extraordinary dimensions, I had no conception of the huge appearance of such a vast mass. Mr. Wood, who superintended the building of the Columbus, very politely showed us all the preparations for launching, and the interior arrangements of the vessel, and we certainly beheld all with astonishment. The length of the Columbus on deck was about 320 feet, breadth something more than fifty, and extreme depth of the body about forty feet. There was then about 3000 tons put on board before launching. Every thing was on a gigantic scale; the launch-ways were laid on solid mason-work embedded in the rock; the chain and hemp cables, capstan bars, &c. exceeded the dimensions of common materials in the same proportion as the Columbus did other ships; yet this huge four-masted vessel was strongly framed, timbered, and planked, on the usual principles, and not put together like a raft, as many people imagined. We returned to Quebec in the evening; and early on the following morning we proceeded again in a steam-boat to the Isle of Orleans. The day was one of the most lovely I ever beheld; the St. Lawrence, smooth as a mirror, reflecting a *fac-simile* of the surrounding sublimities, and of a sky the most serene and beautiful. Vast crowds were assembled on the eminences on each side the colossal ship, and on the south banks of the St. Lawrence. Several magnificent steam-boats, filled with much of the beauty, fashion, and gaiety of Canada and the United States, were drawn up to the eastward. In one, there was the band of the 70th regiment; in another, that of the 38th; and in a third, a Highland piper, playing the wild martial music of the Gramplans. There were, besides, innumerable boats, filled with people, drawn up in order on the river.

At eight o'clock, when all eyes were directed towards the Columbus, in silent, anxious expectation, the leviathan ship appeared moving onward, gently increasing in speed until she glided into the

the Atlantic and arrived safely, after a quick voyage, in the Thames, but on returning next year towards America was lost some few hundred miles west of Ireland. The Baron Renfrew, after being safely navigated by the captain from Quebec, along the St. Lawrence, and the banks of Newfoundland, and the Atlantic ocean, and up the British Channel to the mouth of the Thames, was afterwards lost by the pilots, and wrecked at Gravelines.

St. Lawrence with as much ease, grace, and majesty, as if my Lord Chesterfield himself had the will and direction of her movement. At this moment the band struck up "Rule Britannia;" the spectators huzzaed; and the citadel of Cape Diamond rolled out its thunders. The momentum given to the Columbus carried her a mile from her birth-place before she was overtaken by the steam-boats, which followed, and towed her to the falls of Montmorency, at the mills of which her loading was completed.

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CHAP. XVII.

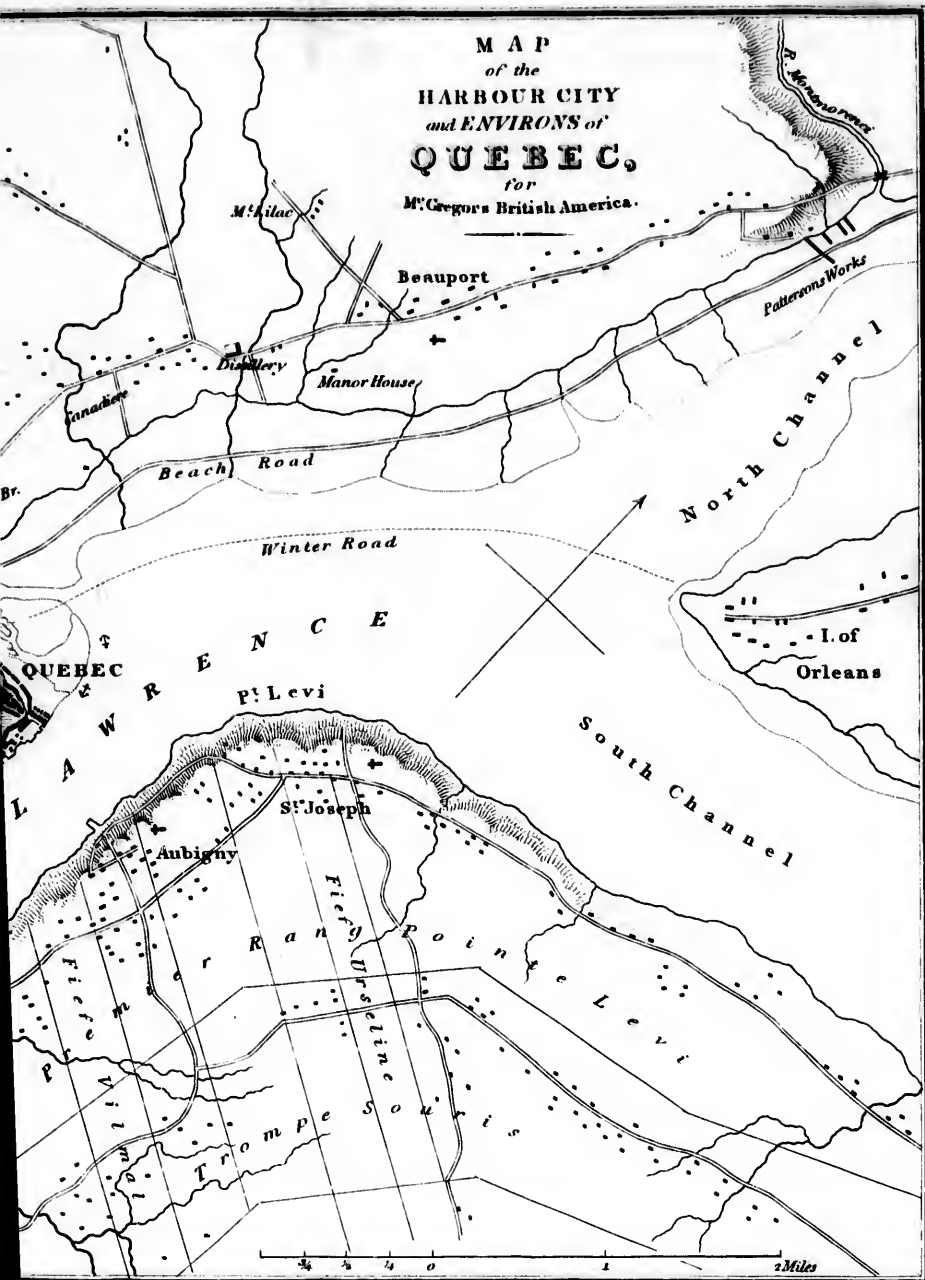
CITY OF QUEBEC. — APPEARANCE FROM THE RIVER. — LOWER TOWN, WHARFS, HANGARDS, STREETS, HOUSES, UPPER TOWN, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, ENGLISH AND CATHOLIC CATHEDRALS, CHURCHES, NUNNERIES, JESUITS' COLLEGE, MARKET, POPULACE, SOCIETY, CANADIAN GENTRY, AMUSEMENTS, SUMMER, WINTER, CLASSIFICATION OF RANKS, HOTELS, TABLE D'HÔTE, PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ETC., TRADES-PEOPLE, AUCTIONS, WALLS, FORTIFICATIONS, CITADEL OF CAPE DIAMOND. — WOLFE AND MONTCALM'S MONUMENT. — VIEW FROM CAPE DIAMOND, ETC.

The city of Quebec, the capital of Canada, and the Gibraltar of America, stands on the extremity of a precipitous cape, in latitude $46^{\circ} 54'$ N., longitude $71^{\circ} 5'$ W.

The island of Orleans, five miles below, divides the St. Lawrence into two channels, each about a mile broad. Immediately opposite Quebec, where the river makes a sudden bend, it is little more than half a mile broad, but the depth of water is about twenty-five fathoms. Between this and the island of Orleans is formed the splendid Basin of Quebec, — somewhat more than five miles long, and about four broad in the widest part. On sailing up the river, we see nothing of the city until we are nearly in a line between the west point of Orleans and Point Levi. Quebec, and its surrounding sublimities, then burst suddenly into the vast landscape; and the grandeur



MAP
of the
HARBOUR CITY
and ENVIRONS of
QUEBEC,
for
M^r. Gorges British America.



of the first view of this city is so irresistibly striking, that few who have beheld it can, I think, ever forget the magically impressive picture it presents. The Bay of Naples is not more enchanting.

An abrupt promontory, 350 feet high, crowned with an impregnable citadel, and surrounded by strong battlements, on which the British banners daily wave, — the bright steeples of the cathedral and churches, — the vice-regal château, hanging over the precipice, — the house-tops of the upper town, — the houses, wharfs, *hangards*, or warehouses, &c., of the lower, — a fleet of ships at Wolfe's Cove, and others at the wharfs, — steamers, — multitudes of boats, — several ships on the stocks, — the white sheet of the cataract of Montmorency tumbling into the St. Lawrence over a ledge 220 feet high, — the churches, houses, fields, and woods of Beauport and Charlebourg, — mountains in the distance, — the high grounds, church, and houses of St. Joseph, — some Indian wigwams near Point Levi, with some of their bark canoes on the water, and vast masses of timber descending on the river from the upper country, — may impart to the fancy some idea of the view unfolded to the spectator who sails up the St. Lawrence, when he first beholds the metropolis of the British empire in America.

On landing at Quebec, and ascending from the lower to the upper town, we pass through narrow streets, lined with old-looking houses, with small windows and iron shutters, built apparently in all the confusion of antiquity. The ascent, which is commanded by well-planted cannon, is either by a winding of Mountain Street through the city walls near the Parliament House, or by a flight of steps

called "Break-neck Stairs." The land descends about 100 feet in its level across the heights from Cape Diamond to Côte Ste. Génévieve.

The lower town is the seat of activity and commerce, and stretches below the walls, from *Anse des Meres*, or Diamond Harbour, along the foot of Cape Diamond, to the *Cul de Sac*, and *Saut au Matelot*, round by the St. Charles to the suburb of St. Roch. Most of the ships anchor above the town at Wolfe's Cove, where there is less rapidity of current, and where the timber rafts are landed for inspection. Here are timber yards and booms. In this place are also the huts of the lumberers, and a few houses. The Custom's House, Government Warehouses, Quebec Bank, and Exchange Reading-room, in which the English, colonial, and United States papers and periodicals are taken, and to which an excellent extensive library is attached, is in the lower town; the streets in which are exceedingly steep and dirty: in one place, there is a descent by stairs from the head of Champlain Street to the *Cul de Sac*, of most fatiguing length. Some of the streets in the upper town are macadamised, the rest paved like the old streets at Paris, or rather those of Rouen or Amiens, some however with flagging or side paths. The most crowded part of the Old Town of Edinburgh is not more irregular or more confused than the lower town of Quebec, and particularly in that part which is immediately under the height crowned by the château. Between the lower town and the River St. Charles there are extensive flats, dry at low water. The great rise of tide (about twenty-five feet) adapts these for the site of docks. The French contemplated building wet and graving docks in this place; and would, it is

thought, have done so, had they remained masters of the country.

A pier carried across from the Exchange to Beauport might be constructed so as to dam in the St. Charles, and form either wet or dry docks. The ship yards are principally on the side next the River St. Charles. In the *Cul de Sac*, vessels lie aground to be repaired; and here small vessels are laid up during winter. The great rise of tide at Quebec, about forty feet, renders it easy to construct wet and dry docks.

On arriving in the upper town from the lower, we find ourselves in a very different place; the streets are rather narrow, but in general they are clean, and tolerably well paved. The houses are chiefly covered with glittering tin. Many of the buildings are, it is true, in the style of olden time, yet there is an air of respectability, a fashion, a *je ne sçai quoi*, which at once tells us we are in a metropolitan city.

The public buildings are substantial rather than elegant. The Château St. Louis, the residence of the governor-general, is a huge plain-looking building, projecting so far over the precipice of Cape Diamond, here 260 feet high, that the outer walls are supported by piers or buttresses, much in the same manner as viaducts are. The principal apartments in this castle are large and comfortable. The view from the veranda is magnificent. There is a garden attached to the château, and several buildings on each side the entrance. In front there is the parade, too confined for the purpose, and the open space between the gates Louis and St. John's supplants it as an esplanade. Nearly opposite the gates of the palace stands the Protestant Cathedral, a

plain handsome modern edifice, with a beautiful spire; and near it stands the Court-house; both on the grounds formerly occupied by the monastery of the Recollet Friars, which was burnt down by accident. The Gaol is a large commodious building, which cost the province 15,000*l.* The Scotch kirk is rather a mean-looking building. The old palace of the former Bishops of Quebec, standing nearly over the gate leading from the lower town, is now the Parliament House of Canada. The bishop receives an allowance in lieu of its occupation. The Legislative Assembly sit in its chapel, which is, indeed, nearly as commodious as St. Stephen's. There are also many of the public offices in the Bishop's Palace. As a building, it is certainly much more imposing than our House of Commons. The magnificent palace of the intendant-general, or civil governor of New France, was destroyed by Sir Guy Carleton, to prevent its being taken by General Montgomery. Its site is occupied by stores and stables belonging to the engineer department.

A large stone building, erected in 1803 for an hotel, and purchased by the Chief Justice, from whom it is rented at 800*l. per annum*, is used for public offices. Among them are the governor's civil secretary, the receiver-general, surveyor-general, general of accounts, commissioners of crown lands, secretary to commissioners of clergy reserves, warden of the forests, &c. The largest room is very properly given to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec for a museum, in which their collection of minerals, fossils, paintings, &c. are arranged. A library is attached.

The Catholic cathedral of Notre Dame de Victoire

is a huge edifice; with rather a heavy spire. Its interior, which will conveniently accommodate 4000 persons, exhibits all the imposing grandeur of the Romish churches. The altar is magnificent. Images and paintings line the walls; and lamps, showing glimmering lights, and attended by old women, are kept perpetually burning. It is open at all hours. We may always enter and walk through it silently. One or more priests attend daily to various duties, from a very early hour in the morning until evening. Making some remarks to a gentleman who accompanied me to view the interior of this cathedral, I was immediately checked by a meek-looking elderly priest in his sacerdotal robes — “*Ne parlez pas ici, monsieur,*” said he; “*c’est la maison de Dieu.*” We may always observe beings kneeling along the aisles, or beside the columns, with their faces towards the altar; and as we pass along, we hear the half-smothered breathing of their devotions. At such a time, rather than during the pompous celebration of high mass, few, I believe, have ever found themselves within the walls of a spacious Catholic cathedral, that have not experienced a deeper feeling of reverence, and a more impressive consciousness of the presence of Omnipotence, than is usually experienced within the temples of Protestantism. This we know is not philosophy; but it is nature.

On Easter Sunday, and on some other feasts, especially the *Fête Dieu*, this cathedral exhibits ceremonies and solemnities widely different from the calm spirit of devotion that prevails on week days. The bishop, and sometimes twenty priests, officiate during the celebration of high mass. The pompous procession; the chiming of the bells; and, in the cathe-

dral, the loud solemn tones of the organ ; the kneeling crowds ; the silver censers ; the incense ; the splendour which surrounds the altar ; and all the other various accompaniments of this high celebration, are infinitely more imposing than any religious ceremony to be witnessed in these days in England. There is an avenue from the cathedral to the presbytery, and another to the seminary or college, in which the bishop resides.

There are several other Catholic churches in the city, and one in the lower town, and one also in the suburb of St. Roch.

There are also three nunneries here. The general hospital, which stands on low ground, in the midst of a beautiful meadow near the River St. Charles, was founded by Vallier, the second Bishop of Quebec, in 1693. The superior of this convent, La Révérende Mère Ste. Agnes, and forty-two sisters, devote their care to sick persons of all religions. The Hôtel Dieu was first established for poor nuns ; at present, its usefulness as an hospital can scarcely be too much extolled, under La Révérende Mère Ste. Antoine, and thirty-two sisters. It receives the revenues arising from certain *lods et ventes*. The Convent of the Ursulines is partly provided for by the revenues of the fief of St. Joseph, and most numerously filled ; but in this nunnery the inmates are more closely secluded from the world, although strangers are, by special permission, allowed to visit the interior ; and several young girls, Protestants as well as Catholics, are admitted to receive instruction in reading, writing, and needlework. The nuns of Canada are not the useless beings that may be imagined. Although they have retired from the open world, yet, as nurses to

the sick admitted within their walls, or as the instructors of young girls, they are of much benefit to society. They also manufacture beautiful work-boxes, *reticules*, and some other articles, which they sell for the benefit of their respective convents. They form two classes, distinguished as *mères*, or mothers, *tantes*, or aunts. The first are generally of genteel family; the second, I was told, from among the daughters of the *habitans* and mechanics. We are generally told at Quebec, that the nuns seldom take the veil until they despair of getting husbands. This may be true; but I believe that few enter these convents, who are not as happy as they would be if they were out. Nor do I think that young girls in Canada sacrifice themselves to the whim or fanaticism of parents, or rarely from disappointments of the heart. They are novices two years before they take the veil. The superiors and sisters of these convents have a vegetable specific for cancer. I have known several persons, particularly a man of the name of Fox, given over by the doctors, cured by the *good sisters*. The convents have, besides the church, other buildings, and gardens within the walls. Some of the edifices are on a large scale.

The strong quadrangular building which was formerly the College of the Jesuits, was, when occupied by them, the most spacious building in America.* It is three stories high; along each of these there was a long gallery, on each side of which were the private cells of the fathers. It contained a large public hall, in which seats were placed along the

* Founded in 1635, by Père Reni Rohault. It will, it is said, contain 2000 troops.

walls; and before the seats were the dining tables. They never allowed women to reside among them. They were either fathers or brothers: the latter were novices preparing for admission to the order. When the fathers dined, the brothers carried the dishes from the outer halls to the tables, for common servants were never admitted into the dining-hall; nor were the brothers ever permitted to dine with the fathers. At dinner, the fathers all sat down with their backs to the walls; and, in a pulpit opposite, one of them read aloud from some book during the repast; when strangers were invited, this observance was omitted, and animated conversation on general subjects, but seldom on religious matters, prevailed at the table.

In this building there were also several public halls and rooms, a library, laboratory, refectory, &c.; and an extensive orchard and kitchen garden were attached. The British government converted this magnificent edifice into barracks, for which purpose it has long been used. It is still in good repair. In front there is an open space, in the middle of which stands the market, an ugly wooden building, constructed in the worst possible taste, and equally inconvenient.

This market, or rather the open space that surrounds it, is the place to see all the varied characteristics of the population of Quebec and its environs. In summer and autumn multitudes of horses and carts, with hay, wood, butcher's meat, fowls, heaps of wild pigeons, vegetables, fruits, flowers, &c., appear early in the morning, attended by the wives and daughters of the *habitans*, and a few squaws, in small carts, from Indian Lorrette. Amidst these, we observe

the officers of the civil government and those of the garrison, with the gentlemen of the learned professions, and the merchants, all scrambling for the luxuries of the market; and, thickly mixed among the thronged carts and horses, the noisy carters of the town, with their wives and daughters, together with the *petit peuple* of the suburbs. The brawling and vociferation in bad French and broken English, that takes place, might well conjure up the confused spirits of old Babel. When we hear the loud angry squabbles of the carters and others, we expect an immediate fight, and look if the police be at hand; neither, however, is the case. The Canadian carter is not the pugnacious animal that the man of similar occupation in England is; and the quarrel that is apparently the most angry and noisy, is generally the soonest over. In winter, sledges bring in hay, grain, frozen carcasses of beef, pork, mutton, and whatever comes to market. Every article of luxury, except good fish, is abundant. The fish most esteemed is the *poisson doré*, a kind of pickerel, but it is rare. Shad and salmon are sometimes plentiful, and a fish called after a river in which it abounds, *Masquinongè*, a species of pike, with a long hooked snout, is excellent eating. Bass, sturgeon, eels, and *petite morue**, are also brought to market, but cod seldom, unless Jonathan bring them across the country from the Atlantic.

The fief St. Joseph, belonging to the Hôtel-Dieu,

* These, called Tommy Cod by the English, are caught in vast quantities along the river, where they are left confined within the ice cracks, when the tide recedes: — strange as it may appear, when thrown up, and frozen, the Canadian horses will not only eat them, but they soon become remarkably fond of them.

the fabrique or church lands, the grounds belonging to the Jesuits' estates, the seminary domain, and that considered government lands for military uses, form the principal divisions of ground property in the city and suburbs.

The population of Quebec, including the suburbs, is a matter of dispute. Some have it 40,000, others less than 30,000. I consider it something over 30,000; more than two-thirds of the number are Canadian French.

The style of living, hours of entertainment, and the fashions, assimilate nearly with those of Halifax; but society is not by any means so well knit together as at the latter place. This arises principally from the English and Canadians not mixing cordially with each other; and partly from the English having formerly assumed an arrogant superiority over the French: at a period, too, when the latter were far above the former in the scale of manners and acquirements which shed lustre over, and give a tone of well-bred gentility to, society. The Canadian gentry all over the province, consisting chiefly of the descendants of the old noblesse and gentry, retain the courteous urbanity of the French school of the last century. In Canada, after the conquest, the society of the French families of education and respectability who remained, was eminently courteous and polite, and they were anxious to secure the good feeling of the new comers, (*nouveaux venus*), by inviting them to share in the hospitality, pleasures, and amusements of a "Société dans laquelle on voit généralement une politesse et une brillante urbanité." Canadian families of the higher circle speak French as correctly as it is spoken in Paris. Many of them,

also, converse fluently in English; and although their disposition is kind and their manners agreeable, their society is not sufficiently appreciated by the English.*

There are few amusements during summer. Active pursuits occupy all classes. Short excursions on the water, or pic-nic parties to Indian Lorraine, Lake St. Charles, or the falls of Chaudière, are occasionally made; and sometimes excursions are extended down the river to Kamouraska, or up to Montreal, or as far as the Falls of Niagara. On the plains of Abraham, near the city, there is an excellent course, where races have been established for several years. Fishing and shooting afford abundant sources of sport.

In winter, when all the world at Quebec is idle, and when the navigation of Canada and trade of Quebec are bound in icy fetters, balls at the Château, assemblies in the town, *pic-nics*, and family parties, are frequent. The inhabitants dress in summer as lightly as in Jamaica; and in winter, both gentlemen and ladies require to be as well protected with muffs, tippets, fur caps, and robes, as if they were in St. Petersburg. Quebec may truly be said to have an Italian summer, and a Russian winter. Nothing can be more grotesque than the figures that drive out in carriages or sledges, either on the ice to Isle Orleans, or on the snow-covered roads. On the ice these rides are pleasant enough; but the roads are

* The manners of the English generally, who formerly settled in Lower Canada, with some happy exceptions, could claim little pretensions to the easy elegant manners of the French Canadians. Some of the English, however, have married Canadian ladies possessed of property; and many of the largest territorial estates have passed away from the French families by such alliances.

generally in such an uneven state with *cahots* (waves made in the snow by the low carriolles), that the sledges pitch something like a boat in a head sea.

The ice is seldom firm between Quebec and Point Levi; and, notwithstanding the intense frost, the *habitans* cross in wooden canoes, hauling or pushing them forward among the *cakes* of ice. When the ice does form, it is called a *pont*, and a kind of jubilee takes place on the occasion; but this does not happen once in ten years. In the spring, when winter breaks up, and the snow and ice melt, the streets are horribly dirty, almost impassable even with large boots.

Quebec is considered an extravagant place to live in, and it is so. This does not arise either from the scarcity or high price of articles of necessity or luxury, but from too expensive a style of living — too great a passion for show and fashion. Many families have been reduced to poverty in consequence.

Strangers meet with the most hospitable attention from those to whom they are introduced. This is indeed the case all over Canada. The grades of classification into which society is divided, may place a stranger sometimes in a situation not very pleasant. His rank in Canada may not depend on his character, or the society among which he lived in the United Kingdom, but more frequently on the accident of his introduction. If he settles either at Quebec or Montreal, and if he may unluckily have happened to be introduced to, and associate on his arrival with, a family who do not visit the Château, all the *elite*, especially the ladies, will, as long as he resides in Canada, disdain to breathe the atmosphere of any house he enters; while it frequently happens, that

if both were in England, those who are not Château visitants would be the most respected. Circumstances truly pitiable have often been the consequence of this ridiculous frailty. Families who have arrogated to themselves the supremacy in society, have too frequently been reduced to poverty, and humiliated to the necessity of being under pecuniary obligations to those whom they at one time considered both mean and contemptible. That rank and place in society, even for quiet and comfort, as well as for the preservation of respectability and order, will always form grades of distinction, few will deny. It is the folly and inconsistency of those who assume the *dictum* of exclusion, that render them ridiculous; and of whose laughable pretensions we hear so much when travelling in the colonies.

There are several taverns and hotels; one or two of the latter are very respectable and comfortable; but we do not find accommodations at Quebec equally excellent with those at Montreal or New York. The hotels, or rather boarding-houses, have each a *table-d'hôte*, where all dine together; but private rooms may be had by those who wish for them. Gentlemen who expect to gain information on their travels, will profit much by dining at the *table-d'hôte*; for there they will meet with intelligent men from all parts of the colonies, and from the United States, particularly during summer.

The public institutions of Quebec are numerous. The French college is a substantial old building, with a garden attached. Before the conquest, none but students intended for the church were instructed at this seminary. At present, all are admitted indiscriminately. It has a principal and three professors;

one each for theology, rhetoric, and for mathematics and physics, and five regents of the humanity classes. Besides several minor French and English schools, and some Sunday schools, there is a national school on a liberal foundation; also a royal grammar school, and a classical academy.

A spirit for improving the mind evidently exists in this city. Some time ago, a royal institution was established for the advancement of learning within the province. The protestant bishop, Dr. Stewart, is the principal; the chief officers of the civil government, and the members of the legislature, are the trustees of this institution.

The literary and historical society of Quebec, which is also patronised by the government, deserves all praise. This institution is under the direction and management of the Chief Justice of Canada as president, four vice-presidents, corresponding, recording, and council secretaries. It is divided into four departments: viz. literature, general history, sciences, and the arts. The Quebec library contains a great variety of standard and interesting works. There is also an excellent library for the use of the garrison.

There are four newspapers of respectable pretensions published in this city. The Old Quebec Gazette, now published twice a-week, was commenced in 1764, and printed in English and French. It was the public periodical under the immediate authority of government until 1823, when Mr. Nielson, the proprietor, and an honest, intelligent member of the legislature, displeased the executive government; and another paper, published weekly, *assumed the same name* under the governor's authority. The Quebec Mercury is published twice a-week. There

is also another paper, the *Canadien*, printed in French. Neither does Quebec want benevolent and useful associations. The principal of these are — the Quebec Emigrant Society; Quebec Agricultural Society; Medical Society; Quebec Diocesan Committee of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge; Ladies' Society for Propagating Education and Industry in Canada; Ladies' Bible Society; Bible and Tract Society; Quebec Education Society, and the Fire Society.

Besides the Bank of Quebec, and a branch of the Montreal bank, there is also a savings' bank.*

There are two or three distilleries, breweries, tobacco, soap, and candle manufactories. Several beautiful ships have been for many years built here; and we find such tradesmen as are usual in a city, but not all those of a manufacturing town. Here are brewers, distillers, carpenters, joiners, carriage-builders, smiths, saddlers, tanners, barbers, tailors, shoemakers, mill and wheelwrights, upholsterers, and those more important personages, players, fiddlers, dancing-masters, and tavern-keepers.

A great proportion of the British and other goods imported, are sold by auction; the Canadian shopkeepers, who seldom import goods from other countries, prefer buying their goods at public sales than by private bargains. Some of the shops are fitted up in a way which the Cockneys would call rather *stylish*; but, like the shops all over America, you find in most of them every variety of goods sold in the country: silks, lace, muslins, ribands, crockery-ware, and ironmongery; broad cloths and cutlery;

* A detailed notice of these banks will be found hereafter, when treating of the commerce of Canada.

saddles, and looking-glass; spikes, nails, and spades; needles, thimbles, and pins.

What will ever render Quebec a position of the first and most mighty consideration to England, or to any power holding possession of the empire of the Canadas, and which fully justifies even the enormous outlays expended on its fortification, is its particular situation, and the extraordinary natural features of the spot on which it is founded. It is now absolutely impossible for a ship of any size to pass either up or down contrary to the permission of those who possess its garrison. Very large ships cannot go up to Montreal; nor are there any intermediate places of great commercial importance.

The citadel of Quebec, on the highest part of Cape Diamond, is a fortification not perhaps inferior to any in Europe, and commands every surrounding position. The old French walls were remarkably strong, but they have been nearly all destroyed on the land side, and replaced with others if possible still stronger, and constructed according to the more modern rules of defence. Forty acres are occupied by the fortifications; and across the plain (1837 yards), on the only assailable ground which rises a little at some distance from the walls, four Martello towers, strongly constructed, to baffle the first attacks of an enemy, are so disposed as to sweep every possible line of advance. There is a steep inclined plain and slope of 500 feet, exclusively used by government, to ascend Cape Diamond, at a height of 950 from Brehaut's wharf. There are five gates, strongly defended, in the walls which surround the city, viz. St. Louis' Gate, St. John's Gate, Palace Gate, Hope Gate, and Prescott Gate, through which we ascend from the

lower to the upper town. The armoury of Quebec is well worth visiting and examining. It is only inferior to that of the Tower of London. Twenty thousand stand of fire-arms are always in perfect readiness to deliver to the military.

On the west, and in front of the citadel, are the celebrated plains of Abraham, where Wolfe fought, conquered, and died; which, with many circumstances less known, but still splendid in the historical records of Canada, impart a classic interest to Quebec, to which no other city in the Western World has a similar claim.

Although it was proposed, immediately after the conquest of Canada, to erect a monument on this spot to the memory of Wolfe, and although M. de Bougainville obtained permission at the same time from our government to place a monument in the Ursuline church in honour of Montcalm, yet seventy years had nearly passed away before this duty, which custom has made sacred, was fulfilled. At length an obelisk of appropriate grandeur was erected* in a recess of the Upper Château Gardens; and, with the chivalrous generosity and admiration due to heroes, it is dedicated to the "Immortal Memory of Wolfe and Montcalm."

The open fields on the plains, belonging to the Hôtel-Dieu, are retained by the government for military purposes. Here is the race course, a mile in circuit.

The grandeur of the view from the citadel of Cape Diamond has been extolled by all that ever beheld it. The prospects from the castles of Edinburgh or Stir-

* By subscription, under Lord Dalhousie's patronage.

ling have the greatest claims of any that I have seen to a comparison with it ; but both fall far short of the magnificent views enjoyed from the summit of Cape Diamond. When we look down the St. Lawrence, we have before us a sublime landscape, exhibiting from forty to fifty miles of one of the greatest rivers in the world, with tall ships, small vessels, and boats on its surface, and divided for twenty miles by the Island of Orleans ; of which also, with all its interesting beauties, we have a bird's-eye view.* At the same time the southern coast presents villages, churches, cottages, farms, forests, and mountains in the distant outline. If we turn to the north and east, we have a vast amphitheatre, embosomed within lofty mountains, and enriched and animated by the villages and churches of Beauport, Charleburgh, and Lorrette, with the vale of the River St. Charles, and a country decked with clumps of wood and richly cultivated farms. If we look below, we behold, some hundreds of feet underneath us, the lower town, with all its active accompaniments, and with crowds of ships at anchor in the cove, alongside the wharfs, and under sail. Opposite stands Point Levi and a populous country. Upwards, the view, although not extensive, is still grand. The country is bold and romantic, yet cultivated and populous; and the river exhibits the unceasing movements of steam-boats, sailing-vessels, small boats, Indian canoes, and rafts

* The view from the belfry of the Catholic cathedral is equally sublime. A friend of mine, a gentleman of taste, on beholding the magnificent prospect from this position, remarked, that "whatever might be the fecundity of a poet's or painter's imagination, neither could ever create a picture so splendid and magnificent as that of the surrounding landscape."

of timber floating down the stream, and covered with men, women, children, and huts.

Description, however, can never do justice to this vast picture; nothing but a *panorama* painting can give those who have not beheld it a full idea of its splendid magnificence; and well would it remunerate those artists who have excelled in painting the enchanting delusions exhibited in panorama views, if they were to cross the Atlantic, and bring back to Europe a representation of that which is beheld from the citadel of Cape Diamond.

CHAP. XVIII.

ENVIRONS OF QUEBEC.—ST. ROCH.—ROAD TO MONTMORENCI.— FALLS.— PATTERSON'S MILLS.— ROAD TO ST. FOIX.— SILLERY.— JEUNE LORETTE.— HURONS.— CASCADES.— LAKE ST. CHARLES.— FALLS OF THE CHAUDIERE.— RIVER ST. LAWRENCE FROM QUEBEC TO MONTREAL.— POST ROADS.— WINTER TRAVELLING.— STEAM-BOATS.— NEW LIVERPOOL.— RAPIDS OF RICHLIEU.— TROIS RIVIÈRES.— URSULINE CONVENT.— ABBÉ DE CALONNE.— FORGES OF ST. MAURICE.— LAKE ST. PETER.— DELTA.— FORT WILLIAM HENRY.— RIVER ST. JEAN.— SUMMER RESIDENCE OF THE GOVERNOR.— FORT ST. ANTHONY.— ST. JEAN.— ISLE AUX NOIX.— ROUSE'S POINT.— LAKE CHAMPLAIN.— ST. LAWRENCE FROM FORT WILLIAM HENRY TO MONTREAL.

On the low ground which lies between the walls of Quebec and the St. Charles, a multitude of shabby, dirty-looking wooden buildings, inhabited generally by the labouring classes, form the suburb of St. Roch. This suburb has now a handsome church, parsonage-house, and a large school. Near the Côte de St. Génévieve, extending towards St. Foix, stands the suburbs St. John. The latter votes for the return of members to the Assembly for the upper town; the former, for the lower.

In summer, one of the most pleasant rides or walks in the vicinity of the city is over Scott's Bridge, and along the road leading amongst the cottages, orchards, and farms of Beauport, to the falls of Montmorenci.

The river of the same name with this cataract flows down from the northern mountains, among

woods and rocks, and then over rugged steps through a richly cultivated country, until within a few yards of the precipitous banks of the St. Lawrence, where, contracting to a breadth of little more than fifty feet, it thunders over a perpendicular ledge 230 feet high. In summer, the volume of water precipitated over this fall is greatly reduced. In spring particularly, and before winter sets in, the body of water hurled down is immense. A little above the falls, the river is crossed by a bridge; and near the brink of the ledge there is a mill, frightfully, but securely pitched, the wheels of which are turned by the rapidity of the current. A stream has also been diverted from the river above the cataract, for the purpose of turning the wheels of Patterson's saw-mills, which are a little distance below. These mills are the largest in Canada, if not in America.

The road to St. Foix, which leads along the heights, is also exceedingly interesting; and more particularly so, if we turn down towards the St. Lawrence into the beautifully secluded dingle of Sillery, once the abode of pious missionaries, established here a little after the first settlement of the country. This place, including four leagues north by one in breadth, was formerly given to the Hurons of Jeune Lorette; the Jesuits are said to have cajoled them out of it.

The road leading along the picturesque St. Charles to the Indian hamlet of Jeune Lorette, is one of the most interesting outlets from Quebec. Lorette contains the wretched remnant of the once warlike and powerful nation of the Hurons, reduced to its present degraded, and nearly exterminated state, by the quarrels and diseases of Europeans, and by the introduction of brandy, rum, and gunpowder.

There is rather a neat-looking church in this hamlet; and the Indians, who speak French, attend to all the ceremonies of the Catholic religion with the most implicit obedience to their priest; but most of them, except the women, are lazy, and addicted to drink; and few things appear more likely than that, before another century expires, the whole race will vanish from the face of the earth.

A little above Lorette, there is a beautiful cascade; and, three miles further on, we reach the picturesque lake out of which the river flows. It is three miles long; and two rugged points, jutting across about the middle, nearly divide it into two lakes. The scenery altogether is enchanting; and to it the "brothers of the angle" may resort with great pleasure, and with the certainty of greater success than "a glorious nibble."

The cataract of Chaudière is sufficiently interesting, even for those who have beheld Niagara, to visit. Four miles from the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, and twice that distance from Quebec, the Chaudière, 240 yards in breadth, with its banks decorated with woods and glades, and broken into romantic grandeur by vast masses of rocks, roars and foams, in wild sublimity, over immense ledges of more than 100 feet in height, and then rushes, and boils, and thunders, over and among rocks and ledges, until within a short distance of the St. Lawrence. The Chaudière is a large river, or rather unnavigable torrent. A road, leading from opposite Quebec along its eastern bank, has been extended across the province to the River Kennebec in the district of Maine, and completed in 1830.

The country on each side of the St. Lawrence, from

Quebec to Montreal, exhibits a succession of parishes, mostly consecrated by names of places in France, and the whole so thickly settled as to assume the appearance of one continued village. The post road leads through those on the north shore; and on the south there are also good roads between the Concessions; but this part of Canada is scarcely ever frequented by travellers, and, beautiful and populous as it is, yet very little known. The country on the south side of the St. Lawrence, from the River Chaudière to St. Regis, and back to the boundary of the United States, forms 17 counties, containing a population of 188,000 persons; and, according to Colonel Bouchette, the Surveyor-General's account, occupying a surface of 13,864 square miles.

The lands fronting on the St. Lawrence, the borders of the Chaudière, Yamaska, and Richelieu, are held by seigniorial tenures. The territory between these and the American line is principally laid out in townships, and partially settled upon. The surface of this region, which includes the whole district of St. Francis, and portions of the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, is diversified with rivers and lakes, alluvions, uplands, high hills approaching to the character of mountains, dense forests, cultivated districts in the townships, and populous villages in the seigniories and new settlements. At Nicolet, a seminary or college was established many years ago by the good Plessis, the late Bishop of Quebec. A new edifice, of great beauty and magnitude, has been lately built to replace it.

The banks of the tributary rivers, flowing from each side into the St. Lawrence, are closely settled on; and some of these, particularly the Chaudière,

Beçancour, Nicolet, St. Francis, Yamaska, and Richelieu, on the south ; and the Jacques Cartier, St. Anne, St. Maurice, and Masquinongè, on the north, would be considered rivers of great magnitude in England.

In winter, travellers going between Quebec and Montreal may either hire a carriolle, or go by the post. The winter roads are generally on the ice, near the edge of the river ; or, when this route is considered either difficult or dangerous, through the parishes. Travellers may stop for food or lodging, or to bait their horses, either at the auberges, or at any *habitan's* house. There are stages in winter three times a week : these vehicles carry six persons, and are well supplied with furs for warmth. The stages for changing horses are from twelve to fifteen miles apart ; the journey is two days, including a night's rest. Those who prefer post-horses may easily be accommodated. The mail is forwarded by couriers.

In summer, the post roads, excepting the intercourse between respective parishes, have been nearly abandoned since steam navigation has afforded such great facilities to those who wish to move easily, cheaply, and rapidly, between Quebec and Montreal. Formerly the river was navigated by schooners of thirty to a hundred tons ; their passages upwards were usually very tedious, and but few square-rigged vessels proceeded to Montreal. The latter are now laden with full cargoes in London, Liverpool, the Clyde, and various distant ports ; and those of moderate size, without stopping longer at Quebec than may be necessary to procure a steamer, are towed direct to Montreal, often in less than thirty

hours, although the distance is 180 miles, half of which is always against the stream.

The steam-boats that navigate the St. Lawrence are certainly of the first-rate description, and offer every temptation to those who choose to be carried along by locomotive power. Cabin passengers pay a fixed sum (about twenty-five shillings, up to Montreal, and four dollars down to Quebec); for which breakfast, luncheon, dinner, and bed,—in fact, every luxury, with ice and fruits, except wines,—are provided. I forget whether the stewards expect any thing, but I think not, from the passengers.

The dining-cabin, or *table-d'hôte*, is usually a kind of *long house*, built on the after-deck, with a flat roof, round which there is a railing, and over which, in hot summer weather, there is an awning; chairs or cane sofas are placed along the side, and here we may either promenade, or sit down, as we find most agreeable. The arrangements for dinner are much in the same style as at the best hotels. There are now ten or twelve of these splendid steam-vessels navigating the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Montreal. One of these, lately built, the *John Bull*, has engines of 260 horse power, and admeasures about 1500 tons.

One steam-boat, two team-boats, and several sailing-boats, ply across the ferry, from Quebec to Point Levi; and from sixty to seventy sailing vessels, exclusive of the steam-boats, are employed in the carrying trade between Quebec and Montreal.

On leaving Quebec, we soon pass Cape Diamond, Wolfe's Cove, the shipping, small craft, timber booms, and lumberers' huts. A little farther on, we have a glimpse of the dingle of Sillery; and on the south

shore New Liverpool, opposite which there are usually some ships loading, rises from the margin of the river. At this place a deep-water wharf, and three *dolphins*, or mooring stages, for the convenience of shipping, have been constructed. Here there is also a good hotel, in the most charming situation imaginable.

As we proceed up the St. Lawrence, various objects incessantly unfold themselves. We meet, or are accompanied by, river craft, or steam-boats; some of the latter, probably, towing up brigs and schooners; and not infrequently we also observe one or more of those immense floats, the timber rafts, covered with men, women, and small *shanties*.

The banks on each side continue high, but sloping, and beautifully decked with woods, churches, white cottages, orchards, and corn-fields, until we pass the mountain torrent of the River Jacques Cartier, and reach the rapids of Richelieu, forty-five miles above Quebec.

These rapids are occasioned by a visible descent of the river running over an unequal bed; but sailing vessels can, with a fair breeze, *stem* and surmount them. The banks now gradually diminish; the highlands recede to the north and to the south; a low country, of evidently secondary formation, and in a natural state less interesting, commences and prevails; but populous villages and cultivated lands lend beauty and animation to the scenery, and we soon after pass the mouths of the St. Maurice, or Trois Rivières. The greater part of the country between Quebec and the St. Maurice is settled back three or four ranges, or concessions of farms, from the river. Roads divide these ranges, but are

in many places inconveniently steep, until we pass west of the Jacques Cartier.

Trois Rivières, or Three Rivers, is the third town in Canada, and sends two members to the provincial parliament. It faces the St. Lawrence, on the west side of the St. Maurice. Its situation is very agreeable; but the soil near it is light and sandy. The river is deep near the town, and here the steamers stop to take on board passengers and fuel.* It owes the name of Trois Rivières to two small islands at the *embouchure* of the St. Maurice, which give it the appearance of three distinct rivers. This town is one of the oldest places in Canada. It contains about 420 dwelling-houses, mostly built of wood, and about 4200 inhabitants, — a handsome court-house, and a strong gaol, — a decent-looking Catholic and Protestant church, — a convent of Ursulines, founded in 1677, by St. Valière, second Bishop of Canada, for the education of female children, and for the poor sick, as well as those who were tired of the world. The funds of this convent are incompetent to its useful purposes. Here lived, and here (in 1823), nearly eighty years old, died the venerable, amiable, and accomplished Abbé de Calonne, brother of the famous financier and minister of Louis XVI. The infuriated demon of revolution drove him from France to England. He then sought and found an asylum in Prince Edward Island, which he left for Canada, — a colony whose inhabitants were more agreeable to the associations of his life and education. The world for him had lost its fascinations; for, when the

* Wood, not coal, is used; but the latter, which can be had from Pictou or Cape Breton, would be found much cheaper.

Bourbons re-ascended the throne of France, he not only became possessed of considerable property, but he had offers to return to his native country, that ambition would not have rejected. The property he at once distributed among others; and his little cure at Point du Lac, near Three Rivers, satisfied his ambition as to ecclesiastical power.

Here the courts of justice for the district are held; and here at one period not only a great share of the fur trade centred, but, from its lying nearly midway between Montreal and Quebec, its general trade was also of much more importance than it is at present, in consequence of the latter places having been brought, morally speaking, so much nearer each other by the power of steam navigation. Some furs are still brought down by the Indians, and purchased by the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company. Here are two or three breweries and pot-ash manufactories, one or two good inns, shops, and a printing-office. Its trade and property must hereafter increase with the improvement and settlement of the country. The names of the streets are all to be traced to Paris.

On the right bank of the St. Maurice, seven or eight miles from the Town of Three Rivers, are the iron forges which were established, in 1737, by individuals whose want of wealth prevented them from being regularly worked, until they were bought by the crown. The right of the French king devolved on his British majesty, and these forges have since then been let (now rented at 500*l.* per annum) to private enterprising persons, who have worked them with success. The ore is abundant, and equal to the best Swedish. The *habitans* prefer the iron made of it to any other; and the stoves cast at the foundery are

said to endure the heat better than those made at Carron. Scarcely any other kind is used in Canada ; and many of them find their way to the other provinces. Stoves, pots, and potash kettles are the principal articles cast here. The forges are worked night and day ; charcoal only is used ; the workmen are chiefly Canadians. Englishmen only are employed in making models.

The River St. Maurice is a large deep river, winding over an extensive territory, only known to the Indian fur traders, and broken by rapids and cataracts. The soil in many places is fertile ; but the country is generally rugged. This river, which is one of three great outlets from the northern region of Canada, has several branches flowing from large lakes. At La Tuque, about 120 miles up, there is a king's trading post. Near it the Hudson's Bay Company have also a trading post.

About eight miles above Three Rivers we enter Lake St. Peter, which is an expansion of the St. Lawrence over flats for about twenty-five miles in length, and five to ten in breadth. Passing over this lake, particularly on a hot calm day, is exceedingly tame and uninteresting. The water is shallow, and the channel, which is very intricate, requires to be marked with beacons, usually small fir poles stuck in the mud, with part of the green tuft left on their tops. Captain Bayfield, R. N., has lately surveyed this lake ; and from his report there is no doubt of the practicability of deepening the channel ; but it is doubtful whether it could be kept so afterwards, except at an expense which must be supported by the province. The lands are so low on each side, that the shores are scarcely seen ; and we cannot help

feeling an impatient anxiety to get rid of the tame scene, especially when we recollect that the post roads along this lake pass through a populous and beautiful though flat country.* As we approach the head of the lake, innumerable green islands and villages, rising on each side the river, re-animate our progress. These islands are evidently formed of alluvial deposits, as are also most of the low lands we pass until we reach Montreal.

The country along the north bank of the St. Lawrence, from the St. Maurice to Repentigny, at one of the mouths of the Ottawa, unfolds thickly-settled parishes; the principal road resembling one continued village, and the parish churches, houses, and the inhabitants, nearly in every respect similar to those I have already described below Quebec: but the features of the scenery are different, as the country between Three Rivers and Montreal is low, and a great portion of it alluvial. There are many parishes in the interior, in the back concessions.

Berthier, half-way between Three Rivers and Montreal, is the principal village. It has granaries, storehouses, a very handsome church, pretty dwelling-houses, and about 1000 inhabitants. Its situation on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in front of a rich flat agricultural country, although somewhat tame, is very advantageous; and, in summer, steamboats frequenting the Chenal de Berthier, ou du Nord, stop here for fuel, passengers, and goods.

On the south, at the head of the delta of Lake

* My recollection of this lake may perhaps be blassed by my feelings; for, although two of the passengers were gentlemen of much information, we were all, under the influence of the extreme heat, quite averse to conversation until evening approached.

St. Peter, the St. Lawrence receives the River Richelieu, or Sorell, or Chambly; for by all these names is it known. On the east bank, and on the site of the fortress erected by M. de Tracy, stands the town of Sorell, or, as it is now called, Fort William Henry. This little town (1500 inhabitants) is prettily situated, but its appearance, being little more than a collection of humble wooden houses, with a Catholic and a Protestant church, has little that is attractive. During war, it has always been a post of some consequence, and the shadow of a garrison is still kept up. It was principally settled with loyalists, after 1785. The steamers stop here to land or receive passengers, and to take on board fuel, of which, being wood, vast quantities are used.

The Richelieu issues from Lake Champlain, and flows, for about seventy miles, through a fertile and well-settled country, and passes close by several villages, or small towns, the principal of which are Champlain and Lacolle, in the United States; and in Canada, Isle aux Noix, St. Jean, Chambly, St. Joseph, Belœil or Rouville, St. Charles, St. Denis, and St. Ours, before it mixes with the St. Lawrence at Fort William Henry. It differs from most rivers in its being only 250 yards wide at its *embouchure*, while it increases gradually upwards to more than four times that breadth. The scenery of the Richelieu, in some parts, is not surpassed for picturesque beauty in Canada; and let tourists, who delight in rich and magnificent views, ascend the Pin du Sucre of the mountain of Belœil, view the beautiful lake, midway in its height, and the surrounding country, and they will be fully gratified.

About a mile and a half from Fort William Henry

stands the simple but pretty Canadian-fashioned cottage, which is the temporary summer residence of the Governor-general of Canada. Lord Dalhousie introduced the Scottish system of agriculture on the farm he cultivated here; and on this charming spot he probably spent the happiest portion of his residence in Canada.

The village of Chambly, about forty miles up the Richelieu, faces a beautiful basin formed by an expansion of the river; between it and the village of the Canton stands Fort Chambly, one of the old French garrisons, formerly erected to prevent the incursions of the Iroquois. It is a stone-built fortification, and during the late war it became a post of great consequence, as the head-quarters of from 6000 to 7000 troops. Eight miles above Fort Chambly stands the town of St. Jean, where there is a custom-house, at which all goods passing into or out of Canada, by Lake Champlain, are, or at least should be, entered. From this place to the flourishing village of La Prairie, opposite Montreal, the road was horribly bad when I travelled along it, the ground over which it passes being low; but a rail-road is contemplated to be constructed by a company, in virtue of an act of the Provincial Parliament: from the line of incessant intercourse which this road forms, few projects would answer better. St. Jean lies in the route by the way of Lake Champlain to the United States: steam-boats in summer arrive and depart regularly; and thousands of sledges, principally American, pass through it in winter.

About twelve miles farther on, we come to the British naval station and garrison on Isle aux Noix, which completely commands the river. Here are

three forts, with a deep ditch and glacis, block-houses and barracks; and here the hulks of the ships of war that were not taken or destroyed by the Americans, and several gun-boats, are now rotting.

At Rouse's Point, where Lake Champlain, one of the most picturesque of the inland waters of America, opens, are the deserted huge stone fortress and outworks, erected by the Americans during the late war, when they considered this position within their boundary. It is discovered, however, to be within the British line, and completely commands the pass of Lake Champlain, between Canada and the United States.

The country, nearly in the shape of a triangle (see the map), bounded by the Richelieu, the St. Lawrence, and the United States, is generally fertile, and populously inhabited. Many of the farms which are now the most productive, were reclaimed with great labour by an extensive course of draining, nearly similar to what we observe in Yorkshire and the Lincolnshire fens.

Returning from this diversion up the Richelieu, and leaving Fort William Henry for Montreal, we pass numerous islands, all evidently of alluvial formation; the lands on each side are also alluvial, and the country flat, but, being well-drained, produce luxuriant crops. This part of Canada is populous; and the parishes exhibit the pretty features of a continued village, with the spires of decent churches arising now and then on each side.

At length Montreal, with its glittering tin roofs and spires, the magnificent wooded mountain from which it takes its name, together with the broad sheet of water between it and La Prairie, the fortified island

of St. Helena, and the ships, steamers, and small craft, two hundred and seventy miles above salt water, and more than five hundred from the sea, all open into view, and exhibit a grand, varied, and most interesting picture.

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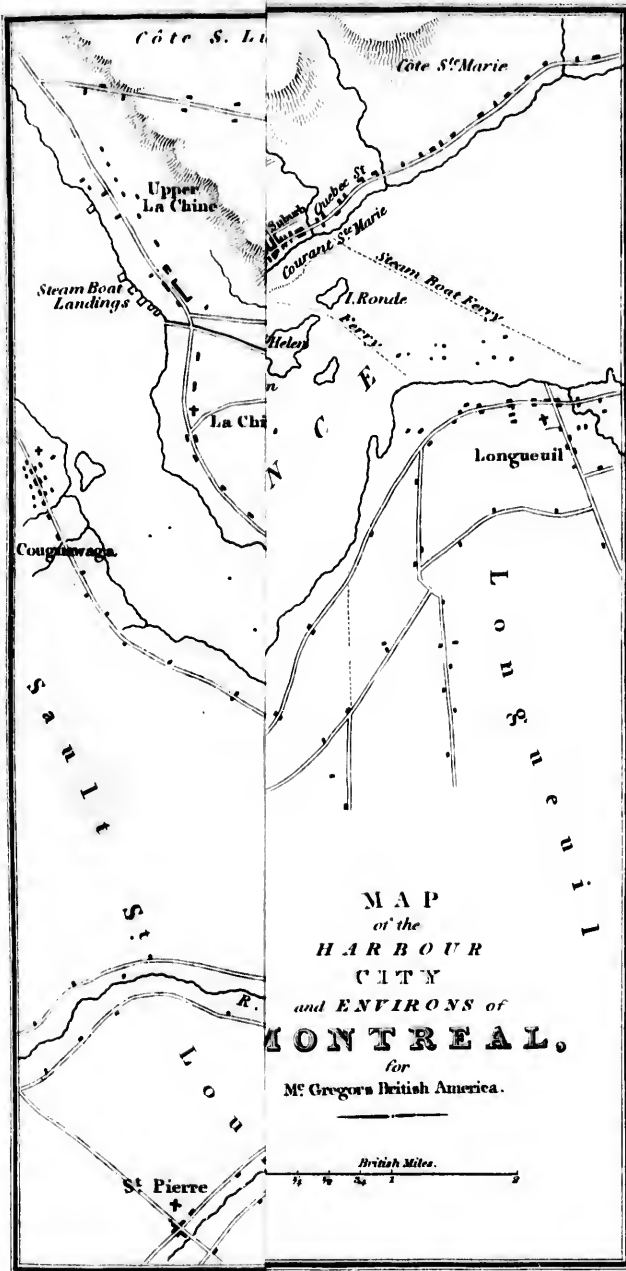
CHAP. XIX.

MONTREAL. — GENERAL APPEARANCE. — ST. PAUL'S AND NOTRE DAME STREETS. — NELSON'S MONUMENT. — CHAMP DE MARS. — SUBURBS. — PUBLIC BUILDINGS. — CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL AND CHURCHES. — ENGLISH CHURCH. — SCOTCH KIRK. — COURT-HOUSE. — GAOL. — GOVERNMENT HOUSE. — NUNNERIES. — FRENCH COLLEGE. — M'GILL COLLEGE. — NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY. — MECHANICS' INSTITUTION. — HOSPITAL. — PUBLIC SCHOOLS. — NEWS-ROOM. — LIBRARIES. — PERIODICALS. — POSITION OF MONTREAL. — TRADE. — BATEAUX. — SCOWS. — NORTH-WEST COMPANY. — BANK. — COMMITTEE OF TRADE. — POPULATION. — SOCIETY. — HOTELS. — AMUSEMENTS. — THEATRE AND CIRCUS. — ENVIRONS OF MONTREAL. — THE MOUNTAIN SCENERY. — OUTLETS OF MONTREAL. — LA CHINE, ETC.

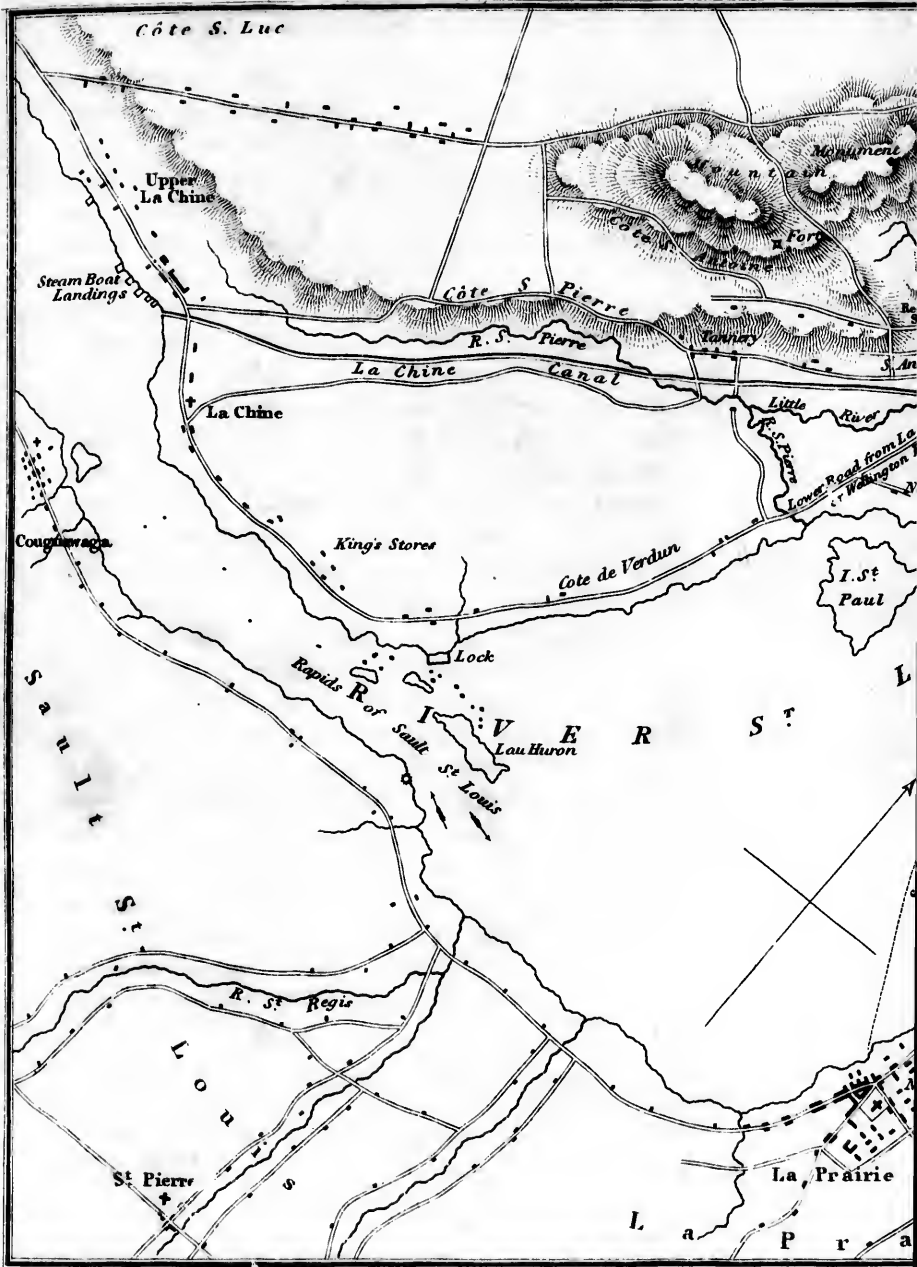
The island, on the south side of which the city of Montreal stands, is about thirty-two miles long, and from five to ten broad. On the north, the Rivière de Prairie separates it from Isle Jesus, which is also a seigniory, and about twenty-one miles long, and from Isle Bizarre, which is four miles long. Some miles above, "Utawa's tide" divides into two branches; the lesser, winding betwixt these islands and the main continent, joins the St. Lawrence on the east at Repentigny; and the greater, rushing among a cluster of islets and rocks, lying in the channel between the pretty wooded island of Perrault, and a sweet little village, Moore's "St. Anne," mingles its waters on the west with those of Lake St. Louis. At the lower end of this lake, the St. Lawrence

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Approved by J. W. H. Charles O'Connell





contracts, and boils, and foams, and whirls, and dashes along, among and against small islands, and over rocks, for nine miles, forming the rapids of La Chine, and Sault St. Louis. A little below Montreal there are *unbroken* rapids, too powerful, however, for sailing vessels to surmount, except with a strong fair wind. Steam vessels not only easily ascend them, but also tow brigs and ships up to Montreal.

The city of Montreal is on the south side of the island, in latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$, longitude $73^{\circ} 25' W$. Between the royal mountain and the river there is a belt of low land, nearly two miles in breadth: on a more elevated part of this, close to the river, does the town stand. Including the suburbs, it is more extensive and populous than Quebec. Both cities differ very greatly in appearance; the low banks of the St. Lawrence at Montreal want the tremendous precipices frowning over them, and all the grand sublimity, which characterise Quebec. Until lately there were no wharfs or quays at Montreal; and the ships and steamers were ranged in pretty deep water close to the clayey and generally filthy bank in front of the city.* Neither is there that busy incessant movement and commercial air near the water, that usually distinguishes Quebec and Halifax. The whole of the lower town is covered with gloomy-looking houses, with dark iron window-shutters; and although the streets are cleaner than in the lower town of Quebec, there is much improvement still necessary. They

* Several quays and wharfs have been since 1829 constructed, by virtue of legislative enactments, along the banks in front of the upper part of the city. Commissioners are appointed to fix the rates of wharfage.

are not only narrow, but the footpaths are interrupted by slanting cellar-doors, and other projections. St. Paul's, the principal street for shops and trade, is the longest, widest, and best in the lower town. Parallel with it, dividing the old town from the more modern, extends Rue de Notre Dame.

Small narrow streets cross between both. At the upper part of a kind of square, in which the principal market stands, there is a monument to the memory of Lord Nelson. It is a Doric column, on a square pedestal, and surmounted by a colossal statue of the admiral. On the pedestal are figures and representations in *basso rilievo*, emblematical of the principal actions of our great naval hero.

The new or upper part of Montreal contains many handsome fashionable-looking houses, built of fine light bluish stone, and some of the neighbouring villas are commodious residences.

The Champ de Mars is a pretty, but not very fashionable, esplanade, planted round with Lombardy poplars: the houses on its west side are handsome genteel buildings. Here the troops are reviewed, and here the military bands usually perform in the evenings, during summer and autumn.

To the north-east extends the Quebec suburb; to the north the suburbs St. Lawrence, St. Peter, and St. Louis; to the west those of St. Antoine, Recollet, and Ste. Anne. Many of the houses in each are built of wood, but within the space once encompassed by the walls there are no wooden buildings; and this city and Quebec* have more truly the aspect of old European towns than any other in America.

* The old streets very much resemble those in some parts of Amiens, and other towns in Picardy.

The older parts of the city of Boston may lay some claim to apparent antiquity ; but, with this exception, all the towns in the United States, with their wide rectangular streets, and large airy houses, lighted with a multitude of windows, present an appearance which at once unfolds the tale of their late birth and recent growth, as well as the taste and ideas of the spirits that have brought them into existence.

Many of the public buildings are more imposing in their appearance than those of Quebec. Among these the new Catholic cathedral, although the most modern, demands the first attention. It is unquestionably the largest temple in America : although the cathedral at Mexico may perhaps surpass it in rich embellishment. It was even said that none in France, unless it be those of Notre Dame, Amiens, and Rouen, and those only, would surpass it, when finished, in their interior grandeur.* The old church, which nearly interrupted the middle of Notre Dame Street, was levelled, in order to extend the site of the new edifice. Its foundation stone was laid in September, 1824, and it was opened for the celebration of high mass in the autumn of 1829. It is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Its length is 255 feet, breadth 234, and the height of the walls 112 feet. The style of architecture is taken from the Gothic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has two massive high towers, and four apparent towers. It has one superior altar, and six of less grandeur. It has five public, and three private

* This is too much to expect in the present age ; and particularly in Canada, where labour is dear : the sculptured embellishments of those cathedrals, and their rich Gothic ornamental work, would cost sums too great to be afforded in America.

entrances; and from 10,000 to 12,000 people, which it will accommodate, may disperse in five or six minutes. The eastern window behind the altar is thirty-three feet broad, and seventy high; the other windows are ten feet by thirty-six feet. From 7000 to 8000 persons frequently congregate within this edifice. It will, when finished, probably cost about 100,000*l*.

Besides the cathedral, there are several Catholic churches; one of these, of plain modern appearance, but of large size, was built in the suburbs, on the appointment of a bishop, in 1823.

The bells of the Catholic churches are always ringing, and, outraging all pretence to harmony, are consequently a most disagreeable annoyance to musical ears.

The whole island of Montreal is comprised in one seigniory, and belongs to the clergy of the seminary of St. Sulpice. In exacting the *lods et ventes* due on the mutation of land, they are very liberal, and usually commute for these fines. The island is divided into nine beautiful parishes, and into 1374 concessions, forming 25 ranges or *côtes*. The seminary retains also a small domain for its special use.

The principal English church is a handsome capacious edifice: its style partakes of the plain Grecian taste, and it is surmounted by a high and remarkably beautiful spire. The interior, in which there is an excellent organ, displays arrangements in which elegance and good order have been studied. The Scotch kirk is a mean building, standing close to the Champ de Mars. The methodists have a very handsome chapel: there is also a church built by American Protestants, and a Scotch dissenting chapel.

The court-house and prison are substantial, respectable-looking buildings, separated from, but close to, each other; standing in a range between Notre Dame Street, and the Champ de Mars, and occupying the site where once stood the college of the Jesuits.

The government house, or the residence of the military commandant, is an old low building, somewhat respectable in appearance, but not imposing.

Since the prohibition of monasteries, the old convent of the Recollets* was for some time used for barracks; and afterwards, with the church and land, sold to an individual, from whom the church was afterwards bought for the use of Irish Catholics, by the Catholic *fabrique* of Montreal.

Three nunneries still flourish in this city; and, like the nuns of Quebec, the usefulness of their lives in ameliorating the sufferings of others, or by the elementary instruction they afford to young females, cannot be too much applauded. There are lands, and a beautiful island, near Montreal, belonging to these nunneries.

In the Hôtel Dieu, which was founded in 1644 by Madame Bouillon, the *mère supérieure* and thirty-six nuns devote their attention to the sick poor.

The convent of La Congrégation de Notre Dame, usually called the *Sœurs Noires*, or black sisters, from their dressing in black stuff, founded in 1650, as already noticed in the historical sketch, by Marguerite de Bourgeois, for instructing young females, has a *mère supérieure* and sixty nuns, whose duties are directed to the education of young girls.

The convent of *Sœurs Grises*, or grey sisters, the

* The last of this order of mendicants, in Canada, was alive at Montreal, in 1825.

chapel and garden of which faces St. Paul's Street, was intended by Madame Youville, a young widow, who founded it in 1752, as a general hospital (*Hôpital général des Sœurs Grises*) for "the infirm and invalid poor." It is at present a most benevolent institution, in which the insane and old invalids find an asylum. The nuns also devote their attention with motherly tenderness to the care of foundlings. This excellent charity is conducted with much neatness and propriety.

The seminary of St. Sulpicius at Montreal, founded, in 1650, by the Abbé Quelus, and a handsome new college, afford the Canadians not only the benefits of elementary instruction, but the advantages of a complete course of education. The college has a principal, and professors of theology, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, and Greek; five regents of the humanity classes, two tutors, and a French and an English teacher. This edifice stands at the west end of the city, and its size and appearance is respectable.

There are usually from 200 to 300 students at this college. Their dress does not correspond with our academic ideas. Their blue frocks, with a party-coloured worsted sash round the middle, resemble the costume of the Blue Coat Scholars. Some of the best lands on the island belong to this institution.

The English university of M'Gill college was founded and endowed by the will of the late honourable James M'Gill of this city, and established in 1821 by royal charter. Its management is ruled by the governor-in-chief, and the lieutenant-governors of Lower and Upper Canada, the bishop of Quebec, and the chief justices of Quebec and Montreal, for the time being, as governors; and the course of stu-

dies to be under the direction of a principal, and professors of divinity, moral philosophy, and the learned languages, mathematics, philosophy, history, and civil law. This college is not yet opened; and, in reality, it is at present a college only in name.

The Natural History Society of Montreal deserves particular attention, as an institution honourable to the province, and well calculated to illustrate the natural history, and unfold the vast resources of America.

It has a president, three vice-presidents, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, treasurer, and cabinet-keeper; a council of ten gentlemen, an Indian committee of six, a committee of publication of five, a library committee of five, a committee for selecting subjects of conversation and debate of seven, and a committee of finance of three.

There is also a Mechanics' Institution under the patronage of General Sir James Kempt; and under the direction of a president, five vice-presidents, with a treasurer, secretary, corresponding secretary, librarian, and keeper of the museum.

The Montreal General Hospital is a handsome building, situated between the Champ de Mars and the mountain. It was founded in 1821, and incorporated by royal charter two years after. The direction of its affairs devolves on thirty governors for life, and thirteen governors elected in 1829. It has a president, vice-president, treasurer, acting treasurer, a committee of management, a medical board, an apothecary, and matron.

Other institutions have been gradually established; among these the French and English schools claim our attention and praise. It has been usual to say,

that the means of instruction were not to be obtained in Canada: and even Mr. Duncan, the most correct writer on America that I have read, observes, in speaking of Montreal, (I think with a little bias and severity), "If literary society is your choice, you will discover, I am afraid, but little, and of religion still less." Besides the French and English colleges, we now find at Montreal a royal grammar school, a classical academical institution, two classical academies, a parochial school, a union school, a national school, under the patronage of the Montreal District Committee for promoting Christian Knowledge, with a ladies' committee for superintending the female department, and two or three young ladies' academies, besides Sunday and minor schools.

A Canadian lady, of much excellence, widow of a Mr. MacDonald, has lately established a penitentiary, which is likely to be attended with much usefulness.

There is also a Central Auxiliary Society for promoting Education and Industry, and a ladies' society for the same purpose, with bible and tract societies, an infant school, and an orphan asylum.

There are agricultural and horticultural societies, a fire society, a house of industry, and a savings' bank.

There is an excellent news-room, in which the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, Blackwood's Magazine, the Monthly and New Monthly Magazines, Canadian and United States' Reviews, and English, Colonial, and United States' papers, are regularly received. Large and excellent maps of all countries are hung round the room. Attached to it is the Montreal Library, containing a voluminous collection

of books, and prints, illustrating the costumes and scenery of different countries. There is also a judiciously selected garrison library, and an advocates' library, containing an appropriate collection. There are five newspapers, published twice a-week, and three weekly papers, three of which are in French. In all, I fear that the spirit of politics and party has more influence than facts will bear out. Yet, when we condemn them, we must not forget the licentiousness of many of the leading journals and weekly papers of the United Kingdom. A paper called the Scrib-ler, printed some time ago at Montreal, though utterly contemptible as to its character, particularly in exposing family matters, depicted the peculiarity of individuals with extraordinary tact and scurrility. La Bibliothèque Canadienne is a monthly publication. The Canadian Quarterly Review, which commenced in 1824, and in which some excellent articles appeared, has been discontinued; there was scarcely at that time a field to support it. A religious publication, called the Christian Sentinel, is published every two months. In 1808, there were only two newspapers printed in Canada.

There appears a greater spirit of improvement in this city than at Quebec. There is much activity observable among all classes connected with trade. The position of Montreal, at the head of the ship navigation, and near the confluence of the St. Lawrence with the Ottawa, and its communication with Upper Canada, the Genessee country, and other parts of the United States, will always constitute it one of the greatest commercial emporiums in America.

In winter the trade of Montreal is not suspended, like that of Quebec. Thousands of sledges may be seen coming in from all directions with agricultural produce and frozen carcasses of beef and pork, firewood, and other articles. Keen, calculating Jonathan, who finds out whatever will enable him to obtain a dollar, also directs his way with a horse and sledge, carrying the fish he caught in Massachusetts Bay over snow and ice, to supply the tables of the fresh-~~est~~ epicureans of Montreal. There is an excellent new market built in the city, on the spot where formerly stood the college. Two other smaller markets have lately been erected; and another, on a large scale, in the progress of being finished.

Manufactured goods of all kinds are continually selling off in packages by the merchants or the auctioneers to the shopkeepers and country dealers, who again retail them to the *town's folk* or country people; and flour, wheat, potatoes, &c., are continually coming in and filling the stores or warehouses. The markets at Montreal are abundantly supplied at all seasons of the year; and, although the expense of living is usually great, the price of provisions is certainly not the cause. Beef, veal, mutton, lamb, pork, poultry, vegetables, and fruit are excellent and cheap. Bass, pike, pickerel, eels, masquenongé, and poisson d'orée, are the best kinds of fish; salmon, and other varieties, occasionally. An American traveller, comparing the river St. Lawrence with the Mississippi, observes, "great was our surprise, on arriving within view of Montreal, at the magnitude and importance of the place, and the grandeur of the vast river, and the shipping, five hundred miles from the ocean. It may well compare with our own Mis-

issippi; and, though winter fast locks it in ice, summer, on the other hand, brings no yellow fever."

In summer, vast rafts of timber come down and pass the town for Quebec; and scows, bateaux, or Durham boats, bring down the produce of the upper country. The bateaux will carry about six tons; they are forty feet long, six feet broad, flat-bottomed, and draw about twenty inches water, and constructed to shoot or pass through the rapids. The dangers which the *voyageurs* or boatmen encounter are almost incredible. When rowing, they keep time by singing their celebrated airs, the effect of which in fine weather on the rivers and lakes is truly delightful. The scows are rude, oblong, rectangular, flat-bottomed vessels, that will sometimes carry down 400 to 500 barrels floating with the stream. They are built in the upper countries merely for carrying down one cargo, and then sold, to be broken up, for a few dollars, at Montreal or Quebec.

Before the North-west and Hudson Bay Companies joined their interests, Montreal was the headquarters, the grand depôt of the fur trade. The Company have still a warehouse here; and we may occasionally observe canoes, laden with various articles to barter for furs with the Indians, depart for the ports on the river St. Maurice. But this animated trade has in any important degree fled from Montreal for ever, or as long as the Company of Hudson Bay hold the north-west trading ports. There are cast-iron founderies; and machinery for steam-engines, stoves, kettles, common nails, linseed oil, floor cloths, &c., are manufactured in the town. There are also distilleries; breweries; soap, candle, and tobacco manufactories; and several ship-building establishments,

where many substantial and handsome vessels have been constructed. The bank, which was established in 1817, facilitates commercial transactions to a vast extent. There is a branch of it at Quebec; but another bank is necessary, and the bill prepared by the Legislature to incorporate it has, by some means, been prevented from receiving the royal allowance. There is also a committee of trade, which regulates various commercial matters and charges.

The population of Montreal resembles that of Quebec. About three fourths are French; the rest English, Scotch, Irish, and Americans. The appearance of the population in the streets is also much the same as at Quebec, with an addition of tall, lathy, sallow, calculating Yankees; and athletic, warm-hearted, unsuspecting Highlanders from Glen-gary; with groups of Iroquois Indians, in tawdry costume, and equally as degraded as the Hurons of Lorette. It has a more ecclesiastical and classical character than Quebec; a greater number of priests in their black robes, and students in their academicals, are seen walking about.

The state of society is also much the same as at Quebec, and, I think, equally genteel and respectable. The cessation of business during winter at Quebec, contrasted with the active occupations of the inhabitants of Montreal during the same period, may produce effects, probably favourable to Montreal, on the society of both places. The north-west merchants and their ladies gave, at one time, the lead to society; I have heard it said, merely because they gave the best dinners — an observation which may have been just, although ungrateful on the part of the hungry falcons who fattened on the feasts of those at least

adventurous men, who, after a long period of life spent in perilous but gainful pursuits, returned from the vast, distant, and, except to them, unexplored regions of the north-west, and ostentatiously, it is true, opened their mansions, and gave princely banquets to less adventurous persons.

Those who made fortunes in the fur trade have nearly, if not all, passed away from the theatre of action, and their money seems to have vanished with them. They were low and coarse in their manners, proud, overbearing, and vain: nor were their lives in the north-western regions calculated to introduce among the Indians any change that did not tend to immorality and licentiousness.

Observing to a gentleman at Montreal, that I was surprised, when I made any enquiries about those engaged in the north-west trade, and the rapid disappearance of themselves and their fortunes, that all parties spoke of them disrespectfully, he replied, "they were proud in purse — men who, while the commerce of their company gave them power, made themselves hateful to all others. They were also irreligious; and their immorality and disregard for virtue produced disgust, when their power as a body ended, and when their ability to give feasts ceased."

A full share of all that I have said respecting admission to what is considered the first society at Quebec, prevails at Montreal. Let a stranger, however, be but once well introduced, and in no place will he meet with more liberal and kind attention. Personally, I have with gratitude and sincerity to acknowledge this.

Near the river, there is a splendid hotel. Its ap-

pearance is more like that of a large public edifice. Here every luxury that the greatest epicure can wish for, may be procured. During the excessive summer heats, ice is to be had at any of the hotels or boarding-houses ; grapes, peaches, apricots, apples, and many other fruits, are also abundant. Much better accommodations are found in this city than at Quebec.

The Montreal apples have long been celebrated. The *pomme grise* (grey), in particular, is a most delicious fruit ; the *pomme de neige*, or *fameuse*, which granulates and melts in the mouth, and *bourrasa*, are all excellent.

The pleasures and amusements of Montreal resemble so closely those of Quebec, that the same description is sufficient. There is a very neatly fitted-up theatre near the mansion-house ; and a circus has for some years been annually opened by a company of American equestrians, in which the exhibitions of horsemanship that I have witnessed, are only surpassed, not in mere physical power, but in classical attitudes, by Ducrow. I believe the building has since then been converted to some other purpose.

Riding on horseback, and driving out in open carriages, appear to be more indulged in than at Quebec ; and the winter season being milder, is also more favourable to picnic parties at that season. There are annual races, and also a fox and jockey club, but the foxes are, I believe, always bagged.*

* A friend of Mr. Ferguson stated to him, " that he occasionally took the *same horse ninety miles to cover*, and *after a day's hunting brought him back a like distance*." " Unless you hunt by steam, it is impossible," exclaimed Mr. F. " Why ? " said his friend, " that's the whole secret ; I go with my horse on board the steamer at Quebec, and reach Trois Rivières in good time to

The outlets from Montreal are not surpassed, in soft luxuriant beauty, any where in America. The ride round the mountain is most indulged in, and thought the most agreeable. I think, however, that the ride along the banks of the rapids of Lachine is preferable.

The mountain is about 600 feet above the level of the river; along its foot, and particularly up its sides, are thickly interspersed orchards, corn-fields, and villas; above which, to the very summit of the mountain, trees grow in luxuriant variety.

A little distance up among the trees, a plain white pillar is seen from the town. This monument stands over a natural romantic alcove, in the bosom of which, within a mausoleum, repose the ashes of the late Simon M'Tavish, Esq. To this retired and beautiful spot a pretty path winds among the trees. He used frequently to sit for hours reading on this spot, where, on his death-bed, he requested to be buried. Some distance below it stands the large mansion which he erected, but did not live to finish; nor has this yet been accomplished. The prospect from the mountain is truly grand, although the features of the scenery want the romantic grandeur viewed from Cape Diamond. On the south, we observe the blue hills of Vermont, and all around, a vast extent of thickly inhabited, cultivated, and fertile country, embellished with woods, waters, churches, houses, and farms. Under us, we have a map view of the city of Montreal, with its shipping and river craft,

breakfast; hunt with my father-in-law, who keeps a pack, and return to Quebec by the afternoon boat."

and the Island of St. Helena ; and opposite, the low lands of Longeuil, where the river is about two miles over, and La Prairie, about eight miles distant ; upwards, lie " Nuns' Islands," and several others, among which Lachine foams and rushes ; and, on the right, the low ground crossed by the Lachine Canal. There are good roads leading to the east end of the island, opposite to Repentigny, and to Isle Jesus, where ferries are established, and also by Lachine to St. Anne's. The post road to Lachine leads over one of those steps or heights, which occur in the rear of alluvial lands : the ground lying between it and the rapids is low and fertile. The road along the river is two or three miles longer ; but the traveller who prefers it, if he has any taste for the beauties of nature, will be more than pleased when he rides for nine miles along the beautiful scenery of this part of the St. Lawrence.

To obviate the obstructions in the navigation of the St. Lawrence above Montreal, various canals have been completed, and others are now cutting.

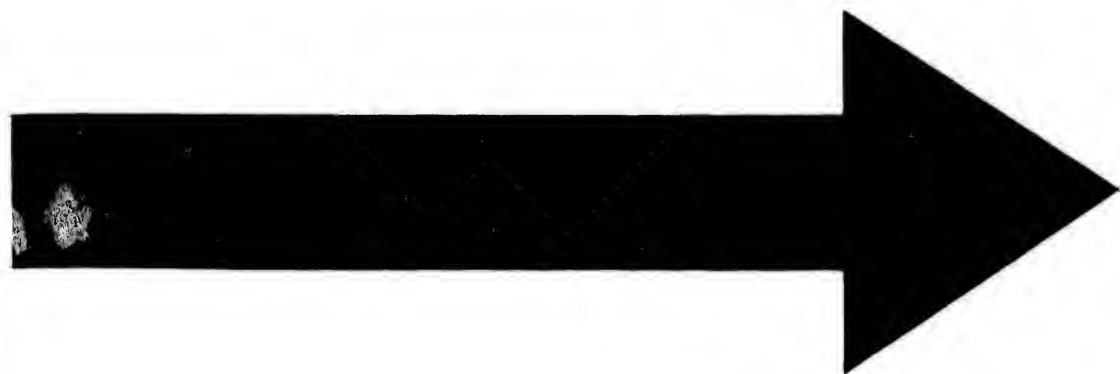
The Lachine Canal, immediately above Montreal, which was undertaken by the province in 1821, is nine miles long, twenty feet wide, and five deep. It has substantial stone locks 100 feet long. The total expense was 130,000*l.* ; and the tolls, which must greatly increase, paid last year 4 per cent. on this amount.

At Lachine, there are government stores and bateaux ; here also are the goods of the Indian department deposited ; and thirty bateaux are sometimes employed to carry them to Kingston. The whole sum thus expended in the shape of presents to the Indians, has produced no efficient good. This is

unquestionable. Why, therefore, should it be persisted in? as the money, if at all appropriated for their benefit, might be more wisely and much more usefully applied.

The beautiful and fertile Isle Jesus, which contains three large populous parishes, viz., St. Vincent de Paul, Ste. Rose, and St. Martin, belongs to the ecclesiastics of the Seminary of Quebec, to whom it was granted, together with Isle aux Vaches, contiguous to it, in 1699. It is separated from the main land by the River Jean, or Jesus. Opposite, at the upper end of the stream, is the beautiful village of St. Eustache.

Lachine has long been a great point of departure for Upper Canada. From it the North-west Company despatched their large bark canoes for the Ottawa and western regions, laden with various and necessary articles. From this place, also, the steam-boats now start for Upper Canada; and we may either take a passage by one of them, or we may drive in a calèche, through a beautiful rural country, to St. Anne's, from whence we may cross the ferry to Isle Perrault, and from thence proceed to Upper Canada; or, by the lake of the two mountains, continue our voyage or journey up the Ottawa.



1.5 2.8 2.5
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1.5 2.8 2.5
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CHAP. XX.

THE RIVER OTTAWA, OR GRAND RIVER. — LAKES. — SEIGNORIES.
— CANALS. — HULL. — PHILEMON WRIGHT. — MACNAB. — BY-
TOWN. — UNION BRIDGE. — CHAUDIERE. — RAPIDS. — GENERAL
CHARACTERISTICS, ETC.

STEAM-BOATS, *bateaux*, and other river craft, proceed from the island of Montreal up the Ottawa, or Uttawa, and pass through the lock lately cut at Vaudreuil to the *Long Saut* rapids, near Grenville; to obviate which, a canal is now cutting, about forty miles above Lachine, by government, that will cost about 180,000*l*.

The Ottawa has only been very partially explored. It rises in the north-west regions, beyond Lake Huron; and probably winds its course, for from ten to twelve hundred miles, before it joins the St. Lawrence. This great river, however, was scarcely known, except to the fur traders. It was their grand route to the north-west territories. Forty to fifty canoes formerly proceeded from Lachine with articles of traffic, and ascended the Ottawa for about 300 miles; from whence they were carried over *portages* and *décharges*, or paddled along lakes, and then across by French River to Lake Huron. The coasts of this lake, and those of Lake Superior, were afterwards traversed, until the voyagers reached the Grand Portage, where they received the furs purchased by the Company's agents from the Indians. The voyagers then returned with these furs to Montreal; and

in light bark canoes, voyages of several thousands of miles were performed by those adventurous men.

The navigation of the Ottawa is frequently interrupted by cataracts and rapids; and the scenery exhibits picturesque beauty and fertility. In some parts it expands over the country, and forms what are termed the lesser, or *thirty mile* lakes of Canada. It receives several rivers between its *embouchure* and its upper settlements, most of which issue from or run through lakes. The largest of these rivers are the Petite Nation, the Rideau, the Canadian Mississippi, La Rivière aux Lièvres, the Madawask, &c.

It divides Lower from Upper Canada; and townships have been laid out, and settlements have for some time been rapidly forming, along its banks. Its periodical rising, which enriches the alluvions, owing to the rapid melting of the snows in the extensive northern region through which it and its numerous tributaries flow, is much higher in the spring than in the fall of the year.

After leaving St. Anne's, on the western part of the Island of Montreal, we soon after enter the Ottawa, and its expansion, the Lake of the Two Mountains. On the left rise the eminences which give a name to the lake. One of these is called after the mount of the same name near Paris, Mont Calvaire. On the summit were built seven chapels, constructed of stone; and here a mission has long been established.

The whole seigniory belongs to the seminary of Montreal, who derive merely the seigniorial fines, and very trifling *rentes* from it: and it is but justice to mention, that such is the encouragement they give to cultivation and improvement, that in no part of

the province are the *habitans* more comfortable, or the country better tilled.

On this seigniory are two Indian villages : that of the Algonquins appears first ; a little above, that of the Iroquois. Both contain 880 inhabitants ; and the whole population of the seigniory amounts to about 8,500. The ecclesiastics and the sisters of the congregation provide for the instruction of the young Indians of both sexes.

On the opposite or west shores of the Ottawa are the seigniories of Soulanges and Vaudreuil, and Regaud, within the line of Lower Canada ; but they are not quite so well settled or cultivated as the seigniories of the Lake of the Two Mountains.

We then pass the seigniory of Argenteuil, populously settled, and now belonging to Major Johnston. The township of Chatham, settled some years ago, and that of Grenville, through which the canal to avoid the turbulent Long Saut rapids is now cutting, lie between Argenteuil and the seigniory of La Petite Nation.

The latter is the property of Mr. Papineau, the Speaker of the House of Assembly of the province. Here he has good mills ; and he liberally encourages all who inhabit the seigniory. Several Irish have lately settled on it.

Philemon Wright, Esq., having left the United States in 1800, travelled in quest of lands to Canada, and proceeded up the Ottawa. He examined the country about Hull, and quickly discovered its favourable advantages. Here, in the heart of the wilderness, eighty-five miles above Montreal, was a magnificent river, flowing from afar through excellent lands, with abundance of timber, and mountains

of iron ore. He knew well how to bring those resources into profitable operation, and became the *leader* in forming a settlement. He drew hundreds to the place: forests rapidly disappeared, which were soon succeeded by houses, inhabitants, yellow corn-fields, meadows, and flocks and herds. Settlements have extended, since that time, twenty to thirty miles above Hull. Bytown and the Upper Canada shores of the Ottawa will be noticed hereafter.

Vast quantities of pine and oak timber are floated down the Ottawa. It is said that some *gangs* of lumberers have brought rafts down 600 miles. The dexterity with which they manage these rafts, or masses of timber, is astonishing; particularly when directing a raft down the falls of Chaudière.

This cataract is grandly picturesque, about a mile wide, and broken and separated by numerous islands, where it comes thundering down eighty feet over precipices.

Here, however, the two provinces are connected, by the execution of a most daring plan, the "Union Bridge," over the Grande Chaudière, where no soundings have been found at a depth of 300 feet.

This bridge was erected, three or four years ago, under the superintendence of able engineers, Colonel By, and the late Mr. M'Taggart. It has eight arches of sixty feet, two of seventy feet, and one of 200 feet. Opposite, in the upper province, Bytown has lately been built, and it appears to thrive rapidly. There are various fur trading posts held on the Ottawa by the Hudson Bay Company. A solitary family is to be found settled in some places for nearly eighty miles above Hull.

The country of the Ottawa affords great advantages

for settlement, particularly for agriculture; vast tracts, however, are held, unoccupied and unimproved, in consequence of grants having been made to various leaders and their associates, who never fulfilled the conditions; but who, or their assigns, hold those valuable grants to the exclusion of others, who would soon cultivate and reside on them.

CHAP. XXI.

JESUITS' ESTATES.

THE estates of the Jesuits, since the death of Father Cazot, the last of the order in Canada, have formed the grounds of much enquiry in the province, and the application of the revenue arising from them has long formed a claim of dispute between the executive and the legislative assembly; the latter considering them property which should be devoted, as formerly, to the purposes of public instruction, and their application to any other purpose, for the last thirty years, unjust to the province.

The revenues of these estates have, at length, been transferred by the crown to the legislature, for the above object.

The Jesuits, who were at first only missionaries, accompanying the early adventurers, became afterwards, by royal patent, holders of lands in Canada, and other parts of New France. Their estates were acquired by grants from the king or by gifts from individuals, and by purchase.

The first property in land, possessed by the Jesuits in Canada, was the seigniory of Notre Dames des Anges, near Beauport and Quebec, by deed 1626, from the Duke de Ventadour (see the preceding history of Canada). The edict of the King of France having

revoked all deeds previous to the charter of the company of New France, this seigniory was by the company granted anew to the Jesuits; and, on the company surrendering their charter to the crown, a fresh deed was granted in 1652, of the seigniory *en Franc aleu*, with the usual feudal rights.

It continued the property of the Order until 1800, when, with the other property of the Jesuits, it was taken possession of by the crown. It contains 28,000 square arpents, populously settled.

The fief of Pachigny, at Three Rivers, containing only 585 arpents, was granted to them in *Franc Almoigne*, by deed, in 1736, from the Company of New France, and secured by subsequent deeds.

They next acquired, in 1639, by deed from James de la Ferté, abbot of Ste. Mary Madeleine, of Chateaudun, and canon of the King's Chapel at Paris, the valuable and fertile seigniory of Batiscan, above Three Rivers, containing about 282,000 arpents. It is divided into four parishes, having an agricultural population of 2800 *habitans*.

The Isle aux Réaux, as a seigniory, was also granted to them by the Company of New France. It contains 385 arpents.

The seigniory of La Priairé de la Madeleine, opposite Montreal, was granted by deed to the Jesuits in 1647, by M. D. Lauzon. It contains two populous parishes, a large village, to which steam-boats ply from Montreal; and through it is the thoroughfare to the States. The soil is fertile, but the roads miserably bad.* The population is about 8000.

Cap de la Madeleine seigniory, on the river St. Maurice, was granted in 1650, by the abbot La Ferté,

* See page 297.

as an irrevocable gift, in like manner as he granted Batiscan. It contains 280,000 arpents of land; but it is not, according to its extensive surface, so populous as the other estates granted to the Jesuits, the number of inhabitants being only about 600. Isle St. Christopher, at the mouth of the seigniory, belongs to the same estate, by grant of the governor in 1657. It contains 60 arpents of poor land.

The seigniory of St. Gabriel was acquired in 1677, by deed from the Seigneur Robert Giffard and Mary Renouard his wife. It is near Quebec, contains the villages of Lorette, the Indian Mission, and about 180,000 arpents of land, of various degrees of fertility and barrenness.

The beautiful seigniory of Sillery, near Quebec, was first granted by the Company of New France, in 1651, to the Jesuits, and afterwards, *en Franc aleu*, by M. De Callieres, in 1699. It contains nearly 9000 arpents, populously settled.

The seigniory of Belair, or *Montagne Bonhomme*, containing 14,000 arpents, was acquired by purchase from the heirs of the original Seigneur William Bonhomme.

The fief of *St. Nicholas à Lauzon* contains about 1200 arpents of excellent land.

Several lesser grants, in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, of valuable property, belonging to the Order of the Jesuits; and the whole, not less than 778,000 arpents, is now under the management of the Legislature.

The motives for which these estates were given, are stated, in the different grants, to be, — the love of God; the great expenses which the Order sustained

in supporting missions ; the extraordinary fatigues and hazards to which the Jesuits exposed themselves among the savages ; the instruction of the Indians ; pious foundations ; and the general purposes of "*civil and religious*" education in New France.

CHAP. XXII.

POPULATION. — RELIGION. — SCHOOLS. — EDUCATION, ETC.

THE population of Canada, since its acquisition by Great Britain, has increased with extraordinary rapidity.

Its progress under the French government was slow. This arose from the country being long monopolised by an exclusive company; and afterwards from the cupidity and avariciousness of the intendants, and all their subordinate officers, who, in the years preceding the conquest, accumulated immense fortunes at the expense of public justice and the prosperity of the inhabitants.

In 1622, the population of Quebec was only 50. In 1720, it was 7000; and that of Montreal about 2000. In 1676, the whole European population of Canada was no more than 8500. In 1700, it was 15,000, and for fifty-nine years after the population, by natural increase and by immigrations, only amounted to 65,000.

In 1784, after the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, Lower and Upper Canada contained about 113,000 inhabitants of European race; and in 1800 we find, in the province of Lower Canada alone, a population of 220,000. By the census of 1825, the population is stated to be 423,000; but the actual number was considered to

be at least 450,000, as it is well known that an objection prevails on the part of the inhabitants in Canada, as elsewhere in America, to tell their ages and numbers to those appointed for the purpose of collecting a census. This arises from the apprehension of a poll tax; and from the militia laws and statute labour, which imposes the duty of both on all males from 16 to 18 years.

On comparing carefully the well-known actual population of parishes and townships with the returns I have collected*, the total population is nearly (if not) 600,000. Of this number at least 500,000 are Canadian Catholics of French race; a most extraordinary natural increase from 65,000 in 63 years; and unaccountable to those acquainted with the condition of the Canadian *habitans*, which I will endeavour to describe in this and the following chapter.

The inhabitants consist, first, of the French Canadians, who may be considered as constituting five-sixths of the whole population; the other sixth consists of English, Scotch, Irish, American loyalists, and a few Germans and others. The Scotch and Irish are, after the French, by far the most numerous.

In Lower Canada, the Catholic religion, of which seven-eighths of the inhabitants are professors, is established on a constitutional foundation, as fully protected in all its immunities and privileges as that of the Church of England. All the revenues from lands, enjoyed under the government of France, and the twenty-sixth part of the grain only, raised on the farms cultivated by Catholics, are secured by law to

* See the general statistical returns at the end of this work.

their church. No other produce or property contributes any thing.

The Catholic establishment of Canada may be said to have scarcely any connection with Rome. Nearly all the ecclesiastics are Canadians, and consist of the Bishop of Quebec*, who may be considered the Primate of the Catholic church in British America, and his coadjutor at Quebec; also the titular Bishop of Telmesse, auxiliary and suffragan at Montreal; four vicars-general; and 209 priests or *curés*, in Lower Canada, seven of whom are missionaries to the Indians. There are seven nunneries, and several missions, where a sister or two superintend the education of young girls.

In Lower Canada, the revenues arising from lands and the tithes, are found fully adequate to support the Catholic clergy. The incomes of the *curés* average from 200*l.* to 300*l.* per annum, which enables them, in so cheap a country as Canada, to live respectably, and to exercise a very liberal share of benevolence and hospitality.

Protestants are not compelled to pay any thing in support of their clergy; and if a Protestant even buys lands from a Catholic, he is exempt from the tithes to which the latter was subjected. *One-seventh of all the lands in the townships are reserved, in Lower as well as in Upper Canada, for the purpose of making a provision for the Protestant church.*

The diocese of the Protestant Bishop of Quebec includes both provinces; and under him are one archdeacon, and about twenty clergymen in Lower

* The late venerable bishop, Mons. Bernard Claude Panet, passed fifty years at the head of the Catholic church in Canada.

Canada; and two archdeacons, and forty-five clergymen in Upper Canada. They are supported by salaries allowed by the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts, and money voted by the Imperial Parliament.

There are forty English churches, and only four or five of the Church of Scotland; yet there are at least an equal number of members of the latter. Of the whole population seven-eighths are Catholics; 1-21st Church of England; 1-21st Kirk of Scotland; and 1-32d part Dissenters.

There are six or seven clergymen of the Kirk of Scotland in the Lower Province, besides dissenting preachers, principally Baptists and Wesleyans, all of whom may be said to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their respective hearers.

The education of youth was long neglected in Canada. Among the *habitans*, it does not appear that the clergy, during the French government, encouraged learning, although they did not at the same time discourage education otherwise than by the example which their indifference taught. At that time the priests were chiefly born and educated in France. Few of the *habitans* who have passed the middle age of life, can read or write — the women were more frequently taught both than the men. This arose from the extinction of the male religious fraternities, particularly the Jesuits; while the nunneries were not disturbed by the British Government, and the sisters and nuns in these nunneries have always given their attention to the instruction of young girls.

The Jesuits afforded almost the only source of instruction which the country formerly possessed. To the conversion of the savages, and to the educa-

tion of youth, did those extraordinary men direct their labours with the most arduous zeal ; and the course of instruction which they taught was eminently practical. They did not attend funerals, or visit the sick. These duties they left to the priest ; but in their grand attempts to convert and civilise the Indians, they endured the most extraordinary privations and encountered the most formidable difficulties. Their ardour, in the pursuit of this great object, led them undauntedly into the wildest regions, and among the most warlike and furious of the Indian tribes. To the Jesuits is the merit of the early discovery of the Mississippi from Canada, and of exploring the country around and west of the great lakes, most justly due. As they applied their means, and devoted so great a portion of their lives to the useful instruction of mankind, however pernicious to liberty may have been the principles laid down in the secret institute of their order, it was expected by the Canadians that the revenues arising from the lands that belonged to the Jesuits would be appropriated in aid of public instruction, after these revenues were possessed by the crown.*

The priests, who are now the only Catholic eccle-

* The British Government, however, never violated the promise not to disturb the Jesuits in the enjoyment of their property, as long as any of those who were in Canada at its conquest lived. The Jesuits did not perpetuate themselves, as they have in Russia. The last of the order, Jean Joseph Cazot, died about 1800. He received the whole revenue of the Jesuits' lands for several years, and expended the whole in useful and charitable purposes. On his death the Crown came into possession of the property, and the executive has managed its revenue until 1832, when, by order of his Majesty's Government, it was relinquished to the legislature of the province.

siastics in Canada, were formerly only second to the Jesuits, and seldom troubled their heads about giving more instruction to the people than was comprehended in the service and ceremonials of the church; but their influence and example, although injurious as affecting mental improvement, was certainly beneficial in respect to morals.

The *Récollets* were the lowest religious order in Canada: they made vows of perpetual poverty, and were, it seems, little esteemed by the Jesuits.

The Canadians had a proverb, — “ Pour faire un Récollet il faut une hache, pour un prêtre un ciseau; mais pour faire un Jesuite il faut un pinceau.”

To the Catholic priests of the present day in Canada, justice requires us to acknowledge that there is great merit due. Although, generally speaking, their education and attainments do not, perhaps, exhibit the splendid points of acquirement in polite literature, and in the sciences, which distinguished the Jesuits, yet they neither want intelligence, nor are they destitute of useful or classical learning. Many of them are eloquent preachers; and it is worthy of our consideration to know, that since the Catholic clergy have consisted nearly all of Canadians, born in the province, and have themselves received their education in the colleges of Canada, they have directed their special attention to the instruction of youth.

They have been accused of silently opposing the establishing of schools, and the instruction of the Canadian youth, particularly in the English language. No charge can now be more unjust. Disputed points of faith do not belong to my province; and having known many of the Canadian priests, truth and can-

dour require me to declare that they are pious and amiable; and not only watch carefully over the morals of their parishioners, but conduct themselves as individuals, and as a body, with praiseworthy correctness. They certainly never give an advice to others that the example of their own conduct does not enforce. Many of the schools have been established by the *curés*.

Besides the colleges and seminaries enumerated in describing Quebec and Montreal, the Catholics have three other seminaries, which they designate colleges, and in which elementary and classical instruction are taught. These are the seminaries of St. Nicolet, St. Hyacinth, St. Anne's, and Chambly. All these have been instituted and are supported by members of the Canadian clergy.

Schools, under the protection and the partial support of legislative enactments and appropriations, have also been established, principally during the last six years, in every parish and in almost every settlement in the province. These schools are open to all, without any test as to religious creed; and the full benefit of elementary instruction, in English and French, is now to be obtained in Lower Canada.

The whole number of schools is nearly 1200; in which about 65,000 children of both sexes are taught.

CHAP. XXIII.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND AMUSEMENTS OF THE INHABITANTS
OF LOWER CANADA.

THE inhabitants of Lower Canada, exclusive of those of French race, are of nearly the same mixed origin and character as will be found described hereafter, when treating generally of the manners and pursuits of the people of British America.

The Canadian *habitans*, who form so large and so interesting a portion of British subjects, of whom scarcely any knowledge is possessed by the people of the United Kingdom, deserve at least ordinary attention in giving an account of them.

There is not, probably, in the world, a more happy people than the *habitans* or peasantry of Lower Canada. They are, with few exceptions, in easy circumstances; and in all the villages, the church forms the point around which the inhabitants born in the parish delight to live; and in no dwelling farther from it than they can hear the ringing of its bell, can any of them feel happy. They are not anxious to become rich, but they possess the necessary comforts, and many of the luxuries of life.

They are frugal, but not enterprising, and will seldom buy what they can make themselves. Their lands yield them grain and vegetables, and food for their horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry, as well as hemp, flax, and tobacco. They make coarse

woollen and linen cloths, straw hats and *bonnets rouges et bleus*, and their own soap, candles, sugar*, and implements of husbandry. What they manufacture is seldom for sale, but for consumption. They have in fact every article of real utility—every necessary resource within themselves; no penury, no uneasiness, no distress is visible. Their mode of agriculture is clumsy and tardy; yet the soil, with the most negligent culture, yields abundance for domestic consumption, and something over seigniorial dues and the tythes, to sell, for the purchase of articles of convenience and luxury. Their farms are generally small, and often subdivided among a family. The agricultural societies may gradually improve husbandry among the *habitans*; but hitherto, neither example nor the prospect of interest has been sufficient to induce many to adopt the more approved modes of husbandry, or any of the methods of shortening labour discovered during the last or present century. They have gardens attached to their houses, but the neatness and order which lends such charms to every little English cottage is not to be found in the Canadian parishes; and this is merely the fault of the *habitans*. The women generally do all garden work, and, like those of Normandy and Picardy, greatly assist in field labour. The occupations of the Canadians are neither severe nor incessant; as moderate industry secures all necessaries and comforts. They however plough a great portion of their lands in autumn, and there is little doubt but they will change

* *Maple sugar*. The season of manufacturing it is considered a period of pleasure rather than of fatigue, although it is attended with considerable labour. About 2,000,000 lbs. are said to be manufactured in the province.

their mode of culture gradually. An improvement is, however, apparent.

We discover among the Canadians the customs and manners that prevailed among the peasantry of France during the age of Louis the Fourteenth; and to this day the most rigid adherence to national customs is maintained among them. Contented to tread in the path beaten by their forefathers, they in the same manner till the ground; commit in the like way the same kind of seeds to the earth; and in a similar mode do they gather their harvests, feed their cattle, and prepare and cook their victuals. They rise, eat, and sleep at the same hours; and, under the instruction of their pastors, and the example of their elders, observe the same spirit in their devotions, with as ample a portion of all the forms of the Catholic religion, as their ancestors.

They are fond of soups, which are seldom, even in Lent, of meagre quality. Bread, butter, cheese, with eggs, tea, poultry, fish, and flesh, constitute nearly all the other articles of their food. They have their *jours gras*, or feasting days, before and after Lent, on which they gormandise vast quantities of pork, and indulge in drinking; but on other occasions they are temperate.

The amusements of former times are also common among them at their weddings, feasts, and dances. Even the noisy tumultuous *charivari** is not entirely forgotten. They delight in driving about in calashes and

* The *charivari* is a noisy assemblage of people who proceed, after bed-time, to the house of a newly married couple, whenever there is a flagrant inconsistency in the match: such as a young girl marrying an old man for his money, or *vice versa*. Some come on horseback, some blow horns, some beat drums and tin kettles;

in *carioles* ; to the harness of their horses they hang numerous small bells ; and on passing each other always, as in France, take the contrary side of the road to that which we are accustomed to in England. Of dancing, fiddling, and singing, they are also fond, after vespers on Sunday ; considering it no sin, but a harmless recreation, never attended with dissipation or vice. Sunday is, indeed, the happiest day in a Canadian's week. The parish church collects all acquaintances. The young and old, men and women, drive thither in their calashes in summer, and in their well *furred* carioles in winter ; there they meet for devotion, pleasure, and love. Even on their little matters of business they consider it innocent to converse after dinner.

Sunday is, therefore, truly a day of happiness in a Canadian parish. Their devotion is to them a pleasure. The *habitant* is sincerely pious ; and let him be taken where he may, if deprived of joining in the observances of religion, he is unhappy and fearful. This powerful feeling prevents him from going out alone, like the American, with his family, to settle in the wilds.

Politeness seems natural to the Canadians. Habit, imitation, and temperament, have made them a courteous people ; and the first thing a child learns is to say its prayers, to speak decorously and respectfully to every body, and to bow or curtsy to its elders, and to all strangers. The *habitans* never meet

the English in the towns also join the *charivari* ; others ring bells, shout, and swing rattles, continuing the *charivari* from night to night, until they receive a stipulated sum from the *unhappy* pair for some charitable purpose.

one another without putting a hand to the hat or *bonnet*, or moving the head. Men and women are civil to all; not from appearance, but from a sense of propriety; and they always treat their superiors and parents with deference. Parents and children live frequently in one house to the third generation. They are exceedingly modest;—the women from the natural delicacy and disposition of their sex; the men from custom, and a full sense of decency: the latter, in the country parishes, never bathe in the rivers, nor even in the most private places, without being partially covered.

The men are well proportioned, about, but sometimes taller than the middle size, and very rarely corpulent. From exposure to the climate, their complexions are dark; the sun in summer, and the snow in winter, bronze their faces, and the use of stoves may also affect their colour. The features of their face are characteristic. The nose is prominent and often aquiline; the eyes dark, rather small, and remarkably lively; the lips thin, chin sharp and projecting, and the cheeks inclining to lankness.

Many of the girls are pretty oval-faced brunettes, with fine eyes, good teeth, and glossy locks. They make affectionate wives and tender mothers. Their feelings are keen, and their attachments ardent. They are generally more intelligent than the men; and a *habitant* rarely enters upon matter of any importance, without saying, "*J'en parlerai à ma femme*;" and on consulting his wife, concludes a bargain. On entering the house of a Canadian, his wife seems to anticipate our very wishes. If they have not at the time what we want, the landlady regrets it with such a good grace, that we cannot fail to be delighted with what she gives us.

The *habitans* marry young; sometimes twenty couple are joined in wedlock at one time in the same church. They hate being alone. The world is nothing to them unless a number have the opportunity of being together. How very different from the Americans; among whom, a man and his wife will leave a populous settlement in which they were born, and all their friends and relations, without apparent regret, and plant themselves, regardless of all the human race, amidst the solitary gloom of the darkest forest! A dance and feast always attend a wedding. The Canadian dances with all his heart, and eats with all his vigour. On the day of a marriage, several calashes or, if in winter, *carioles*, filled with friends and acquaintances, form a *cortège* of imposing appearance. On these occasions the gayest colours, the best dresses, the most spirited horses and finest calashes or *carioles* are brought into full display, and often continued for several days.

The priests by their admonitions restrain, to a certain degree, and more effectually than sumptuary laws ever could, the dress of the *habitans*.

In winter the men are clothed in long full-skirted dark grey coats (*capots*), buttoned close to the body, with a hood attached, to draw over the head, and with a many coloured sash, frequently ornamented with beads, round the middle; and in pantaloons, *bonnet rouge*, or *bonnet bleu*, and mocassins, and never without a pipe in their mouths. In summer, light short jackets and straw-hats are worn in place of the long coats and *bonnet rouge*.

The dress of the women is old-fashioned, even when they wear gowns. Petticoats and short jackets or bedgowns, long waists, neat white caps, and, in

summer, straw bonnets, form the prevailing dress. In the towns the girls dress in the English fashions; and I must observe that the simplicity which delights us when travelling among the country parishes, does not exist generally either at Quebec or Montreal. Not that in these towns much of what Raynal and Professor Kalm observed of the Canadians, as they were a century ago, joined to loose habits, prevails at this day.*

* The Abbé Raynal gives a much less favourable account of the Canadians before the conquest than he does of the Acadians. He observes, "that those whom rural labour fixed in the country allowed only a few moments to the care of their flocks and to other indispensable occupations during winter. The rest of the time was passed in idleness, at public houses, or in running along the snow and ice in sledges, in imitation of the most distinguished citizens. When the return of spring called them out to the necessary labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially, without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harvest time.

"This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather, that labour appeared insupportable to them, even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which owed its increase to their establishment, prevented the first exertion, as well as interrupted the progress of industry. Men are ready enough to comply with that species of devotion that flatters their indolence. Lastly, a passion for war, which had been purposely encouraged among these bold and courageous men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

"The inhabitants of the towns, especially of the capital, spent the winter as well as the summer in a constant scene of dissipation. They were alike insensible of the beauties of nature or of the pleasures of the imagination. They had no taste for arts or science, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement. This manner of life considerably increased the influence of the women, who were possessed of every charm except those soft

The cultivation of the soil, building their houses, attending to their live stock, providing fuel, and

emotions of the soul which alone constitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring than feeling the tender passions.

"There appeared in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, which will always be the case, whenever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers."

Professor Kalm remarks (in 1757), "a girl of eighteen is reckoned to be poorly off if she cannot enumerate at least twenty lovers. These young ladies, especially those of a higher rank, get up at seven and dress till nine, drinking their coffee at the same time. When a young fellow comes in, whether they be acquainted with him or not, they immediately lay aside their work, sit down by him, and begin to chat, laugh, joke, and invent *double entendres*, and this is reckoned being very witty. One of the first questions they propose to a stranger is, whether he is married; the next, how he likes the ladies of the country; and the third, whether he will take one home with him."

If these descriptions be correct, the Canadian ladies of that time were very different from those of the present day; for I believe them to be as modest and as industrious as those of any country. They are, it is true, more affable, and have more freedom of manners than the English.

The superior intelligence of the women in the country parishes of Lower Canada is by all acknowledged. It is worthy, however, of remark, that, until within the last few years, scarcely any measure for promoting education in the country was carried into operation by the Government; and the instruction of boys was consequently much neglected, as they could not well afford to attend seminaries at a distance from home. In respect to girls, in the country, the case was very different. The convent of the Sisters of the Congregation, established by Madame de Bourgeois, has for a long time provided schoolmistresses for from fifteen to twenty schools, in various parts of the province. In these schools, reading, writing, a little arithmetic, religious instruction, needle-

making implements of agriculture and articles of convenience, form the leading occupation of the men.

Fishing is rather an amusement than a laborious pursuit. Spear fishing with torch light in calm summer nights, along the shores of the rivers, conveys something peculiarly striking to the observer. The light canoes that bear the torches and the spearmen over the surface of the smooth limpid waters follow in succession, each exhibiting a beautiful bright light.

The Americans who navigate the Durham boats are very different beings from the Canadian boatmen who man the *bateaux*. The former are generally tall, lank fellows, seldom without an immense quid of tobacco in their mouths; grave-tempered schemers, yet vulgar, and seldom cheerful; "grinning horribly" when they venture an attempt to laugh.

The Canadian boatman, or *voyageur*, is naturally polite, and always cheerful; fond enough of money when he once possesses it, but altogether unacquainted with overreaching; and if he attempts to cheat, he knows not how. He sings, smokes, and enjoys whatever comes in his way, thanking "Le bon Dieu, la Vierge, et les Saints" for every thing. The *voyageurs* know every channel, rapid, rock, and shoal, in the rivers they navigate; and, never pretending to question their leader or *bourgeois*, fearlessly expose themselves to the greatest hardships and the most frightful dangers. When singing their

work, and such other knowledge as rendered the girls eminently useful in domestic management were taught. The Canadian women, therefore, owe their superior intelligence to the good Sisters of the Congregation.

celebrated boat-songs, two usually begin, two others response, and then all join in full chorus. These songs make them forget their labour, and enliven their long and perilous voyages. Nothing can be more imposing than a fleet of canoes, and the *voyageurs* all singing "cheerily," while paddling over the bosom of a lake, or along the sylvan shores of the St. Lawrence or Ottawa.

The inhabitants of Normandy, — from which part of France, and from Picardy, the ancestry of the Canadian *habitans* chiefly emigrated, — are those whom the latter resemble most in their morals, customs, and dwellings. But the peasantry of Normandy and Picardy have changed many of their habits and customs, while the Canadians have retained them.

Crimes are very rare among the *habitans*. Honesty, chastity, piety, and superstition, — the latter not more common, however, than in Scotland and Ireland, — are prominent in the Canadian character. Perhaps no population on earth possess more happiness in their circumstances, joined to so much virtue in their lives.

CHAP. XXIV.

STATISTICS OF LOWER CANADA.

THE statistics of Lower Canada, according to the census taken during the year 1831, under the provincial act, are more accurate and full than those of any other colony. The following is abstracted from the returns published by the provincial parliament :—

	Montreal.	Quebec.	Three Rivers.	Gaspé.	Total.
Houses - - -	48323	22931	9379	1804	82437
Do. building - -	757	375	298	28	1458
Do. unoccupied -	914	429	197	2	1542
Holder of real property - - -	31747	17215	7653	1276	57891
Not holders of do. -	16391	6429	1930	458	25208
Total of souls -	290050	151985	56570	13312	511917
Absentees from the province - - -	778	60	122	21	981
No. of souls under five years - - -	44711	22079	10145	1754	78729
No. of souls from five years to fourteen -	51537	26838	12390	1939	92704
MALES.					
14 a 18 { married -	210	128	29	54	401
{ unmarried -	12397	6003	2536	761	21697
18 a 21 { married -	473	248	85	101	907
{ unmarried -	7166	3925	1503	708	13302
21 a 30 { married -	9913	4673	1683	305	16574
{ unmarried -	9765	4990	1817	706	17278
30 a 60 { married -	30621	15768	6794	845	54028
{ unmarried -	3909	1696	548	260	6413
60 and above { married -	5994	3498	1568	183	11243
{ unmarried -	1347	554	120	179	2000
FEMALES					
under 14 years -	56292	15679	10709	979	83659
14 a 45 { married -	38537	18012	7421	1171	64941
{ unmarried -	26601	16008	5371	433	4843
45 and above { married -	11901	7207	2652	575	22335
{ unmarried -	3762	1107	334	45	5278

	Montreal.	Quebec.	Three Rivers.	Gaspé.	Total.
Deaf and dumb -	254	114	33	7	408
Blind -	195	105	34		334
Deranged in mind -	462	354	108		924
Persons in connection with the Church of England -	21952	7858	2724	2086	34620
Persons in connection with the Church of Scotland -	10192	2887	494	1496	15069
Roman Catholics -	229293	119809	47786	6684	403472
Methodists -	6044	591	370	14	7019
Seceders from the Church of Scotland -	7001	437	335	38	7811
Baptists -	2180	91	190		2461
Jews -	85	3	19		107
Persons of other denominations -	944	61	4388	184	5577
Families living by agriculture -	28229	12467	9662	466	50824
Servants employed on farms -	5175	1669	428	330	7602
Families living by trade -	1240	764	489	10	2503
Persons living on charity -	504	689	79	10	1282
No. of arpents occupied -	2529859 $\frac{1}{2}$	1685817	629902 $\frac{1}{2}$	136214	4981793
No. of arpents tilled -	1231300 $\frac{1}{2}$	562778 $\frac{1}{2}$	253447 $\frac{1}{2}$	18687	2065913 $\frac{1}{2}$
Minots of wheat, 1830 -	2098982 $\frac{1}{2}$	911887 $\frac{1}{2}$	383544 $\frac{1}{2}$	10342	3404756 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. of peas, do. -	801717	126821	55300	920	984758
Do. of oats, do. -	1911861	798133 $\frac{1}{2}$	426760 $\frac{1}{2}$	5520	3142274 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. of barley, do. -	275651 $\frac{1}{2}$	92742 $\frac{1}{2}$	21417 $\frac{1}{2}$	4983	394795
Do. of rye, do. -	172025 $\frac{1}{2}$	36744 $\frac{1}{2}$	25141	318	234529
Do. of Indian corn, do. -	315541 $\frac{1}{2}$	481 $\frac{1}{2}$	25554 $\frac{1}{2}$	256	339633 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. of potatoes, do. -	4221802 $\frac{1}{2}$	1695853 $\frac{1}{2}$	910295 $\frac{1}{2}$	529465	7357416
Do. of buck-wheat, do. -	68855 $\frac{1}{2}$	8013 $\frac{1}{2}$	28943 $\frac{1}{2}$	237	106050 $\frac{1}{2}$
Horned cattle -	229747	104796	48752	5411	389706 $\frac{1}{2}$
Horses -	76057	26213	13739	677	116686
Sheep -	310523	152382	71458	8980	543343
Pigs -	174447	74515	39766	6409	295137
Colleges, academies, and convents -	21	15	2		38
Elementary schools -	589	340	161	9	1099
No. of schools in colleges, &c. } males -	13406	8083	5427	172	25088
and elementary schools } females -	12418	7326	3386	102	23232
Taverns -	640	311	78	6	1035
Shops retailing spirituous liquors -	483	251	112	11	857
Grist mills -	235	94	60	6	395

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Total.
82437
1458
1542
57891
25208
511917
981
78729
92704
401
21697
907
13302
16574
17278
54028
6413
11243
2000
83659
64941
4843
22333
5278

	Montreal.	Quebec.	Three Rivers.	Gaspé.	Total.
Sawmills - -	251	348	135	3	737
Oil mills - -	9	2	3		14
Fulling mills - -	47	35	15		97
Carding mills - -	46	29	15		90
Smitheries - -	37	43	22	1	103
Founderies - -	14	2	2		18
Distilleries - -	56	4	10		70
Potash manufactories	462	5	22		489
All other manufactories - -	58	1	5		64
Persons actually settled, born in Great Britain, arrived by sea, since the 1st of May, 1825 - -	11775	9240	464	115	21594
Persons actually settled, natives of Great Britain, arrived, not by sea, since the 1st of May, 1825 -	243	54	14		311
Persons actually settled, arrived from foreign countries, since May, 1825 - -	1431	41	29		1501

The statistical abstract from the returns made in 1765 to the Board of Trade, given in the Historical Sketch of Canada in this work, will exhibit the condition of Canada 67 years ago, in contradistinction to its state at the present time; and by adopting the most correct returns and calculations, the natural increase of Canadians of French race will appear as follows:—

In 1763, according to General Murray's report, the whole Canadian population in the province of Quebec (including Detroit), was - - - 68,575
 In 1803, forty years afterwards, the population of this race nearly quadrupled, as the returns for the parishes and towns give - - - 202,140
 In 1825, the numbers increased to - - - 384,270
 In 1831, the number, per census, (which is considered under-rated), and deducting the Irish Catholics, is - - - 400,124

In 1833, January 30., the population of
 French race, by computation, is - 417,881
 Persons not enumerated, of French race,
 as *voyageurs*, and others not stationary 16,280
 Total - 434,161

The latter computation is considered, in Canada, under the number, which is there stated to be somewhat over - - - - 550,000

The revenue of Lower Canada, rising from imports, King's domains, tolls on the Lachine canal, &c. for the year ending Dec. 1831, after paying the proportion of 37,400*l.*, for duties on goods forwarded to Upper Canada, amounts to 149,468*l.*

This revenue was expended in paying the civil lists, pensions, internal communications, public schools, light-houses, public buildings, encouragement of agriculture, improving the harbour of Montreal and the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and provision depôts at Anticosti, light-house at Montpeles and at Green Island; a sum in aid of building a light-house on St. Paul's Island, marine hospital, emigrants' hospital, other hospitals, support of indigent sick, purchasing a dredging steam-vessel, exploring the interior, &c. &c.

Details of the present revenue and its expenditure, amount of salaries, &c. will, to avoid repetition, be found in the general summary. See Book IX.

The trade of Upper and Lower Canada being in the customs' returns made up together, excepting the trade between Upper Canada and the United States, details, to avoid repetition, will be found at the end of Book VIII., and recapitulation in the general summary, Book IX.

The supply bill, agreed to and passed by the House of Assembly for the year 1833, has been re-

Total.
 737
 14
 97
 90
 103
 18
 70
 489
 64
 21594
 311
 1501
 1765
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 s fol-
 68,575
 02,140
 84,270
 00,124

jected by the Council. In what manner the affairs of the province are to be conducted this year, in consequence, it is impossible to tell. It becomes, in fact, more evident, by every act which the Assembly passes, and which the Legislative Council negatives, that until his Majesty's Government establishes, upon constitutional principles, a decided plan for regulating the passing of money bills, the present Legislative Council and the House of Assembly never will harmonize.

The formation of legislative councils is not generally understood: they have nothing to do in America with the representation of the province; and it is generally stated, nor can it be refuted, that the majority of those composing the legislative councils, are not, by education or habit, fit persons for being the lawgivers of a great province, nor have they generally much interest in the prosperity of the country.

Governors are removable at pleasure, and they have, with few exceptions, often been misled by the executive or legislative councillors; but the latter hold their places for life.

By examining the formation of all the executive legislative councils of British America (Nova Scotia excepted), at the present time, and their position as political men in respect to the Legislative Assemblies, we are forced to conclude that the former will involve the public affairs of the colonies in a state of embarrassment for which there remains no remedy but a general reorganization of the executive and legislative councils of every colony in British America.

BOOK VIII.

UPPER CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

THE history of Upper Canada, as a province, is brief but interesting.

During its possession by France little progress was made in cultivating or settling any portion of this extensive and fertile region. The forts at Niagara and Frontenac, with a few trading posts, and the village at Detroit, were the only established places of residence previous to its conquest: nor were any effectual attempts made to inhabit the country, until the American revolutionary war.

On the surrender of General Burgoyne, and afterwards, on the evacuation of New York, grants of land were offered in Upper Canada, and the lower provinces, to those who retained their allegiance to the royal cause. A great majority of these had served in the army; many of them had lost their estates by confiscation; most of them were left destitute of means, and all without employment.

The second battalion of the 82d regiment, raised in America, was discharged; and, with many other officers and discharged soldiers, British and Germans, had lands granted them in Upper Canada. These, with the loyalists, formed the foundation which commenced the settlement and improvement of the country.

In 1784, they took possession of their lands, and formed scattered settlements along the St. Lawrence from NewLongueil to Kingston, and, for some distance on the shores of Lake Ontario. Soon after, settlements of loyalists and others were made at Niagara and opposite Detroit.

They were all accommodated with provisions and clothing for two years, and with implements of husbandry and building tools. Although most of them were accustomed, during the war, to live in camps, and not likely to become patient cultivators of the soil, yet from having been in early life generally accustomed to agriculture, they soon resumed their first habits, and laboriously persevered in clearing and cultivating the fertile forest lands on which they settled. After enduring hardships and privations, it is true, they transformed the wilderness into fruitful corn-fields and meadows.

The loyalists and disbanded soldiers were all placed in the same position in respect to lands.

To a field officer, 5000 acres were granted; to a captain, 3000; to a subaltern, 2000; and to a private soldier, 200 acres.

This arrangement was afterwards modified, and the largest grant limited to 1200 acres.

By an Order in Council in 1789, the families who, previous to 1783, adhered to the unity of the empire,

were distinguished by the style of "U. E. Loyalists," whose posterity were to be discriminated by this distinction from future settlers; and were to receive, in addition to the provisions made for the loyalists themselves, a grant, each, on arriving at the age of twenty-one, of 200 acres.

Upon condition of actual settlement, all other applicants for lands were allowed 200 acres each, on paying the fees of office and expense of surveying.

An act of parliament, in 1791, gave a legislative government to the colony; and on the following year, Major-General Simcoe was appointed to the administration as Lieutenant-Governor. He fixed his residence at Niagara, then named Newark, where the House of Assembly met for five sessions, before the seat of government was transferred to York.

The leading characteristic of Governor Simcoe's administration was his ardent desire to promote the settlement and improvement of the province. He was particularly anxious to bring back the citizens of the United States to their former allegiance. In attempting to effect this object he was quite an enthusiast; and would say to the Americans, who came into the province in quest of grants, the petitions for which were usually grounded on their alleged hatred to the United States, and their devoted allegiance and affection for the King of England; — "Yes, yes, you are tired of the federal government; you no longer like so many kings; you come back to your old father; you are quite right; come along; we love such good loyalists as you are; we will give you lands."

Many of these applicants were likely sincere, but others were mere pretenders and speculators, who

often contrived to wheedle from the good governor large tracts, even townships.

General Simcoe's plans for improving the colony, although sometimes visionary, were always honest, and generally judicious. The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, who, during his sojourn in America, was hospitably received by General Simcoe, gives an interesting account of his government and plans.

He says, "The governor is just, active, enlightened, brave, frank, and possesses the confidence of the country, of the troops, and of all those who join him in the administration of public affairs. He preserves all the old friends of his king, and neglects no means to procure him new ones. In his private life he is simple, plain, and obliging, and but for his inveterate hatred against the United States, which he loudly professes, and which carries him too far, he always appears in the most advantageous light, and unites all the qualities which his station requires, to maintain the important possession of Canada, if it be possible that England can long retain it."

In 1797, General Simcoe was injudiciously removed from Upper Canada; a country which he would, it is believed, have greatly improved, and governed with satisfaction to the people, and with fidelity to his sovereign.

He had, however, no sooner left the province, than his plans were laid aside; complaints were made that his engagements were grossly violated by his successor, and others in office; and the granting of lands in large tracts to themselves, their friends, and dependents, and various other assumptions, formed the commencement of those discontents which have

generally prevailed from that period to the present time.

The president of the council, who had an act passed, to give colour to misrule, entitled "An Act for the better securing the Province against the King's Enemies," administered the government until the arrival of General Hunter, as Lieutenant-Governor, in 1799. The act alluded to was mischievous in its operations; and intended to prevent the plans entertained by General Simcoe (filling the country with an industrious population), in order that a few persons might more easily acquire extensive property in land. This act was renewed every two years, until 1804, when it was supplanted by a more notorious statute, entitled "An Act for the better securing this Province against all *seditions Attempts or Designs* to disturb the Tranquillity thereof." If rulers were only to be guided by the maxim of William Penn,— "Leave the people to think they govern, and you can then safely govern them," severe measures need seldom be resorted to in our colonies. Under the above act, prosecutions and imprisonments for libels were the consequence.*

* This and the Alien Act were the most absurd acts that were ever passed as laws in any of his Majesty's colonies. That the periodical press is often vehemently abusive I readily admit, and each prosecution renders it still more so. No prosecution for libel has ever yet produced any good. The press, and the opinions of the public, when controlled or persecuted by the executive in free countries, always burst forth afterwards with more violence; and if, under absolute and despotic governments, the public voice and the press be stifled, the persecuted, in place of succumbing to tyranny, form secret and desperate schemes for the subversion of the government or the destruction of despots, as in Russia and some other countries.

When the periodical press, or the language of public or private

A person who was sheriff of the home district, being superseded in office, it is said, for not voting at an election agreeably to the governor's wish, esta-

individuals, exhibits the spirit of passionate abuse and malice, men of reflection and taste become disgusted with both, and pass them over without notice; particularly without any attempt to crush them by the power of the law or that of arbitrary force.

The periodical press of the United States is too frequently licentious, but it is free; and, being left to itself, its abuses pass away harmlessly. In France, where we feel still more disgusted with the language of their periodicals, prosecutions are frequent; and it is generally impossible to find a jury who will return a verdict against the writers or publishers: when they do, all Paris is in a ferment, and ready for revolt.

Among the many examples of prosecution under this act, the case of Gourlay is notorious. I cannot account for it, but I was impressed with a strong prejudice against this man, whom I never saw, nor yet read any of his writings, until after my arrival in Canada. I, however, made myself acquainted with his case first, and then read his book; which, although exceedingly diffuse, and in many respects now obsolete, is the best book yet written on Upper Canada. I then came to the conclusion that Mr. Gourlay was an honest enthusiast, who proposed schemes for an extensive system of emigration, the admission of aliens, and adopted a plan something like Sir John Sinclair's, in order to obtain a statistical account of Canada. These exertions, and his noticing abuses in the administration of the government, excited the alarm of some members of the Council. He was accordingly arrested, tried for libel, and acquitted; arrested again, tried, and acquitted.

He then prepared to establish himself in the colony as a land agent, but was prevented by an arrest, followed by an order to leave the province. He refused to do so, and was thrown into one of the cells of the gaol; and the effect of close confinement, for seven or eight months, enfeebled his constitution, and deranged his faculties when brought up for trial. It was found that he could not be tried for sedition; and a packed jury found him "guilty of having refused to quit the province."

This unfortunate man was, in consequence, driven from the country, where he had expended his means, and thrown in a state

lished a newspaper; an opposition one to the executive, of course. He was prosecuted for libel, acquitted by a jury, and elected, in consequence of the popularity he gained, a member of the legislature. Here his language was considered violent, and the executive confined him in one of the cells of the prison. This increased his popularity, and he afterwards led the majority in the house. On the war with America he was deprived of his newspaper; and finding himself, even after he fought as a private in the militia, in defence of the province, at the battle of Queenston, still persecuted by the executive, and being reduced to want, he became exasperated, deserted to the enemy, carried with him a corps of militiamen, and from the American government obtained a colonel's commission. He fell by a musket shot during the siege of Fort Erie.

His latter course is neither to be admired nor, it is to be hoped, imitated by men oppressed even in a much greater degree. That the executive government of the colony and its party drove him to desperation and treason to his country, is the opinion of all the unprejudiced men who have noticed the circumstance to me.

of poverty on the world, with the energies of mind and body enfeebled.

Prosecutions for libel did not cease for years: the editor of the paper who published Gourlay's communications was also led about the country, and imprisoned for some months.

The office of the "*Colonial Advocate*," a weekly newspaper, was some years ago broken into, and the press destroyed, by persons annoyed, or employed by those annoyed at the exposition of misrule ceaselessly made by the editor; who certainly wrote fearlessly, and spared neither rank nor office. He prosecuted them afterwards, and obtained damages.

Francis Gore, Esq., succeeded General Hunter as lieutenant-governor in 1806, and remained administering the affairs of the province until 1811, when he sailed for England. During his absence, the government was administered by Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, as president; and afterwards, in succession, by Major-Generals, Sir Roger Hale, Sheafe, De Rottenburg, Sir Gordon Drummond, Sir George Murray, and Sir F. P. Robinson.

The American war, soon after the departure of Governor Gore, arrested public attention; and Sir Isaac Brock's defence of the province, and his heroic death, I have already noticed in the general history of Canada.

De Rottenburg proclaimed and established martial law, which caused great discontent; until it was revoked by Sir Gordon Drummond, and the legislature entered a solemn protest against the precedent. *The Court of King's Bench gave a similar decision, "declaring the proclaiming of martial law by the executive unconstitutional, and subversive of law and liberty."*

Lieutenant-Governor Gore returned to the province in 1815, and continued administering the government until the arrival of Sir Peregrine Maitland, in 1818, who remained as lieutenant-governor for ten years, not certainly to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, who have been very generally dissatisfied, not only with his government, but also with the administration of his successor, the present governor, Sir John Colborne.

In accounting for the discontents of the inhabitants, and their causes of complaint, we must, to conclude without bias, examine facts. In the first place the large grants, made with the best intentions by

Governor Simcoe, and afterwards by his successors, who have had, it is believed, the misfortune to be ill advised, have impeded the prosperity of the country, prevented the formation of good roads, and the general improvement of the province.

The leasing instead of selling the crown reserves has partially had the same effect; but a far greater evil results from the reservation made of the one-seventh of all the lands in the province, for the support of a church, of which not one twelfth of the inhabitants are even professors.

The application of the greater part of the colonial revenue, without the consent of the legislature, is also a practice to which the inhabitants will assuredly not long submit.

Among the other causes of discontent, we may enumerate the constitution of King's College, and the Royal Grammar School, which excludes all who will not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles; and the application of the school reserves for its maintenance.

Probably not one in fifteen of the population are members of the Church of England; therefore no exclusive system of instruction can long exist; neither can a large territory be much longer reserved for the maintenance of these establishments.

Other causes of discontent are:—

The prosecutions on account of public opinion.

The undue advantages possessed by the members of the council in finance, and particularly in the management of the bank.

The unequal plan of representing the province in the legislative assembly.

The petitions of the inhabitants being disregarded.

The non-payment of the war losses, according to arrangement, without taxing the country.

The composition of the legislative council, the members of which are stated to be chiefly persons holding offices of profit and trust under the governor, during his pleasure, and consequently not likely to act conscientiously as lawgivers; pensioners; clergymen of the churches of England and Rome (only); collectors of the revenue; and others who depend on the local authorities; all are considered to hold their seats for life, and the chief justice is president. It is complained of that they prevent the improvement of the province, and dissatisfy the public generally, by negating annually the most useful legislative acts passed by the House of Assembly. This is considered a paramount evil in Upper Canada; particularly when it is also considered, that the members of the executive council, and other high public functionaries, never retire from office, as in England, when they lose the confidence and incur the censure, however severe and unanimous, of the representatives of the country.

The dependence of the judges from holding office during the will of the crown, rendering their places and their retiring pensions subject to the will or views of the executive government. The appointment of sheriffs by the crown during pleasure, and not annually, as in England; and from deriving, while in authority, large emoluments in fees and allowances, are not expected to act independently in selecting grand and petit jurors.

That all places under persons holding high authorities are filled by their friends and dependents. The absence of any tribunal for trying official persons in

cases of public delinquency, impeachment, high crimes, and misdemeanors, as affording men in power protection for misrule and arbitrary conduct.

Such are the principal causes of dissatisfaction at present creating discontent in Upper Canada; and if we are therefore to form conclusions according to all colonial experience, a great change must be effected in the government of this already most important, and destined to be most powerful country.

To deny the legislative assembly any longer the originating of money bills, and the application of the revenue they raise, is too absolute for any honest English subject to entertain. Nor is it likely that his Majesty's government will withhold those rights from the people of Upper Canada, on their representing their real grievances in a firm, but always temperate and respectful spirit.

CHAP. II.

PARTITION OF CANADA. — POLICY OF THE MEASURE. — CIVIL DIVISIONS. — DISTRICTS. — COUNTIES. — TOWNSHIPS. — CLERGY AND CROWN RESERVES.

THE partition of Canada, in 1791, was by many considered exceedingly impolitic, as the countries through which the St. Lawrence flows seem naturally formed for one general constitution and government, having Montreal for its metropolis.

The chief, if not only inconvenience, that has been experienced in consequence of the division of Canada into two provinces, is the difficulty of appropriating the share, *pro rata*, of the impost duties levied in the lower provinces on goods consumed in Upper Canada; the trade of which flows in and out of the river St. Lawrence.

I have already, in alluding to the partition of the province, remarked, that the language, laws, religion, tenures, habits, and feelings of the inhabitants of Lower Canada were adapted to a constitution limiting the province to its present boundaries, and requiring particular provisions, such as are granted by the parliamentary act of 1791; and that Upper Canada, by the same statute, received a constitution agreeably to the ideas and habits of its inhabitants. The long line of American boundary, along the St. Lawrence and the lakes on the south and west; and the river Ottawa on the north and north-east form, also, strongly delineated natural boundaries, sepa-

rating Upper Canada from the United States and from the Lower Province. No satisfactory arrangement for reuniting both provinces under one representative constitution seems practicable.

Upper Canada was divided, in 1792, into the eastern, midland, home, and western districts, bounded by the same limits as those named by Lord Dorchester, in 1778, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau, and Hesse. Governor Simcoe divided these into counties and townships, which have, however, since that time undergone several modifications as to boundaries and name.

According to the Imperial Act of 1791, the province of Upper Canada is bounded by the St. Lawrence and the great lakes on the south and west, and by the Ottawa and the seigniory of New Longueuil on the north-east and east; by the Hudson Bay territory on the north, and indefinitely on the west by the Indian countries.

Neither the northern nor western boundaries are well defined, but generally considered as including the countries watered by the streams falling into the Ottawa from the west, and into Lakes Tomiscaming, Huron, and Superior, from the north and north-west, and comprising altogether a superficial surface of about 140,000 square miles, or the vast number of 89,600,000 acres. Of this region, the greater portion, if not all north of Lake Tomiscaming, and of Lakes Huron and Superior, may be considered a hunting country, and, with few exceptions, unfit for agriculture. Of the extensive territory south of Lake Tomiscaming, and bounded by the Ottawa, the St. Lawrence, and by Lakes Ontario, Erie, Sinclair, Huron, and the Georgian Bay, about 22,120,000

acres have been laid out in townships and reservations. About 3,100,000 is reserved for the clergy, and the same quantity for the crown.

The surveyed townships, 316 in number, comprise about or nearly 18,960,000 acres, of which the clergy of the church of England have reservations equal to 2,588,000 acres *, and the crown, 2,588,000 acres. A great part of the latter has been sold to the Canada Company. About 7,850,000 acres have been granted to settlers in free and common soccage; and about 4,934,000, not, however, the best lands, still remain for the government to grant within the surveyed townships.

The Huron tract, granted to the Canada Company, comprises more than 1,000,000 acres. The Indian reserves, about 2,263,000 acres, nearly all waste. The clergy reserves for the Six Nations, about 132,000; and about 860,000 more are reserved by and for the crown.

The present civil divisions of Upper Canada are eleven districts, divided into twenty-seven counties, eight ridings, and into townships and grants, viz. :—

* In alluding to the provision made for the Church of England, I do so on the sacred principle of truth; and, with the sincere desire that the Church of England may, in its Christian spirit, flourish in the colonies. But I am convinced that giving more support, or more power, to one religion than to another, in a country where persons of a different persuasion predominate, will end in the downfall of the church it was intended to maintain. For example, the following resolution of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, in 1830:—“Resolved, That there is, in the minds of the people of this province, a strong and settled aversion to a dominant church connected with the government, and connected with that government in a claim to a monopoly of the clergy reserves, and to the enjoyment of peculiar privileges, to the exclusion and prejudice of various denominations of Christians in this province.”

The EASTERN, containing the counties of *Glengarry*, *Stormont*, and *Dundas*.

OTTAWA, containing *Prescott* and *Russell*.

JOHNSTOWN, containing *Grenville* and *Leeds*.

BATHURST, containing *Carleton* and *Lanark*.

MIDLAND, containing *Frontenac*, *Lenox* and *Ad-dington*, *Hastings*, and *Prince Edward*.

NEWCASTLE, containing *Northumberland* and *Dur-ham*.

HOME, containing *Simcoe* and *York*; the latter divided into four *Ridings*.

GORE, containing *Halton* and *Wentworth*.

NIAGARA, containing *Haldimand* and *Lincoln*; the latter divided into four *Ridings*.

LONDON, containing *Norfolk*, *Oxford*, and *Mid-dlesex*.

WESTERN, containing *Kent* and *Essex*.

CHAP. III.

CONSTITUTION. — ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. — REVENUES. —
MILITIA.

THE constitution of Upper Canada is nearly similar to that of Nova Scotia, already described; and the laws and appointments to office only differ in a few instances, to correspond with local circumstances. The chief difference is, that there is a legislative council in Upper Canada, and only an executive council in Nova Scotia, which forms a legislative house during the meeting of the assembly.

The lieutenant-governor is a major-general in the army, and the executive council consists of the Bishop of Quebec, the Archdeacon of York, and four others.

The legislative council consists at present of thirty-two members, appointed for life, including the Bishop of Quebec, the Roman Catholic Bishop, and the Archdeacon of York.* The chief justice is Speaker of the Council.

* This venerable personage, if resolutions, petitions, and the periodical press be evidence, holds at the same time, besides the archdeaconry, and seats in the legislative and executive councils, the rectory of York; the offices of president of the Board of Education, missionary to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, member of the Ecclesiastical Corporation for the management of the revenues of the clergy arising from one seventh of all the lands laid out in townships, justice of the peace, president for life of the University of King's College, member of

The House of Assembly consists of fifty-two members, elected to serve for four years, and to represent the counties and towns; namely, the towns of Kingston, York, Brockville, and Niagara, one member each; the united counties of Prescott and Russell, one; Glengarry, two; Stormont, two; Dundas, two; Grenville, two; Leeds, two; Lanark, two; Carleton, two; Frontenac, two; Lennox and Addington, two; Prince Edward, two; Hastings, two; Northumberland, two; York, four; Simcoe, one; Halton, two; Haldimand, one; Durham, two; Wentworth, two; Lincoln, four; Middlesex, two; Kent, one; and Essex, two members.

In the Court of King's Bench, one chief justice and two puisne judges preside; and in each of the eleven districts, into which the province is divided, there is a district judge.

There are few countries where litigation or justice is more expensive. The cost of civil suits amounted, in 1830, to 40,000*l.*, as stated in the house of assembly. It is said now to be much more. The law fees are much greater than in the other North American colonies.

Appeals from the Court of King's Bench are made by writ of error, to the governor and executive council (in causes amounting to 100*l.* or more), from which appeals lie to the King in council.

the College Council, &c. &c., deriving salaries or allowances from most of those appointments.

Among the principal complaints made to his Majesty's government in England by the people of Canada is, that of the public offices, and, in fact, all places of profit and trust under persons in power being filled by their friends and dependents, even to the management and control of the bank.

During the sittings of the Courts of Assize and Nisi Prius in the districts, the attorney-general and solicitor-general attend respective circuits ; and one of the judges of the King's Bench is also on each circuit.

The justices of the districts hold quarterly courts of session ; and courts of request are appointed for the trial of small debts.

There is a Court of Probate for the province, and surrogates' courts, with probate jurisdiction, in the districts.

There is also a board of land commissioners, who enquire into the fulfilment of the conditions, &c., of lands granted by the crown.

The administration of justice and the enormous expense of law proceedings are much complained of by the inhabitants, and extolled by those connected with the dominant party.

The criminal and civil laws of England were established as the basis, and, with some modifications, adopted, as the practice and decision of Upper Canada, to which are added the provincial statutes. How far they have been adhered to or departed from, is not within my limits, nor is it necessary to examine ; but if the reports of numerous proceedings be true, especially in causes of libel, and presumed alien cases, malevolence and the love of power appear paramount to the just distribution of justice, or impartial regard for the laws.*

* Mr. Mackenzie, the proprietor and editor of the *Colonial Advocate*, who has been frequently elected by the most populous constituency in the province, and having been afterwards thrice expelled by the house of assembly (the last time, during his absence in England, by a majority of one), was sent home with

The principal public officers, besides those of the law department, are the receiver-general, or treasurer of the province; inspector-general; surveyor-general; surveyor-general of woods, and agent of crown lands; secretary and registrar, and auditor-general of lands.

All male British subjects from sixteen years old to

petitions, signed by upwards of twenty thousand of the inhabitants, for the redress of grievances. Counter-petitions were also sent home. Lord Goderich gave both sides of the question full and impartial consideration; and sent a despatch, detailing very fully his views, and his desire that the governor would adopt such plans, and pursue such matters, as would promote the prosperity of, and establish harmony in, the province.

That the editorial articles, and the general spirit of the *Colonial Advocate* has exhibited, in its attacks on those opposed to its principles, as much vehemence as any periodical of consequence in Great Britain or America, is certainly true; but the language and the remarks made by the attorney-general and the solicitor-general of Upper Canada, in the debate which took place in the legislature of the province, on Lord Goderich's despatch, are not only personally disrespectful to his lordship, but undeservedly contemptuous, when speaking of him as a minister of the crown; and especially indecorous in a legislative assembly.

In the Legislative Council his lordship's despatch was treated with still greater contempt. In the Assembly the officers of the government who voted to send it *back from whence it came*, were over-ruled; the majority contenting themselves with denying it a place on their journals. But in the Legislative Council they *tied the despatch and accompanying documents* together, and sent them back to the Governor, accompanied with an address highly disrespectful to his Majesty's government, and calculated to bring into contempt the royal authority. This address was published throughout Upper Canada; and they requested a copy to be transmitted to the Secretary of State's office. In the mean time, addresses of thanks to Viscount Goderich, from the landowners of the colony, are in the progress of being generally signed in every part of the province.

sixty are subject to militia duty ; those enrolled are therefore numerous in proportion to the population ; but the actual force, however, in consequence of the great increase by emigrations, is not known, but now (1833) may be estimated at about 40,000, enrolled in sixty battalions.

Statute labour which may be necessary in new counties, is performed either by the settlers or by substitutes, according to their property, not exceeding twelve nor for less than two days. The leading roads are probably as good as in the other provinces ; but, the system of statute labour is not calculated to make good roads. It would be infinitely better to assess the inhabitants a sum equal to, or under, the value of their statute labour, and the roads to be formed, and repaired, as in England, by men who learn the business as a profession.

The actual revenue of the province is unknown, as the legislature has only, at present, control over a very small part of it. It is derived from a share of the proceeds of duties collected at Quebec, on imports from Great Britain and other countries ; duties on goods and merchandise imported into the province from the United States ; sales of timber ; rents of crown and clergy reserves ; bank dividends ; fines and forfeitures ; crown fees ; uncultivated lands sold for arrears of taxes ; licences to pedlers, innkeepers, and venders of spirituous liquors ; all monies arising from the sale of crown lands, and of forfeited estates ; and the instalments paid in the province by the Canada Company ; together with the district assessment of one penny in the pound on the valuation, on a moderate scale, of houses in occupation, mills, lands in occupation or granted, horses, oxen, cows, &c.

The whole revenue, direct and indirect, including fees, may be considered at least 140,000*l.*, although the apparent revenue is not more than two thirds of this amount.

The expenditure of the revenue is understood to be distributed in the payment of the salaries of public officers, allowances to the bishop, archdeacon and episcopal clergy; to the Catholic bishop and clergy; to such of the presbyterian ministers as are in connection with the church of Scotland; interest of the public debt, which debt is between 400,000*l.* and 500,000*l.*; to appropriations for schools, public works, &c.

The provincial debt has been greatly increased during this year (1833): first, by a loan of about 69,000*l.* to reimburse the war losses; and secondly, for the purpose of meeting the expense of rendering the St. Lawrence, from Lake Ontario to Montreal, navigable for steam-boats. A work certainly of the greatest importance to Canada.

CHAP. IV.

CONFIGURATION, — SOIL AND CLIMATE, — WILD ANIMALS, —
BIRDS, — FISHES, ETC., OF UPPER CANADA.

THE configuration of Upper Canada I have delineated partly in the general description of British America, and partly in the geographical outline and aspect of Canada.*

The whole province may be considered, with few exceptions, as sufficiently level in all parts for agriculture. Its soil generally fertile, and, exclusive of the large lakes and rivers, abundantly watered with small lakes and streams.

The principal height of land rises between the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence. Its elevation, however, is neither abrupt nor great.

This height, or rather table land, extends westerly between the streams descending into Lakes Ontario and Erie, and those falling into Lake Huron.

There is no other remarkable elevation, except its principal ramification, which commences above Kingston, and sweeps round Lake Ontario. To the north-west of Bathurst, and north of Lake Huron, a mountainous country prevails.

In the districts east of Lake Ontario, the exceptions to rich soil are some portions of heavy clay land, and marshy or swampy tracts. None of these are extensive.

* See Vol. I. book ii., and Vol. II. book vii. chap. xiv.

The country between Lake Ontario and Lake Simcoe is in some places less fertile, in others more loamy, and generally less obstructed by rocks or stones.

The prevailing character of the territory lying between Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and the River Detroit, is luxuriant fertility.

Limestone, gypsum, iron ore of the best quality, salt springs, clay for brick and potters' use; marble, free-stone, granite, timber of great dimensions, and adapted for all purposes, are abundant; which, with a soil and climate that will produce wheat, maize, and all other grains and vegetables grown in Europe, delicious fruits, even vines, nectarines, and peaches; grazing lands, plenty of wild fowl, and fish in the numerous rivers and lakes; fresh water and mill streams, and a climate generally salubrious, are the prominent natural advantages.

Its natural inconveniences are, chiefly, its being more difficult of access from the ocean, and somewhat farther from markets, than the other colonies. It is, however, doubtful if these be real disadvantages; for the industry of the inhabitants is consequently more closely applied to agriculture, the only substantial and lasting source of individual prosperity and independence, than the population of a maritime colony.

There are springs of petroleum near the Moravian village, and springs near the head of Lake Ontario impregnated with sulphur, thrown out sometimes in small lumps. Medicinal springs, like those of Balston, are also found at Scarborough, near York. The water of the lakes and River St. Lawrence is wholesome, but in summer too warm to be agreeable. It is impregnated, in a slight degree, with lime,

though the resident inhabitants do not perceive it. The best spring water is where the country is undulated.

With the exception of the alluvions, the lighter soils prevail near the lakes: the richer and heavier some distance back in the country.

In summer, Fahrenheit ranges from 72° to 100°, while it blows in the prevailing directions from south to west; but on shifting to the north, the mercury soon after sinks to 50°, and sometimes lower. The climate is remarkably dry.

In winter a day scarcely occurs, except it rains, and that seldom, in which people do not work in the woods. A very mild winter is always considered a disadvantage in Upper Canada.

The climate, already described as milder in summer, and its severity of much shorter duration in winter, than that of Lower Canada, is also considered, in some respects, less salubrious.*

The climate, however, generally speaking, is healthy; and the exceptions are, like the fens of Lincolnshire, in England, low wet tracts, and still water, in which vegetable substances in progress of decomposition are deposited. These are found in low lands and marshes, where agues and lake fevers are common in summer and autumn. As the country is opened, and these places drained, periodical diseases will likely disappear, as they seldom prevail on the *dry* lands. The author of a very useful little book, lately published, who says he has long resided in Upper Canada, says, "the notoriously unhealthy parts chiefly occur between the Rideau Lake and Lake Ontario; between the Bay of Quinté

* See article Climate, Vol. I. book ii.

and the lake, and at some marshy tracts at each end of Lake Erie."

Fevers and agues are also prevalent around Lake St. Clair. Occasionally, like the influenza this year in England, and other epidemics, aguish fevers break out generally in the province. In the remarkably hot summer of 1828, the lakes appeared, like fresh water kept long on shipboard, in a state of putrefaction; and in course of the disengagement which restores their usual limpid purity, threw up a noxious slime. Fever and ague, in almost every part of Upper Canada, followed.

Intemperance and careless exposure of the person while in a state of perspiration, or in, and after over-exertion, certainly dispose the constitution to agues. This was manifest among the workmen along the Rideau Canal. Drinking cold water, when the weather is very hot, is also dangerous. A little brandy or other spirit should be moderately mixed with water, when taken on being thirsty.

Quinine is the general specific. A little sulphur, mixed with a glass of spirits, wholesome diet, proper attention to clothing and cleanliness, will also effect a cure.

Consumptions are not nearly so prevalent as in England, or the northern states.

The winds, rains, snow-falls in winter, and lake hurricanes, I have already described, when treating generally of the climate of North America.*

* Mr. Fergusson, and most others who have lately travelled in Upper Canada, concur in my opinion of the climate. Mr. Fergusson says, "true, — aguish attacks prevail here (Upper Canada), and in the United States, even as they have done in our own boasted climate, within the recollection of thousands still alive :

The wild animals have also been already described. The most common are, wolves, bears, and *loup-cerviers*, which annoy the inhabitants of new settlements by destroying sheep and pigs. Common deer abound; they are gentle, and easily domesticated. Otters are in many parts numerous. Beavers are scarce. Foxes, martens, porcupines, racoons, weasel, wood-chuck, are also met with. Hares are plentiful. Wild beasts must, however, diminish rapidly in a country which will soon be intersected in every direction by roads.

Wild turkeys, which do not differ in appearance from domestic turkeys, except being larger, frequent the western parts; and wild geese, ducks, pigeons, and most of the other birds already mentioned as common to America, are plentiful in the course of their migrations. Snipes, wood-larks, and partridges are also abundant.

but the poor and hard worked emigrant has too often his own folly and imprudence to thank for his sufferings. Reckless and fool-hardy, he exposes his person to various vapours from the swampy borders of a lake, or to sudden chill when predisposed to fever or fatigue, or in a state of profuse perspiration. Others, again, fall victims to intemperance, and the blame rests most unjustly with the climate. That a certain degree of *miasma* exists is nevertheless certain, because even infants carefully attended to are personally subject to aguish attacks."

The Backwoodsman says, "The only disease we are annoyed with here, that we are not accustomed to at home, is the intermittent fever, — and that, although most abominably annoying, is not by any means dangerous: indeed the most annoying circumstance connected with it is, that instead of being sympathised with, you are only laughed at. Otherwise, the climate is infinitely more healthy than that of England. Indeed, it may be pronounced the most healthy country under the sun, considering that whiskey can be procured for about one shilling sterling per gallon."

Among the lake fishes, the sturgeon is good eating, weighs from 70 to 100 lbs., affords isinglass, and differs from the sturgeon of the sea by wanting the shelly scales on the back. The masquenongé is delicious, and sometimes weighs 50 lbs. The white fish, caught in abundance, resembling the shad of the Atlantic coast, or very large alewives. It is excellent eating, but inferior to the masquenongé. The lake herrings are plentiful, but flabby and indifferant.

Trout are of all sizes, weighing from half a pound to sometimes 50 to 70 lbs. The large kind, called lake salmon, resemble those of the sea, but the flesh much paler, and not so richly flavoured.

Pike and pickerel are much the same in flavour as in England.

There are two or three varieties of bass; the black is the best. The other fishes which are found in the lakes and rivers of Upper Canada, are principally perch, *eel pout*, *cat-fish*, mullet, dace, chub, carp, sucker, dog-fish (small), bill-fish (the tyrant of the lakes, with a bill about a foot long), lamprey, silver eel, sun-fish.*

Fish are caught with seines, hooks, and by spear- ing. Forest sports are much neglected: even men who were poachers in the United Kingdom will scarcely move off their farms to shoot deer, or other

* In the account of the expedition for exploring the country between the rivers St. Lawrence and Saguenay, published in the Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly, 1831, the following passage appears:—"When we embarked at the point of Baie des Roches, (north shore of the St. Lawrence,) we had not proceeded far when we were pursued by a monstrous fish of prey, in consequence of which we put ashore again. This animal was

wild animals.* There is excellent shooting, and some people indulge in *deer-stalking*, or watching for deer, waiting for the return of bears to shoot them, and occasionally killing water-fowl and forest birds.

The forest trees are of great magnitude and variety, and afford excellent timber for all purposes, and abundant fuel; great advantages to the inhabitants. Wild fruits are very plentiful. Medicinal plants abound; and gay and beautiful indigenous flowers adorn those places which are not densely covered with large trees.†

four hours about us, and apparently watching us.* It came sometimes within twenty feet of the rock on which we were. It was at least from twenty to twenty-five feet long, and shaped exactly like a pike: its jaws were from five feet to six feet long, with a row of large teeth on each side, of a yellowish colour. It kept itself sometimes for nearly a minute on the surface of the water." I am not aware that any fish of the above description has ever been seen in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or in the Lakes of Canada.

* A man who had been a noted poacher in Scotland, was asked in Upper Canada by Mr. Fergusson, what he principally shot, replied, "Indeed, sir, if you believe me, I scarcely ever think about it, for *there's naebody here* seeks to hinder us." A herd of deer had bounded past him two days before, yet Walter felt no inclination to leave the plough, although his rifle stood loaded in the shanty.

† See description of the forests, Vol. I. book ii.

CHAP. V.

DESCRIPTIVE SKETCHES OF UPPER CANADA. — ROUTES FROM
MONTREAL BY THE OTTAWA, AND BY THE ST. LAWRENCE.
— HAWKESBURY.

THE usual route from Montreal to Upper Canada is by the River St. Lawrence; if in summer, partly by steamers, and partly by land in stages, or other modes of travelling.

Another route by the Ottawa and the Rideau Canal, or by roads, leads to the townships lying in the rear of those first quoted, along the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The route up the Ottawa has been already briefly described, where I have treated of Lower Canada. Settlements, still rather thinly inhabited, owing, principally, to the lands having been granted to *absentees*, appear rising on the Upper Canada banks of the river. Twelve miles above Point Fortune, we arrive at the flourishing village of Hawkesbury, in the first township of Upper Canada, near where the steam navigation begins, opposite the upper end of the Grenville Canal.

In this township are several sawmills, timber establishments, gristmills, distilleries, and many excellent farms.

The country along the Ottawa, from the seigniory of Longueuil, in Lower Canada, to Bytown, at the entrance of the Rideau Canal, comprehends the district of Ottawa, divided into the counties of Prescott

and Russell, and subdivided into twelve townships. Between these and the St. Lawrence lies the eastern district; and north-west of the Rideau, and in the rear of the district of Johnston, the district of Bathurst, containing the counties of Carleton and Lanark, divided into nineteen townships, which contain the most northerly settlements in Upper Canada, extends along the Ottawa to Lake Allumet, in about latitude $45^{\circ} 50' N$.

The front of this district exhibits some of the most sublime views in Canada. Mountains, woods, cataracts, valleys, lakes, and a magnificent river.

The principal place above Bytown is the township of MacNab, where a Highland chieftain of that name has fixed his residence, on the romantic banks of Lake des Chats. Most of the inhabitants are families of his own clan. Here we may find genuine Celtic manners, and true Highland hospitality. Chief MacNab had many difficulties to encounter before he planted his followers in a condition which requires nothing but common industry to secure their prosperity.

Bytown, founded by Colonel By of the engineer department, in 1826, is advantageously situated on elevated ground, around a bend and extension of the Ottawa, called Entrance Bay, from which, through the town, Rideau Canal enters the province. This thriving town has already near 160 dwelling-houses, a church, a large hospital, and three barracks built of stone.

The view from the heights of Bytown comprehends scenery of the greatest picturesque variety and grandeur. A splendid river, rolling impetuously over the falls of the Great Chaudier; islands, woods, mountains, precipices, and rocks, with the

Union Bridge extending over a tremendous cataract; the cultivated farms; the lively settlement, and the church of Hull opposite; immense rafts of timber floating along the rapid stream of the Ottawa; batteaux, Indian canoes on the water, and the progress of agriculture and clearing and burning of the forest on the land, impart additional and peculiar animation to the wild sublimities of nature.

The extensive territory lying between the River Ottawa from Longueil to Kingston, and from Kingston to Detroit, has been divided into townships; the position of which, and their respective distances from seaports and from navigable lakes and rivers, will appear more distinctly by a reference to the general map at the beginning of this volume, than by written description.

At the conclusion of the last war, nearly all the thriving townships in the rear of those fronting the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie, exhibited the almost impenetrable wildness of primeval forests. To obviate partially the obstructions in the St. Lawrence, and the facilities afforded an enemy to intercept the communication between Montreal and upper country, a military road was opened from the point of Nepean, on the Ottawa, to Kingston. Numerous other roads were also opened, and the lands through which they passed becoming accessible, were settled upon by emigrants and disbanded soldiers.

The settlements of Lanark, Perth, and Richmond then appeared; and others in every part of the province have sprung into existence, as the resources of the country developed the certain fruitful means of subsistence and independence, to those who should inhabit its wilds and subdue its forests.

CHAP. VI.

ROUTE BY THE ST. LAWRENCE FROM MONTREAL TO KINGSTON. — LACHINE. — LAKE ST. LOUIS. — CAGNAWAGHA. — SCENERY, CASCADES, ETC. — CÔTEAU DU LAC. — GLENGARRY. — LAKE ST. FRANCIS. — ST. REGIS, CORNWALL. — AMERICAN BANKS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE. — PRESCOT. — BROCKVILLE. — OGDENSBURG. — BAY OF THE THOUSAND ISLANDS, ETC.

WE may either travel, after crossing from Lachine to either side of the St. Lawrence, along the roads leading through the settlements on the banks of the river, or proceed, if in summer, partly by water, and, where rapids occur, by land. In winter, travellers are conveyed in sledges, drawn by one or more horses.

On leaving Lachine, by a steam-boat, we pass the Indian hamlet of Cagnawagha, and the cascade of St. Louis. The lake of the same name immediately after expands to a width of several miles. The scenery, which unfolds its picturesque features as we pass along, is exceedingly interesting. The swelling high outline of Montreal receding behind us; the romantic *embouchure* of the Ottawa, the sweet little village and decent church of St. Ann, and the richly wooded island Perault, rising on the north; a low but rich country, through which the Chateauqui flows, extending along the south; and the head of the lake near the Cascade rising before us in the distance, form an extensive and beautiful panorama. Lake St. Louis is about twelve miles long by about six broad.

At the turbulent rapids of the Cascades, to avoid which there is a short canal, 500 feet long, travellers land from the steam-boats, and usually proceed by a stage-coach 16 miles to the village of Côteau du Lac. The post road leads along the north banks of the river; and a succession of dangerous rapids occur in this distance, known by the name of the *Cascades* and *Les Cedres*. The latter take their appellation from the cedar trees growing on some of the islands, close to a village of the same name.

At Côteau du Lac, above the split rock, 36 miles, or *Du Buisson* rapid, at the lower end of Lake St. Francis, where there are locks, it is usual to embark in a steam-boat for the thriving village of Cornwall, where the dangerous rapid, or succession of rapids, called the *Long Saut*, again interrupt the navigation. There is a custom-house at Côteau du Lac.

Lake St. Francis is about twenty-five miles long, and about five and a half broad. It is sufficiently deep, and its waters remarkably clear.

The first township in Upper Canada is Glengarry, and we soon discover that we are not among the Canadian *habitans*. The inhabitants of Glengarry are principally Scotch Highlanders, or their descendants; and a more hospitable warm-hearted people we seldom meet with; yet, although they have surmounted all the peculiar difficulties of new settlements, there is nothing of that snug comfort that we observe among the peasantry of Lower Canada. In Glengarry, the houses are often too large, and only half finished; or we still find many of the inhabitants living in log houses. This arises from want of management, and the force of habit.

A little below Cornwall the boundary of the United

States meets, and follows the St. Lawrence. Close to this place is the Indian village of St. Regis, the last point on the south shore in Lower Canada. On the opposite side of the river, lands are reserved for them by the British government.

From Cornwall, stages run along the north banks of the St. Lawrence, forty-eight miles, to Prescott. Both sides of the river are equally fertile; but from St. Regis upwards, the Americans appear to have made greater improvements than the British settlers.

From Prescott, nearly opposite to which stands the American town of Ogdensburg, steam-boats run to Kingston, passing between the thriving British town of Brockville, and the American town of Morristown, and then, through the channels of the part called "the Thousand Islands,"* the charming picturesque scenery of which has been so frequently admired.

The country and the river from Montreal to Kingston is richly picturesque. The soils vary from heavy clay to lighter loam, and produce luxuriant crops of wheat and other kinds of grain. Many of the houses are well built; and the cultivation of the farms extensive, and much improved during late years. The roads are much better than formerly, although exceedingly heavy during spring and rainy weather.

The Americans possess the deepest channel, and, in fact, claim the right of navigation to the sea.

It is by some considered that we might find it advantageous to give the Americans permission to send down their produce, not only by the St. Law-

* This part of the St. Lawrence is often called the "Lake of the Thousand Islands." The number, however, exceeds 1500.

rence but by the Rideau Canal, but that it would be dangerous to substantiate a right to navigate the former.

As we pass along from the Cascades to Kingston, a distance of about 175 miles, picturesque islands, some beautifully wooded, others cleared and tilled; villages; an almost uninterrupted succession of farms, the clearings inclosed by rail fences, and tolerably well cultivated; farm-houses, barns, orchards; here and there a church or chapel; horses, horned cattle, and sheep, constantly unfold themselves, in front of magnificent forests. Wild fowl, occasionally deer; large rafts of timber, sometimes broken up by the violence of the current or sudden squalls of wind, floating violently down the rapids, or scattered over the lakes; *batteaux* or Durham boats passing laboriously up, or descending rapidly, add great animation to the scenery.

CHAP. VII.

KINGSTON NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT. — DOCK-YARD. — SHIPS OF WAR. — SACKETT'S HARBOUR. — LAKE ONTARIO. — STEAM SHIPS. — NEW SETTLEMENTS. — MARMORA IRON WORKS. — BAY OF QUINTÉ.

KINGSTON, built in 1783, is very conveniently situated, in lat. $44^{\circ} 8' N.$ long. $76^{\circ} 40'$, near the spot where old fort Frontenac formerly stood, and at the mouth of the Cataraqui, which joins the St. Lawrence at the bottom of Lake Ontario. Its appearance is pleasing, and the surrounding scenery is agreeably picturesque. It has a government-house, a court-house, gaol, church, kirk, Catholic chapel, and meeting-house, barracks, powder magazines, market-house, bank, and hospital. Some of the houses are built of stone, the rest of wood. The streets intersect at right angles. A bridge, 600 yards long, extends above the town to Point Frederick. The population is estimated at from 5000 to 6000: truth probably "lies between."

The harbour is excellent; ships of the line can lie close to the shore; and a stone fort and block-house command the entrance. The St. Lawrence, 112 guns, and Psyche frigate, and two or three other ships of war, with several gun-boats, lay since the war in the harbour rotting, and in nearly a sinking state, until last year, when they were sold, on condemnation, for trifling sums. The dock-yard on the west side of Navy Bay, opposite Kingston, is furnished with every

article of naval stores required to equip ships of war. Here are two seventy-four gun-ships, a frigate, a sloop of war, and eleven gun-boats, which have reposed on the stocks, and under cover, since the war. They are not planked, and men are employed to replace any piece of timber that may be decaying. It is said they might be sent to sea, completely equipped, in little more than a month. There are large store-houses, naval barracks, dwelling-houses, &c., at Navy Bay.

The immense sums which were expended during the last war in Upper Canada arose, in a great measure, from the unaccountable ignorance of those who had the direction of sending the materials to Canada. Besides the vast expenditure of the commissariat department, which for a long time issued about 1200*l.* daily, the preparations for naval warfare were managed in the most extravagant manner.

The wood-work of the Psyche frigate was sent out from England to a country where it could be provided on the spot, in one tenth of the time necessary to carry it from Montreal to Kingston, and at one twentieth part of the expense. Even wedges were sent out; and, to exemplify more completely the information possessed at that time by the Admiralty, full supplies of water-casks were sent to Canada for the use of the ships of war on Lake Ontario, where it was only necessary to throw a bucket overboard, to draw up water of the very best quality!

Kingston Harbour, being the principal entrepôt between Montreal and the Great Lakes, is crowded, during summer, with vessels of from 50 to 200 tons, Durham boats, *bateaux*, and scows; and its position

must always secure to it a great share of the inland trade. Several steam-boats ply between it and various places around Lake Ontario.

Its rival, Sackett's Harbour, where the Americans have a naval yard and depôt, is far from being so safe or convenient, as the sea rolls heavily into it when the wind blows from the lake. Here the Americans have on the stocks an immense ship intended to carry 120 guns, which was put together, apparently in a substantial manner, in forty days from the day the first tree used in her construction was cut down. The peace, however, rendered it unnecessary to launch her, as it was agreed that no armed force should be kept on the lakes; and six or seven American ships are now lying half sunk in the harbour, "progressing," as the Americans say, "to dissolution."

Lake Ontario opens into full view immediately above Kingston, and unfolds, not the appearance we associate with a freshwater lake, out of which a great stream issues, but a vast rolling ocean, receiving the waters of many rivers. It is about 180 miles long, forty to fifty broad, fifty to nearly 500 feet deep, and 222 feet above the tide level of the ocean. It is navigated by sloops, schooners, and steam-boats; and the sea is frequently so rough, that steam-boats of common size were at first not considered fit to traverse its waters with comfort or safety. The length of the Frontenac steam-ship, which used to run between Kingston, York, and Niagara, was 172 feet, breadth thirty-two feet, and her burden 740 tons.

An American writer, describing Lake Ontario, makes the following observations, which to me appear correct, and I quote them as the opinion of a citizen

of a country, the government of which possesses half the shores of this inland ocean : —

“ This lake is surpassed in magnitude, but not in importance and beauty.

“ It is the grand reservoir of all the western lakes, as well as those of Upper Canada and New York, and where, mingled in one vast basin of 500 feet deep, they are poured in a stately stream past the ancient cities of Montreal and Quebec, into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

“ Situate midway between the Atlantic and the extreme western waters, it has the prospect of becoming, on the completion of the Welland and Rideau Canals, the depôt of articles for consumption thousands of miles in both directions.

“ It is now no longer to be regarded merely as the path of the fur trader, nor to be remembered only as the upper country of an old French settlement, among whose *sparse* population, the Jesuits a century and a half since propagated the faith of their order; but as a point of intense observation to statesmen, and a focus for concentrating the produce, trade, and wealth of a more extended, fertile, and flourishing country than is found in all Europe; where, in comparison, lakes sink into ponds and seas into lakes.

“ A circuit of fifty miles only around it affords an interesting subject of contemplation.

“ This tract lies in tables which incline a little to the lake, and rise in terraces each a few feet above the other, disclosing, at exposed edges, laminæ of lime, slate, and freestone. They resemble amphitheatres of widely extended fields and forests dotted with villages, whose spires above the foliage denote the progress of rural improvement.

“ On the north side is the great Canadian highway around its margin, with numerous roads to interior settlements ; on the south, the great ridge or natural highway extending a hundred and ten miles upon one level, in a line corresponding with the trend of the lake, and smooth as the Appian way.

“ On this the traveller rolls through the broad clearings, bordered with tall beech, maple, and whitewood ; and adorned with cultivated fields.

“ Over these vast tracts, without hill, morass, rock, or waste land, he may travel a hundred miles with the circle of his horizon unbroken ; and, if disposed to contemplate the beauties of nature, will delight in the serenity of the azure sky, encircled with orange tints, blended far off in the polished surface of the lake.

“ The climate promotes health and vegetation, is exempt from malaria and blast, and temperate, not subject to frequent or long-continued extremes of heat or cold : the annual range of the thermometer is usually less than in like parallels farther east, while the daily and hourly variations are greater.

“ The winter is mild and pleasant, the snow falls about Christmas before much frost, and usually lies until near the first of March ; and settling upon a lively sod, shields it from blasts, and leaves it verdant in spring.

The lake improves the climate ; its deep water retains caloric, and thus creates a constant land and sea breeze, that moderates the atmosphere. This breeze, which in regular weather is as uniform as upon the Atlantic, is very grateful to lake mariners ; who, after a day's calm, gladly sweep under the land lee, and trim to its influence.

“ In the district lying in a range of fifty miles along

the Genesee valley, the fertile season exhibits a luxuriance of delicious fruits: among these peaches, apricots, nectarines, and exotic grapes are equal in size, beauty, and flavour to any upon Long Island, and are indeed more esteemed by those who can best judge of both; peaches, particularly, attain a larger size and more luscious flavour. Nearly all the varieties found in latitudes two or three degrees farther south, as well as the more southern esculent roots, climbing plants, and garden flowers, flourish as if indigenous.

“The climate improves also as the forests disappear; and the taste for horticulture keeps pace with the opportunity for its indulgence. The florist already approaches the border of the forest, and often detects a truant rose flaunting in its stubble. Several tasteful gardens have recently been laid out, with the more common ornamental appendages of gravel walks, edgings, grass lawns, evergreens, border flowers, rockwork, aquaria, and green-houses; but the more costly conservatories and hot-houses have not yet been introduced.

“Some thrifty nurseries of common fruit-stalks are planted in the vicinity of Rochester, from which they are widely distributed into the interior and the provinces of Canada.

“The natural soil is very fertile; and, except on patches here and there, on gardens, and in some of the nicer branches of husbandry, the use of compost and manure is wholly neglected. It frequently happens that to produce the best crop of wheat, the soil requires first to be reduced by some harsh culture.

“That portion of the province between lakes Ontario,

Erie, and Huron, a triangle of several thousand square miles in extent, of extremely productive soil, might, under proper improvement and culture, become the wheat granary of the British. It is well supplied with water power and water communications, and needs only a little well-directed industry to develop its resources and political importance. In that section there are now several flour-mills and other manufacturing establishments, with a spirit prevailing among its people nearly allied to New England enterprise.

“ The line of navigation for vessels of a hundred tons and upwards from the lake to the Atlantic, now broken by the rapids of the St. Lawrence, will soon become entire by the intervention of the Rideau Canal.

“ Extended from Ontario to Erie by the Welland Canal, now nearly complete, a passage will be open for small square-rigged vessels from the ocean to Lake Superior. This is the class of vessels usually employed upon the Atlantic in the West India trade, and which may at no distant period be so employed upon our northern sea-board.

“ Of this, however, there is little probability, canal navigation being so much more safe and certain. Owners will hardly expose produce to a coasting voyage, around to the parallel of New York, while the Erie Canal will take it thither within a day of their calculations, whence it may be shipped on a voyage short and well understood, by persons long experienced in the trade. Indeed, canal navigation is always preferred, although often at a higher freight than that of the lakes, the insurable risk of which is far greater than that of the ocean, including additional perils from want of sea room and frequent harbours.

But to the British, who have no ports upon the Atlantic so convenient for the outlet of their provincial trade, as those upon the St. Lawrence, this kind of navigation is the only alternative.

“The lake is not less beautiful than important; presenting a scenery which, though not sublime like that of Lake George and Champlain, is highly picturesque. The surrounding broad tables of fertile country, rising from its margin with a sufficient inclination to display even their distant luxuriance; the scattered islands at the eastern extremity for sheltering the voyageur at his entrance upon the rapids, famed in the Canadian boat-song, raising their distant points into the horizon and tastefully fringing it with party-coloured hues; the peninsula of Prince Edward, itself a group of peninsulas nearly severed from the main by the Bay of Quinté, spreading its fine arms over the bosom of the lake, are objects which, collected by the artist, would of themselves form a picture sufficiently ornamented for the taste of an amateur.

“This interesting Mediterranean sea, like its counterpart across the Atlantic, must soon become encircled with flourishing cities, reciprocating the benefits of trade and social intercourse, and present to the world an important section of its planisphere.”

The British shore, from Kingston to Burlington Bay, was, fifty years ago, a mere wilderness. The spirit of adventure and the necessities of mankind have, however, planted settlers in, and opened roads to, every township along the lake, and in most of those lying between it and the chain of lakes connected with the Trent, and also in those townships between York and Lake Simcoe. An iron foundery

was established some years ago, at Marmora, a branch of the River Trent; but after great outlays, and although the ore is abundant, and of the very best quality, circumstances with which I am unacquainted have hitherto prevented its profitable operation. The whole establishment was sold in 1830, and a bill was passed by the legislature for incorporating a company whose funds may enable them to carry on the works.

A little above Kingston, a long inlet with excellent harbours, called the Bay of Quinté, winds beautifully for forty or fifty miles through the country, and receives the waters of several rivers; some of which, particularly the Trent, issue from chains of numerous lakes. Excellent red cedar abounds here; and there is a beautiful peninsula called Prince Edward, lying between it and Lake Ontario. This peninsula ought to be the very paradise of loyalty, if we may draw an inference from the names of various parts of it; for we have Adolphusburg, Maryburg, Anseliaburg, and Sophiaburg. In Maryburg there is a lake, occupying 700 acres, on the top of an eminence rising abruptly 200 feet above the surface of Lake Ontario. No stream runs into, but two flow out of it.

A tolerable road leads from the Bay of Quinté along the lake to York. It passes through a well settled country; in the rear of which lies Rice Lake, close to which is Monaghan, the experimental settlement of Irish emigrants, formed under the superintendence of Mr. Robinson.

CHAP. VIII.

YORK. — MILITARY ROAD TO LAKE SIMCOE. — LEADING ROADS.
 — BURLINGTON BAY. — VILLAGES. — NIAGARA FRONTIER. —
 WELLAND CANAL, ETC.

YORK, the capital of Upper Canada, is conveniently situated on the west side of Lake Ontario, in latitude $43^{\circ} 32' N.$, and longitude $79^{\circ} 20' W.$ Its harbour is rather shallow at the entrance, and not easily defended, but safe and capacious. The town was twice taken by the Americans during last war. A party of their sailors set fire to the parliament-house. When taken the second time, the barracks and government stores were burnt. The harbour, nearly circular, is formed by a narrow peninsula, or sand-bank, partly covered with grass, and partly occupied by lagoons. Its extremity, called Gibraltar Point, has a light-house and fort on the opposite shore. In 1793, there was not a habitation where York now stands. At present, it contains a government-house, parliament-house, court-house, gaol, barracks, government stores, an episcopal church, college, Scotch kirk, chapels, about eight hundred dwelling-houses, and about 7000 inhabitants. It has also a bank, grammar school, hospital, printing-offices, and six weekly newspapers, and one semi-weekly. A good military road, called Yonge-street, leads from it, thirty-seven miles, through Gwillimbury to Cook's Bay, Lake Simcoe, along which the lands are fertile and well-settled.

The lands round Lake Simcoe are also excellent ; and some spot near it has been considered preferable to York for the seat of government.

Lake Simcoe is forty miles long, twelve broad, and throws off its surplus waters by the River Severn, into Gloucester Bay, Lake Huron. Roads also lead from York to the River Nottawasaga, which falls into Lake Huron ; to Burlington Bay, and to all parts of the province. Settlements are forming along all these roads. A canal from Simcoe to York would connect it with Lake Huron ; but the lockage would be attended with great expense.

Burlington Bay is considered one of the most beautiful places in Upper Canada—a fine sheet of water, with a natural breakwater to shelter it in front, and a richly-wooded range of high lands form an amphitheatre in the rear. A canal has been lately cut, to form a better and safer passage between the bay and lake.

At the head of this bay stand the beautiful thriving villages of Ancaster and Dundas, close to which is Coote's Paradise*, an extensive swamp, between which and Burlington Bay vast numbers of water-fowl are frequently on the wing.

Good roads have been opened from Dundas to Amherstburg, at the head of Lake Erie. Others have been opened to the Canada Company's town of Guelph †, which, with two others from Dundas, are

* This place owes its name to the circumstance of a Major Coote having been in the habit of visiting the spot, for the purpose of shooting wildfowl, and humorously calling it his Paradise.

† Founded by John Galt, Esq., to whom the merit of establishing the company's settlements is most justly due ; and to whose judgment and diligence, in overcoming the difficulties particularly incident to so remote a district, that company owes its prosperous condition.

continued to and through their Huron tract to Gode-
rich. A good road leads over a fine fertile country
from Ancaster to Niagara, and another from Ancas-
ter crosses the Ouse, and joins the main road leading
from Niagara along Lake Erie to Detroit. The
whole of the country lying west of Niagara is un-
commonly fertile, and the climate will ripen in per-
fection apples, pears, prunes, nectarines, melons,
and various other fruits. Grapes may also be raised
in great abundance. At the mouth of the Niagara,
close to the little town of the same name, we have a
fort of feeble pretensions, called Fort George, oppo-
site, and within gunshot of which, the Americans
have a stone fort called Fort Niagara. Queenston
is a small place, the consequence of which has
greatly diminished since the North-west fur trade
has been directed to Hudson Bay, and since the
opening of the Welland Canal, which renders it un-
necessary to re-land goods for the upper country.
Immediately above Queenston stands Brock's monu-
ment, on the heights where the battle was fought in
which that hero was killed.* His body was removed
to it from Fort George in 1824. The view from

* The Niagara district, and the country near the Detroit, were
the scenes of most bloody strife during the war. There does not,
however, appear to be much animosity remaining among the people
along either frontier; and mutual intercourse, interchange of com-
modities, and intermarriages, are so frequent, that it is doubtful if
the border inhabitants of each country would, in the event of an-
other war, engage in hostilities against each other. Remarks
similar to that made by an American guide to Mr. Fergusson, have
frequently been made to me. When Mr. Fergusson said he trusted
that such an event as a war was far off, the guide answered:—
“Well, Sir, I guess, if we don't fight for a year or two, we won't
fight at all; for we are marrying so fast, Sir, that a man won't be
sure but he might shoot his father-in-law or brother-in-law.”

the top of this fine column is probably the most beautiful in Upper Canada.* Near this is the village of St. Catherine's, where there are valuable salt springs, from which excellent salt is made.

As the Falls of Niagara interrupt the inland navigation of Canada, which otherwise might be continued without obstruction from Ontario to the Falls or Rapids of St. Mary's, between Lakes Huron and Superior (which might also be obviated at little expense, and throw open an inland ocean extending 500 miles farther west), the bold project of ascending by a canal from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie was proposed.

A company was accordingly incorporated in 1824, under the title of the Welland Canal Company, for the purpose of constructing a canal sufficiently large to allow vessels of about 120 tons to pass between Lakes Ontario and Erie; and five years after the work was commenced, three schooners entered the canal from Lake Ontario, at Twelve Mile Creek, passed through the village of St. Catherine's, then ascended the height west of Queenston, by locks, and then, following the canal to the River Welland, descended the Niagara, and proceeded to Black Rock Harbour, at the lower end of Lake Erie.

* Should posterity ever examine the huge foundation stone of this monument, they may be puzzled to account for its shape. Among other articles deposited in the trunk formed in it was a bottle, containing the first number of the Colonial Advocate Newspaper, the editor being sent for on the occasion, by those employed to erect the column. The governor, on hearing of the circumstance some time after, was vexed beyond measure; and, when thirty feet in height of the monument was built, he ordered the obnoxious record to be *exhumed*. This high-minded deed was executed with considerable difficulty, by digging, and by cutting laterally, into the stone, until the bottle was abstracted.

CHAP. IX.

CATARACT OF NIAGARA.

MANY celebrated travellers who have visited Niagara* have attempted to describe the Falls, yet none have succeeded, for it is beyond the power of language ever to portray the tremendous grandeur of this sublime phenomenon. Volney's description is the most philosophical, Captain Basil Hall's delineations the best detailed: Chateaubriand and others have either revelled in the regions of poetry, or raved in the giddy confusion that overwhelms the senses amidst the vast sublimities of Niagara.

Further attempts at description might therefore be deemed unnecessary, if some account of Niagara would not be considered a *desideratum* in a work treating of America.

As cataracts owe their formation to the configuration of the countries in which they occur, we may observe, that all the territory between the Ohio and Lake Erie is one vast plain, the level of which is higher than most parts of the continent.

This plain extends west beyond the Mississippi, and eastward to the Alleghany Mountains; but after passing Lake Erie for some distance to the north, the surface rapidly descends about 340 feet into another plain, in the level of which lies Lake Ontario.

* The Indian word Niagara, pronounced Ni-háu-garah.

The surface of Lake Erie is 330 feet above that of Ontario; so that, if the waters of Lake Erie should rise ten or twelve feet perpendicular, the adjacent flat country of Canada and New York would be overflowed.

On approaching the river Niagara from Lake Erie, we have in view, on each side, a level country. Nothing like mountain appears, except a few low distant summits over Presqu'île. Following the Niagara downwards, the river is at first level with its banks, and flows smoothly along for some miles among islets, until Grand Island * divides it for about ten miles, forming Black Rock Harbour on the American side, and leading down on the British to Chipawa; near which both streams unite, at Navy Island. The river is here about two miles broad, but a little below it contracts suddenly to less than a mile, and then its current rapidly increases from three to seven or eight miles. Farther down than this, the Canadian boatmen, with all their intrepidity, dare not venture. We now hear a distant noise resembling the peculiar sound of the ocean, when, as the precursor of a storm, the sea rolls in upon the shores in fine weather. This noise is more or less loud according to the direction of the wind; but loudest when all else is calm. A mile farther down, the river bends to the east, and we then perceive it at some distance, divided by Goat Island; leaving, however, by far the greater body of water on the British side, and

* This island belongs to the Erie Canal Company. It contains 11,200 acres, and on it did Major Noah of New York lay the foundation of the city of Ararat, and raise an altar; but the city has never been built, nor is there much likelihood of the Hebrews ever resorting to it.

rushing and foaming furiously among shoals and rocks. Beyond the rapids a cloud of vapour is seen rising from an immense chasm; no further trace of the river appears; no fall is yet presented; but the sound grows louder and louder, and the banks rise from the water, first ten or twelve feet, and soon to twenty, thirty, and fifty feet.

The banks appear to rise, but it is the declivity of the rapid, being about fifty feet in half a mile, leaving heights and precipices on each side; and the acceleration of the current continues to gain force, until we reach the fall; where the whole vast volume of waters, incased between two lofty rugged banks, is hurled, with all the impetuous violence of its extraordinary and peculiar power, over a perpendicular height of 160 feet, into a vast and terrific gulf. On reaching the side of the falls, the senses are overwhelmed by the magnificent grandeur of this most gigantic, awful, and sublime of all cataracts.

From a jutting shelf, called the Table Rock, which is level with the edge of the cataract, the falls are usually viewed by travellers; but all agree that the grandeur of the spectacle is more striking at the bottom, below the falls, on the British side. The descent is partly down the less steep part of the bank, and partly by a spiral ladder, from the bottom of which a kind of path leads among rocks and under the precipitous banks to the crescent or great horse-shoe fall.

The scene before which the spectator then stands, no one can justly describe. If asked if we are disappointed in our anticipations, no answer can ever be better, than the reply quoted by Captain Hall,—

“ No, unless you expect to witness the sea coming down from the moon.” Here we have the grand outlet of those great lakes which contain nearly half of all the fresh waters on our globe thundering over a terrific precipice, leaving, for a short distance, a smooth green surface, but quickly raging in impetuous, broken, foaming grandeur, as it hurls into the vast unfathomable abyss below.

On the breaking of ice on Lake Erie, it often comes down in great quantities to the falls, over which it is carried with extraordinary violence and sublimity.

The precipice over which the cataract rolls projects about 50 feet over its base, and the fall forms a great curtain, within which we may safely enter thirty or forty yards. Fish of different kinds find their way here; and eels actually creep along the rocks under our feet.

Goat Island separates the cataract into two, 330 yards asunder. The British or Horse Shoe fall is much larger, though not quite so high as that on the American side of the island. The latter is 1140 feet wide, and 162 feet high; the former 2100 feet broad, and, in consequence of the greater declivity of the rapid, eleven feet less in height. Both falls unite before they are lost below in the turbulent confusion in which they are enveloped. The British fall was formerly of a crescent shape, and gradually assumed, by the incessant action of the waters, an angular form. In December, 1828, a part of the ledge, extending from the angle to the upper part of the Table Rock, and occupying a surface of about 5000 yards, fell down with a tremendous crash; the concussion

causing a shock felt within a circuit of two or three miles. The form of the fall is consequently altered, and has now less of the angular, and more of the crescent shape, which renders it fully as romantic as before.

Goat Island, at the edge of the cataracts, is 960 feet broad. A daring speculator has thrown an ingeniously constructed and perfectly safe wooden bridge across the American, or Fort Schloser, fall, a few yards above the very crest of the cataract. A small sum is required on passing over this bridge; and towards the British frontier, a platform has been extended so far as to enable us to look immediately over the awful abyss. Mills, forges, trip hammers, &c., are erected at the village of Manchester, close to the rapids, which turn the wheels of the mills and forges.

There are two excellent hotels near the falls; the windows of each command a view of the cataract, but not the best. In 1828, either one or both of the keepers of these hotels "*got up*" a novelty to attract visitors, by purchasing an old schooner to sail down the rapids and falls. Some bears and other animals were put on board her, and the vessel was towed by a steamer to the upper part of the rapid; but soon after, the schooner turned across the stream, and, striking against the rocks, was dismasted, and swept ungracefully down the cataract. One bear previously jumped out and swam ashore. It was lately announced, to draw an assemblage to the houses of these worthy representatives of Boniface, that a man was to leap over the falls; and "that a mass of projecting rock which would weigh about ten millions of tons, would be hurled down." The sheriff of

Niagara has very properly interfered, and prevented the latter being attempted.*

The proprietor of one of the large hotels has disposed of his property. The building of a city at the falls has been projected. The situation is one of the most beautiful and healthy in America; and the town, if built, will become the occasional residence of thousands. It is, like all gigantic matters in America, to be undertaken by a company, and to be called the "City of the Falls."

Four miles below the falls, in a semicircular basin, there is a terrific whirlpool formed by the violence of the river, which descends into this vortex with furious impetuosity, and rushes out between the narrow perpendicular cliffs of the Niagara, here 300 feet high. Into this terrible gulf fifty Indians plunged while running from the enemy in the darkness of the night; one only escaped.†

* The man, however, to the astonishment of all beholders, although he did not leap down the Horse-shoe Fall, absolutely plunged into the boiling caldron of the American cataract, and rose like a Triton out of the foaming vortex.

This man, *Sam Patch* by name, was born in Massachusetts; and first practised hydraulic feats in the United States by leaping out of the windows of a factory, into the river beneath, leaping first from the second floor, and from the others in succession, until he leaped from the highest windows; he then leaped down the Passaic Fall, afterwards down the Niagara, and finished his career by his second leap over the Falls of the Genessee. He was a thoughtless fellow. So that he got plenty of rum, whisky, or brandy to drink first, and the expectation of more afterwards, he would, reckless of consequences, plunge into any cataract in America. No vestige of him appeared after leaping the Genessee Fall.

† A fine youth, some time ago, was swimming in the river near this vortex, and was carried into it by the current. He was soon drowned; but for several days his body was seen rising, and

At Queenston, the river is about half a mile broad, twenty-five feet deep; runs at the rate of three miles an hour, and discharges 18,524,000 cubic feet of water, or 111,510,000 gallons, in one minute.

A little above the falls there is a spring, over which if a hollow cone, open at the top, be placed, a gas will issue and inflame on applying fire to it.

In coming up from Lake Ontario, and entering the river Niagara, the ground appears before us as it were a high and nearly equal ridge, broken by a deep valley, through which the river issues in smooth rapidity. This ridge is called Queenston Heights, and embosoms Lake Ontario, by stretching round to the west and north, and forming an extensive steppe, above which is the elevated flat country.

This elevation extends to the east into the United States; and originally the fall evidently commenced a little above Queenston, at the abrupt rise of these heights.

An attentive examination of the chasm proves clearly that the river has, by incessant action, slowly

whirling round on the surface his distracted mother watching on the bank, without the possibility of recovering it.

A raftsmen, on a small raft, was so fool hardy as to approach the whirlpool. He was drawn within it, and for three days he continued on the raft, which was whirled constantly round on the surface of the vortex. Thousands came to witness the scene: but relief seemed impossible. At last a man with a rope fastened to the shore, and one end tied round his middle, and a rolled line in his hand, ventured into the water, and, swimming to the edge of the whirlpool, threw the line to the raft. It was caught by the raftsmen, who by this means was dragged to the shore, and delivered from a most agonising and protracted death.

worn down the rocks, until it has carried the cascade back to the spot where it now is. The Niagara is also at least 100 feet deeper, from the falls to Queenston Ferry, than any where below.

The rock which forms the stratum of the heights is limestone, containing organic remains, and reposing on a bluish clay slate, which forms also the bed of the river. There is very little difference in the level of the land from where the heights commence, nearly seven miles below, to Lake Erie: the bed of the river alone presents inequalities. According to the observations of those who have resided near the falls during the last fifty years, the cataract has receded backward; according to one account, eighteen feet during thirty years previous to 1810; and lately it is stated, that during the last fifty years the fall has retired 150 feet towards Lake Erie. Calculations founded on either of these data confound our chronology; for, supposing the destruction of the rock to be at all times equal, according to the first, if eighteen feet have only been worn down in thirty years, the whole distance, about 35,000 feet, would have required the operation of about 58,000 years; and, according to the latter, if 150 feet in fifty years, 35,000 feet would require nearly 12,000 years. No correct calculation can, however, be offered, as to the period of time consumed in the excavation of the whole chasm, as the operation may have been much more rapid at one time than at another.

CHAP. X.

LAKE ERIE. — CHIPPAWA. — FORT ERIE. — BUFFALO. — SUGAR
LOAVES. — RIVER OUSE. — FORT TALBOT. — LONG WOODS. —
RIVER DETROIT. — LAKE ST. CLAIR. — LAKE HURON. — CANADA
COMPANY. — GUELPH. — GODERICH. — "THE FAR WEST."

LAKE ERIE is 270 miles long, and from thirty to fifty miles broad. It is shallow when compared to the other great lakes, being only from sixty to seventy feet average depth; and its waters, from this circumstance, are frequently rough and dangerous. Schooners, sloops, a few steamers, *bateaux*, and Durham boats, navigate this lake. The Americans have the finest vessels; some of their schooners resemble the Baltimore *clippers*. Chippawa, on the British side, at the mouth of the Welland, is the entrepôt for goods sent to, or received from, the upper country. The goods discharged or laded at this place will be much diminished in quantity in consequence of the Welland Canal now obviating the necessity of land carriage, as formerly, between Queenston and Chippawa.*

Lake Erie is said to be filling up with deposits, carried down by the rivers, at the mouths of which,

* At Chippawa, where there are the ruins of the large mills burnt by the Americans, there is a spring surcharged with sulphuretted hydrogen gas, within a few feet of the river, the vapour of which being collected by means of an inverted funnel, will ignite, on applying a candle to where it escapes through the tube.

deltas are evidently increasing. Through the River Detroit, it receives apparently the surplus waters of Lake St. Clare, Huron, Michigan, and Superior.

The American shores are thickly inhabited, and the townships along the British coast, from Niagara to Detroit, are rapidly filling up with settlers. Opposite to Fort Erie, where the Niagara issues from the lake, stands the thriving American town of Buffalo. Here the Grand Canal commences which connects Lake Erie with the Hudson, and consequently with the Atlantic.

At Fort Erie, seventeen miles by a good road from Niagara, the lake opens, and we soon come to the Dutch settlement, called "Sugar Loaves," which takes its name from six conical hills, rising from the low grounds near the lake. The counties of Haldimand, Norfolk, Middlesex, and Essex, divided into townships, follow in succession along Lake Erie. The lands are flat, but in some places the banks, formed chiefly of clay and sand, are 100 feet perpendicular.

At the mouth of the Ouse, or Grand River, in a low, marshy, unhealthy situation, there is a naval and military post, named Sherbrooke, where we have two armed schooners and several gun-boats. A branch of the Welland Canal is to join the Ouse, three or four miles from its mouth. This river is, following its windings, about 150 miles long, 1000 feet wide, and navigable for thirty miles. Lands for the Indians, who have small hamlets on its banks, have, in several places, been reserved. An act of the colonial legislature has passed, to incorporate a company for the purpose of cutting a canal at Brandtford. This is an Indian village named after the chief of the Mo-

hawks, Captain Brandt, whose father appears, not in true colours however, in "Gertrude de Wyoming."

On one of its branches called the Speed, about 100 miles from its mouth, lies the young thriving town of Guelph, founded by the Canada Company on one of their blocks of land. Between the Ouse and Port Talbot lies the well-settled tract of country called Long Point.

Port Talbot, is nearly equidistant between Niagara and Detroit. Here, in 1802, the settlement of the country to the westward, then an uninhabited wilderness, commenced under the superintendence of Colonel Talbot. He encountered great difficulties before he succeeded in laying out and opening roads, extending about eighty miles parallel to the lake. Along these, farms of 200 acres were granted to emigrants, subject to certain stipulations, such as clearing ten acres of land, building a house, and opening a road in front of the farm. Settlers, principally poor people, soon flocked to it, and the whole is now densely filled with inhabitants. At the upper end there are a great number of Highlanders; the rest are chiefly Irish.

Settlements were soon after extended along the roads, opened through the wilderness of the Long Woods; and the town of Amherstburg, 785 miles above Quebec, and 1100 from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, arose on the banks of the Detroit. Amherstburg is delightfully situated. It is fast increasing in buildings and in population. It has a court-house, gaol, churches, chapels, numerous shops, and from 1400 to 1600 inhabitants. It was a naval depôt during war, and is still a military post.

Fourteen miles farther up stands Sandwich, a very

flourishing place, with a church, called the "Huron Church," chapels, several good houses, stores and wharfs. Opposite to it, in the Michigan territory, lies the old village of Detroit. The river is here frozen over in winter, and then the ice forms an immense smooth bridge connecting the United States with Canada.

The River Detroit runs from Lake St. Clair into Lake Erie. Its navigation is not interrupted, and its fertile banks are thickly peopled. But different characteristics present themselves to those we meet elsewhere in Upper Canada.

The inhabitants are French Canadians, and on the banks of the Detroit they tenaciously retain all the habits and observances common to their countrymen, the *habitans* of Lower Canada. Here for twenty or thirty miles we again observe the village form of settlements, the decent church, the pious priest, and the kind civil *habitant*. This is a rich beautiful country; and, if once the ague and lake-fever were banished, the climate would be truly delightful. All kinds of grain, and the finest apples, pears, nectarines, peaches, and grapes, grow in perfection.

Near Detroit there is a settlement of simple harmless Moravians.

Lake St. Clair is about thirty miles long, and nearly the same in breadth, and its shores as yet not well settled. It receives several rivers; the principal of which, named the Thames, winds for more than a hundred miles from the north-east; and on its banks settlements and embryo towns are growing. It has its Chatham, London, and Oxford. General Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, was exceedingly anxious that the seat of government should be esta-

blished somewhere nearly equidistant to Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, and considered the spot named London the most appropriate.

There is a large delta at the upper end of Lake St. Clair, which appears to be increasing; and through which, by several channels, the river issues. Near this Lord Selkirk began his settlement named Baldoon. The situation is low and marshy, and great numbers of the first settlers were carried off. On the east or American bank stands old Fort St. Clair; and a few miles farther up where Lake Huron opens, Fort Gratiot was erected to command the river.

On the eastern shores of Lake Huron the Canada Company's principal tract of land lies nearly in a triangular form, commencing in latitude 43°, and extending about sixty miles along the coast.

The Canada Company have opened roads in various directions through their lands; and at the mouth of the Maitland, where it joins Lake Huron, the town of Goderich has been founded. In the space of eight years has this territory, previously untrodden, except by Indians, furriers, and wild beasts, been rapidly opened and settled by the energies and means of a company removing those disheartening obstacles, which, in the wilderness, and particularly in a remote region, require the best part of a man's life to surmount by individual exertion alone.

Beyond Goderich, if we except one or two military stations, the posts of the Hudson Bay Company, and the small settlements which have arisen from Lord Selkirk's foundation at Red River, the vast regions from Lake Huron to the Pacific are all still in primeval wilderness, and still to be inhabited and cultivated by Europeans. That emigration from the east

will subdue, inhabit, and cultivate the far western wilderness is not to be doubted. We have only to reflect on the progress made by Europeans, in defiance of the most formidable difficulties, in penetrating and subduing the wilderness, from the time the first permanent settlement was formed at James River to the present day, to agree with the following observations which I extracted from a paper printed at Buffalo.

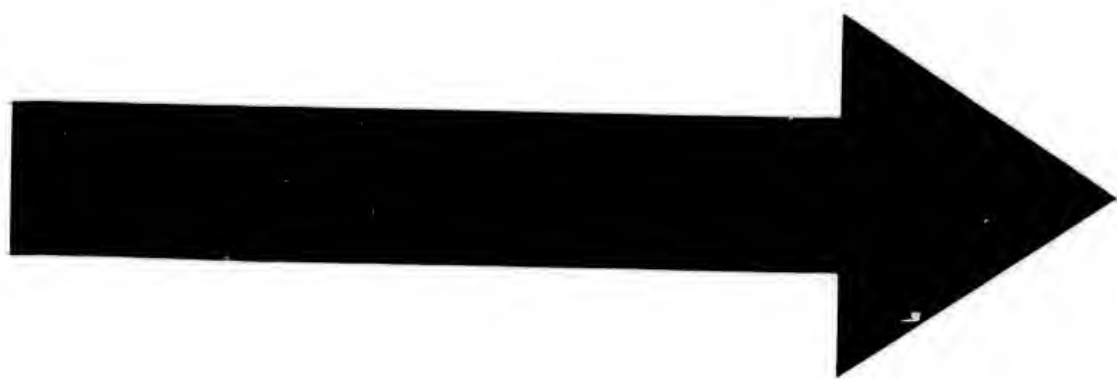
“ ‘The Far West’ — where is the west, and what are its bounds? But a few years have passed since our thriving town (then a rude hamlet) stood upon the further confines of the rising west. Still beyond there did indeed exist an ideal realm of future greatness — a matted and mighty forest, but ‘clouds and thick darkness rested on it.’ Here and there it was dotted with a settlement of whites, clustered together for mutual assistance and mutual defence. These were ‘few, and far between,’ and still beyond, and deeper sunk in the murky shadows of the wilderness, roamed the border band of lawless and outlawed whites — a race of men found only upon the line of frontier territory, between savage and civilised life, to neither of which they have any affinity, and whose anomalous character, rejecting the virtues of either, embodies in one the vices of both.

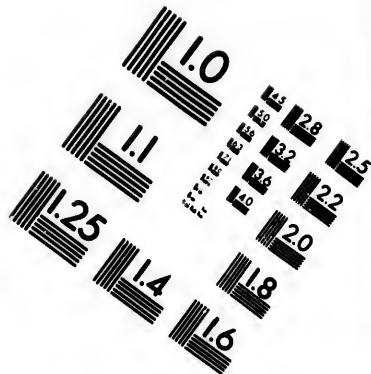
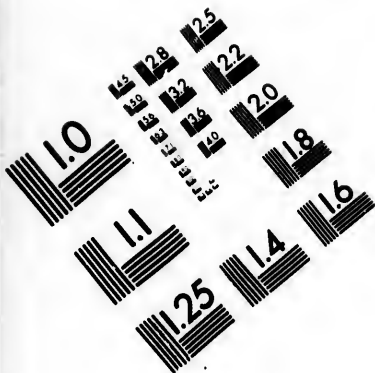
“ But the solitude has been penetrated, the forest has been overwhelmed by the towering wave of emigration. That wave but recently spent its utmost fury, ere it reached even here, and its last and dying ripple was wont to fall gently at our feet; but not so now: it has risen above — it has swept over us, and while its mighty deluge is yet rushing past in one undiminished current, the roar of its swelling

surges, repeated by each babbling echo, is still wafted back to us upon every western breeze. Ours is no longer a western settlement; our children are surrounded by the comforts, the blessings, and the elegances of life, where their fathers found only hardship, privation, and want. The 'westward' is onward, still onward, — but where? Even the place that was known as such but yesterday, to-morrow shall be known no more. The tall forest, the prowling beast, and

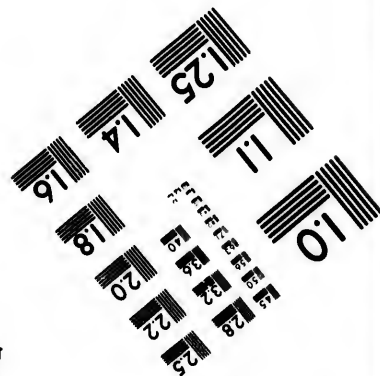
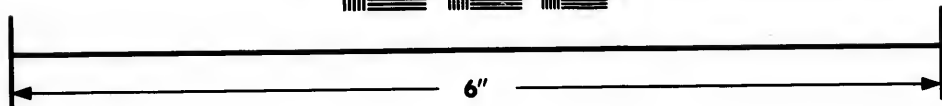
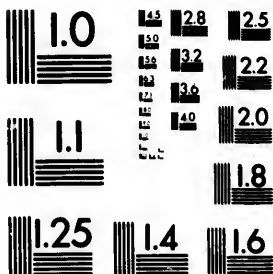
" 'The Stoic of the woods — the man without a tear,'

are alike borne down, trampled and destroyed by this everlasting scramble for the west. This course of empire may, must be stayed, when the shore of the Pacific has been reached, and the intermediate distance reclaimed and populated. But before these are effected, how mighty must be the growth of our republic! Already the annual tourist, who was wont to exhaust all his rambling desires in reaching the 'Falls,' disdains so slight an excursion; he must visit 'the west,' and Green Bay or Fort Winnebago is now his resting-place. Another year and even these will be left behind, and the ever-receding west must be pursued over succeeding rivers, and mountains, and plains, until the 'western tour' shall terminate, by necessity, at the mouth of the Oregon."





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CHAP. XI.

LAKE HURON. — GEORGIA BAY. — MAKILLIMAKINAK. — MICHIGAN LAKE AND TERRITORY. — STRAITS OF ST. MARY AND FALLS. — LAKE SUPERIOR. — DEPTH OF THE LAKES, ETC.

LAKE Huron is 250 miles long, 120 broad, and 860 feet deep, without comprehending a branch of it called Georgia Bay, which is 120 miles long, and fifty miles broad. Near the head of the latter at Pentagushine, there is a small naval depôt. It receives several rivers. The Severn, flowing over a rocky bed from Lake Simcoe; the Maitland, at the mouth of which is the town and harbour of Godrich, and which flows through the Huron tract; the river Moon, flowing from lakes lying between the Georgian Bay and the Ottawa; and the French River, a large stream flowing from Lake Nippissing, which a very narrow portage divides from a rapid river falling into the Ottawa. This was formerly the grand route of the north-west voyageurs.

The lands on the east and west coasts are generally fit for cultivation, and covered with heavy timber, presenting clay cliffs, rocks, and woody slopes along the shore. The north coast exhibits a rugged, formidable, and barren aspect. The *Cloche* mountains are behind this shore, and very little is known of the interior.

A multitude of islands, called the Manitoulin, or Islands of Spirits, extend from the northern extre-

mity of Georgian Bay, to the *détour* between the continent and Drummond's Island. The largest of these is eighty miles long. The Indians attach a religious veneration to them, as being consecrated by the great spirit, *Manitou*.

Through the Strait of Makillimakinak, the fort of which the Americans claim, the navigation to Lake Michigan is deep and safe. This lake is within the United States' boundary. It is, without including Green Bay, a branch of it, 400 miles long, and fifty broad; and Green Bay is 105 miles long, and twenty miles broad: both are on a level with Lake Huron. The Michigan territory, lying between Lake Huron, the River Detroit, and Lake Michigan, is a valuable and extensive region, in which settlements are forming with extraordinary rapidity.

The passage to Lake Superior, by the strait of St. Mary, 40 miles long, is interrupted by the rapids or falls of St. Mary, which occur about mid-distance between both lakes. The appellation of *fall* is, however, improper. About midway between both lakes, the banks of the strait contracts the channel, which also descends, altogether, in the course of the rapid, about twenty-three feet, and the vast discharge of Lake Superior rolling along impetuously over and against natural irregularities, renders the navigation upwards altogether impracticable. Canoes have descended, but the exploit is hazardous. A canal two miles long would avoid this rapid, and connect the navigation of Lake Superior with that of Lake Huron, and Michigan and Erie.

Lake Superior, the great source of the St. Lawrence, is about 360 geographical or 417 statute miles long, and 140 geographical or 162 statute miles broad;

its circumference round its shores about 1600 miles, and its depth about 900 feet. Its waters are pure and astonishingly transparent, and this inland ocean is not surpassed in turbulent commotion, during tempests, by the most violent agitation of the Atlantic.

It receives numerous rivers, but none of them are remarkably large. Lowlands, lying between the lake and the *ramps* and mountains, are considered to have been formerly covered by the waters of the lake. The elevations rise, in some parts, to 1500 feet above the level of the lake. In other places a flat country extends back from fifty to seventy miles. The largest of its islands, near the British side, *Isle Royale*, is about 100 miles long by forty in breadth.

The lands fit for settlement and agriculture may be considered to be nearly altogether within the boundaries of the United States. Tracts of good land may occasionally occur, or be found, on the British side; but, as far as we know, chiefly from the fur traders, the northern shores are forbidding and sterile, and the whole country between this lake and Hudson Bay is of little value, except for the furs of the wild animals, or the fish that may be caught in its rivers.

Salmon of great size, herring, black bass, sturgeon, and all the lake fish, are abundant. It is said that neither salmon nor herring are caught in any of the lakes, except those communicating with the St. Lawrence. How either herring or salmon got into those lakes is a question to puzzle the naturalist.

The comparative depths of the lakes form another extraordinary subject of enquiry. The bottom of Lake Ontario, which is 452 feet deep, is as low as most

parts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, while Lake Erie is only 60 or 70 feet deep; but the bottoms of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior are all, from their vast depths, although their surface is so much higher, on a level with the bottoms of Lake Ontario, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Can there be a subterranean river running from Lake Superior to Huron, and from Huron to Lake Ontario? This is certainly not impossible; nor does the discharge through the river Detroit, after allowing for the full probable portion carried off by evaporation, appear by any means equal to the quantity of water which the three upper great lakes may be considered to receive. All the lakes of Canada are estimated to cover 48,040,000 acres. The great lakes occasionally rise above their usual level sometimes from three to five feet. These overflowings are not annual nor regular. They have occurred about once in seven years, and are probably the effect of more rain and less evaporation during the seasons in which they take place. Sir Alexander Mackenzie observed occasional overflowings of two to three feet in the lakes north-west of Superior, so that they are not peculiar to the lakes of the St. Lawrence.

CHAP. XII.

NORTH-WEST AND HUDSON BAY TERRITORIES. — LAKES, RIVERS, ROCKY MOUNTAINS, COAST OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN, HUDSON'S BAY TERRITORY, AND ARCTIC REGIONS. — LORD SELKIRK'S LANDS AND SETTLEMENTS, ETC.

THE region lying north of the boundary of the United States, and south of the lakes discharging into Hudson's Bay, and west of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, has long been called the north-west or Indian territory.

These boundaries on the north and south are not easily defined; and their adjustment is likely to be attended with great doubt and difficulty.

This vast region possesses almost every variety of soil and climate. Its configuration and aspect unfolds innumerable lakes, rivers, mountains, savannahs, magnificent forests, immense tracks of fertile lands, and barren, rocky, frozen countries.

A greater portion of the region lying south of Lake Athabasca, and west of the Stoney Mountains, is eminently adapted for agriculture, and its splendid forests and brown savannahs, abound with buffalo, moose, carraboo, common deer, and most, if not all, the wild animals and birds described in Book II. of this work; in the lakes and rivers, great varieties of fish are plentiful.

This remote territory, possesses resources capable of yielding sustenance and independence to many millions of inhabitants; but hitherto the soil has in

no part been subjected to cultivation, except in small spots, where the fur traders have established posts; and on the banks of the Red River Lord Selkirk established a settlement.

The principal lakes are,

The Lake of the Woods, equidistant between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg. It receives the River La Pluie, rising in the heights west of Lake Superior, and discharges its waters by a rapid river into Lake Winnipeg.

Lake Winnipeg is about 240 miles long, and in its irregular width from 5 to 55 miles broad. It lies between latitudes 50° and 54° N., and longitudes 96° to 108° W. It receives the waters of several rivers, the largest of which is the Saskatchewan, which flows from the Rocky Mountains. It receives also the Assinboin and Red Rivers, and its surplus waters are carried off by two or more rivers to Hudson Bay.

Lake Athabasca, lying west of these, is about 200 miles long, and from 14 to 16 broad. It receives several rivers; some of which, the Unjigah, or Peace River, and others, rise in the Rocky Mountains. Its waters are carried off by the rapid Stony River along a rocky channel into Slave Lake; on the north its shores are rugged and barren; on the south alluvial, and on the west sandy and naked.

Lake Athabasca is larger than either Lake Ontario or Lake Erie, being 250 miles long, by about 50 in breadth. It is from 60 to 75 fathoms in depth. Its shores are generally wooded, and it has several small islands, many of them high, abrupt elevations of rock, principally gneiss and granite. It receives several rivers, and discharges its waters by the

River Mackenzie, by which Sir Alexander Mackenzie first, and afterward Sir John Franklin, descended to the Arctic Ocean, in latitude $67^{\circ} 48' N.$, and longitude $115^{\circ} 37' W.$

The Rocky Mountains are vast granitic chains, which may be considered a continuation of the Andes, north, to the polar regions; they are from 50 to more than 100 miles in breadth, and separate the rivers falling into the Pacific from those flowing into the Mississippi, and into the great lakes of British America, and into Hudson Bay. Their summits are about 11,300 feet above the sea.

The country belonging to Great Britain, west of these mountains, is of immense extent and vast consequence. It extends more than 1200 miles along the shores of the Pacific, abounds with innumerable bays, islands, rivers, harbours, splendid forests, wild animals, and plentiful fisheries. The climate also, like the western shores of the old continent, is much milder than countries under the same latitude on the eastern coasts.

The Oregon, or Columbia, and the Frazer are the principal rivers.

Cook and Vancouver first discovered this country by sea, and Mackenzie was the first traveller who succeeded in the arduous attempt to cross the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific.

The Russians on the north, where they have fortresses of great strength, and several trading establishments, have encroached on a great portion of this country. There may be also much difficulty in adjusting the American boundary on the south.

The territory of the Hudson Bay Company, held by virtue of the charter granted by Charles the

Second, is now understood to include all the countries from 52° N. on the coast of Labrador, to the extremity of all the rivers falling into Hudson Bay. This portion of Labrador is of little importance, excepting for furs and fisheries; and the coast and bay of Hudson, and the inhospitable regions of the Esquimaux, are of as little consequence; but the rivers which flow into the bay, rising in the south and west, actually include a portion of the United States, and nearly the whole of the Indian territory, in which the old French fur traders and the Montreal Company had forts or trading posts. The latter are now occupied by the servants of the Hudson Bay Company, who may be said to monopolise the whole fur trade of British North America.*

The territory called Ossiniboia, purchased in 1811, by the late Earl of Selkirk, from the Hudson Bay Company, is understood to commence "at a point in $52^{\circ} 30'$ N., on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg, the line running also west to Lake Winnepagoas, or Little Winnipeg; then south to latitude 52° on the western shore of this lake, thence south to the highlands, dividing the waters of the Missouri and Mississippi from those falling into Lake Winnipeg, thence by those highlands to the source of River La Pluie, and down that river through the Lake of the Woods and River Winnipeg, to the place of beginning." Half of this territory at least, and certainly the better half, is within the boundary of the United States. The whole comprises about 116,000 square miles, or 73,240,000 acres.

At the conquest of Canada, and for a long previous

* See account of the Hudson Bay Company, book ix.

period, the French had posts established in this tract of country, and as far west as the River Saskatchewan; and the North-West Company, who succeeded the French, not only occupied these posts, but established others far beyond them.

The Hudson Bay Company at last claimed the territory through which the Red River flows, as its waters fell into the Hudson. The North-West Company rested their claim on their long possession of the country, as successors to the French, and on their discoveries, as well as on the good-will of the Indian tribes. Which had legal right, let lawyers determine; but in 1812, Lord Selkirk, with, I believe, the most upright intentions, sent Mr. Miles Macdonald, formerly a captain in the Queen's Rangers, to the forks of the Red River, in 57° north latitude, and 97° west longitude, and about 50 miles from Lake Winnipeg, for the purpose of erecting houses, &c., before the arrival of emigrants.

In the following year, about one hundred settlers arrived; and the settlement was named Kildonan, being the name of the parish in Sutherland from whence they came. Eighty or ninety followed them next year. His lordship sent light field-pieces, guns, ammunition, and various stores, up with the first settlers.

The breaking up of this settlement, the brutality of the *Bois brûlés*, (half-breeds,) the massacre of Governor Semple, and of a great number of those with him, have already been fully before the public.

Lord Selkirk went himself afterwards to Red River, with part of De Meuron's and De Watteville's German regiments. He there acted as a magistrate; but he was soon after illegally arrested. On return-

ing from Red River, the great fatigue and the privations he endured no doubt accelerated his death, which happened soon after in France. He was certainly imprudent in attempting to plant and establish an inland colony at so great a distance from a settled country; and particularly until the respective claims of the Hudson Bay and North-West Companies were adjusted; yet his measures were great, and founded on what he considered honourable principles. He on all occasions provided for the comforts of those he sent to his settlements; and the disastrous fate of Kildonan was altogether occasioned by the rivalry of two trading associations now united.

The lands on the banks of the Red River are not covered with trees. The rivers abound with fish; the plains with buffaloes; the neighbouring forests with elk, deer, and various kinds of game. The settlement is still in being, but we have no late accounts of its condition.

The fur traders engaged in these territories are sensual and tyrannical; and their example ill calculated to make the Indians a better people. The *Bois brûlés*, who are the offspring of the traders and Indian women, are now a numerous ferocious race; and in the rencontres which often take place between parties of rival companies, this mixed breed practise the most fiendish brutality.

CHAP. XIII.

INTERNAL NAVIGATION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.—
GULF AND RIVER OF ST. LAWRENCE.—LACHINE CANALS.—
NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE FROM LACHINE TO KING-
STON, BY THE ST. LAWRENCE AND BY THE OTTAWA.
—GRENVILLE CANAL.—RIDEAU CANAL.—LAKE ONTARIO.—
WELLAND CANAL.—OHIO CANAL.—ERIE CANAL, DETROIT,
LAKE HURON.—ST. MARY'S STRAIT, ETC. ETC.

THE navigation of the gulf from the Atlantic to the River St. Lawrence is deep and safe ; except during the breaking up of the ice, and the misty weather which attends the chilly north-east winds that prevail for some days about the same period ; and during the commencement of winter, when the nights are dark, and the weather generally uncertain and tempestuous. The navigation of the River St. Lawrence below the traverse, and of the whole gulf, at this season, is difficult, and often dangerously terrific. But from the first of May to the middle of November, the weather is not only mild, but heavy gales are much less frequent than on the Atlantic, or in the British and Irish Channels.

The course of the navigation from the Atlantic to the gulf, and from the gulf to Montreal, I have already described in my account of Lower Canada.

The interruption at Montreal has been in a great measure obviated by the Lachine Canal, which was completed by the Provincial Government, although first attempted by the project of a company. The

cost of this canal, about 137,000*l.*, has far exceeded the original estimate. The Imperial Government has paid 12,000*l.* of the expense for the free privilege of sending military stores along it to Upper Canada. It is about eight miles long, twenty-five feet wide, and five feet deep. It is, perhaps, the most substantially built canal in America. The rates of toll are regulated by a legislative act, and the amount collected has been yearly increasing since first opened in 1825. The average of the last two years pays four to five per cent. on the capital.*

The next interruption in the navigation of the St. Lawrence is at the cascades, which is also partially obviated by a canal 500 yards long across a point of land at the confluence of the waters of a stream of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence; and at Debuissou, another interruption is surmounted by short locks. At the lower end of Lake St. Louis it was found necessary to construct two locks to avoid the rapid; and, from this place, the navigation is uninterrupted to Cornwall, where the dangerous succession of rapids, called the *Long Sault*, disturb the St. Lawrence, and renders the passage dangerous. Durham boats and *bateaux*, however, ascend them with great difficulty; and scows and timber rafts are directed down these violent currents. From Cornwall to Johnston, a distance of 39 miles, the descent is about 75 feet; yet the Long Sault, and other

* Commissioners were appointed in 1823, to examine the rapids of the river Richelieu, and open a navigation into Lake Champlain; the surveys were completed, and the money voted by the Legislature, but the canal is not yet, I believe, commenced. In the colonies below Canada, there are no canals, excepting the Shubenacadry already described when treating of Nova Scotia.

rapids in succession, render the navigation almost impracticable, even with Durham boats. At Barnard's Island, the south channel, which is navigable, belongs to the Americans, and the north, or British, is almost impassable.

The distance has been surveyed, and one canal, 84 feet wide at top, and 60 at the bottom, with locks 132 feet long, 40 wide, with turning bridges, would render the river navigable for sloops and steam-boats from Cornwall to Johnston; from which the navigation is open to Lake Ontario. The estimate is 176,378*l.*, but 200,000*l.* would likely be required. This is a work of the greatest consequence, which will no doubt be executed at no distant period. The Legislature of Upper Canada have voted about 100,000*l.* lately (1833,) for improving the navigation of the St. Lawrence.

After the inconveniences experienced in forwarding supplies to Upper Canada, during the late war with America, a military road was made through the country leading to Kingston. The execution of locks and canals to obviate the rapids of the Ottawa, and a canal from the Ottawa by the Rideau river and lakes to Kingston were then suggested*, but not adopted for some years.

Engineers were at last employed to make surveys and furnish plans and estimates of all canals necessary to form an inland navigation, by way of the Ottawa, to Kingston.

To open a communication from Lake St. Louis to Lake Chaudier, River Ottawa, locks at the rapids of *St. Ann*, *Carrillon*, and *Chute à Blondeau*, and a

* I believe first by the father of the present speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada.

canal of six miles at Grenville, were found necessary. These works have been accomplished, but some of them only imperfectly. For instance, the lock at St. Anne's only permits vessels twenty feet wide to pass; and one part of the Grenville, commenced before the larger scale was adopted, only admits vessels twenty feet in breadth, being the same size as those passing through the Lachine canal. Steam boats a hundred and eight feet long, thirty feet beam (the least depth of water five feet), can be used along every other part of the navigation. These canals have been executed at the expense of the imperial government.

To open a more perfect navigation from the St. Lawrence, two plans are projected: the one is to widen the Lachine canal, and to cut a canal at the rapids of St. Ann, which latter would cost from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*; the other, to remove the obstructions in the navigation between the island of Montreal and Isle Jesus (see the map); the latter is estimated at 117,270*l.*, which, with the estimate of enlarging Grenville canal, 54,245*l.*, making in addition 171,515*l.* to complete the navigation from the St. Lawrence to the upper end of Grenville, from which large vessels can pass along to the Chaudier to or entrance bay, where the Rideau commences.

The Rideau canal was undertaken at the expense of the imperial treasury, by parliamentary vote, for the purpose of opening a water communication from the Ottawa to Kingston, "by connecting several *pieces* of water lying in that direction." The distance is about 135 miles, about twenty of which only it was found necessary to cut; the remaining distances are occupied by lakes and rivers, or have been overflowed by raising dams and building locks. The locks are

147 in number, each 142 feet long and 33 feet wide. The Rideau lake, which is the summit level of the canal, is 283 feet above the level of the Ottawa, and 154 above the surface of Lake Ontario. This canal is now completed, and sloops and steam boats drawing five feet water, may pass from the Ottawa into Lake Ontario, and thence by the Welland canal into Lake Erie.

The cost of the Rideau canal, by the estimate of 1831, was 693,448*l.*, exclusive of a sum of 69,230*l.* to erect fortifications for its defence, should the latter be deemed necessary. The last ordnance estimate (18th May, 1832) gives the expense 803,774*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* The government is to receive the tolls, from which the annual expense will be deducted.

Great activity appears along the line of this canal, It passes through a valuable and thriving part of Canada, and settlements are rising thickly amidst every township of the adjoining wilderness, which is watered by innumerable streams. Roads lead from these settlements to or near the Rideau canal, which, with it, unlock this portion of the province.

The Welland, to which I have already alluded in describing the Niagara district, was undertaken by an incorporated company in 1825, with a capital of 180,000*l.* A great part of the money has, however, been advanced by the provisional government of Upper Canada; and it will likely require 300,000*l.* to complete the work according to the intended plan. This canal is 56 feet wide on the surface, 26 at the bottom; the locks 100 feet in length and 22 feet wide, and admit vessels of 125 tons, drawing eight feet water. The locks are built of wood, to which engineers greatly object; but the projectors urge the argument

of the wooden locks being more easily altered or repaired.

This canal, if substantially completed, would be of the greatest advantage to Canada. The produce of the countries bordering on Lake Erie, and the Detroit, will be more readily carried to market by this canal than by any other route; and by it and the canals below, the navigation of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Lake Erie, and thence into Lakes St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan, is opened. A short canal would surmount the rapids of St. Mary, and complete the navigation to Lake Superior. How much farther canals can practically unlock the "far west," will depend on more accurate surveys. Some have gone so far as to consider the whole continent of America capable of being crossed by steam vessels along lakes, rivers, and canals, to the Pacific.

Upper Canada is eminently adapted for canal communication from one part of the province to another, by very short cuts. Such, for instance, as through the peninsula at the head of the Bay of Quinté to Lake Ontario. It is also supposed that Lake Huron and the Ottawa by Lake Nippising and the French River might be easily connected.

The Great Erie canal opens an inland navigation from the upper lakes to the Atlantic; and the Ohio canal, lately finished, opens a channel from Lake Erie to the Ohio, and down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Many of the rivers falling into Lakes Erie and Michigan rise close to those of the Ohio and Mississippi; and their summit levels are so low, that, during the overflowing of these rivers in spring, canoes have passed over them.

When we examine the extraordinary configuration

of the countries bordering on the great rivers and lakes of Canada, and of the United States, and know the restless energy of an industrious, active, and intelligent people, we find it utterly impossible to form a conception of the power and wealth which they must possess in future ages.

CHAP. XIV.

POPULATION. — RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AND STATE OF
EDUCATION IN UPPER CANADA.

At the close of the American war, in 1783, the population of Upper Canada, consisting only of the Canadians of French race at Detroit, and a few straggling settlers, did not exceed 10,000.

From that period to the present time the rapid increase of the population will appear from the following statement: —

In 1808 the population was at least	70,000
1811	- - - - 76,984
1824	- - - - 151,097
1826	- - - - 171,509
1828	- - - - 185,326
1830	- - - - 211,569
1831	- - - - 234,865
1832	- - - - 257,814
1833	- - - - about 310,000

This population consists of the French Canadians in the western district, American loyalists, disbanded troops, a few Germans, and emigrants from every part of the United Kingdom, and from the United States.

The religious denominations are chiefly Protestants of the Church of England, Catholics, members of the Kirk of Scotland, Presbyterians, Methodists,

Baptists, Menonists, Dunkers, a few Quakers, and German Lutherans.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain for a longer period than one year, the actual proportion of the population that adhere to the tenets of each. The following extract from the journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, in 1828, states the number of Protestant clergymen of each denomination at that time known in the province, as reported to the House by a select committee. The Lutherans, Quakers, and Roman Catholics are not included. The two latter are numerous.

Denominations.	Number of Preachers.	Number of Churches or Chapels.	Number of Places of regular Service.	Number of Places of occasional Service.
Methodists -	117	66	623	130
Baptists -	45	3	6	No Return.
Church of England -	31	38	31	30
Presbyterians	16	22	—	—
Kirk of Scotland - -	6	—	—	—
Menonists and Dunkers -	20	5	No Return.	No Return.
Wesleyan Methodists -	1	1	1	No Return.
Total -	236			

The number of each have, during the last five years, greatly increased, and are computed to be, Church of England clergy 50, places of worship 60. Catholic clergy 31, chapels 42. Kirk of Scotland clergy 14, places of worship 20. Presbyterians of the Presbytery of Upper Canada 22, places of worship 31. Menonist Independents and other sects 55, clergy 22. Baptist clergy 50, places of worship uncer-

tain. Methodist clergy 70 to 80, besides local preachers, chapels about 84, and about 750 places of regular, and 150 places of occasional, worship. Lutheran clergy 5, churches 3. All have besides places of occasional and regular service. The Methodists have a general conference in America every five years. It has legislative powers, something like those of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. The annual conference is limited to a prescribed territory.

The Church of England appears to sink daily in reputation within the province: and however much this may be lamented, it is the confirmed opinion of almost every thinking member of the church, who knows its actual condition in Upper Canada, that the plans and the provisions which were established for its preservation and maintenance will, if not removed, accelerate its inevitable downfall. These provisions I have already stated, and every unprejudiced well-wisher of the Church of England will, I think, concur in my opinion. The clergy are supported partly by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, by an annual parliamentary grant, and by the church lands, which it claims exclusively. The Clergy Corporation grant annually leases of lands for 21 years, the annual rent of which is increased every seven years. The clergyman of the Church of England are privileged to marry without licences to authorize them. All others must have particular licences for each marriage, and keep registers. In places more than 18 miles from a clergyman of the Church of England, justices of the peace are empowered to solemnize marriages.

The clergy and members of the Kirk of Scotland

Number of Places of occasional Service.
130
No Return.
30
—
—
No Return.
No Return.

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are increasing in numbers, and receive a small grant in aid of supporting the kirk from the provincial revenue. They are not so numerous as the Presbyterians who hold no connection with the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, but whose tenets and forms of worship are precisely the same.

The Catholics are also augmenting in number, chiefly from the great number of Irish emigrants who settle in the colony. The catholic bishops and clergy also receive an allowance from the provincial revenue.

The most numerous body of Christians are the Methodists; and next to them the Presbyterians; then the Roman Catholics, Baptists, Epicopalians, and Quakers.

The Menonists and Dunkers are also increasing; their particular tenet is, silent devotion. They are generally exemplary and correct persons.

The Lutherans are chiefly of German origin.

The Methodists, Baptists, and other denominations, who do not adhere to any connection with a national church, have been very undeservedly reviled. Individual instances of impropriety may present themselves; but, justly speaking, the Methodist clergy are remarkable for exemplary conduct; and most of them are men of much greater intelligence than those who delight in abusing them.

The Baptists, Presbyterians, and Catholic clergy are also as praiseworthy in their duties as the ministers of religion are in any other country.

A new order of churches, called the *Children of Peace*, has appeared in the province within a few years. They have no written creed; and although they have chiefly arisen from among the Quakers,

their form of worship is brilliant and cheerful. They have a large handsome temple, in an open plain near the village of Hope, Gwillimbury. Its ground plan forms a regular square. In the main body are twenty-four large windows. The roof is nearly flat, and from it rises a large square tower, with twelve windows, and supported by sixteen pillars. This is for a music room. An organ, flutes, violins, bass viols, bassoons, clarionets, &c. are the instruments introduced during their worship. A second tower rises from the roof of the first. It is surmounted by a large gilded ball, on which is inscribed "Peace." The building is painted white, and is surrounded at some distance with a railing, along which are rows of maple trees. They have a grand annual festival on the morning of the first Saturday in September. Their hymns are composed by members of the Society, and their church discipline altered or amended, on motion, by a vote of the majority. They keep the Sabbath strictly. They are orderly, honest, cheerful, and industrious.

Religious instruction is far from being neglected * ; and a practical arrangement that would remove any jealousy, which the great body of the inhabitants entertain towards the Church of England, on account of the reserves, is an object of greater consequence to religion, and particularly to the English church in Canada, than may appear to the people of Great Britain, but which, at present, deeply involves the

* There is more humour than justice in the remark of the Backwoodsman, "It is long since the French reproached the English with having twenty religions, and only one sauce. In Canada, we have two hundred religions, and no sauce at all."

harmony of the inhabitants of this beautiful and important province.

The plan of education hitherto acted upon by the executive does not give satisfaction to the inhabitants. This arises, first, from the constitution of King's College, at York, excluding those who do not subscribe to the thirty-nine articles. Secondly, from the rules established for conducting, and the lands appropriated for supporting, the Royal Grammar School. There are also eleven district grammar schools; and, in the townships, about 450 common schools.

The legislature votes annually sums in aid of public instruction; but the manner of distribution and the plan of education are generally objected to by the inhabitants.

About 90*l.* per annum are paid by the Legislature to the masters of grammar schools, and from 5*l.* to 12*l.* 10*s.* to the teachers of elementary schools. The remainder of their salaries is paid by the scholars.

In 1798, twelve townships, containing, after deducting two sevenths for crown and clergy reserves, above 550,000 acres, were appropriated to the intended purpose of education. The misapplication of these lands to the purpose of equal public instruction is a subject of complaint in the colony.

The people of Upper Canada are certainly intelligent, and general readers of ephemeral productions. Besides the periodicals of Great Britain, the United States, and the neighbouring colonies, which circulate in the province, the following newspapers are printed in the colony, viz. :—At York, the Upper Canada Gazette, the Colonial Advocate, Christian Guardian, Correspondent, Patriot, Canadian Freeman, and Cou-

rier; at Kingston, Upper Canada Herald, Spectator, and Chronicle; at Brockville, the Recorder and Antidote; at Prescott, the Grenville Gazette; at Cornwall, the Observer; at Perth (where there was not a house within many miles of it 18 years ago) are two newspapers; at Niagara, the Gleaner and another paper; at St. Catherine's, the Farmer's Journal; at London, the Sun; at St. Thomas's, the Liberal, the Journal, and another paper; at Hamilton, the Free Press, and the Mercury; at Port Hope, the Telegraph; at Couburg, the Reformer and Star; at Sandwich, the Emigrant; at Belleville, the Phoenix. Many of these are semi-weekly; and there are several others, weekly and semi-weekly, which I have not a list of. The weekly and semi-weekly newspapers published in this province are about 35, besides a monthly magazine. Ten years ago, there were only four or five newspapers printed in the colony.

CHAP. XV.

AGRICULTURE. — OCCUPATIONS OF THE INHABITANTS. — DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES AND TRADE OF UPPER CANADA.

THE fertile lands, which occupy almost the whole surface of Upper Canada, are its solid and certain foundations of power and prosperity, of happiness and independence.

Agriculture, in all new countries, is necessarily conducted in a rude manner. For some years after the forests are levelled, husbandry is subjected to local peculiarities; and, perhaps, this circumstance, and that the necessaries of life, as well as its comforts and many of its luxuries, are more easily procured in Canada than in England, occasions, generally, in the farmer, an absence of that order and skill in husbandry which so greatly delight those who travel over the agricultural districts of Great Britain.

That slovenly cultivation is generally apparent in Upper Canada, as well as in all the British colonies, cannot be denied; neither do the early settlers willingly relinquish old and rude modes of husbandry. In new countries, however, time and example are sure to accomplish improvements; and these will hereafter probably unfold themselves rapidly in a province so eminently blessed with natural advantages as Upper Canada.

Agricultural societies have been established for some time; and improvements in husbandry, by the

introduction of knowledge and skilful farmers, are evidently prevailing in every district of the province. While travelling, we observe many large and well-cultivated farms, rich orchards, fine meadows, commodious dwelling-houses, large barns and cattle-houses. Dairies are also much better attended to than formerly; and implements of husbandry, carts, and waggons, are generally made in a workmanlike and convenient form. When we also consider the extraordinary increase of population, in a great measure occasioned by emigration from the agricultural counties of the United Kingdom, and the well-known natural advantages of this colony for farming, we may feel assured that the cultivation of the soil will hereafter be attended to with much the same attention and skill as in England.

Wheat, which will always form the great staple agricultural production, is raised in large quantities, and of the very best quality; above Kingston it is generally sown in the fall. The returns are from twenty to sometimes forty bushels per acre; no grain appears so well adapted to the soil and climate.

Barley, except in the more humid districts, does not grow so well as wheat, and it is not so generally cultivated. Rye grows best on the high light lands. Indian corn thrives well, and forms an important production. Pumpkins are grown intermixed among the Indian corn plants. Oats grow, but the climate may be considered too hot for its general culture. Millet and small grains and seeds generally answer well. Flax and hemp may be cultivated with advantage. Buckwheat is also cultivated. An acre of good land will produce from 200 to 250 bushels of potatoes; but this most useful root, if cultivated in

rich heavy land, is inferior in quality to the potatoes grown in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, or in Lancashire, England. Peas thrive in the fields. The summer is rather too hot for beans. The principal grass is Timothy (*Phleum pratense*), the roots of which are very hardy: white and red clover grow well among it. Parsnips, carrots, vegetable marrows, cucumbers, water melons, and common melons of delicious flavour grow in abundance. A kind of coarse rice (*Zizania aquatica*), gathered by the Indians, grows naturally on wet grounds, near lakes.

Apples, pears, peaches, apricots, nectarines, and most of our garden fruits will grow abundantly, and are all deliciously flavoured.

Tobacco is grown in large quantities; it is considered not so good as that of Virginia, but this is attributed to negligence or want of skill in its cultivation.

Grapes ripen in the open air, and their culture was commenced in 1830, by some Germans who lately followed, from the banks of the Rhine, a number of their friends, who were soldiers in the British service during the American war.

It is considered by many that Upper Canada is not so well adapted for grazing as for grain. This cannot, however, be proved, until the country is more generally opened. Newly cleared lands, it is true, and all forest countries are for some time unfavourable to rearing sheep; but horses and horned cattle thrive remarkably well; so do swine, and poultry of all kinds.

The inhabitants of the province are generally employed in agricultural pursuits, much in the same way as those of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Seed-time is a little earlier, as spring opens

above Kingston a week or two sooner than below. Haymaking and harvest commence about the same time in all the colonies. On old cleared farms, ploughing, harrowing, forming inclosures, gathering the hay and harvest, preparing for winter, thatching corn, feeding cattle, during that season, form the principal occupations of the farmers. Cutting down and burning the forests, preparing the ground for seed, and gathering the crops afterwards, with various local pursuits, claim the incessant attention of new settlers.

The quality of the land may always be ascertained by the timber it produces; deciduous trees of the maple, beech, oak, ash, elm, walnut, plane, tulip, and hickory tribes intermixed, grow in rich soils. Terebinthine trees, unmixed with others, always indicate a cold or sandy soil. The best lands seldom require manure; and the lighter soils, by applying gypsum, which is abundant, yield fine crops of clover, Indian corn, wheat, and potatoes.

Domestic manufactures are few. Coarse woollen and linen clothes are made by the farmers' wives and daughters. Distilling of whisky, the iron-works at Marmora and Charlotteville, a few breweries, and some founderies at York and some other places; a paper manufactory, tobacco manufactories, manufacturing flour and meal, making potashes and pearl-ashes; manufacturing square timber, deals, and staves; navigating steam boats, sloops, and river craft; public works, &c. afford sources of abundant occupation. It will be long before Upper Canada can become a manufacturing country; nor is it the interest of the inhabitants to establish factories, while the soil and the forest afford them more certain sources of independence.

The imports and exports of Upper Canada, although of great value, are included, with the exception of the interchange of commodities with the United States, in the customs' returns for Lower Canada. The details will therefore, to avoid recapitulation, be given hereafter, under the general account of the trade of both provinces.

The returns for 1831 state the number of rateable property to be:—

Acres of land cultivated	-	-	-	774,725
Dwelling-houses of a superior kind	-	-	-	14,297
Shops	-	-	-	602
Merchants' stores	-	-	-	77
Grist-mills	-	-	-	484
Saw-mills	-	-	-	536
Horses, three years old and upwards	-	-	-	29,103
Stone horses	-	-	-	188
Working oxen	-	-	-	33,432
Milch cows	-	-	-	79,692
Horned cattle, two years and upwards	-	-	-	23,060
Pleasure (wheeled) carriages of different kinds	-	-	-	1,189

The above is the description of property assessed; the rate is one penny in the pound. These returns were considered much below the actual numbers, as there was at least 1,000,000 acres of land under cultivation. The following calculation for 1832, carefully computed, is considered as near the truth as can be obtained:—

Cultivated acres	-	-	-	1,180,000
Dwelling-houses of all descriptions	-	-	-	42,857
Shops	-	-	-	643
Stores	-	-	-	110
Horses of all ages	-	-	-	34,380
Black cattle	-	-	-	214,682
Sheep (estimated). No returns.	-	-	-	240,000

Swine (estimated). No returns.	-	-	2,200
Saw-mills.	-	-	557
Grist-mills and other mills	-	-	504
Pleasure carriages	-	-	1,327

These numbers must increase with great rapidity, in a country where mankind multiply so fast by natural fecundity and immigration.

Prices of live stock, agricultural produce, and other commodities, vary according to the demand; the following may, however, be considered the average rates in Upper Canada:—

A yoke of oxen from 14*l.* to 20*l.*; milch cows, 2*l.* 10*s.* to 5*l.*; horses, fit for farmers' work, 8*l.* to 12*l.*; good saddle or carriage horses, 20*l.* to 30*l.*; sheep, 8*s.* to 12*s.*; wheat, per bushel, 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.*; barley, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*; oats, 1*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.*; Indian corn, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; potatoes, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*; pease, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*; hay, from 2*l.* to 3*l.* per ton; beef, 2*d.* to 5*d.* per pound; veal and lamb, about the same price; butter, 8*d.* to 1*s.* per pound; sugar, Muscovado, 5*d.* to 8*d.*; tea, good, 4*s.* to 6*s.*; whisky, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per gallon; rum, 3*s.* to 4*s.*; brandy, 8*s.* to 11*s.*; gin, 5*s.* to 7*s.*; other articles in proportion. These prices are in Halifax currency, which is one ninth less in value than British money; and the rate of exchange generally further reduces the price of articles one fifteenth. Implements of husbandry are now well made, and the prices moderate; furniture is also reasonable, and handsomely finished. British manufactures cost from 25 to 75 per cent. more than in England. Day labourers may get from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* per day, or 2*l.* 10*s.* per month, with board and lodging; female house servants from 1*l.* to 1*l.* 10*s.* per month; tradesmen from 5*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* per day.

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CHAP. XVI.

CUSTOMS, MANNERS, PURSUITS AND AMUSEMENTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF UPPER CANADA.—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INHABITANTS OF BRITISH AMERICA.

THE inhabitants of Upper Canada, consisting of loyalists, who came after the war from the United States; of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Americans; of others who have emigrated to the colony; and of all those born in the province, must naturally retain for some time the habits, manners, and peculiarities of the countries of their respective ancestors. The first settlers were English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, or Dutch, and their offspring, born in the old colonies.

The pursuits of all have been, and still continue to be, regulated by necessity and by local circumstances. Their manners and habits, by mingling together in the settlements, and by intermarriages, gradually amalgamate, and undergo changes, which will give a fixed, or an apparent, standard to the domestic manners of a population, among which prevail the varied habits of many countries.

We meet with a great many negroes, most of whom have run away from those who owned them in the United States. Generally speaking, they are in much the same condition as those at Hammond Plains, described in the first volume; and they appear to be

more frequently guilty of theft and robbery than any other class of people.* This certainly arises from their previous life and habits, rendering them improvident, and little adapted to act for themselves; for we occasionally find families of negroes who are as industrious and moral as the generality of white inhabitants; but they have been trained to think and act for themselves nearly from infancy.

Much has been written by travellers against the general character of the settlers in Upper Canada; and perhaps at one period the charges were not far from the truth.

A great number of persons, it is admitted, have resorted to the province, who left the United States either to evade the laws of their own country, or to cheat the unwary. Whatever want of principle and moral character has been laid to the charge of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, may be attributed partly to the pollution carried into the province from the United States; and, partly, by the contamination disseminated by the equally unprincipled, but not so expert, rogues, who are mingled with those who emigrate from the United Kingdom to Canada. No doubt the United States receive, and are equally cursed with a great proportion of the latter, as well as with a great portion of those, whose crimes and vices drive them direct to the United States from Great Britain and Ireland.

It is, however, unjust to stamp the general character of the inhabitants, either of the British colonies

* See Journals of the House of Assembly, 1830; and petitions in the Appendix, praying the house to adopt measures to prevent negroes from the United States coming to the province.

or United States, with the immoralities and crimes of those whose wickedness makes them notorious; yet travellers have indulged too frequently in doing so; and erroneous impressions respecting the inhabitants of North America are consequently cherished in the United Kingdom.

The inhabitants of Upper Canada are, with few exceptions, obliging, industrious, and religious; and the great body of the people form an independent yeomanry, whose condition gives them a freedom of manner, and a boldness of opinion in matters which they consider to be right, very different from the language of servility and hypocrisy which prevails in countries where the inhabitants are generally in a state of dependence.

The following characteristic sketches, which apply generally to the inhabitants of British America, are equally correct in regard to Upper Canada.

In the English farmer we observe the dialect of his county, the honest John Bull bluntness of his style, and other peculiarities that mark his character. His house or cottage is distinguished by cleanliness and neatness, his agricultural implements and utensils are always in order; and wherever we find that an English farmer has perseverance, for he seldom wants industry, he is sure to do well. He does not, however, reconcile himself so readily as the Scotch settler does to the privations necessarily connected, for the first few years, with being set down in a new country, where the habits of those around him, and almost every thing else attached to his situation, are somewhat different from what he has been accustomed to; and it is not until he is sensibly assured of

succeeding, and bettering his condition, that he becomes fully reconciled to the country.

There are, indeed, in the very face of a wood farm, a thousand seeming, and, it must be admitted, many real difficulties to encounter, sufficient to stagger people of more than ordinary resolution, but more particularly an English farmer, who has all his life been accustomed to cultivate land subjected for centuries to the plough. It is not therefore to be wondered that he feels discouraged at the aspect of wilderness lands, covered with heavy forest trees, which he must cut down and destroy. He is not acquainted with the use of the axe; and if he were, the very piling and burning of the wood, after the trees are felled, is a most disagreeable piece of labour. He has, besides, to make a fence of the logs, to keep off the cattle, sheep, and hogs, which range at large; and when all this is done, he must not only submit to the hard toil of hoeing in grain or potatoes, but often to live on coarse diet. Were it not for the example which he has before him of others, who had to undergo similar hardships before they attained the means which yield them independence, he might indeed give up in despair, and be forgiven for doing so.

The Scotchman, habituated to greater privations in his native country, has probably left it with the full determination of undergoing any hardships that may lead to the acquisition of solid advantages. He therefore acts with great caution and industry, subjects himself to many inconveniences, neglects the comforts for some time which the Englishman considers indispensable, and in time certainly succeeds in surmounting all difficulties, and then, and not till then, does he willingly enjoy the comforts of life.

The Irish peasant is soon distinguished by his brogue, his confident manner, readiness of reply, seeming happiness, although often describing his situation as worse than it is. The Irish emigrants are more anxious, in general, to gain a temporary advantage, by working some time for others, than by beginning immediately on a piece of land for themselves; and by having abundant means, in a country where ardent spirits are so very cheap, they are too frequently tempted into the habit of drinking—a vice to which a great number of English and Scotch become also unfortunately addicted. But the inhabitants are generally much more temperate during late years than formerly. When the Irish are for a few years stationary settlers, they become steady farmers, moral in their habits, and kind obliging neighbours.

The farmers and labourers born and brought up in America possess, in an eminent degree, a quickness of expedients where any thing is required that can be supplied by the use of edge-tools; and, as carpenters and joiners, they are not only expert but ingenious workmen.

Almost every farmer, particularly in the thinly settled districts of America, has a loom in his house, and their wives and daughters not only spin the yarn, but weave the cloth. The quantity, however, manufactured among the farmers, is not more than half what is required for domestic use.

The houses of the American loyalists residing in the colonies are better constructed, and more convenient and clean within, than those of the Highland Scotch and Irish, or indeed those of any other settlers who have not lived some years in America. Although

the house of an English farmer who settles on a new farm is, from his awkward acquaintance with edge-tools, usually very clumsy in its construction; yet that comfortable neatness, which is so peculiar to England, prevails within doors, and shows that the virtue of cleanliness is one that few Englishwomen, let them go where they may, ever forget. The wives of the loyalists are also remarkable for indoor cleanliness and orderly arrangements. They seldom assist, like the Scotch and Canadian women, in agricultural operations.*

The Highland Scotch, unless intermixed with other settlers, are not only careless, in many particulars, of cleanliness, within their houses, but are also regardless of neatness and convenience in their agricultural implements and arrangements. All this arises from the force of habit, and the long prevalence of the make-shift system; for whenever a Scotch Highlander is planted among a promiscuous population, no one is more anxious than he to rival the more respectable establishment of his neighbour.

The Scotch settlers from the Lowland counties, although they generally know much better, yet remain, from a determination first to accumulate property, for some years regardless of comfort or

* There is some truth in the reply, which a Scotch poacher settled in Canada made, on Mr. Fergusson saying to him, "You want only a wife now to make you complete." "Yes, Sir, but I'll have her from auld Scotland, for these Yankee lasses are good for nought; they'll blow the horn, and tak a man frae the plough to fetch them a skeel (a pail) of water." The wives of Americans and others generally blow a horn to announce to their husbands or sons, who are in the fields or woods, that dinner or other meals are ready, merely to save time, or if they be required for any very particular purpose; but seldom or never on trifling occasions.

convenience in their dwellings; but they at last build respectable houses, and enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The lower classes of Irish, familiarised from their birth to a miserable subsistence and wretched residences, are, particularly if they have emigrated after the prime of life, perfectly reconciled to any condition which places them above want, although by no means free of that characteristic habit of complaining which poverty at first created.

Of all the civilised people of America, there are none who can more readily accommodate themselves to all the circumstances peculiar to a country in a state of nature than the descendants of those who first settled in the United States. Far from being discouraged at the toil of clearing a new farm, they, in countless instances, make what may with great propriety be called a trade of doing so. These people fix on a piece of woodland, clear the trees away from off a few acres, build a house and barn, and then sell the land and improvements the first opportunity that offers. When this is accomplished, they probably travel one, two, or three hundred miles before they settle on another wood farm, which they clear, build on, and dispose of in the same manner as the first. These men must generally be excluded, in point of character, from the honest, stationary American loyalists. Those who make a trade of levelling the forest will run in debt and cheat whenever they can; yet, like private vices which often become public benefits, these men are useful in their own way, being the pioneers that open the roads to the remote districts.*

* The moment the son of an American is of age, he takes a farm and stocks it. A wife is a necessary part of this stock.

The Germans and their descendants are a remarkably honest, moral, and plodding people, little disposed to change their habits, or their primitive modes of husbandry.

Few people, however, find themselves sooner at their ease than the Highland Scotch; no class can encounter difficulties or suffer privations with more hardihood, or endure fatigue with less repining. They acquire what they consider an independence in a few years; but they remain, in too many instances, contented with their condition, when they find themselves in possession of more ample means than they possessed in their native country. This observation is, however, more applicable to those who settled from thirty to forty years ago in America, and who retain many of the characteristics which prevailed at that time in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. I have observed, that wherever the Highlanders inhabit a distinct settlement, their habits, their system of husbandry, their disregard for comfort in their houses, their ancient hospitable customs, and their language undergo no sensible change. They frequently pass the winter evenings reciting traditionary poems in Gaelic; and I have known many who might, with more propriety, be called faithful counterparts of the Highlanders who fought at Culloden, than can now, from the changes which have during the last fifty years taken place, be found in any part of Scotland.

If he cannot easily get a suitable farm near where he lives, he will sell off all that is cumbrous, and with a few necessary articles, pushes forward into the western countries; where he chooses a farm, erects a log hut, and commences operations, regardless of all human beings.

In many instances, as warm a veneration for the memory of the Stuarts exists among the old Highlanders who settled, about forty years ago, in different parts of America, as was ever felt for that family in Scotland; but with this difference, that they are sincerely and faithfully attached to the present royal family. The enthusiasm of those brave Celts is by no means of a rebellious and turbulent nature. They merely cherish a kind and filial remembrance for persons whom they consider to have been unfortunate, and for whom all the associations of childhood created respect. Nothing contributed to produce and preserve these feelings more than the legendary tales, songs, and music of the Highlanders. That statesman knew the human heart well who said, "Let me write the songs of my country, and, let who will make the laws, I will rule the people."*

* "This day's journey, seventeen miles only, has been through a dense forest of primeval wood. The road muddy and heavy interrupted by wind-falls (trees laid prostrate) by the gales of last month. I have seen my horses well rubbed down and fed, and have now, after enjoying a substantial dinner, hastily prepared by the landlady, been sitting by a blazing wood-fire in a comfortable parlour, ornamented with common pictures, an old Dutch clock, and a looking-glass, the frame of which appears to have been made in the reign of Queen Anne.

"This has been a clear, calm, delightful 'Indian summer' evening. The sun, on setting beyond the horizon of the far western waters, gilded and coloured the heavens with the most effulgent and inimitable brilliancy; and the lake, which opens broadly before the windows of this room, reflected faithfully the rich and glorious splendour of the sky. In the southern distance appeared several bluish summits, with their tops brightly tinged; they rise in the northern parts of Pennsylvania and New York. On the bosom of the lake' there floated two white canoes, several boats and sloops, and some lovely vessels, American schooners:—the fields and roads in view, with clumps of evergreens, and with cattle and

There is scarcely a Highland settlement in North America in which there is not a piper, who plays with great spirit the same wild martial music which has for centuries resounded among the mountains and glens of Lochaber, Rannoch, and Aberfoil. At their weddings, and often at their dances, and even at their militia musters, the piper is considered indispensable. At their dances within doors, they, however, generally prefer the old Highland fiddler, or the young one who has learnt the same music, which is at all times played with the spirit and rapidity of which the Scotch reels and strathspeys are so eminently susceptible.

Their dancing is assuredly at the very antipodes of our fashionable quadrilling; with them every muscle and limb is actively and rapidly engaged, and they often maintain the floor till one, whose strength of body or lungs is weaker than that of the others,

sheep scattered over the pastures, added greatly to the beauty of the charming scene. I have seldom enjoyed a landscape with more heartfelt pleasure; my eyes and mind were fastened to the admirable picture, but I was suddenly diverted from it. In the next room, I heard three clear sweet voices singing prettily and simply together. The melody brought instantly forth all the associations of 'Auld Langsync.' The song was Burns's 'Highland Mary,' and sung by the landlady's three little girls, with all the sweet pathos of rural innocence. Spirit of Burns! could'st thou but reanimate the dust that sleeps beneath the splendid monument in St. Michael's 'kirk yard,' Dumfries, to enable thee to put on humanity, and travel forth to hear thy pastorals sung, by these little maidens, in the wilds of America. The father of these children is, by descent, a German: the mother was born in America of Scotch parents." —

Extract from the Author's Journal, 11th October, 1824.

yields to the fatigue, and sits down. They have always dances at their marriages, and also when the bride arrives at her lord's house. Christmas is also with them the season of making merry. The Lowland Scotch have dances much in the same way and on the same occasions; indeed, they mix much with each other, as the neighbours are generally, be they of what country they may, all invited. The Highlanders are as superstitious in America as they are, or were, in Scotland; believing in second sight, ghosts, and prognostics of good or evil fortune.

Of the Highlanders who settled in America about fifty years ago, there are numbers still living, in excellent health and spirits, although from seventy to ninety years of age. They relate the tales of their early days, and the recollections of their native land, with enthusiastic rapture; and the wish to tread once more on ground sacred to their dearest feelings, and hallowed from containing the ashes of their ancestors, seems paramount to the ties of property and every connection which binds them to a country in which they have so long been domiciliated. There are but few indeed that I ever met with in any part of America, who do not, in a greater or less degree, feel a lingering wish to see their native country; and although prudence or necessity forbids their doing so, yet nothing appears to destroy the warm affection they retain for the land where they first drew breath. This feeling descends to all their offspring born in America, and all call the United Kingdom by the endearing name of "home."

Various circumstances connected with Scotland make the attachment which her children retain for a country to which destiny allows but few of them to

return, differ widely from what is usually observed among the natives of England or Ireland. Among the latter, indeed, both the recollection of their country and an affection for relatives are strong; but the comfort they usually enjoy in America, contrasted with the distress to which they were inured, under the peculiar circumstances of their native country, seems to extinguish an attachment which would otherwise continue to be warmly cherished by a people who are well known to possess strong feelings and affections.

The honest pride of an Englishman makes him consider every country inferior to his own, nor can he on earth discover a nation so eminently blessed as England is with comforts and advantages; but, when abroad, he seems to think too much of its many sources of enjoyment, and to sigh too frequently for its sports and amusements, to support that spirit which is the soul of adventure. All these feelings are natural, but they check the ardour which conquers difficulties.

With the native of North Britain, not only does the education he receives at school, and the principles inculcated at the fireside of his parents, impress on him, as well as the usual course of instruction does on the native of England, that correctness and propriety of conduct are essential to form a character that will succeed in the world, as well as gain the confidence of mankind; but the lessons of early life infuse also, among the lower and middle classes in Scotland, a spirit which endures the greatest hardships without repining, wherever a manifest utility is to be attained.

The pride of rising in the world, and the natural

ascendency which they expect to acquire in society, by persevering exertion, are motives that have an irresistible influence over the character and actions of the majority of those who have left Scotland for other countries. The vast numbers of them, also, who meet abroad, form attachments, which the recollections of early days, and conversing on circumstances connected with their native land, strengthen and maintain. This alone is the cause of their assisting, and their associating so much with, each other in distant countries.

The amusements of the farmers and other inhabitants settled in the British colonies are much the same as they have been accustomed to before leaving the countries from whence they came. Dances on many occasions are common; families visit each other at Christmas and New-Year's-day; and almost all that is peculiar to Scotland at the season of "Hallowe'en" is repeated. Among the young men, feats of running, leaping, and gymnastic exercises, are common; but that in which they most delight is in galloping up and down the country on horseback. Indeed, many of the farmers' sons, who could make a certain livelihood by steady labour, acquire a spirit for bargain-making, dealing in horses, timber, old watches, &c., in order to become what they consider (by being idle) gentlemen: those who lead this course of life seldom do any good, and generally turn out lazy, drunken, dishonest vagabonds.

The insufferable forwardness of many of the sons of very worthy and industrious men who emigrated at different periods to America, is truly disgusting. Their fathers, by steady labour and honesty, have generally some valuable property in land and cattle.

The sons, observing few in better circumstances than themselves, begin to think, especially if they have been taught a little learning by a straggling Irish schoolmaster, or by a disbanded soldier, that they should not work as their fathers have done; that "scheming," or "head-work," will answer much better; and they consequently acquire, in a short time, the vices, principles, and manners of the worst of the Americans. I quite agree with Mr. Howison, when he says, "that the *ne plus ultra* of impudence, rascality, and villany is comprehended in the epithet *Scotch Yankee*."

The term *frolic* is peculiar, I believe, to America, in the different senses in which it is there used. If a goodwife has a quantity of wool or flax to spin, she invites as many of her neighbours as the house can well accommodate; some bring their spinning-wheels, others their cards. They remain all day at work; and, after drinking abundance of tea, either go home, or remain to dance for some part of the night. This is called a "spinning frolic."

They are on these occasions, as well as at other frolics, joined by the young men of the settlement, and in this way many of their love-matches are made up. When a farmer or new settler wants a piece of wood cut down, he procures a few gallons of rum to drink on the occasion, and sends for his neighbours to assist him in levelling the forests. This, again, is called a "chopping frolic."

Where husking Indian corn is a matter of some moment, the young men and women assemble alternately at each farmer's house, for the purpose of performing the job. On these occasions, which they call "husking frolics," they have rare frolics indeed;

tumbling and kissing each other among the corn forming a prominent share of the amusement.

Horse races have long been favourite amusements in British America and the United States; and, if attended with no other good, have certainly improved the breed of horses.

Driving out during winter in sledges or carioles, is much indulged in; and *pic-nic parties* in summer and winter are frequently made by the higher classes.

Ice-boats placed on two *runners*, or keels, are occasionally constructed; and steered by a rudder, which cuts into the ice, when required to direct the boat's head to any point. These have been contrived to sail over rivers and lakes, not only before the wind at the rate of from twenty to thirty miles an hour, but also to beat to windward.

Shooting and fishing afford abundant sport in all the colonies.

Hunting deer, or *deer-stalking*, requires the hunter to be well acquainted with the haunts of these animals. They are shot by the deer-stalkers, who bivouac in the woods, by laying "in wait" for them, or by worrying them with dogs, until the deer take to the nearest water, when the animal is shot, drowned, or killed with a bludgeon.

Abundant, however, as the opportunities of fishing and shooting are, and although there are, strictly speaking, no game-laws, yet there is no country where the people care less for wild sports than in America; and it is well known that poachers, who have settled in Canada, care even less than the other settlers for similar sports to those for which in the United Kingdom they daily incurred the risk of their lives, or of transportation.

CHAP. XVII.

SKETCH OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.*

Few enquiries have been attended with more perplexity than the original peopling of America; nor is it likely that human research will ever solve the question. We have no historical data to guide us. Chronology and written records are confined to the world as known to us before the fifteenth century; and all opinions respecting America before that period are speculative, and end only in conjecture. The origin of the natives, and that of the wild animals found on the smallest islands in the Pacific, are equally enveloped in mysterious darkness; and we know only *the fact*, that there is no part of the globe which affords sustenance for man, in which beings of the human species are not found.

It is a remarkable physical characteristic, peculiar to the aborigines of America, that they are, from Hudson Bay to the extremity of Patagonia, evidently the same race; the Esquimaux, who are apparently of Laplandish or of Kamtschatkan descent, forming the only remarkable exception.

Under the torrid zone, and in the north-west countries of Canada, the features, forms, and com-

* This sketch is abstracted from voluminous materials, collected by the author in various parts of America, which he intended to arrange for publication; but more pressing engagements have compelled him, at least for the present, to abandon this object.

plexions of the aborigines are nearly the same. Their colour is a shining olive, not exactly a *copper* colour, as is usually stated: the stature of the men is generally not under five feet nine inches, and often six feet. Their persons are symmetrically proportioned, never corpulent, and their hands and feet small and finely formed. The lower part of the face is angular: the upper part rather broad; the forehead finely shaped; the eyes deep set, black, quick, and piercing; the upper part of the cheeks prominent; the nose short, sometimes a little of the *Roman*; the teeth remarkably white, and scarcely ever subject to decay; the hair dark, sleek, and shining, — it never curls; they have little or no beard, or hair on any part of their body, except the head. The aspect of the Indian is stern and dignified, and his look suspicious. He is taciturn, thoughtful, and distrustful in making his replies.

The women are rather of low stature, naturally of delicate forms; but, being domestic drudges, become thick and somewhat coarse as they advance in years.

The condition of the Indian tribes is now very different from what it was three centuries ago, when the whole western world was theirs; and when the whole race formed patriarchal families, or tribes of hunters.

Columbus, in describing them to Ferdinand and Isabella, says: — “ I swear to your majesties that there is not a better people in the world than these, more affectionate, affable, or mild. They love their neighbours as themselves. Their language is the sweetest, the softest, and most cheerful; for they always speak smiling; and although they go naked,

let your majesties believe me, their customs are very becoming; and their king, who is served with great majesty, has such engaging manners, that it gives great pleasure to see him; and also the great retention of memory of that people, and the desire of knowledge, which excites them to ask the causes and effects of things." This description may be too highly coloured, for it does not bring into the picture their natural passions, as displayed in war, or on occasions when their spirit of revenge exhibited its terrible ferocity. Cartier, on visiting Canada, was peaceably received by the Indians. The avarice of the fur traders afterwards supplied the natives with fatal presents, brandy and fire-arms; and, until a determination was manifested on the part of the Europeans to possess the country, the Indians did not resist the inroads of those who afterwards deprived them of the territories which they held by the free gift of Heaven. Even cursory details of these matters would be too lengthy, and I must confine this sketch to a few remarks on the condition of the remnant of the Indian tribes scattered over the Canadas, and the maritime colonies of British America.

They exhibit at the present day, with few exceptions, a state of deplorable wretchedness, which claims the consideration, not only of the government, but of every reflecting man.

To say that the Indians are incapable of civilisation, would be to express the most gross absurdity ever uttered. A North American Indian, except when maddened or stupified by the intoxicating liquors introduced by Europeans, is the most dignified person in the world. He is never awkward, never abashed, never ill bred — never intrusive. The grave,

dignified, taciturn, yet, when occasion requires, eloquent, gentleman of nature, has not been properly respected by Europeans, and least of all by the English, who, to our disgrace be it said, have, on almost all occasions, treated the

“ Stoic of the woods, the man without a tear,”

with contempt.

The proud heart of the Indian, deprived of his beautiful country, the forests of which once afforded him abundant game, and in the rivers of which he alone fished, rather than submit to the degradation of working for the robbers who now despise his race, pines in silent anguish, while he beholds the melting away of his tribe amidst the encroachments and prosperity of Europeans. All the attempts to ameliorate, or, to speak more properly, to raise the condition of the Indian to the state which is indisputably his right, are useless and futile, unless we convince him that he is respected, and that we are at last to act towards him with justice. The schools which we have pretended to establish, the religion which we have endeavoured to teach, have not, let well-meaning and zealous missionaries state or write what they please, been as yet of any substantial utility. The Indian must have the place to which he has a right in the society of mankind, and he must believe that he is respected before he will embrace civilisation, or adopt those arts, and learn that knowledge, which are necessary to obtain the comforts of life, or to promote the happiness of men who, from the encroachments of Europeans, cease to be a nation of hunters.

I have heard it contended, “ that experience has

ascertained this simple fact, that it is a folly to attempt civilising the Indians." This has been insisted on, particularly by certain persons in the United States, as an argument for removing the Indians beyond the Mississippi; which has partially been accomplished by Congress, with some justice, and, it is true, without violence to the Indians, by giving them a tolerable sum as a consideration for leaving the country.

But to say that experience proves it a folly to civilise the Indians, is absolute and untrue. We have too many examples to refute the assertion. William Penn always said, "Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them;" and the influence of this extraordinary man over the Indians was acquired by treating them with uniform justice and becoming respect.

One of the United States' Commissioners for Indian Affairs writes: — "The condition of the Creeks and Cherokees is very prosperous. The Cherokees can, I think, dispose of 28,000 bushels of corn this season, and the Creeks 50,000 bushels, which is over and above their own consumption. Education is becoming an interesting topic. Five schools have been and are now being established among the Creeks, independent of the benevolent schools. The Cherokees have employed four native teachers, at 400 dollars each, and Mr. Cuess, the inventor of the alphabet, at 400 dollars, thus consuming their own fund of 2000 dollars. This is to the Indian nations a most interesting time."

The unjustifiable conduct of Europeans, and the wrong, although sincere, plan of civilisation adopted by all missionaries, except the Jesuits, have formed

the real causes which have prevented the Indians from becoming a civilised, agricultural, and educated people.

When the Canadas, and other countries in North America, were colonised by the French, Catholic missionaries engaged zealously in the conversion of the various Indian tribes; and they certainly were successful in persuading them to embrace the Romish faith. Their wonderful success in changing, for the time, the belief of such numerous tribes appears, at first, astonishing; but it must be recollected, that the Indians all over America, like all ignorant people, are extremely superstitious and fascinated, or awed by whatever appeared mysterious. It was, therefore, not difficult to induce them to listen, and soon after to believe, whatever appeared to them marvellous.

The missionaries neglected to prepare them to comprehend the doctrines of Christianity, by teaching them useful knowledge of other matters; and they also neglected to convince them, by example and persuasion, of the security and comfort of civilisation. Experience may now surely convince us, that, so long as the Indians retain their primitive barbarity, all that the Catholic or other missionaries have done, or may do, will not produce any lasting good; nor will they acknowledge the Roman Catholic, or any Christian creed but as long as they wander among Europeans. At Cagnawagha, nine miles above Montreal, the descendants of a tribe of the once powerful Iroquois nations settled. They had been brought up from their infancy under the Catholic priests; but in 1779, a colony of them emigrated west about three thousand miles, to the banks of the Saskatchewan, be-

yond Lake Superior. They and many of the Algonquins resumed the primitive life of hunters, and soon forgot or abandoned the religion taught them by the missionaries.

Had the missionaries, who were so devotedly engaged in the conversion of the savages, commenced by teaching them some of the useful arts, and by that means prepared their minds gradually for objects of greater magnitude; had they endeavoured to direct their attention to agriculture, which would insensibly attach them to one spot, by giving them a regard for the importance of property; and, in a word, had they endeavoured to convince the wandering tribes, that the arts of civilisation would add to their comfort, by ensuring a certain, instead of a precarious subsistence, there is no doubt that their labours would have been successful.

But their great object was to make converts of the Indians; and, for this purpose, they not only habituated but naturalised themselves to savage life and manners.

The Jesuits in Paraguay, although they, perhaps, had less piety, understood human nature better, and consequently succeeded in making the aborigines useful, by introducing them to the benefits arising from the useful arts, when applied to agriculture and other purposes.

Among the descendants of the various tribes, a very few have become stationary. There are, indeed, some villages within the United States and Canada, inhabited by Indians, who plant a little Indian corn and potatoes, but not a fifth part of what is necessary for their consumption. The men, dispirited, are inclined to indolence, and seldom do

more than wander in the woods with their gun, or, with a fishing spear on the water in a canoe. The women cultivate their small gardens, perform all the domestic drudgery of cooking and nursing, and employ themselves also in making boxes, baskets, and *mocassins*. The men are not reconciled to remain stationary in the villages, much less when they live in *wigwams*, or tents; and as the hunting grounds possessed by their forefathers are now chiefly occupied by Europeans, and the game in a great measure destroyed, the Indians, who are scattered among the settlements, have become generally lazy vagrants, immoderately fond of spirituous liquors.

They are decreasing rapidly in numbers. Society, instead of ameliorating their condition, has brought on them every variety of misery, by depriving them of their country, and levelling the forest which once furnished them the certain means of subsistence; and, worse than all, by the introduction of ardent spirits, and a train of diseases of which they were ignorant, and neither knew how to prevent nor cure.

The Five Nations, who before the American revolution were so powerful, and for a long period allied by an offensive and defensive league, were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas: the Tuscaroras afterwards became a party. Their power is now dwindled to insignificance, and, in the event of another war, they will be of little consequence, as friends or enemies.

The descendants of the Huron tribe, once so numerous, are now reduced to about 200, and live principally in the village of Lorette, near Quebec. They are in a great measure stationary, and form the

principal exception to the vagrant life led by the other Indians of Canada.

The Mickmack and Richibuctu Indians formerly inhabited the shores of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton. The Richibuctus have become extinct; but four or five hundred families of the Mickmacks are still roving among the woods and along the rivers and shores of those countries. They are, perhaps, the greatest vagrants of all the Indian tribes, and remain but a short time at any one place. They are idle and fond of spirits, but chaste and honest. They have certain places of rendezvous, already mentioned, where they assemble about midsummer, and meet their chief. The priest meets them at the same time, for the purpose of hearing confessions, saying mass, baptizing children, and uniting in matrimony those inclined to marry. After remaining a short time, they gather up their blankets and other "traps," roll up the bark that covered their wigwam, put all into a birch bark canoe, and, embarking with squaw (wife) and papouzes (children), resume their accustomed roving life. The Abenaki tribe, at one time very powerful, consists at present chiefly of a few families, who rendezvous at a village on the river St. Francis. They are wretchedly poor, and live in about 40 huts. Others live in a small village at Beçancour: they are all Catholics, and cultivate a little maize and potatoes.

The Esquimaux, inhabiting the coast of Labrador and Hudson Bay, are the most rude and filthy of all the savage tribes; yet the Moravians at Nain (Labrador), and some of the fishing adventurers, induce them to engage in the fisheries. The Montagnais, a tribe of the Algonquin Indians, were formerly

spread over an immense tract of country. They inhabited the banks of the St. Lawrence as far as the Saguenay, the banks of the Ottawas, and a great extent of the country north and west of Lake Superior. They are of moderate stature, well proportioned, and of great dexterity, and about 1000 are still known to wander over various parts of Canada.

The Chepeweyans are the most remote of all the tribes in a north-west direction from Lake Superior. Their intercourse with Europeans has been confined to the merchants and servants of the Hudson Bay and North West Company. They speak a copious language, peculiar to themselves. They are described by the fur traders as sober, timorous, vagrant, and selfish. Plurality of wives is common among them. They do not affect that cold reserve, at meeting with strangers, that is common to all the other tribes, and they communicate freely all the knowledge they possess.

They are extremely superstitious, and have their conjurors and priests.

Their idea of the creation is curious. The world, they believe, was at first one vast sea, inhabited only by an extraordinary bird, whose eyes were fire, whose glances were lightning, and the flapping of whose wings was thunder.

On his descent from above, and touching the ocean, the earth instantly arose, clothed with verdure and trees. This mighty bird then called forth from the earth all the variety of animals, except the Chepeweyans, who were produced from a dog and a woman; and, having finished his work, made an arrow, which was to be preserved with great care, and to remain untouched; but that the Chepewe-

yans were so devoid of understanding as to carry it away; which act of disobedience so enraged the *great bird*, that he has never since appeared. They believe that immediately after death they arrive in another world, on the bank of a large river; on which they embark in a stone canoe; and that they are carried along by the current to a great lake, in the centre of which is a delightful island, and in the view of it they hear that judgment pronounced which determines their eternal happiness or misery. If their good actions weigh down their bad deeds, they are landed on the island, where they are to enjoy everlasting felicity; if not, the canoe sinks and leaves them up to the chin in water, where they are punished by beholding for ever the reward enjoyed by the good.

The Indians of Lower Canada are degraded by the low vices of Europe; and the Catholic clergy are zealously endeavouring to bring them back to sobriety, and to induce them to confine their attention to cultivate the soil. But the task is now difficult, though not impossible.

In Upper Canada the Mohawks, who were always the most intelligent and enterprising of the Iroquois nations, are principally settled on the Ouse, or Grand River, at the village of Brandtford, so called in honour of their chief, Captain Brandt, son of the chief who is so well known as a leader of the Indians on the English side during the American revolutionary war. Captain Brandt is a very intelligent and educated man. He was elected a member to represent Haldimand in the provincial parliament some time ago, but was from some cause prevented from taking his seat.

The principal villages or meeting-places of the Indians in Upper Canada are on the Grand River, consisting of about 2000 Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and Tuscarora Indians. A few only, notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the missionaries, are Christians. The Annual Report of the Canada Conference for 1827, states, "they are, however, less addicted to intoxication than their Christian brethren, if we except those who were converted in the late revivals; and it is a most mortifying circumstance, that when our missionary, Mr. Torrey, has urged the pagan Indians to embrace Christianity, they have objected by saying, 'The Christians drink more whisky than we.'" The Mohawks at Doveville, Grand River, are Christians, and are stated to be rather more industrious and sober than most of the other Indians.

On the River Thames, falling into Lake St. Clair, there are about 220 Delaware Indians, and about 260 of the Chepewey nation; they have a reserve of several thousand acres.

On the River Credit, government built, out of the proceeds of the sales of part of their reserve, several houses for the Indians, and about forty families are settled there: they have a meeting-house, which serves as a school, and a methodist missionary resides among them. These Indians are of the Mississagua tribe, and are anxious that their children should be educated: several of the latter have been even engaged in instructing their parents. They subscribe for newspapers, and pay for them regularly; they have a good saw-mill: they make sleighs, and many wooden articles for sale, and each dwelling has a garden attached.

At Grape Island, Bay of Quintè, containing about twenty acres, several Indians have been persuaded to settle, and another island has been obtained for them by the Missionary Society, by paying a claim on it of about 27*l*. These Indians have been instructed in useful knowledge, in agriculture and common trades. Indian chapels are built (one on each) on three islands in Rice Lake; and missionaries visit the Indians on the Ottawa and other parts. The majority, however, have not embraced Christianity, and their objections are not only curious, but, on the score of morality, difficult to refute.

The missionaries of the various Christian denominations have zealously, and, I believe, sincerely, endeavoured to civilise the Indians. Unfortunately for Christianity, the ministers of each sect have advanced instruction in a different spirit and with a different interpretation. The Indians have, in perplexity, doubted, or, according to their usual custom, argued on the data of natural religion; and the consequence, generally speaking, is, that but a small portion of the aborigines of North America believe with sincerity in revelation according to Scripture testimony.

There is an extraordinary difference between the natural disposition of the American Indian and that of the African negro. The latter, sullenly, it is true, submits to slavery, the former disdains the most slender idea of servitude. Rather than submit to labour for others, he will endure the most excruciating and prolonged torture, without uttering a complaint, or exhibiting a convulsion.

The Indian tribes west of the Mississippi and the great lakes still live in the primitive hunter state; but what we term civilisation is travelling rapidly

west, and either driving the Indians before it, or destroying them in its course. An old Indian chife, speaking of the conduct of Europeans towards his countrymen, said, — “ They drove us back from time to time into the wilderness, far from the water, and the fish, and the oysters. They have destroyed the game; our people have wasted away, and now we live miserable and wretched, while they are enjoying our fine and beautiful country.”

It is indeed true that, in the countries east of the Alleghany mountains and of Lakes Michigan and Huron, the remnant of the Indians, both men and women, present a most disheartening spectacle of squalidness and poverty: they wander about among the settlements, debased and dispirited; their proud native courage daunted by the power or cunning of their white neighbours. Civilisation has overwhelmed, not improved them; it has advanced, carrying along with it pestilence, intemperance, fire-arms, and that surer exterminator of aboriginal rights, trade. The latter has increased their appetites, and diminished their means of happiness.

They loiter in the villages, or linger among the settlements, which are full of comfort to all but the original occupants of the country. Their hunting-grounds have been transformed into corn-fields, but the harvest is not for them.

Their natural virtues and vices are prominent only among those who have resisted intemperance. The women are chaste, modest, and seldom if ever drink spirituous liquors; but their misery and laborious occupations are augmented by the debasement of their husbands.

The prevailing characteristics of the Indians, par-

ticularly of the old chiefs, are still occasionally to be observed in as full force as when Charlevoix described them; and the physical and moral qualities of the hunting Indians appear unchanged.

Hunting and fishing are still, with them, the only pursuits in which they deign to procure food: any attempt at agriculture is the lot of the women. A known Indian curse is, "May you be compelled by hunger to till the ground!"

They never increased rapidly in numbers. No wandering nation ever became populous. Hunting prevents, and war destroys, the increase of mankind. It would appear that war and hunting supplants love: for among them the passion is certainly not ardent. Buffon contends that nature has denied them the faculty of love. He is, however, egregiously incorrect when he says, "their love for parents and children is extremely weak, and that the bonds of the most intimate of all societies, those of the same family, are feeble;" for they lament bitterly on the death of their friends, and howl at their funeral solemnities.

Jefferson, who understood the Indian character better, admits they have little ardour for the female; but concludes that the whites, reduced to the same diet and exercise, would be equally defective.

Precarious subsistence, a wandering life, and the mothers giving suck to the children sometimes for six or seven years, may be considered the causes which prevent their rearing a numerous offspring.

Indian women, when married to the fur traders, who feed them and their children regularly, exempt them from excessive drudgery, keep them stationary, and unexposed to accident, produce and raise as many children as white women.

The ties of friendship are lasting between man and man among the Indians. An Iroquois, who was a Christian, but not living according to the precepts taught him by the missionary, was threatened with future damnation. He asked if his friend, who died some time before, was in hell. The missionary said, "No." The Indian replied, "Well, then, won't go there."

They are very superstitious, and believe in dreams, apparitions, and all their jugglers tell them. Their language is metaphorical, harmonious, bold, and energetic. Its intonation, emphasis, and tones resemble Greek more than any of the languages of the old world. Revenge is their dominant passion. Like Homer's heroes, they believe that the shades of their departed friends call for revenge; and they conceal their purpose for years, if a proper opportunity does not offer to satiate their resentment. They consider our manner of bringing up youth useless to them. They never punish their children. To their enemies they are malignant, cruel, and inexorable. To their friends they are steadfast in their attachments. They have little gaiety of disposition; but their music and dancing is wild and passionate.

At no period do they appear to have had any acquaintance with the sciences. When America was discovered, they had neither forges, ploughs, nor looms. Bark canoes, or wooden ones hollowed out by burning; fishing-hooks made of bone, and lines made of the entrails or skins of animals; clubs hardened in the fire; lances armed with flint or bone; bows, with arrows pointed in the same way; were the only articles which they made. The gun, toma-

hawk, and scalping-knife have since been substituted for the bow and lance.

Their architecture arrived at little more than rude erections. Some exceptions appeared in Mexico and Peru, but these were few; and conical wigwams, covered with the rinds of trees, have constituted their dwellings.

They esteem our labours as slavish and base. They care not for riches; and whatever they have they consume, without adding to their stock, depending on chance for future provision.

They are hospitable to strangers, and give a share of their food and habitations freely; but if they enter the houses of Europeans, they seldom meet with the same kind treatment; and, to the everlasting shame of Christians, they have treated the Indian, as if he were not of the human race, or not under the protection of the same God.

Order and gravity prevail at their councils. The old men occupy the first, warriors the next, and women the third places. The latter listen attentively to all that passes, register it in their memories, and transmit it to their children. While an orator speaks, the assembly listens with profound silence; and when he has finished, a little time is allowed to elapse, to leave him the opportunity of recollecting any thing he may have omitted. Their speeches are grave and deliberate. They never interrupt a speaker; and, in conversation, never contradict one another. They listen with patience: and seeming, by their not negating what is told them by strangers, to assent to the opinions of those who speak, the missionaries have often been misled into the belief of having converted the Indians, when they have only yielded

to listen from a hereditary rule or standard of politeness.

Eloquence in council, and courage in war, are their ruling passions ; and the irresistible motive for war is revenge. When young, they are hunters and warriors ; when old, they become counsellors. They are not averse to social life ; but the principle of their society forbids all compulsion : they can only be influenced, not commanded. The hunting Indian will scarcely work for any reward : it sinks him from what he considers the high condition of a huntsman, warrior, and statesman, to that of a slave, peasant, or mechanic. The love of independence, the great instinct of nature, is paramount to every consideration with the Indian.

To guide a canoe, to fish, hunt, and fight, are his necessary acquirements. His talents are, oratory, address in negotiation, patience, and travelling long without food. Their chiefs acquire an ascendancy by a warlike aspect, and a strong and terrible voice ; but eloquence and daring exploits are still greater recommendations.

In negotiations they use collars or belts of wampum, which are about three feet in length, and six inches in breadth, and ornamented with small shells. No transaction can be entered into without the intervention of these belts ; which serve, in the absence of writing, the place of contracts or obligations. They preserve them for many years ; and their distinctive marks are well known to their sachems or elders. To raise the hatchet is to proclaim war ; to bury it is to enter on terms of, or to conclude, peace.

Such were the leading characteristics of the aboriginal inhabitants of North America ; and such are

they still in the countries west of the Mississippi and the great lakes, except where the fur traders have corrupted them by increasing their wants, and teaching them the tricks of bargain-making; and, by persuasion and example, have made them more sensual, immodest, and unchaste.

It is doubtful whether the remnant of the Indian tribes scattered among the European settlements will ever be brought generally to improve their morals or their condition.

The following extracts from the Message of General Jackson, President of the United States, to Congress, will illustrate the policy generally entertained by the statesmen of that country, in respect to the aborigines: —

“It gives me pleasure,” says the President, “to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements, is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress; and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

“The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual states, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the general and state governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilised population in large tracts of country now occupied

by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee, on the north, and Louisiana, on the south, to the settlement of the whites, it will incalculably strengthen the south-western frontier, and render the adjacent states strong enough to repel future invasion without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi, and the western part of Alabama, of Indian occupancy, and enable those states to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the states; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way, and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers; and, perhaps, cause them gradually, under the protection of the government, and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits, and become an interesting, civilised, and Christian community. These consequences, some of them so certain, and the rest so probable, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last session an object of much solicitude.

“Toward the aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself, or would go farther in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits, and make them a happy and prosperous people. I have endeavoured to impress upon them my own solemn convictions of the duties and powers of the General Government in relation to the state authorities. For the justice of the laws passed by the states within the scope of their reserved powers, they are not responsible to this government. As individuals, we may entertain and express our

opinions of their acts ; but, as a government, we have as little right to control them as we have to prescribe laws to foreign nations.

“ With a full understanding of the subject, the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes have, with great unanimity, determined to avail themselves of the liberal offers presented by the Act of Congress, and have agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi river. Treaties have been made with them, which, in due season, will be submitted for consideration. In negotiating these treaties, they were made to understand their true condition ; and they have preferred maintaining their independence in the western forests to submitting to the laws of the states in which they now reside. These treaties, being probably the last which will ever be made with them, are characterised by great liberality on the part of the government. They give the Indians a liberal sum in consideration of their removal, and comfortable subsistence on their arrival at their new homes. If it be their real interest to maintain a separate existence, they will there be at liberty to do so, without the inconveniences and vexations to which they would unavoidably have been subject in Alabama and Mississippi.

“ Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country ; and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it. But its progress has never for a moment been arrested ; and, one by one, have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race, and to tread on the graves of extinct nations, excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes, as it does to the extinction of one gene-

ration to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the west, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated, or has disappeared, to make room for the existing savage tribes. Nor is there any thing in this, which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests, and ranged by a few thousand savages, to our extensive republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute; occupied by more than twelve millions of happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilisation, and religion!

“The present policy of the government is but a continuation of the same progressive change, by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the eastern states were annihilated, or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilisation are rolling to the westward; and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the south and west, by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged, and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did, or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land, our forefathers left all that was dear in early objects.

Our children, by thousands, yearly, leave the land of their birth, to seek new homes in distant regions. Does humanity weep at these painful separations from every thing animate and inanimate with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds, and almost thousands of miles, at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new home from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this government, when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home, to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the west on such conditions! If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy. And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled, civilised Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government towards the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the states, and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps from utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of

his removal and settlement. In the consummation of a policy originating at an early period, and steadily pursued by every administration within the present century, — so just to the states, and so generous to the Indians, — the executive feels it has a right to expect the co-operation of Congress, and of all good and disinterested men. The states, moreover, have a right to demand it. It was substantially a part of the compact which made them members of our confederacy. With Georgia there is an express contract; with the new states, an implied one, of equal obligation. Why, in authorising Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, and Alabama, to form constitutions, and become separate states, did Congress include within their limits extensive tracts of Indian lands, and, in some instances, powerful Indian tribes? Was it not understood by both parties that the power of the states was to be co-extensive with their limits; and that, with all convenient despatch, the general government should extinguish the Indian title, and remove every obstruction to the complete jurisdiction of the state governments over the soil? Probably not one of those states would have accepted a separate existence (certainly it would never have been granted by Congress) had it been understood that they were to be confined for ever to those small portions of their nominal territory, the Indian title to which had at the time been extinguished. It is, therefore, a duty which the government owes to the new states, to extinguish, as soon as possible, the Indian title to all lands which Congress themselves have included within their limits. When this is done, the duties of the General Government, in relation to the states and Indians within their limits, are at an end. The In-

dians may leave the state or not, as they choose. The purchase of their lands does not alter, in the least, their personal relations with the state government. No act of the General Government has ever been deemed necessary to give the states jurisdiction over the persons of the Indians. That they possess, by virtue of their sovereign power, within their own limits, in as full a manner before as after the purchase of the Indian lands; nor can this government add to or diminish it. May we not hope, therefore, that all good citizens, and none more zealously than those who think the Indians oppressed by subjection to the laws of the states, will unite in attempting to open the eyes of those children of the forest to their true condition, and, by a speedy removal, to relieve them from the evils, real or imaginary, present or prospective, with which they may be supposed to be threatened?"

CHAP. XVIII.

TRADE OF THE CANADAS. — COMMERCE WHILE UNDER THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. — ANNUAL EXPENSES OF THE COLONY. — FUR TRADE. — COUREURS DE BOIS. — NORTH-WEST AND HUDSON BAY COMPANIES. — SOUTH-WEST AND NEW YORK COMPANIES. — POT-ASHES. — AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE, ETC.

THE commerce of Canada, since the time it became possessed by England, has advanced in importance nearly in the same ratio as its population has increased; accompanying in its natural course the settlement and improvement of the country, when not paralysed or impelled by war or casual circumstances.

While the country was possessed by France, trade, except the commerce in peltries, was nearly altogether neglected. A few ships, it is true, were built in Canada, and sent with wood to France. Seal oil, flour, and pease, in trifling quantities, were also exported; and for some time ginseng, which grows wild in abundance, was sent, first to France, and then to China, the only country which at that time afforded a market for it, to the value, one year, of 500,000 livres (about 20,000*l.*). This trade the French lost, from not having patience to cure the ginseng, and thus imposing a bad article on the Chinese.

The balance of trade was always greatly against the colony, and the difference was remitted to France in bills of exchange, drawn by the intendant-general, for the expenses of the civil and military govern-

ment, and for the cost of public works. The greatest exports of Canada, previous to 1759, appear, by existing statements, to have amounted only to the value of—

£88,333	6	8	in furs.
10,416	13	4	in seal oil.
10,416	13	4	in flour and pease.
6,250	0	0	in timber.
<hr/>			
£115,416	13	4	

The annual expenses of the government, in salaries to public officers, in presents to the Indians, and in money expended in the erection of fortifications at Quebec, Montreal, and upwards, along the St. Lawrence, in order to form a line of forts from Quebec to New Orleans, so as to prevent the English from penetrating the regions west of the Ohio, or the Great Lakes, increased from 16,663*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, the expenditure in 1729, to more than a million sterling before 1759.

This immense expenditure did not, however, augment or encourage the trade of the country; but, as Raynal observes, "military glory, and its dazzling grandeur, maintained the ascendant, and every other employment was considered mean, unless it were the fur trade. This pursuit was always connected with arms, and accompanied by the military, who not only guarded the posts, but enjoyed the benefits of the trade."

The fur trade, after marts were established, first by Pontgrave, at Tadousac, and, about the middle of the 17th century, at Trois Rivières and Montreal, for the purpose of bartering firearms, gunpowder, shot, brandy, red cloths, knives, hatchets, trinkets,

and a few other articles of European manufacture, for furs, with the Indians, was afterwards conducted by *coureurs du bois*, who penetrated the remote upper wilds of Canada, and accompanied the savages with their furs, down to Montreal.

Many of the *coureurs du bois* settled among the Indians, and defrauded those who intrusted them with goods ; while the rivalry of the English traders began, also, at the same time, to divert to New York the furs that would otherwise have found their way to Montreal. The French government, then, to change and regulate this commerce, undertook its management, and granted a limited number of licences to *poor gentlemen* and *old officers*, who were burdened with families, to enable them exclusively to carry merchandise to the fur countries. It was expressly prohibited, on pain of death, to all persons, of whatever rank, to go themselves, or employ others to go, to the great lakes, or to any part of the fur countries.

Each licence allowed two canoes, loaded with merchandise, to proceed to the lakes. Those authorised were privileged either to act themselves, or to dispose of their licences to others. These licences were usually estimated at 600 crowns each, and generally purchased by the merchants, who employed *coureurs du bois* to carry on a trade that was attended with extraordinary hardships and dangers. To traverse the lakes, and penetrate the forests of the western region were, particularly at that period, undertakings attended with great peril and fatigue. Savage nations, wild inland seas, thick and seemingly interminable woods, cataracts, rapids, musquitoes in summer, and snow and ice in winter, were all to be encountered.

Twenty or thirty canoes, in each of which were six or seven men, and about 1000 crowns' worth of goods, proceeded to the lakes, as far, and afterwards beyond Makillimakinak. These goods were charged to the *coureurs du bois* at 15 per cent. more than the cash price of such goods in the colony, and the cargo of each canoe purchased four return cargoes of furs, say—

160 packages beaver, at fifty crowns each,	8000 crowns,
which were distributed as follows:—	
The merchant received for the licence,	600
for the merchandise,	1000
And forty per cent. on the balance of 6400	
crowns as profit,	- 2560
	<hr/>
	4160
Leaving for the <i>coureur du bois</i> each 600	
crowns for six,	- 3840
	<hr/>
	8000.

The furs were afterwards sold to the farmer general, who usually paid twenty-five per cent. additional for them to the merchant.

The *coureurs du bois* were annually accompanied by fifty or more canoes of Hurons and Ottawas, who descended to Montreal, in order to traffic more advantageously than at Makillimakinak. On arriving at Montreal they encamped near the town, and spent the first day in erecting wigwams, landing their furs, and arranging their canoes. On the following day they demanded an audience of the governor, which was granted without delay, and held in the market-place. Each tribe formed its own circle, and the governor was seated on a chair in the centre; each Indian, in the mean time, sitting on the ground smoking his pipe, while the orator of one of the

tribes stated that he and his brother were come to visit *Ononthio*, as they termed the Governor of Canada, and to renew peace with him. The orator seldom failed to remark, that their principal object was to render themselves useful to the French, who were not able to hunt for furs; that they knew the French were delighted at their arrival, on account of the great profit of the trade: that they wanted, in return for their furs, guns and ammunition, to enable them to hunt for furs another year, and to chastise the Iroquois, if that nation should be disposed to attack the French. The orator then made a present of shells and furs to the governor, demanded his protection against the people of the town, and then the tribes arose and retired to their tents. The bartering of furs for other articles took place next day. Brandy and wine, in the mean time, was prohibited; but afterwards the Indians, who usually had some furs left, after paying for their stores, indulged in drinking to excess; and in their quarrels beat and mutilated each other, killed their slaves, and went about from shop to shop with their bows and arrows, in a state of nature.

The fur trade, after the conquest of Canada, was carried on by private adventurers, aided by the *coureurs du bois*. For a long time jealousies and animosities created quarrels and losses among those who were engaged in this perilous trade. At length the traders associated themselves, principally through the exertions of the late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and formed the famous North-west Company of Montreal. The details of the trade carried on by this company are far too tedious. In the introduction to his *Travels*, Sir Alexander Mackenzie has given a very interesting and clear account of it. The ex-

pense of conducting and supporting a trade, the returns for the goods required in which cannot be realised in less than three years, is very great; and, while it passed through Canada, gave animation and spirit to the commercial enterprise of Montreal.

The North-west Company, in consequence of the difficulties that arose from the grants made, as already noticed, by the Hudson Bay Company to the late Earl of Selkirk, joined their interests with those of the latter company; which arrangement has diverted nearly the whole trade to Hudson Bay. An establishment is still, however, kept up at Montreal, from which a few canoes for the River St. Maurice are despatched with supplies of goods for the Indians; and furs are also bought by the merchants and shopkeepers in various parts of Canada, which together, in the value of exports, amount to a considerable sum. About twenty years ago, nearly 350,000*l.* worth of furs were exported direct to England, and about 250,000*l.* worth, through the United States, to China, by the Canada merchants. These sums included the furs of an association on a smaller scale, called the South-west or Makillimakinak Company, who traded in the country south-west of Lake Michigan.

The traders of the American New York Fur Company now meet, and cross the country traversed by the Hudson Bay traders; and rencontres, which have already occurred, may, from the spirit of rivalry, be difficult hereafter to suppress. Canada enjoys not at present any advantage from the fur trade; and the executive acted most injudiciously in leasing the king's posts for 1200*l.* per annum to individuals, who have since transferred their leases to the

Hudson Bay Company, to the exclusion of the Canadians.

The stationary *habitans* of Lower Canada, having long fixed their attention to agriculture, the overplus produce of the soil they have sold for articles of convenience or luxury; and although the quantity of wheat and pease each had to sell has been small, yet, when collected, it has formed a prominent article of export. Barley and oats they had long neglected. To the culture of the first, their industry was directed by an enterprising gentleman, who established a distillery near Quebec. He gave the *habitans* barley seed for nothing; and by agreeing to pay so much an acre for all they cultivated, he overcame their prejudices. As Upper Canada became settled, two commodities of important value were obtained, in the progress of subjecting the lands to cultivation. These were timber and ashes. How the first is obtained and prepared will be described hereafter.

The pot and pearl ashes of commerce require little art in their preparation. The common wood ashes, especially those of the hard woods, such as maple, beech, birch, oak, or elm, are put into vats or large casks, over which water is poured. The water then drains off slowly through holes at the bottom, and carries away the salts in solution. This liquor, or *ley*, is then boiled in large iron pots, which causes the water to escape by evaporation, leaving the salts behind in the form which constitutes the potass of commerce. In this state the colour is a rusty red, which, by calcination, is turned into a pure white: when thus refined, the salts are termed pearl ashes.

As the soil and climate are eminently adapted for the cultivation of hemp and flax, both might become

staple articles of great importance. Linseed, rape, and sunflower oil might also be prepared in large quantities. Salted provisions, butter, flour, wheat, pease, pot and pearl ashes, pork, beef, butter, and the produce of the forests and fisheries, &c. are all regularly inspected before exportation.

Excellent cider and ale are made in both provinces; and whisky, generally of the most abominably deleterious kind, is distilled in great quantities in Upper Canada, often from rye, pumpkins, potatoes, turnips, and even rotten apples. The *habitans* in Lower Canada make nearly as much maple sugar as they require for domestic consumption; and in Upper Canada, a great part of the sugar used is made in the country. It is sometimes refined, and many prefer it to muscovado, but it does not contain so much saccharine matter.

The extensive frontier boundary which separates Canada from the United States will for ever defy the vigilance of revenue officers; and a contraband trade is carried on between both countries to an extent which bids defiance to tariffs, and confuses custom-house returns. Vast quantities of British manufactures are smuggled into the United States, and French and East India goods find their way into Canada. Before the East India Company sent their annual ship with teas direct from China to Quebec, the greater part of the tea used in the province was smuggled from the United States. The estimated value of the teas introduced in this way from the United States, reckoned at about half the price of tea in England, was about 50,000*l.*, which kept gradually increasing until the arrival of the China ships.

The actual annual value of smuggled teas, at that time, is supposed to have exceeded 120,000*l*.

The navigation of the St. Lawrence from and to the ocean is restricted to British vessels.

The produce of the United States, for the purpose of being exported in British vessels, is admitted into the Canadas; and American flour, potash, cattle, and timber, in large quantities, pass now to the sea by the St. Lawrence, subject, however, to certain stipulations.*

The increasing population, multiplied wants, and consequent industry, must naturally increase the trade of the Canadas in a rapid ratio, and render it one of the most important branches of commerce to Great Britain.

* See statistical tables, at the end of this book; and summary, at the end of this volume.

CHAP. XIX.

SHIP-BUILDING AND THE TIMBER TRADE.—VARIOUS MODES OF PREPARING THE PRODUCE OF THE FORESTS FOR EXPORTATION.—LUMBERERS.—RAFTSMEN.—MILLS, ETC.

In consequence of the extraordinary speculations which raged in the United Kingdom from 1822 to 1825, the merchants and traders in British America were led into vast undertakings, principally ship-building and the timber trade.

Ship-yards were established in almost every harbour in the colonies. Saw-mills were erected on every stream which would float down deals to the shipping ports, and there appeared to be no limit to the extent of contracts entered into for supplies of square timber.

The re-action which occurred in the winter of 1826 extended a full share of its severity to the commercial interests of British America; and Canada experienced its due proportion of the ruinous calamity.

Ships of all dimensions, from those leviathan vessels the Columbus and Baron of Renfrew, to schooners, were constructed in great numbers during the years 1823, 1824, and 1825, and until 1826, when the depreciated value of shipping ruined nearly all those concerned in the trade. Since that period very few vessels, except such as have been required for steam navigation, the fisheries, and the carrying trade, have

been built. The Quebec built ships stand in high estimation. The timber trade was also ruinous to most of those concerned in it. The causes arose, principally, from the sudden alteration in the navigation laws, at a period of high prices and extraordinary speculation; and from the lumberers not being able, or indeed willing, to pay the debts they contracted with the merchants, in consequence of the depreciated value of timber. Many adventurers, also, without any capital, from witnessing extraordinary gains having been occasionally made by the merchants and master lumberers, entered into this business; and, having nothing to lose, ventured into daring speculations, which were exceedingly injurious to regularly established merchants.

The most absurd objections are made, either from interest or prejudice, against American timber, although for most purposes it is equal, and for many superior, to that from Norway. One of these objections is at the same time untrue and ridiculous; that is, its being more congenial to the propagation of bugs than any other wood. It has been confidently stated in some of the public prints, that not only do the trees in the forest abound with these disgusting insects, but that the timber, when landed from the ships, has swarmed with them. I need only observe, that there can be little difference between European and American timber, as far as regards the one being more congenial to the increase of bugs than the other; they are exceedingly rare in the wooden buildings in America, except in the oldest houses in the towns; and it is well known that there are few of the old houses in the towns in England that are not infested with those loathsome vermin. The durability of

American timber is also questioned; the yellow is certainly not so durable as the red pine of Norway, although for many purposes it is much better adapted. The pitch pine, red pine, and juniper, or American larch, will, I am firmly convinced, last as long as any wood of the same genus growing in any part of Europe. The hemlock, a large tree of the fir tribe, is a most durable wood; and it possesses the peculiar property of preserving iron driven into it, either under water or exposed to the air, from corroding.

The timber trade, which is, in a commercial as well as a political point of view, of more importance in employing our ships and seamen, and the occasioning a great addition to the demand for British manufactures, than it is generally considered to be, employs also a vast number of people in the British colonies, whose manner of living, owing to the nature of the business they follow, is entirely different from that of the other inhabitants of North America.

Several of these people form what is termed a "lumbering party," composed of persons who are all either hired by a master lumberer, who pays them wages and finds them in provisions, or of individuals, who enter into an understanding with each other, to have a joint interest in the proceeds of their labour. The necessary supplies of provisions, clothing, &c., are generally obtained from the merchants on credit, in consideration of receiving the timber, which the lumberers are to bring down the rivers the following summer. The stock deemed requisite for a "lumbering party" consists of axes, a cross-cut saw, cooking utensils, a cask of rum, tobacco and pipes; a sufficient quantity of biscuit, pork, beef, and fish, peas and pearl barley for soup, with a cask of molasses to

sweeten a decoction usually made of shrubs, or of the tops of the hemlock-tree, and taken as tea. Two or three yokes of oxen, with sufficient hay to feed them, are also required to haul the timber out of the woods.*

When thus prepared, these people proceed up the rivers, with the provisions, &c., to the place fixed on for their winter establishment, which is selected as near a stream of water as possible. They commence by clearing away a few of the surrounding trees, and building a shanty, or camp of round logs, the walls of which are seldom more than four or five feet high; the roof is covered with birch bark, or boards. A pit is dug under the camp to preserve any thing liable to injury from the frost. The fire is either in the middle, or at one end; the smoke goes out through the roof; hay, straw, or fir-branches are spread across or along the whole length of this habitation, on which they all lie down together at night to sleep, with their feet next the fire. When the fire gets low, he who first awakes, or feels cold, springs up, and throws on five or six billets, and in this way they manage to have a large fire all night. One person is hired as cook, whose duty is to have breakfast ready before daylight; at which time all the party rise, when each takes his "morning," or the indispensable dram of raw spirits, immediately before breakfast. This meal consists of bread, or occasionally potatoes, with boiled beef, pork, or fish, and tea sweetened with molasses; dinner is usually the same, with pease soup in place of *tea*; and the supper resembles breakfast. These men are enormous eaters; and

* The quantity of stock is, of course, greater or less according to the number who compose the party. Some of the Canada lumberers carry an enormous stock to the woods.

they also drink great quantities of rum, which they scarcely ever dilute. Immediately after breakfast, they divide into three *gangs*; one of which cuts down the trees, another hews them, and the third is employed with the oxen in hauling the timber, either to one general road leading to the banks of the nearest stream, or at once to the stream itself; fallen trees, and other impediments in the way of the oxen, are cut away with an axe.

The whole winter is thus spent in unremitting labour. The snow covers the ground from two to three feet from the setting in of winter until April; and, in the middle of fir forests, often till the middle of May. When the snow begins to dissolve in April, the rivers swell, or, according to the lumberer's phrase, the "*freshets come down.*" At this time, all the timber cut during winter is thrown into the water, and floated down until the river becomes sufficiently wide to make the whole into one or more rafts.

The construction of the vast masses of timber floated down the St. Lawrence, and other great rivers of America, is nearly on all occasions similar, but bound proportionably stronger together as the rafts increase in size. The raftsmen commence by floating twenty or more pieces of timber alongside each other, with the ends to form the fore-part of the raft brought in a line, and then bound close together by logs placed across these, and by binding one log to another with poles fastened down by withes plugged firmly into holes bored in the logs for the purpose. The size of the raft is increased in this manner by adding pieces of timber, one after another, with their unequal lengths crossing the *joints*, until the whole lot of timber to be rafted is joined together, in one flat mass, on the river. The water at this period is exceedingly cold;

yet, for weeks together, the lumberers are in it from morning till night, and it is seldom less than a month and a half, from the time that floating the timber down the streams commences, until the rafts are delivered to the merchants.

No course of life can undermine the constitution more than that of a lumberer and raftsman. The winter, snow, and frost, although severe, are nothing to endure in comparison to the extreme coldness of the snow-water of the freshets, in which the lumberer is, day after day, wet up to the middle, and often immersed from head to foot. The very vitals are thus chilled and sapped; the intense heat of the summer sun, a transition which almost immediately follows, must further weaken and reduce the whole frame, and premature old age is the inevitable fate of a lumberer. But notwithstanding all the toils of such a pursuit, those who once adopt the life of a lumberer prefer it to any other. They are in a great measure as independent, in their own way, as the Indians. After selling and delivering up their rafts, they pass some weeks in idle indulgence, drinking, smoking, and *dashing off* in a long coat, flashy waistcoat and trousers, Wellington or Hessian boots, a handkerchief of many colours round the neck, a watch with a long tinsel chain and numberless brass seals, and an *umbrella*. Before winter, they return again to the woods, and resume the laborious pursuits of the preceding year. The greater number of the lumberers and raftsmen, in Canada and New Brunswick are from the United States. Many young men of steady habits, in our colonies, join the lumbering parties for two or three years, for the express purpose of making money; and, after saving their earnings, purchase lands, on which they live very comfortably by culti-

vating the soil, and by cutting down the timber trees for market.

An argument used for discouraging the North American timber trade is, that all those engaged in cutting timber are worthless characters. I readily grant that many of the mere lumberers and raftsmen are of this stamp; but a vast proportion of our timber is necessarily cut down by the permanent and most industrious people in the colonies; and before they can secure the means of sustenance by agriculture, they are generally compelled to rely on the more immediate resource of cutting timber for sale, in order to obtain food, clothing, and seed.

The trees cut down for the timber of commerce are not, it is true, of any importance in respect to clearing the lands, although I have heard it urged in England, as an argument in favour of the timber trade. The lumberers choose the trees that they consider the most suitable, and not one in a thousand is esteemed so. Almost every description of forest trees would be valuable for different purposes, if once landed in the United Kingdom; but the principal part of the cost is the freight across the Atlantic, and in order that a ship may carry the greatest possible quantity, the largest and straightest trees are hewn square, and not brought round to market, as the trees cut down in England are. The new settler is, however, enabled to clear the lands of the smaller trees, while the larger are hewn down, to sell for food; and when he at last raises a superabundance of agricultural productions, the operations of the timber trade create a market for them. Sir Howard Douglas, in his ably written pamphlet on the importance of the British American Colonies, observes with great truth, in allu-

sion to the proposed alteration in the timber duties, "The pursuits of the emigrant are, it is true, essentially agricultural; but let it not be overlooked that agricultural operations in a country covered with forests must commence and be accompanied by the operations of the lumberer. The poor emigrant begins his labour with the axe, and his greatest, his chief resource in earning money, wherewith to buy what he wants, is in manufacturing shingles or staves, or in felling timber."

The importance of our colonial timber trade is far from being justly appreciated. Its consequences may appear from the following facts.

It employs about one third of all the British tonnage trading beyond the seas, or about 350,000 tons, navigated by 18,000 seamen, who are exposed to all varieties of climate and seas: most of these ships make two voyages annually.

British manufactures to the value, at the first cost, of more than 2,000,000*l.* are required in the colonies, to pay for the timber and deals imported from them to these kingdoms.

The quantity of timber and deals imported from the colonies, on an average for the last few years, amounts to about 425,000 loads annually; the freight of which goes first to the British ship-owner, and then in wages to sailors, riggers, rope-makers, ship-chandlers, carpenters, anchor-smiths, and all those employed in manufacturing the vast number of articles required in the building and fitting out of ships; and a very great share goes to benefit the landed interest, in payment of bread stuffs, butchers' meat, and salted provisions.

The timber ships are also enabled, in consequence of having a home freight, to carry out emigrants at

less than half the fares they otherwise could. Of about 50,000 new settlers that arrived in our North American Colonies, during the year 1832, more than 40,000 were carried out by the timber ships.

When we also consider the greatly increased employment given to those engaged in our manufactories, and to the vast numbers who relieve the industry of the United Kingdom, by finding employment in our colonies, chiefly through the operations of the timber trade, its importance must be still more apparent. Nor must we forget its immense consequence in training hardy sailors, who may, when we least expect to want them, be required to defend our country from foreign invasion.

The forms in which the forest trees of British America are exported to Europe or to our settlements in the West Indies, are adapted to answer the purposes of future application as well as the economy of transportation. Square timber consists of huge trees reduced by hewers, until the sides form right angles with each other, and tapering from the but end to the top, both of which are also cut across at right angles with the sides..

Pine logs from forty to seventy feet long, and from two to three feet thick, are frequent in a cargo.

Deals and boards are sawn generally at the mills out of round logs, and are usually one, two, and three inches thick, and of indefinite length and breadth. Standard deals, however, in order to contain as many superficial feet as possible, on payment of the same duty in England, have fixed dimensions, and the best is nineteen feet eleven inches in length, eleven inches in breadth, and full three inches thick.

Scantling consists of spruce or pine trees, reduced

by hewing or sawing to a size fit for beams, rafters, and other framework parts of buildings.

Trees of oak, ash, or fir, intended for staves, are cut with a saw into proper lengths for pipes, puncheons, hogsheads, and barrels, and then split with the tool used by coopers, called a *frow*.

Lath-wood, for which hemlock and pine-trees are preferred, consists of roughly split junks, three, four and six feet long, and form, with deals and staves, what is termed the *broken stowage*, or what fills up the vacancies in the cargoes of square timber exported from America to the United Kingdom.

Shingles, which are used in America, and in the West Indies, for the same purpose as slates and tiles in Britain, are thin boards, from eighteen to thirty inches long, four to six inches broad, and at one end three eighths of an inch thick, while at the other they are reduced to less than an eighth of an inch. They are, in the first instance, cut and split in the same manner as staves, and reduced and smoothed with a drawing-knife, in the same way as coopers in England dress staves. The roofs of buildings are shingled much in the same form as roofs are slated in Britain; and, when painted to correspond in colour, have very much the same appearance.

Clap-boards, which are rather more than half an inch thick, and from six to eight inches broad, are used for lining the outside of the walls of houses, and the edges, to shed off the wet, overlap each other.

Houses, with the walls clap-boarded and painted white, and the roofs shingled, and painted a slate-colour, have a pretty, lively, and remarkably clean appearance.

Masts and spars are exported of all dimensions, Spars usually have the bark left on, unless they be

very large, and they are then reduced from the middle to the but-end. Masts are always partially reduced. Pieces for oars are also roughly dressed before shipping.

Square timber, masts, spars, deals, staves, and lath-wood, constitute the cargoes of the ships in the timber trade of America with the United Kingdom; and the general term lumber, which comprises scantling, deals, inch-thick boards, clap-boards, shingles, staves, and hoops, designates the forms into which the timber trees of America are shaped for exportation to the West Indies.

Wherever a settlement is formed in America a saw-mill is very soon after, if not at the same time, erected. The number of saw-mills in the British colonies are inconceivable to those who are not familiarised to the rising settlements of new countries.

A saw-mill is, in fact, a most important establishment. It not only forms a *nucleus* or centre to a settlement, but a first-rate saw-mill, with two frames, will give employment to four first-rate, four second-rate, and two third-rate, sawyers; besides a measurer, a blacksmith, and from thirty to forty men to prepare the timber required, and for other requisite work connected with the establishment; twenty oxen and two horses are also necessary for hauling the timber required to the streams and to other places. The boards, deals, or scantling, sawed at these mills, excepting such as are required for the use of the neighbouring settlers, are rafted down the river for shipping. As fresh waters change the colour of the deals from their fresh whiteness to a dark grey, and, in the eye of prejudice, depreciates their value, it become an object, but one that can only be attended to occasionally, to carry them down in *bateaux*, scows, or on timber rafts.

CHAP. XX.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF THE CANADAS.

THE following statements will elucidate the resources of the Canadas, and the consumption in both provinces of the goods and productions of other countries :—

General View of the Imports and Exports of Canada from 1754 to 1808, in Sterling Money, according to official Returns.

Years.	No. of Vessels.	Imports or Exports.	Where from, and to.	Articles.	Separate Amount.	General Amount.
1754	53	Imps.	France - -	Merchandize - -	£. s. d. 157,646 5 0	£. s. d. 216,769 12 0
			From W. Indies -	Wine, rum, brandy, &c. - -	59,123 7 0	
	52	Exps.	To France - -	Furs - -	64,570 2 6	
			Ditto - -	Oil, ginseng, capillaire, timber, &c. -	7,083 6 0	
			Louisbourg, &c. -	Fish, oil, iron, vegetables, &c. - -	3,906 19 2	
			Balance against Colony - -	- - -	141,209 4 4	
1769	34	Exps.	From Quebec -	1769. Furs and sundries -	345,000 0 0	355,000 0 0
				Oil, fish, &c. from Labrador - -	10,000 0 0	
	Imps.	From England -	Manufactured goods, and W. India produce - -	- - -	273,400 0 0	
			Balance in favour of Colony - -	- - -	81,600 0 0	
			1786.			
1786	93	Exps.	From Quebec -	1786. Furs and other Colonial produce -	445,116 0 0	490,116 0 0
				Fish, lumber, &c. from Labrador and Gaspé - -	45,000 0 0	

EXPORTS OF THE

the resources
both provinces
countries:—

from 1754 to 1808, in
Returns.

Separate Amount.	General Amount.
£. s. d. 646 5 0	£. s. d.
123 7 0	216,769 12 0
570 2 6	
083 6 0	
906 19 2	75,560 7 8
- -	141,209 4 4
000 0 0	
000 0 0	355,000 0 0
- -	273,400 0 0
- -	81,600 0 0
116 0 0	
000 0 0	490,116 0 0

Years.	No. of Vessels.	Imports or Exports.	Where from, and to.	Articles.	Separate Amount.	General Amount.
1786	93	Imps.	From England -	Manufactured goods, and W. India produce - -	£. s. d. - - -	£. s. d. 343,263 0 0
				Balance in favour of Colony - -	- - -	146,853 0 0
1808	334	Exps.	From Quebec -	Furs and other Colonial produce -	350,000 0 0	
				Wheat, biscuit, and flour - -	171,200 0 0	
				Oak and pine timber, staves, masts, &c. -	157,360 0 0	
				Pot and pearl ashes	290,000 0 0	
				New ships, 3750 tons, £10 per ton -	37,500 0 0	
		Ditto	From Labrador and Gaspé -	Fish, lumber, and oil, &c. - -	120,000 0 0	
		Ditto	To U. States per way of Lake Champlain -	Sundries, about -	30,000 0 0	
		Imps.	From England -	Manufactured goods £200,000		1,156,060 0 0
				W. India produce 130,000		
		Ditto	From U. States -	Merchandise, tea, provisions, tobacco, &c. £100,000		
				Oak, pine, timber, masts, &c. 70,000		
				Pot & pearl ashes - 110,000		
					280,000 0 0	610,000 0 0
				Balance in favour of Colony - -	- - -	546,060 0 0

The great profits on British goods, after the general war, diminished suddenly, and left no balance in favour of Canada.

IMPORTS for the year ending 5th January, 1832.

PORT OF QUEBEC.

FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

Vessels with cargoes, 278; tons, 80,333; men, 3,755			
Ditto in ballast	- 305;	97,598;	4,146
	<u>583</u>	<u>177,931</u>	<u>7901</u>
<i>Wines.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>		<i>Gals.</i>
Madeira	- 31,056	Jamaica rum	- 18,159
Port	- 49,190	Leeward Island	- 13,695
Spanish	- 59,400	Brandy	- 59,695
Teneriffe	- 28,974	Gin	- 71,777
Sicilian	- 7,438	Whiskey	- 1,223
Sherry	- 8,599	Kirshwasser	- 111
Fayal	- 532	Cordials	- 218
Rhenish	- 406	Molasses	- 2,476
Lisbon	- 13,095	Refined sugar, lbs.	1,074,571
Cape	- 10,194	Muscovado do. do.	486,356
French	- 6,011	Coffee do.	32,534
Pico	- 5,379	Playing cards, packs	34,440
Italian	- 45	Salt, minots	- 228,079
Malta	- 58	Manufd. tobacco, lbs.	51
Value of merchandize paying 2½ per cent. ad valorem duty	-	-	£1,255,371 15 2
Value of goods duty free	-	-	1,706 6 11
			<u>£1,257,078 2 1</u>

IRELAND.

Vessels with cargoes, 73; tons, 21,454; men, 974			
Ditto in ballast	- 146;	35,523;	1,609
	<u>219</u>	<u>56,977</u>	<u>2,583</u>
<i>Wines.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>		<i>Gals.</i>
Port	- 234	Teneriffe	- 75
Spanish	- 15,425	Sicilian	- 1,107

ary, 1892.

men, 3,755
4,146

7901

Gals.

- 18,159
- 13,695
- 59,695
- 71,777
- 1,223
- 111
- 218
- 2,476
lbs. 1,074,571
do. 486,356
do. 32,534
packs 34,440
- 228,079
o, lbs. 51

5,371 15 2

1,706 6 11

7,078 2 1

en, 974

1,609

2,583

Gals.

- 75

- 1,107

IMPORTS.

505

	Gals.		Gals.
French wine	- 123	Rum	- 68
Brandy	- 50	Whiskey	- 284
Gin	- 1,809	Salt, minots	- 9,947
Merchandize paying 2½ per cent.		£36,020	7 0
Free goods		-	797 9 7
		<hr/>	
		£36,817	16 7

JERSEY.

Vessels, 1; tons, 111; men, 8.

Wines.	Gals.		Gals.
Port	- 210	Rhenish wine	- 18
Hock	- 35	Liqueurs	- 72
French	- 302		

Merchandize paying 2½ per cent. £2,375 16 10

GIBRALTAR.

Vessels, 3; tons, 431; men, 22.

Wines.	Gals.		Gals.
Spanish	- 74,441	Brandy	- 1,332
Sherry	- 8,041		

Merchandize paying 2½ per cent. £2,384 5 0

NETHERLANDS.

Vessels in ballast, 3; tons, 974; men, 43.

SWEDEN.

Vessel, 1; tons, 158; men, 9.

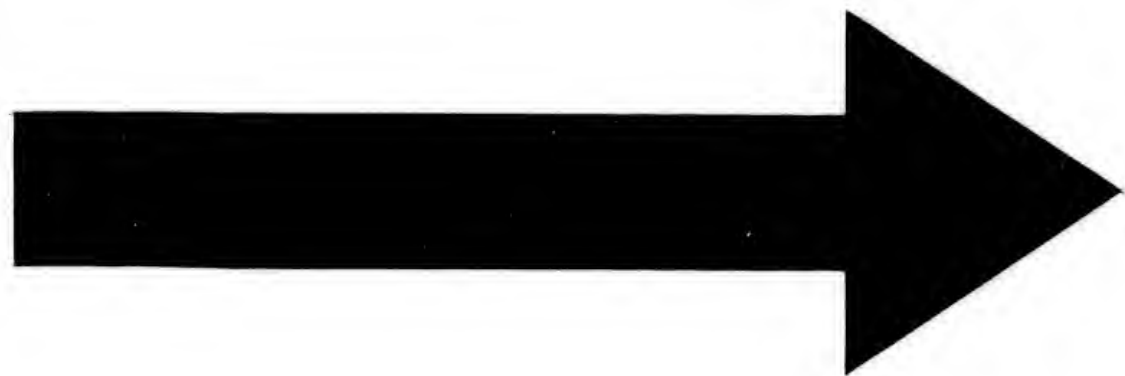
Merchandize paying 2½ per cent. £2,289 4 2

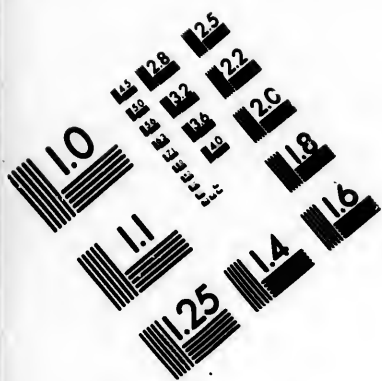
SPAIN.

Vessels, 2; tons, 358; men, 19.

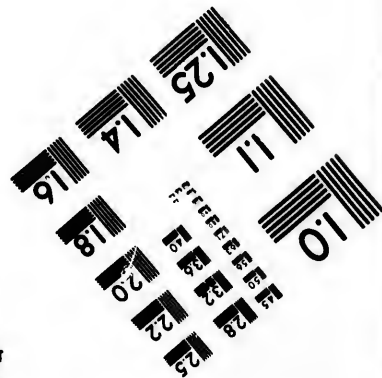
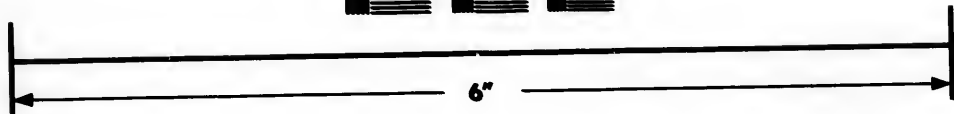
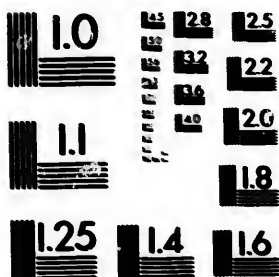
Wines.	Gals.		Gals.
Madeira	- 334	Brandy	- 2,564
Sherry	- 5,246	Liqueurs	- 230
Spanish	- 3,835	Salt, minots	- 9,973

Merchandize paying 2½ per cent. £1,968 16 8





**IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic
Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

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PORTUGAL.

Vessels, 4; tons, 879; men, 37.

Wine, gallons - 448 Salt, minots - - 26,561
 Merchandize paying 2½ per cent. £628 8 2

SICILY.

Wine, gallons - - 7,051.

AZORES.

Merchandize paying 2½ per cent. £932 13 2

BRITISH N. A. COLONIES.

Vessels with cargoes, 117; tons, 10,316; men, 562

Ditto in ballast - 29; 5,317; 254

	146	15,633	816
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<i>Rum.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Gin</i>	<i>- gals.</i>	<i>30</i>
Jamaica -	- 43,315	Sugar (refined) lbs.	10,318	
Leeward Island	464,333	Ditto (musco) lbs.	1,530,817	
Molasses -	- 24,257	Coffee - lbs.	39,447	
<i>Wines.</i>		Tea - lbs.	120,453	
Madeira -	- 558	Tobacco (leaf) lbs.	4,832	
Port -	- 5,989	Ditto manufd. lbs.	8,762	
Spanish -	- 3,526	Salt - minots	2,560	
French -	- 808			

Merchandize paying 2½ per cent. £ 2,377 10 3

Free goods - - - 23,200 12 5

 £25,578 2 5

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Vessels with cargoes, 56; tons, 7,515; men, 425

Ditto in ballast - 1; 425; 18

	57	7,940	443
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<i>Rum.</i>	<i>Gals.</i>	<i>Cordials</i>	<i>gals.</i>	<i>2</i>
Jamaica -	- 202,312	Coffee - lbs.	46,156	
Leeward Island	- 679,501	Pimento - lbs.	18,956	
Molasses -	- 71,080	Sugar (musco.) lbs.	3,606,267	
Wine, Madeira -	- 751			

IMPORTS.

507

Merchandise paying 2½ per cent.	£1,245	5	2
Free goods	-	-	-
		72	16
		<hr/>	
		£1,318	1
			8

- 26,561
8 2

UNITED STATES.

Vessels with cargoes (British), 3; tons, 449; men, 20			
Ditto in ballast (ditto), 1;	373;	17	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4	822	37

Tobacco (leaf) lbs.	114,790	Pork	-	bbls.	100
Ditto (manufd.) lbs.	50,796	Pitch	-	do.	125
Cigars - boxes	24	Tar	-	do.	90
Rice - lbs.	5,216	Turpentine	-	do.	50
Beef - bbls.	25	Rosin	-	do.	380

Merchandise paying 2½ per cent. £598 1 9

COLOMBIA.

Vessels with cargoes (British), 1; tons, 130; men, 6			
Ditto ditto (Foreign), 1;	136;	6	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2	266	12

Sugar (musco.) lbs. 300,469 Coffee - lbs. 372

Merchandise paying 2½ per cent. £81 15 10

BRAZIL.

Vessels in ballast (British), 1; tons, 457; men, 17.

CHINA.

Vessels with cargoes, 1; tons, 586; men 45.

Tea - lbs. 465,797.

Merchandise paying 2½ per cent. £93 17 9

GASPÉ.

Vessels, 41; tons, 6,670; men, 379.

Rum - gals.	2,902	Musco. sugar	lbs.	4,844
Molasses - do.	3,111	Tea -	do.	644
Gin - do.	49	Rice -	do.	5,057
Coffee - lbs.	333	Tobacco -	do.	905

51.

13 2

men, 562
254

816

als. 30

os. 10,318

os. 1,530,817

os. 39,447

os. 120,453

os. 4,832

os. 8,762

ots 2,560

10 3

12 5

2 5

425

18

443

2

46,156

18,956

3,606,267

508

EXPORTS.

Flour	-	bbls.	434	Pork	-	bbls.	11
Ditto	-	cwts.	15	Butter	-	kegs	2
Oatmeal	-	bbl.	1	Tar	-	bbls.	6
Oats	-	bushl.	33	Salt	-	tons	53
Potatoes	-	do.	2,400	Ditto	-	minots	6920
Apples	-	bbls.	10				

Merchandise paying $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. £3,753 19 11

NEW CARLISLE.

Vessels, 43; tons, 7,651; men, 395.

Rum	-	gals.	3,998	Flour	-	bbls.	57
Brandy	-	do.	574	Pork	-	do.	7
Gin	-	do.	189	Potatoes	-	do.	1,000
Wine	-	do.	151	Cod fish	-	do.	200
Molasses	-	do.	1,242	Ditto	-	cwts.	1,256
Coffee	-	lbs.	622	Salmon	-	bbls.	245
Musco. sugar	do.		7,993	Herrings	-	do.	265
Tea	-	do.	275	Oil	-	do.	4
Rice	-	do.	1,225	Salt	-	minots	40,000
Tobacco	-	do.	177				

Merchandise paying $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. £7,828 15 1

EXPORTS for the year ending 5th January, 1832.

TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Vessels, cleared,	-	656; tons, 195,573; men, 8,663
9 of which were built this year;		3,250;
1 foreign vessel in ballast;	-	136; 7
		<hr/>
		195,709 8,670

Masts and bowsprits,		Elm timber	tons	10,250	
	pieces	881	Birch, maple, &c. do.	901	
Spars	-	do.	1,250	Standard staves and	
Oak timber	tons	16,776	heading	pieces 965,113	
Pine ditto	-	do.	146,913	Pipe and puncheon	
Ash ditto	-	do.	1,325	ditto	pieces 1,419,640

EXPORTS.

509

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men, 8,663
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Barrel staves	pieces	202,706	Honey	-	bbl.	1
Stave ends	do.	24,560	Ditto	-	kegs	19
Deals (3 inch)	do.	985,018	Ditto	-	jars	2
Boards & planks	do.	77,150	Maple sugar	boxes	2	
Deal ends	do.	78,562	Preserves	-	do.	2
Battens	-	do. 25,314	Cranberries	casks	22	
Oars	-	do. 13,508	Essence spruce,	boxes	5	
Handspikes	do.	13,632	Ditto	-	bottle	1
Lathwood	-	cords 1,371	Butternuts	case	1	
Firewood	-	do. 5	Hickory do.	bbls.	2	
Oak billets	do.	20	Bacon and hams,	box	1	
Boat hook poles,	pieces	396	Crackers	-	bbls.	3
Ladder ditto	do.	72	Bees' wax	lbs.	4,467	
Treenails	-	do. 4,872	Esquimaux boots,	box	1	
Spruce knees	do.	42	Curriers' dubbin,	cask	1	
Shooks pun	do.	110	Stuffed birds	cases	9	
Ditto pipe	do.	30	Oil cake	-	tons	82
Ditto hhd.	do.	30	Bark work	boxes	2	
Ditto qr. cask	do.	30	Bark canoe	-	-	1
Pot ashes	-	bbls. 26,970	Indian curiosities,	boxes	4	
weighing	117,600	cwts. 13lbs.	Tobacco (leaf)	hhd.	46	
Pearl ashes	bbls.	19,372	weighing	31,301	lbs.	
weighing	67,019	cwts. 2 qrs.	Trees & plants,	packages	24	
Flour	-	bbls. 55,372	Goose wings	half bbl.	1	
Ditto	half	bbls. 348	Horns	-	hhd.	1
Indian meal	bbl.	1	Pictures	-	case	1
Oatmeal	bbls.	95	Minerals	-	box	1
Wheat	-	minots 1,329,269	Moose deer	-	-	3
Peas	-	do. 3,842	Iron castings,	packages	3	
Oats	-	do. 29,636	Sugar kettles	-	-	2
Barley	-	minots 1,756	Cooking stoves	-	-	6
Flaxseed	-	do. 70	Salmon	-	tierces	12
Apples	-	bbls. 470	Ditto	-	bbls.	79
Potatoes	minots	120	Fish oil	-	gals.	33,039
Onions	-	bbls. 30	Seal skins	-	-	4,777
Seeds	-	minots 56	Hides	-	-	271

Furs and Peltries.

Bear and cub skins 361 Martin - skins 10,739

Minx	-	skins	1,612	Racoon	-	skins	89
Beaver	-	do.	68,592	Wolf	-	do.	5
Buffalo	-	do.	38	Wolverine	-	do.	26
Fox	-	do.	408	Deer	-	do.	645
Otter	-	do.	1,670	Rat	-	do.	376
Musk-rat	-	do.	43,377	Martin	-	tails	2,140
Lynx	-	do.	393	Fisher	-	do.	151
Fisher	-	do.	214	Castorum	-	lbs.	328

IRELAND.

Vessels, 201; tons, 53,163; men, 2,360.

Masts	-	pieces	2	Handspikes	pieces	1,384
Spars	-	do.	399	Lathwood	cords	349
Oak timber	tons	1,862	Billet wood	do.	3	
Pine ditto	do.	39,583	Boat hook handles,			
Ash ditto	do.	690		pieces	72	
Elm ditto	do.	407	Pot ashes	-	bbls. 3,182	
Birch ditto	do.	251		weighing	14,275 cwt. 3 qrs.	
Standard stave and			Pearl ashes	bbls.	375	
heading	pieces	306,995		weighing	1,396 cwts.	
Pipe and pun.	do.	502,175	Flour	-	bbls. 3	
Barrel staves	do.	360,552	Apples	-	bbls. 18	
Stave ends	do.	4,899	Birds' skins	box	1	
Deals (3 inch)	do.	623,170	Minerals	do.	1	
Boards & planks,	do.	724	Salmon	-	bbls. 6	
Deal ends	do.	11,272	Smoked herrings,	boxes	8	
Battens	-	do. 4,424	Fish oil	-	gals. 2,560	
Batten ends	do.	290	Seal skins	-	- 57	
Oars	-	do. 930	Returned goods,	pkges.	6	

JERSEY.

Vessels, 3; tons, 352; men, 22.

Oak timber	tons	14	Pipe and pun. staves		
Standard staves and				pieces	4,732
heading	pieces	17,176	Flour	-	bbls. 228

SPAIN.

Vessel, 1; tons, 53; men, 5.

Staves and heading,			Pipe and puncheon		
pieces	2,000		heading	pieces	4,000

EXPORTS.

511

PORTUGAL.

Vessels, 2; tons, 378, men, 17.

Staves and heading pieces - 38,137.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

Vessels, 125; tons, 9,828; men 566.

skins 89
do. 5
do. 26
do. 645
do. 376
tails 2,140
do. 151
lbs. 328

360.
pieces 1,384
cords 349
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pieces 72
bbls. 3,182
275 cwt. 3 qrs.
bbls. 375
96 cwts.
bbls. 3
bbls. 18
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do. 1
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gs, boxes 8
gals. 2,560
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s, pkges. 6

staves
pieces 4,732
bbls. 228

neon
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Masts - pieces	2	Biscuit - cwts.	6,963
Spars - do.	12	Crackers - lbs.	12,466
Oak timber tons.	15½	Apples - bbls.	332
Pine ditto do.	101½	Peas - minots	1,975
Elm ditto do.	2	Beans - do.	6
Standard staves and heading pieces	21,331	Oats - do.	1,867
Puncheon do. do.	45,076	Barley - do.	501
Barrel do. do.	315,858	Indian corn do.	84
Deals (3 in.) do.	250	Potatoes - do.	280
Boards - do.	2,545	Onions - bbls.	40
Oars - do.	136	Ale and beer gals.	2,411
Handspikes do.	60	Cider - do.	167
Shooks puncheon	304	Butter - lbs.	212,746
Ditto - hhds.	100	Cheese - do.	7,211
Ditto - bbls.	3,321	Soap - do.	9,169
Empty casks -	200	Candles - do.	6,450
Wood hoops, pieces	28,000	Lard - do.	2,779
Shingles do.	1200	Linseed oil gals.	178
Pearl ashes bbls.	16	Oil cake puns.	4
weighing 58 cwts. 3 qrs.		Honey - lbs.	361
Flour - bbls.	17,119	Tobacco - do.	4,306
Rye ditto do.	115	Snuff - do.	446
Oatmeal do.	14	Cigars - boxes	12
Indian ditto do.	270	Peppermint gals.	115
Beef - do.	2,318	Confectionary, boxes	1
Ditto half do.	465	Leather packages	26
Pork - do.	6,327	Boots and shoes, do.	16
Ditto half do.	279	Moccasins do.	1
Mutton do.	123	Ditto - pairs	120
Tongues & rounds, kegs	47	Fur caps & gloves, pkg.	23
Sausages lbs.	85	Buffalo robes -	38
		Hair - bale	1

Feathers	-	casks	2	Chairs	-	-	16
Cordage	-	coils	2	Axes	-	boxes	2
Oakum	-	cwts.	1½	Iron kettles	-	-	10
Fruit trees	packages	4		Cut nails	casks		12
Boats	-	-	1	Stoves & pipes,	cases		27
Cart wheels	-	-	2	Ditto	ditto loose		116
Bedsteads	-	-	21				

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Vessels, 54; tons, 7,259; men, 417.

Spars	-	pieces	40	Sausages	-	kegs	40
Oak timber	tons	5		Ditto	-	lbs.	1,009
Staves and heading,				Apples	-	bbls.	32
	pieces	1,338,970		Peas	-	minots	1,307
Boards and planks,				Beans	-	do.	3,743
	pieces	26,689		Barley	-	do.	263
Oars	-	do.	305	Potatoes	-	do.	639
Stave packs.	do.	3,154		Onions	-	bbls.	99
Wood hoops	do.	160,000		Vegetables	do.		76
Shingles	-	do.	50,000	Biscuit	-	cwts.	247
Pot ashes	bbls.	1		Crackers	casks		10
Flour	-	do.	8,392	Butter	-	lbs.	11,512
Indian meal	do.	227		Cheese	-	do.	1,679
Oatmeal	-	do.	6	Lard	-	do.	4,386
Pork	-	bbls.	4,565	Ale and beer	gals.		16,206
Ditto	half do.	823		Cider	-	do.	578
Ditto	-	kitts	10	Linseed oil	-	do.	1,928
Beef	-	bbls.	2,033	Oil cake	-	puns.	73
Ditto	half do.	1,294		Ditto	-	cwts.	1,066
Ditto	-	kitts	111	Soap	-	lbs.	5,050
Ribs & briskets, hf. bbls.		34		Candles	-	do.	2,160
Ditto ditto	kegs	5		Leather	-	sides	20
Hams & rounds, tierces		3		Cranberries	kegs		2
Ditto ditto	hhds.	8		Brooms	-	-	500
Ditto ditto	bbls.	2		Chairs	-	dozens	2
Ditto ditto,	tubs & kitts	15		Buckets	-	do.	10
Tongues	hf. bbls.	2		Indian baskets	do.		4
Tongues	kegs	309		Hogs	-	-	4

EXPORTS.

513

-	16
boxes	2
-	10
casks	12
cases	27
loose	116

Horses	-	-	12	Mackerel	bbls.	420
Cod-fish	-	cwts.	14,624	Herrings	do.	298
Salmon	-	tierces	189	Ditto	- boxes	45
Ditto	-	bbls.	216	Alewives	bbls.	626
Ditto	-	half do.	16	Fish oil	- gals.	3,171

UNITED STATES.

Vessels, 2; tons, 158; men, 8.

Wood hoops, pieces	1,000	Old iron	hhds.	2
Barley - minots	41	Old copper	casks	6
Old snails	yards 862	Ditto	bars	14
Old rope	tons 1½			

FROM GASPE.

Vessels, 21; tons, 1,848; men, 159.

Pine timber	pieces 643	Salmon	- bbls.	31
Deals	- do. 38,136	Ditto	half do.	1
Deal ends	do. 3,897	Fish oil	- gals.	10,101
Staves	- do. 19,928	Iron	- tons	26
Lathwood	cords 25½	Ditto	- pigs	31
Cod-fish	cwts. 14,296			

FROM NEW CARLISLE.

Vessels, 36; tons, 6,926; men, 362.

Pine timber	tons 7,168	Cod-fish	- bbls.	65
Birch	- do. 156	Cod-sounds	kegs	30
Spars	- pieces 57	Herrings	bbls.	21
Deals	- do. 221	Mackerel	do.	6
Boards	- feet 10,180	Salmon	- do.	53
Staves	- pieces 1,968	Cap'n	- boxes	2
Lathwood	cords 172	Fish oil	- gals.	5,711
Treenails	pieces 11,500	Oil dregs	hhds.	4
Handspikes	do. 24	Salt	- bbls.	80
Oars	- do. 12	Ditto	- tons	36
Cod-fish	- cwts. 16,447	Ditto	- minots	2,395

Total, inwards;—ships, 1111; tons, 267,641; men, 13,776.

Total, outwards;—ships, 1101; tons, 275,775; men, 12,586.

Of the latter, were built this year, registering 3,386 tons, and 20 of the vessels entered chiefly schooners belonging to the province in Canada.

7.	
kegs	40
lbs.	1,009
bbls.	32
minots	1,307
do.	3,743
do.	263
do.	639
bbls.	99
do.	76
cwts.	247
casks	10
lbs.	11,512
do.	1,679
do.	4,386
gals.	16,206
do.	578
do.	1,928
puns.	73
cwts.	1,066
lbs.	5,050
do.	2,160
sides	20
kegs	2
-	500
lozens	2
do.	10
do.	4
-	4

During the year ending 5th January, 1833.

Ships entered inwards, 1,084; tons, 287,727; men, 12,716.
 Ships entered outwards, 1,098; tons, 292,086; men, 12,800.
 Ships built - 10; tons, 2,800; men, 235.

		IMPORTS.		£.
Wine	gals.	411,201 at 2s. 6d. to 7s.		£ 87,059
Rum	-	1,089,565 2s. 9d. to 3s. 6d.		166,594
Brandy	-	183,277 6s.	- -	54,983
Gin and Whisky	-	61,954 5s.	- -	15,489
				<hr/>
				236,967
Sugar, refined,	lbs.	1,051,872 at 6d.	-	£26,296
Muscovada	-	5,755,172 4d.	-	95,918
Coffee	-	174,899 1s.	-	8,745
				<hr/>
				120,959
Tea, Hyson	lbs.	63,000 at 3s. 6d.	-	£ 11,182
Bohea	-	91,092 2s.	-	9,109
Green	-	627,031 2s. 6d.	-	103,379
				<hr/>
				123,660
Salt	-	260,227 bbls.	-	£19,017
Playing cards	-	33,900 packs, at 1s. 3d.		2,431
Tobacco (leaf)	-	124,213 lbs. at 4d.	-	2,070
(manufd.)	-	147,109 do. 8d.	-	4,903
Cigars	-	535 do. 5s.	-	134
				<hr/>
				22,555
Merchandise, British manufactures, paying 2½ per cent. ad valorem duty	-	-	-	1,338,874
				<hr/>
				Total - - - £1,846,015

		EXPORTS.	
New ships	-	10 valued at £	28,000
Masts and spars	-	3,125	- 8,810
Oak	-	20,804 tons	- 41,608
Red pine	-	38,723 do.	- 51,631
Yellow pine	-	135,628 do.	- 135,628
Ash	-	1,432 tons	- 1,611
Elm	-	18,658 do.	- 24,870
Birch, &c.	-	996 do.	- 599
Staves, heading, &c.	-	4,910,249 do.	- 68,735
Deals	-	1,031,404 pieces	- 86,512

EXPORTS.

515

, 1833.
 men, 12,716.
 men, 12,800.
 men, 235.
 £.
 7,059
 3,594
 4,983
 5,489
 236,967
 6,296
 5,918
 8,745
 120,959
 1,182
 9,109
 3,379
 123,660
 3,017
 2,431
 2,070
 4,903
 134
 22,555
 cent.
 1,338,874
 £1,846,015

Boards and plank	-	584,176 pieces	-	23,641
Deal-ends, oars, battens, handspikes, lathwood, punchon shooks, treenails, shingles, ship- ring poles	-	-	-	17,285
Potash	-	113,116 cwt.	-	149,876
Pearl-ash	-	49,146 do.	-	67,578

Total produce of the forest £704,894

Fish, oil, seal skins	-	-	-	8,521
Pork, beef, butter, lard, live stock, hides castorum, capillaire, natural curiosities, &c.	-	-	-	37,893
Wheat, Indian corn, barley, &c.	-	-	-	205,241
Furs, &c.	-	-	-	30,900
Exports from New Carlisle	-	-	-	16,558
Exports from Gaspé	-	-	-	23,616

Total exports, the produce of the Canadas £1,027,563

The remaining exports consist of British fabrics, West India produce, and teas re-exported.

A great proportion of the imports are consumed in Upper Canada; and a very large share of the exports are sent down from that province; but the returns are far from correct; and it is impossible to ascertain the quantity that comes by the roads, lakes, and St. Lawrence from the United States, and down the Ottawa from Upper Canada. From the 12th of April to the 20th of April, the following articles, exclusive of timber, deals, staves, and spars, came down the St. Lawrence by Côteau du Lac:—

Flour	-	bbls. 133,144½	Tobacco	hhds.	148
Ashes	-	do. 26,084	Ditto	-	kegs 361
Pork	-	do. 14,116	Lard	-	blds. 245
Beef	-	do. 1,627	Ditto	-	kegs 955
Leather	boxes	2	Butter	-	bbls. 27
Ditto	-	rolls 438	Ditto	-	kegs 858
Indian corn & rye,	bbls.	4,881	Tallow	-	bbls. 263
Wheat	-	do. 280,322	Ditto	-	hhds. 29

8,000
 8,810
 1,608
 1,631
 5,628
 1,611
 4,870
 599
 8,735
 6,512

Indian corn meal, bbls.	1,875	Raw hides	bbls.	216
Apples - do.	625	Whisky - casks		124

The quantity of timber, deals, and staves sent down the St. Lawrence and Ottawa to Montreal, is stated to be more than three-fourths of the whole export.

The customs' returns give the following, for 1892, as the principal imports from the United States : —

MONTREAL.

Pork - bbls.	3,220	Rye - bags	193
Butter kegs & firkins	317	Peas - bhls.	101
Pot & pearl-ashes, bbls.	6,455	Apples - bbls.	70
Flour - bbls.	10,633	Beef - do.	55
Corn meal do.	1,080	Lard - do.	79
Puncheons do.	335	Ditto - kegs	548
Wheat - do.	103	Live hogs - -	2,987
Ditto, bushels in bulk	4,133	Dead ditto -	390
Corn - bhls.	1,633	Pig-iron - pieces	203
Rye - do.	826	Deer skins - -	64

ST. JOHN.

Ashes - bbls.	1,267	Cigars - -	245,659
Pork - do.	325	Hops - lbs.	24,707
Indian meal do.	1,239	Sole leather do.	121,600
Butter - lbs.	147,000	Apples - bhls.	13,167
Cheese - do.	163,930	Cattle - -	4,528
Fresh cod-fish -	78,700	Living hogs -	6,582
Mutton - lbs.	5,100	Sheep - -	6,762
Tallow - do.	72,173	Sperm oil gals.	2,395
Lard - do.	4,825	Buffalo skins -	8,018
Hams - do.	7,018	Raw hides - -	2,632
Rice - do.	57,961	Dressed peltries -	7,031
Tobacco (leaf) do.	139,109	Lumber pieces	8,000
Ditto (manufd.) do.	356,339		

CÔTEAU DU LAC.

Flour - bbls.	10,494	Pork - bbls.	3,130
Ashes - do.	6,043	Wheat - bhls.	6,809

s. 216
ks 124

aves sent
ontreal, is
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for 1832,
ates: —

ags 133
hls. 101
bls. 70
lo. 55
lo. 79
egs 548
- 2,987
990
ces 203
- 64

- 245,659
bs. 24,707
lo. 121,600
hls. 18,167
- 4,528
- 6,582
- 6,762
gals. 2,995
- 8,018
- 2,632
- 7,031
ces 8,000

bls. 3,130
hls. 6,809

BOOK IX.

MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I.

PRACTICAL REMARKS ON EMIGRATION.

IN AMERICA, INDUSTRY SECURES INDEPENDENT CIRCUMSTANCES. — PROSPECTS OF EMIGRANTS GENERALLY SANGUINE, AND SELDOM REALISED. — NECESSARY CONSIDERATIONS BEFORE EMIGRATING. — RESPECTIVE ADVANTAGES OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES. — CLASSIFICATION OF PERSONS TO WHOM AMERICA AFFORDS INDUCEMENTS TO EMIGRATE. — NECESSARY ARTICLES REQUIRED BY NEW SETTLERS. — PRECAUTIONS AS TO ENGAGING PASSAGES. — "WHITE SLAVE TRADE." — DISEASE AND CONSEQUENT CALAMITY ON BOARD OF PASSENGER SHIPS. — IRISH EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL. — DIRECTIONS TO EMIGRANTS AFTER LANDING. — VARIOUS MEANS OF EMPLOYMENT POINTED OUT. — PLANS TO RAISE PASSAGE MONEY. — GENERAL CONDITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF BRITISH AMERICA. — PROSPECTS WHICH INDUSTRIOUS SETTLERS MAY REALISE, ETC.

In British America, notwithstanding the difficulties which are incident to all new countries, it is a well-established fact, substantiated by the evidence of all who have marked the progress of new settlers, that all those who have with persevering industry and frugality applied their labour to the cultivation of

forest lands, have, with few exceptions, succeeded in acquiring the means of comfortable independence, and all that is requisite to render rural life happy.

It frequently happens, however, that emigrants are disappointed in realising the prospects they entertained on leaving their native country. Lured by low, unprincipled, interested persons, into the belief that all they can possibly wish for is to be obtained with little difficulty on the shores and amidst the forests of America, they consequently embark with sanguine, unattainable expectations. No sooner, however, do they tread the lands of the western world, than the delusion vanishes; and they then discover that neither food, clothing, nor any article of necessity, use, or luxury, is to be obtained without labour, money, or some exchangeable value.

These disappointments, productive of no small degree of anxiety and discontent, are caused by emigrants not being told of the difficulties as well as the advantages of new countries:—for, persons preparing to leave these kingdoms require not only to be informed of all that is necessary to govern them before deciding on leaving their abodes at home, but honest advice also to guide them afterwards, until they are enabled to secure a comfortable living in the land to which they go.

The Board of Emigration has, it is true, circulated useful information in a brief shape; but it was vain to expect that its members would attend to the detailed advice and intelligence necessary for emigrants to know. It would indeed be well, if adequate persons were appointed by government at the principal ports in the United Kingdom for the purpose of giving correct information to emigrants; in order

to prevent, as far as possible, the daily frauds practised on them at the sea-ports. *

An office of correspondence in London, established by the authority of government, to which full information respecting the actual condition of unsettled or ungranted lands in the colonies, prices of provisions, wages of labour, expenses of passages, should be transmitted by each surveyor-general in British America, would extend eminent benefit to emigrants, and information of the best kind to parishes.

Emigrant agency offices of every description, whether in London or elsewhere, however specious their pretensions, should be regarded at least with suspicion, as we cannot but know, that their profits arise from whatever they get in commission or otherwise from the emigrants, or from parish associations. A public office only may be considered as an independent channel of correspondence or trust.

Persons who are deliberating about leaving their native country, should especially guard against those who are connected with the hiring of passenger ships, for the mere gains of passage money: that is, the difference between the freight which they pay the ship-owner, and the amount they screw out of the passengers. †

From the little regard observed by these people, first, in obtaining money in advance, for passages,

* At Liverpool, for instance, there are numerous places, principally cellars opening to the streets, with a huge sign-board over them, on which is painted in large letters, the words, "American Passengers' Office." These dens, and the crimps who keep them, are vile beyond conception.

† Varying from 10s. to 15s. for each passenger; besides certain allowances which they receive from public-houses for bringing to them the custom of passengers.

from unwary country-people whom they lure to public-houses, for the purpose of seducing them to the United States, and afterwards in making little arrangement for the comfort of emigrants, who are ignorant both of ships and the sea, this business has obtained the far from false designation of the "White Slave Trade." The people engaged in it, (the White Slave Traders,) give, therefore, the most glowing accounts of America, particularly of the United States, while they conceal all the difficulty and inconvenience which are always to be encountered on removing from one country and settling in another far distant.

It is certainly no common-day business, but a most serious subject of consideration, for a man with his family to remove from the place in which he was born and brought up, and from occupations to which he has been trained from his childhood, to a country far distant, and in many respects different from his own, and in which he must assume pursuits and acquire ideas to which he is a perfect stranger.

It therefore should be a matter of the first importance for the person who is thinking of emigrating, before he determines on doing so, to consider well what his circumstances are in the land in which he lives, whether they are better than formerly, or whether his means of living are diminishing: whether his present condition enables him to live in tolerable comfort, with something like a certainty of these means continuing for the support of himself and family; or whether, in order to attain comfortable independence in a country in which he need have no apprehension for the prosperity of his offspring, he can willingly part from his acquaintance,

and leave scenes that must have been dear to his heart from infancy, and prepare for, and reconcile himself and family to a long sea-voyage, and the fatigue of removing from the port where he disembarks in America to the spot of ground on which he may fix for the field of his future industry; and, finally, whether he can endure for two or three years many privations, and submit to the hard labour of levelling, burning, and clearing the forest, in order to raise crops from a soil encumbered with the usual obstructions of wood lands. If therefore, on making up his mind to all these considerations, he resolves on emigrating, he will not be disappointed in realising in America the prospects he may entertain on leaving England.

The next consideration is to decide on the country to which he is to emigrate.

In order to determine this primary subject as judiciously as a man can do who is a stranger to the land in which he may settle, a few points of paramount consequence are to be considered; in all of which let the emigrant be suspicious of information coming from persons who solicit for "Passenger Ships," or who are connected with the vile "Passenger Offices" to be met with in Liverpool and other places, and depend only for information on the government or public associations; on men of established good reputation, or on acknowledged good written authorities. The points of consideration are:

1st. The country to which it may seem advisable to emigrate, and its distance from and intercourse with the United Kingdom.

2d. The climate, soil, and other natural advantages or disadvantages; demand for labour, and markets for produce.

3d. The form of government, public institutions, and the manner in which the benefits of education are to be obtained.

4th. The preparations that may be necessary for him to make before emigrating, and in what way he is to cross the sea.

5th. How lands are to be obtained; and how a settler is to act after landing in America.

In respect to the first point, the emigrant need not be told that British North America, the United States, Van Diemen's Land, Swan River, and New South Wales, are the countries to which emigrants are directed or attracted.

To those who are regardless of the government, laws, and constitution of England, the United States may certainly offer sufficient inducements. It must be, however, remembered, that there are no good lands now to be had at cheap prices within the American republic, excepting in the back countries, far from the sea, and to be reached only from the port of landing at great expense;—nor are the certain periodical fevers and agues common to the Ohio and Mississippi countries and Southern States, to be disregarded.*

To Van Diemen's Land, Swan River, and New South Wales, the great distance from England, the consequent high rate of passages and freight, and the want of a ready market for agricultural produce, form the only disadvantages of any importance. Were it not for these considerations, and that persons who emigrate to those colonies must be considered exiled

* The territory of Michigan is, probably, at the present time, the best and most convenient part of the United States for emigrants to proceed to, in order to settle.

for ever from the United Kingdom, no objections can reasonably be made to them, as the climate is salubrious, the soil generally good, and the government and laws those of England.*

In regard to British North America, it may be observed, that the upper or inland, and the lower or maritime colonies, have each their respective advantages, which, it is hoped, appear illustrated in the descriptive parts of this work.

Upper Canada has for some years received the greater portion of emigrants who have left these kingdoms for British America. The emigrant need not, by proceeding to this colony, apprehend the want of fertile land, nor, after, two or three years, the necessaries, and many of the conveniences of life. He will, however, in order to procure a desirable farm, have to proceed a great distance up the back country, and settle apart from society, without the conveniences to be found only in a populous neighbourhood. He must not, however, be discouraged if, he suffers much more, from the time he lands at Quebec or Montreal until he plants himself and family in the woods, than he experienced in removing to America from the land of his forefathers. Every succeeding year will open more cheering prospects to him; the emigrants who arrive after him will settle beyond him in the wilderness, and he will soon observe houses, villages, and corn-fields occupying the place of gloomy and boundless forests.

It has, unfortunately, been the fate of the majority of those who have emigrated to Canada, to encounter severe hardships after landing. It must, at the

* See scale of passages and other expenses hereafter.

same time, be mentioned, in justice to the government of the province, and to the gentlemen of Quebec and Montreal, that the emigrants have not only received kind and liberal assistance to enable them to proceed to the upper province, but that the greatest care has been taken of the sick poor among them at the hospitals.

The districts of land still unoccupied in Lower Canada are extensive, but the best tracts are chiefly granted, except on the Ottawa. On the lands through which the river Saguenay and its streams flow, Scotch Highlanders, from the upper parts of Perth, and the inland parts of Argyle, Inverness, Ross, Caithness, and Sutherlandshire, might be located to great individual advantage, and with importance to the political value of Canada.

There are other tracts in Lower Canada worthy of attention. That lying north of the St. Lawrence, in the rear of the seigniories, is particularly adapted for emigrants, — that is, if it be not reserved for the increasing Canadian French population. Another excellent tract lies on the Ottawa, below Hull.

As respects New Brunswick—as the soil is, at a short distance from the sea coast, equal to that of Canada, it is, at the same time, accessible at less expense. The capabilities of this valuable, extensive, but little known province, will be observed where the colony is described in this work.

In Nova Scotia, although there are not, now remaining, extensive tracts of good lands ungranted, yet farmers of frugal and industrious habits, and with some means, are sure to succeed; and such is the state of society in, and improved condition of, this province, that a man does not feel that he is very far

removed from all that he has formerly been accustomed to.

Cape Breton, with its eminent advantages for the fisheries, and for grazing, and also, in most parts, for agriculture, is admirably adapted for families from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, from the Isle of Man, or from Wales. Last year, about 3000 emigrants arrived in this island from the Hebrides, in a state of wretched poverty, and would have suffered great miseries, had not several of their relations or acquaintances previously settled in the colony.

In Prince Edward Island, families from the inland counties of England, and from the agricultural shires of Scotland, to the number of 10,000 or 20,000 individuals, would find farms to suit them, on terms fully as liberal as in any of the other colonies where lands are equally well situated.

The Island of Newfoundland — the lands of which are so imperfectly known in the United Kingdom, and which, like those of Nova Scotia formerly, seem still, according to the generally received opinion, condemned, as if doomed by nature to everlasting barrenness — affords, notwithstanding, situations for an additional population of fifty to one hundred thousand families. It must, at the same time, be considered, that settlers adapted for Newfoundland should be men brought up along a sea-coast. Families from the Shetland and Orkney Islands, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, the shores of Wales, Cornwall, and the west and south of Ireland, would succeed best.

As to the classes to which British America offers inducements to emigrate, much will depend upon individual character; but it may, however, be observed, that in consequence of the high price of labour,

gentlemen farmers do not generally succeed, and the condition of new countries does not admit of extensive establishments. The settlers who thrive soonest, are men of steady habits, and accustomed to labour. Let not the idler, the rake, the drunkard, or he who disregards the observances of society, or the laws of the country, expect to thrive in America. In that region nothing but unremitting industry, temperance, and economy, can ensure lasting success.

Practical farmers, possessing from 200*l.* to 600*l.*, may purchase, in any of the colonies, farms with from twenty to thirty acres cleared, which may be cultivated agreeably to the system of husbandry practised in the United Kingdom. The embarrassed circumstances of many of the old settlers, brought on by improvidence, or by having engaged in the timber business, will compel them to sell their farms, and commence again on woodlands.

Joiners, stone-masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, cart, mill, and wheelwrights, and (in the seaports) coopers, may always find employment. Brewers may succeed; but in a few years there will be more encouragement for them. Butchers generally do well. For spinners, weavers, or those engaged in manufactures, there is not the smallest encouragement.

Active labouring men and women may always secure employment, kind treatment, and good wages.

To gentlemen educated for the professions of law, divinity, or physic, British America offers no flattering prospects. There are already too many lawyers, as they are admitted as attornies and barristers on serving an apprenticeship of four or five years in the colonies. There are, of the Established Church, a

many clergymen, in proportion to the members of the church, as in England. The members of the Kirk of Scotland, as soon as a sufficient number to support a clergyman settle within a reasonable distance of each other, generally send for a minister to Scotland. Antiburghers, Baptists, and Methodists, have preachers in most of the settlements. The Roman Catholic Church is respectably established—its clergy well supported; and no class interferes less with other persuasions than they do, or are more peaceable, or better members of society.

Medical gentlemen generally secure a decent livelihood, but, with few exceptions, seldom make money. *The climate of British America is too salubrious for doctors to realise fortunes.* Schoolmasters who emigrate, will, nine out of ten, have to cultivate the soil for a subsistence, and they generally make indifferent farmers. Young men of education, clerks in mercantile houses, or shopmen, need not expect encouragement, unless previously engaged by the merchants or shopkeepers in America. Young men, however, of persevering and industrious habits, have baffled every obstacle, and finally succeeded in establishing themselves in trade. Many of the richest merchants in the colonies were of this description.

When an emigrant has fully prepared himself in other respects, the object of greatest importance to himself and his family is the manner in which he is to cross the seas to America.

It has frequently been the fate of passengers, particularly of those who have, at all periods of emigration, embarked at ports in Ireland, and in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, to have undergone miseries of the most distressing and loathsome character.

Men of broken fortunes, or unprincipled adventurers, were generally the persons who have been engaged in the traffic, long known by the emphatic cognomen of the "white slave trade," of transporting emigrants to America. Their practice has been to travel over the country among the labouring classes, to allure them, by flattering and commonly false accounts of the New World, in order to decide on emigrating, and to pay half of the passage money in advance. A ship of the worst class, ill found with materials, and most uncomfortably accommodated, was then chartered to proceed to a certain port, where the passengers embarked: crowded closely in the hold, the provisions and water indifferent, and often unwholesome and scanty, inhaling the foul air generated by filth and dirt, typhus fever was almost inevitably produced, and, as is too well known, many of the passengers usually became its victims.

An act of parliament at last subjected the emigrant ships to very proper restrictions as to the number of passengers, and to very necessary regulations as to the quantity and quality of water and provisions. This necessary and just law was complained of by those interested, as grievous; and "the white slave traders," who did not scruple to break through its stipulations, were often ingenious enough to evade its penalties.

When the restrictions contained in this act were afterwards removed, no language can describe the consequent *disease, misery, and squalid wretchedness* imported, principally from Ireland, into the colonies.

In 1827, the inhabitants of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, who, in the most humane and liberal manner, pro-

vided for the relief of the sick emigrants, were doomed to share in the calamity thus introduced; and, while some hundreds of the passengers died in the hospitals, many of the healthy inhabitants of the town caught the infection, and were carried off by it.

During the summer of the same year, several vessels arrived at St. John's, Newfoundland, from Ireland, on board of which men, women, and children, exceeding double the legal number, were crammed. Filth and confined air soon produced disease, and the effects were dreadful. One vessel, under 120 tons, had, previously to sailing from Ireland with 110 passengers, loaded with salt, leaving only a space of three feet between the cargo and deck. The weather during the passage was such, that for two weeks the hatches were not opened; and, at this time, two thirds of the passengers were afflicted with typhus and dysentery.

On entering the harbour of St. John's, the condition of this vessel was probably as appalling as that of any slave ship that ever left the coast of Guinea. The very salt was impregnated or covered over to the depth of one to three feet with loathsome filth.

The dead, the dying, and the sick, presented a scene too shocking for description. Some died before the vessel arrived, others on entering the harbour; forty men and ten women were carried to the hospital, and twenty died in all.

By the act of the last session of the Imperial Parliament, for regulating the carrying of passengers, the number is limited to three for every four tons that a ship registers, and the quantity and quality of provisions are also regulated; but, nevertheless, it appears that some greedy speculators have, since then, lured

emigrants away from Ireland, without conforming to the legal stipulations; and it will require the greatest vigilance to bring men trained to this traffic to answer for their conduct.* The colonial legislatures have lately passed laws, subjecting the masters of passage ships to the payment of a fixed sum for each passenger they land in British America, in order to provide for them in the event of sickness.

In arranging for passages, it will be necessary for the emigrant, in order to guard against imposition, to make his enquiries for vessels through practical men of established good character. Health being the greatest blessing an emigrant can carry with him to America, and as this depends chiefly on the comforts on ship-board, he should, if possible, embark in a

* Irish emigrants have been unaccountably doomed to suffer more than most others. It is well known, that about 2000 Irish were inveigled to Brazil, by the offer of free passages and lands, by an agent of the Brazilian government. These poor deluded men, on landing in South America, discovered that the intention of Don Pedro was to make soldiers of them; and, on refusing to become such, every tenth man was imprisoned. After enduring great misery, either the British ambassador or the British consul (I am not certain which), insisted on their being conveyed to Ireland, or to some British colony. Vessels were accordingly chartered for the purpose; the brig Highlander carried from Rio de Janeiro to St. John's N. B. 171 men, 31 women, and 14 children, who were landed in a state of wretched poverty. These people were liberally relieved by the provincial government, and also through the benevolence of the inhabitants. Another vessel from the same place arrived at Halifax, with about an equal number in a similar miserable condition, many of whom were sent to the poor-house, or otherwise assisted. Much as the condition of paupers, arriving under such circumstances, is to be deplored, were it not from feelings of great benevolence for the suffering individuals, the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick might be said to go almost too far in relieving men duped by Don Pedro.

vessel that has about six feet in height between the decks, and not an old vessel.*

Much expense and inconvenience will be saved by embarking in a ship bound to a port nearest to the emigrant's point of destination.

By the last act of parliament for regulating the carrying of passengers to America, the following stipulations are required, viz. —

1. No ship to carry more than three persons for every four tons of burden, and to have five feet and a half between platform and deck; two children under fourteen, or three under seven, or one child under one year, and the mother to be counted as one passenger.

2. Ship to be provided with fifty gallons of pure water, and at least 50 lbs. of oatmeal, biscuit, &c. for each passenger.

3. Ships having the full number of passengers to carry no stores between decks; may occupy with stores between decks three cubic feet for each passenger less than the full number.

4. Ship-masters to deliver a list of passengers to the Customs at port of sailing, and furnish a similar list at port of landing.

5. Ship-masters landing passengers any where else than agreed upon, liable to a penalty of 20*l.* for each, to be recovered by any two justices of the peace.

6. Ship-masters not having the above quantity of water and bread to be guilty of a misdemeanour.

7. Ship-masters to enter into bond for observance of this act.

* Rates of passage depend much on circumstances, the place of destination, and the class in which the ship stands.

The average rate of passages, including provisions, may be stated as follows ; varying, however, a little under or over.

Say for a family of five persons :

	£	s.	d.
To Van Diemen's Land, or Swan River, &c. 22 <i>l.</i> each person, including provisions, and 20 <i>s.</i> to the place of settlement	-	-	-
	115	0	0
To Canada, for passages and provisions, 6 <i>l.</i> each, and 2 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each, including luggage from the port of landing to the place of settlement	-	-	-
	42	10	0
To New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, or Prince Edward Island, passages 6 <i>l.</i> each from the port of landing, including luggage 20 <i>s.</i> each	-	-	-
	35	0	0

Besides the requisite provisions found by the ship-owner, passengers should have a few other necessities in case of ill health at sea, particularly a little tea, sugar, and aperient medicine.

Farmers or labourers should bring out with them, if their means will admit, as much clothing, bedding, and linen as they may require for two or three years, a set of light cart harness, two spades, two shovels, two scythes, four sickles, four or five hoes, two pair of plough-traces, the iron work of a plough and harrow of the common kind used in Scotland ; the cast machinery of a corn-fan ; one hand, one jack, and one jointer plane ; one draw knife, six socket chisels, six gouges, one hand saw, two or three hammers, three or four augers assorted, none larger than one and a quarter inch ; a dozen gimblets, a few door hinges and

latches, and a small assortment of nails. Furniture, or any kind of wooden work, will only incommode them, as what may be necessary can easily be procured at moderate rates in America.

On landing in America, the emigrant should immediately apply at the proper offices (those of the Emigrant Agents, or of the Land Commissioners,) respecting lands, and the best mode of going from the sea-ports.

Emigrants must not be deluded into the belief that they will get lands for nothing in any part of America.

The government has fixed a price on all the crown lands; and from 5s. to 10s. per acre, varying according to natural advantages and improved facilities, must be paid for land in all the colonies, either to the crown or to the public companies. The crown lands are sold in lots to the highest bidder, and the *minimum* price fixed at 5s.

A settler who can spare money enough to pay for clearing four or five acres of land, which will cost about 15*l.*, and to erect a house that will cost from 15*l.* to 20*l.* more, will avoid the difficulties which to him will be most disheartening, merely from his awkward acquaintance with that indispensable labour, wielding the axe*, or the art of chopping.

An emigrant, to be enabled to settle at once on his

* This tool has not yet been manufactured in England, in the form or *temper* which long experience has proved the best. A good *chopper* will do treble the work with an American made axe that he could with an English made one. Neither have we yet manufactured any *mill-saws* equal to those made at Philadelphia; for the greater number of those used in New Brunswick are smuggled from the United States, although they cost double the price paid for mill-saws in England.

farm, and not to be obliged afterwards to work for others in order to get provisions, should be able to bring with him to his wood farm, if his family consists of five persons —

	£	s.	d.
50 bushels potatoes	-	2	10 0
2 barrels flour	-	2	10 0
1 ditto rye, Indian, or oatmeal	-	1	6 0
1 ditto mackerel and 1 of herrings	-	2	0 0
A half ditto of beef	-	1	15 0
5 gallons molasses	-	0	12 6
3 ditto rum	-	0	12 0
3 lbs. tea	-	0	15 0
12 ditto sugar	-	0	8 0
1 milch cow	-	5	0 0
2 axes, 4 hoes, 1 saw, 3 planes, 1 adze, 3 augers, 6 gimblets, 2 chisels, 2 gouges, 25 lbs. nails, 3 iron pots, 1 kettle, some tin mugs, gridiron, frying pan, and some earthenware	-	10	0 0
			£28 8 6

This amount, with 5*l.* to purchase seed, will enable him to establish himself on a wood farm of 100 acres; but he must also have about 10*l.* more to pay the first instalment of the purchase money, which altogether will cost from 5*s.* to 15*s.* per acre, according to its situation.

The majority of new settlers have, however, nothing but a pair of industrious hands to begin with; and although they have certainly to endure greater privations, yet they also succeed in acquiring land and stock. By working part of their time for wages,

and the rest on the land on which they may settle, they soon find themselves in a comfortable condition.

The old settlers would willingly allow an emigrant to settle on any part of their wood-lands in consideration of the improvements he should make; but this would be a most imprudent plan for the new settler.

When the emigrant has fixed on his farm, if he be a poor man, the nearest settlers will assist him by joining, on a fixed day, and cutting down the trees on an acre of land on which he is to build his house—this *chopping frolic* will cost the settler a gallon of rum, and five or six shillings' worth of provisions, in all 10s. for the labour of ten or fifteen men acquainted with the levelling of forest trees. For the same cost he will be aided by the labour of an equal number of persons to raise his house. The old settlers are always willing to assist *new comers* in this way, having themselves formerly experienced the same benefit.

Farmers and labourers brought up in the province are eminently expert in the use of edge tools; making their own sledges, carts, ploughs, harrows, and various agricultural implements. They also make their own shoes, harness, and many other articles, which necessity renders indispensable in new countries. The women spin, knit, make up the clothes required by the family, plait straw hats, make fur caps, and many of them weave their flax and woollen yarn. A loom is a common article in a farmer's house.

The emigrant will find the manners, customs, and amusements of the settlers to be probably different from his own; but in most respects similar to those of the countries which either they themselves or their ancestors came from.

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A settler's occupations will require his incessant attention for the first five or six years, at the end of which period he ought to possess, if he be an industrious sober man, a good farm of one to two hundred acres, of which he should have under cultivation ten to fifty acres, according to the assistance in labour which his family, from the number it consists of, and their age, can render him; a couple of horses, a pair of oxen, four to six cows, twenty sheep, six or twelve hogs, poultry, &c. This is no exaggerated scale of prosperity; thousands who had nothing but industry and frugality to begin with, may be found, who have secured much more; while, at the same time, those who want habits of thrift, are found in a state of daily dependence and poverty. An industrious man, with a family trained to thrifty habits, has, therefore, nothing to fear by emigrating to America. He should leave England, if possible, by the 1st of April, or if not then, in time to arrive in the colonies before the 1st of September; at which season he will be sure of employment, and sufficient time to *locate* himself and family before winter. If he has any money, he had better deposit it, before leaving the United Kingdom, in a bank, as he will gain something by drawing for it afterwards. On arriving in America, he will encounter no jealousy or envy among the inhabitants, and he will find that hospitality to new settlers is common.

After he settles on his new farm, he will find the winter bracing and pleasant, and the abundance of fuel renders his home warm and comfortable; and it is rare indeed that a day occurs in which he cannot work in the open air.

There are various ways in which men may always

employ themselves after they arrive in America. The heads of families cannot do better than devote all the time they possibly can to clearing and preparing their lands for cultivation. It is often, however, necessary for them to work for provisions or other assistance among the old settlers; but prudent men never do so after the first year, except compelled by necessity.

An emigrant cannot commence too soon on the land which is to be his own, as all the labour he applies to its improvement increases its value, and at the same time accelerates his own independence.

Women, and children above two years of age, can find ready employment, particularly during spring and autumn. Young unmarried labouring men ought to save at least half their wages. Food, except in the towns and at public works, is usually provided for labourers by their employers.

Children, whose parents are unable to support them, may be provided for by binding them, until they become of age, as apprentices to farmers, with whom they generally are brought up as the children of the family; and a cow, a sheep, and some seed, are usually given to them when they leave, to begin with on a farm. In this manner, orphans are generally taken care of. It rarely happens that a man who has a family finds it necessary to apprentice any of his children to others; and he who has the most numerous offspring is considered to have the best means of prospering, in a country where land is abundant, and in which the price of labour is high.

The public roads, clearing of wood-lands, saw-mills, and the assistance required by the old settlers, form the principal sources of employment for labouring men.

A common plan with those who own cleared farms that they do not occupy, is, to let these farms on *shares*; that is, to stock the farm with horses, horned cattle, sheep, and hogs, provide half the necessary seed, and then give possession to a practical farmer, who will cultivate it and find the labour. After harvest, the produce, even to that of the dairy, is equally divided between the proprietor and the farmer. Many emigrants who dislike commencing at once in the woods, have, by industry and frugality, supported their families very comfortably in this manner for two or three years, besides accumulating sufficient stock and seed to commence on a new farm. Farmers from the inland counties of England, and from Dumfriesshire and Perthshire, have succeeded best in this way.*

To those who are anxious to emigrate, but who have not the means, it is a matter of difficulty to advise how to proceed; various plans are often adopted. Unmarried men and women, who were unable to pay their passages, have frequently bound

* The prosperity of a man who cultivates land on the shares, as well as the benefit which arises to the proprietor, depends (as success in every other branch of industry does) on his own industry and character. My excellent friend, the late Ewen Cameron, Esq., of Prince Edward Island, had a remarkably fine farm, within a few miles of Charlotte Town. He let it on the shares for three years, to a John Kennedy; from Perthshire, a plain, honest, industrious farmer; at the expiration of this period, Mr. Cameron was in every respect pleased with Kennedy, and quite satisfied as to the produce of his farm. Kennedy, with his stock, removed to a wood farm, which, in 1828, when last in America, I passed in front of, and I could not help admiring how much land he had reclaimed from the forest, and under excellent tillage. Mr. Cameron told me that since Kennedy left, his farm, under the management of the man who succeeded him, produced him nothing.

themselves for two or three years to serve those who paid for carrying them to America.

Letters from persons who have been settled some years in America, to their friends in the mother countries, have long been a powerful cause of emigration. Money, also, is frequently sent by settlers in America, to enable their friends to follow; and by these means more have been induced to emigrate than by all others.

Associations have lately been formed in parishes for the purpose of assisting persons to emigrate. Those who may be aided in the expense of emigrating by their parishes, should carry with them a certificate of character as to sobriety, honesty, and industry; and it will likely be of importance for those who bear the expense of their removal, to send them under the protection of those who will undertake to guard them against going in ill found, unsafe ships, and from imposition on landing in the colonies.

The following very prudent plan has long prevailed in Scotland, and, having been generally attended with success, can scarcely be recommended too much.

When a family, or a few families, determine on emigrating, some of the sons or relations that are grown up, are sent forward to prepare for the reception of the families who are to follow afterwards. It often occurs that the young men thus sent to America have, for two or three years, to earn money, which they remit to pay the passages of their friends.

Young Irishmen, also, who have at different times found their way to America, have not unfrequently, by working for three or four years in the towns, or among the settlements, or by employing themselves

in the fisheries, accumulated considerable sums of money, which have been forwarded to Ireland, in order to bring after them their parents, brothers, or sisters, and often young women to whom they were previously affianced or attached. This I know to be a very common trait in the character of the Irish peasantry, and no circumstance can illustrate a more powerful force of affectionate attachment.

The leading fault of Irish emigrants is their apparent indifference about fixing at once on the permanent and certain employment which the cultivation of the soil alone can secure to them. Transient labour among the old settlers, employment at the public works, seems more congenial to their habits than working on a wood farm on their own account. Exceptions, however, there are to this general observation; and, in comparing the condition of the Irish settlers in America with that of the peasantry in Ireland, I may say, without the least fear of being incorrect, that I have beheld more apparent wretchedness, and, I would infer, real misery, in one day's travelling in Ireland, than I have witnessed during several years' residence in, and while travelling through the principal parts of, the British empire in North America. My observations, while travelling among new settlements, always led me to the conclusion, that many of the inconveniences and all the dreariness of emigration would soon disappear, if several families, say ten to twenty or more, from the same parish in the United Kingdom, were to remove to America and settle together in one place. Mutual ideas, habits, and wants would unite them, and they would soon find their social condition happy and prosperous. The practice of the Swiss and German emigrants is,

in this respect, worthy of imitation. — They embark at Havre in the American packet ships, and, on their arrival at New York, go immediately on board the *tow boats* for Albany, and thence like birds of passage to their destination in the Western States, where they settle together, and soon prosper. They form a most excellent class of inhabitants, — quiet, honest, and industrious.

About one third of the emigrants landing at New York are of this description. I saw many of them embarking last year (1832) at Havre, and the circumstance afforded ample materials for reflection. They had for ever left the country of their forefathers, passed through France, to cross what they never before beheld — the ocean, — in order to fix their future destinies in the wilds of the Western World.

In remarking generally on the condition of the inhabitants of our American colonies, as respects their means, none, except those engaged immediately or indirectly in commerce, have accumulated fortunes. The majority of the whole population possess considerable property in land and cattle; among the remainder, many are poor; but beggars are scarcely ever seen, unless it be in the towns, where some accidental calamity or natural infirmity brings occasionally a destitute individual to solicit food or other articles. Many of the Irish emigrants are frequently observed begging, for a short time after landing.

The old settlers are not always discovered to be the most opulent, notwithstanding the advantages they have had of selecting the best lands. It is even lamentable to observe the condition of some of those who have long occupied the finest farms, and whose poverty is the visible consequence of unsteadiness,

extravagance, and often a silly species of pride that attaches contempt to rural industry. In each of the colonies I know many farmers of this character, who, before the month of May each year, have to purchase grain and potatoes from their more provident neighbours.

It is, however, most satisfactory to know, that, in every instance, the early settler who has confined his labour to agriculture, and who has managed the fruits of his toil with frugality and judgment, is found to be respectably opulent, to have brought up his family in a creditable manner; and with his sons and daughters commonly married and settled around him. In a contrary view, we find that those who only considered farming as a secondary employment, and who have engaged in other pursuits according as their fancy directed, have had poverty an ever-present attendant, with their families scattered in different places, subjected to a precarious subsistence, and often leading an irregular and indolent life.

As an example of a body of some hundreds of emigrants thriving by steady industry, I know of none who have succeeded better than those sent by the late Earl of Selkirk, in 1802, from the highlands and isles of Scotland to Prince Edward Island, where his lordship first began his colonising experiments, by settling them along the sea-coast, on lands which he purchased in one of the finest districts of that colony. They were nearly all acquainted with each other before they left the mother country — of the same religion, spoke the same language, and their minister is from the same part of Scotland. It would have been happy for those he sent to Red River, if they had been equally fortunate; and however good

and honest his lordship's intentions were (and I believe them to have been so), he was undoubtedly imprudent in his measures and plans in respect to the Red River settlement.

Many instances might also be pointed out in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton, of the prosperity of emigrants who had to encounter all the hardships attached to a wilderness country, without money, or any support but what depended on their industry, to carry them through their difficulties.

In alluding to the prosperity of new settlements, I might point out numberless instances in Upper Canada. Nearly all the townships contain flourishing villages, with many improving settlements, corn-fields, and meadows, occupying the place of dark forests, and presenting cheering and enlivening scenes, which afford to man the articles necessary to support him in comfortable independence.

The settlement of Hull, begun and established on the plan frequently adopted by the Americans, who remove with oxen, horses, all the materials for mill work and smithies, tools, provisions, and clothing, from the old states to the western districts, I have alluded to already, in the description of Lower Canada.

In Nova Scotia, the Scotch settlements on the East River of Pictou, and even those among the hilly districts of the country, have made rapid strides towards independence; and the Highlanders, also, who have settled within the Bras d'Or Lake, and along the sea-coasts of Cape Breton, are, at least those who have been located for three or four years, in tolerable circumstances, although they have not so

much ambition to become comfortable as the English or Lowland Scotch.

In 1818, several families from Yorkshire arrived at Prince Edward Island, where they did not, on leaving England, intend to remain; but being delighted with the appearance of the colony, they applied to the agent of one of the proprietors, for leases of one hundred acres to some, and of two hundred acres of woodland to others, fronting on the road leading from Charlotte Town to Stanhope. The terms were, the first two years free, the third year at sixpence, the fourth at nine pence, and afterwards, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, to continue at the annual rent of one shilling sterling per acre. A cow was also given by the proprietor to each of the settlers, to be paid for when their circumstances admitted. These people went to work with such determination, and economised their time and means with so much prudence, that, in 1826, they had each from fifteen to twenty acres of land cleared, and under excellent cultivation, one or two horses, four or five horned cattle, a few sheep, some pigs, and poultry. They were allowed to name their settlement Little York, and it was delightful to observe the order in which they kept their agricultural implements; and the neatness and cleanliness of every thing about them reminded me of England.

Not far from them, on another road, I had the opportunity of observing the industrious progress of an old man of the name of Sinclair. He was upwards of sixty years when I saw him beginning in the woods. His family consisted of his wife, and two grown-up daughters; one of the latter usually spent three fourths of the year at service; their means were limited, and

they were obliged to live very frugally; but their industry overcame every difficulty. Recollecting the place thickly covered with trees in 1823, I was charmed with its pretty improvements when I rode past it four or five years afterwards: and never did I observe more forcibly the effects of well-applied industry.

Near Sinclair's farm, a settler, who was formerly a tenant on Major-General Stewart's estate, Garth, in Perthshire, and who went to America, recommended by this brave officer, has also made most extensive improvements. In the same settlement, a man of the name of Cairns, whom I observed the first year, with a rope over his shoulder, actually dragging after him the harrow which covered the seed, and who had at one time been in good circumstances in Dumfriesshire, but who arrived pennyless in America, told me, that, after surmounting the difficulties of the first two years, he had lived better, and that he considered himself much more independent, than he ever did in Scotland. Mr. Dockendorff, one of the most respectable farmers in the colony, with whom I have had frequent conversation respecting the condition of the inhabitants of the colonies, removed to it about forty years ago from the United States. He was then unmarried, and commenced clearing the farm which he now occupies, which was at that time covered altogether with trees that indicate a fertile soil. It is now one of the finest farms in North America. His house is large, handsome, and comfortable; his barn, stable, &c., are commodious and well planned; his farming implements are ever in the best order; his horses, cattle, sheep, &c. always in excellent condition. He married, soon after he settled, a thrifty and excellent

woman ; and his family, whom he has brought up in a manner highly creditable, are extolled for regularity of character, and habits of thrift. He has often observed to me, that all the poverty in the colony, and generally in North America, was nothing more nor less than the inevitable consequence of indolence, imprudence, and the absence of frugality. The poverty of such persons never surprised him. Every thing about this most worthy man bespoke happiness and comfort ; plenty, but not useless waste, always appeared at his table. Respected in the colony, a member of its legislature, and dear to his own family and friends, he more than once told me that he had nothing in this world to wish for that could increase his happiness ; and that he thought no man could be more comfortable than he was. His strong mind and good common sense enabled him thus wisely to appreciate his condition ; and if there be an independent and happy man on earth, one circumstanced like my friend Mr. Dockendorff must be so.

Among the settlers in New Brunswick, I had some conversation with an old Highlander, from Sutherlandshire, one of the soldiers of the 42d regiment, who were disbanded in America after the revolutionary war. This man had settled on the banks of the Nashwaack, and had scarcely ever since been absent from his farm, except occasionally with his overplus corn or potatoes to Frederickton. He retained his native language with as much purity as if he had never removed from the vale in which he was born, by which I immediately discovered where he came from ; the tone and accent of the Gaelic varying as much in one shire, or in one of the isles of Scotland, from the others, as the pronunciation of the inhabit-

ants of the several counties in England does. When I addressed the old man in his native language, his very soul seemed to feel all the rapture of early enthusiasm; and I can never forget the bright warmth of his countenance, and the ardour of his language, when enquiring about the state of the Highlands, and the condition of his countrymen. He said, he used for the first few years to receive now and then letters from his friends, but that his relatives gradually dropped off, some by death, others by removal to distant countries; and that for the last twenty years he had no direct intelligence from Sutherland. Never could his country, however, cease to be dear to him. "Never," said he, "will we forget the tales, the songs, and the music we heard in the Highlands; we recite or sing them during the winter evenings, and our children will ever remember them, and, I hope, transmit them to their offspring." He said, that, although government did much for them (his neighbours and himself) in the way of rations, they nevertheless suffered very great hardships for the first few years, after settling where they now live. "There were some idlers and faint-hearted people," he said, "among us, who left the settlement; but all those who have remained have prospered. I am myself as comfortable as I can be. All my family are married; some of them live with me; others have farms of their own. I have very little to do but enjoy myself among my children and my grandchildren; and although the best years of my manhood were spent fighting for my king, and the greater part of my life, since that period, has been spent toiling for the support of my family, and for whatever I now possess, yet I have great reason," he

continued, "to be thankful and grateful to God, in whom I trust for a peaceful and calm retreat, through my declining years, to another world." This is nearly a translation of what he said, but destitute of the force of expression so peculiar to the language in which he spoke.

There are scarcely any taxes, and very few public burdens. Duties on articles of luxury are trifling, and on necessary articles there are rarely any; consequently, all that is required for supporting a family may be purchased at low rates, fine clothing excepted.

I have particularly to advise new settlers against running in debt to the shopkeepers; doing so has prevented many hard labouring men from prospering. The low price of spirituous liquors is also a great bane to the success of emigrants; and the facility with which rum can be procured is the most prolific source of domestic misery and personal depravity that exists in America.

Wherever a settlement is formed, and some progress is made in the clearing and cultivation of the soil, it begins gradually to develop the usual features of an American village. First, a saw-mill, a grist-mill, and a blacksmith's shop appear; then a school-house, and a place of worship; and, in a little time, the village doctor, and pedler with his wares, introduce themselves.

A saw-mill of itself soon forms a settlement; for attached to it must be a blacksmith's forge, dwellings for carpenters, millwrights, and labourers, stables, and ox-houses. A shop and tavern are also sure to spring up close to it; tailors and shoemakers are also required.

Few habitations can be more rude than those of the first settlers, but many in the United Kingdom are far less comfortable. The most that an emigrant can do the first year, is to erect his habitation, and cut down the trees on as much ground as will be sufficient to plant ten or twelve bushels of potatoes, and to sow three or four bushels of grain. If his means will allow him to carry to the land he commences on, as much provisions as will support himself and family until he raises a crop, he will find it an object of the greatest importance, as it will enable him to overcome the difficulties of his situation, without leaving his farm to labour for others.

Much valuable time is wasted in working among the old settlers for provisions; and if the emigrant should even succeed in getting articles of food on credit, it will long be a drawback on his industry.

In the course of five years, an industrious man should have twelve acres under cultivation, one horse, two or three cows, a few sheep and pigs, and sufficient food for himself and family. In ten years, the same man, with perseverance and frugality, ought to possess from twenty-five to thirty acres under improvement, a pair of horses, a waggon or cart, a sledge and carriage, five or six cows, a yoke of oxen, sheep, hogs, poultry, &c., and a comfortable house, a good barn, and plenty of food for himself and family. This is no extravagant calculation. I could name hundreds who began in abject poverty, and who have, in the same period, accumulated, by steady industry, fully as much as I have stated.

On the other hand, I have witnessed the condition of many others, who were settled from five to fifty years in America, and scarcely possessed any of the

necessaries of life ; but the cause I invariably traced to their improvident character and indolent habits.

The causes of emigration are chiefly poverty, dissatisfaction in respect to public measures, or ambition.

The majority of those who emigrate to America are driven abroad by the goadings of poverty ; another class is formed of adventurous men, who go to seek fortunes in other countries, with the hope of again returning to their own ; a third class is composed of men of genius, whose schemes have been frustrated, or whose hopes have been blighted at home ; and a fourth class includes individuals who are not only discontented with their condition in the land of their forefathers, but displeased also with all public measures : these men are not, probably, compelled to emigrate from necessity, but from a spirit of dissatisfaction natural to them. Of this unfortunate description, I have discovered numbers in all the provinces. They at first fix on a farm, and as they do not find that their ardent expectations are realised in a year or two, they attribute their bad fortune to the ill-fated spot they have chosen, which they leave for another, where no better success attends them. In this manner, roaming about from place to place, the chances inevitably are, that they wear out their constitutions, and waste their labour to no good purpose.

Immediately after the last war, a crisis in the affairs of men necessarily occurred. The peace threw thousands either altogether, or in a great measure, out of employment. The articles which labour produced were many of them not further required ; and the demand for, and the price of, the remainder, were reduced by the death of the war monopoly, and the great reduction in the naval and military de-

partments. Agriculture and commerce continued for some time to languish, while the spirits of the farmers began to droop, and those of the manufacturers to ferment. In the minds of some men, evils, under the impression of misfortunes, produced discontent; with others, the transition from their former artificial affluence, to a condition which made them feel their real position, broke out into invectives against the measures of government, and into a declared indifference to their country.

The labouring classes, when out of employment, generally find relief if they emigrate to America: and there are others whose spirits have been soured by misfortunes, either brought upon them by their own imprudence, or by accidental circumstances, who blame their country, and, with an avowal of hatred to it, expatriate themselves. It is assuredly fit, and perhaps necessary, that such men should go abroad. Fresh activity may renew in them the energy of youth; and while they spend the remainder of their days in other countries, experience, fortunately, never fails to convince them, that it is impossible for them to forget, or not to love, their own.

It is vain and inconsistent to expect, that the government of any nation can relieve effectually the miseries of many hundreds of thousands of paupers, who have been principally born in poverty, and reared in the abodes of hunger, improvidence, and ignorance. The most that we can hope is, that their sufferings may be ameliorated. It requires the gradual operation of an age at least, to change the habits, and to direct to steady purposes the energies, of a vast population.

Many circumstances have combined to produce the

present alarming extent of pauperism ; the remote causes are not within my province to enquire into ; but in Ireland, which we may consider the very empire of mendicity, superabundant population is certainly the immediate cause of beggary. That the Irish peasantry are improvident, cannot be denied. This, again, arises from ignorance and want of education, which reconcile them to exist in a state scarcely superior to that in which the brute tribes live. Therefore, in the absence of reflection, and the attendant disregard of future consequences, as to the means of supporting a family, at about the same age that the young men of England and Scotland are leaving school, and their parents anxiously considering what occupation they are to follow, or what trade they are to learn by an apprenticeship of five or seven years, the Irish peasantry link into premature marriages, and thereby multiply the endless evils of poverty.

In countries like America, where labour is dear, and the population scanty in proportion to the vast extent of land, early marriages are not by any means attended with the same evils as in Ireland, where the population is superabundant, inasmuch as there is not sufficient employment for the inhabitants. A great proportion of the pauperism that exists in Great Britain is caused by the seemingly endless influx of Irish beggars. Were there no mendicants but those born within the parishes of England and Scotland, our feelings would not be harrowed by the famished, half-naked, unfortunate beings that assail us in every town, village, and along every road in both countries.*

* We may every day, at the pier-heads of Liverpool, at Glasgow, and other places, witness the landing of hundreds of ragged, squa-

The removal of a great portion of the redundant population of the United Kingdom to our colonies, which has for some time engaged the attention of the government, may be considered the best temporary expedient to relieve the mother countries from the burden of pauperism. That those who are sent to the colonies will be removed from the pressure of poverty, I have no doubt; and the consequent effect which this measure may have on the United Kingdom, will doubtless depend on the extent to which emigration may be effected. *It is also matter of no common consideration, in a political point of view, that each individual who leaves these kingdoms, and settles in British colonies, not only relieves this country to the amount of provisions he consumes, and the additional employment given to others by his absence, but he creates, by consuming British manufactures, an annual employment in the mother country of about 40s. for himself and each of his offspring: this, on a large scale of emigration, and the*

lid objects, (men, women, and children,) from Ireland. These people come over under the pretence of looking for employment, and proceed begging on their way through the country. Before leaving Ireland, they are told it is physically impossible that they can be so miserable in England or in Scotland, as in their own country; that they can beg from one place to another; that if they are eventually sent back by the parishes, they will be provided for; and that they can, in spite of all the vigilance of overseers and police officers, return again to England. An Irish pauper, from having either learned the benefit of living on the industry of England by his own experience, or by acquiring previously the rudiments of ingenious begging, is wonderful eloquent and *au fait*, in the way of amusing select vestries or police officers, while giving an account of himself.

consequent increase, by the natural ratio, of the population of our colonies, and decrease in the offspring of paupers in the United Kingdom, will augment to an enormous amount. It appears, however, that other measures should be pursued at the same time, with respect to Ireland. Infusing, by means of education, such useful knowledge into the minds of the peasantry, as will gradually introduce habits of thinking and of orderly industry, is a measure, assuredly, of primary necessity: providing, as far as possible, employment for the labouring classes within the kingdom, is also an object of paramount consideration.

Another plan of great magnitude, although the policy will be by many denounced, but which would, nevertheless, be of eminent benefit to the country, comprehends the removal, as speedily as may be consistent with humanity, of the mud cabins; the introduction of poor-rates; and the destruction of the whole system of sub-letting.

In carrying into effect a grand scheme of emigration, for the purpose of disburdening the United Kingdom of a poverty-smitten people, it becomes necessary to consider the probable consequence of introducing a great mass of that description to our colonies.

Our North American possessions will require for many years a vast accession of settlers; but, at the same time, it must be remembered, that the men whose labour and energy are wanted, with the present inhabitants, to cultivate and raise those great countries to the mighty importance of which they are susceptible, should, generally speaking, possess

correct principles and industrious habits, as well as strong physical qualities.*

Apprehensions of distress, and many other evils, being introduced with large bodies of paupers, are very generally entertained in the colonies; and unless adequate means be provided to carry such emigrants to the place of location, and to support them for a reasonable time afterwards, it would certainly be improper to inundate the colonies with a pauper population.

Should emigrants be carried to America at the public expense, it is recommended to provide them with provisions, axes, and a few other implements. From my own enquiries, and all that I have observed respecting the settlers in each of our American colonies, I am of opinion, that if each family received an axe, two hoes, an auger, a saw, a plane, a cow, seed, and provisions for one year, it is fully as much as government should grant. It is doubtful, if more assistance were given, whether it would not lead to abuse; and with such aid, the man who does not become independent of others for the means of subsistence, deserves (according to an observation made to me by an affluent and worthy old farmer, who settled forty years ago in America not worth a shilling,) "to be hanged as a public defaulter." That emigrants sent to the colonies, and located and provided for at the expense of the public, should be bound, after a reasonable period, to repay the money

* It is notorious that, while the number of criminal offences have greatly increased during late years in America, few instances of guilt can be traced to the old settlers. A life of continued poverty is usually so lamentably at variance with virtue, that we must ascribe the more frequent occurrence of crime in our colonies chiefly to the previous indigence of many of the emigrants.

advanced on their account, is probably no more than mere justice. But this stipulation would be highly impolitic. That an industrious settler would be able, at the expiration of five or six years, particularly if received in agricultural produce, to repay the money expended on his account by government, I certainly admit; but would not the accountability form a sort of premium for emigrants to disregard their allegiance? for they would not, it is believed, be inclined to repay what they received from the public funds; but would rather consider such a debt in the same light that they do parish relief in England. The vexation of collecting the money expended in removing them would also produce discontent and trouble.

Whether emigration on the plan formerly recommended by the committee of the House of Commons, or as lately proposed in Parliament, be ever carried into effect or not, voluntary emigration, at the expense of the emigrants themselves, will still continue to go on in the usual way; and as the majority of those who leave the United Kingdom for America will have been brought up to occupations not only different from each other, but unlike those which they will probably follow afterwards, it will be of great consequence to prepare themselves in the best possible manner for the new life they are about to commence.

In this chapter, and in these volumes, I trust that I have given all necessary information, and that it will appear the prosperity of those who remove from the country of their forefathers to British America, will depend (unless unforeseen calamities interfere) entirely on their industry and discretion.

CHAP. II.

CLEARING FOREST LANDS.—BUILDING LOG-HOUSES.—CULTIVATING THE SOIL, ETC.

It is curious and interesting to observe the progress which a new settler makes in clearing and cultivating a wood farm, from the period he commences in the forests until he has reclaimed a sufficient quantity of land to enable him to follow the mode of cultivation he practised in his native country. As the same course is, with little variation, followed by all new settlers in every part of America, the following description may be useful to those who are about to emigrate.

The first object is to select the farm among such vacant lands as are most desirable; and, after obtaining the necessary tenure, the settler commences, the nearest inhabitants usually assisting him, by cutting down the trees on the site of his intended habitation, and those growing on the ground immediately adjoining. This operation is performed with the axe, by cutting a notch on each side of the tree, about two feet above the ground, and rather more than half through on the side on which it is intended the tree should fall.

The trees are all felled in the same direction; and, after lopping off the principal branches, cut into ten or fifteen feet lengths. On the spot on which the house is to be erected, these junks are

all rolled away, and the smaller parts carried off or burnt.

The habitations which the new settlers first erect are constructed in the rudest manner. Round logs, from fifteen to twenty feet long, are laid horizontally over each other, and notched in at the corners to allow them to come along the walls within about an inch of each other. One is first laid on each side to begin the walls, then one at each end, and the building is raised in this manner by a succession of logs crossing and binding each other at the corners, until seven or eight feet high. The seams are closed with moss or clay; three or four rafters are then raised to support the roof, which is covered with boards, or with the rinds of birch or spruce trees, bound down with poles tied together with withes. A wooden framework, placed on a stone foundation, is raised a few feet from the ground, and, leading through the roof with its sides closed up with clay and straw kneaded together, forms a chimney. A space large enough for a door, and another for a window, is then cut through the walls; and in the centre of the cabin a square pit or cellar is dug, for the purpose of preserving potatoes or other vegetables during winter. Over this pit a floor of boards, or of logs hewn flat on the upper side, is laid, and another overhead to form a sort of garret. When a door is hung, a window-sash with six or more panes of glass is fixed, and a cupboard and two or three bed-stocks put up: the habitation is then considered ready to receive the new settler and his family. Although such a dwelling has nothing attractive in its appearance, unless it be its rudeness, yet it is by no means so uncomfortable a lodging as the habitations of the poor peasantry in

Ireland, and in some parts of England and Scotland. New settlers who have means build much better houses at first, with two or more rooms; but the majority of emigrants live for a few years in habitations similar to the one here described.

Previous to commencing the cultivation of woodlands, the trees, which are cut down, lopped, and cut into lengths, are, when the proper season arrives (generally in May), set on fire, which consumes all the branches and small wood. The logs are then either piled in heaps and burnt, or rolled away for making a fence. Those who can afford it use oxen to haul off the large unconsumed timber. The surface of the ground and the remaining wood is all black and charred; and working on it and preparing the soil for seed is as disagreeable at first as any labour in which a man can be engaged. Men, women, and children must, however, employ themselves in gathering and burning the rubbish, and in such parts of labour as their respective strengths adapt them for. If the ground be intended for grain, it is generally sown without tillage over the surface, and the seed covered in with a hoe. By some a triangular harrow, which shortens labour, is used instead of the hoe, and drawn by oxen. Others break up the earth with a one-handed plough, which has the share and coulter locked into each other, drawn also by oxen, while a man attends with an axe to cut the roots in its way. Little regard is paid, in this case, to make straight furrows, the object being no more than to work up the ground. With such rude preparation, three successive good crops are raised on uplands without any manure; intervale lands never require any. Potatoes are planted (in new

lands) in round hollows, scooped with the hoe four or five inches deep, and about forty in circumference, in which three or five sets are planted and covered over with a hoe. Indian corn, pumpkins, cucumbers, peas and beans, are cultivated on newly cleared lands, in the same manner as potatoes. Grain of all kinds, turnips, hemp, flax, and grass seeds, are sown over the surface, and covered by means of a hoe, rake, or triangular harrow; wheat is usually sown on the same ground the year after potatoes, without any tillage, but merely covering the seed with a rake or harrow, and followed the third year by oats. Some farmers sow timothy and clover seed the second year along with the wheat, and afterwards let the ground remain under grass, until the stumps of the trees can be easily got out, which usually requires three or four years. With additional labour, these obstructions to ploughing might be removed the second year; and there appears little difficulty in constructing a machine, on the lever principle, that would readily remove them at once. The roots of beech, birch, and spruce decay the soonest; those of pine and hemlock seem to require an age. After the stumps are removed from the soil, and those small natural hillocks, called cradle hills, formed by the ground swelling near the roots of trees, in consequence of their growth, are levelled, the plough may always be used, and the system of husbandry followed that is common in England.

Commodious frame houses, with warm comfortable rooms, large barns, good stables, are then erected; the farming stock is multiplied; and the farmer then finds himself in the possession of all the means of solid independence.

CHAP. III.

REMARKS ON INTERCOLONIAL AND TRANSATLANTIC STEAM
NAVIGATION.

THE mutual advantages which one country derives from another, increase in value and magnitude according to the increased facility of mutual intercourse and transportation. This fact is so well established by experience, as to become an evident truism; and that all important places, between which an intercourse by steam navigation is established, derive, in consequence, vast mutual benefits, is also a fact equally evident.

When a communication is opened with a country, that will enable us to visit it in a certain given period of time, the intercourse is increased in the same ratio as the certainty of arriving at, or returning from, that country more speedily, is greater than by any previous mode of conveyance.

In the same ratio, according to this rule, does the interchanging of the commodities of different countries increase; consequently, the prosperity of the inhabitants is advanced, by affording them more plentiful resources, and the political value of such countries equally augmented by increasing general industry and commerce. For, when the means of receiving intelligence from, and visiting, distant countries, are rendered certain and speedy, mutual transactions and adventurous undertakings are entered

into with much greater faith and spirit, than when the intercourse depends on the uncertain length of voyages, subject to the direction of winds and currents, and to the duration or frequency of calms.

These considerations apply most forcibly to the amazingly vast advantages that would inevitably attend the establishment of a *line* of transatlantic steam-packets,—not only as respects his Majesty's empire in North America, but also as regards the United Kingdom; and particularly as bearing on the great movements of emigration.

If we are secure in forming conclusions according to the experience of the last fifteen years, we are also safe in saying, that steam is the power which will supplant all others in the magnitude and rapidity of its operations. Although we may not be quite so sanguine as to expect making a voyage by steam from Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool, (with a cargo of cutlery, printed cottons, and crockery,) across the Atlantic, and then up the rivers and lakes of the St. Lawrence, and over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific and China—an undertaking far from being impossible—yet steam is the mighty giant that Great Britain can send forth to bring her possessions in America and the West Indies within half the distance, morally speaking, that they now are to Europe. It is this giant that may enable England to grasp more effectually the vast resources of her maritime colonies, — and those of the Canadas, — and, west of the great lakes, those of the regions of Athabasca and Assinboins.

Since the establishment of steam navigation along the coasts of Great Britain, and between England and the Continent, and particularly between England,

Scotland and Ireland, the consequent advantages are too well known, and too justly appreciated, to be questioned.

If we visit the United States, we find all their coasts and rivers navigated by innumerable steam-vessels. There are more than 300 navigating the Mississippi and the Ohio. The magnificence of the steam-vessels on the Hudson is not surpassed, if equalled, in Europe; they are, in fact, splendid floating movable hotels. A few years ago, small sloops, *bateaux*, and canoes, were the only vessels that navigated the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal; and British manufactures were usually sold from twenty to forty per cent. higher at the latter than at the former place. At present there are ten or twelve powerful steam-vessels, equal in beauty, swiftness, and magnitude, and superior in accommodations for passengers, to our steam-ships in these kingdoms, plying between Quebec and Montreal; and commodities are, in consequence, now purchased at equal prices at both places. It is not long since the ferry from Montreal to La Prairie, the usual route to the United States, was crossed in a wooden canoe. Passengers, horses, and carriages are at present carried over in spacious and beautiful steam-boats. The Ottawa, and the lakes of Canada, are also navigated by steam-vessels. A steam-ship, the Royal William, of about 1200* tons, belonging to the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company, navigates the seas between Halifax and Quebec, touching at the points marked in the General Map. There are two steam-

* This splendid ship was launched at Quebec in April, 1831. Another, of 1500 tons, has been built last year.

boats belonging to the General Mining Company at Pictou ; there is another employed at Halifax ; and three at St. John's, New Brunswick, —one of which goes daily between that city and Fredericton, another crosses to Annapolis, from which stage-coaches run to Halifax, and a third plies between St. John's, St. Andrew's, and the United States. All this has been done in a few years ; and as certainly as the population of our colonies will increase, so will also the number of vessels propelled by steam power.

A company was formed in London, under an act of Parliament, in 1825, for the purpose of navigating the Atlantic with steam-packets. In 1826, a great number of the shareholders of that year either withdrew or sold out. The fine steam-ship they purchased was also sold, and bought by the Dutch government, who employed it successfully between Holland and Curaçoa.

Nothing further has been effected, and all the exertions of the intelligent and spirited directors have been unsuccessful ; yet nothing but the general ignorance which prevails in these kingdoms respecting British America and the seas of the Atlantic, could have retarded the progress of a company, incorporated with such privileges, and with such reasonable prospects of success.

As to the dangers of the Atlantic, they are far from being so formidable as people generally imagine. It has been my fate to have crossed that ocean several times, at all seasons of the year, and sometimes during the most tempestuous weather ; and I feel perfectly safe in saying that the sea, in the Irish or English channel, or in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, or even in Lake Ontario, is much more dangerous for

steam-ships to navigate during stormy weather, than that of the main ocean.

In December, 1825, I left the Gulf of St. Lawrence on board of a merchant ship; the weather was so tempestuous that the topsails were close-reefed half the passage; and in fifteen days we were safely at anchor in the Cove of Cork. I left Cork in January for Liverpool, in a steam-ship, commanded by an experienced officer, who was for some time on board of one of our ships of war on Lake Ontario. We were in the Channel during a very heavy gale, and a more abrupt difficult sea for a ship to plough through, I never witnessed. The long high swell of the Atlantic, which I had just crossed in such bad weather, was nothing to it; yet the steam-ship worked over it with amazing ease. The commander agreed with me in considering it much more dangerous than that of the ocean; and that the sea on Lake Ontario, or on the St. Lawrence, was also more difficult for steam-vessels than that of the Atlantic.

The commander of one of the steam-packets that ply between Dublin and Liverpool has crossed the Atlantic more than thirty times. I have been over with him as passenger several times to Dublin; and twice, during winter, he declared to me that he never witnessed worse weather, nor such an abrupt dangerous sea on the Atlantic, as we then experienced. I believe most naval officers will bear me out in these observations. Masters of merchant ships, few of whom know much either of the arts or sciences, cherish a strong prejudice against steam-vessels; yet they readily admit that the sea rises more dangerously, during tempestuous weather, in the Irish

and English Channels, in the German Ocean, and in the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, than it does in the Atlantic. Those seas are, however, all safely navigated with steam-ships; and why not cross the Atlantic also by the power of steam?

The legislatures of all the North American colonies voted certain sums to encourage intercolonial steam navigation. The House of Assembly of Lower Canada voted 3000*l.* to persons or companies, who would cause a steam-vessel to be regularly navigated between the ports of St. Lawrence and Halifax for four years. The House of Assembly of Nova Scotia voted 1500*l.* to encourage the same object. The Assembly of New Brunswick voted 200*l.* the first year, and 100*l.* each, for two succeeding years, provided that the steam-packets should touch at Miramichi; and the Legislature of Prince Edward Island voted also a sum on similar conditions.

There is good reason to believe that, if transatlantic steam-ships were established, the colonial legislatures would grant sums in aid of an undertaking which promises such great advantages and benefits. If the postmaster-general were applied to, it is also reasonable to suppose that he would direct contracts to be made for the steam-ships which navigated the Atlantic to carry the mails, in preference to their being conveyed by the dangerous uncomfortable packets that sail at present between Falmouth and Halifax.

The excellent coal which abounds in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia is not only admirably adapted for the furnaces of steam-engines, but it affords an advantage which the United States do not at present possess. This coal has lately been carried, for the use of steam-

vessels, to New York and some other places. The following extracts from a report, published at New York, will show how much that article, which the nearest points of our colonies afford, is appreciated by the Americans: —

“ Since the introduction of steam-boats, pine-wood has rapidly disappeared from the shores of our navigable streams, and the scarcity of this article has necessarily enhanced its value. All who have reflected upon the subject have long since been satisfied that the time is not far distant when coal must be substituted for wood; and the question has been asked, what coal can be produced which will ignite sufficiently easy, to produce steam as fast as required? Repeated experiments have been made with the anthracite coal, but without success. Within the last month, the Sydney coal from Nova Scotia has attracted the attention of the navigators of our steam-boats, and the result of their investigations is such as cannot fail to give satisfaction to all who wish to see navigation by steam prosecuted at the present reasonable rates.

“ The first experiments were made in the small steam-boat used by the Dry Dock Company, in towing vessels to their railway. We were of the number who witnessed the result of this experiment, and were astonished to find that, without any alteration in the furnace which is used for wood, a fire was kindled of this coal with a common lamp, which, in about half an hour, enabled the boat to get under way, and then supplied as much steam as could be used. It was believed by all, even the most sanguine, that, with an ordinary wood furnace, the draught would not be sufficient to generate steam as

fast as required, and their astonishment and gratification at the result may be easily imagined.

“ In consequence of the first attempt, the agent of the Mining Company in this city proposed to Captain Bunker, of the Benjamin Franklin, to take in a supply of coal, and use it, instead of wood, on his trip to Providence and back. He did so, and became so satisfied, not only of its practical usefulness, but of its superiority over wood, that he endeavoured at once to have his furnace altered, for the purpose of using it to more advantage.

“ The facility with which this coal ignites, and its consequent capabilities of producing steam, having been fairly tested, the next question is, What are the advantages to be gained by introducing it into general use? We answer, first, the great saving in room occupied by the fuel; second, by the saving in the cost of fuel; third, by the saving in the weight of fuel; fourth, by the saving in labour in handling the fuel and feeding the furnace; and, fifth, by the absence of sparks and cinders, by which the clothes of passengers are destroyed, and the awnings of our boats set on fire.

“ We give the following as the result of the different experiments which have been made:—

“ One chaldron of Sydney coal measures 44 cubic feet.

“ One cord of pine-wood measures 128 cubic feet.

“ One chaldron of coal will jet as much water into steam in the same space of time, as three cords of pine-wood. Supposing the Benjamin Franklin to require 45 cords of wood per trip to and from Providence, the space thus occupied by wood is 5760 cubic feet. Fifteen chaldrons of Sydney coal will

produce the same quantity of steam in the same period of time, and occupy but 660 cubic feet, or about one ninth of the space required for the wood.

“ The wholesale price of Sydney coal, New York measure, is, per chaldron, 9 dollars.

“ The wholesale price of 3 cords of wood, at 4 dollars, is 12 dollars.

“ This will show a saving in the cost of fuel in favour of coal of $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or of 55 dollars on every trip to Providence.

“ One chaldron of Sydney coal, New York measure, weighs 1 ton, 2 cwt. and 1 qr.

“ One cord of pine-wood weighs 1 ton, 2 cwt. and 3 qrs.

“ The weight of the Franklin's wood, therefore, is 51 tons, 5 cwt. If she used coal, her fuel would weigh 16 tons, 13 cwt. and 3 qrs.

“ The coal, being less bulky, will require a less number of persons to handle it; and the saving in this respect, added to the safety of awnings and the clothes of passengers from sparks, will be far from inconsiderable.”

It was the intention of the projected company, that the main line of steam-vessels should run only between Valentia, on the coast of Ireland, and Cape Canseau, in Nova Scotia. On examining the matter, however, more fully, it will be found that neither of those places are the proper points of intercourse. Cape Canseau is a rocky island; the country within it is broken up with islets, rocks, and water, for many miles; and it has no communication, for a great distance, with the continent of America, except by water. Valentia is an excellent harbour, and a very proper place for steam-vessels to touch at, as

their last point of departure from Europe. But whenever transatlantic steam navigation is established, the vessels employed must start from places of much greater importance, otherwise neither advantage nor convenience can be expected.

It will appear, by referring to the general map, that the steam-ships should first start either from Liverpool, touching at Cork, and, if desirable, finally from Valentia; or they might start with the mails from Milford or Bristol, touching at the last point of Ireland; from thence, across the Atlantic to St. John's, Newfoundland, (during summer,) and then direct to Halifax, as the most important place in America, and one of the finest harbours in the world. From Halifax harbour, which is open at all seasons, and which is another great *focus* of intercourse, there are roads leading to all parts of the continent of America, and daily communication by water. The importance of touching at St. John's, Newfoundland, is very great. It is only a few miles out of the way, and it is the only colony to which a mail is not regularly sent, although the chief business of the island requires the earliest information from other countries. It may also be found convenient and profitable to touch at Sydney, Cape Breton, where, close to the water's edge, are the coal mines of the General Mining Company.

During the winter season, the steam-ships might touch at the Western Islands. All these courses and distances will, however, appear more distinctly by reference to the general map.

CHAP. IV.

FALMOUTH AND HALIFAX PACKETS, AND POST OFFICE
ESTABLISHMENT IN THE COLONIES.

THE post-office communication between the United Kingdom and the continent of North America is monthly; and the mails in London are usually made up on the first Wednesday of each month, and then despatched to Falmouth, from which port a line of packets is established to Halifax and Nova Scotia.

These vessels, "*old gun-brigs*," are perhaps the most unsafe, and, in heavy weather, the worst sailers that float on the ocean.* One of them, the *Calypso*, with several passengers, left Halifax last January, and has not since been heard of. She must have foundered at sea. Five, I think, have already, with their crews and passengers, been lost. Humanity, at least, demands that packets of a different description be established. The subject is of the utmost consequence. Steam-ships, particularly for eight months

* I on one occasion left Halifax in one of the Company's Packets for Liverpool, the morning after the December packet left for Falmouth. The weather was certainly boisterous, but our ship made a quick and easy passage to Liverpool, in three days less time than his Majesty's Packet to Falmouth. A naval gentleman on board of the latter told me afterwards in London, that they were frequently in expectation of swamping (foundering); that with a head wind, and heavy sea, they lost ground; that the vessel scarcely rose over the billows; and that the sea generally washed over the decks.

in the year, would likely answer the purpose of packets better than sailing vessels.

It is the opinion of all, that the line of departure, and the course of the packets, should be altered. Liverpool forms the great line of connection between Great Britain and New York ; and it generally happens, that letters sent by Liverpool to Halifax, by way of New York, arrive at Halifax before letters sent at the same time by Falmouth direct to Halifax. Cork, or some other port in Ireland, may, however, be considered the best point of final departure and arrival, especially for steam packets.

The Falmouth packets, on arriving at Halifax, have also to make a long angular voyage to Bermuda, and then return to Halifax for the mails. This regulation is attended with great delay and inconvenience, and scarcely any benefit. Newfoundland, which is a hundred-fold at least of more importance to these kingdoms than Bermuda, has no regular post-office communication with England or the colonies ; while the port of St. John's lies but a very short distance out of the course (see General Map), and two hours' time would, from the immediate opening of the harbour to the Atlantic, be sufficient to receive or deliver the mails. Instead, therefore, of the packets being sent from Halifax to Bermuda each month, occasioning a great expense, and a delay of from ten to twenty days, if the mail packets were, for eight months in the year, to touch at St. John's, Newfoundland, and then to proceed immediately to Halifax, returning to England by the same route, the advantages, it is generally believed by those experienced, would be of infinite advantage and convenience to the United Kingdom and to the colonies.

In respect to the post-office department, in British America, the postmaster-general in the colonies, and the deputy postmaster-general, appoint deputies in different places, giving them such salaries or percentage as they deem fit. These and other regulations are understood to be made agreeably to the instructions received from the general post-office department in England; to which the revenue is also paid net. It is difficult to ascertain the amount. In 1826, the sum collected in British America was stated to be $\text{23,570}l. 12s. 6\frac{1}{2}d.$ It must have increased one third since that period. The colonists complain of the rate of postage being extravagantly high, particularly the inland postage; and they generally consider that the interior post-offices should be placed under the management of the local legislatures. Many advantages would certainly arise from such a regulation, particularly the improvement of the roads between one colony and another, and the removal of discontent in respect to the rate of postages. A single letter, from London to Halifax, costs $2s. 8d.$ sterling; but before a single letter reaches some parts of Canada, from places in the United Kingdom, the postage amounts from $5s. 6d.$ to sometimes $7s.$ Letters from the United Kingdom, being put on board of the packets for New York or Boston, are received in Canada for about one third the amount; the highest rate of inland postage in the United States being a quarter dollar, about $13d.$, for any distance above 400 miles.

The very bad post road between Halifax and Canada is one, if not the greatest cause of delay in forwarding the mails; and, should the respective legislatures have the management of the local post-offices,

they would, it is believed, soon make the intercolonial roads fit for mail carriages, and place the establishment on as good a footing as it is in the United States. To enter into further details would lead me to too great a length for this work. But a different plan of management in the mail establishment is absolutely necessary ; and it is really a matter of too much consequence to the interests of the empire, not to afford every possible facility, whether by the New York, Boston, or Halifax packets from Liverpool, in forwarding letters and newspapers through the post-office, or otherwise, for the general benefit of his Majesty's subjects. When the magnitude of dependent interests are considered, a few hundred pounds of revenue should have no weight in the question.

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CHAP. V.

REMARKS ON THE CURRENCY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES, AND
ON THE STATE OF THE BANKS.

THE old British colonies always kept their accounts in pounds, shillings, and pence, until after the war of independence, when dollars and cents were introduced. The present colonies of British America still continue the practice of the mother country; and the standard of exchange is considered to be what is termed Halifax currency, that is, 9*l.* English money to be considered equal to 10*l.* of this currency. A guinea to be valued at 23*s.* 4*d.*; and the Spanish dollar at 5*s.* This currency may, however, be considered fictitious, for there has always been either a premium given over, or a discount allowed, under the par of Halifax currency. During the war, bills were so plentiful, and money so scarce, that bills on England were bought in the colonies at from 20 to 33½ per cent. discount; and since the war, government bills, and bills drawn on account of exports to England, have been sold generally at a premium of from 5 to 10 per cent. over the rate of exchange, which is of itself 11½ per cent. The paper money issued by the provincial treasuries, and by the colonial banks, and the demands for bills to remit to England, where nearly all the riches produced by the industry of the colonists centre, are the causes of the high premiums of exchange.

An issue of paper money, subjected to prudent limits, with efficient securities, may be expedient and productive of great improvement in new countries ; but experience *has proved*, in the old colonies, *that the issuing of paper money, when not payable on demand in specie, and not limited to an extent that would prevent great speculations, has greatly weakened public credit, and has been ruinous to vast numbers of individuals.*

In the United States, what may be very properly called the American System of Banking, is carried on by joint stock companies ; the stockholders are authorised to issue notes to a great extent beyond the capital stock of the company, while they are only liable, in the event of bank failure, for the amount of their respective shares.

This pernicious system has been introduced into British America ; and if measures are not adopted to prevent the dangerous tendency of its fictitious currency, a crisis must occur, which will involve, not only the unsuspecting inhabitants, but those who may undertake wild speculations in consequence of the temporary facilities of making payments with a false representative of the value of money and commodities.

According to the statements published in the records of the legislature for 1831, it appears that the Quebec bank has an actual capital stock of 74,212*l.* 10*s.* being instalments paid in upon 3000 shares of 50*l.* each ; that the ten directors held 358 shares, equal to 7,792*l.* ; and that their liability to the bank, individually, and as partners in mercantile houses, amounted to 67,133*l.* The greatest sum of money at any one time, during the five

previous years, in the vaults of the bank, was only 29,618*l.*, the average sum about 15,000*l.*, and the least sum at any time 5,275*l.*, to meet all demands. The stability of the bank, therefore, has depended on the currency of the notes issued. This bank issues notes for a sum as low as *one dollar*.

The bank of Montreal has capital stock of 250,000*l.*, paid in on 5000 shares. Of this stock the eleven directors held, on the 5th of February, 1831, 385 shares, equal to 19,250*l.*, and their liability to the bank as individuals and as partners in mercantile houses, amounted, on the 14th of February, 1831, to 148,504*l.* The amount of notes in circulation, from one dollar each to one hundred, on the 1st of January, 1831, was 223,913*l.* 5*s.* The notes in the bank, ready for circulation, amounted to 112,259*l.* 10*s.* — equal to 336,173*l.* 5*s.* This bank has a branch at Quebec, and another at Kingston. The quantity of cash in all its banking houses was, on the same date, 98,513*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.*

The Upper Canada bank, which is also on the American system, has been in operation ten years, has branches at Kingston, at Niagara, Dundas, &c. The capital stock, agreeably to the first charter, to expire in 1848, was 100,000*l.* By a late charter, this nominal capital has been doubled. The directors having refused to give any satisfactory statement to the legislative assembly, it is impossible to ascertain how the affairs of this bank stand. Its advantages are stated by the legislative assembly to be monopolised by a few persons; that a great part of stock belongs to the provincial government; that, by the only explanations given, the directors appear to have speculated to an alarming extent beyond

the actual capital ; that, in 1830, the notes in circulation amounted to 156,296*l.* 5*s.* ; the capital paid in to 77,462*l.* 10*s.*, the specie (not known of what kind) on hand 33,134*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* ; the liabilities of the directors and others to the bank, amounted for accommodations to 214,045*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* ; and that the directors refused to give the names of the shareholders, the amount of coined metals in the bank, or any information that would explain its actual condition.

From these statements it appears evident, that, in order to prevent fatal bankruptcies, similar to those which have prevailed wherever banks have not been limited to an issue of paper equal to the security given, banks on a different foundation, with sufficient securities to the public, should be established by legislative enactment. It will also appear from the above statements, that banks in similar circumstances to those at Montreal, Quebec, and Upper Canada, could not support their credit for one week in the United Kingdom. The bank of Kingston failed some time ago, and the numerous failure of banks, with fictitious capitals, in the United States, prove the insecurity of the American banking system. The stability of the Scottish banks, secured by the liability of all the personal and real estates of the stockholders, probably adapts the Scotch plan of banking to British America, in preference to any other.*

* A new banking company has been incorporated at Kingston, with a nominal capital of 100,000*l.* and allowed to commence when 10,000*l.* are paid in ; and to lend money on landed property : the latter measure may induce many an independent farmer to borrow money to invest in speculations, which generally end in the ejection of families from their houses, and from the lands which hard labour and economy enabled them to render productive.

One of the banks in Nova Scotia, that of the Halifax Banking Company, resembles those on the Scotch system, as the partners are personally, with all their property, liable for the debts of the bank, and the notes are made payable, on demand, in specie or in the *notes* of the Colonial Treasury. The other, called "Bank of Nova Scotia," is incorporated by legislative enactment, under restrictions and regulations, which in a great measure secures the public against its failure. The directors are compelled to pay the bank notes with specie. The incorporated banks at St. John and St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, are also so far restricted, as to prevent a dangerous issue of paper currency. There are no banks at St. John's, Newfoundland; the great fishing banks have always answered the purposes of the inhabitants. But it is considered that one or two banks, with proper securities, would remedy many inconveniencies which are experienced in the colony.

CHAP. VI.

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES AND ASSOCIATIONS.

FROM the first settlement of America to the present period, joint stock companies and associations have existed. Some have been successful; others ruinous to the projectors, and to the public; and a very few have maintained their ground. To accomplish great, expensive, and difficult undertakings, experience has proved that co-operation has usually succeeded in executing, in a short period, what the same number of individuals, separately engaged, could never overcome. In new countries, such associations are often expedient: the dangers to be guarded against are, too extended a monopoly, and the speculations into which a large capital, fictitious or real, may lead men who are dazzled with the prospect of realising splendid fortunes, without the usual labour and patience in acquiring them. Companies and associations are more numerous in the United States than in any other country.

The oldest company existing, whose operations are carried forward in America, is the

Hudson Bay Company.

Expeditions fitted out to discover a north-west passage to China, the spice islands, and to search for copper mines, led to the discovery of Hudson Bay.

In 1610, Henry Hudson entered the strait and bay since called by his name. Several other navigators afterwards explored this Mediterranean; and in 1669 a charter was granted by Charles II. to a "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson Bay, viz.—To *Prince Rupert, Palatine of the Rhine, to George Duke of Albemarle, to William Earl of Craven, and to fifteen others, and to others whom they shall admit into the said body corporate, power to make a common seal, and to alter it; to choose annually, some time in November, a governor, a deputy governor, and a committee of seven; any three of the committee, with the governor or deputy governor, to be a court of directors: freemen to be admitted (their factors and servants may be admitted freemen) at a general court; a power to dismiss the governor, deputy governor, or any of the committee, before the year expires; and upon their dismissal, or death, to elect others in their room for the remainder of the year: to have the sole property of lands, trade, royal fishery, and mines within Hudson's Straits, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince: to be reputed as one of our colonies in America, to be called Rupert's Land [It never was so called]: to hold the same in free and common soccage: to pay the skins of two elks, and two black beavers, as often as the King or Queen shall come into those lands: power to assemble the company, and to make laws for their government and other affairs, not repugnant to the laws of England: an exclusive trade without leave obtained of the company, penalty, forfeiture of goods and shipping, one half to the king, one half to the company. In their general meetings, for every 100l. original stock to have one vote; may appoint gover-*

nors, factors, and other officers, in any of their ports ; the governor and his council to judge in all matters civil and criminal, and execute justice accordingly : where there is no governor and council, may send them to any place where there is a governor and council, or to England, for justice : liberty to send ships of war, men, and ammunition for their protection, erect forts, &c. to make peace or war with any people who are not Christian ; may appeal to the King in council.

During the following year a governor and twenty men went to Hudson Bay, and established a factory at Rupert River, which was afterwards removed to Moose River. Several other factories were established a few years after ; and the extensive monopoly secured to this company by charter, and the vast gains of the fur trade, has enabled it to maintain its ground to the present day with great success.

The North-west Company of Canada,

which consisted merely of an association of bold adventurers, was long in formidable competition to the Hudson Bay Company ; and this competition was carried to such an extent with the various Indian tribes, or hunting nations, as to have been attended with fatal rencounters, and with a losing commerce to both.

After the massacre at Red River, the interests of the North-west traders, including all their posts in Canada, and in the Indian territories, were merged, by mutual consent, in the Company of Hudson Bay.

These measures have led to nearly a complete monopoly of the fur trade of all the countries lying north of the St. Lawrence and its lakes, and west of Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. The conse-

quent profits of this company are enormous, and all statements of its affairs are withheld from the public. Its charter has no limitation.*

The fur trade has been diverted nearly altogether from Canada to Hudson Bay, since the annihilation of the North-west association, and the posts of the latter, and the King's posts, are occupied by the former Company.

The Canada Land Company

was incorporated by royal charter, under the provisions of an act of Parliament in 1826, and contracted with government for the Huron tract and some others, comprehending in all about 2,000,000 of acres, payable in sixteen years, by yearly instalments of from 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* each. The whole amount of purchase money being about 295,000*l.* This money is chiefly appropriated to pay the civil list of Upper Canada; and 45,000*l.* of the money is, by agreement, to be expended in improving the company's lands. On the largest detached block, the town of Guelph was founded, in the midst of the wilderness, on the banks of the tributary River Speed. This stream affords many convenient situations for mill seats, or what Jonathan terms "hydraulic privileges;" and excellent timber, limestone, and clay for bricks; abound on the fertile lands through which it flows. Seventy-six houses, a saw-mill, grist-mill, market-house, brick-kiln, school-house, shops, two taverns, &c. arose during the first years, and the buildings and population have since then greatly increased. The town lots, of one quarter of an acre each, were

* See general summary in the following chapter.

first sold at twenty dollars; but the price has since then been raised to forty dollars. Lands in its vicinity were first sold at 7*s.* 6*d.*; and since then at 10*s.*, 12*s.* 6*d.*, and 20*s.* per acre.

The town of Galt, prettily and eligibly situated on the Grand River, is another thriving place; and the town of Goderich, to which I have already alluded as having a harbour opening into Lake Huron, is the capital of that tract.

This company has expended large sums of money in exploring its lands, opening roads, erecting buildings, &c.; but the rapid settlement and consequent rise in the price of lands, ensures the shareholders at least an equal rise in the value of shares; 17*l.* per share, which includes interest, has only been paid. Each share is now worth from 40*l.* to 45*l.*

The New Brunswick Company

has not yet put its plans in operation, although the arrangements have been completed with his Majesty's government. The provisions of the charter are, I believe, agreed to; and it is expected to be completed without further delay. The boundaries of the lands, and the price and terms of payment have also been agreed for, as will more fully appear from the following extract from a report from the directors, submitted to the stockholders.

“ John Labouchere, Esq. governor, in the chair.

“ The directors beg leave to report—

“ That the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company was formed in consequence of those who originated the undertaking being well acquainted with the following facts, viz.

“ That the provinces contain large portions of fertile

forest land, which, although eminently adapted to the purposes of agriculture, remain unproductive for want of the moderate outlay of capital required to fit them for the reception of settlers.

“ That these lands are of easy access by emigrants at moderate expense, particularly a very extensive tract lying between the rivers St. John, within a few miles of Fredericton (the capital of New Brunswick), and the south-west branch of the Miramichi ; which tract possesses great natural advantages, such as salubrious climate ; a soil at present covered with excellent timber, but capable of yielding fair returns of all crops that grow in England, with some others, especially Indian corn ; and also mines of coal and iron ; with numerous streams, affording convenience for mill sites and inland navigation ; to which may be added proximity to plentiful fisheries, and an immediate demand in the country for agricultural produce, created by the influx of emigrants, and the wants of those engaged in the timber business and fisheries.

“ From these facts it appeared evident that a Company might be formed, for the purpose of purchasing and settling this tract of country, under the most favourable circumstances, affording, at the same time, the most solid security for the investment of money, with a certainty of at least reasonable profits, provided that the government would dispose of the said lands at a moderate price, and consent to incorporate the company by royal charter ; and provided also, that the affairs of the company were managed with a strict regard to economy by men of practical experience.

“ In consequence of this determination, several interviews and communications took place with Lord

Goderich and Lord Howick upon the subject; and on the 7th of March it was resolved, 'That a company be formed to be called "The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company," the capital of which shall be 200,000*l.* in stock, divided into certificates of not less than 25*l.* stock in each certificate.' On the 21st of April it was finally agreed by Lord Goderich to *sell to the company the whole tract of country as laid down in a map in the Colonial Office, copies of which were given to the directors, lying between the river St. John and the boundary line of Northumberland county, nearly fifty-five miles in length by eighteen in breadth, containing about 400,000 acres, more or less, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per statute acre, including all minerals, &c., and free from any engagement of settlement, service, or quit-rent, to be paid for in two cash instalments, viz: the first upon signing the charter, and the second on the conveyance of the land and possession being given to the company; and a minute of agreement to the above effect was accordingly signed on that day by the contracting parties.*

"It may be advisable distinctly to state, for the information of the proprietors, that the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies has agreed, in the usual form, to recommend to his Majesty to grant the company a charter for incorporation, which (together with the usual powers and privileges) will secure subscribers to the company's stock against partnership liabilities. The directors therefore determined to publish their prospectus, and to receive applications for stock."

Since this report was published, sufficient stock has been subscribed for, and twenty *per cent.* paid into the company's bankers.

The convenience, position, and excellence of the lands*, and the standing and character of the directors, must ensure the prosperity of this company, the plans of which will likely be very soon in operation, as the charter recommended by his Majesty's government is now in the hands of the crown officers. John Bainbridge, Esq. 2. King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street, is the sitting director.

Another association, styled the

British American Land Company,

was projected by Mr. Galt about the same time; and the plans adopted by that highly-gifted gentleman appear to be judicious, if its incorporation were not generally opposed by the people of Lower Canada, to which province its operations were understood to be confined. Nor does it appear, as far as the proceedings have transpired, that any particular tract of country has been agreed for with his Majesty's government. The Canadian Legislative Assembly have also resolved, that a monopoly of large tracts of land, by a company, in a colony, the crown lands of which are already chiefly granted, and in which the seignories are over-peopled, would be an act of injustice towards the inhabitants.

There are several other companies and associations; such as the Welland Canal Company, the Marmora Iron Company, and Brandtford Canal Company, already alluded to in Upper Canada.

The Quebec and Halifax Steam Navigation Company in Lower Canada.

The Shubenacady Canal Company, the Annapolis Iron Company, the Halifax and Liverpool Packet

* See Map of British Colonies, at the beginning of this volume.

Company, the South Sea Whalefishery Association, and the Banking Companies at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The General Mining Association, who work the coal mines at Cape Breton and Pictou, was established in London, and have their office 10. Ludgate Hill.

Of all joint stock associations, those only who invest their capital in the purchase and improvement of lands, in banking concerns, and, if the *line* be judicious, in rail roads or canals, have positive foundations for prosperity. A mining association cannot be certain of success until the expenses and the production of the mines are ascertained. A trading company, like that of Hudson Bay, which, by charter, possesses great exclusive privileges, forms also an exception to the general rule.

But companies for steam navigation, sailing packets, or fisheries, have not as yet prospered; and there is no doubt, but that transatlantic steam navigation, steam navigation between Quebec and Halifax, the packet between Halifax and Liverpool, and the whalefishery, might each be carried on with much less expense, and greater certainty of profit by one or more persons, who devoted their sole attention to their particular interests, than by companies.

CHAP. VII.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE STATISTICS OF BRITISH AMERICA.

THE following recapitulation of the population, trade, and fixed and movable capital of the British colonies, calculated in round numbers, from customs and legislative returns, and from various estimates, may be considered as near the truth as such data will admit; and afford, when compared to the condition of the colonies at former periods, some idea of the rising importance of British America, and the political and commercial consequence of that part of the empire to the mother country.

There is now (in 1833) a population in our colonies, distributed nearly in the following order, and possessing, exclusive of money and movable property, the value of which cannot well be estimated, cattle and lands, much in the same quantity as in the annexed schedule, viz: —

	Inhabitants.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Hogs.	Sheep.	Acres cultivated.
Upper Canada	310,000	34,380	214,692	220,000	240,000	1,800,000
Canada - -	580,000	126,000	440,000	350,000	610,000	2,125,000
New Brunswick	110,000	12,000	87,000	65,000	105,000	365,000
Nova Scotia -	196,000	19,000	144,796	98,214	234,658	398,964
Prince Edward Island - -	35,000	4,500	32,000	30,000	48,000	180,000
Newfoundland and Labrador	76,000	600	8,000	16,000	10,000	45,000
Total -	1,307,000	196,480	926,488	779,214	1,239,658	4,913,964

Schedule of Mills in British America.

	Saw Mills.	Grist Mills, &c.
Upper Canada - - -	557	504
Lower Canada - - -	737	596
New Brunswick - - -	229	217
Nova Scotia - - -	241	290
Prince Edward Island - - -	65	81
Newfoundland (none given).		
Total -	1,829	1,688

Let the value be estimated of —

196,480 horses, at 12 <i>l.</i> each	- -	£2,368,760	0	0
926,488 horned cattle, at 5 <i>l.</i> each	- -	4,632,440	0	0
779,214 hogs, at 20 <i>s.</i> each	- -	779,214	0	0
1,239,650 sheep, at 10 <i>s.</i> each	- -	619,825	0	0
4,913,964 acres arable land, at least worth 60 <i>s.</i> per acre	- - -	14,741,892	0	0

Estimated value of arable land, &c. £23,142,131 0 0

Fixed capital in 185,857 dwelling-houses,
with barns and cattle houses attached,
say at 50*l.* each - - - - 9,292,850 0 0

Fixed capital, in mills, stores, and other
property required for carrying forward
the timber trade, estimated, viz. —

In New Brunswick	£1,178,750	0	0
Lower Canada	2,057,600	0	0
Upper Canada	1,114,000	0	0
Nova Scotia	463,925	0	0
Prince Edward Island - -	47,000	0	0
		4,861,275	0 0

Carry forward - £37,306,256 0 0

Mills, &c.
504
596
217
290
81
1,688

760	0	0
440	0	0
214	0	0
325	0	0
892	0	0
131	0	0
850	0	0
275	0	0
256	0	0

	Brought over -	£37,306,256	0	0
Fixed capital, connected with the cod and seal fisheries at Newfoundland and Labrador, at least - - -		1,435,000	0	0
Fixed capital in the fishing establishments at Gaspè, Perce, Bonaventure, &c. - - - - -		165,000	0	0
Fixed capital in the fisheries of New Brunswick, within the Bay de Chaleur, Miramichi, and the Bay of Fundy - - - - -		84,000	0	0
Fixed capital in the cod, herring, seal, and whale fisheries of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton - - - - -		220,000	0	0
Public buildings at Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, St. John's, Newfoundland, and in the other towns and settlements in the colonies, together with churches and chapels, cost at least 30 millions—say, - - - - -		15,000,000	0	0
The following sums, per official reports, have been expended on canals:—				
Welland Canal - - - - -		300,000	0	0
Rideau Canal - - - - -		803,774	0	0
Grenville Canal, and locks on the Ottawa - - - - -		285,367	0	0
Locks and Canals on the St. Lawrence, above Lake St. Louis - - - - -		55,000	0	0
La Chine Canal - - - - -		137,000	0	0
Chambly, say, laid out - - - - -		6,000	0	0
Shubenectady Canal, at least - - - - -		75,000	0	0
Sums expended and fixed as capital in the iron forges of St. Maurice, the iron Marmora works, the coal and iron mines of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, aggregate estimate at least		230,000	0	0
	Total fixed capital -	£56,102,397	0	0

The foregoing statement may be considered the lowest estimate of fixed capital in British America, exclusive of shipping (value, 1,600,000*l.*) and the cost of Government buildings, dock-yards, and the extensive fortifications in Canada and the maritime colonies.

The estimated value of British and Irish manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to the British colonies (in the year ending 5th January, 1833,) will be found by the customs' returns to amount, exclusive of freight to British ships, to about the following sums : —

To Canada (including salt) - - -	£1,354,322	0	0
Newfoundland - - - -	463,339	0	0
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton - -	630,605	0	0
New Brunswick - - - -	357,483	0	0
Prince Edward Island - - -	56,720	0	0
Total exports from the United Kingdom to British America } -	£2,862,469	0	0

The official value of British manufactures for the year ending 5th January, 1832, is stated at 2,315,765*l.*, and of foreign and colonial 303,797*l.*

The official value of imports to the United Kingdom from British America, for the year ending 5th January, 1833, is - £1,532,582 19 0

The official value of exports of British manufactures from the United Kingdom, to the North American Colonies for the same year - - - -	2,858,514	19	0
Of Foreign and Colonial merchandize - - -	271,975	9	0
Total - - - -	£3,130,490	8	0

The following statement of ships, tonnage, and seamen employed between the United Kingdom and the British North American dominions, is computed by taking the average of the five years preceding the 5th of January, 1833.

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	Inwards.			Outwards.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Canada - -	854	247,401	11,106	861	258,149	11,403
Nova Scotia - -	97	29,340	1,370	102	24,421	1,230
New Brunswick -	494	141,010	6,907	541	152,904	7,012
Prince Edw. Island	27	5,122	217	23	5,027	237
Newfoundland -	298	37,470	2,470	181	22,711	1,480
Total -	1,770	460,343	21,970	1,708	463,212	21,362

The difference of 62 ships on the average inwards greater than outwards, arises from that number, besides new ships, proceeding to Newfoundland with naval stores, and loading with fish, either for the continent of Europe or the West Indies; and the difference of tonnage from others, entered from the United Kingdom, being large ships, which load with lumber in the ports of New Brunswick for the West Indies.

The following statement, computed from the customs' returns, shows the number of vessels, tonnage, and men employed between the Northern colonies and the West Indies, and other countries.

	Inwards.			Outwards.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
British W. Indies -	486	58,540	3,236	589	75,806	5,074
British Eastern Co- lonies - -	8	1,065	63	12	1,513	86
Foreign Nations, British ships -	1,127	68,690	4,524	646	55,912	3,275
Foreign ships -	221	16,506	959	140	15,292	845
Total -	1,842	144,791	8,812	1,387	148,613	8,280

It is difficult to ascertain the tonnage and seamen employed in the northern intercolonial trade. The official returns for the year ending 5th January, 1832, give the following statement, which does not include the vessels employed in the fishery:—

Inwards, 3,068 vessels, 211,471 tons, 9,991 men.

Outwards, 3,260 vessels, 227,197 tons, 10,035 men.

The tonnage, &c. employed between British North America and all other countries, for the year ending 5th January, 1832, is computed to be

Total inwards, 6,239 ships, 814,380 tons, 39,584 men.

Total outwards, 6,366 ships, 836,668 tons, 40,070 men.

Total imports to all countries, per official returns, £4,810,039.

Total exports to all countries, per ditto, - 3,671,891.

The value of imports from the United States by way of the rivers, sea coasts, and the numerous roads, cannot be ascertained; but the Customs' returns make them appear about eight times the amount of exports; the balance being paid for in specie, and in a great quantity of British manufactures smuggled, along the frontier, into the United States, the amount of which cannot be obtained.

In the particular statistical accounts of Upper Canada, an error in the table requires correction. For 2,200, it should be 220,000 swine; and where the religious denominations are treated of, it is not distinctly stated that the Methodist Conference has now no connection whatever with that of the United States.

There are three paper mills also omitted.

The number of vessels employed in the sealing voyages from Newfoundland is wrong, by transposing some figures. For 159, p. 163. Vol. I., it should be 359; and for 345, it should be 534, and registering 42,720 tons.

The value of furs annually exported from British America, taking the average of the five years ending 5th January, 1833, is about 210,000*l.* sterling.

Account of Furs, per Customs' Returns, imported into the United Kingdom from North America.

	Coat Beaver.	Beaver.	Bear.	Oter.	Fisher.	Marten.	Wolf.	Wolve- rinc.	Cat.	Mink.	Fox.	Musquash.	Swan.	Deer.	Raccoon.	Elk.	Halfbreed Deer.
1763.	lbs.																lbs.
By the Hud- son's Bay Company	9,353	24,881	541	1,478	-	17,232	2,731	1,322	6,000	147	2,207	2,789	-	-	59,000	1,568	28,300
By the North- west Com- pany - - -	-	75,040	8,340	8,060	2,800	42,247	608	59	4,150	1,030	2,300	6,080	-	6,511	59,000	1,568	28,300
Total -	9,353	99,921	8,881	9,538	2,800	59,479	3,339	1,381	10,150	1,177	4,507	8,869	-	6,511	59,000	1,568	28,300
1800.																	
Hudson's Bay Canada, &c.	1,668	35,037	605	3,694	578	30,053	5,693	495	3,708	1,844	10,164	15,272	-	5,185	1,979	700	
Total -	1,668	164,237	25,105	21,694	6,578	70,053	8,093	1,495	19,708	9,344	24,164	27,572	-	24,885	109,979	700	
1832.																	
Hudson's Bay Canada, &c.	1,000	93,074	3,834	19,400	8,520	98,700	3,100	1,250	38,800	23,000	4,550	700,800	9,530	-	100		
Total -	1,000	95,074	4,034	20,850	4,680	109,700	3,120	1,257	39,700	27,500	11,550	704,800	3,530	-	800		

The total value of the exports from the British colonies, may be summed up as follows, taking the average of five years ending 5th January, 1833.

Produce of the forests (including furs) -	£1,326,404	0	0
Produce of agriculture -	684,126	0	0
Produce of the mines -	102,520	0	0
Produce of the fisheries, including seal oil and skins -	857,210	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£2,970,260	0	0
	<hr/>		

The proceeds of new ships, built in the colonies and sold in England, with the freight of their homeward cargoes; and the proceeds of the cargoes of fish, &c. sold in the West Indies, Foreign Europe, &c., form a large share of the payments made for British manufactures, although the amount cannot, from not appearing in any returns, be ascertained. Yet it makes up the difference between the value of exports to and imports from British America, in the direct trade with the United Kingdom.

The customs' returns for the year ending 5th January, 1832, state the registered vessels of British North America to be 2672 ships, 193,876 tons.

The present tonnage, including 57 steam boats, of 4147 horse power, registering 17,186 tons, is computed about 200,000 tons, value 1,600,000*l*.

Boats not decked are not included. The whole number of large open boats and keel boats used in the fisheries, lake and river navigation, &c. may be estimated at 42,052, value about 8*l*. each, or 336,416*l*. For this calculation I have only the data of computing on the scale of one boat for nine inhabitants in Newfoundland; one for twenty inhabitants in Nova

Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick; and one boat for fifty inhabitants in Upper and Lower Canada, including those engaged in the fisheries of the district of Gaspé, pilot boats, &c.

The following statement will exhibit the increase of emigrations from the United Kingdom to British North America, taken from official returns, and colonial estimates:—

In 1800	-	-	-	-	2,480
1810	-	-	-	-	8,750
1820	-	-	-	-	9,381
1825	-	-	-	-	11,276
1826	-	-	-	-	12,818
1827	-	-	-	-	19,749
1828	-	-	-	-	13,907
1829	-	-	-	-	17,212
1830	-	-	-	-	29,783
1831	-	-	-	-	58,317
1832	-	-	-	-	54,711

The provincial revenues of the British North American colonies may be estimated, taking the average of three years ending 1st January, 1833, at, for

Lower Canada, total net amount, after deducting 37,400 <i>l.</i> the proportion allowed of the impost duties to Upper Canada	£149,468	0	0	
Upper Canada (very uncertain, but estimated at)	-	140,000	0	0
Nova Scotia, about	-	60,000	0	0
New Brunswick (nearly correct)	-	57,000	0	0
Prince Edward Island (correct)	-	9,000	0	0
Newfoundland (no revenue for the present year, in consequence of the Council negating the Ways and Means Bill of the Legislative Assembly.)	-	-	-	-
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
		£415,487	0	0

Being about 6*s.* 8*d.* paid into the colonial treasuries for each individual.

These revenues are expended in paying the salaries of public officers, in pensions, in public works, such as roads, bridges, light-houses, canals, and for the support of schools and clergy, &c.

The following statement of salaries and expenditure will more fully illustrate the expenses of the Canada government, &c.

The expense of the civil government of Lower Canada, for the year 1832, as voted by the House of Assembly, out of the colonial revenue, was, for the

Governor in Chief	-	-	salary	£4,500	0	0
Secretary to the Governor	-	-	do.	500	0	0
Assistants and contingencies	-	-	-	2,800	0	0
Receiver-General	-	-	salary	1,000	0	0
Inspector-General	-	-	do.	300	0	0
Nine executive Councillors	-	-	do.	900	0	0
Council Clerk and Registrar	-	-	do.	500	0	0
Assistant ditto	-	-	do.	182	0	0
Speaker, Legislative Council	-	-	do.	900	0	0
Clerk, ditto	-	-	do.	450	0	0
Assistant Clerk, other officers, and contingencies	-	-	-	3,422	0	0
Speaker, House of Assembly	-	-	salary	900	0	0
Clerk, ditto	-	-	do.	450	0	0
Assistant Clerk, and contingencies, including 500 <i>l.</i> for rent of Bishop's palace	-	-	-	7,039	0	0
Chief Justice of the province	-	-	salary	1,500	0	0
Ditto of Montreal	-	-	do.	1,100	0	0
Six Puisne Judges, each 900 <i>l.</i>	-	-	-	5,400	0	0
Provincial Judge at Three Rivers	-	-	salary	900	0	0
Other two provincial Judges at 500 <i>l.</i>	-	-	-	1,000	0	0
Salaries of Attorney and Solicitor-General	-	-	-	500	0	0
Salaries of five Sheriffs	-	-	-	395	0	0
Contingent bills of the Crown Law Officers and Sheriff's	-	-	-	4,910	0	0
Carry over	-	-	-	£39,548	0	0

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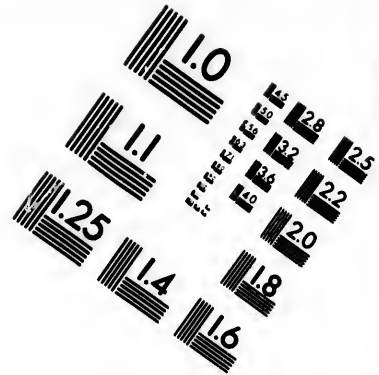
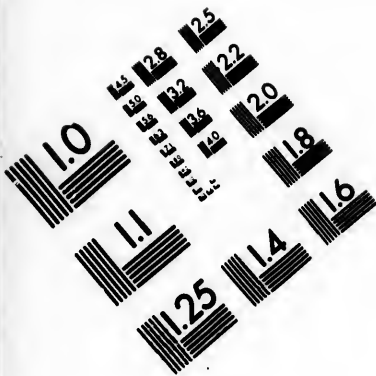
	Brought over	-	£39,548	0	0
	Payment of needy Crown witnesses	-	860	0	0
	Services of subpœnas in Montreal, and care of				
	Crown witnesses	-	487	0	0
	The Prothonotaries of Quebec and Montreal		650	0	0
	Pensions	-	1,910	0	0
	Salary of the Surveyor-General	-	450	0	0
	Other Officers in his department	-	702	0	0
	Salary of the Adjutant-General of Militia	-	450	0	0
	Ditto of the Deputy Adjutant-General	-	270	0	0
	To other Officers in the Adjutant-General's Office,				
	and contingencies	-	793	0	0
	Miscellaneous expenses	-	3,436	0	0
	Commission to Inspector-General of King's				
	Domain	-	330	0	0
	Salaries of the Collector, Comptroller, Gauger,				
	and Landwaiters at St. John's	-	715	0	0
	Salaries of Collector and Comptroller, Côteau				
	du Lac	-	375	0	0
	Allowance to Returning Officers	-	1,007	0	0
	Grant to Teachers of Schools	-	23,860	0	0
	The Expenses of the Trinity Board, the Pen-				
	sions to wounded Militiamen, &c. 2,750 <i>l</i> .				
	are provided for by special provincial enact-				
	ments	-	2,750	0	0
	Total Civil Establishment for Lower Canada,				
	defrayed by Colony	-	£78,593	0	0

Expenditure in Lower Canada, defrayed by the United Kingdom: —

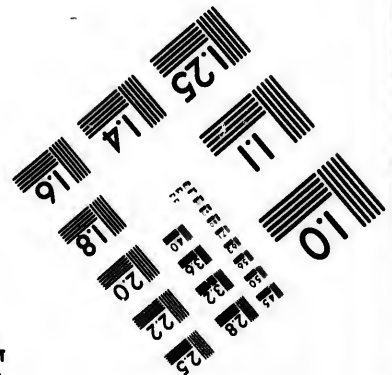
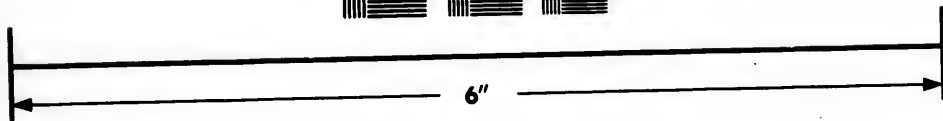
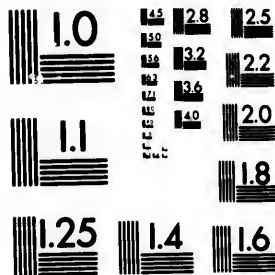
Sixteen Pensions, Indian department	-	£352	0	0
Five Missionaries, one Schoolmaster, one Pre-				
sident, and five Interpreters, ditto	-	837	0	0
A Secretary and two Superintendants, ditto	-	809	0	0
C. J. Stewart, Protestant Bishop of Quebec —				
salary and for a house	-	3,000	0	0

Carry over - £4,998 0 0
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	Brought over	-	£4,998	0	0
Archdeacon of Quebec, 500 <i>l.</i> ; Rector, 400 <i>l.</i> ;					
Evening Lecturer, 150 <i>l.</i>	-	-	1,050	0	0
Other Clergymen of the Church of England			7,130	0	0
Two Presbyterian Ministers, 100 <i>l.</i> ; Verger,					
&c. 51 <i>l.</i>	-	-	151	0	0
Roman Catholic Bishop, Quebec	-	-	1,000	0	0
Two Presbyterian Ministers, at 50 <i>l.</i>	-	-	100	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£14,429	0	0

The remainder of the revenue of Lower Canada has been expended agreeably to the votes of the legislature, in forming and repairing roads, erecting bridges, light-houses, improving the internal navigation, supporting schools, hospitals, and various institutions; on roads alone, about 40,000*l.*

There is no distribution of the revenue for 1833, in consequence of the Legislative Council not agreeing to the subsidy bill passed by the House of Assembly.

The expenditure of the revenue of Upper Canada is very unsatisfactorily known. The following scale, as far as it goes, is considered correct, with the addition of fees.

Lieutenant-Governor	-	-	salary	£3,000	0	0
Chief Justice	-	-	do.	1,500	0	0
Ditto as Speaker of the Legislative Court, do.				360	0	0
Five Executive Councillors	-	-	do.	500	0	0
Attorney-General	-	-	do.	1,100	0	0
Solicitor-General	-	-	do.	500	0	0
Commissioner of Crown Lands	-	-	do.	1,000	0	0
Two Puisne Judges, 900 <i>l.</i> each	-	-	do.	1,800	0	0
Three District Justices	-	-	do.	485	0	0
Grammar and Elementary Schools,	salaries			4,500	0	0
Government Printer	-	-	salary	750	0	0
Speaker of the House of Assembly, &c. do.				(unknown.)		

Members of the House of Assembly, salaries	£2,050	0	0
Clerk of the Crown and Master in Chancery (there is no Chancery Court)	-	-	175 0 0
Professors of King's College	salaries	(unknown.)	
Receiver-General of Crown Lands	salary		900 0 0
Ditto for Clerks, &c.	-	-	550 0 0
Lieutenant-Governor's Private Secretary,	salary		590 0 0
Ditto Clerk's	do,		500 0 0
Crown Commissioner's Office	do.	(unknown.)	
Surveyor-General	do.		700 0 0
Secretary and Registrar	do.		1,100 0 0
Deputy Secretary and Registrar	do.		150 0 0
Regulator of York County	do.		400 0 0
Ditto, as Agent for Officers' Salaries	do.		200 0 0
Officers of the Land Granting Department, salaries			2,566 0 0
Clerk of Executive Council	salary		820 0 0
Deputy Clerk to Council, &c.	do.		634 0 0
Clerk of the Crown	do.		910 0 0
Deputies	do.		250 0 0
Auditor-General	do.		215 0 0
Timber Collectors, &c. Ottawa	-	-	900 0 0
Deputy Post-masters, each about	-	-	200 0 0
Adjutant-General of Militia	salary		325 0 0
Chaplain to the House of Assembly	do.		45 0 0
Judge of Three Districts	do.		625 0 0
Clerks of the Peace and Courts	do.		2,121 0 0
Sheriffs' salaries, &c.	-	-	3,996 0 0
Inspector-General and Clerks	salaries		969 0 0
Collector of Customs, Kingston	salary		525 0 0
Ditto, Prescott	do.		371 0 0
Ditto, York	do.		326 0 0
Other Collectors and Deputies, from 100 <i>l.</i> to			200 0 0
Clerk of Legislative Council	salary		280 0 0
Other Officers of the Legislative Court, do.			1,120 0 0
Archdeacon of York	salary		300 0 0
Ditto as an Executive Councillor, do.			100 0 0
Ditto as President of the Board of Edu- cation	salary		270 0 0

Archdeacon of York, as President of the University, - salary	(unknown.)
Church of England Clergy, exclusive of one-seventh of all the lands, glebes, &c. &c.	£2,850 0 0
Catholic Bishop - - - salary	400 0 0
Catholic Clergy - - - do.	750 0 0
Presbyterian Clergy - - - do.	750 0 0

There are a great number of others who receive salaries and allowances from the colonial revenue of Upper Canada. The amount of pensions is 5,841*l*.

The following items are paid from the Imperial treasury, in addition to the foregoing, viz. :—

Archdeacon of York - - - salary	£ 275 0 0
Bishop's Commissary - - - do.	150 0 0
Pension to a Missionary's Widow - - -	75 0 0
Church Missionaries - - - salaries	3,835 0 0
Superintendants, &c. of Indian Departments, salary	2,430 0 0
Paid by England - - -	£6,773 0 0
Salaries and Pensions paid by the Colony as far as known, amount to - - -	53,501 0 0
	<u>£60,274 0 0</u>

The money expended in roads, bridges, schools, light-houses, advanced for canals, and public improvements amounts to about 80,000*l*. per annum, exclusive of money borrowed on the credit of the provincial revenue.

Upper Canada pays higher for its civil administration than any other part of America.

England is not required to pay one shilling toward its support, as the province is able to bear all the expenses, provided the legislature have the distribution of the revenue.

The revenue of Nova Scotia is expended in pay-

ing the expenses of the civil government, and in public works, education, &c.

Civil establishment	- - - -	£18,051	0	0
Public improvements, about	- - - -	30,000	0	0
Education, expenses of the Legislature, support of poor, &c.	- - - -	7,224	0	0
Militia service	- - - -	1,242	0	0
Miscellaneous disbursements for various services	- - - -	6,600	0	0
<hr/>				
Total of Nova Scotia, about	- - - -	£63,206	0	0
<hr/>				
Paid by Colony	- - - -	£61,400	0	0
Paid by Great Britain	- - - -	800	0	0
<hr/>				
	- - - -	£62,200	0	0
<hr/>				

Principal Salaries.

Lieutenant-Governor	- - - -	£4,477	0	0
Chief Justice	- - - -	1,150	0	0
Three Puisne Judges, at 640 <i>l.</i> each	- - - -	1,920	0	0
Master of the Rolls	- - - -	540	0	0
Treasurer	- - - -	590	0	0
Secretary and Registrar	- - - -	1,250	0	0
Collector of Imposts and Excise	- - - -	630	0	0
Collector of Customs	- - - -	2,000	0	0
Comptroller of Customs	- - - -	1,000	0	0
Two waiters and searchers, at 400 <i>l.</i>	- - - -	800	0	0
The Bishop of the Church of England	- - - -	2,150	0	0

The revenue of New Brunswick is distributed much in the same manner as that of Nova Scotia.

The principal salaries are,

Lieutenant-Governor	- - - -	£3,000	0	0
Surveyor-General and Commissioner of Crown Lands (the same person)	- - - -	1,700	0	0

Chief Justice	-	-	-	£950	0	0
Assistant Judges, each	-	-	-	650	0	0
Attorney General	-	-	-	550	0	0
Archdeacon	-	-	-	300	0	0
To one Presbyterian Minister	-	-	-	50	0	0

The other salaries I have not been able accurately to ascertain. The whole annual civil establishment is stated to be 60,884l. ; but the amount must, I think, be above this.

In page 12. of this volume, in stating the amount of quit-rents on lands granted, I have omitted the quantity of those lands escheated, which reduces the amount nearly one half.

The revenue of Prince Edward Island is expended in public works, administration of justice, and miscellaneous outlays. The amount, expended as follows, is still paid by the Imperial government, viz. :

Salaries to

Lieutenant Governor	-	-	-	£1,000	0	0
Chief Justice	-	-	-	700	0	0
Attorney-General	-	-	-	200	0	0
Surveyor-General	-	-	-	200	0	0
Provost-marshal	-	-	-	100	0	0
Clerk of Crown and Council	-	-	-	90	0	0
Rector of Charlotte Town	-	-	-	100	0	0
Contingencies	-	-	-	130	0	0
Pension to C. D. Smith, Esq. late Lieutenant-Governor	-	-	-	500	0	0
Allowance to the Rev. A. M'Eachern, Roman Catholic missionary in Prince Edward Island, &c.	-	-	-	50	0	0
Collector of Customs, out of the Customs duties	-	-	-	500	0	0

This amount should certainly, except the pension to the late Governor Smith (see account of his administration, Vol. I.), and the Provost Marshal's sinecure, be paid by the colony. The remainder of

the expenses of the civil government are paid out of the colonial revenue.

The civil list of Newfoundland has hitherto been paid by Great Britain.

Governor's salary	-	-	-	£3,000	0	0
Seven civil officers	-	-	-	1,525	0	0
Chief Justice	-	-	-	1,200	0	0
Three Assistant Judges, at 700 <i>l.</i> each	-	-	-	2,100	0	0
Judge of the Admiralty	-	-	-	500	0	0
Attorney-General	-	-	-	450	0	0
Seven legal officers	-	-	-	1,336	0	0
Sheriff	-	-	-	400	0	0
Ditto Labrador district	-	-	-	150	0	0
Archdeacon	-	-	-	300	0	0
Roman Catholic Bishop	-	-	-	75	0	0
Expense of a colonial vessel	-	-	-	2,300	0	0
Allowance to C. Coote, Esq. late Supreme Surrogate and Chief Magistrate at St. John's, in consideration of his long and able services	-	-	-	300	0	0
Miscellaneous expenses	-	-	-	5,151	0	0
Collector of Customs	-	-	-	1,500	0	0
Comptroller	-	-	-	700	0	0
Eleven other revenue officers	-	-	-	3,000	0	0
				<hr/>		
				£23,987	0	0
				<hr/>		

This being a fishing colony, there is little revenue to be expected, except from impost duties, and these should be laid on with great caution. There are several places reserved around the harbour of St. John's, called ships' rooms, the rents of which amount to a considerable sum; which, with a small impost revenue at the disposal of the legislature, would be found sufficient for the expenses of the civil government and all ordinary contingencies.

The foregoing statements do not all exactly correspond with the official reports. I have with these compared various accounts and returns carefully, and have made up the foregoing calculations to the first quarter of this year, 1833, with, I trust, as much exactness as can be obtained.

The whole will, I fain hope, illustrate the great importance of that portion of the British empire which I have endeavoured to describe ; and when we consider the progress those colonies have made since they were first settled by Europeans, and the vast multitudes of men, women, and children, at home and abroad, that their soil, forests, fisheries, and commerce support ; and consider also that those territories are only yet in comparative infancy ; we cannot but be convinced of their extraordinary importance, and great political consequence.

Men who can, with the minds of great statesmen, appreciate the present value of the British North American colonies, will clearly anticipate, and justly estimate, not only their future grandeur, but their importance in maintaining the influence of England over the whole of the western world, and their consequence in preserving British power in Europe.

THE END.

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