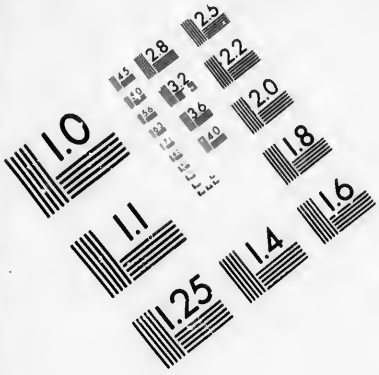

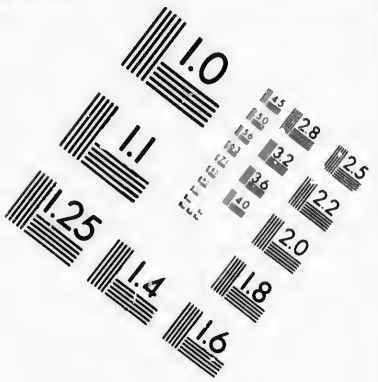

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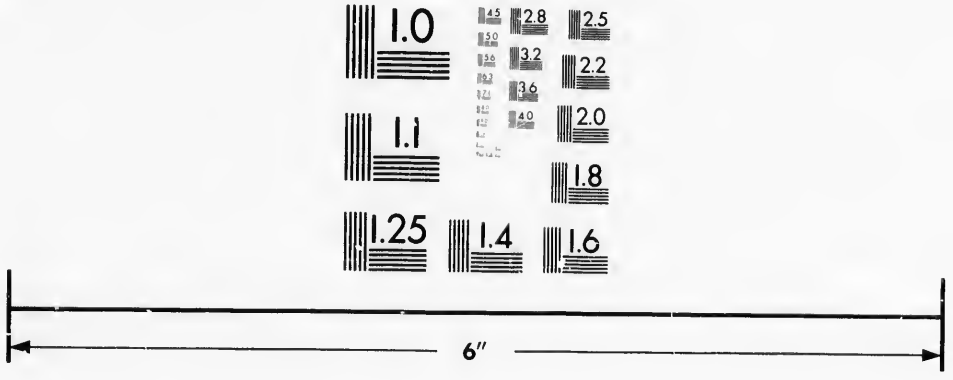

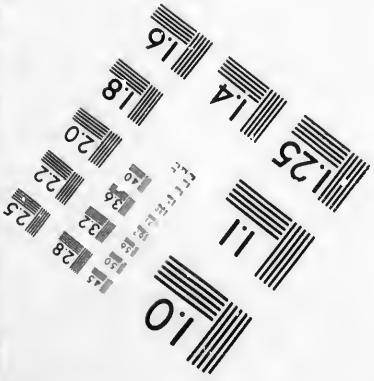

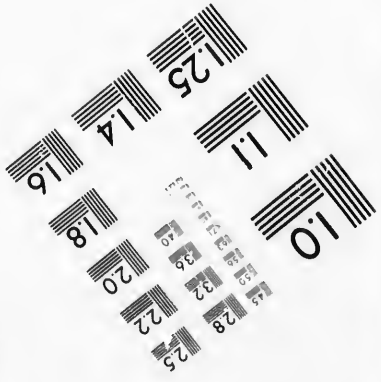

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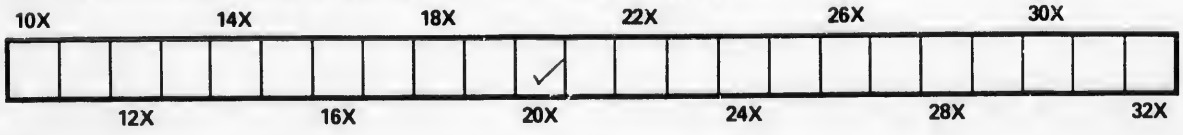

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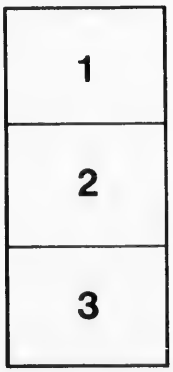

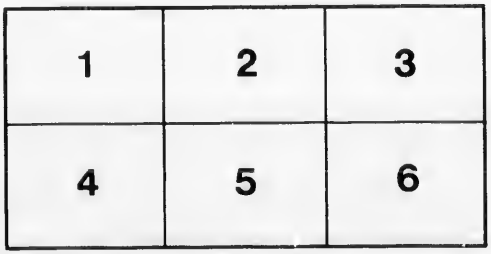

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THE

MEMOIRS

OF A

CANADIAN SECRETARY.

A POSTHUMOUS PAPER.

See "New Brunswick Bibliography" by W. F. McDarlane, 1895, for author's name.

THE

MEMOIRS

OF A

CANADIAN SECRETARY.

A POSTHUMOUS PAPER.

By Isaac Allan Jack
(Ex-Recorder of St John. N.B.)

TORONTO, ONT.:
GREENLEAF & KIRKLAND.
1928.

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TO THE READER AND THE PUBLIC.

In consequence of the receipt of the letter which follows, and the manuscript enclosed therein, I am forced to assume the duties of an editor. I say that I am forced, but, in reality, there is no compulsion in this matter, and therefore the expression should perhaps be changed. But let it go, for, although it is a labor of love to carry out the wishes of my dead friend, it is still something of a task for a business man to move out of old ruts.

I should wish to write a short Biographical Sketch of Mr. Ryerson, but I cannot trust myself to the task, partly from lack of confidence in my own literary powers, but largely and I may say principally, because the greater part of his life was so largely mixed up with that most melancholy subject, later Canadian history. It is several years since we parted. I, an Englishman, who would not remain in Canada when I saw that her rulers were determined to impoverish the country and inthral its inhabitants, removed, in sorrow, to my present home. He, strongly imbued with autocratic ideas, and cherishing an ardent admiration for political leaders whom I hated, remained. It is a melancholy satisfaction to me, who always continued his friend, despite our political differences, to find that his views upon political subjects were changed in his later years. The contemplated Sketch however will not be missed by Canadian readers, to whom my friend was well known, and Englishmen and Americans are probably sufficiently acquainted with the leading incidents of his life and with his intellectual powers.

The private and personal revelations of the Memoirs will, I trust, be respected. Those of a public, political, and historical nature will, I am satisfied, be read with a deep interest; and may, perhaps, even now, be beneficial.

EPHRAIM DAVIS.

New York, February, 1928.

[The following is the letter referred to.]

ALDERSHOT, ENGLAND, 22nd December, 1927.

To Ephraim Davis, Esquire,
New York, U. S. A.

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with the directions of my deceased uncle, and your friend, I enclose a manuscript prepared by him for publication. My wife and I would much prefer the omission of certain passages which it contains, but, believing that we are strictly complying with his desire, we withdraw all objections, and propose that you should have the paper published just as it is.

I have not the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, but, on my uncle's account, beg to extend the most friendly feeling towards you; and hoping that we may hereafter meet each other,

I am,

Your's faithfully,

RICHARD L. MANSFIELD.

MEMOIRS OF A SECRETARY.

It is the feast of St. Jean Baptiste, and, languidly sitting by the open window, I listen to the music of a band which—fortunately for my fairly well trained and now particularly sensitive ear—is some distance away and gradually receding. But soon, other sounds are heard, human and not uncultivated nor unpleasant voices, singing the grand old hymns and psalms of the Church; and pushing the curtain to one side, forgetting my good doctor's advice for the time, I stretch my bared head outside into the somewhat moist and breezy atmosphere, and watch the sights below. It is almost worth the risk of a relapse. The procession is singularly picturesque, and probably could not, at the present day, be seen anywhere except in Canada. The vested priests, the members of the religious orders, generally in sombre garments, and the silken banners adorned with holy symbols, cast an air of dignity and solemnity upon the scene, and prevent the eye from dwelling upon much which, without these accompaniments might appear frivolous and, in some respects, grotesque. But the *people* who chiefly compose the procession after all claim a large share of attention, on more accounts than one indeed, but chiefly to a gazer from a second storey window, like myself, from the manifest evidence of their love of color and display. I watch the procession as it passes towards the mouth of the harbor, along the wide grass-grown street, past the dilapidated buildings of the old New Brunswick merchants, which look all the more decayed by contrast with the flaunting scarves and flags hanging from the many sashless windows. A group of Americans, from the Carleton shore, also gazes with interest and curiosity at the receding pageant, but, as the balloon-carriage

crosses my window on the return trip, it is evident that the presence of a solitary Englishman is more curious, and is certainly most unexpected.

I am writing the day after these occurrences, and I ask myself, "Shall I write more"? There is indeed much which one with my experience might write with profit, perhaps for the people of to-day, and certainly for future generations. But would His Grace be pleased, if a Secretary on sick leave should spend his holiday in narrating his experiences, and then give his story to the world? It is not difficult to answer such a question, or to hazard a guess at the certain result of my temerity. A closed van would be my quarters for a few weeks, my companions Grits or murderers, our journey would be across very rough country, our destination Manitoba, whence I at least never should return. No! I am now too old and perhaps too cowardly to run the risk of such a fate as this. My narrative, my experiences, my opinions must not be printed; probably it would be better not to commit them to writing.

The determination not to write for publication pleases me; it relieves me from the careful arrangement of details, the dividing of my manuscript into chapters, each perhaps with an apt quotation at its head; and further, it relieves me from the fear of the critics, who are more objects of terror to an old man, conscious of the imperfections of all human work, than to a young man blessed with those attributes of youth, self-conceit and faith in the powers of humanity to attain ideal excellence. It is also very pleasant to be able to pour out one's soul to one's self, to feel that there is no necessity for withholding any secret, that one is not writing for the unfeeling, or for those who read, not to sympathise with the writer, but to try to analyze his inmost nature, to satisfy unhealthy curiosity.

Ah me! there is much to make one think in this decayed City by the sea. And first and sweetest, though saddest in my memory, is one object, lost to me forever, who, when lost to me, changed entirely my views of life on earth, and, for a time, made

me lose confidence in Heaven. Never shall I forget the time and place when first we met; never shall I forget the sweet sad tones of her voice, the steadfast yet melancholy expression of her eyes, or the very words of the old ballads which she sang. It was an August night, and the great yellow moon hung over the eastern shore of the harbor, making a path of rippling light across the water, where our boat floated, while I and three brawny friends and a party of gay young girls listened, not only with ears but with hearts. In the distance the City shone with myriad lights, and afar off could be heard the confused sounds of those on the wharves and on board the ships whose spars stood out against the sky in bold relief. But it was only the sweet old ballad which we heard, for even other pleasure-seekers, rowing across the moonlit waters, like ourselves, rested upon their oars and listened. Alas for love's young dream! I am an old man, more glad than sorry for the death of a rich wife; and she, my only love, so far as I know anything, died long years ago.

My present quarters are comfortable, though somewhat shabby, in a large granite building, formerly occupied by two or three Banking Companies. The banking offices are now filled with fish and marine stores: the upper storeys are tenanted by my landlady, whom I have never seen, who is said to be very old and infirm and somewhat eccentric, and who never appears on the streets except rarely at night time, and on one particular day, I think the eighteenth day of May, when she visits a cemetery on the outskirts of the City. The pretty girl who lives with her, and who I believe is her niece, is conversable enough, but does not care to talk of her aunt's peculiarities. Yet, by her very reticence, she makes me feel that there must be some mystery about the good lady. The old man and his wife, who are the only domestics, are not averse to an occasional chat, but, even in my conversation with them, I can see that, if I wish to satisfy my curiosity about their mistress, it is absolutely necessary that I should make it appear that I am not seeking information.

The French have simply translated the names of most of the

streets, and it is easy to restore to these streets their old appellations, if not their old aspect. Our crumbling granite building, for instance, is on the southern side of King street, and at the corner of King and Prince William streets. There used to be a great Slip at the end of the former street, but it is now almost filled up with silt and the debris of the wharves and warehouses. I wander hither and thither on the warm days, when there is no fog, with my little friend Alice, or old Marshall, and take a melancholy pleasure in observing the transformations which have taken place in scenes and objects with which I was once familiar. There is a Church at the north end of Germain street, with a quaint square tower, which may be seen for a long distance by one approaching from the water. Surely the ghosts of the dead worshippers must shudder, if they have the power of shuddering, at the thought that this is now Our Lady's Chapel, filled with pictures of the saints, redolent with incense, and lit with candles. The Court House and the Jail are little changed, but the great Square in front of them is enclosed by the Intendant, whose residence lies to the south of the fountain which is still there. A large building which I think was called either Trinity or the Centenary, on Germain street, is used as a barrack; the other ecclesiastical buildings are occupied by the various religious orders, and some of the old public buildings are employed for religious purposes.

By the construction of the huge breakwater, the sea was prevented from filling up what was formerly a basin, known as Cartnay Bay, but which is now a waste, half marsh, half desert, covered with rank grass, upon which cows and oxen feed. The southern portion of the promontory, from what was formerly known as Meglinburg street, is pretty well covered with a growth of shrubs and straggling cedars, but here and there a few ruins of brick and stone mansions may be seen, which not infrequently are inhabited by the fishermen and dulse gatherers. Dulse, it seems, is obtained in large quantities along the coast and in the immediate neighborhood of the City, and, after being subjected to some peculiar process, is packed in light

wooden boxes, and forwarded by the Grand Southern Railway up the Megantic, or by the Maine and Massachusetts Central to the Canadian and American cities. All the shipping of any size lies on the Carleton side of the harbor or in mid channel, and only a few coasters utilize the ruined piers of Saint John. It is astonishing to observe the tenacity with which the French adhere to beaten paths, and the unwillingness which they evince to adopt and utilize modern inventions. The streets of the City, for instance, are lighted with coal gas, and for that matter they might be left unlighted, as the lamps actually pale beneath the brilliancy of the electric light reflected from the other shore. So a Frenchman rarely travels by balloon, but takes his place among the heavy freight, in the slow and steady and conservative steamers and railway cars.

I have gathered much curious information from an old Franciscan Friar with whom I have become acquainted, and who is quite an antiquarian. Among other things, he discovered several bottles of rare wines and liqueurs in the vaults of a building upon the southern side of Prince William street, which he says was formerly owned by a man named Miles. I doubt however whether he has not mistaken the name, as it is not at all familiar to my ears. He has also been excavating a singular raised causeway, "La Rue Dorcestre," at the instance of the Historical Society of Quebec, and has there discovered many singular articles of apparel and for domestic purposes.

There is a large military force stationed here, larger indeed than the returns to the War Department would indicate, as there are several detachments of the Duke's household troops which are maintained at his own cost. These are generally armed with the old-fashioned Purcel rifle, with which however it is said they make good shooting for two thousand yards, although for greater distances it is practically useless. Some of the batteries are mounted with heavy breech-loading guns, known as improved Whitworths, in which they use gun powder instead of gas. It carried me back to old times, watching the artillery at target

practice, with these huge weapons belching forth masses of flame, and surrounded by smoke.

Father Francis took me for a drive in a calache one sunny afternoon some distance into the country. We drove through flat low land which extends between two lines of hills for about three miles, and which, on either side of the highway, is divided into narrow farms. The houses looked very picturesque amid the hop vines and the flowering plants, but the land is poorly cultivated by hand, or rarely by horse power, and the farm stock, both cows and horses, are small and show no good blood whatever. The worthy Father pointed out a tavern at the end of the road, kept by one Louis Garnier, which he said was of great age, and in which the same business had been carried on, he considered, little less than a century. Somewhat beyond this point we saw the remains of a stone bridge where, if I remember rightly, poor Major King and his little band were annihilated by the regiment from Trois Pistoles, whose passage by rail they attempted to intercept. I managed to clamber up the bank, and succeeded in tracing, as far as the eye could reach, the line of this railway which once formed a portion of the old Intercolonial. The track is now overgrown with raspberry and other shrubs, and with various plants, some of which are common in the neighborhood, while others were evidently produced from seeds dropped from cars containing hay or farmers' stuff obtained from distant sources.

It is nearly a week since I have looked at a book or touched pen and paper, and my prostration warns me that Father Francis is too rugged a companion, that a calache is too rough a vehicle, and that a scramble upon a steep embankment is entirely too much for one with my enfeebled constitution. Oh the weary, weary hours which I have passed since that imprudent expedition; my head racked with pain through the long, sleepless nights; the organs of the body inactive, but the mind doubly quickened and never resting. It is DeQuincy who likens the brain to a palimpsest, and to me, the victim of so much recent

thought, the simile seems singularly appropriate. Doubtless my present surroundings, the very air which I breathe, have all their influence in directing my thoughts. But why should I become uninterested in recent events; why should my mind so constantly revert to matters which transpired many years ago? I try to shake off the tendency, but cannot; and although no one can accuse me of being a *laudator temporis acti*, and the composition of my library, and the practical interest which I have always taken in progressive science, would prevent any one from naming me a fossil, I must confess that the things of to-day have not the charm for me which they had a month ago. The fair Alice has been very kind, and has given me many hours of her sweet companionship, and I, old and selfish, cannot spare her for those many duties which devolve upon a willing hand in a poor household. For the last three afternoons she has been sitting by the window, working of course, for she is never idle, with deft fingers navigating her needle through marvellous convolutions, and with head bent forward, and lashes for the time covering her eyes, which may well be called, in the language of some dead poet, "floating gems." Her style of beauty is certainly very rare; but it is not her personal loveliness, or even her goodness or cheerfulness, or all of these combined which attracted me. Watching with tired eyes, I beheld a *petite* somewhat plump figure, clad in muslin of the lightest blue, with beautifully rounded shoulders, and a well poised head, covered with rippling masses of brown golden hair. I do not trust my aptitude for describing female beauty, even so far as figure and general features are concerned, and I dare not attempt to describe the face of my gentle nurse. Suffice it then to say, that forehead, nose and lips are simply perfect, and that if the chin has any fault, it is in the rich sweeping fullness which perhaps scarcely complies with the rule which a sculptor would insist upon, but which would not repel a lover. But what can I say of the complexion of this little girl which, though brown, is at the same time peach-like, brings before the mind's eye sunlight and summer, and seems to have collected all the gentle tints of umber, pink and yellow

which an artist could suggest. It is not on her own account, or on account of her many attractions however, that I take so deep an interest in this young girl. It is many years since I have made a friend. Intellectual gifts and physical charms possessed by others of either sex have indeed attracted me, but they have had no more influence upon me than mere abstract ideas; they have not drawn me towards their possessor more than momentarily, if even that. From the first, however, I have desired the companionship, and I may say the friendship of this fair maiden; but it has taken me weeks to learn that it was because she is an umbra, a reflection—how weak language seems in supplying words to express the idea I have before me—of my long-lost love. I trust and I believe that fair Alice possesses sufficient humility to prevent her from hating me should she suspect that I esteem her for another's sake. I wonder if the clover, which an Irishman wears on St. Patrick's day in Canada, in place of the shamrock which cannot be procured, hates the wearer.

Is the individual so merged in the community that his individuality runs the chance of being lost? Is my life a part of the life, the history of Canada? I begin to think it is, and sometimes almost imagine myself not quite a chapter in the annals of the Dominion, but perhaps of a Province.

The federation of the several divisions of British America was a noble idea, and it is no wonder that it attracted the attention of enthusiasts. It is also no wonder that it was favored by those who consider the powers of their mind contracted by the limited number of acres which embraces their native or adopted Duchy, State, Province, or whatever it may be called. But there were certainly some serious difficulties in the way of rendering the scheme a complete success, some of which were in existence before the consummation of the Union, while others arose from want of foresight of its projectors, or from the mismanagement of those who had control over the affairs of the confederated Provinces. The physical configuration of the country may be mentioned under the first head, for I hold that the mere fact that

the territory of the neighboring Republic separated the lower part of Quebec and the whole of the Maritime Provinces from the upper portion of Quebec, Ontario and the North West, tended to prevent a complete amalgation of the people of the country. Then again, the presence of a large French population, with a different religion from the majority of their English compatriots, speaking their own language, governed by their own laws, and having peculiar customs with reference to the tenure, transmission and division of land, was much to be deplored. Had this foreign colony existed on the Pacific coast, or even in Nova Scotia, it would have been far more tolerable, and far less calculated to promote or continue diversities of feeling and manners among Canadians. But as it was, the English colonists of Ontario were entirely divided from those of the Maritime Provinces, and, through want of contiguity and constant direct personal intercourse, they rarely seemed to understand each other. From all that I can learn of the conditions of Canada shortly after Confederation, it would almost appear that those who called themselves Liberals in New Brunswick were the strongest allies of the Conservatives in Ontario, and that many who were termed Grits in Nova Scotia would have been hailed as Tories in the West. It would be tedious to enumerate the proofs of the correctness of my statement, that want of foresight and mismanagement were productive of very serious results in Canada. I must however advert to the terrible extravagance which distinguished the greater part of the early history of the Dominion,—an extravagance which largely aided in swelling our present debt of 725,000,000 of piastres, which, large as it is, would be still larger did I include that indebtedness which our Government, ten years since, to its eternal disgrace, repudiated. I wonder how a man enjoys life in a country where government 9 per cents are sold at a better rate than 12 per cent. discount?

It would be unjust to attribute all the misfortunes of Canada to extravagance; but there can be no doubt that extravagance was the mother of the National Policy, and that the National Policy must be made responsible for many, if not most of our

afflictions. The plan of protecting home productions in Canada was adopted at a period of very great financial depression, which had extended over many years, and which was not confined to the Dominion. It was perhaps not unnatural that the great mass of electors throughout the country, incapable for the most part of fully grasping the various theories and arguments advanced by the leaders of the two factions, the Protectionists and Free Traders; and impressed with the fact that the former alone offered something as a cure for the prevailing poverty, determined to give them an opportunity to try the effect of their method. It is impossible to learn the immediate result of the experiment, for all works devoted to the history of the period, for some reason or other, have been destroyed or suppressed, and the only available sources of information are a few files of newspapers, all strongly partizan, and probably in no case stating the exact truth. In considering the matter, however, it must be borne in mind that, at the time of which I am writing, coal, including hard coal or anthracite and soft coal, was exclusively used for heating purposes, while petroleum oil was verly largely employed for lighting. Now, petroleum could be obtained solely in Western Canada and in the United States, while soft coal could only be procured in the Dominion from the mines in the Maritime Provinces. The other conditions, calculated to create diversities of opinion with regard to the details of a Protective Tariff, exist at the present day, and do not require a special reference. The posture of the inhabitants of the Provinces towards a tariff and each other was somewhat as follows: The people of the Maritime Provinces were unable to grow wheat, and therefore they demanded free bread stuffs; they had no oil or salt, and so they opposed the imposition of duties upon these articles. On the other hand, the Ontario farmers and millers insisted upon shutting United States flour out of Canada; and the proprietors of salt springs and oil wells of the same Province required protection for salt and oil, but at the same time asked for free coal. I refer to these conditions as illustrating the extraordinary difficulties of the tariff-makers, and the impossibility of satisfying

irreconcilable demands. It must not be imagined however that the other Provinces could be satisfied with any plan adopted, for on the contrary, Quebec had many reasons for joining with the Maritime Provinces in opposing concessions to Ontario, and had also special demands of her own. As for British Columbia, she too was dissatisfied with the tariff, although it would not seem that her representatives laid so much stress upon this as upon the alleged bad faith of the Dominion Government in not completing the construction of the Pacific Railway, in the movement which they now made for the repeal of the Union. The opponents of the Protectionists were not generally absolute Free Traders, but differed from the upholders of the National Policy as to the objects of imposing duties upon importations, and as to the extent of such imposition. The supporters of the National Policy claimed that duties should be imposed, not only for the purpose of raising a revenue, but also to foster the struggling industries of the colony, to favor home productions, and to prevent foreign manufacturers and producers from competing with the manufacturers and producers of Canada. They claimed that their motives were purely patriotic, and they insisted that those among the Canadians who were not manufacturers or producers, or who would in any way suffer by the adoption of the policy, should be willing to make some sacrifice, on patriotic grounds, and that in the end they would be gainers by the general prosperity which, some how or other, would certainly ensue.

The adversaries of the scheme, on the other hand, contended that the imposition of duties was only justifiable on the ground that a revenue must be raised to defray the expenses of government; and they contended further, that a very large class in the community could not in any way be benefited, and would certainly be injured by protection, and they objected in the strongest terms to legislation which was only calculated to enrich a limited number of persons at the expense of their neighbors. They also argued that, owing to the prevailing depression, buyers would be obliged to curtail their purchases of all articles, especially those subject to heavy duties, and that, as a consequence, there

would be a deficiency of revenue, at least until the times improved. They admitted the possibility of such an improvement for a short period, from the sudden growth of manufactures under the ægis of Protection; but they foretold that the result would be over-production, glutting of the market, and serious loss to the very class of persons intended to be benefited. But it was not the National Policy alone which the gentlemen out of office had to oppose, for this scheme was speedily followed by a measure warmly supported and eventually carried by the Government. I refer to the system, actually in vogue in Canada for many years, of issuing Scrip, not upon a gold basis, but at first to an amount based upon the anticipated revenue for a given period, at the end of which the Scrip was redeemable, at the option of the Government, in gold or newly issued Scrip; and eventually to an extent unlimited, so far as the available resources of the country were concerned.

I wish sincerely that I had undertaken the task of writing the political history of Canada five or six years ago, when my brain was more active and my powers of memory greater than at present, and my bodily strength at least not seriously impaired. Little did I think in the old sporting days, when *sub frigida jove*, as Juvenal has it, I trusted in my rude physique, and engaged in all sorts of adventures in Labrador and Anticosti, and on the shores of Lake St. John, that I was to pay very dearly for my amusements in after life. It would certainly be a source of regret to an aged sportsman that he had not availed himself of his youthful opportunities in a land abounding in all kinds of game; but present health is far more useful than pleasing memories, and my conditions are not so happy in other respects that I can hail physical discomforts as necessary to prevent me from feeling too contented with my lot.

Another week has passed without a word being written, and were it not that Rick has read to me steadily I should feel in a state of intellectual stagnation. Who is Rick? a possible reader may ask. Why, Rick is a British officer who has come out here

on leave, to get some fishing and shooting; and as it happens that he is my grand nephew, he looked me up before starting for the wilderness. He is a manly young fellow, and more than that, he is thoroughly kind-hearted, and, despite my strong protestations, he declares that he will set me up on my pins before he fires a shot or casts a line. I have complete confidence in Rick, and have told him all about my manuscript, and have directed him to publish it, if he pleases, when my toes are turned up to the daisies. This you see is a double explanation, in that it shows who Rick is, and also why it is possible that what is written may be read. It is not likely that my erratic paper will be re-cast, though this would be very desirable; and so the reader, if there ever is one, will make, I do not doubt, all just allowances for deficiencies. But he at least will see that—although I first began to write without a definite purpose—eventually there was a purpose, an earnest purpose on the part of a dying man, for so I feel myself to be, to tell the truth, and to teach a lesson which might be useful.

It is with a deep feeling of shame that I acknowledge that the part which I have taken in life has been all wrong, but it relieves my conscience from a great weight in making this acknowledgment, which I now do calmly and deliberately. My formal resignation has been posted to His Grace, and henceforth I am as free as any act of mine can make me. I feel that I have been to him a faithful servant, and am assured that he will acknowledge as much, and though it would be ungenerous in me, while in his service, to attack the policy of the party to which he is attached, the party at least can claim nothing from me. I know however that if I, while holding office as his Secretary, were to express sentiments hostile to his friends, he would suffer, and although he is too generous to expect complete subserviency to his methods of thought, it would be most ungrateful and unfair in me to jeopardize his prospects or position.

It is stated somewhere in these pages that it is impossible to know the immediate effect of the National Policy, but this was

written before the revulsion in my feelings, before my mind was led to the determination to write with complete candor, to palliate nothing, and not to give false coloring to facts. I, Geoffrey Parker Ryerson, a dying man, as I believe, and having no motive to say aught but the truth, do solemnly charge the Government of Canada with initiating and maintaining a fiscal policy which has proved utterly detrimental to the interests of the country, and which has blasted the hopes and destroyed the fortunes of millions of persons. What need is there to recount the history of every Province? It is sufficient if the history of one is known. The gangreened hand tells the surgeon at a glance that the whole body soon will be diseased if the offending member is not speedily removed. Alas, for Canada, the *virus* was in her system, but there was no physician. The people of Canada accepted the National Policy, and waited the results. Protectionists, Free Traders, believers in a Revenue Tariff, limited Imperialists, Annexationists, Disunionists, all waited with bated breath, some believing, some doubting, and others, certain that the scheme would not succeed, rejoicing that the time was now approaching when Canada should be dismembered or become a portion of another country.

Let us see how it befell in New Brunswick, and thus we can learn approximately the fate of the other portions of the Dominion.

From what I can gather I am led to believe that the people of this Province, during the English regime, were somewhat phlegmatic, that they were slow to realize the full measure of either good or evil fortune, and not over rapid to avail themselves of the former or to take measures to mitigate or dispel the latter. An honest, kind-hearted, industrious population, they preferred to attend, each to his own special business by which he provided bread for himself and family; and while not generally wealthy as individuals, they were at least not suffering, and were in most cases in easy circumstances. This at least was the general condition of the people before Confederation and until the conclusion of the depression to which I have referred. My pic-

ture may possibly be considered somewhat Utopian, but a careful investigator, if at least he is a social philosopher, while he recognizes elements of happiness in the conditions stated, will perceive in them a possible source of misfortune. Under the rule of a despot, possessing good powers of judgment, and ever endeavoring to exercise those powers for the benefit of the community over which he rules, the people may with safety remain apathetic and contented. Where, on the other hand, the right of self-government is vested in the people, the right should be exercised by them; it should not be delegated, further than is absolutely necessary, to others. The mistake made by the inhabitants of this Province was that they placed implicit confidence in their leaders, or may I not rather say, their leader. Before Confederation they permitted him to adopt any line of policy which he thought best. On entering the Union, they relied entirely on his calculations and his prophetic powers; and, for years after the accomplishment of that scheme, in spite of many reasons to doubt his judgment and his honesty, they still believed him capable and true. In twelve years after Confederation the taxation of this Province had increased to nearly three times the amount which he calculated would not be exceeded in twenty years, and still there were those who trusted in him. This is only one instance to show how little this man deserved the confidence reposed in him; but it is one of many which might be cited. It is in the National Policy however that we see his state-craft, and at the same time his utter disregard, his supreme contempt for the interests of those to whom he owed everything. It was my intention when I last took up my pen to treat solely of the results of the National Policy in New Brunswick, but in order to enable the reader to comprehend the situation, it seemed advisable to digress from the plan laid down; and indeed it will probably be impossible to tell my story without here and there digressing to a slight extent.

Hard times were not driven away or abated by the National Policy in New Brunswick, that at least is clear. Lumbermen were actually conducting business at a loss. Farmers barely

managed to support themselves, notwithstanding the large demand for potatoes—a steady crop in the Province—by the United States, where this root was almost destroyed by a rapacious insect. Manufacturers had little capital, and feared to run the slightest risk with the small means at their command. Mechanics were without employment. The only busy men were the creditors' trustees, and the receivers in bankruptcy. The effect of the tariff upon many imported articles was not at once perceived, for the importers had large balances of stock on hand, which they could scarcely sell at any price, and it would have been madness to add the amount of duty to the ordinary profit per centage. But when it was necessary to renew the stock, the buyers had to pay the duties, and then complaints were heard on every side. It is true that many new branches of industry were started in Ontario, and gradually the products from the western manufactories found their way to the Maritime Provinces. But the manufacturers showed no consideration for the unfortunate consumers, and offered them articles, in many instances inferior to the importations, and only for a fraction less. The members of the Central Government trembled in their shoes, for it was evident that the country began to recognize that the National Policy was a sham. It is necessary to consider how they acted under the circumstances, how in short they succeeded in keeping themselves in office and ruining the country.

There was a gentleman named Letellier, who had been appointed Governor of Quebec by a Liberal Government in office before the promulgation of the National Policy. That this gentleman possessed ability there is no doubt, and that he was patriotic and desirous to promote an honest and economical administration of the affairs of his Province, many of his greatest enemies have been compelled to admit. When he was appointed Governor he found himself surrounded by councillors with whom he had no political or personal sympathy, whom he believed to be dishonest, and whom he knew to be extravagant; and he determined that his advisers should be neither the one nor the other. A modern Canadian would doubtless laugh at so humble

a functionary as a Governor forming so lofty a resolution; for in the Provincial Intendant of to-day we see but a sorry tool, a mere shadow of authority, a being with no more discretionary power than the crier of the humblest court. But it was otherwise in the old days. The Governor of a Province was the Queen's representative, and although, after Confederation, he received his commission from the Dominion Government, he was not supposed to be thereafter under its control; and, during the term of his office, he was considered to be almost as secure of his seat as the Monarch of England is of his throne. He had many of the same privileges, within his limited domain, as the Sovereign: he had the right to veto parliamentary enactments, and he had the right to refuse to act under the advice of his Council, and even to dismiss his Councillors from office. The risk of doing either one of these things might be far from insignificant, but if he was supported in his act by the popular voice, no one could complain. The whole theory and practice were based indeed upon motives of expediency, and formed safety valves in the constitutional machinery, and were at the same time necessary and exceptional.

Letellier had both courage and energy: he fully appreciated the delicacy of the situation and the necessity for action: he thought he understood the popular feeling: he ran the risk, dismissed his Cabinet, and appealed to the country. If ever the end justifies the means, it did so in his case. The people of the Province rallied round the opponents of the degraded Ministers, and the latter—in spite of the most strenuous exertions on their behalf—were discomfited. Maddened with defeat, and burning for revenge, they required of the Dominion Government that Letellier should be dismissed, and they succeeded in securing the passage of a resolution in Parliament supporting their demand. The Premier was terribly embarrassed by these proceedings, which indeed were the result of his own machinations, but which, trusting to the chapter of accidents, he never anticipated. He tried to shift the responsibility from his own shoulders to those of the Viceroy: he endeavored to his utmost to avoid establish-

ing a precedent which might at some future time damage his own friends; but he was powerless; he had to yield, and had to bear the responsibility of yielding. It was absolutely essential at the time that he should secure, or rather continue the support of the Conservative French in Quebec: he succeeded in accomplishing that object, but he rang the death-knell of liberty in Canada.

By the dismissal of Letellier the Canadian Government appeased their wavering followers in Quebec, and by making a sweep of all the Liberals in the public departments or otherwise employed by Government, and substituting for them strong Conservatives, or pliable men with no political principles, they were enabled to obtain a wonderful ascendancy over the popular vote, if not over the popular mind. The loss of several seats in Ontario however, and the defection of a number of followers in Nova Scotia, and the assurance that the National Policy was becoming every day more and more unpopular, forced the Cabinet to adopt further measures to obtain a majority at the then approaching election. It was in the Maritime Provinces, but especially in New Brunswick, that the attempt was made to secure such a following as would ensure the victory desired. But little had to be done in Nova Scotia or Prince Edward Island, for in both these Provinces Conservatism was in the ascendant, but in New Brunswick it was entirely otherwise, and it may be said that the general feeling there was one of intense hatred of the dominant party. To overcome this sentiment, every conceivable plan was tried. Several persons, distinguished for their ability as canvassers, or blessed with large family connexions, who had been deprived of positions on the Intercolonial Railway or in the public departments were reinstated. Large sums were expended on public works in different parts of the Province, but especially at St. John. Hundreds of masons were employed at the batteries on the Carleton shore and at Red Head. The huge breakwater, to which I have referred, was constructed across the mouth of Cartnay Bay, and nearly $100,000 was expended in the absurd project of damming the St. John at its embouchure

and conducting the water through the great marsh which lies to the eastward of the city. The Government could not do enough for the people of the Province, and even went so far as for a time to remit the duty on certain classes of bread-stuffs imported by the merchants of St. John, but were obliged to enforce the tariff when pressed by the western wheat growers. Drawbacks were also allowed on articles used in manufactures, and, as a consequence, many establishments on a gigantic scale for the manufacture of wooden and metal wares were commenced and carried on. It is not astonishing that prosperity soon took the place long held by indigence, and that the hard times disappeared: neither is it astonishing that, when the elections were held, the Province returned supporters of the Government from almost all the constituencies.

Alice and Rick, as might naturally be expected, have become fast friends. They walk together, and undertake small botanical excursions from which they return with bountiful supplies of richly tinted, sweetly smelling flowers: they row on the harbor, often favoring me with a seat in the stern sheets; and in the evenings and on stormy days they sing duets. It is most galling to a lover of music to have to use the detestable home made pianos, for as the importation of foreign instruments is absolutely prohibited our manufacturers use no care in construction, and utterly discard all modern improvements. It is an outrage that this poor girl has to accompany her voice with the vilest of instruments; but she never complains, and fortunately she sings so sweetly that the listener at last becomes almost, if not entirely oblivious of other sounds than those which come from the little songstress.

For myself I am almost driven to tears when she sings alone, for most strange to say, I hear not only the voice but many of the songs of my lost love. What can it mean? Why does fate torture a miserable old man by reproducing the things he loved in youth, and forcing him to revive sad memories? And yet so strangely inconsistent are we, that we sometimes nurse our

sorrows and would not part with them for worlds. I, for instance, would not remove the cause of my melancholy, and if the voice and songs were but to cease, I think that I should die. The poor girl has had, for the last few days, but little time to sing, for the elderly lady, her aunt, has been quite ill. Will the old bank building eventually become a hospital?

It seems strange that I, an Englishman, should be the first person to write anything approaching to a history of the last forty odd years in Canada. I feel the responsibility of the task so keenly that I am at times tempted to abandon it entirely. What I write seems in so many respects slipshod and unmethodical that my critics, if there ever are any, will certainly find much to pick to pieces. They may, for instance, complain that I give no dates, and no carefully prepared statistics. O critics, have mercy on an old man whose memory is not over clear, and who is hundreds of miles away from any blue book.

The change which took place in New Brunswick after the election was immediate, and all the bright hopes of the provincialists proved to be delusions. Retrenchment was the order of the day in almost every department; the Government works were left unfinished; drawbacks were no longer permitted; large bodies of workmen were left with nothing to do; factories were closed; and utter stagnation was felt in business circles. I will not anticipate the final results, as it is first necessary to treat upon matters rather of Dominion than of Provincial significance.

About this time the Government was obliged to raise some six million dollars for public purposes, but principally for the construction of the Pacific Railway, and a delegation was sent to England to ask for an Imperial guarantee. The English Liberals, who were then in power, demurred to this application, and in the end refused it altogether, alleging as a reason for their refusal that the duties levied under the Canadian tariff practically shut out the British manufacturers from the Canadian market, and indeed seemed especially to discriminate against them, and

that so long as Canada continued to adopt so unpatriotic a course, the mother country could grant her no favors. The loan was eventually secured from France, upon conditions which were generally considered humiliating to the Dominion; but the history of that transaction need not here be given. The refusal of the British guarantee however produced a profound sensation in Canada. Indignation meetings were held in all the large cities, and within a year from the refusal, Canada ceased to be a British possession. I need not refer to the events of that period at length, as they are painful to contemplate even at the present day. The Governor General retired from Ottawa to England; the old standard was hauled down, and in its stead the tri-color, bearing the beaver and maple leaf, floated from the staff at the capital.

The day upon which the declaration of independence was formally read was more like a fast than a feast day, and a profound sense of solemnity seemed to affect the people from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast. Thank Providence, the dissolution of the old bonds was accomplished without bloodshed.

It must not be supposed that the assumption of independence by the Dominion involved a complete change of government, for in reality the administration was conducted much the same as usual. Almost immediately after the refusal of the guarantee, Parliament was convened at Ottawa to consider the question of separation, and although a few exceedingly intemperate speeches were made, and some steps were taken which entirely precluded the possibility of healing the breach between England and her colony, the legislation of the session as a whole was such as the exigencies of the case required. Among other things, it was provided that the President of the Senate should, until further provisions were made, preside over the Dominion with the title of Archon,—the title President being discarded by a large majority; that he should be invested with all the ordinary rights of a Monarch under the British constitution, not however to include the right of veto or the power to dismiss his Council; and that all commissions should be signed by him and counter-

signed by the Chief Justice, who was vested with the title of Chancellor and given a seat in the Cabinet. The ensuing session of Parliament was rich in surprises, if not to its members, at least to the country. Almost every measure was submitted by the Government, although only faintly foreshadowed in the Archon's speech. An Act was passed by which the Premier was created Duke of Kingston, while other members of the Cabinet were created noblemen. The Dukes of Kingston, Quebec and Parrsborough, the Earls of Victoria, Trois Pistoles and Gaspé, and the Marquises of Gagetown, Charlotte, Assineboine, Glengary and Lunenburg thus obtained their patents, and were given seats in the House of Lords, which was at the same time formed. All the members of the old Senate were also granted patents of nobility with seats among the Lords, without the right of transmission, and with the title of Sieur. It was contemplated to appoint the Premier Despot of the country with hereditary rights to his children, but this was more than the majority of the House would concede, and eventually it was determined that the title Archon should be retained, and that the office should be filled by the senior Duke for the time being. Thus was inaugurated that extraordinary system which eventually destroyed almost every vestige of popular power, and which transferred from the people to a hybrid aristocracy the right to administer the affairs of the country; for it may be observed, that the majority of the Cabinet was transferred from the Commons to the Lords, and that practically their seats were secured not only for themselves for life, but to their descendants in perpetuity. It must not be imagined that the people calmly submitted to the changes which took place. On the contrary, there were popular uprisings through the length and breadth of the land. The Government however was fully prepared for these, and it soon became quite evident that the long continued confidence which the country had placed in conservative principles and in the Tory leaders had given the latter every opportunity to strengthen their position, and that they had fully availed themselves of their opportunity. The Governments of the Provinces were in every

instance in full accord with the Government of the Dominion, and at its instance succeeded in inducing the Provincial Parliaments to put an end to their existence. The affairs of each Province were thereupon placed in the hands of a Council of four and an Intendant, who received their appointments from Ottawa, and held them at the pleasure of the Archon. All the public officials were appointees of the Dominion Government, and by extraordinary manipulation and an unblushing system of favoritism, almost every officer in the Canadian army was a Tory, died in the wool. And to cap everything, the Government, by cancelling or threatening to cancel the charters of Banks under Liberal management, so far controlled these institutions that it was almost impossible for any one with Liberal tendencies to obtain discount. It may thus be seen that the Government possessing or controlling so many methods for compelling compliance with their wishes, found little difficulty in suppressing active revolt and stifling complaints.

It is impossible to give an account in a few words of the events of the next few years, so rich in incidents, but above all in misfortunes; but it would be absurd to attempt the slightest sketch without referring to the difficulties with the United States. I believe that while the Dominion was a British Colony its relations with the States were amicable, and that kindly expressions of sentiment were frequently interchanged between the two countries. From the day that Canada commenced her career as an independent power it is certain that courteous expressions and friendly sentiments between the two nations ceased. It was perhaps natural that our Republican neighbors should object to the institution in America of a titled aristocracy, but I scarcely think they can be justified in habitually describing our country as a one-horse affair, or in speaking of our nobles as Codfishes and Potato Bugs. It certainly did not please the latter to have their honors treated with such contempt, and although Canadians did not retaliate by using insulting invectives, the *haut ton* cherished a supreme contempt for the shoddy Yankees who possessed neither titles nor family estates. Again, the Free Trade pro-

clivities of the Americans made them feel less sympathy than they might otherwise have entertained for a people who maintained a policy of the most uncompromising Protection; and while our Government found it impossible to prevent or even check smuggling along the boundary, the authorities at Washington treated the whole matter with indifference, or indeed rather encouraged the infraction of our Customs regulations.

It was impossible that this state of affairs could long continue, unless indeed the Canadian Government was prepared to submit to proceedings which not only tended to cripple its finances, but which also served to diminish its prestige. A Mr. Frederick Gordon, a United States Senator, and who certainly should have set to his countrymen an example of at least apparent respect rather than contempt for the regulations of a neighboring country, had established a large trading concern on the Aroostock, whence he managed to smuggle enormous quantities of dutiable goods across the line. He was greatly assisted in his enterprise by the Provincialists, and especially by a number of persons who were avowedly employed in a potato starch factory near Edmondston, from which it may be observed however that a very limited supply of that article ever reached any market. The Intendant, Sir Narcisse La Rue, a man distinguished equally for his courage and his rashness, in imitation of Sir Howard Douglas, one of the old provincial Governors, by a wonderfully rapid movement, which was entirely unheralded, with two companies of militia surrounded Mr. Gordon's store and dwelling houses at midnight, burned the buildings and a large stock of miscellaneous wares, and carried off Mr. Gordon, who happened to be there at the time, and his clerks. Sir Narcisse immediately reported what he had done to Ottawa, and received from the Archon a letter, in which he expressed his entire approval of the course pursued, and directed the prisoners at once to be removed to Quebec. This occurrence, as may readily be imagined, created intense excitement at Washington and throughout the Union. The President forthwith demanded the release of the prisoners, an ample apology for the outrage, and the payment of an in-

demnity somewhat more than double the value of the property destroyed. The people of the State of Maine, without waiting for orders from head quarters, formed themselves into companies and burned and pillaged the dwellings of several farmers and storekeepers near Tobique and Grand Falls and at other points on the Canadian border. A small body of troops however was brought up from Fredericton and posted in the neighborhood of the Falls, and their presence served to preserve comparative tranquillity. It must be confessed that, after the first excitement, the people of the States, Maine alone excepted, behaved with noticable moderation. The most respectable classes felt no sympathy whatever for Gordon, and many honest traders openly rejoiced that a competitor in the race for wealth had been taught that wrong methods of acquiring riches could not be tolerated. As he was treated with great consideration in Quebec, and even partook of the hospitality of leading citizens there, and as his means were so ample that the loss of the Aroostock property was a mere bagatelle, it was absurd and useless for the socialists' leaders and mob orators to strive to awaken an intense interest in his fate. Under all the circumstances, there can be no doubt that had the authorities at Ottawa evinced the slightest inclination to make reasonable concessions, the whole matter might have been satisfactorily arranged, and not improbably with some guarantee that a similar offence to that of Gordon's would not again be committed. Unfortunately, the Archon was at this particular period prostrated by one of those attacks to which he was peculiarly liable, and the conduct of the matter was left to the Duke of Parrsborough. This nobleman, although possessing abilities of no common order, was more inclined to butt against difficulties than to work round them, and being naturally vindictive and unforgiving, he could not miss this opportunity of treating with supreme contempt a nation whose press had loaded him and his title with ridicule of a particularly irritating character. It may be added, that owing to the regular army and navy being engaged in quelling the outbreak in the South, there was certainly some ground for believing that the Government of the

United States would not be able to enforce compliance with their demands. The reply from Ottawa was couched in offensive terms, and the Duke not only refused to release the prisoners, to apologize for the acts of the Intendant, or pay any indemnity, but required that, before any consideration should be given to Mr. Gordon's case, the Government of the United States should guarantee that its citizens should for the future abstain from any infringement of the Canadian Customs regulations, and should pay to Canada, for the past infringement of the regulations, a compensation, the amount of which should be settled by arbitration.

This ended the official correspondence; the Ambassadors of each country were ordered home, and both sides prepared for war.

It is not for me to speak in laudatory terms of the manner in which the Canadian Generals conducted their operations during the campaign; but the most competent authorities have repeatedly expressed the opinion that the management could not have been surpassed. It was also not till then suspected that so much latent patriotism existed in Canada, or that the Government and people would act so well together. It was about the end of harvest that the war broke out, and measures were at once taken to secure and husband the crops, the exportation of which and also of cattle, was prohibited. It was wisely considered that this measure would prevent the inhabitants from suffering from starvation, and that eventually the people of England, deprived of Canadian beef and grain, would be forced to interfere on our behalf. The border settlements and villages were abandoned, and the inhabitants retired with all their properties to the populous centres. Bodies of troops were massed at the most available points along the border, and comparatively perfect communication established between them. Detachments of the regular army were stationed at the most vulnerable points, and to these the volunteers were gradually added, after they had been subjected to as severe and lengthy a course of discipline as the circumstances, especially the time, would permit. At the commencement of the war a number of retired military and militia men came out from

England and tendered their services, but at the instance of the President, the British Government intervened, and as far as they were able, prevented British subjects from violating a strict neutrality. The mechanics from the cities formed themselves into regiments, and so did the farmers in the agricultural districts, and in a word, all the Canadians capable of bearing arms volunteered for service and submitted themselves to a discipline of the most exacting character. The women formed themselves into guilds for the purpose of nursing the sick and wounded, or to make clothing for the soldiers; and hospitals and magazines were placed at intervals along the lines of railway.

The engineers were recalled from their labors on the Pacific Railway, and colleges are established at Quebec and Montreal to instruct them in the construction of fortifications, pontoons, and such other works as were required in aggressive and defensive warfare. As the time was exceedingly limited, and as it was necessary to make constant drafts upon the students of these institutions, it was impossible for them to obtain more than a mere smattering of information, but it is certainly remarkable that the members of the engineer corps were not one whit behind their brethren in the other branches of the service. The fleet, consisting of "The Sachem," a powerful ram; "The Conservative," a frigate; and the gun boats "Protection," "La Fontaine," "Sir George Cartier," and "The Beaver," were stationed at the mouth of the Gulf and the entrance of the Bay of Fundy until the close of the navigation, when the gun boats wintered in Halifax, and the others kept in harbor at Saint John. The Americans appeared to treat all these preparations with indifference, and, while they drafted a very considerable number of troops, did nothing of an aggressive nature, and seemed to consider that the Canadians could not be in earnest, but were only making a final flurry before the consummation of that grand scheme, so long expected, whereby the whole of North America should come under the Stars and Stripes.

The first actual hostilities were commenced in the far west by a handful of Canadian traders, who assembled a large force

of Indians, with whom were many brethren across the line. A raid was made by this body on the prairie farmers, and although a vigorous resistance was offered, the latter were utterly defeated. The attack was attended by so much wanton cruelty and brutality that our neighbors could stand it no longer, and a cry went up from the whole Union for revenge. I would refer to Van Heutsler's account of the winter campaign as affording to the enquirer ample means to inform himself of the successes and reverses of the two armies, for, although the author is a naturalized citizen of the United States, he shares none of the prejudices of the people among whom he lives, and writes with an evident desire to state nothing but the truth.

It is needless to tell of the contemplated simultaneous attacks upon Toronto and Montreal; of the defeat of General Freeman and his picked Detroit and Chicago regiments; of the retreat of our troops at Lennoxville, and of the brave stand which they and the reinforcements made at St. Hyacinthe, whence the pursuit of the American columns was only stayed by the greatest snow-storm ever known in Canada. The author to whom I have referred pictures both of these in a masterly manner, and in reading of the latter especially, you seem to hear the roar of the cannon and to see the flakes drifting and whirling before the wind in all their whiteness, and changing, as if by magic, into crimson when they find at last the battle-field. All the old order of things was reversed in this great struggle, for neither army went into winter quarters, but spent the long inclement season either in the field or in the border towns, the Canadians being mainly on the defensive, but now and then distinguishing themselves by bold dashes upon the enemy, gaining thereby, it must be confessed, rather glory than profit.

Thus the winter passed, with great loss of life on both sides, but with no decided advantage to either, unless indeed the respect which the Americans were forced to entertain for the military organization and the heroic conduct of the Canadians may be considered an advantage.

During the latter part of April and for the whole of May, a

dense fog hung beyond the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia, and, like a great dripping pall, covered the entire Province, the Western Islands and the Bay of Fundy, stretching inland over the coast line of Maine and New Brunswick. On the evening of the fifteenth day of May the vessels of the Canadian fleet, to which a corvette had been added, might have been descried a few miles distant from Grand Manan, looming through the mist, one by one dropping into appointed places. Early in the following morning a single gun was fired from The Conservative, and the vessels slowly steamed away in a single line, noiselessly, save for the whispered sound the long swash left in the wake of each, and vanished in the oozy air. Long before dawn on the seventeenth the people of Portland, Maine, were awakened by the boom of cannon, the whistling of rifle balls, and the bursting of shells. By mid-day the abandoned city was everywhere in flames, and the fleet was steaming off full speed for Boston. It seems almost incredible that the people of Maine were so entirely taken by surprise on this occasion, but it must be remembered that the eastern lines of telegraph were totally destroyed, that Eastport and the Maine coast were deserted, and that only a few venturesome fishermen were afloat on the waters through which the fleet made its way. Again, so carefully was the secret guarded that even I, who had the means of knowing every contemplated movement, was unaware of this. It is the belief of many to the present day that the Archon, the Duke of Parrsborough and Sir Louis Hebert the admiral, projected, and were alone aware of the scheme until the fleet sailed, and that from that time, only those on board the vessels could form any surmise as to their destination.

Had fortune been propitious a little longer, no one can tell what might have been the result. Alas for Canada! on the very day that Portland was in flames, the rupture between the North and South was healed, to the satisfaction of both parties, and Admiral Hailes with the whole United States fleet, and fully aware of the perils of his native State, was steaming rapidly to the eastward. Detaching five vessels, including his largest ram,

to assist the Bostonians, he made his way up the St. Lawrence, and on the second of June appeared before Quebec. Heroically did the garrison of that ancient city defend themselves, but when they learned that Toronto was in the hands of the enemy, and that the victorious army was marching upon Montreal, having destroyed the intervening towns and cut to pieces the intercepting Canadian columns, they accepted the honorable terms proposed, and surrendered.

The Commandant has been severely censured for not availing himself of a longer period of his position and opportunities. I cannot think that he deserved censure, and indeed had he persisted in his defence through the summer, as I grant he might have done, he would, in my opinion, have incurred a serious responsibility for the great loss of life which would have certainly ensued, while in the end he must have succumbed. It should be borne in mind that he had no chance whatever of relief from outside, and that the victorious army, marching from Toronto, consisted not of raw levies, as during the previous winter, but of tried soldiers recently from the South. Neither should it be forgotten that by the massacre at Kingston, Montreal was practically defenceless, as the city could expect no relief from the battalions at St. Hyacinth almost encompassed by the large and increasing forces of the enemy.

Had it not been that England and the United States were at the time on those friendly terms which have subsisted ever since, it is not improbable that, as a result of the war, Canada would have been absorbed by the Republic. England however exerted all her influence in our favor, and the King, who had a vivid remembrance of the reception extended to him by the people of the Provinces when he was Prince of Wales, sent an autograph letter to the President entreating, as a personal favor, that every possible indulgence might be extended to the Canadians in the final negotiations. The efforts of the British were far from being ineffectual, and although much was conceded by the Dominion, it was far less than had been anticipated. By the

treaty of Quebec however the Americans extended their boundaries to the western shore of the St. John River, obtained control of the navigation of the great Lakes and the River St. Lawrence, equal rights with the Canadians in the coast and deep sea Fisheries, and secured for British Columbia and Vancouver's Island a long sought independence. On the other hand, the United States, as I think with a good deal of magnanimity, undertook to prevent smuggling across the border as far as it was possible, it being admitted that the facilities created, by the acquisition of inland navigation, for the commission of this offence, rendered it more necessary than before to take steps for its prevention.

It would naturally be imagined that, after the national humiliation, the yielding of so great an extent of territory, and the surrender of such important advantages, the Canadian Government would have exhibited more modesty than before, and have shown an inclination to yield something to the people. It was not so however, and it soon became apparent that no means would be left untried to add to the powers of the favored classes, the recognized aristocracy, and the great manufacturers. Again, the French Conservatives, whose theories were entirely opposed to popular rights, year by year gained an influence which was alike irresistible and intolerable. This was largely due to the enormous emigration of English-speaking people which, beginning after the separation from England—when indeed an insignificant number only left the country—gradually increased to such an extent that, at the sacking of St. John, there were not more than two hundred thousand English or Anglo Americans in the Maritime Provinces. The French Liberals also removed in large numbers to Newfoundland and the United States, finding life simply unbearable in Canada. Again, as the French loan, to which I have referred, was mainly and necessarily repaid in land, which was put in the market in France, numbers of the people of that country, more especially believers in the hopeless claims of the Bourbons, eagerly purchased, and sought a country whose institutions surpassed their own ideal.

It soon became a crime to be a Liberal, and the greatest pains were taken to degrade the leaders of the Liberal party. An Act was passed changing the names of McKenzie, Cartwright, Huntington and Blake, by whomsoever borne, into Smith, so that the former patronymics should merge into one that was largely disseminated, and of itself, except with reference to a few instances, not offensively distinguished. For the same reason, parents, sponsors and ministers of religion were absolutely prohibited from baptizing or permitting any infant or person to be baptized by the name of Alexander, Richard, Lucius, Seth, or Edward. The Parliamentary enactments however were not many, for Parliament met only at intervals of five and seven years, and its functions indeed were largely abated by the system pursued of initiating and even absolutely allowing money grants in the Lords, who were sometimes summoned without the Commons.

I have stated that the French Conservative influence gradually increased, and I may here properly report a few of the results of this.

In the first place, the Divorce Court was abolished, and Bills presented to Parliament for divorce *a vinculo* were so persistently thrown out that very soon no person had the temerity to attempt to dissolve the marriage tie by this method. I am not entirely prepared to condemn the views of those who succeeded in preventing husbands and wives from absolutely separating from each other, because I know that much may be urged in their favor.

But I am unable to express any approval of the introduction of Ecclesiastics into the Courts, a system which has been generally and properly condemned for many reasons which are so obvious that they need scarcely be discussed. The most striking instance of the influence of the party will however be found in the Act for regulating and establishing religion. It must indeed be stated that the French Conservatives cannot claim this measure entirely as their own, for a certain Professor was probably responsible for an important part of its composition. This gentleman, although a Liberal Free Trader in England, was

a violent Tory Protectionist in Canada, and being a ready, though not a convincing writer, was greatly patronized by the Canadian Government. Possessing inordinate confidence in his own prescience, he indulged to a large extent in prophesying the future of Canada, and amongst other things, foretold that eventually all Canadians would be members of the Methodist Church. No one, unless perhaps an occasional extra sanguine class leader, placed much reliance in this expression of the somewhat over-productive seer; and probably no one was more surprised than he when his prophecy was half fulfilled. The French Conservatives, led by their priests, were perpetually clamoring for Church establishment in Canada, and although at first the resistance to their claims was very vigorous, it gradually became more feeble, and eventually entirely disappeared. The establishment of the Roman Church was of course implied, or rather, distinctly demanded, but the Protestant element was too strong to yield to quite so large a requisition. At length it was agreed that the Roman Church should be established in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, and that a Protestant Church, recognizing infant baptism and the fundamentals of religion, should be established in the West. Some time elapsed before a selection could be made, but as the Baptists were ineligible, and the Anglicans divided into stormy factions, and as the French could not tolerate the Calvinism of the Presbyterians, the Methodists, who formed a large and compact body, holding homogeneous views, and acting harmoniously together, eventually secured in the West the same position which the Roman Catholics obtained in the Eastern Provinces. It cannot be said that the Methodists gained much by the status which they acquired, and not improbably the French Prelates foresaw results which later days have developed. The acquisition of tithes and the accumulation of revenue begat a spirit of inertness among the laymen which was in no ways counteracted by the clergy, who, relieved from dependence on their congregations for support, rapidly became adepts in political intrigue, in hopes of procuring preferment, devoted no attention to the art of preaching, and neglected their

spiritual functions. In Toronto at the present day the temples of Eleusis and the halls of the secret societies are better attended than the churches, and the congregations in the tolerated schismatic churches are, I think, larger than those of the Establishment.

I have used the expression Roman Church to distinguish the religion of the French Conservatives from that of the English-speaking Protestants, but there are those who would have no hesitation in pronouncing the term in this connection a misnomer. I am not a theologian, and in vexed religious matters cannot pretend to call myself an authority. I am however justified in stating that, owing to various reasons, but especially to the strong opposition to the appointment of Irish Prelates in Canada, the Roman Catholic Irish have long held the opinion that the French Conservatives are unfaithful churchmen. I have some doubts whether the Irish are quite just in their views, but knowing the hatred of tyranny and the love of liberty which have always distinguished these people, I can well understand the opposition which they maintain against clerical assumptions, which, they contend, are put forward not for the benefit of the church, to which they are most warmly attached, or at its instance, but solely for political purposes.

Who would imagine that the country which, three centuries ago, was a howling wilderness, should now enjoy so many of the privileges of civilization? Let me enumerate a few of them:—titled aristocracy; established churches; entailed estates and large landed proprietors; thousands of tenants paying rents on unrenewable leases; game laws, and parks protected for the nobility; postal rates as high as in England during the reign of Elizabeth; a six hundred piastre freehold franchise; monopolies by the old or wealthy families of all offices; no public schools; the abolition of trial by jury; occasional sessions of Parliament; supervision of the press; a huge national debt; and last, but not least, the National Policy. And yet, with all these blessings, there are actually some Canadians who pretend that they are not happy.

I was not in the least surprised, and had some difficulty in pretending to be so, when Rick informed me that he and Alice were engaged. He was greatly alarmed lest I should consider this a misalliance, little guessing how much I appreciate modest worth. I am charmed with the termination of this short courtship, and Rick and Alice shall have between them, when I am no more, £70,000 at least, not in Canadian bonds, but in British consols, and I dare say that with economy they will be able to journey through life pretty comfortably.

12th September.—A black day in the annals of St. John and in my memory. On the day previous to the events which I am about to relate I was with the Marquis of Gagetown at Amherst. It was late in the evening, and we were about stepping into the train for Halifax, when a telegram was delivered to my superior. Although in general he possessed complete command over the expression of his face, his features on this occasion exhibited pain, dread and surprise, and handing me the message, he at once ordered the luggage to be taken back to the inn, and before I fully understood what had occurred, the train was off and we were standing on the platform of the station. The message came from the Prefect of St. John and was as follows:

"The citizens are up in arms. It is of the utmost importance that you should be here, and as soon as possible."

A special train was at once secured, but a clear track could not be obtained for some hours, and it was not till after midnight that we were on our way. Oh the agonies of that swift journey through the darkness: we two, sitting opposite each other, saying little, but thinking, aye, thinking till I at last believed I should go mad: he, doubtless troubled for the welfare of the country, and perhaps chiefly for the safety of his old constituents and quondam friends: I, not indeed utterly regardless of public matters, but thinking most of *her*. Yet I was not so self-absorbed that I failed to notice what transpired around me; indeed the most trivial matters attracted my full attention. And amid all my misery, I could scarcely refrain from laughing

aloud as I observed the Marquis jotting down column after column of figures, and working out the results. The worthy nobleman was indeed a worshipper of arithmetic, and I have no doubt that he fully believed that his calculations would restore harmony and happiness where discord and wretchedness now reigned, in the ill-fated city.

It was a dull, lowering morning when we reached Rothesay, and the branches of the trees were wet and dripping from the drizzle of the preceding night. A couple of detachments of mounted rifles met us, and from the officer in charge we learned many more particulars than those obtained on the road. The conflict between the citizens and the soldiery had been severe, and it was estimated that fully eight hundred of the former had fallen, although it was difficult to say how many of these were killed and how many wounded. Of the military, one hundred and ninety-four were reported dead or missing, and one hundred and seventy-three wounded.

It was a weird, dreary looking sky above us, and dark scud was moving slowly towards the north. The fog horn and the surf bell sounded ominously from the water, and the guns from Red Head battery proclaimed a muffled welcome to the fleet which we learned was just entering the harbor.

The military guarded all the approaches to the city, for there was some fear of the yeomanry of King's County; and we saw none other than soldiers till we reached the Court House.

Never till life ends shall I forget that fearful picture. On the one side, the soldiers drawn up in solid ranks with fixed bayonets, prepared at any moment to renew their bloody work. On the other side, the towns-folk, chiefly men, but some women and many boys, wretched yet defiant, and with countenances that betokened mingled feelings of ferocity and despair. And I noted many with bandages, and with arms in slings and streaks of red upon their faces.

Then there was that single speaker upon the Court House steps, now beseeching, now reasoning, but ever falling back on

those interminable calculations, and I must confess with such effect on me that I almost began to think that surely he was the only one who saw realities, and that all the suffering and injustice of which we heard so much were shams.

Yet even he could not have believed all he said, for suddenly he changed his tone, and in the most earnest manner, promised a readjustment of tariff, and redress for everything of which his dear friends, the people, had reason to complain.

A sharp report! I turned and saw the man who fired: great heavens, it was *her* father! I looked for the Marquis and saw a figure falling into outstretched arms. A howl, followed by a rattle of musketry, and all was sound and smoke and misery and frenzy.

A knock! How it startled me: and yet I think that, half unconsciously, I heard it twice before. It is only Alice, who tells me that her aunt is dying, and wishes to see me.

I make a note of this, because it may explain any difference between what is written and what is to follow.

N. B.—I must relate the remainder of my story more calmly.

NOTE.—My poor friend's Narrative ends here, and the final words are indeed the last which he ever wrote. Why he did not continue his labors I might explain at length, but it would be a sad task. I therefore content myself with furnishing, by way of explanation, the following translations of extracts from "Le Courrier de St. Jean" newspaper of 13th September, 1927.

E. D.

"It is our melancholy duty to announce the death of Mr. Ryerson, which occurred yesterday morning. The deceased died suddenly, and was found by his nephew—who had conversed with him only an hour before—sitting in his chair with his head bent forward on the table, quite dead. Mr. Ryerson, who has been largely connected with public life in Canada, was an Englishman by birth, but a Canadian in feeling. Politically he was an ardent Blue, and an uncompromising opponent of that party which fortunately no longer raises its cursed head. He was a man of great culture and excellent judgment, and will

be greatly missed by the promising young Nobleman for whom he acted as Secretary. We shall refer to the history of the deceased more fully in our next."

"On the same day, and almost at the same hour as those on which the death of Mr. Ryerson occurred, and strange to say, in the same building as that in which he died—the granite Bourse—an elderly and well known lady departed this life. It has been currently reported that Miss Morton, as she was called, was in reality the daughter of the detestable would be assassin of the first Marquis of Gagetown. There is some reason to believe that the report is true, but if it is, we will do the deceased the justice to state, that, by her amiable conduct and her constant active charity, which was particularly noticeable in a heretic, she did much to efface the black mark of her origin."