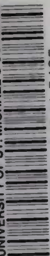

The History of Canada

Clement

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THE CANADIAN FLAG AND COAT OF ARMS.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DOMINION OF CANADA

BY

W. H. P. CLEMENT, B.A., LL.B.

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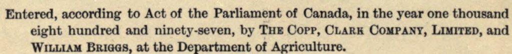
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PREFACE.

The subject of Canadian history has been usually treated in the text-books authorized in elementary and secondary schools from a Provincial rather than a Dominion standpoint. Such works at best do not meet our present need, as they necessarily fail to give adequate recognition to all sections of the country, and as they often contain exaggerated notions of provincial matters. It was thought by many teachers that this mode of treatment should be changed and a wider view presented of the history and consolidation of the Dominion.

In 1889 the Quebec Provincial Association of Teachers discussed the feasibility of preparing a history of Canada with this object in view, and in the following year the Teachers' Associations of Ontario, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia, also considered the same subject. In July, 1891, representatives of the different provinces met at the Education Department in Toronto, for a further consideration of the question. Nevertheless, it was not until July, 1892, at the meeting of the Dominion Educational Association in Montreal, that a scheme was formulated for the preparation of a text-book by competition, and a committee was appointed to examine such manuscripts as might be offered. The committee consisted of Hon. George W. Ross, LL.D., Minister of Education for Ontario, Chairman; and W. Patterson, M.A., B.C.L., Principal of Royal Arthur School, Montreal, Secretary, and the following representatives of the provinces and territories:— R. E. Gosnell, Esq., Provincial Librarian, Victoria, B.C.; D. J. Goggin, M.A., Superintendent of Education, Regina, N.W.T.; D. McIntyre, M.A., Superintendent of Schools, Winnipeg, Man.; W. J. Robertson, B.A., LL.B., Principal of the Collegiate Institute, St. Catharines, Ont.; Benjamin Sulte, the well-known historian, Ottawa, Ont.; S. P. Robins, M.A., LL.D., Principal of McGill Normal School, Montreal; G. U. Hay, Ph.B., Principal of Victoria High School, St. John, N.B.; J. B. Hall, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of the Normal School,

Truro, N.S., and Alexander Anderson, LL.D., Principal of Prince of Wales College, Charlottetown, P.E.I.

In 1893 the governments of the provinces unitedly contributed the sum of two thousand dollars to cover the expense of the undertaking, each paying in proportion to the number of schools under its control. In July of that year the "Dominion History Competition" was opened. It was limited to British subjects who could produce satisfactory evidence of literary ability. Though ninety persons volunteered, only forty-six were permitted to write. When the competition closed on July 1st, 1895, fifteen had completed their task. The committee spent the next ten months in selecting the best manuscript, and this volume is the one to which it awarded the first place.

It will be observed that, while substantial prominence is given to important facts of a provincial character, the object of the author has been so to converge his narrative as to direct the mind of the reader to the federation of the provinces under the British North America Act of 1867, and in this way unite the various currents of provincial history into the broader channel of the Dominion. There was in some respects a community of interests between the provinces even long before Confederation. Now, since they are happily united under one system of government, they share more intimately in a common destiny. To that union of the interests, as well as of the patriotic sentiments and aspirations of all Canadians, attention is thoughtfully directed, with a view to impress upon our future citizens that we not only have a united country, but are a united people. It is to be hoped that the story of our Dominion, which in the following pages we believe is simply and faithfully told, will help to convey a fair and inspiring impression of the grandeur and importance of the heritage committed to us as Canadians and as citizens of the British Empire. At no more fitting time could this book be introduced to the schools of Canada than in this Jubilee year.

W. PATTERSON,
Secretary of Committee.

ROYAL ARTHUR SCHOOL,
Montreal, June 22nd, 1897.

CONTENTS.

Chapter		Page
I.	"The New Fonde Londe Quhar Men Goeth A-Fisching"	1
II.	The Indian Tribes of Canada	9
III.	The Founder of New France	14
IV.	The Hundred Associates—Jesuit Missions	23
V.	Talon (1665-1672)	32
VI.	Threatened Destruction	40
VII.	The Great Onontio	45
VIII.	Queen Anne's War	52
IX.	Thirty Years of Uneasy Peace	56
X.	The War of the Austrian Succession	63
XI.	On the Edge of the Storm	66
XII.	New France in Danger	74
XIII.	The Fall of New France	81
XIV.	Military Rule	90
XV.	Government under the King's Proclamation	94
XVI.	The Quebec Act, 1774	99
XVII.	The Maritime Provinces (1758-1774)	102
XVIII.	The American Revolution	106
XIX.	Canada Under the Quebec Act	117
XX.	The United Empire Loyalists	121
XXI.	The Constitutional Act, 1791	128
XXII.	Increase of Population (1791-1812)	131
XXIII.	Fur Trade and the North-West Passage	136
XXIV.	Lower Canada (1791-1812)	143

Chapter		Page
XXV.	Upper Canada (1791-1812)	149
XXVI.	The Maritime Provinces (1783-1812)	154
XXVII.	The War of 1812	158
XXVIII.	Material Progress (1815-1840)	178
XXIX.	The Rule of the Executive	185
XXX.	Executive Abuses	193
XXXI.	The Struggle for Religious Liberty	200
XXXII.	Lower Canada to 1837	207
XXXIII.	Upper Canada (1815-1837)	216
XXXIV.	New Brunswick (1815-1837)	222
XXXV.	Nova Scotia (1815-1837)	225
XXXVI.	The North-West and New Caledonia	230
XXXVII.	Outbreaks in Canada	237
XXXVIII.	"A New and Improved Constitution"	244
XXXIX.	Prince Edward Island (1815-1840)	249
XL.	Union of the Two Canadas	252
XLI.	Responsible Government Inaugurated	255
XLII.	A Time of Trial	265
XLIII.	Increasing Autonomy	274
XLIV.	Commercial Expansion	278
XLV.	Political History (1848-1864)	284
XLVI.	Prince Edward Island (1840-1867)	294
XLVII.	"The Great Lone Land" (1835-1867)	299
XLVIII.	Confederation	305
XLIX.	"From Ocean to Ocean"	314
L.	Our System of Government	324
LI.	On Trial (1867-1878)	328
LII.	United Progress	333

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
HISTORY OF CANADA
1500 - 1763

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HISTORY OF CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

"THE NEW FONDE LONDE QUHAR MEN GOETH A-FISCHING."

Europe in the Middle Ages.—The period from the fifth to the fifteenth century is known in European history as the Middle Ages. During all these years, petty nobles with their bands of feudal retainers fought continually with each other for possession of the soil of Europe. Might was right. Those who were weak were despoiled of their lands ; those who were strong became lords of extensive domains. All who tilled the soil were tenants of some such lord, and were in duty bound to follow his banner to the wars. In any interval of peace, they were ground down at home. Of learning there was none, save in the quiet cloisters of the monasteries. Only to a learned few had the notion come of a round world. To the ignorant many the earth was flat, and the sun sank each night beyond an impassable waste. Of a land to the west beyond the Atlantic they had no conception.

The Northmen—Marco Polo.—In the ninth century the Vikings of Norway took possession of Iceland. From this island, early in the eleventh century, two adventurous sailors, Lief and Bjorn, made a voyage far to the south-west, and, it is claimed, planted a colony on what is now Rhode Island. The hostility of the Skraelings (natives) led to the breaking up of this settlement, and soon its story became a mere tradition among the Northmen. In the thirteenth century a young Venetian, Marco Polo, journeyed east from Europe, and, after many years' absence, brought back (about 1295) a tale of fabulous wealth in a far country which he called Cathay. After his death his written narrative was known to monkish scholars, and the story was told as an old "sailor's yarn" among the mariners of the Mediterranean.

2

The Renaissance.—During the latter years of the fifteenth century western Europe slowly emerged from the mists of the Middle Ages. Out of the confused strife of the feudal nobility certain families had risen to power—the Tudor in England, the Valois in France, and the united houses of Aragon and Castile in Spain. In these separate kingdoms the lesser nobles were put down. Government was centralized, and intestine strife gave place to larger national wars. Men breathed more freely. Learning became more general, and a spirit of inquiry was abroad. It was the era of the Renaissance—the "new birth" of the arts and sciences.

Discovery of America—The North Neglected.—In no department was this new-born zeal followed by more startling results than in the department of maritime discovery. The nations lying around the Mediterranean led the van. The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus (A.D. 1492) was the result of an attempt to reach the "Far Cathay" of Marco Polo by sailing west. This golden Orient lay—so the rumor ran—in southern seas, and the tide of exploration which followed Columbus tended, therefore, to the south rather than to more northern latitudes. For more than thirty years after Columbus first landed on one of the outlying islands of the New World, what lay to the north was largely mere conjecture.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

John Cabot.—At first, it is true, some attention was turned to the north. Henry VII. of England was unwilling that Spain should reap all the glory and profit of western discovery; and so, in 1497, he commissioned a Venetian navigator, John Cabot, then a trading citizen of Bristol, to sail north-westerly, in the hope that in that direction perchance a way to Asia might be found. But,

though plain John Cabot became Sir John Cabot in requital for his services upon this voyage, it has never been made quite clear what part of our coast he visited. The same uncertainty surrounds the voyage of his son Sebastian in the following year.

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

Cortereal.—Portugal, too, turned her attention toward the north; and in the year 1500 sent thither Cortereal, one of her most renowned sea-captains, upon a voyage of discovery. His route also is doubtful. The name Labrador (slave-land) has come down to us from his time, for he carried back with him from that region a cargo of Indians and sold them into slavery. The story of rock-bound coasts, of fog and cold, brought back by Cabot and Cortereal, contained little to favor the notion that Cathay—a land of golden warmth—lay in the direction they had gone, and accordingly English and Portuguese navigators joined those of Spain in more southerly voyages.

The Fishermen of the Banks.—There was much national rivalry in the race for the new lands in the west. Columbus, the Cabots, Cortereal, and many others sailed under royal commissions. They were official explorers. Each was under orders to take possession for his sovereign of all the lands he might discover. A very different class of men soon found their way into those "mists of the mighty Atlantic" which lie off the coasts of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. In the north-western seaports of France lived Norman and Breton fishermen, who plied their hazardous calling upon the rocky coasts of the French provinces of Picardy, Normandy and Brittany. To them came tidings of the new lands to the west. In a spirit of hardihood born of their daily life they put out to sea in search of this new shore. Some say they reached it even before Cabot. This much seems clear, that at least as early as 1504 the cod fishery of the Newfoundland Banks—our oldest industry—had its beginning.

A Growing Industry.—The French king, Louis XII., was

at this time much occupied in Italian wars. While he and his nobles were thus engaged to the south-east of his kingdom, the fishermen of the north-western coasts were free to pursue their calling in peace, and the fisheries of the Banks soon became an established industry. English and Portuguese fishermen, and fishermen from the Basque provinces lying around the south-eastern angle of the Bay of Biscay, joined in this pursuit. The history of Canada during the sixteenth century is but the story of the toil, year after year, of the fishermen who frequented its shores.

Fishing stations and harbors of refuge were established. Various places on the coast of Newfoundland still bear the names then given them. The Bretons gave their name to a headland of one of the islands, and the island itself is now known as Cape Breton. On one old map the new region is quaintly described as "The New Fonde Londe quhar men goeth a-fisching."

Early Knowledge of the St. Lawrence.—Within the Straits of Belle Isle was the fishing station of Brest, and before long the shores of the gulf behind Newfoundland—which we know

as the Gulf of St. Lawrence—became familiar to these hardy sailors. It is claimed that at least two of them—Denys and Aubert—had found their way well up the St. Lawrence before 1510. Certain it is that knowledge of the gulf had in some way reached the map-maker Sylvanus in 1511, for in his map of that year the "Square Gulf" (*Golfo quadrado*) is outlined, lying to the west of Newfoundland.

Verrazano.—In 1515 Francis I. came to the throne of France. He was ambitious to gain for her a share in the golden stream which was flowing into the coffers of Spain from her new discoveries in the west. In 1524 he commissioned Verrazano to voyage into those parts and secure a portion of this western world for France. Verrazano coasted along the shore from Florida to what is now the State of Maine, and called it all New France. He reported that the streams flowing into the Atlantic were all small. Hence, it is supposed, arose the notion of a narrow barrier of land with, behind it, the Sea of Verrazano—a notion which lasted for many years among the map-makers and scholars of Europe.

The Master Pilot of St. Malo.—To find a way through to this Sea of Verrazano and so reach Cathay was the ardent wish of Francis I. His conflict with his great rival, Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, gave him, however, but scant leisure to turn his thoughts beyond the Atlantic. Not until 1534 was he able to send another official explorer to investigate the waters behind the new-found land off which his subjects fished. What more natural than to choose a leader for the expedition from among the men of St. Malo, whose fishermen knew the region well? And who more capable than Jacques Cartier, master pilot? In 1534 Cartier sailed through the Straits of Belle Isle, and coasted down the western shore of Newfoundland. From its rugged sterility he concluded that "this must be the land which God allotted to Cain."

JACQUES CARTIER.

Circling around to the New Brunswick shore, he was delighted with the soil and climate there. In July he visited, and from its heat named, the Bay of Chaleur. At Gaspé he set up a huge cross in token of French sovereignty over these regions. There also he kidnapped two Indians, natives, as he afterwards learned, of a region higher up the St. Lawrence. These he carried with him to France.

In some way Cartier, on his first voyage, failed to find the entrance to the St. Lawrence River. His fellow-townsmen, the fishermen of St. Malo, aided perhaps by the two Indian captives, were able to convince him that although he had missed the passage through to the west, the passage was nevertheless there. Next year, accordingly, with three ships he again headed for the Straits of Belle Isle. That his aim was to find a salt-water passage through to Verrazano's sea and so on to Asia is clear; for when, after passing Anticosti, he learned from his two Indians that higher up he would reach fresh water, he turned back along the northern shore to find perchance an overlooked salt-water passage. Finding none, he again turned westward.

Cartier discovers "Canada."—Above the Island of Orleans—called by Cartier the Isle of Bacchus, from its luxuriant growth of grapes—was the Indian town of Stadacona, situated just behind the site of the present city of Quebec, on what is now the St. Charles River. Here dwelt Donnacona, king (as the Frenchmen called him) of the surrounding country, and from him Cartier learned that farther west lay the still larger town of Hochelaga. The territory from Hochelaga to the gulf was apparently divided into three districts—Hochelaga, CANADA and Saguenay. Here first we meet the name now borne by our Dominion. It is a word of Huron-Iroquois origin, meaning a town or collection of Indian dwellings. In Cartier's time it was used to designate a small inhabited region on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. Afterwards it was applied to the entire valley watered by that stream and its tributaries. Now it brings before the mind our great confederation of self-governing provinces, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, fitted we know and destined we trust to be the home of many happy millions.

Hochelaga.—During the autumn of 1535 Cartier with a number of his followers visited Hochelaga. This Indian town,

populous and strongly defended after the Iroquois fashion by a triple palisade, lay where now lies a city, of more than 250,000 inhabitants, bearing the name given by Cartier to the lofty hill behind it—Montreal (Mont Royal). The Indians of Hochelaga were of Huron-Iroquois stock. Cartier and his friends, being deemed of celestial origin, met with a very hospitable reception. Returning to Stadacona, they spent the winter in a rude fort on the shores of the St. Croix, that being the name given by Cartier to the stream which we know as the St. Charles. Scurvy carried off many of his men, and in the spring of 1536 he returned to France with a sadly diminished crew, taking with him, however, Chief Donnacona and some of his tribe, whom he had treacherously seized.

Pioneer French Settlers.—The French king was again at war with his great rival, and not until 1541 was Cartier able to revisit the new world. In that year Francis I., with a view to a more formal assertion of his claim, planned to settle a colony in New France. Roberval was appointed viceroy, with wide powers for its government. Cartier was named as captain-general to lead the colonists to their new home. Roberval delaying, Cartier sailed without him in the spring of 1541, planted the colony above Quebec near the promontory of Cap Rouge, and called the place Charlesbourg Royal. Donnacona had died in France, and in consequence his tribesmen of Stadacona looked with some distrust upon the Frenchmen. After another visit to Hochelaga—doubtless to inquire further for a passage-way to Cathay—Cartier and his colonists settled down for the winter in Charlesbourg Royal. Roberval failed to appear with supplies; and cold, disease and famine so discouraged these pioneers that with the opening spring those who survived fled with Cartier back to France. Roberval came out with other colonists in 1542; but, after two winters spent among the now unfriendly Indians, they, too, returned home (1544).

Growing Importance of New France.—During all the remaining years of the sixteenth century Old France was torn by war, and no man in public life there had much time to think of the New France across the Atlantic. But New France was not abandoned. Year after year the Norman, Breton and Basque fishermen spent the season on the Banks of Newfoundland, and

English, Spanish and Portuguese fishermen also plied their calling there. In the opening months of the year sometimes as many as two ships a day would sail from French ports for the fishing grounds, and several hundred vessels of various nationalities might be counted at one time in some of the harbors of refuge along the Newfoundland shore. Before the close of the century the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia and the shores of the Bay of Fundy had also become fairly well known to these hardy fishermen, who, in imitation of the Indians, called the region *Acadie*.

The Fur Trade Opened.—Gradually there grew up a traffic in furs with the Indians whom these fishermen met along the coast from Belle Isle to the Bay of Fundy, and on the shores within the gulf. From as far south as the Potomac the Indians came to the fishing regions to exchange their peltry for gaudy trinkets from Europe. Ivory, too, from the tusks of the walrus was much sought after. The trade was very profitable, and bitter hostility was shown toward all who attempted to procure from the king a monopoly of it. Even Cartier's nephew was forced to surrender a monopoly granted him in 1588, under which the Cartier family carried on a fur trade far up the St. Lawrence. The knowledge gained by the fishermen and fur traders did not, however, find its way to the map-makers of Europe. Until the close of the sixteenth century, Jacques Cartier's narrative, with its accompanying charts (since lost), was the sole basis of those curious maps of the St. Lawrence gulf and river region which have come down to our time.

England's Oldest Colony.—Ever since the time of the Cabots, England had claimed Newfoundland as her own, and had exercised a mild protectorate over the fishing stations there. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert took formal possession of the island for Elizabeth of England, basing her claim upon its discovery by the Bristol navigator eighty-six years before. Sir Humphrey was lost on the return voyage.

The Pacific Coast.—Meanwhile, to the south, Spain had been pushing her search for the Southern Seas. In 1513 Balboa crossed the isthmus of Panama and, first of Europeans, looked out upon the waters of the Pacific Ocean. In 1518 Mexico was discovered, and three years later Cortez overturned its ancient civilization and made it a Spanish vice-royalty. Magellan, a

Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, passed in 1820 through the straits which bear his name, thus opening a western way to the Orient and a route by sea to the Spanish possessions on the Pacific coast of North America. In 1537 California was discovered by Cortez, and Spanish captains explored its coasts.

Early Voyages Northward.—The great English navigator, Sir Francis Drake, visited this region in 1578-1579. Inspired by love of booty and hatred of the Spaniards, he plundered and burned their cities, and took and rifled their galleons. He then sailed along the coast from the Spanish possessions northward as far, so some claim, as Queen Charlotte Islands and called it all New Albion. Drake's success inspired other English adventurers, notably the famous Cavendish, who in 1587 followed Drake's course around the Horn, and again ravished the "Spanish Main." But, with the exception of the voyage (1592) of Juan de Fuca, a Greek pilot in the service of the Spanish viceroy of Mexico, to the straits which bear his name, no authentic record remains of any visit to what is now the coast of British Columbia prior to Captain Cook's third voyage in 1778; so that for many years to come attention may be confined to the Atlantic coast and the progress of discovery and settlement there.

CHAPTER II.

THE INDIAN TRIBES OF CANADA.

Indian Tradition Vague.—The history of the Indian prior to the discovery of America rests on mere tradition. To him the art of writing was unknown. Even for what took place between Cartier's visits and the end of the sixteenth century we have only vaguest legend. From the year 1600 onward, however, we have records, more or less trustworthy, of the various conflicts between the European and the Indian in the different regions into which settlers, fur traders and explorers pushed their way.

Eastern Groups.—Two main groups, speaking languages radically distinct, were found by the earliest northern colonists. These were the Algonquin and the Huron-Iroquois, the latter so named from its two most important members. In each of these

groups there were numerous tribes, differing, sometimes slightly, sometimes very markedly, in dialect. The Huron-Iroquois stood at the top of the Indian social scale. They lived within well-marked limits, had a rude political system, and took some part of their living from the soil. The Algonquins, almost without exception, lived by the chase alone, and were in consequence more nomadic in their habits.

Huron-Iroquois Group—(1) The Iroquois.—The Iroquois occupied a stretch of country from the Hudson River westward up the Mohawk, and across what is now the State of New York, nearly to the Niagara River. They were of five distinct tribes, named (in order from the east) Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, all joined together in loose political union, with a common council-fire at Onondaga. They were further interlaced by a system of clanship, running through all the tribes and yet distinct from the tribal connection. Each of the seven or eight clans bore the name of some animal, a picture of which was frequently rudely daubed upon the houses of its members. This was known as the *totem* of the clan. We read of the clans of the Bear, the Wolf, the Turtle, and others.

These five tribes together are sometimes called "Indians of the Long-House," their wide stretching confederacy being likened to a typical Iroquois dwelling. The sides of these dwellings were formed of two rows of upright saplings bent over at the top to form an arch, and bound strongly together with cross saplings. Along the whole of this framework a covering of bark was laid nearly to the top, much after the modern clapboard fashion. These dwellings varied in length from 30 to 150 feet, and were usually about 20 feet in width. In each of them lived a number of families, each group of four having a common fire. Thus down the centre there would be a row of these fires, the smoke from which found escape through the space left open along the top.

At a time when rivers and creeks were the only highways, and the canoe was the only carriage, the natural advantage of the Iroquois' position was very marked. They occupied a central watershed, the streams from which gave them outlets for hunting or war in every direction—westward to the valley of the Ohio, southward and south-eastward to the Atlantic seaboard, and northward by Lake Ontario and the water system of Lake Champlain

to the entire valley of the St. Lawrence. Along the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and down both sides of the St. Lawrence to the rapids of Lachine, there was primeval forest to the water's edge. In fact, the country of the Iroquois was surrounded on all sides by a stretch of wilderness through which they hunted in savage mastery.

(2) The Neutrals.—Of kin to these were the Indians of the Neutral nation, whose home lay along the north shore of Lake Erie and stretched eastward across the Niagara River into the State of New York. Their name denotes the position they occupied when first brought into contact with the French. They stood neutral between the Iroquois confederacy and the Huron tribes.

(3) The Hurons.—These occupied the region between Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay. They lived in palisaded villages, and in population are sometimes placed as high as 30,000. They tilled the soil, and carried on a rude traffic as middlemen between the Neutral and Tobacco nations on the one hand, and the tribes of the Ottawa valley on the other, exchanging the corn of the former for the furs of the latter. The Tobacco nation lived among the Blue Mountains to the west of the Hurons, and were in close alliance with them against the Iroquois, their common foe. Indian corn was the chief agricultural product of all these tribes, and we have many amusing accounts of the different styles in which this cereal was served. The usual form was "sagamite," a kind of porridge mixed with scraps of game or fish.

The Algonquin Group.—The other main group of eastern Indians was the Algonquin, the numerous tribes of which lay in a wide circle around the Huron-Iroquois centre. Beginning as far south as Virginia, they occupied the Atlantic seaboard and stretched through New England, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, along the northern heights of the lower St. Lawrence valley, thence up the Ottawa, past Lake Nipissing, and across the head of the Georgian Bay and Lake Huron to Lake Superior; thence down the western shore of Lake Michigan, through Illinois, Michigan and Ohio, they extended in a wide circle even into Kentucky.* With the exception

* TRIBAL DIVISIONS.—They were known by various names—*Abenakis* in Maine, *Micmacs* in Nova Scotia and eastern New Brunswick, *Etchemins* or *Malacites* in western New Brunswick, *Montagnais* between the lower St. Lawrence and Hudson Bay, *Atticamegues* behind Three Rivers, *La Petite Nation* and *Nation de l'Isle* on

of the more southerly tribes of New England and a few in Acadia, the whole of this Algonquin group lived entirely by the chase. Their dwellings were mere temporary wigwams, easily put up and easily abandoned. To gorge in summer and starve in winter seems to have been their usual lot. In consequence of the furious enmity of the Iroquois, the Hurons had been forced into alliance with the Algonquin tribes to the north and north-east of the Huron country. To these the River Ottawa (then called the River of the Algonquins) was the great highway by which the furs of these northerly regions were brought to the rendezvous at Montreal or to Three Rivers.

Western Groups.—Beyond the great lakes were various groups of Dakotah stock. On the head waters of the Mississippi were the Sioux, a group of fierce tribes sometimes called the Iroquois of the Plains. North of these, in what is now Manitoba, were the Assiniboels. Farther west, the various tribes of the Crees hunted the buffalo over our north-western prairies. The Chippewyans occupied the more northerly region around the Great Slave Lake and Lake Athabaska. Beyond the Rockies were numerous tribes, forming a group to which, of late years, the name Mongoloid has been given to denote their likeness to the Mongolians of northern Asia. Many years, however, were to elapse before Europeans came into contact with these western groups.

The Esquimaux.—On our Arctic slope, living in snow-built huts, are the simple but picturesque Esquimaux. Through the opening up of the Hudson Bay region they became well known early in our history. Being of a very peaceful disposition, they offered no opposition to European exploration and settlement. Their stout, fur-clad figures, their dog-trains, and the "blubber" (walrus fat) on which they live, have become familiar to us through stories of Arctic adventure.

Character and Habits.—To the early Europeans the Indian was not an attractive figure. They describe him as of unclean habits and without morals. Master of woodcraft, he was seen at

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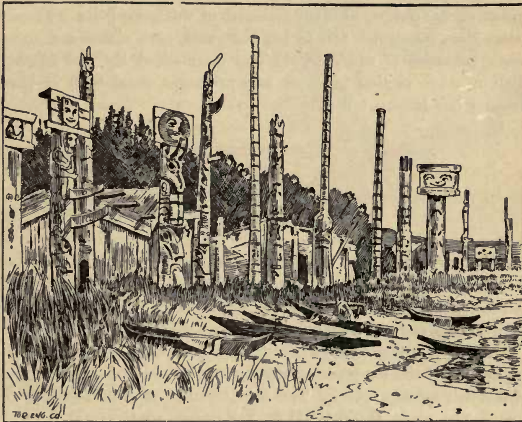
and north of the Ottawa, and *Nipissings* around the lake of that name. To the west, at the outlet of Lake Superior, were the *Ottawas* and *Ojibways*. Down the western shore of Lake Michigan were many tribes, *Foxes, Sacs, Menomenees, Winnebagos*. The *Illinois* and *Miamis* through Michigan and southern Ohio completed the circle. The name Algonquin is sometimes given to a single tribe on the upper reaches of the Ottawa, but it belongs properly to the entire group.

his best when hunting. Upon the war-path he was cruel, tomahawking, scalping and torturing with fiendish ingenuity. A stoic fortitude when himself tortured was about his only heroic quality. In his own village among his own clansmen he spent his time in gambling, story-telling, or taking part in some rude feast. In his domestic life the Indian was not without virtues, and his squaw and papooses were treated with a somewhat rough and careless kindness. To his tribe he was usually faithful, though to his foes false



INDIAN VILLAGE, WITH TOTEM POLES, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

and crafty. Indian religion was purest superstition, peopling forest, stream and air with supernatural beings, both good and evil. Every manifestation of nature was the work of some particular deity. Of one God over all he seems to have had no idea, and his notion of heaven was of a happy hunting-ground where departed spirits would have full enjoyment of every sensual and savage desire.

Wampum Belts.—As already stated, the Indians knew not the art of writing. Rough pictures, drawn on the bark of trees,

served to convey ideas when this could not be done by word of mouth or appropriate gesture. Wampum belts, however, were their official documents, by means of which communication between tribes was carried on. In earlier years a wampum belt was made of many-colored shells sewn together, often with extreme skill and nicety. Afterwards, cheap beads from Europe took the place of the shells. These belts varied in width, and were often many feet in length. By the arrangement of the beads a meaning was given them. Every savage embassy carried its message of peace or war portrayed upon a cluster of wampum belts. Treaties were thus preserved, for, as has been said, each clause and almost each sentence of every treaty was punctuated by one of these belts. Men skilled in their interpretation stood high in honor among the Indian tribes.

CHAPTER III.

THE FOUNDER OF NEW FRANCE.

Renewed Efforts Toward Colonization.—With the return of peace to France toward the close of the sixteenth century, public attention was again turned to the New World. Henry IV., better known as Henry of Navarre, determined that another effort should be made to colonize New France, and to that end he offered a monopoly of the fur trade to anyone who would undertake to plant a French colony there. The first attempt to establish a settlement was made (1600-1601) at Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay, to which spot the Montagnais Indians long resorted, even from the shores of Hudson Bay. But the rigor of the Tadoussac winter prevented any permanent European settlement there, and the place became a mere summer trading-post.

Champlain.—In 1603 an expedition was sent out to find, if possible, a suitable site for settlement farther up the St. Lawrence. With this expedition went one who has been well called the Founder of New France—Samuel Champlain. He was first of official explorers after Jacques Cartier, and by his published narratives and charts he soon made known to Europe the geography of that New France to which for so many years the traders of the

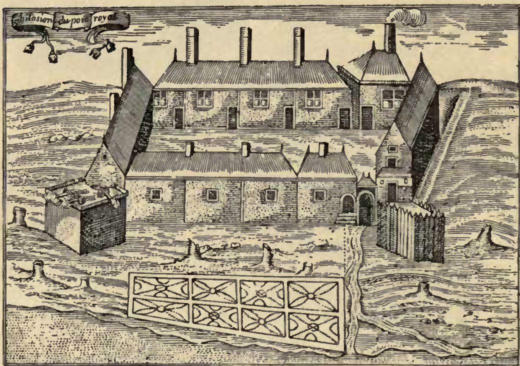
north had resorted for fish and fur. But his ambition went far beyond the mere making of maps of known regions; his ever-cherished hope was to find the long-sought passage through to China. On his first voyage to Canada in 1603 Champlain made a survey of the river as far up as Jacques Cartier had ventured over sixty years before. Stadacona was gone, Hochelaga had vanished, and Indians of Algonquin stock roamed over the country which formerly the Huron-Iroquois had ruled from their palisaded towns. Champlain heard from these Algonquins vague stories of the streams and lakes beyond the rapids of Lachine (Sault St. Louis). But, although he was delighted with the region through which he passed, he made no attempt on this occasion to establish a settlement.

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN.

Acadia Founded.—Meanwhile a French noble named de Monts had secured a monopoly of the fur trade. His scheme of colonization was planned for Acadia (*Acadie*), by which name Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and a great part of the State of Maine were for many years known. Champlain was again sent by the king with the expedition, which was led by de Monts in person. There were also on board others of the French *noblesse*, besides artisans, laborers and clergymen, both Catholic and Protestant, for the colony was to be founded on the principle of religious freedom. Along the southern shore of what is now Nova Scotia, a trading-ship in command of one Rossignol, trading in breach of de Monts' monopoly, was taken as lawful prize, and to this day the name of the unlucky captain appears upon the map of Nova Scotia. Poutrincourt, one of the gentlemen of the expedition, was particularly pleased with the scene which lay before the ship's company in Annapolis Basin (called by them Port Royal), and he persuaded de Monts to grant to him the surrounding country.

The colony itself, however, was first planted on the rocky island

of St. Croix (now Doucett's or Neutral Island), at the mouth of the River St. Croix, which forms part of the present boundary line between New Brunswick and the State of Maine. Here a somewhat pretentious array of fort, barracks, and officers' quarters was constructed. Here, too, after a summer spent in exploring the coast, Champlain wintered (1604-1605) with de Monts and his colonists. Penned in upon the small island, the little company fell a prey to scurvy, and nearly one-half of them were dead before spring. After a vain search southward along the New England shore for a spot to their liking, it was determined to remove the colony to Port Royal, where, after erecting the necessary buildings, the diminished colony passed the next two years.



CHAMPLAIN'S SKETCH OF PORT ROYAL.

Life at Port Royal.—In the summer of 1607 Port Royal was enlivened by the coming of one Marc Lescarbot, to whose pen we are indebted for a graphic picture of life in this the only white settlement then in North America. Champlain explored all summer, making charts of the bays and harbors. Lescarbot tilled the soil, and wrote his book. When winter came (1606-1607), the company was organized into the "Good Time Club" with the result, as Lescarbot tells us, that the little colony fared as

sumptuously as if in Paris on the fish and game with which the district abounded.

The Colony Abandoned.—With the spring of 1607 bad news came; de Monts' monopoly had fallen before the attacks of the angry merchants of St. Malo. As the profits of this monopoly were the sole support of the colony, the colonists had perforce to abandon Port Royal and return to France. In 1610, however, Poutrincourt again came out to Acadia with a fresh supply of colonists, who found the old buildings still standing and the Indians delighted at the return of the French. Port Royal once more became the scene of much activity until, in the summer of 1612, its prospects were again rudely blighted. England claimed all this region by virtue of its discovery by the Cabots more than one hundred years before; and now Samuel Argall, from the colony lately established on the banks of the James River in Virginia, uprooted Port Royal as an encroachment on British soil. Poutrincourt in despair abandoned the task of colonization. His son, however, and a few of the colonists remained in Acadia, where they carried on for some years a trade in furs with their Micmac friends.

Champlain Founds Quebec.—Meanwhile de Monts had secured a fresh monopoly for one year on condition that Champlain should plant a colony on the St. Lawrence as a base for further exploration westward. At the mouth of the St. Charles, where Jacques Cartier had first wintered more than seventy years before, Quebec, oldest of American cities, was founded in 1608 under the shadow of Cape Diamond on the narrow strand between rock and water. The name "Quebec" signifies a strait, for here the St. Lawrence pours its rapid flood through a contracted channel between Cape Diamond on the north and the rocky heights of Point Lévis on the south. Down at Tadoussac rival Basque and Spanish fishermen fought with the French for a share in the fur trade. Champlain had scarcely landed his colonists at Quebec before he discovered that some of his men were plotting to kill him and to hand the colony over to the Spaniards. The ringleader of the plot was hanged, and his chief accomplices were sent to France to expiate their crime in the galleys. The winter of 1608-1609 was one of extreme severity, and scurvy so thinned the ranks that out of twenty-eight men only eight survived until spring.

First Encounter with the Iroquois.—Champlain has been much blamed for allowing himself to be drawn into the Indian wars. Apparently there was no help for it. If he would have the friendship of the Algonquins of the Ottawa, up which he meant to pursue his westward search, he had to take up their quarrel with the Iroquois. So it came that, in 1609, Champlain with some of his men accompanied a party of Hurons and Algonquins up the Richelieu River and out into the lake which ever since that time has borne his name. On its western shore, near the site of the future fort Ticonderoga, the Frenchmen met for the first time the fierce warriors of the confederacy. These came on bravely, but the French arquebus spouted death and inspired such dismay that Champlain and his dusky allies gained a complete victory.

A Trip up the Ottawa.—In 1610 Henry Hudson sailed into the great bay which bears his name. A young man, who had been sent to spend a winter with some of Champlain's Indian friends up the Ottawa, came back with a lying tale of a trip he had taken from the Upper Ottawa through to Hudson Bay, and of an English wreck he had seen there. Champlain hastened up the Ottawa (1613), to Allumette Island, only to find that the rascally youth had taken no such journey, and that the Indians knew not of any passage through to Hudson Bay. On this, his first trip up the Ottawa, Champlain lost the astrolabe which, in 1867, was turned up by the plough near Muskrat Lake in Renfrew County.

Early Missions.—In 1615 the Récollet fathers arrived in Canada with a royal patent for the mission of New France. It is said that one of them, on his journeys among the savages of the Saguenay, reached the Esquimaux. Another joined a party of Hurons at Montreal and returned with them to the Huron country by their well-known route—up the Ottawa, across to Lake Nipissing. down French River to the Georgian Bay ; then southward through the labyrinth of rock-ribbed islands that stud its eastern shore they paddled to the landing place in Thunder Bay. Champlain with another party followed shortly after, arriving in time to take part in the first celebration of the mass in a Huron village.

A Raid on the Iroquois.—Champlain had promised to lead another expedition against the Iroquois, and soon the Huron braves and their French leader were on their way over Lake Simcoe (1615).

CHAMPLAIN'S SKETCH OF HIS FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE IROQUOIS.

By the valley of the Trent River they reached the Bay of Quinte. Crossing the eastern end of Lake Ontario from where Kingston now lies, the little band landed in the Iroquois country on the south shore of the lake, and after a long march through the wooded wilderness attacked an Iroquois village near Lake Oneida. The Oneidas, however, were on their guard, and a shower of arrows greeted the assailants. Champlain, hitherto deemed invulnerable, was wounded by an arrow, and had to be carried from the field, and in dismay his savage allies fell back. Unused to the slow process of a siege, they soon gave up the attack and retreated to their own country, hunting leisurely by the way when once Lake Ontario had been recrossed.

Monopoly Retards Settlement.—From this time Champlain's attention was devoted chiefly to the colony at Quebec. Of further exploration by him westward we have no record. For a time, after de Monts' monopoly expired, the trade of the St. Lawrence had been free to all comers, and in 1611 Champlain had met as many as thirteen rival trading vessels at Montreal, a favorite rendezvous for the Algonquins of the Ottawa. But a trading company was soon formed, and to it a new monopoly was given. Champlain found that this monopoly was a sore hindrance to colonization, for none but the company's employees found a welcome at Quebec. During summer all was life and bustle; during winter all was stagnation and ofttimes nearly starvation among the few settlers. Hébert, who came in 1617, was the only one who tilled the soil to any purpose, using oxen first in 1628. That Champlain himself was honestly eager for the colonization of New France is shown by the fact that in 1620 he brought out his young wife, who lived at Quebec for four years. On the heights behind the little settlement Fort St. Louis was built, facing the river from the edge of the rocky plateau on which now lies the Upper Town of Quebec.

The Iroquois Retaliate.—The Iroquois, who had now lost their terror of the French, soon began to be troublesome along the upper St. Lawrence, to which they had ready access by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. At times they entirely blocked the way to and from the upper Ottawa, leaving the mission among the Hurons in dire straits for lack of the usual supplies from Quebec. The Récollet fathers had built the mission

house of Notre Dame des Anges on the meadows near the mouth of the St. Charles close to Quebec. This the Iroquois braves actually attacked in 1622, and only with difficulty were they beaten off.

The Hundred Associates.—The great Cardinal Richelieu was now the ruling spirit in France. The Huguenots had broken into open rebellion, and in 1627 Richelieu was besieging their great stronghold, Rochelle. In camp before that city a new plan was devised for the government of New France. The exclusion of the Huguenots was decreed; none but Catholics were to be admitted to the colony. Upon this condition the soil of New France, with full power of government and a monopoly of trade, was granted to the "Company of New France," usually known as the Hundred Associates.

England Captures the Colony, 1629.—For some years the Hundred Associates were not able to take possession of their domain. Charles I. of England took up the Huguenot cause and declared war against France. A great naval force sent to relieve Rochelle fared disastrously. Better fortune followed the fleet sent out under David Kirke in 1628 to take possession of New France. Sailing up to Tadoussac, he sent a courteous summons to Champlain to surrender Quebec. Though the colony was nearly starved and its puny fort but a poor defence, Champlain put on a bold front and sent so determined a message back to Kirke that he refrained that year from attacking the place. Off Tadoussac, however, he met a powerful French fleet, which had been sent out by the Hundred Associates with supplies and colonists for Quebec. In the battle which followed Kirke was victorious, capturing many of the ships and destroying the rest. Satisfied with his booty he sailed for England. Quebec, reduced to feed on roots, dragged out a miserable winter; and when Kirke returned next year (1629) Champlain in despair surrendered the colony. Its total population at this time scarcely reached one hundred, so blighting had been the effect of the monopoly. For the next three years Quebec was occupied by an English garrison, who made much profit out of the fur trade during their stay and gained some knowledge of the regions to the west.

Rival Claims in Acadia.—In Acadia, meanwhile, fishing and the fur trade had been actively carried on by the French. At

the mouth of the St. John River, in what is now New Brunswick, Fort St. John had been built. It was the centre of the fur trade of the district watered by the river and its tributaries. Miscou, at the entrance to the Bay of Chaleur, was the main fishing station. The sovereignty of France, however, was not unquestioned. England pressed her claim to Acadia, and in 1621 James I. granted it all to William (afterwards Sir William) Alexander, under the name now borne by part of it—Nova Scotia. Wide powers of government were also conferred, but for many years the lord of this wide domain was content to send out an annual trading expedition. With a view to aid this enterprise the order of Nova Scotia Baronets was established. The price of the title was a liberal subscription to the scheme of colonization. In 1628 Kirke's fleet, on its way to Tadoussac, landed a number of Scotchmen near Port Royal, and for some time the Scotch settlement and a French fort (St. Louis) near Cape Sable existed side by side.

New France Restored.—During this war between France and England, the first fort on Cape Breton was built by the English as part of Sir William Alexander's enterprise. It was almost immediately captured by the French and demolished. With the Peace of St. Germain-en-Laye (1632), New France, including Acadia, was restored to the French king. The English king received in return the promise that some £10,000 of arrears of his wife's dowry should be no longer withheld!

The Last Days of Champlain.—Champlain's life-work was nearly done. He returned indeed to Quebec in 1633 as governor for the Hundred Associates, built a fort at Three Rivers (1634), and set on foot plans for further western exploration. His health, however, failed and he asked for his recall. Before his successor could be named a kindly fate closed his eyes in death on Christmas Day, 1635, while he was still governor of that New France to which his life had been devoted.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES—JESUIT MISSIONS.

A New Beginning.—In 1633 the Hundred Associates took possession of Canada. In return for their huge land grant, their monopoly, and the right to govern the country as they might see fit, they engaged to settle four thousand colonists in New France within ten years. They undertook, also, to protect these settlers and to support missions. For some years the temporal concerns of the colony were managed by the governor alone,* acting under instructions from the company in Paris. The sole spiritual care of the colony was confided to the Jesuits.

Settlement Neglected.—The company made some show at first of performing their promise to bring in settlers. Two hundred colonists came to Canada with Champlain (1633), but many of these afterwards returned to France. Large tracts of land called *Seigneuries* were granted to members and friends of the company on condition that settlers should be put upon them. Up to 1663 there were over sixty of these grants, but no attempt was made to enforce the condition. The full enjoyment of their monopoly would be lost to the fur traders if the wilderness were to give place to settlements, and so the Hundred Associates quietly ignored the obligation imposed upon them by their charter. For the next thirty years (1633-1663) the history of Canada is but the history of the fur trade and the Jesuit missions, and of the struggles of both to hold their own against the aggressive Iroquois.

The Fur Traders.—During this period the population of New France consisted of four distinct classes. The first, for many years the largest, consisted of the fur traders connected

* EARLY GOVERNORS.—Champlain was the first governor of New France under the Hundred Associates. He was succeeded by Montmagny, a pious Knight of Malta, who held office for twelve years (1636-1648). His name, translated into the language of the Iroquois, Onontio ("great mountain"), was used to describe all future governors. D'Ailleboust (1648-1651) was the third governor under the company. He was followed by de Lauson (1651-1658), an active fur trader and land speculator. In 1658 d'Argenson became governor. He was recalled (1661) owing to Jesuit influence brought to bear in France by Laval. D'Avaugour (1661-1663) was the last of the governors under the Hundred Associates. He, too, fell before the influence of the Jesuits.

with the company. These were not colonists. They were a mere floating population gathered at the trading posts during the summer months. All of them really lived in France. They came to Canada to make money, and most of them returned to France to spend it.

The Jesuits.—The second class consisted of the Jesuits and those connected with their work in Canada. At Quebec a seminary for the training of priests, a hospital (Hôtel Dieu), and a convent of Ursuline nuns were established, and life there was marked by much religious zeal. At the other trading posts, too, the priests of the order looked after the spiritual wants of the little community. To them was entrusted also the task of converting the savage tribes to Christianity, and they at once entered again upon that mission work which the capture of Quebec by Kirke had interrupted. In their prosecution of it no obstacle was too great to be overcome. With a zeal beyond all praise, these heroic priests were ever ready to face a lonely life in remote and filthy Indian villages or to meet death in shape of direst torture, all—in the words of their order—"to God's greater glory."

The Coureurs de Bois.—The third class were the picturesque *coureurs de bois* (bushrangers). The company's monopoly of the fur trade and the strict religious life of the settlements drove these adventurous spirits to seek freedom of life and trade among the Indians of the west. They adapted themselves to the Indian mode of life, and soon became as skilled in woodcraft as their dusky friends. Many of them married Indian maidens, and to this day their half-breed descendants are to be found in northern Ontario, Manitoba and the North-West. Their hooded blanket-coats, girt with a red sash, and their snow-shoes, are familiar to us through many a tale of Indian adventure.

The Habitants.—The fourth class were the real colonists—for many years few in number—who settled on the land of New France. The name given to them, *habitants* (inhabitants), indicates that they were looked upon as permanent residents. The Hundred Associates failed to provide any military force as a protection against the inroads of the Iroquois, so that, for many years, the settlers lived in much dread of their prowling bands. Apart from this, the *habitants* found little difficulty in making a comfortable living from the rich soil of the St. Lawrence valley.

The English and the Dutch.—During the occupation of Quebec by the English they had established a trade with the Indians of the St. Lawrence. Champlain put an end to this by building the fort at Three Rivers to intercept the Indian canoes before they could reach the wider river below Quebec. But, while tho population of New France increased very slowly, New England was rapidly filling up with thrifty Puritan settlers. The Dutch also had, at this time, a North American colony, which they called New Netherlands, along both sides of the Hudson River. They had already a post at Orange (now Albany), from which their traders carried on an active traffic with the Mohawks and the other members of the Iroquois community. In return for furs they supplied these fierce warriors with fire-arms along with other less harmful wares.

The Upper Lakes.—As early as 1634 Jean Nicollet, first of the *coureurs de bois*, had penetrated to the region beyond Lake Michigan. Had Champlain lived, this feat would, no doubt, have been eagerly followed up. For some years, however, the work of exploration was left to the Jesuit fathers. The centre of the Jesuit mission among the Hurons was at Ste. Marie on the little River Wye, which empties into Matchedash Bay at a short distance east of the present town of Midland. Here the Jesuit fathers lived within rude fortifications, dispensing a generous hospitality to their savage flock. From this centre the zealous priests were spread through all the surrounding country. Some of them even travelled as far north as Sault Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior. The fur traders soon followed, and thus the geography of the upper lakes became well known before the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Lake Ontario was travelled by a white man, and while the regions to the south around Lake Erie were, as yet, known only through vague Indian rumor.

Montreal Founded (1642).—Quebec and Three Rivers were long the only settlements and—with Tadoussac—the chief centres of the fur trade. The trading post at the foot of the Lachine Rapids was merely a summer rendezvous where the fur traders met the Indians from up the Ottawa. Here, in 1642, Montreal was founded. The enterprise was a purely religious one, undertaken by two pious gentlemen of France—the priest Olier, better known as the founder of the Sulpician Order, and the

merchant Dauversière. With other kindred spirits they planned a town to be known as *Ville Marie de Montréal.* Here, in honor of the Holy Family, a hospital, convent, and seminary were to be built, and around this religious establishment a settlement was expected to grow up. The leader of the expedition was the soldier Maisonneuve, who continued to be for many years the governor of Montreal and its brave defender. The Hundred Associates looked upon this enterprise with little favor. They thought it a scheme to rob them of part of their fur trade. Montreal, however, had influential support in France, and soon acquired weight in the affairs of the colony.

La Compagnie des Habitants.—Until 1645 the Hundred Associates' trade monopoly was in reality the monopoly of some eight merchants living chiefly in France, who had come to the help of the company in its early days when the war between France and England had brought it to the verge of bankruptcy. Complaint being now made to the king that no colonization was taking place, he ordered that the monopoly should be given up to the people of the colony. Thereupon certain Canadian traders, agents of the old company and others, formed a combination (1645), and by calling themselves "The Habitants' Company" *(La Compagnie des Habitants)*, secured control of the fur trade. In their hands it still continued a close monopoly. The Hundred Associates, moreover, still remained lords of the soil of New France, and still received a share in the profits of the fur trade. In this same year (1645) the first Canadian council was formed, to assist the governor in carrying on the affairs of the colony. The inhabitants of Quebec and Three Rivers were, for a time, represented in this council by their *syndics*, but this step toward popular government was very soon retraced, and the council became the mere mouth-piece of the company.

The Huron Mission Attacked.—During all these years the Iroquois were the relentless foes of the French. They infested the St. Lawrence valley and entirely cut off at times the fur trade with the Hurons and Algonquins of the upper Ottawa. Their war with their Huron kinsmen was carried on with varying success. Upon the whole, however, the balance inclined very clearly to the side of the Iroquois, who, in 1649, determined to close in upon the Huron country and put an end to the war at one stroke. At

this time there were at Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye, in addition to the resident fathers, a number of devoted laymen, and a few soldiers, who had managed to carry with them from Quebec a small cannon for the protection of the fort. In the spring of 1649 the onslaught came. The Iroquois came in upon them from the south, and the outlying post of St. Ignace was the first to fall. Here Father Daniel, bravely administering the last consolations of religion to his falling flock, was struck down. The Iroquois then attacked St. Louis, and after a vigorous defence it, too, was taken. Here two Jesuit fathers, Breboeuf and Lalemant, were captured and put to death with fiendish torture. Then, alarmed by a rumor that the Huron braves were gathering in force to repel them, the Iroquois rapidly retreated; only, however, to return next year to complete their work of destruction.

The Mission Abandoned.—Meanwhile Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye was sorrowfully abandoned, and the Jesuit priests, with refugees to the number of seven thousand from all the Huron villages, spent a winter of misery on Christian Island. Nearly one-half of them died before spring, and the survivors fled in terror on learning that the Iroquois were again on the war-path. From over thirty villages the Huron country sank to a desolation. Some of the flying Hurons were led by the Jesuit fathers by way of the Ottawa to Quebec, and their descendants are now to be found—harmless guides and basket-makers—at New Lorette, not far from the ancient capital. The remainder fled to the north. For a while they were to be found in the neighborhood of the Sault Ste. Marie. Gradually they were driven farther west by their relentless foes until, finally, the few survivors settled in the neighborhood of Detroit. There we find them at the time of the Pontiac war (1763), a brave tribe under the name Wyandots.

The Iroquois Attack the Settlements.—After the destruction of the Huron villages, the Iroquois were able to devote more time to harassing the French settlers along the St. Lawrence. Montreal, lying directly in their path, was an object of continual attack, and pious historians affirm that it held its own "only by a continuous miracle." At Three Rivers the settlers were practically confined within the village palisades. Iroquois vengeance pursued the Hurons even to their new home on the Island of Orleans, opposite Quebec, and the terror of the

Iroquois name spread through all the country north of the St. Lawrence. Not only was settlement disappearing; the fur trade itself was constantly interrupted and its profits lost.

"The Heroes of the Long Sault."—Montreal was in constant alarm. One year numerous Iroquois bands wintered on the Ottawa River, intending to make a combined attack on Montreal in the spring (1660). The blow was averted only by the heroic self-sacrifice of Dollard des Ormeaux. At the head of a volunteer band of young men and a few Indians, he ascended the Ottawa, and took up his station in a rude entrenchment at the foot of the Long Sault. As the Iroquois shot down the rapids, Dollard opened fire upon them from the bank. Pressed by increasing numbers, he was driven to the shelter of the fort, where for eight long days he and his little band stood "savagely at bay." In the end they were overpowered and ruthlessly slaughtered; but in their death they inflicted so severe a loss upon the Iroquois that the latter withdrew at once to their own country, leaving Montreal unmolested for a time.

Laval.—Up to this time New France had no bishop. The Jesuits were now all-powerful in France, and François de Laval de Montigny, their nominee, was sent out to Canada in 1659. He was ultimately appointed bishop in 1674. Throughout his career in Canada, Laval was a strong upholder of Jesuit principles. He insisted that the officers of the State should give precedence to him as the head of the Church in Canada. He was almost constantly engaged in contests with the governors upon this question. Laval, however, was a man of great force of character, and during his time the Church was undoubtedly exalted over the State. His private life was one of severe simplicity. His revenues were large, and from them he gave most generously toward the endowment of various religious institutions in

BISHOP LAVAL.

New France. Laval University is a standing monument of his generosity.

The Liquor Traffic.—Another cause of dispute between Laval and the governors was the question of selling liquor to the Indians. The white man's "fire-water" had already begun its deadly work among the native tribes. The fur traders deemed it a necessary part of every canoe-load of supplies sent into the interior. The Jesuits looked upon the traffic as the devil's most potent weapon for the ruin of their missions through the moral degradation of their flock. Laval took strong ground against the traffic. Church and State (the latter represented by the fur traders) were thus in violent collision, and the governors were forced into opposition to Laval's policy. A very violent earthquake in 1663 was interpreted as a sign of Heaven's anger at the sins of the colony.

The Colony in Danger.—The Iroquois at length became a menace to the very existence of the colony. The *habitants* complained that the company neglected to provide any proper defence against their skulking war parties. Pierre Boucher was sent by the settlers to France to lay before the king the state of the colony. Laval, too, went home to advocate a change. At this time there was much interest taken in France in the Jesuit missions; the "Jesuit Relations"—a series of letters written by the brave priests of the order from the scene of their daily toil—were much read, and the feeling grew strong that the Iroquois must be put down.

New France Made a Royal Province.—The result of it all was that in 1663 the Hundred Associates were obliged to surrender their charter. New France was made a royal province, to be governed thenceforward as the provinces of Old France were governed, directly from the king's palace. After thirty years under the rule of the Hundred Associates the population of Canada did not exceed 2,000, of whom not more than five hundred were real *habitants*. Through fear of the Iroquois, even this scant population was gathered closely around the trading centres—Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. The king therefore determined to send out a sufficient military force to put an end, once for all, to Iroquois aggression.

A New Colony in Acadia.—Meanwhile stirring events were

transpiring in Acadia. After the peace of St. Germain-en-Laye (1632) the Company of New France had at once taken possession, sending out for that purpose one of their most influential members, Isaac de Razilly, a relative of the great Richelieu. With forty families, the progenitors of the French Acadians who to-day inhabit various portions of our Maritime Provinces, Razilly landed at Port Royal. The few Scotch settlers there soon became merged in the new French population. In Canada, furs were the object chiefly sought by the Hundred Associates ; in Acadia, while the fur trade was not neglected, much attention was given to the coast fisheries, and a station was established at La Hêve on the Atlantic seaboard. Here indeed Razilly had designed to plant his colony, but the soil was less fertile than in the Annapolis valley, and Port Royal soon absorbed the larger part of the population.

The Two Rivals.—Besides Razilly there were in the colony two men whose later strife for leadership gives a color of romance to this period of Acadia's history—La Tour and d'Aulnay-Charnisay. Razilly was in supreme command during his life. La Tour was lieutenant for the king on the Nova Scotian side of the Bay of Fundy, while d'Aulnay held Penobscot and was in control of the west shore of the bay. Strange to say, the Hundred Associates granted to La Tour a seigneurie, five leagues by ten, on the St. John River, in d'Aulnay's territory. On the other hand, a seigneurie, erected in La Tour's territory and comprising Port Royal, afterward became the property of d'Aulnay. A third seigneurie was granted by the Hundred Associates to Nicholas Denys, the first governor of Cape Breton, who, after an active career in Acadia, returned to France and wrote a history of the colony. His domain was to the east, along the gulf shore from Cape Canso to Gaspé.

The Champlain of Acadia.—Razilly has been called "the Champlain of Acadia." When he died in 1636, Port Royal had been re-established ; there was a trading post at La Hêve and a settlement at Cape Sable (Fort St. Louis) ; d'Aulnay was in command at the fortified trading post of Penobscot ; and La Tour was living in much state upon his seigneurie at the mouth of the St. John River. Both of them were carrying on an extensive trade in furs with the Indians, the posts being admirably situated for that purpose.

D'Aulnay Triumphs.—Very soon their trade rivalry became open war. D'Aulnay had the support of the French court, while La Tour received aid from certain Boston merchants who were interested in his fur trade. The conflict was long. The end came in 1645, when, after a vigorous defence by the gallant Lady La Tour, her husband's stronghold (Fort La Tour) at the mouth of the St. John was captured by d'Aulnay while La Tour was absent in Boston. The lustre of this achievement was tarnished by the brutal treatment of Lady La Tour, who was forced to see her garrison put to death, and, it is said, died of grief. From this time until his death by drowning in 1650, d'Aulnay was lord of all Acadia.

Acadia Captured by New Englanders.—La Tour, who since the capture of his stronghold, had been in Quebec, hastened at once to France on hearing of his rival's death. There he succeeded so well that he obtained a commission as governor and lieutenant for the king in Acadia, and he followed up this success by marrying d'Aulnay's widow. But his enjoyment of his possessions was soon rudely interrupted. In 1654 a force from Boston under Major Sedgwick captured Fort La Tour and Port Royal. There was no war between France and England at the moment; the attack was simply the outcome of a dispute over the boundary line between Acadia and New England. Cromwell was at this time protector in England. Although the Treaty of Westminster (1655) provided for the appointment of commissioners to settle the boundary dispute, none were in fact appointed until after Charles II. came to the throne. Meanwhile Acadia was held by the English. In this crisis La Tour, with much diplomacy, became a British subject, and on the strength of his rank as a Nova Scotia baronet procured a grant of both shores of the Bay of Fundy from Lunenburg to the St. George River in Maine. Two Englishmen, Temple and Crowne, were associated with him in this grant, and to the three a monopoly of the trade of the Bay of Fundy region was given.

Acadia Restored to France.—After much negotiation, England, by the Treaty of Breda in 1667, gave up all claim to Acadia, Charles II., in his desire to stand well with the French king, coolly sacrificing the rights of his own subjects. Temple, however, to whom the order to deliver up possession was sent,

took objection to the description of the territory to be surrendered, and in this way managed to enjoy his monopoly until 1670, when he reluctantly gave up possession to a French officer, Grandfontaine. Seven years before this time the Hundred Associates, as we have seen, had surrendered their charter. Henceforward Acadia, as part of New France, was to be governed directly from Paris.

Other Early Settlements in Acadia.—Between Canada and the post at the mouth of the St. John, through what is now New Brunswick, lay the primeval forest, broken only by scattered Indian villages. Medoctec, on the St. John, was the chief fastness of the Malacites of this region. Out on the gulf shore were the trading and fishing posts of Nicholas Denys, who for many years carried on an active traffic. At the mouth of Miramichi Bay was another trading post, established as early as 1642. To this spot, in 1672, came a number of French settlers from St. Malo. There was also in early times a small French settlement on the Bay of Chaleur, near the modern town of Bathurst. The total white population of Acadia in 1670 did not exceed five hundred.

CHAPTER V.

TALON (1665-1672).

Governor, Intendant, Bishop.—Under the new system of Royal Government the three most important persons in New France were the governor, the intendant, and the bishop. The governor occupied the position of highest dignity. He was the official head of the colony, and through him all negotiations with the Indian tribes and with the English colonies were conducted. He was usually, too, in command of any military force there might be in the colony. In addition to the governor-in-chief there were also local governors at Montreal and Three Rivers. After 1678 the governor of Acadia also held his commission from the governor at Quebec. The intendant now appears for the first time in New France. His full title was "Intendant of Justice, Police and Finances." He may be called the king's business manager for the province. Upon him, more perhaps than upon any other officer, the welfare of the colony depended. The head of the

Church in Canada at this time was Laval, afterwards its first bishop.

The Conseil Superieur.—These three, together with a body of councillors—at first five, afterwards seven, and finally twelve—formed the Sovereign Council (*Conseil Souverain*). This name afterwards seemed to the French king too suggestive of supreme power, and it was therefore changed to Superior Council (*Conseil Superieur*). This council was at once a legislative body and a court of justice, but in whatever capacity it acted it was subject to the will of the king, whose edicts it was bound to enforce. Subordinate to it were royal judges at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. The Canadian seigneurs were also entitled to administer justice upon their domains, but in nearly every seigneurie this power was carefully limited to the settlement of petty disputes and the punishment of trivial offences.

The Intendant's Wide Powers.—The intendant had power, as the chief administrative officer of the colony, to pass, without consulting the council, ordinances dealing with all such matters of civil government as in his opinion required regulation. He was also authorized to withdraw cases from the ordinary courts and decide them himself, if he should think it in the king's interest to do so. As might be expected, disputes many and bitter arose between the intendant, the governor and the council as to their respective rights and duties. The king, three thousand miles across the Atlantic, was the only one who could decide between them with authority, and in the then state of ocean navigation many months of strife would pass before his will could be made known to his quarrelling officers.

De Mézy.—De Mézy was the first governor under the new system. Councillors were, at first, to be appointed by the governor and Laval jointly. As the two could not agree in filling the council, de Mézy proposed that there should be a popular election. This proposal gave Laval a strong weapon to use against him at the French court, where everything that savored of popular government was frowned down. De Mézy was accordingly recalled (1665), and de Courcelle was sent out to succeed him.

The Intendant Talon.—The first intendant was Talon, a man to whom New France owed much for such progress as was made during this period of French rule. The great Colbert was

head of the colonial department at Versailles. He was determined to uphold the supremacy of the king's government against the claims of the Church, and in this view his choice of Talon as intendant of New France was a wise one. Henceforward the right of the Church to interfere in matters purely secular was denied. Laval in one of his letters complains that the royal officers in Canada, in their zeal for material progress, were "perpetual rivals and contemners of the Church."

TALON.

Laval's Educational Efforts.—Laval was earnest in his efforts for the establishment of educational institutions, all, however, to be carried on as part of the work of the Church. In 1664 he established at Quebec a seminary for the training of priests, for the education of children both French and Indian, and also for instruction in such handicrafts as were necessary in the then state of the colony. To support this seminary the system of tithes was established, and, in addition, Laval endowed it with three rich seigneuries. Out of the seminary so established has grown the well-known Laval University.

Preparations for the Iroquois Campaign.—The intendant Talon reached Canada in 1665. In that year there also arrived at Quebec the Marquis de Tracy, with an imposing force designed to put an end to Iroquois aggression. De Tracy was viceroy over all the king's North American possessions, and he brought with him the Carignan-Salières regiment, renowned in Turkish wars. They were the first regular troops sent out to Canada. De Courcelle, the new governor, yielded place to de Tracy during the viceroy's stay in the colony, and for a time we hear little of him. De Tracy at once prepared for his Iroquois campaign. Three forts, Sorel, Chambly, and Ste. Thérèse, were built on the Richelieu. The first military road in Canada was laid out to connect Montreal and Chambly. Isle aux Noix, on the Richelieu, was afterwards fortified, and remained a post of impor-

tance through all the subsequent wars between the French and the English.

De Courcelle Meets the English.—Early in 1666 de Courcelle made a preliminary raid upon the Mohawk valley. He entered it too far to the east, and found himself, at the village of Schenectady, face to face with the English, and had to retire without striking the intended blow. The English had taken New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664. The Treaty of Breda (1667) afterwards confirmed them in their possession. They called the country New York in honor of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

The Iroquois Humbled.—Under better guidance, de Tracy descended on the valley later in the season with a force of about eleven hundred men, burned the Mohawk villages, one after another, and destroyed their crops. Dismayed at this martial display and threatened by famine, the Mohawks joined with the western confederates in humbly seeking peace. With much ceremony and many wampum belts a solemn treaty was made at Montreal the following summer (1667), and for twenty years thereafter New France was left in comparative quiet.

The Great Immigration.—During this period New France received its greatest immigration. The seminary of St. Sulpice had already sent out many colonists for Montreal and its vicinity. Of the French seigneurs, Giffard was almost the only one who had made any effort to bring in settlers; he had placed a few on his seigneurie of Beauport, just below Quebec. The increase of population which now took place was almost entirely due to state-aided immigration. The young king, Louis XIV., and his minister Colbert entered into the work with commendable zeal. The new colonists came, some from Paris, but more from those north-western and western provinces of France to which Canada was already indebted for its somewhat scanty population. Not many families came out; but, to make up for this, bounties were offered in New France on early marriages. Fathers with unmarried daughters were fined, and bachelors were made uncomfortable by being denied trading licenses. Peasant girls were sent out by the shipload, and very amusing stories are told of the rapid way in which they were provided with husbands upon reaching Quebec. Apparently an earnest and successful effort was made to get good girls.

Military Settlement.—After the successful termination of de Tracy's campaign against the Iroquois, the Carignan-Salières regiment was disbanded. With a view to forming a bulwark against further invasion, the soldiers were settled in large numbers around Montreal upon seigneuries on the St. Lawrence and along the Richelieu River, granted to officers of the regiment. Many towns in that locality were named after these officers—Sorel, Chambly, St. Ours, Varennes, Verchères, Berthier, and many others. Very few of them ever resided on their seigneuries; nearly all returned to France. Many well-known families, however, in the Province of Quebec are descended from the soldier settlers of these early days. The less warlike peasants were settled on seigneuries lower down the St. Lawrence and around Quebec. So rapid was the immigration that the population increased from 2,000 in 1663, to nearly 10,000 by the year 1680. Owing to European wars Louis XIV. was unable after 1672 to spare his subjects from France, and immigration rapidly fell off.

The Seigneurial System.—The system adopted to advance settlement was a mild form of feudalism. Although many of the grants made by the Hundred Associates were revoked by the king, the seigneurial system was continued. Louis XIV. desired to create a Canadian *noblesse*, but without the oppressive privileges enjoyed by the same class in old France. To make up the required number, patents of nobility were from time to time conferred upon men of mark in the colony, to whom seigneuries were granted to be held of the Crown upon the tenure of faith and homage. They, again, were to receive as tenants all who would settle upon their seigneuries and perform the duties arising from the relation of *seigneur* and *censitaire* (landlord and tenant).

System of Settlement.—The grants to the censitaires were usually of a narrow strip fronting always on the river and running back sometimes as much as two miles. Near Montreal and along the Richelieu the danger of the situation compelled the colonists to congregate in palisaded villages around the manor-houses of the seigneurs. Elsewhere the *habitant* naturally preferred to live on his own land and as near as might be to the river, for many years his only highway. Thus were formed those long settlements known as "côtes," which to-day give to the banks of the St. Lawrence below Montreal the appearance of an endless village.

Conditions. — To his seigneur the censitaire paid rent in money, grain or live capons. If he sold his land he paid to the seigneur one-twelfth of the purchase money. If a seigneur sold his seigneurie, the fine due to the king was one-fifth, but a much smaller amount was usually accepted if promptly paid. Both seigneur and censitaire were under obligation to clear the land, but the censitaire's clearing satisfied the obligation of both. There were other burdens usually mentioned in a censitaire's grant. Many of these, however, the seigneurs were for many years in no position to exact, such, for instance, as the grinding of his wheat in the seigneur's mill. The seigneur, of course, was to have as his toll a specified portion of the flour. The seigneur had a claim, too, upon the labor of his censitaire for one or more days in the year and to a proportion of all fish caught in the seigneurial stream. But during all the history of New France the intendant, under instructions from the king, made it his special care to protect the censitaires from oppression, and seigneurs very often found themselves unable to enforce the terms of their contracts with their tenants.

The Fur Trade.—The fur trade was no longer a monopoly. A new company had, it is true, secured exclusive trade privileges, but these were very soon abandoned. They retained for a time the exclusive right to carry all cargoes to and from New France, but in 1674 even this right was surrendered to the king. From the licenses for the fur trade a revenue was derived which was for some years more than sufficient to defray the expense of governing the colony. Many of the *coureurs de bois*, however, continued to trade without troubling themselves about licenses.

The French on the Great Lakes.—In all that tended to strengthen French power in America, the intendant Talon was the master-spirit. He wanted the interior of the continent for France, and he strongly urged that New York should be purchased from the English in order that no rival power might push into the region of the great lakes. The Jesuits following the fur traders into Lake Superior (called by them Lac de Tracy) had founded a mission on its south shore. They had also missions to the west of Lake Michigan on La Grande Baie (corrupted by the English into Green Bay), and the Fox River. Michillimackinac, a most commanding position on the strait between Lake Huron

and Lake Michigan, was occupied about this time. It was afterwards the scene of many stirring events. Through all these regions the vagabond *coureurs de bois* sought out the Indian tribes, and by their easy adoption of the Indian mode of life gained a firm hold of the fur trade. Some, however, were accused of taking the pelts to Albany, and of thus arousing a desire among the Dutch and English traders to visit this western region.

Talon Takes Formal Possession of the West.—To forestall them, Talon in 1671 sent St. Lusson with an imposing force to take formal possession for New France of this great region. He was met at Sault Ste. Marie by representatives of no less than fourteen distinct tribes, brought together by Nicolas Perrot, a leading spirit among the *coureurs de bois.* With solemn ceremony a cross was planted, and the *fleur-de-lis* of France was flung to the breeze in token of French supremacy. A short time before there had been another formal "taking of possession" on the north shore of Lake Erie. Joliet, the first white man to make the passage from Lake Huron to Lake Erie, had coasted eastward along the north shore of the latter. He entered the Grand River, and, after going some distance up stream, portaged across to Lake Ontario, emerging near where Hamilton now lies. Here he met La Salle, the famous western explorer. With La Salle was a Sulpician priest, Dollier de Casson, who has given us a history of Montreal up to his time. De Casson retraced the course Joliet had taken, and, after spending a winter on the north shore of Lake Erie, took formal possession of the region for France.

Discovery of the Mississippi.—Stories of a great river to the west of Lake Michigan were from time to time told by the Indians to the Jesuit fathers. Talon was eager to find this stream, in hope that it might be found to flow into the Pacific, and so afford the long-desired passage to the South Sea and Cathay. In 1673 the explorer Joliet and Father Marquette pushed up the Fox River from Green Bay, crossed the divide, and descended the Wisconsin to the long-sought river, the Mississippi. They followed its course to the south for many days. Returning at length, they reached Lake Michigan by way of the Illinois River and the Chicago portage. It seemed now as if France would secure the whole interior of the continent from Quebec around to

the Gulf of Mexico, while the English would have only the narrow strip of land along the Atlantic, to the east of the Alleghanies.

The French and the English on Hudson Bay.—Two enterprising traders of Three Rivers, Groseilliers and Radisson, returning from one of their trips to Lake Superior, were fined for trading without a license. In disgust Groseilliers went to Boston, and, with Captain Zachary Gillam, made a voyage by water to Hudson Bay. Afterwards the two Canadians found their way to England. There they succeeded in inducing Prince Rupert and other influential men to enter upon the fur trade of the Hudson Bay region. In 1670 Charles II. granted a charter to Prince Rupert and his associates. They were called "The Company of Merchant Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay"—a company still in existence and popularly known as the Hudson's Bay Company. Trading posts were established on the shores of the bay, and a lucrative traffic was soon opened up with the tribes of the interior. Talon heard of all this, and in 1672 Father Albanel, sent by him, struggled through from the head waters of the Saguenay to the shore of Hudson Bay and took formal possession of the region for France. Across the Atlantic formal protests were made by each of the rival powers against the other's trespass.

Talon's Domestic Policy.—Talon encouraged the colonists to engage in the manufacture of such articles as they needed—rough cloth, rope, hats, shoes, soap. He also tried, but with poor success, to open a trade in fish and lumber with the West Indies. He himself operated a brewery in order to supply the settlers and traders with a less harmful beverage than brandy. He made house-to-house visits and counselled the inhabitants "in all their little affairs." His rule in New France was a fatherly despotism, well meaning indeed, but most destructive of all self-reliance on the part of the colonists. Talon left Canada finally in 1672, having spent five years of active service in it during his term of office (1665-1672).

CHAPTER VI.

THREATENED DESTRUCTION.

Frontenac.—In 1672 there arrived at Quebec the most famous of all the governors of New France—Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, called by the Indians the Great Onontio. He was poor, and bent on retrieving his fortunes out of the profits of the fur trade. Proud and over-bearing to his equals, with the Indian tribes he was at once familiar and masterful, and soon acquired much influence over them. The English were trying now to gain a share in the fur trade of the west. To this end they put a higher price upon the beaver skins and a lower price upon the wares to be given in exchange, so that an Indian, it was said, could sell his furs to the English for twice as much as he could get from the French Frontenac wanted to stop all this. Accordingly, in 1673, he built Fort Frontenac, where Kingston now stands, to intercept the traffic which the English desired to divert to Albany. To the same end he planned to establish a fort at the mouth of the Niagara River.

FRONTENAC.
(*After Statue by Hébert.*)

A New Intendant.—For three years Frontenac had no intendant to interfere with his plans. He undertook to assemble the inhabitants of Quebec and to divide them into the three estates of nobles, clergy, and burgesses. This act was promptly rebuked. Frontenac was told by Colbert that there must be no popular assemblies; that "each should speak for himself and no one for all." Frontenac's fiery temper caused him to deal somewhat arbitrarily with Perrot, local governor at Montreal, whom he imprisoned for ten months for preventing the arrest of certain *coureurs de bois*, charged with illicit trading. Frontenac quarrelled, too, with Laval about appointments to the council. All these things combined to lead the king to send out another inten-

dant, Duchesneau, as a check upon his headstrong governor. He also took the appointment of councillors into his own hands.

La Salle and the Great West.—Louis XIV. eagerly desired to hold the west, but not by colonization. The more easily to govern the colonists he would have them within easy distance of Quebec; the west he would hold by a chain of garrisoned forts. In 1678 he granted to the famous explorer, La Salle, a patent entitling him to explore toward the Mississippi on condition that La Salle should build forts to command the interior. La Salle had owned, at one time, a seigneurie at Lachine—a name given to it in grim humor by his enemies to indicate their opinion that it was the only China (*la Chine*) he would ever reach. This seigneurie he had sold in order to raise funds for western exploration. A little later he procured a grant of Fort Frontenac, and from it made long trips to the west. He visited the Ohio valley, and some even claim for him the discovery of the Mississippi. He and his lieutenant Tonty many times crossed and recrossed the low divide which, at the south end of Lake Michigan, separates the two largest water systems of North America—that of the St. Lawrence from that of the Mississippi. The first vessel to ply on Lake Erie, the *Griffon*, was built on the banks of the Niagara River by La Salle in 1679. It was, unfortunately, lost on Lake Michigan in that same year. La Salle and Tonty also built forts on the banks of the Illinois River, and, in spite of every difficulty, opened up trade with the Indians of the Illinois valley.

LA SALLE.

Frontenac Recalled.—Frontenac's troubles during his first term (1672–1682) arose largely from his quarrels with Laval as to the bishop's position in affairs of state. Duchesneau, the intendant, who had his own causes of complaint against Frontenac, sided with the bishop. The disputes were long and bitter, and

Colbert and his successor Seignelay were deluged with complaints. At this time, in order to keep the fur trade in lawful channels—that is to say, to bring all furs to the great mart of Montreal or to the lesser one at Three Rivers—the death penalty had been decreed against all who traded in fur without a license. Even this, however, failed to bring the *coureurs de bois* to the regular life of the settlements. It was charged against the governor that he was carrying on a lucrative traffic in furs from Fort Frontenac, and that he prosecuted only those *coureurs de bois* who were not in his own service. There were, in truth, two warring factions among the fur traders. The one was headed by the governor, and numbered among its members La Salle, Tonty, and that most noted of *coureurs de bois*, du Luth, after whom Duluth, at the head of Lake Superior, is named. The other comprised the merchants of Montreal and the neighboring seigneurs, and was supported by the bishop and the intendant. To end the feud, both Frontenac and Duchesneau were recalled in 1682.

La Barre.—La Barre, who succeeded to the governorship, is described as a rapacious old man. In comparison with him, Frontenac, in spite of his illicit trading, was "a model of official virtue." La Barre became head of the faction which had been opposed to Frontenac, and La Salle fared badly at their hands. Fort Frontenac was seized while he was on his memorable trip (1682) to the mouth of the Mississippi. Tonty, who was in command on the Illinois, was displaced by an officer friendly to the ruling faction. La Barre and his friends wanted to monopolize the fur trade of the upper lakes. In order that it might not be interrupted by the Iroquois, who were again becoming troublesome, these fierce warriors were allowed to wage war upon the more southern allies of France, the Illinois and Miamis.

English Claim to the Iroquois Country.—During La Barre's time, Dongan, governor of New York, claimed the whole country south of the lakes as British territory. When La Barre boasted of the chastisement in store for the Iroquois because of their renewed hostility, Dongan warned them of the intended raid. But his messenger assumed rather too high a tone with the confederates, who were very jealous of any suggestion of dependence, and in 1684 they made peace on their own account with La Barre. The terms of this peace, however, were sc humiliating to the

French that the governor was promptly recalled. He had actually agreed that if the Iroquois would only refrain from war upon the French, they might continue their attacks upon the western tribes.

Denonville.—Denonville, the new governor, had, therefore, as his task, to humble the Iroquois, to protect and so regain the wavering allies of the west and the north, and to oppose the English movement toward those regions. The governors of the rival colonies wrote to each other with some heat. Denonville charged Dongan with inciting the Iroquois to attack the French. Dongan denied this, but claimed the right to trade with the Indians of the upper lake region and the west. To close the pathway thither, du Luth in 1686 established a rude fort on the banks of the St. Clair, near the south end of Lake Huron.

A Raid on the Senecas.—The time had come when the Iroquois must be again vigorously dealt with, and a large force of regular troops was therefore sent out to Denonville. The wily savages could see the advantage of standing neutral between the English and the French, as by so doing they could trade with both. But their war with the western tribes was to the death, and they could not be brought to include them in any peace with the French. At this time they were engaged in exterminating the Miamis and Illinois. The tribes around Michillimackinac felt that their turn would come next, and the French leaders at the posts on the upper lakes were therefore able to induce them to join in the campaign against the Iroquois. By strange good-fortune the troops from Quebec and the Indians from the north-western posts reached on the same day (July, 1687) the rendezvous at Irondequoit Bay, near the modern city of Rochester. From this point an Indian trail led to the villages of the Senecas, the tribe which had been the most refractory. The Senecas, after a vain attempt to ambush the advancing force, abandoned their villages, which Denonville destroyed. But, as was said at the time, the wasps were not in their nests and were still left to sting. On his way to the Seneca country Denonville had been guilty of a grievous outrage upon certain neutral Iroquois living at this time in two villages on the Bay of Quinte. Their chiefs, invited to a feast at Fort Frontenac, were there treacherously seized and tied to stakes, and the Algonquin allies of the French were allowed to torture

them. Some indeed were afterwards taken to France to become galley-slaves.

The Massacre of Lachine.—This outrage and the attack upon the Senecas so incensed the Iroquois confederates that they at once prepared to take vengeance. In their first dismay at the display of force they did, it is true, send an embassy to make peace. But a wily Huron chief, Kondiaronk, or "The Rat," was shrewd enough to see that, if peace were made, his tribesmen would be, as before, left to the mercy of the Iroquois. He therefore waylaid and attacked the embassy, pretending that he did so at the instigation of the French governor. The Iroquois, enraged, began once more to infest the St. Lawrence valley. In 1689, after an August storm, a band of these fierce braves descended in the darkness upon Lachine and massacred many of its defenceless inhabitants. Many more were carried away captive. Montreal, expecting an attack at any moment, was almost paralyzed with fright. The troops in garrison were badly handled, and the Iroquois were allowed to get safely away. In a spirit of cruel bravado they tortured some of the captives on the south shore of the river, in full view of friends at Lachine who were powerless to aid. Then they scattered in small bands, infesting the country in every direction. At this crisis Frontenac was once more sent out to Quebec as governor of New France.

Growth of Acadia.—Of the many immigrants who came to New France, only some sixty were sent to Acadia. When Grandfontaine received this region from Temple in 1670, the total population was 441, including the garrison at Port Royal. The adult males were probably not more than one hundred. Around Port Royal was the only real settlement, the stations on the gulf shore being mere fishing and trading posts. Very soon, however, other settlements were begun on the Basin of Minas and at Chignecto, and by the year 1686 the population of Acadia had doubled. The settlers were kept busy dyking the marshes and tilling the rich soil thus reclaimed from the sea, and these years were with them years of quiet progress. Large portions of Acadia were granted in seigneuries by Frontenac and his immediate successors, but in most cases these grants were afterwards revoked or abandoned by the adventurers to whom they had been made.

Mercenary Governors.—The fur trade, here as in Canada,

was a source of endless corruption. The chief centres of this trade were Jemseg, about fifty miles up the St. John, and Penobscot. Ensign de L'Abadie, of the Carignan-Salières regiment, established himself at Penobscot, married the daughter of an Indian chief, and became a leader of much influence among the tribes of this region. His fur trade was extensive, and he is said to have amassed an enormous fortune. As Baron de St. Castin, the New England settlers learned to know him to their cost. After Grandfontaine's death (1673) corruption ran riot at Port Royal. The local governors monopolized the fur trade, sold brandy to the Indians, and demoralized the garrison. Instead of preventing the New Englanders from trading upon the coasts of Acadia, these officers illegally sold them trading licenses at high prices. Meneval, who took office in 1687, was governor of Acadia when Frontenac returned to New France. His instructions were to propagate religion, put down the *coureurs de bois*, and stop the carrying on of the coasting trade by foreigners. There seems to have been a spasmodic interest taken in Acadia at this time, but it scarcely went beyond these energetic instructions.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GREAT ONONTIO.

England and France at War.—In 1688 James II. was dethroned, and William of Orange became King of England. In the next year began the war with Louis XIV. of France, which, with but slight intermission, lasted until the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. James II. had been anxious to stand well with Louis XIV., whose aid he had expected in his contest with the Protestants of England. He had, therefore, instructed Dongan, the governor of New York, to avoid giving offence to the French. Now there was open war, and all this would be changed ; the more aggressive the English governors in America, the more sure would they be of official favor. In America the contest was threefold—between Acadia and New England, between Canada and New York, and, thirdly, for supremacy on Hudson Bay. It was Frontenac's task to check the English advance at all these points, east, west and

north, and to chastise the Iroquois. The faults of Frontenac in his previous government of New France had been those of a strong character, too self-asserting, perhaps, for a time of peace; these same traits marked him as the very man who was needed in the crisis which had now arrived.

The Rival Colonies.—New France was governed by one master spirit, with command over a warlike race trained to implicit obedience. The English colonies were, as the Lords of Trade* complained, "crumbled into little governments." In population they far outnumbered the French. The individual settler was hardy and full of courage in defence of his homestead, but there was no unity of action and no military leader. Until the outbreak known as "King Philip's War" there had been peace between the New Englanders and their Indian neighbors. That war, called after an Indian chief who was prominent in it, had called forth much stubborn courage on the part of the pioneers. It had ended some years before (1678), and the settlers had returned to their peaceful warfare upon the surrounding forests. The trading station of Baron de St. Castin, at Penobscot, had been from time to time raided by the authorities of New England as being a trespass on English soil, but its half-savage head had always returned to his post, and through his influence with the Abenakis had kept alive a feeling in favor of the French and against the English settlements. Jesuit missions, too, were established on the upper waters of the Kennebec, and on the St. John the Récollet missionary, Father Simon, also exercised great influence over the savages in behalf of the French.

The Iroquois Join the English.—Frontenac found New France in wild alarm. The Iroquois had followed up the massacre of Lachine, and their prowling bands infested the neighborhood of Montreal. At its very gates the hamlet of La Chesnaye was pillaged. There was but one ray of light in the darkness. On the Lake of Two Mountains, du Luth met a large band of these marauders and routed them with much slaughter. A formal alliance was made between the English and the Iroquois in spite of Frontenac's efforts to prevent it. So low, indeed, had French prestige fallen that only through the influence of the

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* See page 186.

coureurs de bois were the tribes around Michillimackinac kept from joining their ancient enemies in the war against New France.

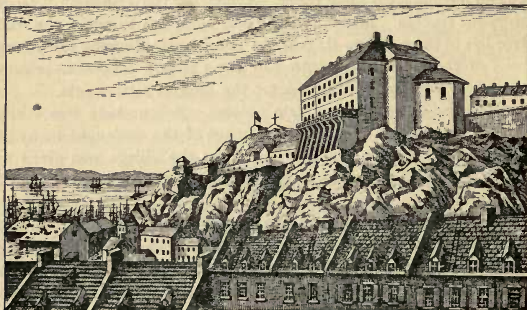
Frontenac Attacks the English Colonies.—Frontenac, though in his seventieth year, took up his task with characteristic energy. Three war parties were promptly sent against the English colonies. One marched from Montreal against Schenectady on the Mohawk, another from Three Rivers against the New Hampshire settlements, and the third from Quebec against the villages of Maine. Each of these was commanded by men Canadian-born and skilled in forest warfare. Averse to farming, and receiving as yet no income from their forest seigneuries, the Canadian *noblesse* were fur traders. Many of them had been led to adopt the wild free life of the *coureurs de bois*, in many cases drawing the young men of the settlements into the same path. These were now their followers in the raids against the English settlements.

These raids were a complete success. Schenectady was taken utterly by surprise. In the excitement of the onslaught many of the inhabitants were cruelly butchered; the village was given to the flames; and with a long train of captives the victors returned to Montreal.

The second party attacked the hamlet of Salmon Falls, on the borders between Maine and New Hampshire, and left it a smoking and bloody desolation. They then joined the third body, which had marched overland from Quebec to the head waters of the Kennebec. The Abenakis of these regions had broken out the year before against the English settlements. Now, with Baron de St. Castin at their head, they, too, joined the war party. The combined bands, some five hundred in all, swooped down on Fort Loyal (now Portland), on Casco Bay, and after a stout resistance the stockaded fort was taken.

The Iroquois Driven Back.—Encouraged by these successes Frontenac, during the summer of 1690, vigorously attacked the Iroquois. He protected the upper settlements with troops, and broke the fur blockade which the Mohawks had established by their continual presence on the upper Ottawa. News of the French successes reached the tribes of the west and confirmed them in their allegiance to France. It was a day of rejoicing when a fur flotilla—the first for many summers—came down from the upper lakes to the old rendezvous at Montreal.

Port Royal Captured by Phips.—Massachusetts was aroused by the attack upon the New England settlements, and Sir William Phips was sent on an expedition against Acadia. The Acadian governor, Meneval, had no sufficient garrison at Port Royal to withstand an attack, and reluctantly capitulated. In breach of the terms of surrender the settlement was given over to plunder. St. Castin's post of Penobscot and the fishing stations at La Hêve and Chedabucto were also captured. After exacting from the settlers an oath of allegiance, Phips returned triumphant with the captured governor and many other prisoners.



THE CASTLE OF ST. LOUIS AT QUEBEC (1694–1834).

Phips Fails to Take Quebec, 1690.—He found on his return to Boston a still larger project on foot. New France was to be taken by a combined attack by land and sea—by land, on Montreal; by sea, on Quebec. The attack by land ended in a petty raid on Laprairie, opposite Montreal. The attack on Quebec was a more formidable matter. Phips with a force of about two thousand sailed up the St. Lawrence in October. Frontenac had strengthened the already strong natural defences of the capital, and when Phips arrived before it he found the staunch old governor in a well-fortified town at the head of a strong force of regulars and Canadian militia. A land attack from across the St. Charles was poorly supported by the fleet, and the assailants,

being vigorously met, were compelled to retire to their boats. The fleet itself then opened fire on the town, but so well directed and powerful was the answering fire from the fort that the ships were soon driven in disorder beyond range. After a week's stay before Quebec, Phips retired discomfited.

The Iroquois War.—The next three years (1691-1693) were occupied in fighting the Iroquois, who, despite all efforts to dislodge them, closed in again upon the Ottawa. Crops along the St. Lawrence settlements were planted and reaped by bodies of men under military protection, for the settlers dared not scatter. Among the tales of heroism with which these years abound, is one recounting how, during the absence from his home of the seigneur of Verchères, his little daughter Madeleine with a puny garrison successfully defended his stockaded manor-house for several days against a band of Iroquois. The fur trade was once more cut off, and not until the summer of 1693 were the traders of the west able to bring down another flotilla laden with the accumulated furs of three seasons' trade at the upper posts. In that year Frontenac received a small reinforcement from France and by vigorous efforts the fierce confederates were beaten off. The English of New York, while eager to incite the Iroquois against New France, gave them at this juncture little active assistance. A desire for peace began to grow, particularly among the western tribes of the confederacy where Jesuit influence was strong. Their refusal, however, to include the western allies of France in any peace which might be made, led to the continuance of the strife. In 1697 Frontenac, with an imposing force, invaded the Onondaga country by way of the Oswego River, but again the Iroquois abandoned their villages, leaving Frontenac the barren glory of a few captives and devastated cornfields.

The Jesuits Oppose Western Extension.—The Jesuits were much opposed to Frontenac's plans for western extension, and the intendants were inclined to take the same view. The Jesuits complained that their mission work among the Indians was rendered of no avail by the evil practices of the fur traders and the soldiers of the outpost garrisons; and the intendants complained of the difficulty they had in keeping young men in the settlements. Toward the close of Frontenac's second term, the king, yielding to Jesuit influence, actually decreed the abandon-

ment of the western posts and the cancellation of all trade licenses. The decree was, however, soon withdrawn. Its effect would have been, as Frontenac pointed out, to throw the western tribes into the arms of the British traders from Albany.

Acadia and New England—Border War.—After Phips' capture of Port Royal (1690), Acadia was allowed to fall quietly into the hands of Villebon, an able Canadian whom Frontenac sent to take charge of the war against the New England settlements. To avoid a repetition of the disaster which had overtaken his brother Meneval, Villebon built a fort at Nashwaak well up the St. John River, opposite the site of the modern city of Fredericton. From this safe retreat many war parties of mingled French and Abenakis were despatched against New England. There is a strange monotony of horror in the story of these raids upon scattered villages and isolated farm-houses. Women and children were frequently the only victims. Frontenac, to his credit be it said, offered his savage allies a ransom for prisoners, and as these border wars went on this more humane policy had a marked effect. As a bulwark against these attacks, the New Englanders built a strong fort (Fort William Henry) at Pemaquid, but even this was captured and razed to the ground in 1696. By way of reprisal an expedition was sent that same year to capture Villebon's stronghold at Nashwaak, but the leaders quarrelled, and Villebon with little difficulty succeeded in driving off the attacking force. What with war vessels both French and English, with privateers and pirates, the coasts of Acadia were thoroughly patrolled during these years, and settlements and fishing stations suffered from numerous raids.

Hudson Bay.—The history of the Hudson Bay region during this period has been described as a bewildering story. The Hudson's Bay Company had built a fortified trading post, Fort Nelson, at the mouth of Nelson River. To the south, on James' Bay, were three other posts, Fort Albany, Fort Hayes and Fort Rupert. A rival company—*La Compagnie du Nord*—had been organized in Canada, and to it Louis XIV. had granted a monopoly of the trade on Hudson Bay. Posts were established to intercept the Indian canoes on their descent to the English forts. The rivalry was keen and not always peaceful, and in 1685 the Canadian company finally determined to expel the English intruders by force

of arms. Though there was peace in Europe between France and England, Denonville authorized the Chevalier de Troyes to lead an expedition overland against the forts of the English company. Fort Nelson was not reached, but the other three posts were taken in quick succession. At Fort Rupert the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was taken prisoner.

When formal war broke out, those noted Canadians, the Le Moyne brothers, took charge of the operations on the bay, and in 1694 captured Fort Nelson. Father Gabriel Marest, who was with this expedition, describes the captured inmates as "fifty-three in number, all large men and well made ; but those who commanded them were much more skilful in commerce than in the profession of arms, in which they had never been exercised." An English force retook the fort in 1696. Next year, however, the brothers again returned, won a naval battle on Hudson Bay, and again captured Fort Nelson. Little wonder, therefore, that on an old map the posts on Hudson Bay are marked "Sometimes held by the French, sometimes by the English." The Treaty of Ryswick (1697) left the rival claims unsettled. Meanwhile, the French retained possession of the captured posts.

Death of Frontenac.—The treaty also left unsettled the question of the boundary between Acadia and New England, and between Canada and New York. The growing frequency of French raids into the Iroquois country led the confederacy to respect New France and seek peace with her. Frontenac told them sternly that the western allies of France must be included in any peace, and threatened another attack upon them if they declined these terms. Bellomont, governor of New York, protested that if Frontenac carried out this threat he would march his whole available force to protect the Iroquois, whom he claimed as British subjects. But the intrepid governor of New France did not live to put his plans in order for this campaign. He died at Quebec in November, 1698, in his seventy-eighth year.

Peace with the Iroquois.—In the following year his successor, de Callières, and the governor of New York both received instructions to let the boundary dispute remain in abeyance and to join hands in repressing the Iroquois. Learning that the English had thus abandoned them, the Iroquois made peace with de Callières (1701). There was a grand pow-wow at

Montreal, and with much speech-making and many wampum belts the Iroquois, the French, and the tribes of the west joined in burying the hatchet. The Iroquois, now much reduced in fighting strength, were never again very formidable. In the subsequent wars between the French and the British, they played but a secondary, though often cruel, part.

CHAPTER VIII.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

De Callières.—After Frontenac's death de Callières secured the governorship of New France. He had been the local governor at Montreal, and in zeal for the colony he has been described as second only to Frontenac. There was now a short breathing space in the conflict between France and England. De Callières took advantage of it to make more secure the foothold of France in the west. He saw that the effort to concentrate settlement on the St. Lawrence by refusing licenses for the western fur trade was merely causing the *coureurs de bois* to seek other markets. They would go down the Mississippi to Louisiana, or, worse still, to the English at Albany. In spite therefore of much opposition, de Callières managed to get the half-hearted consent of the king to his plans for western extension.

Detroit Founded.—In 1701 La Mothe-Cadillac, who had been in command of the garrison at Michillimackinac, founded Detroit in order to intercept the flow of the fur trade toward Albany. Up to this time Michillimackinac, haunt of *coureurs de bois* and chief Jesuit mission in the west, had been the centre of the fur trade of the upper lake region. The founding of Detroit was against the interests of the older post; and the people of Montreal, most of whom lived by the traffic in furs, were also averse to the project, as it would draw off some portion of their trade. The new post was nevertheless established, and was named Fort Ponchartrain, after the colonial minister at Versailles. To offset this French advance the English quietly procured a grant from the Five Nations (as they usually styled the Iroquois) of their

beaver-hunting grounds, modestly described as embracing the entire region south of the great lakes westward to the Mississippi.

Virtual Peace in the West.—De Callières died in the spring of 1703, just as the war known in America as "Queen Anne's War," and in Europe as the "War of the Spanish Succession," fairly opened. In America this war was carried on mainly in the east—by the French against New England, and by the English against Acadia. De Callières had received instructions not to trouble New York, but to make war on the New England villages by means of the Abenaki tribes. His successor, de Vaudreuil, was instructed to pursue the same line of action. There was another reason for the virtual truce between Canada and New York. An extensive contraband trade was growing up between the fur traders of Montreal and Albany. The cheap goods of the English made this illicit traffic more profitable to the French than their own lawful trade. Even the governors of New France were accused of making profit out of it. The Iroquois shared in it and the Albany traders, too, found it lucrative. Thus, on both sides, there was an influence potent for peace between New York and Canada, while Acadia and the New England settlements were experiencing all the horrors of war.

Raids on New England Settlements.—The Abenaki tribes, naturally uneasy at the spread of English settlement in Maine, were encouraged to harass the frontier villages. The Acadian Indians also took part in these attacks, and the governor, de Vaudreuil, sent to head their war parties some of the most noted of the Canadian partisan leaders. These frontier raids continued with "little variety and little interruption" all through Queen Anne's War. The details, however, belong more particularly to the history of the New England States. So hard to catch were the raiding bands that direct reprisal was difficult.

New England in Revenge Attacks Acadia.—On Acadia the avenging blows fell. Villebon had just made arrangements to remove the garrison from Nashwaak back to Port Royal when, in 1700, death cut short his career. Villieu, who succeeded to temporary command, carried out the removal, and the St. John River region was for thirty years abandoned to its aboriginal inhabitants. In 1704 a Massachusetts force under Colonel Church ravaged the Acadian posts from Penobscot around to the settle-

ments in the Annapolis valley. He spared the lives of the Acadian peasants, but not their goods. He cut the dykes and threatened, moreover, that if there were any more raids on the New England frontier the Indians friendly to the English would be let loose to work their will on the Acadians. On this expedition Port Royal was not attacked. In 1707 two attempts were made to capture it, both of which failed through bad management on the part of those in command. During these years Acadia was much neglected by the French court. The colony, it was reported, was in great distress, "wanting everything;" and the officials generally were too busy trading with the English to trouble about the welfare of the settlers. In all the attacks upon the Acadian settlements, French prisoners were taken in order to exchange them for English prisoners captured in the frontier raids. It is charged that on pretence of effecting these exchanges there was much going to and fro between Boston and Acadia for trading purposes.

A Plan to Take Canada.—By the year 1708 the New England colonies had become so exasperated at the persistent raiding of their frontier settlements that an expedition was planned for the following year against Canada. Samuel Vetch, who afterwards became the first governor of Nova Scotia, went to London and returned with promise of help from Old England to New in the intended attack. A fleet with the promised troops was to follow, and the colonies accordingly gathered their rough militia at Boston awaiting its arrival. A land force, under Francis Nicholson, an officer of much colonial experience, was to co-operate in the capture of Canada by marching upon Montreal by way of Lake Champlain and the River Richelieu. There was some futile skirmishing between Nicholson's little band and a Canadian force under de Ramezay, governor at Montreal; but this, with the building of a British fort near the head of Lake Champlain, was all that resulted from the land attack. Word reached Nicholson that the British fleet had been sent to Portugal instead of to America, and that in consequence the capture of Canada must be deferred for a season.

England Acquires Acadia.—Some vent for all this martial zeal of the New Englanders had to be found. Next year accordingly (1710) an expedition was despatched to take Acadia. Nicholson was in command. With him was Samuel Vetch hold-

ing a commission as governor of Acadia in case of its capture. Subercase, in command at Port Royal, was in no position, with his garrison of less than three hundred men, to withstand the determined attack of the large force sent against him. He made, however, some show of resistance and secured honorable terms of capitulation. The capture of Port Royal, the only garrison in Acadia, meant the capture of all Acadia, which thus passed forever out of the hands of the French. Port Royal was rechristened Annapolis Royal, after the British Queen. It is known to us as Annapolis simply. Vetch was left in command of the British garrison, and the fort, though often threatened, was held throughout the remaining years of the war.

An Attack on Quebec Fails.—In Europe this war is noted for the brilliant victories of Marlborough at Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. The Whigs were in power during the earlier years of the struggle, but in 1710 they were driven from office. Anxious to offset Marlborough's victories by some notable exploit under their own auspices, the new Tory ministry planned the capture of Canada. The old method of attack was again adopted—by sea upon Quebec, by land upon Montreal. Nicholson with a force of over two thousand men again took up his station at the head of Lake Champlain, ready to advance against Montreal on receiving news of the arrival of the fleet before Quebec. Sir Hovenden Walker was admiral in command of the fleet. When, toward the end of July, 1711, he sailed from Boston he had on board a force of nearly twelve thousand. General Hill, known in court circles in England as Jack Hill, brother of Mrs. Masham, the Queen's favorite, was in command of the land forces. Both admiral and general were utterly incompetent for the task they had undertaken. Through bad steering the fleet ran upon the north shore of the St. Lawrence shortly after entering the river. A number of the ships of war and transports were wrecked, and nearly a thousand men were drowned. Though the force remaining was amply sufficient to have taken Quebec, a retreat was ordered and the enterprise abandoned. Nicholson, at Wood Creek, swore roundly when he heard the news, burned his forts, and disbanded his army. Canada once more breathed freely.

The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.—The Peace of Utrecht (1713)

closed this war. If by it England gained less in Europe than her brilliant successes in the field should have secured to her, in America her gains were marked. The French abandoned all claim to the Hudson Bay region. The Five Nation, or Iroquois, Indians were acknowledged to be British subjects. Acadia was wholly given up. Newfoundland was ceded, with a reservation, however, of certain fishing privileges on a portion of the coast. The Island of Cape Breton (Isle Royale), then entirely uninhabited, was left to France without conditions, and she proceeded at once to plant a fortress upon it. Isle St. Jean (now Prince Edward Island) was also left to her.

CHAPTER IX.

THIRTY YEARS OF UNEASY PEACE.

Rival Claims in America.—In Europe, England and France remained at peace for thirty years after the Treaty of Utrecht. In America, during the same period, they were constantly on the verge of war. The able officers to whom the government of New France was entrusted were fully alive to the situation. Their policy had at least the merit of consistency, while their English rivals had almost as many different policies as there were colonial governments. De Vaudreuil, governor of New France during Queen Anne's War (1703-1713), remained in office for twelve years after its close. On his death in 1725, de Beauharnois became governor, holding the position until 1747. Their one object of foreign policy was to push forward the frontier line of New France as far as possible, and so prevent the spread of British rule in America. To this end they interpreted the Treaty of Utrecht as ceding to the British under the name of Acadia only the western end of the Nova Scotia peninsula. What is now New Brunswick and much of what is Maine they claimed to be still French territory. To shut the British out of the west, they claimed the whole interior of the continent from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi. To make good this claim they proceeded to occupy with their fortified trading posts the entire chain of water communication. To the north the same policy was pur-

sued. French explorers and fur-traders pushed in from Lake Superior to secure for France the great north-west behind the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Acadians Cling to their Homes.—The little garrison at Annapolis contained all there was of British blood in Acadia. The Treaty of Utrecht secured to those Acadians who chose to stay, and to become British subjects, their lands and the free exercise of their religion. Those who chose to go had leave to sell their lands; a somewhat doubtful privilege, however, as there was no one to buy. To guard the southern gateway to the St. Lawrence, the French, in 1714, founded Louisbourg upon Cape Breton island; and around the town a fortress, as strong as French engineers and New England stone and wood could make it, was constructed. It was at first intended that the island should be settled by the French inhabitants of Newfoundland and Acadia. The former were, indeed, removed to their new home; but, despite the efforts of French officers from Louisbourg, the settlers of the Annapolis valley were unwilling "to leave their rich farms and risk starvation on a wild and barren island," and few only, from the immediate neighborhood of Annapolis, went to Louisbourg. At first the British were apparently as anxious as the French to induce the Acadians to migrate, but in a few years there was a change on both sides. The French of Cape Breton drew supplies freely from the region of the Annapolis valley and the Basin of Minas. They grew to believe that the recapture of Acadia would be a much easier task if a French population were there to rise in revolt when the proper time should come. The British garrison at Annapolis were left in almost complete neglect, and, when they found that no settlers were to be sent to take the Acadian farms, they naturally desired to retain the old owners, to whom they looked for supplies and provisions. At the same time, every effort was made to induce the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, or after her death to King George, but for many years without success.

A "Mock Government"—The Acadians Prosper.—The garrison at Annapolis seldom amounted to more than one hundred men, and this poor fort and a small block-house at Canso were the sole guardians of British power in Acadia during this period, Those in command did not hesitate to call it a "mock

government." Nicholson was governor until 1717, but left the duties of his office largely to lieutenants. His successor, General Richard Philipps (1717-1749), spent not more than six years of his long term in the province, and that at very irregular intervals. Doucette, Armstrong, and Paul Mascarene were in turn his lieutenants. During the time of Armstrong the Acadians apparently were inclined to accept the situation and become British subjects; with a saving clause, however, that they should not be called on to bear arms. In 1730 General Philipps, after one of his short visits to the province, reported that they had taken the oath of allegiance, but the Acadians claimed that Philipps on his part promised that they should occupy the position of neutrals in any war with France. Hence arose the name by which, during the latter part of this period, they were known—"the Neutral French." They multiplied greatly and had prosperous settlements, not only along the Annapolis and around the Basin of Minas, but also on the isthmus at the head of Chignecto Bay. They paid no taxes and were subject to no military or other state service. Taking no part in the fur trade, they stayed at home and knew little of the world beyond their fruitful valleys. Had not war again broken out between their kinsmen and the English, it is probable that they would in a short time have accepted unconditionally the position of British subjects.

Canada and New York.—By the Treaty of Utrecht, as we have seen, the Five Nations were acknowledged by France to be British subjects. Nothing, however, was said as to the boundary lines of their territory. New York claimed the entire region to the shores of Lake Ontario, and, in common with the other British colonies in America, she contended that her boundary to the west was the Mississippi, if not, indeed, the Pacific Ocean. For New France to allow this claim would be to lose command of the Niagara portage and the southern waterway to the western regions. One aim of the French, therefore, was to secure this portage.

Rival Posts on Lake Ontario.—There had already been several attempts during La Salle's time, and at the time of Denonville's march against the Senecas, to establish a fort at the mouth of the Niagara, but the rude structures had been soon abandoned. Now a stockade was built, near where Lewiston

stands, to command the portage past the falls. A few years later (1725) a fort was erected at the mouth of the river, and armed vessels were built at Fort Frontenac to control Lake Ontario. To offset this movement of the French, a fortified trading post was built by the British at the mouth of the Oswego, which the French in vain incited the Iroquois to destroy. Oswego threatened to draw off from Montreal that portion of the fur trade from the north which was wont to come down from the Georgian Bay by way of the Toronto portage, and to meet this danger a post was established at Toronto on the north shore of the lake.

The Lake Champlain Region.—After de Beauharnois became governor, the French in 1731, by a brilliant movement, advanced their frontier into New York by fortifying Crown Point on Lake Champlain—always a post of danger, as one may judge from its French name, *Pointe à la Chevelure* (Scalp Point). There was much angry correspondence about these matters between the officials of the rival colonies. In Europe, however, not much attention was paid to what were deemed trivial disputes. The governors on both sides were enjoined to keep the peace and to let the Indians harass the new posts. The Oswego post excepted, the advantage of position was gained by the French. Their weakness was that the garrisoned trading posts had no settlements to support them.

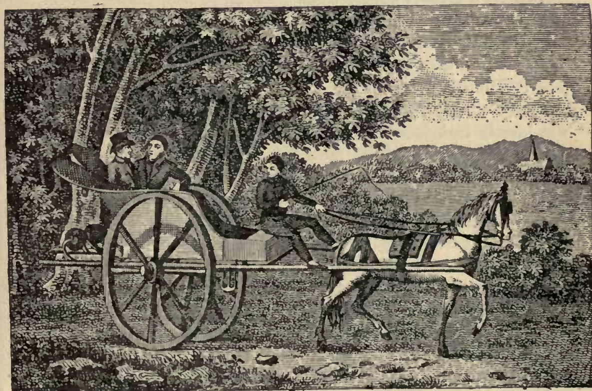
New France Secures the West.—Still farther west the French during these years materially strengthened their position. Detroit slowly grew into a settlement. To-day, along the east shore of the river are many descendants of the French pioneers who at that time migrated, some from France and some from the banks of the St. Lawrence, to this western post. On the upper Mississippi was another settlement around Fort Chartres, while, toward the mouth of the river, Louisiana gradually acquired stability. A famous Canadian, Le Moyne d'Iberville, had founded this colony in 1700; his brother, Le Moyne de Bienville, was long its governor. Before the middle of the century there was a complete chain of posts—fortified trading stations with small garrisons under officers experienced in Indian diplomacy—all the way around from Quebec to Louisiana. From these, adventurous voyageurs, *coureurs de bois*, and officers with a leaning toward exploration, pushed up the rivers which empty into the Mississippi from the

west. Others, however, reaped the benefit of their western travels; it is left to us merely to note that the earliest opening up of the Western States was largely the work of Canadians.

North-Western Exploration.—We have a more direct interest in the exploration northward. The route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg had become well known to the fur traders, and posts had been established on the Kaministiquia River, the Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winnipeg. The Jesuit father, Charlevoix, to whose pen we are indebted for a history of New France, was stationed (about 1725) at the western end of Lake Superior. The Indians there told him of a stream which flowed toward the west to a great body of water where the tide ebbed and flowed. At his post on Lake Nepigon, north of Lake Superior, the famous de la Vérendrye heard similar stories. He formed the opinion that the way to the western ocean was through the country of the Assiniboels—the modern Manitoba. He offered to find it, and was granted a monopoly of the trade north and west of Lake Superior to aid him in the search. Between the years 1731 and 1749 de la Vérendrye and his sons explored an immense tract of country behind the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. They established no less than six fortified posts to command the approaches to this great North-West, besides two smaller posts, one on the site of the present city of Winnipeg and the other at the mouth of the Saskatchewan River. Two of de la Vérendrye's sons penetrated in 1742 through the country lying to the south-west of the Missouri River to the foot of a spur of the Rocky Mountains. One of these sons, known as the Chevalier de la Vérendrye, also went as far west as the forks of the Saskatchewan. The story of the Vérendryes is very like that of La Salle. Their toil was ill requited. The father, indeed, received the cross of the Order of St. Louis, but very little else. The sons, after incurring heavy debts, found themselves ousted from their posts and their monopoly given to one more in favor with a new governor. The march of events on the St. Lawrence prevented much attention being paid to this north-western region, during the remaining years of French rule in Canada.

Commercial Monopoly Retards Settlement. — The spasmodic zeal for manufactures which the intendant Talon had aroused, died away almost immediately after his departure from

the colony, and the fur trade again engrossed the whole energy of New France. The king drew a large revenue from this traffic, certain duties on spirits and tobacco forming his only other income from the colony. The right to collect all these revenues was from time to time farmed out to trading partnerships and companies, who paid a fixed sum for the privilege. To make sure that all furs should pass through their hands, their ships only were allowed to carry goods from Canada. This monopoly of export had naturally drawn with it the monopoly of import, and Canadians were



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thus denied all share in commercial enterprise. Even agriculture went no further than the raising of such crops as the colony could itself consume. Little wonder, therefore, that settlement spread but slowly and that, to escape the monotony of life on the St. Lawrence, active men plunged into the fascinating freedom of the western fur trade.

An Improvement Takes Place.—With Queen Anne's War (1703-1713) a change came. British cruisers cut off the colony's supplies, and Canadians were driven to make for themselves many

articles which had previously been imported. The effect of the impetus thus given continued after the war closed. Population grew with increased rapidity along the St. Lawrence valley. In 1734, for the first time, one could travel in a wheeled cart from Montreal to Quebec. Agriculture and its allied industries—the manufacture of cloth from wool, hemp, and nettle fibre, tanning and ship-building—tended to the growth of a more settled population. Though fur was the chief article of export during all the years of French rule in Canada, and, indeed, for many years thereafter, a modest export trade grew up in fish, timber, wheat, and the plant called ginseng, then much in favor as a cure-all.

The Canadian Habitant.—There was no landlord class, as in France, to take the lion's share of the fruits of the *habitant's* labor. He paid no direct tax to the king. To the Church he had to contribute his tithes. The Catholic Church in Canada, however, was largely maintained from France, so that the tithe was never during the French *régime* much of a burden upon the settler. He is described as essentially superior to the French peasant; as honest, civil and obliging; as indefatigable in hunting, travelling and bush-ranging, but slow in tilling the soil. All writers of the time describe the Canadians as extravagant, particularly in dress. Very few could read or write. The seminary at Quebec and the nuns' schools at Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal were the only regular educational establishments. The *curés* instructed the young of the parishes in their duty to the Church and the king. Beyond this the settlers had little means of acquiring knowledge.

No Self-government.—In government, neither *seigneur* nor *censitaire* had any part. New France was under the absolute rule of the French king, who, through the colonial minister at Versailles, gave directions in all matters to his officers in Canada. The governor, the intendant, the judges, and all lesser officials, were sent out from France. It was the settled policy of the French court that Canadians should not be allowed any share in the government of the country. There was hesitation, it is said, about appointing Beauharnois to the governorship, because his wife's relatives were Canadian. The most to which even a Canadian seigneur could aspire was the command of a western post or the leadership in a raid on New England. Even in

municipal affairs there was no self-government, and the small details of every-day life in the settlements were regulated by ordinances of the intendant.

CHAPTER X.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

The French Attack Annapolis.—Early in 1744 news reached Cape Breton that war had been declared in Europe between England and France. During the past twenty-five years the fortifications of Louisbourg had slowly grown to completion, and it was now, beyond all question, the strongest fortress in America. Its commandant, on hearing the news of war, at once despatched an expedition under du Vivier to recapture Acadia. The block-house at Canso was captured and burned. At Annapolis Paul Mascarene was in command. Himself of French descent, he had gained the esteem of the Acadians by his mild government; so that, when du Vivier arrived before Annapolis, he received so little aid from his compatriots that, after much bluster and a little skirmishing, he deemed it prudent to raise the siege.

New England Plans to Take Louisbourg.—Massachusetts alone seemed alive to the necessity for looking after Acadia. Her interest in it was largely mercantile, and so, when news came of the destruction of Canso and the attack on Annapolis, an intense desire was expressed for the capture of Louisbourg in order to prevent the destruction of New England commerce by French privateers from that port. Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, was eager for military glory, and, taking advantage of the feeling among the merchants, he persuaded the assembly of the colony to vote an expedition against the redoubtable fortress. New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, with more or less zeal, joined in this "project of wild audacity." Puritan New England looked upon it as a crusade against idolatry; Parson Moody figures largely in the campaign. The raw levies of the colonies, to the number of about four thousand, were commanded by officers almost wholly unskilled. The commander-in-chief was a merchant, William Pepperrell. From England orders were sent

to Admiral Warren that his fleet should co-operate in the attack. The expedition, therefore, waited for him at Canso, Pepperrell utilizing the time drilling his awkward squads on shore.

The Fortress Taken.—Late in April, 1745, the united forces appeared off Louisbourg, which was defended by about two thousand regulars. The fleet at once proceeded to blockade the harbor, while the New Englanders landed and laid siege to the town. For nearly seven weeks the siege continued. The attacking forces gradually acquired discipline and drew in upon the defences of the place, while Warren kept watch outside the harbor, to cut off any succor which France might send to the beleaguered fortress. On the 16th of June, just as the New England army and the fleet were about to make a combined assault both by land and sea, its commandant capitulated. This most noted exploit has been claimed by some New England writers as the work of the New England land forces alone. On the other hand, English historians treat it as a victory for the British fleet. The truth is that neither alone could have taken Louisbourg. At the time, however, the New Englanders complained that while the fleet got prize money in abundance, glory was all that fell to the army. Shirley, with much pride, came over from Boston to receive the keys of the captured fortress.

A French Fleet Shattered.—Elated with this success, the New England colonies made ready a large force for an expedition against Quebec, but the weak Newcastle ministry in England failed to send the promised fleet to support the enterprise. Shirley then planned a campaign against the French fort at Crown Point, but this, too, was dropped when news came that a powerful fleet had sailed from France to recover Louisbourg, and capture Annapolis. This fleet, under the Duc d'Anville, was sufficiently powerful to have carried out all its designs, but a succession of Atlantic storms worked such havoc upon it that it reached the harbor of Chebucto (now Halifax) in a very badly shattered condition. The Duc d'Anville died suddenly, and his successor, despairing of accomplishing the object of their coming, committed suicide. De Jonquière, to whom the command fell, had come with the fleet to replace Beauharnois as governor of New France, but, after another storm off Cape Sable had nearly completed the destruction of the fleet, he returned with the shattered rem-

nant to France. He started again next year (1747) in command of another strong force, but off Rochelle he was met and vanquished by a British fleet under Anson and Warren. De Jonquière being taken prisoner, the French king had to choose another governor for New France, and the Marquis de la Galissonnière was appointed.

Grand Pré.—To aid d'Anville's campaign against Acadia, de Beauharnois sent overland from Quebec a body of men of the very pick of the Canadians, under the leadership of de Ramezay of Montreal. To prevent the Acadians from joining him, Shirley sent a small force under Colonel Noble to occupy Grand Pré on the shores of the Basin of Minas. On his approach de Ramezay retired to Beaubassin, on the isthmus between Nova Scotia and the present province of New Brunswick. Noble, anticipating no attack, quartered his forces in the scattered houses around Grand Pré. De Ramezay, learning of this, planned a winter assault. After a long and tiring march around the head of the Basin of Minas, a select body under Coulon de Villiers, at night and under cover of a snow-storm, surprised the settlement. The numerical superiority of the British counted for nothing in their scattered condition. Colonel Noble was killed while fighting bravely in his nightshirt. A small body managed to hold the central block-house until daybreak; then, finding further resistance useless, they surrendered on honorable terms. They were allowed to march off to Annapolis, under promise to serve no further in the war. De Villiers retired again to Beaubassin, while Shirley sent another force to reoccupy Grand Pré.

"La Petite Guerre."—The Assembly of New York, largely under the influence of the Albany traders, was half-hearted in taking measures against Canada. The Iroquois lost much of their respect for British prowess when they saw the unguarded state of the New York frontier. The garrison at Saratoga being withdrawn, the partisan leader Marin, with a band of mission Indians, swooped down very early in the war (1745), and destroyed the fort and settlement there. At this time a young Irishman, known in Canadian history by his later title of Sir William Johnson, was stationed on the Mohawk River, where he acquired great influence with the Indians of the district. At his suggestion raids were made toward Montreal in order to draw off the bands of Canadians who

were ravaging New England. This "petite guerre," as the Canadians called it, lasted all through the war. It drew forth the best skill and endurance of the combatants on both sides, but the details of these movements would fill volumes and the results were unimportant.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.—This "War of the Austrian Succession," as it is called in Europe, is noted chiefly for the brilliant naval victories gained by the British over the fleets of France and Spain. After the capture of Louisbourg, not much interest was taken in the conduct of the war in America, where, as we have seen, the New England colonies were left to do the fighting. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) put an end to the strife for a time. By it Cape Breton, including the captured fortress of Louisbourg, was restored to France, much to the disgust of New England. In return, France surrendered Madras, which her troops in India had captured. There Clive was just beginning his illustrious career.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE EDGE OF THE STORM.

Galissonnière.—The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle settled none of the boundary disputes in America, and Galissonnière, during his short term of office, earnestly urged the colonial office at Versailles to take prompt and vigorous measures to make New France strong for the next struggle. Now that the peace had left the British in possession of the Hudson Bay country, he supported the Vérendryes in their efforts to maintain a line of posts to shut the Hudson's Bay Company out of the country west of Lake Winnipeg. He urged that, to the east, Louisbourg should be strengthened, and that a neutral belt should be established along the gulf shore of Nova Scotia, in order to keep open the communication between Canada and Cape Breton. He turned his attention also to the British colonies to the south, and took steps to confine them to the region east of the Alleghany Mountains. This ablest of all the governors of New France seems to have put his finger at once on the weak spot in French policy with regard to the west. He

pleaded earnestly, but vainly, that settlers might be sent out from France, to occupy the border lands upon which British settlement was pressing, and to support the garrisons at and beyond Detroit.

The Ohio Valley.—Up to this time New France had not come into direct conflict with the more southern British colonies, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas, whose western borders reached the Alleghanies. Beyond this range, to the west, lay the valley of the Ohio, part of the great interior valley of the Mississippi which France claimed as her own. Into the Ohio valley traders from these British colonies had pushed their way over the mountains. Galissonnière found that the turbulent spirit, which of late had been marked among the Indians of the west, was owing largely to the influence of these traders, whose wares were better and cheaper than those to be had at the French trading posts. The governor therefore decided that a force must be sent to show both British and Indians that France had not abandoned her claim to any part of the region traversed by La Salle. Accordingly, Céloron de Bienville with a force of about two hundred men landed in the summer of 1749 on the south shore of Lake Erie. Crossing to the little Lake Chautauqua, he descended the Alleghany to the main stream of the Ohio. He then followed that stream to where the Miami enters it, ascended the Miami, crossed over to the Maumee, and so passed out again to Lake Erie. A notary accompanied the expedition to make a formal record of this "renewal of possession." Bienville reported that the Indians of this region, who were relatively numerous, were inclined to the British, whose traders were to be found in nearly every village. De Bienville also reported that he had driven off the interlopers and had given them written protests to be handed to the governors of the British colonies. In this same year, in order to strengthen the line of communication with the west, a garrison was sent to the trading post at Toronto, and a fort was built there, called, after the colonial minister, Fort Rouillé.

The British traders of Pennsylvania and Virginia declined to admit the right of the French to exclude them from the Ohio valley. A company was formed in Virginia to acquire land for settlement west of the Alleghanies, and, had the assemblies of Virginia and Pennsylvania supported their proposals, British settlers would have acquired a foothold in the valley before the

next French expedition came. As it was, transient traders were for some time the only rivals of the French.

Halifax Founded, 1749.—Roused to action by Shirley's reiterated appeals, the British ministry at length decided to plant a British settlement in Nova Scotia as an offset to Louisbourg, as well as a check upon the Acadians. The founding of Halifax (July, 1749) was a state enterprise, and the first settlers were largely disbanded soldiers. Over 2,500 (men, women and children) were induced to cast in their lot with this first British-Canadian colony. They were promised a free passage, free land, one year's maintenance, and a government like that of the other "plantations" in America. Edward Cornwallis, whom Wolfe describes as "a man of approved courage and fidelity," accompanied the settlers as governor of Nova Scotia. Before winter all were roughly housed, and by the year 1752 Halifax was a flourishing town of about four thousand inhabitants. About the same time nearly two thousand Germans were settled to the west of Halifax, and the county of Lunenburg now contains many of their descendants.

The Acadians.—The Acadians at this time numbered about nine thousand, living along the Annapolis valley, around the shores of the Basin of Minas, and at the head of Chignecto Bay. Cornwallis now called upon them to take an oath of unconditional allegiance to King George. Jonquière, who became governor of New France in 1749, used all his influence to prevent the Acadians from becoming British subjects. With his approval, a vigorous effort was put forth to induce them to migrate to the north shore of the Bay of Fundy or to Isle St. Jean. The effort was only partially successful, for in 1754 there were still six thousand Acadians to the south of the isthmus. The Abbé Le Loutre, missionary to the Micmacs, was the most active agent in carrying out these instructions. He did not scruple to threaten that he would let loose his Indian converts upon the Acadians should they accede to the demands of the British. We can understand, therefore, how, under such ever-present influence, the simple peasants hesitated to take the oath of allegiance.

At a saw-mill near Halifax four men were killed at their work by Micmacs. This, following other outrages upon the British settlers, determined the governor and his council to insist upon nothing less than an unconditional oath. Other measures were

also taken to strengthen the British position. Fort Edward was built where Windsor now stands, on an arm of the Basin of Minas. At Beaubassin, Fort Lawrence was planted in spite of opposition. Here Le Loutre, on the advance of the British, burned the settlers' houses and thus compelled them to move over to the north side of the Missiguash, which here enters Chignecto Bay. On this side was the French fort, Beauséjour, and the Acadians were put to work to strengthen its defences. This region was all disputed territory, and there was chronic hostility between the two forts. It was here that a British officer, Howe, decoyed to the edge of the stream by a flag of truce, was treacherously shot. A French vessel, conveying supplies to the post at the mouth of the River St. John, was captured by Captain Rous, and, when France complained of this as an outrage, answer was made that the vessel had no right to trade with British territory. Colonel Hopson, whom the French authorities at the time described as a mild and peaceable officer, succeeded Cornwallis in 1752.

French Forts on the Ohio.—In the year 1752 Jonquière died at Quebec, and was succeeded by another naval officer, the Marquis Duquesne de Meneval. In spite of all the efforts of the officers at the western posts, the Indians of the Ohio region were falling more and more under the influence of the British traders from beyond the Alleghanies. Duquesne promptly determined to secure the upper valley by regular garrisoned posts. To this end he sent an imposing force of one thousand men under the able and energetic Marin, who in the last war had headed the raid on Saratoga. A fort was built at Presqu'île, after which the portage was crossed to the head waters of the Alleghany, and other forts, Le Bœuf and Venango, were planted along its course. The British traders were driven out, and the fickle savages took note that no soldiers were sent to oppose the French. The colonial assemblies begrudged the spending of any money to secure the control of the country beyond the mountains, so that the traders were left without military support.

Fort Necessity.—Finally, however, Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, succeeded in getting a grant of £10,000 for an expedition to expel the French. He had previously sent Colonel George Washington with a message to Fort Le Bœuf, demanding that the French should leave the country. The messenger was hos-

pitably entertained, but the French commandant, of course, declined to comply with the demand made upon him. Washington was now placed in command of the force which Dinwiddie sent in 1754 to enforce compliance. The French had anticipated his action, and at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, where Pittsburg now stands, they had built and garrisoned a fort which they called Fort Duquesne. Washington, finding his force too small for an attack, entrenched himself at a place which he called Fort Necessity, but was obliged to surrender to the superior force of the French. He was allowed to march out with the honors of war, and at once withdrew to the eastern side of the mountains.

"A Startling Programme."—When word reached England of the disaster at Fort Necessity, the British parliament voted liberal supplies for America. Major-General Braddock was sent to take command of the forces there, which were now reinforced by about 1,400 regular troops. After Braddock's arrival (1755), a council was held at Alexandria at which were present the governors of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina. What has been described as a somewhat startling programme for a time of peace was there decided on. Braddock was to march on Fort Duquesne and drive the French from the Ohio valley; Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to lead an expedition against Fort Niagara; William Johnson was to take Crown Point and secure control of Lake Champlain; while, in Acadia, Monckton was to attack the French position at Fort Beauséjour. These movements they justified on the ground that the places to be attacked were all on British ground.

Braddock's Defeat.—Braddock's campaign was a disastrous failure. There was much delay in getting off, owing to the want of wagons to transport the artillery and supplies. The total force which at length started on the long march over the mountains was about 2,200 men. The difficulties of the way considered, the march was made quickly and in good order. On the 9th of July Braddock was on the banks of the Monongahela, within a few miles of Fort Duquesne, when suddenly a force of French and Indians, numbering in all about nine hundred, attacked the British column. Beaujeu, who led the attack, fell at the first fire, and the British pushed forward with a cheer as the enemy in front disappeared. Their assailants, however, had merely spread

themselves along the side of the hill which here bordered the trail by which Braddock was advancing. From among the trees which hid them from view they poured a deadly fire into the compact masses in the valley below. In whatever qualities Braddock may have been lacking, he did not want for bull-dog courage, but that very quality now stood him in bad stead in fighting Indians and Frenchmen who fought like Indians. Instead of allowing his men to spread in open order among the trees, he made them keep their ranks. The British volleys buried themselves in the trees, while every shot from the hillside found its human victim. Braddock himself fell mortally wounded; and, finally, the order to retreat was given. The retreat soon became a headlong flight. Everything was abandoned to the enemy, who returned in triumph to Fort Duquesne. Braddock died on the 13th, and the forlorn remnant of the British forces toiled painfully back to the eastern side of the Alleghanies.

Beauséjour.—Meanwhile the campaign in Acadia had been energetically pressed. Before starting upon his own expedition against Niagara, Shirley had sent off two thousand of the New England militia to aid Monckton in his attack on Beauséjour, the strongest fort in Acadia. Its defences had been strengthened by the forced labor of the expatriated settlers from the Annapolis valley, who, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred, were now settled in the neighborhood of the French fort. Vergor, however, who was in oommand at Beauséjour, made but a weak defence. Monckton, with his garrison of Fort Lawrence and Shirley's New Englanders, pushed the siege vigorously. A shell exploded in Vergor's quarters and in a very short time the fort capitulated. Fort Gaspereau at Baie Verte, on the gulf side of the isthmus, was also surrendered, and the fort on the St. John River was, on the advance of Captain Rous against it, burned and abandoned.

Expulsion of the Acadians, 1755.—Acadia was now entirely in possession of the British. What was to be done with the French Acadians? The authorities at Halifax did not, perhaps, make sufficient allowance for the influences which had been at work to draw these Acadian farmers to the side of their compatriots. Colonel Lawrence, a much less patient man than Hopson, was now at the head of affairs at Halifax. He and his council, exasperated by the conduct of the Acadians at Beauséjour, deter-

mined that they should be given one more chance to take the oath of allegiance; if they refused they should be removed from Nova Scotia. They did again refuse, and Monckton was accordingly directed to carry out the decree of the council. At Annapolis, Grand Pré, Windsor and Beaubassin, nearly six thousand Acadians in all were assembled, put on board ship with such household effects as could be carried, and transported to the other British colonies. Many, however, managed to evade the troops sent to remove them. Many more afterwards succeeded in finding their way back to their old homes from the other colonies. There are to-day in the Maritime Provinces more than one hundred thousand descendants of these early French Acadians.

Lake George.—While these events were in progress at the two extremes of New France, a change had taken place in the governorship. Duquesne was replaced by the Marquis de Vaudreuil Cavagnal, the last of the French governors. He was a son of the

former governor, de Vaudreuil, and by birth a Canadian. France, learning of Braddock's departure for America, sent out to Quebec with the new governor a force of three thousand regulars under Baron Dieskau to uphold her claims. It was at first intended that they should attack Oswego; but letters found on the field after Braddock's defeat revealed the plan for Johnson's expedition against Crown Point, and Dieskau therefore was sent to meet the threatened attack in that quarter. On the British side there was much delay, as it required the action of half a dozen different colonial assemblies to get the men into the field. At length, however, Johnson found himself at the head of three thousand provincials, undisciplined, without uniforms, and provided only with a rough hunter's outfit. About three hundred Indians, chiefly Mohawks, also joined him. Advancing from Albany toward Lake Champlain, he decided after some hesitation to take the western route by way of Lake George. Leaving a portion of his force at Fort Lyman (afterwards Fort Edward) to guard his rear, Johnson advanced late in August to the southern edge of the lake.

Dieskau's Defeat.—Dieskau meanwhile had reached Crown Point with a force of over 3,500 men, regulars, Canadians, and Indians. The French leader was a veteran soldier and had a supreme contempt for the rustic warriors against whom he was sent. His policy was an aggressive one; therefore, leaving most of his force at Crown Point, he pushed forward with about fifteen hundred men. Of these some two hundred only were regulars, the rest Canadians and Indians. They took the eastern route by way of the southern arm of Lake Champlain and Wood Creek, and thus got between Johnson and Fort Lyman. Their destination was Fort Lyman, but, learning of Johnson's camp on Lake George, Dieskau turned north to attack it. The presence of the French in the neighborhood had become known, and Johnson sent a force of one thousand men under Colonel Williams to reinforce Fort Lyman. This force marched into an ambuscade prepared for them by Dieskau. After a short conflict known as the "Bloody Morning Scout," the provincials were driven back upon Johnson's camp, which Dieskau at once attacked. All afternoon the fight went on. The New Englanders lay close behind their defences and repulsed every attempt to take the camp. The French regulars, unused to forest warfare, suffered severely;

otherwise the loss on either side was small. As evening fell, the ardor of the men in camp burst all restraint, and they broke through their own barricades and drove all before them. Of this battle of Lake George, Dieskau—himself wounded and taken prisoner—afterwards said that the New Englanders fought in the morning like good boys, at noon like men, and in the afternoon like devils.

The French were allowed to retreat without molestation, and were soon entrenched at Ticonderoga (or Carillon), where Lake George empties into Lake Champlain. After much vacillation, Johnson determined to proceed no further with the expedition against Crown Point, pleading in excuse the lack of transport facilities and the want of discipline in his force. The victory of Lake George was all that came of this part of the Alexandrian programme. Much, however, was made of Dieskau's defeat as an offset to Braddock's disaster. Johnson for his victory received £5,000 and a baronetcy.

Shirley's Expedition Abandoned.—Shirley's expedition against Niagara never got farther than Oswego. There it was learned that de Vaudreuil had been able, from the regulars sent to Canada, to despatch strong reinforcements both to Fort Frontenac and to Fort Niagara. If Shirley should leave to attack the latter, a force from the former might take Oswego in his absence. He therefore, after waiting long for additions to his army, was reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise. Leaving a strong garrison to hold the Oswego forts, he returned with the remainder of his men to Albany.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW FRANCE IN DANGER.

Official Corruption.—During these years Canada was the prey of a band of official thieves, headed by the intendant Bigot, an energetic, capable, but thoroughly dishonest officer. If the governor, de Vaudreuil, did not share personally in the plunder of his subordinates, he at all events failed to put a stop to their notorious wrong-doing. Supplies necessary for the carrying on of

the war were allowed to pass through several hands before they became the property of the king. Their price increased at each transfer, until the king, finally, paid for them many times their value. The drain upon the resources of the colony during the year just past had been very great. Supplies from France had been cut off, and, to increase the public distress, the crop had been but scanty. Except in high places among the officials of the colony, the condition of the Canadians was becoming desperate. They had been forced to sell their produce for the king's service at low prices, fixed (as often happened) by ordinances of the intendant; now, for what they needed to sustain life, famine prices were charged.

Montcalm Arrives.—De Vaudreuil had taken vigorous defensive measures against the British. He had fortified Ticonderoga and had garrisoned it with a force of about two thousand men to repel any advance by way of Lake Champlain. Fort Niagara had been rebuilt and strengthened. On Lake Ontario two armed vessels were prepared to waylay any British force which might attempt to leave Oswego. For offensive war de Vaudreuil had made no large plans, preferring, apparently, as his father before him, to wage "*la petite guerre.*" Louis XV., on the eve of war in Europe, could spare but few troops, but he sent, to take command of his little army in Canada, a distinguished soldier, the Marquis de Montcalm. Montcalm arrived in May, 1756. The French regulars now in Canada numbered about 6,400. After allowing for the garrisons necessary to hold the various forts, Montcalm had a force of about three thousand men available for offensive operations. Sending the Chevalier de Lévis, his second in command, to hold Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), Montcalm determined to attack Oswego.

MONTCALM.

The British Inactive.—On the side of the British colonies Shirley was in command, and with his usual zeal he planned an

aggressive campaign. He had, however, made enemies, through whose intrigues he was now superseded ; first by Abercrombie, and, finally, by the Earl of Loudon, who was sent from England as commander-in-chief. Loudon did not arrive in America until July. The plan of campaign which Shirley had adopted was set aside, and nothing in the way of offensive war was done that year on the part of the British.

Oswego Captured.—Montcalm vigorously carried out his plans for the capture of Oswego. With a force of about three thousand men and abundant artillery he crossed the lake from Fort Frontenac, pitched his camp to the east of the river, and at once laid siege to the place. Fort Ontario, on the east bank, was abandoned, and the raw recruits who comprised the garrison gathered in Fort Pepperrell, on the west bank. There was a third fort on the same side, but it was so useless for defence that it was nicknamed Fort Rascal. By a flank movement Rigaud (a brother of de Vaudreuil) forded the river at a point up stream and opened a cross-fire upon Fort Pepperrell. The garrison held out bravely against the double fire until their commander, Mercer, was killed. Then they surrendered as prisoners of war, the French obtaining much booty. Montcalm made no attempt to hold Oswego ; after demolishing the forts he recrossed the lake. The fall of Oswego (August, 1756) gave the French the undisputed mastery of Lake Ontario and rendered secure their position at Niagara and their posts to the west.

Loudon Fails to Attack Louisbourg.—For the year 1757 the British planned an expedition against Louisbourg. Loudon gathered all his available forces together and set sail for Halifax, where he was to meet a British fleet sent out to aid in the capture of the Cape Breton stronghold. There was great delay in England, and July was well advanced before the fleet had gathered in Halifax harbor. Then, instead of proceeding at once to Louisbourg with the combined forces (amounting to over twelve thousand), Loudon sent a single ship to reconnoitre the fortress. Meanwhile the dilatory commander employed his men at Halifax in "cabbage planting and sham fights." Finally in August, learning that Louisbourg was in a strong condition for defence and guarded by a French fleet, Loudon weakly abandoned the enterprise and returned to New York.

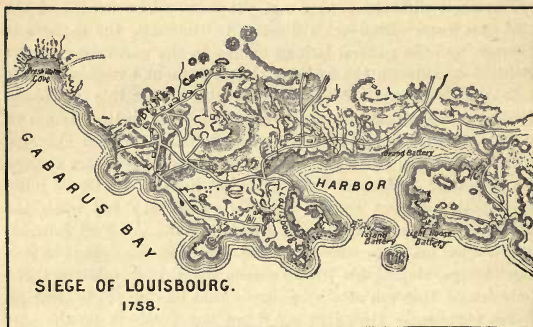
Fort William Henry Taken.—The design upon Louisbourg had drawn off the British strength from the Lake Champlain country. Lieutenant-Colonel Monro held Fort William Henry with only 2,400 men. Montcalm was quick to take advantage. With a force of over seven thousand, largely regulars, he came up from Ticonderoga and laid siege to the fort. He pitched his camp on the west side of the lake, where a jutting point shielded him from the fire of the enemy. De Lévis marched around and took up a position behind the fort, thus commanding the way to Fort Edward, where Webb lay in command of a small force. Gradually the French batteries were advanced by Montcalm, until his guns were planted under the very shadow of the fort. After a week's gallant defence, Monro, despairing of reinforcement, capitulated. The garrison marched out with the honors of war, and under promise not to serve for eighteen months set off for Fort Edward.

But their difficulties were not yet over. The events of the two past years—Braddock's disaster in the west, the capture of Oswego, and the general lack of energy in the movements of the British—had drawn the Indians almost without exception to the side of New France. Montcalm had with him at this time about 1,800 of these dusky warriors, from over forty distinct tribes or bands. They had done little during the siege beyond shouting their warwhoops, but when the fort was taken they were anxious for plunder. Unfortunately they found liquor. Under its influence their passions became inflamed, and they fell upon the disarmed garrison as they were about to march for Fort Edward, and a cruel massacre ensued. Montcalm used every effort to stop the outrage, risking his life to rescue the British soldiers. The only blame that can attach to him is that he did not provide an escort sufficiently strong to put down any outbreak on the part of the fickle savages.

1758—A Grave Situation.—Notwithstanding the success which thus far had attended their efforts, Montcalm and his officers recognized, as the year 1758 opened upon them, that their position was becoming dangerous. British fleets shut them off from all possibility of effective aid from France. Supplies for the colony were intercepted. Commerce had well-nigh ceased. Everything was dear. The Canadians, forced to sell to the king's

officers at prices fixed by the intendant, received these prices in "card money," that is, in written promises to pay, which were afterwards dishonored. Through all this public distress and discontent, official plundering went on. Montreal was gay with dinner parties amongst those who were growing rich while French rule in Canada was drawing to its close. From this time forward Montcalm was put more and more upon the defensive, lack of men and supplies preventing offensive operations.

Pitt's Vigorous Policy.—In England, William Pitt had risen to the head of affairs, and at once a change took place in the conduct of the war in America. Merit and not family connection was made the test of fitness to command. Loudon was recalled and to Major-General Sir Jeffrey Amherst was entrusted the carrying out of the vigorous campaign which Pitt planned against New France.



SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG.
1758.

The Fall of Louisbourg.—First of all Louisbourg must be taken. Admiral Osborne barred the straits of Gibraltar to keep one French fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Hawke drove another ashore at Rochefort. Thus secured from interruption, Admiral Boscawen ("Old Dreadnought" his sailors affectionately called him) sailed for America, carrying with him a force of over twelve thousand men. Amherst was in command

of the land forces. With him was the future hero of Quebec—James Wolfe. The Chevalier de Drucour held Louisbourg with a garrison of regulars numbering 3,800, and in the harbor was a French fleet whose fighting strength was about three thousand more. The fortress was even stronger than when Pepperrell and his New Englanders had attacked it thirteen years before. The harbor was guarded by three strong batteries as well as by the guns of the fortress itself. Wolfe led the landing party, and with slight loss the shore was gained at Freshwater Cove, some four miles west of Louisbourg. In reading the story of this siege one is struck by its likeness to the siege of 1745. Seven weeks were again spent in reducing the fortress (June 8th-July 26th). Now, however, there was more of military precision in the gradual advance of the British entrenchments closer and closer to the walls. Two of the French batteries (Grand and Lighthouse Point) which commanded the harbor were quickly captured. The third, on an island at the mouth of the harbor, was afterwards silenced by the fire from Lighthouse Point. Some of the French ships had been sunk to block the harbor's mouth. A fire broke out and destroyed others, and in the confusion British ships got in and captured the rest. A band of Canadians and Micmacs threatened the British rear, but was quickly driven back. Every sortie by the garrison was repulsed. Breaches began to appear in the walls under the constant fire of the British batteries from entrenchments close up to the fortress, and finally, on the 26th of July, Drucour capitulated. The French of the garrison were sent prisoners of war to England, and before the war closed the renowned fortress was dismantled. It long remained a valuable stone-quarry.

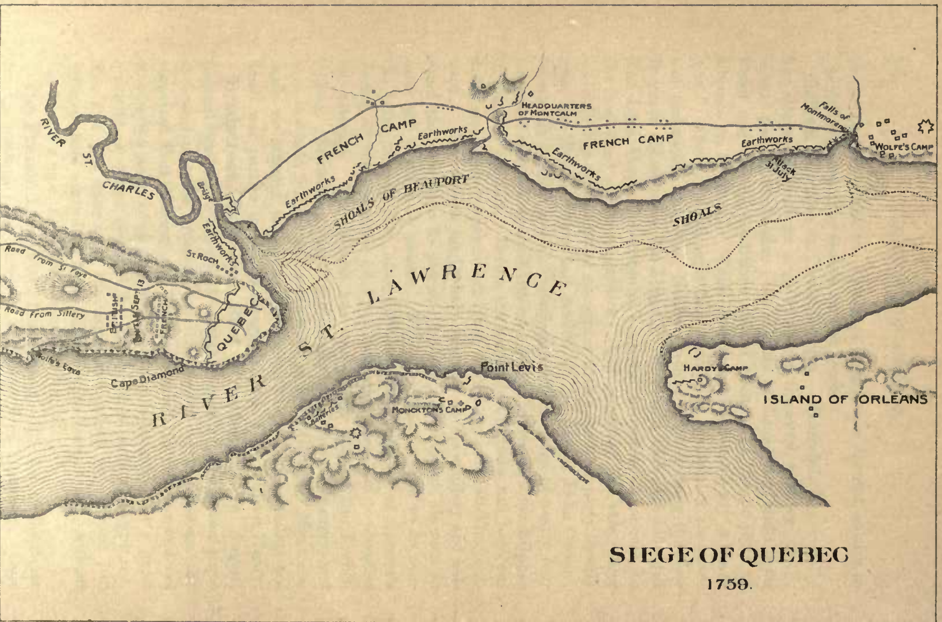
Further Expulsions.—With Cape Breton, Drucour surrendered Isle St. Jean, which at this time was inhabited by Acadians who had migrated during the late troublous times from the shores of the Bay of Fundy. They are described as a flourishing population of over four thousand. Lord Rollo was sent to take possession, and to drive out all who declined to take the oath of allegiance. Wolfe was sent to mete out like treatment to an Acadian settlement at Gaspé; while Monckton, without resistance, took possession of the St. John River region in what is now New Brunswick. Much time was consumed in thus taking safe charge

of the portals of the St. Lawrence, and it was deemed unwise to proceed so late in the season against Quebec.

British Repulse at Ticonderoga.—Meanwhile Abercrombie had attempted, with an army of fifteen thousand, to carry out the second part of Pitt's plan—the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point and (if the conditions should then favor the project) an advance on Montreal. Wolfe describes Abercrombie as "a heavy man." The militia thought him wanting in decision of character and nicknamed him Mrs. Nabby Cromby (Nabby being the New England abbreviation for Abigail). It is said that Pitt intended that Lord Howe, Abercrombie's second in command, should be the real head of the expedition. Unfortunately this able officer was killed in an accidental encounter with a scouting party shortly after the British forces had landed at the foot of Lake George. Montcalm himself was at Ticonderoga with a force of nearly four thousand men, entrenched behind a strong barricade some distance in front of the fort. Before the barricade the trees had been cut down and their branches left lying with sharp ends sticking outward. Abercrombie might have brought up his artillery and battered the barricade to pieces. Instead, he ordered his men to carry the position by assault. This they bravely tried to do over the fallen timber, but, after gallant efforts repeated at intervals during all the afternoon of a hot July day, they had to abandon the attempt. The British loss was heavy, that of the French trifling. Something like a panic seized Abercrombie's army, and soon it was in full retreat southward up Lake George. Montcalm made no attempt to follow, contenting himself with sending out small war parties to cut off stragglers from Fort William Henry.

Bradstreet Destroys Fort Frontenac. — In August, Colonel Bradstreet performed a notable exploit. With about three thousand men he crossed from the mouth of the Oswego and surprised Fort Frontenac. The garrison of 110 men surrendered themselves as prisoners of war without resistance, and a great quantity of stores destined for the western posts was captured. The fort was destroyed, the ships with which the French had hitherto held control of Lake Ontario were burned, and, without the loss of a man, Bradstreet recrossed the lake.

The French Lose Fort Duquesne.—The loss of the stores for the western posts seriously weakened Fort Duquesne. Over



SIEGE OF QUEBEC
1759.

Engraved expressly for the Dominion History of Canada.

The Copp, Clark Co Limited Litho. Toronto.

the mountains Brigadier Forbes was slowly advancing against it with an imposing force of over six thousand men. Of these some 1,600 were regulars, chiefly Highlanders. Ever since Braddock's defeat the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia had been scourged by the Indians of the Ohio valley, upon whom the French depended to repel any attack from that quarter. The stoppage of the supplies left them without the means to support the Indians around Fort Duquesne, and they were left alone to defend the fort against Forbes. The impossibility of a successful stand was evidently realized; for, when a picked body from Forbes' army made the last quick advance upon Fort Duquesne, they found it a smoking ruin. It was at once hastily rebuilt and named Pittsburg, in honor of the great minister. Leaving a small garrison to hold it, Forbes marched back to Philadelphia. The French, however, still held the posts toward Lake Erie, to which they had retreated.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE.

Montcalm's Defensive Measures.—Though the outlook was dark for New France, and the enemy was surely drawing in upon her, Montcalm addressed himself to the task of her defence with courage and ability. He knew that this year the citadel would be attacked, and he determined to conduct the defence there in person. The chain of communication with the west had been weakened by the fall of forts Frontenac and Duquesne, and Niagara was now much exposed. Here Pouchot was placed in command, and proved himself a brave soldier. At Ticonderoga Bourlamaque was stationed, with instructions to keep back the British advance in that quarter as long as possible. St. Luc de la Corne took post near Ogdensburg to oppose any force which might attempt to descend the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario.

British Plan of Attack.—England prepared for a supreme effort. New France should be assailed by overwhelming armies. Major-General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, was to march upon Montreal, while Wolfe undertook the capture of Quebec.

First, however, Amherst sent Brigadier Prideaux to reoccupy Oswego and take Niagara. This done, Prideaux was to descend the St. Lawrence and join Amherst before Montreal. Amherst himself, with the main body of the army, was to advance by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. Montreal taken, the combined forces were to descend to join Wolfe at Quebec. As we shall see, two years were taken in carrying out this comprehensive programme, and the final junction of the British forces was not at Quebec, but before Montreal.

The British Take Niagara.—Prideaux advanced from Albany by way of the Mohawk portage to the mouth of the Oswego, and, leaving Haldimand there in command of a strong garrison, proceeded to attack Niagara. Pouchot defended the post with great resolution. The premature bursting of a cohorn killed Prideaux, and Sir William Johnson took command of the besieging force. The British garrison at Pittsburg had been too weak to drive the French from their forts at Venango, Le Bœuf and Presqu'île, and from these posts a force now set out to relieve Pouchot. This party was met and overcome near Lewiston, and with its defeat all hope of a successful defence was given up by Pouchot, who shortly afterwards surrendered. The posts south of Lake Erie were at once abandoned by their French commandants, who retired to Detroit. This post, with Michillimackinac and the far west, was now completely cut off, and could take no part in the defence of Canada. Fort Rouillé, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, was also abandoned by the French and burned. Gage, who superseded Johnson in the command of this left wing of Amherst's army, made no attempt this year to descend the St. Lawrence. He reported that his force was too small to risk the dangers of navigation past La Corne's position.

Amherst's Cautious Advance.—During all this time Amherst was advancing slowly and cautiously toward Montreal at the head of an army of over eleven thousand men. July was nearly over when he reached the outlet of Lake George. Bourlamaque retired before him; first from Fort Carillon, which the French tried but with only partial success to blow up behind them; then from Crown Point, after demolishing that fortress; until, finally, he entrenched himself in a strong position on Isle

aux Noix on the Richelieu, determined to hold the island to the last. Amherst did not reach him. The British general spent the summer in repairing Fort Ticonderoga (as the English named Fort Carillon), in erecting a strong fort at Crown Point, in opening roads along the lake all the way to Fort William Henry, and in building vessels to overcome the small French flotilla which guarded the approach to the outlet of Lake Champlain. When this last task was ended and the opposing vessels were destroyed, it was too late in the season to risk any further advance. The army went into winter-quarters, and a messenger was sent to apprise Wolfe before Quebec that he need look for no assistance from Amherst in the attack upon that famous fortress.

The Defences of Quebec.—Montcalm had taken vigorous measures for the defence of Quebec. The militia were ordered out to the last man, and bravely and cheerfully they responded to the call. Regulars and militia included, Montcalm had an army of fourteen thousand men encamped behind a line of earthworks which stretched from the St. Charles River to the falls of the Montmorency. There was little fear of a direct attack from the St. Lawrence upon the town itself; for, from the river's edge to the topmost summit of Cape Diamond, Quebec bristled with artillery, and strong walls, strongly manned, barred all access in that direction. The Chevalier de Ramezay was in command of the garrison, which numbered between one and two thousand men. Above the town stretched for miles a line of precipitous cliffs, broken, eight miles from Quebec, by a deep ravine, commanded by batteries planted on Cap Rouge. Where Montcalm's army lay, facing the river from the meadows of the St. Charles, was apparently the only possible landing place, and here every precaution was taken. To the east the ground rose again, fronting the river with steep declivities to where the chasm of the Montmorency formed a natural barrier against attack.

Wolfe's Arrival—Montcalm's Tactics.—The fleet which bore Wolfe and his army reached the Island of Orleans toward the end of June. The troops were landed upon the western point of the island. In full view, across the basin of Quebec, was the fortress they had come to capture, and Wolfe saw at once that he had a difficult task before him. His land force amounted to less than nine thousand men, but they were, as he himself afterwards

said, "the best soldiers in the world." If he could only bring Montcalm to battle he had little fear of the result. Montcalm deliberately declined to give the British general any such satisfaction. His position was well-nigh impregnable; he feared to pit the Canadian militia against regulars in the open field; in short, he was too good a general not to see that his best policy was to stand strictly upon the defensive. During eleven anxious weeks he guarded the northern shore so well that nowhere, in the long stretch from the falls of Montmorency below to Cap Rouge above, could Wolfe effect a landing.

WOLFE.

Position of the British Forces.—Wolfe's first movement was to take possession of Point Lévis, on the south shore, opposite Quebec. Here Monckton was stationed in charge of strong batteries which, all through the siege, poured a hot fire across the narrow channel. Churches, warehouses, and private residences were destroyed, and the inhabitants were driven to seek refuge under the shelter of the northern declivities toward the St. Charles. Early in July Wolfe sent a force to take possession of the north shore of the St. Lawrence, beyond the Montmorency. This was done with but slight opposition. Here Wolfe established his headquarters and strongly entrenched himself. The British army was thus divided. The right wing, under Wolfe's immediate command, faced Montcalm's left across the beautiful falls of the Montmorency. The centre rested on the point of the Island of Orleans under the more immediate shelter of the fleet. The left wing was at Point Lévis. Admiral Saunders, who commanded the fleet, loyally supported Wolfe throughout the siege. Soon after his arrival in the basin of Quebec fire-ships and fire-rafts had been sent down against him. Late in July the attempt was repeated, only to be again foiled by the intrepidity of the British tars, who swarmed out in small boats, grappled the burning craft, and towed them where they could burn out without danger to the fleet.

Attack on the French Camp Repulsed.—Before the end of July Wolfe had secured control of the south shore of the St. Lawrence to a point above Cap Rouge. A number of ships from the fleet had safely passed the batteries of Quebec and were now prepared to support any movement against the enemy above the city. But, beyond the capture of some prisoners on the north shore above Cap Rouge, nothing had come of the operations in that quarter. Bougainville was sent to meet the threatened danger, and from his post at Cap Rouge he guarded the northern shore as far as Quebec with tireless vigilance. Wolfe therefore determined to attack Montcalm's camp. On the last day of July, after taking every precaution, he landed a strong force on the shore in front of the French entrenchments, about a mile west of the falls of Montmorency. The detachment of grenadiers and "Royal Americans" who first landed rushed to the assault without waiting for their supports, led by Wolfe himself, to come up. The result was disastrous. The redoubts on the beach were carried with a rush, but the hot fire from the entrenchments above drove the British soldiers back just as a storm of rain burst upon the combatants. Wolfe, seeing that the attempt was now hopeless, withdrew his forces. The British loss was heavy, and Wolfe wisely forbore any further attempt upon this Beauport front.

Wolfe's Cove.—August wore on, and Wolfe apparently was no nearer the capture of Quebec than when the siege began. Toward the end of the month he fell ill. His "slight carcase," as he himself once described it, had never been strong, and now the anxieties of the siege brought on a fever from which he did not recover for some days. During his illness he requested his three brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, to consult together as to the conduct of the siege. Upon his recovery he adopted the plan they suggested as a final attempt to capture the city. While Admiral Saunders should bombard Montcalm's camp along the Beauport front, as if to cover a landing there, the real attempt should be made up the river. If possible, a force was to be landed upon the north shore at a point about a mile west of the city, where a narrow gully led slantingly to the top of the cliff. The place was called Anse du Foulon by the French; it is now known as Wolfe's Cove.

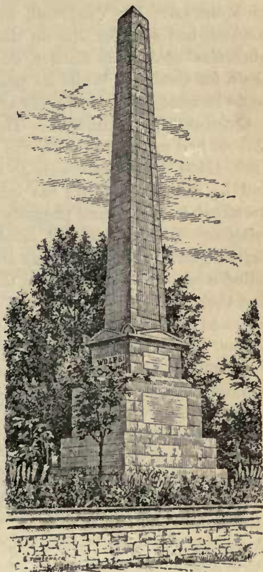
A Landing Effected.—Before making this last effort Wolfe

withdrew his right wing from the position at Montmorency Falls, and the French began to think that the siege was to be abandoned. Instead, a strong body was landed behind Point Lévis and sent along the south shore to join the forces above, who had been threatening Bougainville's position at Cap Rouge. Admiral Holmes was in command of the fleet above Quebec. After the troops had been taken on board he began a series of manœuvres in the neighborhood of Cap Rouge which led Bougainville to think that a serious attempt was to be made upon his batteries there. Bad weather postponed the real enterprise until the night of the 12th of September. Then Wolfe came up to take command of it in person. About 1,600 men were put on board of boats and barges, and the little flotilla was allowed to drift quietly down with the ebbing tide. Twice as they drew near their destination they were challenged by French sentries on the shore. Twice the sentries were deceived by a Scotch officer (who spoke French fluently) into the belief that the boats were French supply-boats from beyond Cap Rouge, which, as Wolfe had learned, were expected down that night. The landing reached at length, a volunteer band under Howe climbed in silence the steep way to the top of the cliff. The guard stationed there was taken by surprise and quickly overpowered. At once those left in the boats landed and clambered up to join their comrades above. Holmes dropped down opposite the landing place, and before morning a little army of about 4,500 men had reached the heights. As day dawned they stood ready for battle on the Plains of Abraham.

The Plains of Abraham.—Admiral Saunders, the evening before, had vigorously bombarded Montcalm's camp at Beauport. Soldiers had been kept in boats, moving up and down the river in front of the French works as if in search of a good landing place. Montcalm was completely deceived as to the real point of attack. When, in the early morning, as he rode toward the St. Charles, he caught sight of the red-coats on the plains beyond the city, he knew at once that there was serious work before him. By ten o'clock, a force at least as large as that under Wolfe had gathered beyond the western walls of Quebec. Then, without waiting either for further reinforcements from beyond the St. Charles, or until Bougainville could march from Cap Rouge to attack the rear of Wolfe's army, Montcalm impetuously gave battle. The French

kept firing as they advanced. The British reserved their fire until the enemy were nearly upon them. Then, at the word of command, from end to end of the line a crashing volley rang out; then, another; and then, "Charge!" As, with a cheer, the British troops swept forward, the French fled in wild confusion, staying not until safe within the city's walls or beyond the St. Charles.

Death of the Generals.—The joy of the British over their speedy victory was dampened by the loss of their beloved leader, struck down in the hour of victory while pressing forward at the head of his men. He lived but a few minutes after receiving the fatal shot; long enough, however, to know that the battle he had desired so long was won. Montcalm, too, had been mortally wounded, and died early next morning within the walls of the city he had so ably defended. To-day, in the ancient capital, a stately column, bearing the equally honored names of victor and vanquished, looks down from the cliff upon the busy river below. This is the inscription: "Valor gave a common death, history a common fame, and posterity a common monument."



MONUMENT TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM.

De Lévis.—But the city was not yet taken. De Vaudreuil, upon whom the command fell, had still an army much superior in numbers to the British forces on the Plains of Abraham. He proved, however, to be utterly unequal to the task which devolved upon him. Hur-

riedly abandoning the camp at Beauport, he crossed the St. Charles to the north of the city and retreated to the River Jacques Cartier, thirty miles to the west of Quebec. Bougainville, on learning of the landing at Wolfe's Cove, had marched in haste to the Plains of Abraham, but, before he arrived, the battle was over, and he at once retired again to his post at Cap Rouge. The hope of Canada was now centred in the Chevalier de Lévis, who at this time was in Montreal. De Vaudreuil, feeling doubtless the need of his counsel, had sent for him on the afternoon of the battle. Upon his arrival at Jacques Cartier, de Lévis at once resolved to march again for Quebec. While he pressed forward, a message was sent to de Ramezay to hold the city at all hazards.

Quebec Capitulates. — The messenger arrived too late. Quebec had capitulated. By the terms of capitulation (September 18th, 1759) the garrison were to march out with the honors of war and be sent to France; the inhabitants of the city were to be protected in person and property and in the free exercise of their religion. In the captured citadel Murray took command of a British garrison of between six and seven thousand men; the fleet sailed down the river, bearing the embalmed remains of Wolfe to find their final resting place in Westminster Abbey; de Vaudreuil departed for Montreal; the few Canadians still in the field dispersed to their homes; while de Lévis settled his army in winter-quarters, determined to retake Quebec when spring should open.

The Winter in Quebec.—During the winter Murray ruled Quebec wisely and firmly. The city was carefully guarded from spoliation, all disorder among the troops was promptly suppressed, and courts of civil jurisdiction were established to protect the rights of the inhabitants. The Canadians, from Cap Rouge easterly, took the oath of allegiance to the new government and sold supplies to the garrison. There was, however, some little skirmishing at Point Lévis and at old Lorette, up the St. Charles. Parties sent out from Quebec to gather firewood were obliged to provide themselves with a military escort. There was so much sickness among the troops that when spring came not more than one-half of the garrison were fit for duty. Nevertheless, when news came that de Lévis was approaching, Murray prepared to defend to the last the post so dearly won.

Battle of Ste. Foye.—De Lévis embarked from Montreal

with a force of about seven thousand men. As he sailed down the river his army was further increased from the garrisons of Three Rivers and Jacques Cartier, so that he reached Lorette toward the end of April in command of nearly ten thousand men. Murray, with more daring than prudence, advanced from Quebec to give battle. On the 28th of April, 1760, the opposing armies met at Ste. Foye, a short distance to the west of the Plains of Abraham. Murray had only about three thousand men, but his force was well supplied with artillery, and he had, besides, the advantage of position upon a rising ground. For two hours the battle was hotly contested. Murray lost the advantage of position by a too impetuous advance and was finally driven back, abandoning much artillery to the victorious enemy.

A British Fleet Relieves Quebec.—Murray at once retired into Quebec, which de Lévis promptly prepared to besiege. His preparations were well advanced when, early in May, a British fleet sailed into the basin of Quebec. That much anxiety for the fate of the city had been felt within its walls is evident from the exuberance of joy with which the arrival of the fleet was hailed. As the red cross of St. George rose slowly to the masthead, the garrison mounted the walls and cheered for hours in the face of the disappointed foe. De Lévis unwillingly raised the siege and returned again to Montreal. In July a French fleet coming to the rescue of New France was attacked by Commodore Byron in the Bay of Chaleur. The village of Petit Rochelle, under whose feeble batteries the fleet had sought shelter, was laid in ruins, and the fleet itself was entirely destroyed.

The British Close In on Montreal.—The final blow was struck with that extreme deliberation which had throughout marked Amherst's movements. Murray sailed up the river, and by the middle of August was in camp at Sorel with a force of over 3,500 men. Amherst came slowly down from Oswego with an army of about eleven thousand men. Chimney Island, below Ogdensburg, had been fortified, and the gallant Pouchot now held the post (Fort Lévis) with three hundred men. Amherst would not leave it behind him untaken, and a week was spent in its capture. At length, on the 6th of September, Amherst landed his army at Lachine. General Haviland meanwhile had advanced from Crown Point with over three thousand men. De Bougain-

ville abandoned Isle aux Noix after a short siege, and without further opposition Haviland arrived on the south shore of the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal early in September.

Capitulation.—The French force now consisted almost exclusively of regulars, hemmed in on the Island of Montreal. The Canadians had been kept in ignorance until the previous year of the desperate condition of the colony. They had responded with alacrity to the call to gather for the defence of Quebec; but Montcalm's defensive attitude, and the lack of provisions toward the close of the siege, had tended to discourage them, and as the weeks wore on they had deserted in ever-increasing numbers. With opening spring Ste. Foye had restored their confidence, but as the British armies closed in on Montreal they again lost hope and dispersed to their homes. Many of the regular troops caught the infection and deserted, particularly those known as colony troops, who had come out expecting to settle in Canada when discharged from service. So it was that when, on the 8th of September, de Vaudreuil capitulated to Amherst the defending force scarcely exceeded 2,400 men. By the capitulation, de Vaudreuil gave up to the British the whole of Canada. To the Canadians the same protection to person, property and religion was accorded as when Quebec was taken. By the Treaty of Paris (1763), which closed the Seven Years' War, Great Britain was confirmed in her possession, and Canada has ever since remained a British colony.

CHAPTER XIV.

MILITARY RULE.

British Government on the St. Lawrence.—After the capitulation at Montreal, Great Britain held Canada by purely military rule (*règne militaire*) until peace in Europe should determine her ultimate destiny. Amherst, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was the official head of Canada during this period, with headquarters at New York. Canada was divided into three military governments—Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal — with General James Murray, Colonel Ralph Burton, and General Thomas Gage as their respective heads.

France made no further attempt to recover her lost colony. In October, 1761, an Acadian settlement on the Bay of Chaleur, the rendezvous for a fleet of privateers, was surprised by a company of Highlanders under Captain Roderick McKenzie, who carried off a great number of the inhabitants to Halifax. In June, 1762, a French fleet captured St. John's, Newfoundland, but in September the place was retaken by the British. These events, however, did not disturb the peaceful progress of the St. Lawrence valley, where the rule of the British officers was mild and conciliatory.

A Policy of Conciliation.—By the summer of 1761 the official class who had formerly ruled New France had all departed, the harpies who had preyed upon her in her extremity had vanished, and the Canadians, seigneur and censitaire alike, were left to work out their own destiny under British rule. The military officers in Canada were instructed, not only to administer the old French laws, but also, as far as possible, to leave their enforcement in the hands of the Canadians themselves. The soldiers were particularly forbidden to comment unfavorably upon the habits and customs of the Canadians, or, worst of all, to cast reflections upon the religion they professed. "Remember," wrote Amherst to Gage, "they are as much His Majesty's subjects as any of us." Crime was of course punished by martial law, but for the trial of civil causes regular courts were established in a way well calculated to secure the confidence of the Canadians. The old militia parish-captains (*capitaines de paroisses*) were commissioned anew, and in each district they formed a court to which the *habitants* might resort for the enforcement of their civil rights. There was little call for legislation. Such few regulations as were from time to time required were announced by proclamation in the French language, much after the fashion of the intendant's ordinances under the old *régime*.

The Canadians Contented.—That the Canadians felt at ease under their new rulers is shown by their address to Gage on the occasion of his proclamation that by the death of George II. George III. had become king. They punned on the governor's name, saying that he had been placed over them as a pledge (*gage*) for their kindly treatment. A few years later (1773), when a small English-speaking minority was striving to deprive them of all share in government and of the laws to which they were

accustomed, they thus described this period of military occupation: "The wise and gallant general who overcame us left us in possession of our laws and customs. The free exercise of our religion was accorded us, and this was confirmed by the treaty of peace. Our old compatriots were made the judges of our civil disputes. The gratitude we feel for these favors we will transmit from age to age to our latest descendants." Of the old inhabitants few left Canada except the army and the official classes.

The Western Posts Transferred.—At this time population along the St. Lawrence practically ended at Montreal. From that point until Detroit was reached not a genuine settler could be found. Detroit and the other western posts had been included in de Vaudreuil's surrender, and Major Rogers, a noted New England ranger, was sent by Amherst to receive possession. On the south shore of Lake Erie, Rogers met the celebrated Ottawa chief, Pontiac, who questioned the right of the English to the western country, but upon this occasion he and Rogers parted amicably. Toward the end of November, 1760, Rogers reached Detroit, which its commandant gave up with very bad grace. Here a thriving settlement extended for several miles along both sides of the river below the fort. Its population Rogers placed at 2,500; others say it did not much exceed 1,000. Rogers also took over the posts on the Miami and Wabash, to the south-west of Detroit. Autumnal storms prevented him from reaching Michillimackinac, and this and the other north-western posts were not transferred until the following summer.

Pontiac.—The methods of the French and the British in dealing with the Indian tribes were widely different. The French treated them in the main generously, adapted themselves to the Indian mode of living, and made no attempt to despoil them of their lands. The British colonists begrudged them presents, bullied them with rough contempt, and, worst of all, sent settlers to occupy the lands which the Indians claimed as their own peculiar hunting ground. That the French king should cede their country to the English was too much to bear; and now, when the new lords of the soil prepared to take possession, Pontiac gathered all the Algonquin tribes of the west into a fell union to drive back the invaders. From an Indian standpoint Pontiac was a distinguished patriot. His designs were far-reaching, and though, on

the whole, the end was sought by truly savage methods, his siege of Detroit was marked by a patient persistence unequalled in the annals of Indian warfare.

The Pontiac War.—So well were Pontiac's plans laid that within six weeks after the first outbreak at Detroit early in May, 1763, of all the British posts west of the Alleghanies, Pittsburg, Detroit and those on the Niagara River alone remained untaken. From Michillimackinac in the north (where the wily red men gained access to the fort on pretence of chasing a lacrosse ball) to Fort Ligonier, on the eastern slopes of the Ohio valley, nine fortified posts in all were captured. At many of them the little garrisons were cruelly butchered. Colonel Bouquet, advancing through Pennsylvania by the route Forbes had followed five years before, was met early in August at a place known as Edgehill, or Bushy Run, near Fort Ligonier, by a savage host, whom it took him two days of hot fighting to defeat. In September, on the Niagara River, at a spot known as the "Devil's hole," near Lewiston, a provision party was attacked by a band of Senecas (the only Iroquois who took part in the uprising), and a small force which marched out from Lewiston to the rescue was ambuscaded and nearly annihilated. During the entire summer of 1763 Major Gladwyn, at Detroit, resolutely held his post against both force and guile. In the fall Pontiac made peace with him, intending, however, to renew the war in the following spring.

Early in 1764 two columns advanced into this western region, one under Bouquet by way of the Ohio, the other under Bradstreet by way of the lakes. Bradstreet, on this expedition, did not add to his laurels. He failed to punish the Indians on the south shore of Lake Erie for their share in the outrages of the year before, and, contrary to his instructions, made peace with them without exacting any guarantee for their future good behavior. Bouquet, with more judgment, boldly pushed his way along the northern slopes of the Ohio valley as far as the forks of the Muskingum. Here in the very heart of the disaffected district he forced the Indians, not only to make peace, but to make it upon his terms. He exacted hostages for its observance, and secured, too, the release of a large number of white prisoners captured during many years of frontier raiding. Pontiac in vain sought aid from the French of Louisiana. A desultory war was waged

for a time from the Illinois country, but in 1765 Pontiac entered into a formal treaty of peace. A few years later he was killed (some say treacherously) in an obscure quarrel on the banks of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XV.

GOVERNMENT UNDER THE KING'S PROCLAMATION.

The Treaty of Paris, 1763.—By the Treaty of Paris France gave up to Great Britain all claim to Nova Scotia or Acadia "in all its parts," and also ceded "Canada with all its dependencies, the Island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence." The little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, lying to the south of Newfoundland, were ceded to France "to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen." The French king engaged not to fortify the islands, to erect no buildings upon them except for the convenience of the fishery, and to keep a guard there of fifty men only for police protection. These two islands were all that now remained to France of her once vast North American possessions; all else east of the Mississippi became British territory. Louisiana was ceded to the Spanish king, who thus became lord of all the known country west of the Mississippi, and claimed as well the unknown regions through to the Pacific. Louisiana now forms part of the United States. France still retains St. Pierre and Miquelon, and zealously upholds the French fishermen in their rights upon the Newfoundland coast. In ceding Canada the French king stipulated that the inhabitants should be granted the liberty of the Catholic religion, the British king promising on his part that his new Catholic subjects might profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church as far as the laws of Great Britain permit.

The Province of Quebec.—By proclamation dated 7th October, 1763, four new governments were established by Great Britain in America—Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada. General James Murray was appointed governor-in-chief over the new province of Quebec. The limits of the province, as fixed by the king's proclamation, were very indefinite. The western boundary was given as a line drawn from Lake Nipissing to Lake

Champlain, thus leaving the greater part of what is now Ontario and all the great west without any settled form of government. To the east Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island were annexed to Nova Scotia, which then included what is now New Brunswick. Murray's commission directed him to call a "general assembly," and to govern the province according to laws to be passed with the consent of his council and assembly. No such assemblies were ever called by Murray, and in consequence the validity of the ordinances which he and his council passed from time to time was seriously questioned.

Indian Lands.—Another important provision was contained in the proclamation and repeated in the commissions to the governors. Private individuals, greedy traders and land speculators, had from time to time, sometimes by fair means but oftener by fraud and a free circulation of brandy, obtained huge grants of land from Indian tribes. The colonies, indeed, claimed in the king's name the right to the entire soil, and, without asking the Indians' consent, grants of land on the outskirts of settlement were freely made to favored individuals. This policy had resulted in frontier raids along the slopes of the Alleghanies and in western New York, and had culminated in the Pontiac war. By the proclamation it was ordered that this must all be stopped. Any lands, within or without the provinces, which might be required for purposes of settlement, must be fairly purchased from the Indian tribes, not by individuals, but officially by the government. These land regulations were the result of the representations of the Indian Commissioner, Sir William Johnson, who had seen the evil effects of the old system along the Mohawk, where, it is said, he himself had not been guiltless in the matter of trading brandy for land. In Canada the policy laid down in the proclamation has ever since been followed. The older colonies upon gaining their independence abandoned it. The result has been, that while the western borders of the United States have seldom been without an Indian war, our relations with the aboriginal tribes have been, almost without exception, very friendly.

Civil Government Organized.—Murray's commission did not reach Quebec until August, 1764. He at once appointed a council of nine members, largely, if not entirely, men who had

come out to take public positions in the colony. At first it was determined that English law should be administered in the courts. Then this enactment was modified so as to restore the old French land-laws, but this concession, apparently, was afterwards withdrawn. There was, in fact, much uncertainty and vacillation about the whole question all through this period. The courts established during the time of military rule were of course abolished, and the Canadians were thus left without any part in the government of the country. They could, indeed, after a time, serve as jurymen, but under English law as it then stood they, being Catholic, were ineligible for appointment to any public office or for election to the assembly, had one been called.

The English-speaking Minority.—Up to this time there was practically no English-speaking population in the province, the military forces excepted. With the peace, however, many soldiers in Canada had been discharged from service, and there was also a small influx of traders from the neighboring colony of New York, and from New England. To these must be added the large number of officials who were sent out from England. All told, the English-speaking residents of the province amounted to about two hundred when the new system of government took effect. Ten years later Carleton (who was then governor) put the number at 360, which was probably an underestimate. Of this English-speaking population both Murray and Carleton speak in far from flattering terms. The officials are described by Murray as men of doubtful character, and quite unqualified to fill important offices. Of the others, a few were half-pay officers, the rest "traders, mechanics and publicans, who reside in the two 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." In another place he speaks of them as "450 contemptible sutlers and traders." Carleton describes them in equally harsh terms. We need hardly wonder that these two governors, having this opinion of those from whom an assembly would have to be selected, declined to call one.

French-Canadians.—As it was, this small English-speaking minority necessarily monopolized all public offices. From them alone could magistrates and bailiffs be appointed, the religion of the "new subjects" (as the French-Canadians were called)

debarring them from all share in the administration of public affairs. The officials engaged in the administration of justice were paid by fees, and magistrates and bailiffs were in league, not only to stir up law suits, but also to make them as expensive and tedious as possible. When Carleton succeeded in 1770 in getting an ordinance passed curtailing some of their privileged abuses, the cry for an assembly to curb the governor was vehement and bitter. The sympathies of Murray and Carleton were all with the "new subjects," whom they describe as frugal, industrious and moral, and well disposed toward their new rulers. Murray, though warm in upholding the French-Canadians against oppression, was at the same time anxious to cut them off from all connection with France. The navigation laws, which restricted all colonial commerce to British ships, were strictly enforced, and a smuggling trade, which the fishermen of St. Pierre and Miquelon tried to carry on with their compatriots of the St. Lawrence, was rigorously put down.

Energy of the "Old Subjects."—Doubtless there were some good citizens among the new-comers. To them at all events the province was indebted for the first printing press set up in Canada. From it issued the *Quebec Gazette*, a semi-official organ which strongly supported the claim of the English-speaking minority to rule the province by means of a Protestant assembly. The "old subjects" from New England and New York soon secured by their energy the control of provincial commerce. They opened up again the fur trade of the west, which had died out during the war. They began, also, a commercial intercourse with England, securing in this way through London merchants an influence in the British parliament. Montreal was the chief commercial centre, and here lived most of the traders who had come from the neighboring provinces.

Close of Murray's Term.—A petition for Murray's recall was very soon sent to England by the English-speaking minority, the chief cause of complaint being that he had failed to call an assembly. To meet the charges made against him Murray left for England in June, 1766, and he did not again return to the province. He retained the governorship until 1768, when Sir Guy Carleton, who in the meantime had been acting as lieutenant-governor, succeeded him.

8

Sir Guy Carleton.—Murray's policy in Canada was continued by his successor. Carleton found the province much divided upon the question of calling an assembly, and as to what law, French or English, should govern the judges in their decisions. He soon ranged himself on the side of the French-Canadian majority. He saw that their exclusion from all employment under the British government tended to perpetuate a feeling of alienation, and that the administration of justice was being made an instrument of oppression by fee-paid officials. He saw, too, that the English-speaking minority were anxious for an assembly in order to prevent his interference with their exclusive privileges rather than to improve the constitution. He experienced the same difficulty as had Murray before him in inducing the council to do justice to the French-Canadians. As an instance of his own desire to prevent wrong being done them, the matter of "card money" may be mentioned. This had been issued in large quantities by the intendant Bigot in payment for supplies furnished by the *habitants* during the last years of New France. It appeared likely, at one time, that this "card money" would be redeemed by the French government. Carleton thereupon issued a proclamation warning the *habitants* against speculators who were trying to buy it up at low figures.

SIR GUY CARLETON.
(LORD DORCHESTER.)

State of the Province.—In a report which he sent to England, in 1769, Carleton gives a statement of the industrial condition of the province. Much flax was grown and worked into coarse linen for home wear ; mixed with wool it produced the rough cloth known as linsey-woolsey. One-third of the population were clothed with goods of home manufacture. Caps, it seems, were imported. Everything else could be obtained in the pro-

vince, though leather was badly tanned and the better kinds of boots and shoes were brought from the neighboring colonies. At the St. Maurice forges edged tools were made. Pearl ashes and potash were obtained in the course of clearing away the forests, though the amount produced was as yet small. With the coming of peace the *habitants* had been left free to devote their time more closely to the soil, and the clearing and cultivation of the land was rapidly extended. There was apparently a fair amount of farm stock—horses, cattle, sheep, and swine—in the province, and, though ready money was scarce, the people were "at their ease and comfortable."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE QUEBEC ACT, 1774.

Political Agitation.—As already mentioned, the English-speaking minority in the province of Quebec continually clamored for an assembly. From time to time they sent petitions to England praying that the governor should be directed to call one, or that, at all events, a larger council, exclusively Protestant, should be appointed to act with him. They asked, also, that the governor should not have power to dismiss the members of this council. In 1770, Carleton himself went to England to lay his views before the British ministry, remaining there until 1774. A petition was sent by the French-Canadians in 1773, asking that no assembly should be called and that the old laws should be entirely restored. This petition had Carleton's hearty support.

Passage of the Quebec Act.—The British parliament proceeded with extreme deliberation. The former governor (Murray), the present governor (Carleton), the Canadian chief justice, the attorney-general, and Lotbinière, a Canadian seigneur, were examined as witnesses before a committee, and every effort was made to ascertain what was best for the new colony. It was finally decided that the British minority ought not to be allowed to set up an assembly of men selected from themselves to rule the country, and that the laws to which the Canadians were accustomed should be again restored. By taking this course Great Britain, as we shall see, gained the hearty support of the most intelligent and

influential of the French-Canadians in her struggle with the older American colonies, then on the point of revolt. The Act which was passed to carry out this decision is known as "The Quebec Act, 1774." It came into force on May 1st, 1775.

Provisions of the Act: (1) Boundaries.—To the west the province was extended to the Mississippi, including all the regions north of the Ohio to the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. To the east, Labrador, Anticosti and a number of other small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which had previously been under the government of Newfoundland, were added to Quebec, and remained part of that province until 1809. The people of the added regions, both east and west—other than Indians—were of the French race.

(2) The Old Laws Restored.—The Quebec Act states in its preamble that the provisions of the proclamation of 1763 had been found upon experience to be unsuited to the circumstances of the province, "the inhabitants whereof amounted at the conquest to above 65,000 persons professing the religion of the Church of Rome and enjoying an established form of constitution and system of laws by which their persons and property had been protected, governed, and ordered for a long series of years." Accordingly, the proclamation and all ordinances passed since 1763 were annulled, and it was enacted that in all matters relating to property and civil rights the old laws and customs of Canada should prevail. Power was given, however, to the legislative council (created by the Act) to alter this provision, if it should be found expedient. The Quebec Act also recites that the certainty and lenity of English criminal law, and the benefits resulting from its use, had been "sensibly felt by the inhabitants"; and that law was therefore continued.

(3) An Assembly Refused.—The reasons for not calling an assembly are not stated in the Act, but can easily be gathered from the evidence given before parliament. More than fifty years were to elapse before the harsh laws against Roman Catholics were struck from the British statute book; but even in 1774 it was thought unjust to the French-speaking population of Canada to impose upon them an assembly so long as those laws precluded them from being elected to it. The state of affairs, too, in the neighboring British colonies made it, to some extent, a matter

of expediency to conciliate the Canadian majority. The British parliament, at all events, was not anxious to create in Canada an assembly to be composed of those who were suspected of favoring the claims of the older provinces.

A legislative council only was therefore provided. Its members were to be appointed by the Crown from persons resident in the province. In numbers it was not to exceed twenty-three nor to be less than seventeen. This council was evidently intended to be but a temporary contrivance until affairs in North America should become more settled. Its powers of legislation were limited. The right to levy taxes was withheld, with this exception, however, that the towns of the province might be allowed to tax themselves for purposes of local improvement. To defray the expense of governing the colony, the old French duties were abolished and in their place duties were imposed upon spirits and molasses imported into the province. License fees were also collected from persons keeping taverns or houses of public entertainment. No ordinance of the council touching religion was to be valid until assented to in England. Other limitations, too, indicated that for the present the British parliament desired to retain a large measure of control over the province.

(4) Religion.—The Quebec Act further provided for the free exercise of their religion by those adhering to the Church of Rome. The Roman Catholic clergy were authorized to collect "their accustomed dues and rights" from members of that Church. This of course refers to the system of tithes. A few years later the Bishop of Quebec wrote that in Canada tithes were never so rigorously exacted as in Europe. They consisted of the one-twenty-sixth of wheat, pease and oats—direct annual products of the soil. What were known as mixed tithes (on milk, wool, hogs) and personal tithes (on the products of purely manual labor, fishing and the like) were not collected. By the Act Roman Catholics were also relieved from taking certain oaths required of those who held public positions in England; and by this means it became possible for Canadian seigneurs to accept office in the legislative council, and a number of them were at once appointed. Their right to share in the administration of public affairs being thus admitted, the Canadian *noblesse* stood firm in their allegiance to British rule during the American revolution.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES (1758-1774).

The First Canadian Parliament, 1758.—We must now turn again to the east, to Nova Scotia. Shortly after the founding of Halifax (1749), attention had been drawn by Chief Justice Belcher to the fact that the governor's commission directed him to call an assembly. Lawrence pleaded the small and scattered population as a reason for putting off this step as long as possible, feeling doubtless that an assembly would only hamper operations during the war then apparently inevitable. Finally, however, he was told by the Lords of Trade that the settlers had been promised an assembly and that one must be called. The law officers of the Crown, moreover, had given their opinion that the governor and council could not pass laws for the colony without the concurrence of an assembly. Accordingly, in the autumn of the year in which Louisbourg fell, the first parliament ever assembled in Canada met at Halifax (7th October, 1758). It consisted of twenty-two members; and the governor, in letters to England, expressed himself as agreeably surprised at the way in which they performed their duties.

New Settlers in Nova Scotia.—Lawrence, though himself a soldier, was shrewd enough to see that disbanded soldiers did not make the best settlers. He therefore caused a proclamation to be circulated through the New England colonies (then of course still British) promising liberal grants of land to all who would take up their abode in the new province across the Bay of Fundy. The result was a large influx of hardy yeomen, who proceeded to settle in fourteen new townships from Halifax around to the St. John River. Between 1759 and 1765 about seven thousand in all arrived from the New England colonies. A number of settlers, too, were brought out from Ireland by a somewhat noted colonizer, Alexander McNutt. The gulf shore of Nova Scotia was apparently not settled until a few years later (1767), when the Philadelphia Company took up the work of sending colonists to what is now Pictou County. There was afterwards a large immigration of Highlanders to the same region, and in 1784 its population was given as five hundred. To the east toward Cape Breton, there was

for many years no settlement whatever. As late as 1787 there was but one settler on the Nova Scotian side of the Gut of Canso, and none on the Cape Breton side.

The Early British Settlers of New Brunswick.—Of the fourteen townships taken up by the settlers from New England, five were situated within what is now New Brunswick—four around the head of Chignecto Bay, the fifth on the St. John River. By the census of 1767 it appears that these five townships had a population of eleven hundred souls, chiefly "Americans" from Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. The last-named colony, through the agency of Alexander McNutt, also furnished a number of Germans, who settled (1765) along the banks of the Petitcodiac River. During these same years small settlements were begun around Passamaquoddy Bay, at Bathurst on the Bay of Chaleur, and at Miramichi on the bay of that name. By the year 1783 the population of what is now New Brunswick had reached a total of about two thousand.* Settlement along the St. John River† was somewhat retarded. Large grants of land there were made to military officers, who made no effort to bring in settlers as their patents required. For this reason these grants, fortunately, were afterwards forfeited and the lands given to the Loyalists from the revolted colonies, who, after 1783, settled in large numbers along the river.

Representation in the Assembly.—The settlers who came in response to Lawrence's proclamation had been promised that when their numbers warranted it they should have members of their own in the provincial assembly. Accordingly, when in 1760 the death of George II. dissolved the first assembly, the representation was at once readjusted to carry out this promise. Instead of sixteen of the members being chosen, as formerly, by the province at large, two members were elected in each of the newly

* Of these about nine hundred were settled along the St. John, an equal number occupied the townships around Chignecto Bay, and the remaining two hundred made up the other settlements, which were largely mere fishing stations and posts for the Indian trade. When the American revolution broke out, some of the settlers from New England returned to their old homes, but the loss was made good by an influx of settlers from Yorkshire.

† The township there, above mentioned, was secured for the earlier settlers by the efforts of Joshua Mauger, M.P., a former Halifax merchant who had become a member of the British parliament; hence its name, Maugerville.

settled districts. In 1765 a further readjustment took place. The county of Cumberland, comprising the new settlements at the head of Chignecto Bay, was allowed two members, the township of Sackville in the same region was given one, while the remainder of what is now New Brunswick was made the county of Sunbury, represented by two members in the assembly.

Peaceful Progress.—The closing years of the war with France did not disturb the quiet of the Maritime Provinces. The fortress of Louisbourg was demolished (1760) and the troops there were sent to join Murray on his march up the St. Lawrence. While British armies were closing in on Montreal peaceful settlers were filling up the rich valleys which open upon the Bay of Fundy. Lawrence died in 1760. Apart from the question as to his treatment of the Acadians, his government of the province was admittedly beneficial, and it resulted in the firm establishment of British authority. From a report sent to England shortly after his death it appears that the various settlements were in a thriving condition, though dyke repairs were needed along the shores of the Bay of Fundy. A road had been opened from Halifax to the Basin of Minas which could be travelled in "an easy day's journey in the summer time." There was ship-building at Liverpool, and favorable reports had been received of the state of the fishing industry along the coasts. Education was largely in the hands of the Anglican Church. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out missionaries from England, who established private schools at various places throughout the settled districts. In 1780 the Nova Scotia assembly established and liberally endowed a public school at Halifax.

Manufactures Discouraged.—Lieut.-Governor Francklin, about the year 1766, reported that although in Nova Scotia some clothing was manufactured from wool and flax, it was only for the personal use of those who wove it. The settlers around Truro, many of whom were of McNutt's company from the north of Ireland (the home of the linen industry), still exercised their old handicraft, but very little of the product was sold, and that little only "to the neighboring towns." "This government," wrote Francklin, "has at no time given encouragement to manufactures which could interfere with those of Great Britain, nor has there been the least appearance of any association of private persons for

that purpose, nor are there any persons who profess themselves weavers so as to make it their employment or business. They only work at it in their own families during the winter and other leisure time. All the inhabitants of this colony are employed either in husbandry, fishing or providing lumber, and all the manufactures for their clothing and the utensils for farming and fishing are made in Great Britain."

Prince Edward Island — Land Monopoly. — Prince Edward Island was known during these years as the Island of Saint John. It received its present name in 1799 in honor of the Duke of Kent, who, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, built a fort and established a garrison at Charlottetown. When the island was ceded to Great Britain (1763) its population consisted of "about thirty Acadian families," described by Captain Holland, who made a survey of the island, as extremely poor and as living by "gardening, fishing, fowling, etc." In 1767 the British government adopted a plan for the settlement of the island. "Nearly the whole island," wrote Lord Durham in 1838, "was alienated in one day by the Crown in very large grants, chiefly to absentees, and upon conditions of settlement which have been wholly disregarded." The allotment was made in England by ballot. The grantees were men, military officers and others, who had claims upon the government. The island was divided into sixty-seven townships of twenty thousand acres each, with small reservations for military, religious, and educational purposes. There was no co-operation on the part of the proprietors in peopling the island; each acted on his own responsibility, and while a few showed energy in the work, the great majority did nothing. But they had great influence in England, and for over one hundred years they were able to thwart every effort of the island assembly to effect such a change in the land system as would further settlement and improvement.

A Separate Province.—Their first step was to have the island set apart as a separate province. In 1769 this was accomplished, though there were only five proprietors and one hundred and fifty settlers on it. Walter Patterson, one of the proprietors, was the first governor. Provision was made for an assembly, which met for the first time in 1773. It was at first contemplated that the expenses of government should be met by

the "quit-rents"—that is, the small sums payable annually by the proprietors as rent to the Crown. On one pretext or another payment was evaded, and after a short time the salaries of the officials in Prince Edward Island (as in the other British colonies in America) were paid by the Imperial authorities.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The Older Colonies.—For a long time there had been friction between Great Britain and her colonies in America. Those who left England to seek new homes across the Atlantic—some through a spirit of adventure, as in the case of Virginia; others to escape religious persecution, as in the case of the New England colonies—were self-reliant men, and from early colonial days they had shown a desire to manage their own political affairs without outside interference. Their assemblies had long been in a state of chronic antagonism toward the governors and officials sent from England. In nothing was their right of control more jealously guarded than in the matter of taxation. They held fast the purse-strings, and the governors often complained bitterly of their parsimony.

Wars with the French.—During the last two wars (1744-1763) there had been more intercourse than ever before between Great Britain and her colonies. She had sent out regular troops for their defence against the French and their Indian allies. But, instead of resulting in an increase of kindly feeling, the mingling of the regular troops with the citizen soldiers of America had added a feeling of personal injustice to the grievances of the latter. The colonial officers complained that regular officers, of inferior rank and unaccustomed to forest warfare, were put over their heads. In their dealings with the colonists generally the British troops assumed a tone of easy superiority, which seems to have rankled deep in the breasts of the democratic community. All danger from the French having disappeared with the fall of New France, the colonists became more outspoken in their complaints.

British Navigation Laws.—There was one particularly

active and energetic class in the New England colonies with whom the British navigation laws were a standing grievance. Under these laws all commerce by sea, including even the coasting trade of America, had to be carried in British ships. There was in consequence much smuggling, and many of the New England merchants were interested in these illicit ventures. The navigation laws were rigorously enforced in the interest of British merchants, and much ill-will was the result.

Revenue Taxation.—The colonists were in the very mood to push their constitutional rights to the utmost limit, and the British parliament was so ill-advised as to touch them in their tenderest spot. Up to this time such customs duties as were collected in America had been imposed simply as part of England's trade policy to keep out foreign goods. The colonists had, though with much grumbling, submitted to the system. But no attempt had ever been made by the British parliament to levy a tax in America for revenue purposes merely. Now, however, the celebrated Stamp Act was passed (1765), under which such a tax was to be collected in the colonies without the sanction of the colonial assemblies. The Act, it is true, was repealed in the following year, but the experiment was repeated in 1769, when an Act was passed for the levying of a revenue duty on tea and certain other commodities upon their importation into the colonies.

The Outbreak.—The colonists protested, and, upon the arrival in Boston of a vessel with a cargo of tea, what is known as the "Boston tea party" took place; the vessel was visited and the tea was thrown overboard. Great Britain was at this time badly governed. George III., during the first half of his reign, was almost an absolute monarch, and at this crisis he would have as his ministers none but those who would undertake to humble the contumacious colonists, who now gathered in "Congress" at Philadelphia to discuss measures to redress their grievances. George III. would not give way. The port of Boston was closed, and other irritating measures were adopted to coerce America. Armed conflict soon followed. At Lexington, on the 19th April, 1775, a band of New Englanders attacked a body of regular troops, and the American Revolution began. At the outset it was the work of an energetic minority, whose personal interests were involved. The course of events, however, and the substantial

justice of the claims put forward by "Congress," finally drew the majority to support the rebellious movement.

The Feeling in Canada.—At this time Carleton had at his command in the province of Quebec not more than eight hundred regulars. The troubles between Great Britain and her colonies had not excited much interest in Canada except among the few English-speaking people at Quebec and Montreal. The majority of these, being immigrant traders from the older colonies, sympathized with the American Congress. The Canadian *noblesse* and clergy, grateful for the Quebec Act, were all for England. The *habitants*, brought up under an absolute monarchy, were naturally on the side of authority as embodied in the governor and his troops; but, weary of war, they now desired to stand neutral.

Canada Urged to Join the Rebellion.—The Philadelphia Congress had not overlooked Canada. In October, 1774, they had issued an address to the Canadians in which they characterized the Quebec Act as "a specious device, a painted sepulchre for burying your lives, liberty and property." "We are," they said, "too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us." Unhappily for them, however, their address to the people of England of a few weeks' earlier date (5th September, 1774) was placed in the hands of the Canadians. In this address Congress had bitterly complained of the Quebec Act as a concession to the French Catholic population of Canada, whose religion they denounced in most insulting terms. Putting these two addresses side by side the Canadians could hardly place much confidence in the utterances of Congress.

Preparations for Defence.—Early in May, 1775, a band of "Green Mountain boys," under Ethan Allan, seized Fort Ticonderoga "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress." The capture of Crown Point followed. Benedict Arnold, with a schooner and some bateaux, came down Lake Champlain and seized St. John's on the River Richelieu. He retreated, however, when Major Preston advanced against him. There was much excitement in Montreal. One trader who was strongly suspected of sending messages to Arnold narrowly escaped being hanged by the soldiers, and thereafter there was no outspoken sympathy for the cause of Congress. The seigneurs

promptly offered to enrol volunteers; the Roman Catholic bishop published a pastoral address in favor of British rule; Carleton issued an order calling out the militia, and a force was soon collected.

Meanwhile an emissary from Congress had come to Montreal. The seizure of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and St. John's by the Green Mountain boys was repudiated, and peace toward Canada was proclaimed as the policy of Congress. Tranquillity being thus restored, Carleton returned to Quebec, where he formed the first legislative council under the Quebec Act. Among its members were many well-known men of the Canadian *noblesse*. They were all deep in the discussion of the means to be adopted for carrying out the Quebec Act when news came that the troops of Congress had again invaded the province. Carleton at once hastened back to Montreal.

Canada Invaded.—Congress had indeed hesitated to engage in aggressive war. The great majority still hoped for a peaceful solution of the difficulties with the motherland; but, after the battle of Bunker's Hill (June, 1775), it was decided to attack Canada. In September, Montgomery, who led the expedition, laid siege to St. John's, where Major Preston was now in command of nearly seven hundred men, many of them Canadian volunteers from Montreal. For nearly seven weeks Preston kept Montgomery out of St. John's. Carleton was unable to send him succor, as the Congress troops had control of the south shore of the St. Lawrence and drove him back when he made an attempt to cross from Montreal. Carleton also tried to send Preston help from Quebec, but, as the *habitants* of the south shore refused to supply provisions, the detachment turned back.

Allan Attacks Montreal.—Ethan Allan with 150 men rashly attempted, toward the end of September, to take Montreal, then a place of over twelve thousand inhabitants. Most of the regular troops had been withdrawn to garrison St. John's. Allan took possession of some houses on the outskirts, but was dislodged by Major Carden, who attacked him with a force of 280 men, of whom only thirty were regulars, the rest being Montreal volunteers. After five of his men had been killed and many others wounded, Allan surrendered. He was put in irons and sent to England, Carleton declining to treat him otherwise than as a rebel.

St. John's Surrenders.—Below St. John's there was a stone fort at Chambly defended by Major Stopford with a force of about eighty men. This fort the Congress troops had not yet attacked. Learning that it contained artillery, in which the force before St. John's was deficient, Montgomery sent a detachment to capture it if possible. After a few hours' siege the fort was weakly yielded up, and Montgomery used its artillery to batter down the defences of St. John's. Preston nevertheless held out for two weeks longer, and only surrendered when all hope of succor was gone, and he and his men were threatened with famine. They were accorded the honors of war in recognition of their brave defence. In settling the terms of capitulation, Montgomery inserted a phrase expressive of regret that the defence had been maintained "in so bad a cause." Thereupon Preston told him that, sooner than submit to such a reflection, he and his garrison would die sword in hand, neither giving nor taking quarter. The phrase was expunged.

Congress Troops Occupy Montreal.—There was now nothing to bar the way to Montreal, and on the 13th of November Congress troops took possession of that town. Carleton had already left by boat for Quebec, escaping however with difficulty through the enemy's lines near Sorel. He reached the capital on the 19th of November and hastily prepared for a vigorous defence.

Arnold Before Quebec.—He found Benedict Arnold already encamped before it. Arnold, with about eleven hundred men, had started for Quebec from New England. He took the old route—up the Kennebec, across the wilderness portage to the head waters of the Chaudière, and down that stream to where it enters the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Quebec. By reason of the hardship of the long march of six weeks many had to be sent back, and Arnold's force had dwindled to eight hundred before he reached his destination early in November. He crossed to the north shore of the St. Lawrence without opposition. Deeming it impossible, however, to capture Quebec with his small force, he pitched his camp some distance up the river and awaited Montgomery's coming.

The Siege of Quebec.—After the occupation of Montreal, Three Rivers sent its submission to Montgomery, and the entire province, apparently, was at his feet, with the exception of the

citadel. He joined Arnold before Quebec very early in December, their united forces amounting to less than two thousand men. Carleton had a mixed garrison of about 1,600. He had impressed seamen from vessels in the basin of Quebec, and he had also some blue-jackets from a war vessel then in the harbor. The regulars did not exceed three hundred; the rest were volunteers, largely French-Canadians. Carleton had issued an order that all those liable for militia duty should enrol within four days or leave the town. Those who left were largely English-speaking sympathizers with Congress. The population of Quebec was at this time about five thousand. The town was well provisioned for a siege, and the walls were manned with 150 pieces of artillery. Montgomery bombarded the town during the whole of December, all the time anxiously on the lookout for a chance to carry it by assault. Carleton refused to hold any communication with men whom he deemed rebels, and resolutely held out.

Montgomery's Attack Repulsed.—At length a plan was matured by which it was hoped the town could be taken. While feigned assaults should be made at all the gates which faced the plains, Montgomery was to march along the strand from Wolfe's Cove and storm the barricades erected at the western end of the lower town; Arnold was to enter at the north-eastern angle, by way of the parish of St. Roch and the low lands along the St. Charles. After carrying the barricades there he was to join Montgomery at the foot of the street leading to the upper town. They never met. In the early hours of the New Year morning (1776), amid falling snow, Montgomery marched to carry out his part in the assault. Contrary to expectation, Captain Chabot, in charge of the first barricade, was on the alert, and a murderous fire greeted the Congress troops. Montgomery fell at the first volley, and his detachment withdrew in confusion, leaving the dead body of their leader behind them. Arnold, too, had met with opposition. The first barricade was carried, but Arnold was wounded, and he had to be carried to the rear, the command falling to Captain Morgan. Fighting bravely, the Congress troops worked their way well in toward the rendezvous agreed upon, but were finally surrounded and forced to surrender. Killed, wounded, and prisoners, the besiegers lost nearly five hundred men, and were therefore in no condition to attempt a further assault.

The End of the Siege.—But they still remained encamped before the walls. During the spring Congress troops kept coming into the province, and some of them joined the army before Quebec. There were rumors of intended attack upon the city, entailing constant vigilance on the part of the garrison, who, however, were in good health, while there was much sickness in the camp of the besiegers. Toward the end of April, General Thomas arrived to take command of the Congress troops. Preparations for an active renewal of the siege were in progress when, early in May, Quebec was relieved a second time by the opportune arrival of a British fleet. There were over nine thousand regular troops on board, and General Thomas left the neighborhood of Quebec so quickly that his uneaten dinner was found upon his camp table. His artillery and camp stores were left behind. The British troops marched quickly toward Montreal, and by the beginning of June there were no Congress troops east of Sorel, at the mouth of the Richelieu.

The Winter in Montreal.—During the winter, feeling had run high in Montreal. Wooster, who was in command there, had insisted that the Canadian seigneurs should give up the commissions they held under the British Crown, offering them new appointments under Congress. With much difficulty he obtained the old commissions, but the majority of the Canadian *noblesse* of Montreal declined to serve in the militia under Congress. Some were so outspoken in their expression of loyalty to British rule that Wooster threatened to banish them from the city if they did not moderate their tone. The failure of Montgomery's assault upon Quebec had not been without effect upon the *habitants*. They had not received very kindly treatment from the Congress troops. For supplies sold they were offered Congress paper money; when they objected, forced contributions were levied upon them. Wooster, too, had obliged them to work without pay. All these things inclined them to listen to the advice of the *noblesse* and the clergy, who had steadily adhered to the royal cause.

Commissioners from Congress.—The progress of events in Canada had excited much interest in Congress. Washington was anxious that the province should fall into line with the older colonies. Otherwise, Canada might be made the base for an in-

vasion of New York by British troops by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. Such an inroad, if successful, would cut the revolted colonies in two. So important was the matter deemed that in the spring of 1776 three commissioners were appointed by Congress to proceed to Montreal to see what could be done to secure the adhesion of the Canadians to their cause. One of these commissioners was the celebrated Benjamin Franklin ; another was Charles Carroll, who as a Catholic might, it was thought, have weight with his co-religionists of Canada. The mission was a failure. The commissioners reported that the Congress troops were in bad plight ; that their credit was poor ; and that, by their exactions and frequent failure to fulfil their contracts, they had estranged the Canadians from the cause of Congress.

End of the Invasion.—In a rash attempt to regain lost ground, General Thompson early in June advanced from Sorel against Three Rivers, which was now again in the hands of British troops. After landing above the town the Congress army lost its way, got into a marsh, and in this plight was attacked by the British. General Thompson was taken prisoner with about three hundred men, the rest escaping back to Sorel. The British now advanced upon the camp at this point, only to find that it had been abandoned and that the Congress troops were in full retreat for Lake Champlain, Arnold, from Montreal, joining them on the way. As nine thousand veteran regulars were behind them, their rapid departure from the province is not, perhaps, a matter for surprise.

Carleton's Energy.—Montreal was at once garrisoned by a British force; St. John's was reoccupied; and Carleton took post at Isle aux Noix, intending to carry the war into the enemy's country as soon as the necessary supplies and transports could be collected. This he found a work of extreme difficulty. Three vessels sent out from England had been taken to pieces and carried overland to the upper waters of the Richelieu, and there put together again ; but, with this exception, Carleton had no boats and no material ready to build them, no stores, and no covering for the troops. Nevertheless, he went vigorously to work. No one was allowed to stand idle. While boats were being built the troops were drilled in forest warfare, and councils were held with the Indians and their favor was gained.

Naval Battle on Lake Champlain.—It was October

before Carleton was ready to advance. Then with his three larger vessels and a medley of small craft, eighty-seven in all, he embarked upon Lake Champlain. There he found that the enemy meanwhile had not been idle ; Arnold was in command of a fleet as strong as his own. No such marine forces had ever before been seen on those waters. On the 11th of October Carleton encountered Arnold's fleet on the west side of the lake. Shutting it in between Valcour Island and the mainland, he so battered it that when night came Arnold was glad to steal past him in the darkness and sail for Crown Point. Carleton overtook him next day, before he could get under cover of the guns of that fortress, and completely destroyed his fleet. Crown Point was abandoned by the Congress troops and the British took possession. It was too late now, however, to advance farther, and Carleton, deeming Crown Point too far away from his base of supply, returned to St. John's.

Burgoyne Surrenders at Saratoga.—Though the province was not again invaded, some of the events of the war to the south had their effect upon Canada, and it will be convenient to deal with these before turning again to the internal affairs of the province. In the spring of 1777, Carleton, much to his disappointment, was superseded in the command of the troops by Burgoyne, who had been his second in command during the year just past. Nevertheless he exerted himself to the utmost to forward the expedition which Burgoyne was to lead against New York. Burgoyne proved himself utterly incompetent. By October he was only a short distance down the Hudson ; and at Saratoga he allowed himself to be hemmed in by General Gates and was obliged to surrender with his entire army.

France Aids the Revolted Colonies.—After this disaster France recognized the United States by secretly making a treaty with Congress. Great Britain, learning of it in March, 1778, promptly declared war. Baron d'Estaing sailed with a French fleet to aid the revolted colonies. He issued a proclamation to the French-Canadians calling on them to put themselves once more under the protection of the French king. There was much excitement in Canada when copies of this proclamation were found affixed to the doors of the parish churches throughout the land. Some writers have even affirmed that if a French

force had then invaded the province the French-speaking inhabitants would not have opposed them. But no invasion took place. Congress had no desire to see France gain a fresh foothold on the American continent, and therefore employed d'Estaing elsewhere.

Haldimand's Precautions.—The fear of invasion, however, led Haldimand, who had become governor of Quebec in 1778, to adopt measures for repressing disaffection which had been complained of as arbitrary, though even his critics admit his sincerity of purpose. To guard against attack he constructed a block-house on the upper waters of the Chaudière, by which stream Arnold had descended upon Quebec; he also established a post at St. Francis and strengthened the forts on the Richelieu. The settlements along Lake Champlain as far as Ticonderoga were raided and destroyed in order that they might not serve as a base of supply for the enemy in case of invasion.

The War in the West.—To the west, British garrisons were maintained at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit and Michillimackinac during the war, but these appear to have been much neglected. To the south and west of Lake Erie a noted Kentucky ranger, named Clark, took possession for Congress of the Illinois settlements. He also captured the post at Vincennes on the Wabash. To secure Niagara from attack, as well as in reprisal for outrages committed upon Loyalists in western New York, Major Butler in 1778 attacked the settlements on the Wyoming, and, after defeating a force which opposed him, laid waste the entire valley. This has been called by American writers "the massacre of Wyoming," but Loyalist writers emphatically assert that none but armed men were slain. At this time the Iroquois or Six Nation Indians, as they were now called (the Tuscaroras having joined them), were living in much comfort in western New York. These tribes, largely through Johnson's influence, had sided with Great Britain in her struggle with the colonies, and some of them had taken part in Butler's raid on the Wyoming valley. In 1779 General Sullivan marched against them and left their country a blackened wilderness.

The War in the East.—In Nova Scotia there was no movement in opposition to the Stamp Act or to the other measures which caused the revolt of the older colonies. When a circular

arrived from Massachusetts asking the Nova Scotia assembly to join in demanding a redress of grievances, Lieutenant-Governor Francklin did not deem it expedient to lay the circular before the assembly. Instead, he sent it to England with the most loyal professions on behalf of the colonists. The early settlers around Halifax were British soldiers, who remembered their generous treatment by the government upon their first arrival. The city then, as now, was a chief military and naval centre, and the people apparently were not disposed to trouble their heads about strict rights in the matter of taxation. The progress of the struggle was doubtless eagerly watched, for British men-of-war were often in Halifax harbor and along the coast.

Buccaneers.—American privateers (many without any license from Congress) infested the Bay of Fundy. Many of the settlers at Passamaquoddy and along the St. John, who stood firm to their allegiance, were in consequence plundered and kept in a state of constant alarm. At one time the raids became so frequent that the settlers were obliged to seek refuge in the backwoods. In 1776 two American armed vessels landed at Charlottetown (P.E.I.), and carried off, along with other booty, the acting administrator and some other officials, who, however, were at once sent back by Washington with an apology for their capture. Early in the war, Fort Frederick, at the mouth of the St. John, was taken and destroyed by a raiding party from New England ports. Some of this party crossed the isthmus and carried off a vessel from Pictou. The settlements on the gulf shore of what is now New Brunswick suffered also from similar raids. The arrival of a British fleet to patrol the coast prevented any extensive repetition of such attacks until the war was nearly over, when (1782) Lunenburg was attacked and plundered by New England privateers.

Independence Acknowledged—The Boundary Line.—In 1783 Great Britain gave up the contest, and by the second Treaty of Paris, commonly called the Treaty of Versailles, acknowledged the independence of the "United States of America." This treaty made certain changes in the southern boundary line of the province of Quebec, which may be shortly stated. The boundary between the United States and what is now New Brunswick was fixed as the River St. Croix to its source ; thence it followed a line

running due north to the "highlands" which divide the streams flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing south to the Atlantic Ocean. From this point the southern boundary line of the province of Quebec (as laid down by the Quebec Act) was followed until Lake Erie was reached. Here was the most marked change. Under the Quebec Act, all the region north of the Ohio and west to the Mississippi had been part of the province of Quebec. This region was now transferred to the United States, although it had first been opened up by the hardy Canadian *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois.* The Treaty of Versailles fixed as the south-western boundary of Canada the middle line of the great lakes from Lake Erie to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods.

CHAPTER XIX.

CANADA UNDER THE QUEBEC ACT.

Reorganization.—Owing to the invasion of the province, it was not until the spring of 1777 that the new council was able to proceed to the regular despatch of business. Courts were established upon a system much like that then in force in England. The trade of the province being largely in British hands, English commercial law was introduced. In other respects the provision made by the Quebec Act for restoring the old French laws was not disturbed. It has been truly said of this first council that it was composed of officials, seigneurs, and the leading traders, and that the interests of other classes of the population were ignored. No serious complaint, however, was made on this point during the remainder of Carleton's first term. His trouble was with the new chief justice, Livius, who, with little regard for the difficulties of Carleton's position at a time when friends of Congress were numerous in the province, questioned the governor's right to imprison persons suspected of treasonable designs.

Absentee Office-holders.—As the Quebec Act annulled all the old commissions, and all offices therefore had to be refilled, Carleton had hoped that absentee office-holders would disappear. There had been many such, the work of whose offices in Canada was done by incompetent deputies. To Carleton's disgust, Lord

Germain seized the opportunity to reward his political friends in England. In many cases, far from appointing good resident officials, he sent out inferior men to take the place of old officers who had done their work in person and had done it well. The evil Carleton desired to see diminished was thus rather increased. The governor also complained that the fees and salaries were altogether too high for a young colony.

Sir Frederick Haldimand.—Carleton was succeeded in 1778 by Sir Frederick Haldimand, a Swiss by birth, who had risen by merit alone to his present position. His instincts were those of a soldier, and he was inclined to deal somewhat summarily with those who were suspected of intriguing with Congress. The number of those who were imprisoned has, however, been much exaggerated. Even Haldimand's critics, as already intimated, acquit him of all personal malice in the performance of what, in very trying times, he conceived to be his duty in defence of the province. Congress agents were undoubtedly abroad in the parishes stirring up disaffection, and Haldimand's "rough but honest absolutism" was not out of place in a time of war, when threats of further invasion were being constantly reported.

Traders in the Council.—The council, very early during Haldimand's term, gave proof of its selfish character. Taking advantage of the need for large supplies to maintain the troops, a ring of traders by clever manipulation created an artificial scarcity in wheat. A bread famine was the result. Haldimand endeavored to have laws passed to prevent forestalling (the buying up of wheat in large quantities in advance), but the traders in the council rejected the proposed ordinance. Fortunately the promise of a good harvest and rumors of peace broke the ring, and prices came down to their ordinary level. There was much activity at this time among Montreal merchants in carrying on the western fur trade, and supplies much greater than were required for purposes of barter with the Indians were being shipped in that direction. Fearing that these might find their way by roundabout channels to the Congress troops, Haldimand curtailed the issue of passes for the Indian trade, and thus incurred the further displeasure of his councillors.

Agitation for Further Changes.—Upon the return of peace in 1783, the internal affairs of the province began to attract

more attention, and a movement for a further change in the constitution soon sprang up. Petitions began to cross the Atlantic, some for and some against such change, and some for and some against the continuance of the old French laws. Opinion in the province was much divided. The members of the council were naturally averse to any change by which they would lose their positions. The officials were of the same mind; in fact, the most influential of them were members of the council. The French-Canadian population had hitherto been opposed to an assembly, while the small English-speaking minority had vehemently desired one. As the agitation went on there was much changing of sides upon the question. The various sections of the population were influenced not only by local causes but by the varying reports which from time to time reached Canada from England as to the nature of the assembly to be set up in the province. Before Haldimand's departure (1785) the council passed a resolution against any change in the constitution. Several of the British members supported it because, it is said, they feared that English-speaking candidates would not be able to secure election to an assembly. They evidently realized that the British parliament, even of that day, would not create in Canada an assembly to which French-Canadians could not be elected.

New Settlers Favor the Movement.—During Haldimand's governorship a large addition was made to the English-speaking population of Canada by the influx of Loyalists from the revolted colonies to the south. The new settlers were in favor of a more popular form of government than that afforded by a Crown-appointed council. They desired, too, to have English law, under which they had always lived, introduced into those parts of Canada where they settled. It was with the intention of granting them this boon that Upper Canada was finally set apart as a separate province. To render the Loyalist settlements more easy of access Haldimand interested himself in the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence above Montreal, and rude canals were constructed to overcome the rapids.

Lord Dorchester.—In the autumn of 1786* Carleton re-

* On Haldimand's retirement in 1785 the government was administered for a time by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, and, upon his recall, by Lieutenant-Governor Colonel Hope.

turned to the province to assume for a second time the position of governor. He was sent again to Canada because there seemed to be danger of trouble with the United States, and because his well-known popularity among the French-Canadians was relied upon to keep them in content. He was now Lord Dorchester, and his commission appointed him governor of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as well as of Canada, the government of those provinces being henceforward administered by lieutenant-governors.

Committees of Inquiry.—In view of the divergence of opinion in Canada, Lord Dorchester was instructed to report fully on the state of the province, and to that end committees of inquiry were appointed. From their proceedings we learn a great deal that is of interest concerning the position of affairs in the years immediately preceding the division of Canada into two provinces. For example, it appeared that some of the English-speaking judges interpreted the Quebec Act as restoring the old laws of Canada only as between French-Canadians, leaving English law in force as to the English-speaking population. What law should govern in case of a dispute between an English-Canadian and a French-Canadian depended largely upon the views of the particular judge who tried the case. On the other hand, some of the French-Canadian judges were inclined to limit unduly the ordinance which had introduced English commercial law. There was, in consequence, much uncertainty in the administration of justice, to say nothing of personal ill-feeling between the judges.

Land Laws.—The Committee on Lands advocated the abolition of the seigneurial tenure and the introduction of English real estate law. In this they were supported by one seigneur, de Lanaudière, who was wise enough to see that feudal burdens would retard settlement in the seigneuries. Under the Quebec Act provision had been made for the granting of lands "in free and common socage"—in other words, according to the English system—to those who preferred that system, and to such lands the old French laws were not to apply. But there was much difference of opinion as to the meaning of the Quebec Act upon this point. Not until a later period, however, when what are known as the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada were being settled, did this uncertainty give rise to serious difficulty.

Education.—The Committee on Education reported in favor

of a system of public instruction, to include elementary schools and a non-sectarian college, which should in course of time become a university, but this comprehensive scheme was never carried out. The committee, however, collected much valuable information as to the position of the province in the matter of education. The Jesuits had formerly conducted a free school or college at Quebec, to which all might resort for instruction in the elementary branches. The British government had refused to recognize the Jesuit order, and had taken possession of their Canadian estates. It was at first intended that these should be given to Sir Jeffrey Amherst for his services in the taking of Canada; but the law officers reported that the Jesuits had held them in trust for educational purposes, and the grant to Amherst was, therefore, never made. The Crown, nevertheless, still held the estates, and the Jesuit school had ceased to exist. The seminary college at Quebec, which Laval had established for the training of priests, had since the cession of Canada to England given free instruction of a high grade to all who chose to attend it. The Sulpicians of Montreal also conducted a seminary college, at which no charge was made except for board. There were other schools at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, under the control of the Church. Mission schools also were scattered through the parishes, and of these, in most cases, the various Roman Catholic sisterhoods had charge. There was no public system of education, and throughout the country parishes very few could read or write.

CHAPTER XX.

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS.

A Trying Situation.—When the thirteen American colonies threw off their allegiance to Great Britain and declared their independence (1776) there was no longer place for constitutional agitation. The new government demanded the unqualified support of all within its borders; those who declined to give it were treated as being outside the pale of citizenship. The position was a trying one for many who had up to that time borne their part in the agitation for a redress of grievances, but who had, at the same

time, hoped to achieve their end by constitutional means. Now they were obliged either to forswear their allegiance to the motherland and take up arms against her, or be declared enemies of the new republic. There could be no neutrals. Believing that under the British constitution the grievances of the colonists could, sooner or later, be removed, thousands of loyal men decided to stand by that constitution and the cause of a united empire. Hence to this day they bear the name of United Empire Loyalists.

A Bitter War.—Obliged to abandon their homes, their property confiscated and sold, little wonder their hearts grew bitter. It can serve no good purpose now to dwell upon the details of the war—the fiendish outrages committed upon both sides—with a view to striking a balance against either king or congress. Civil war at the best is proverbially bitter. It was the more so in this case because the differences of opinion permeated each separate community, dividing people of the same neighborhood into hostile camps, and thus giving rise to guerilla warfare from one end of the country to the other.

The Victors Act Harshly.—At the close of the war, there was on the part of Great Britain—at least, of her plenipotentiaries—a lamentable failure to secure protection for those colonists who had fought on the losing side. On the part of the successful United States, there was an utter absence of generosity to their vanquished opponents. By the treaty of peace, indeed, Congress engaged to recommend to the State legislatures that the property of all British subjects who had not borne arms against Congress should be freely restored, and that all others should receive back their estates on payment of the price for which they had been sold. This article of the treaty was practically a dead letter. Those who had cheaply purchased the property of Loyalists were not inclined to give it up, and the State legislatures declined to repeal their various confiscation Acts. There seems, in short, to have been an angry determination everywhere to prevent those who had opposed the setting up of an independent national existence from now becoming citizens of the new republic.

Loyalists Emigrate to Canada.—Unable to recover their property, themselves the object of insult and suspicion, the Loyalists soon found that the prospect of making a livelihood in the vicinity of their old homes was not bright. The result, therefore, of the

short-sighted policy then pursued by the United States was that in the British provinces to the north there settled a host of refugees, in whose breasts for many years dwelt the remembrance of wrong. After the first tide of immigration had somewhat abated, the claims of the later-comers to the generous land grants bestowed upon those who had upheld the cause of a united empire were more closely scrutinized. Those who could establish their right to be so classed had placed after their names the magic letters "U.E." Hence the short title by which these settlers and their children are still known—the U. E. Loyalists.

Earlier Arrivals.—When Boston was abandoned by the British troops in 1776, about eleven hundred refugees embarked with the army for Halifax. Many of these settled in Nova Scotia. Loyalist refugees also began to arrive in the province of Quebec at a very early period in the war. The disastrous termination of Burgoyne's campaign (1777) left the Loyalists of the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys to the tender mercies of the Congress troops, and many of these Loyalists, particularly those who had borne arms, were obliged to seek refuge in Canada. From them were recruited the various "provincial corps" (as the loyal regiments raised in the colonies were styled), while those who were unfit for service—men, women and children—were cared for by the British government at St. John's, Chambly, and other points along the Richelieu. Before the close of the war there were in the province about three thousand of these "unincorporated Loyalists," so called to distinguish them from those who were enrolled in the various provincial corps. Haldimand made preparation for the newcomers by having surveys made of the various districts in which it was intended they should locate. In anticipation of their wants a government mill was erected at Cataraqui—the old Fort Frontenac, the modern Kingston.

Loyalist Settlers in Nova Scotia.—After peace had been declared there came a great influx of Loyalists. The city of New York had remained in the hands of the British from a very early period in the struggle, and at its close many thousands of Loyalist refugees were congregated there. Most of these came to the then province of Nova Scotia. In September, 1783, Lieutenant-Governor Parr reported that thirteen thousand refugees had arrived in the province "during the last few months," and that there had been

much suffering on account of the insufficient preparation for their accommodation. All told, the immigration during these years into the Maritime Provinces amounted to about thirty thousand. Of these the majority were located in what is now Nova Scotia, filling up the already settled townships and spreading into the adjoining wilderness. The population was about doubled by this loyal addition.

In New Brunswick.—Very many, however, went to the northern shores of the Bay of Fundy—to the fertile valley of the St. John, and to the region around Passamaquoddy Bay. The new settlers in the St. John valley—largely disbanded soldiers of the various "provincial corps"—to the number of about nine thousand, were given lands along both banks of the river to a point above the present capital, Fredericton, then known as St. Ann's Point. Parrtown (now St. John), at the mouth of the river, soon became a thriving town. Around Passamaquoddy Bay some seventeen hundred were located, while about four hundred took up their abode in the townships at the head of the Bay of Fundy. As the result of this large immigration the country north of the isthmus was, in 1784, set apart as a separate province under its present name, New Brunswick.

In Cape Breton.—Cape Breton, too, was made a separate province in 1784, to be governed by a council only; but in 1820 it was reannexed to Nova Scotia, of which it has ever since formed part. This island was long a victim of the commercial policy of Great Britain. In order to prevent the establishment in America of manufactures which might compete with those of England, the working of the Cape Breton coal deposits was forbidden. For the same reason, even when the great Loyalist immigration came settlers were not allowed at first to locate on the island, but this restriction was almost at once abandoned, and many hundreds of Loyalists did in fact settle in Cape Breton.

In Prince Edward Island.—Owing to the failure of the proprietors to bring in settlers, the population of Prince Edward Island remained almost stationary until the arrival of several hundred Loyalists in 1783-1784. The governor, Patterson, acted treacherously (it was said) toward his fellow-proprietors, both those on the island and those in England. He caused proceedings to be taken under an early Act of the assembly for the sale of the

lands of those proprietors who had not paid their quit-rents, and at these sales he was himself a large purchaser. Popular opinion on the island was strongly against Patterson, although he had the support of the Loyalist settlers, to whom free grants were made out of the forfeited lands. In the end the sales were not disturbed, but the influence of the proprietors in England was sufficiently strong to procure the governor's peremptory recall in 1787.

In Canada.—At the peace the various provincial corps were disbanded, and from all parts of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania they now came flocking into Canada to join their friends already there. Fixed places of rendezvous were appointed—Isle aux Noix, Carleton Island (near Kingston), Oswego, and Niagara—and by various routes the refugees arrived at these different points. One party from New York under Captain Grass came to Canada by way of the St. Lawrence, and after wintering at Sorel joined the settlers for the Bay of Quinte. Haldimand, apparently, was averse to settling the frontier toward Lake Champlain, fearing strife between the soldier settlers and their neighbors across the line. The majority of the Loyalists gathered along the Richelieu valley were therefore sent up the St. Lawrence (1784) to people its northern banks. St. John's, Chambly, Sorel, and the other villages along the Richelieu retained, however, many of the Loyalists, and Montreal doubtless drew many thither.

The Pioneers of Upper Canada.—The first settlement of Upper Canada was largely military. The townships on the St. Lawrence, from Lake St. Francis westward, were settled by soldiers from Sir John Johnson's regiments, many of whom were from the Scotch settlements on the Mohawk. Many of their kinsmen from the Old Land afterwards joined them in this new home in the St. Lawrence valley, and to this day the population of the district is largely Scotch. From Kingston westward for some distance along both sides of the Bay of Quinte the region was taken up by others of Johnson's soldiers, and by other companies, including some Hessian regulars. In these Quinte settlements there was a large admixture of the old Dutch families from the banks of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and not a few of the same stock settled on the Niagara frontier. Captain Grass' company secured township number one, afterwards Kingston township, including the town site of Kingston. The other townships, both along the St. Law-

rence and the Bay of Quinte, were named after the numerous progeny of George III.—Williamsburg, Elizabethtown, Ernestown, Sophiasburg, etc.—although long known to the settlers by their numbers only. The Niagara district was largely settled by Butler's Rangers; and at Amherstburg, on the Detroit River, there was another settlement in this same year (1784), some of Butler's Rangers going there.

Liberal Treatment.—To these first settlers, both in Canada and in the Maritime Provinces, liberal grants of land were made. In Canada officers received from five thousand to two thousand acres according to rank, while every private was given two hundred acres. At a later date a free grant of two hundred acres was also bestowed on children of U. E. Loyalists, to a daughter upon marriage, to a son on coming of age. The grants in the Maritime Provinces were on a smaller but still liberal scale. In addition to free land the first settlers were provided with tools (not always of the best), and with clothes, grain, and provisions for three years. The British parliament voted a large sum (over three million pounds sterling) to pay the losses sustained by the Loyalists during the war, and the distribution of this fund and the half-pay of the officers provided the settlements with a little ready money—a much-needed article in those days. Among soldier settlers unused to the work which now fell to their lot there was naturally much improvidence, and the year in which the government supplies were stopped (1788) was long known as "the scarce year." Speculators, too, taking advantage of the needs of the earlier settlers, secured much land at low figures.

Life of the Early Settlers.—When the various companies arrived at their respective townships they found them a primeval forest. Many pictures have been drawn of the lives of these early settlers,—of the slow clearing away of the woods around the log cabins; of gradually increasing crops; of long trips to the government mills; of home grinding of grain upon the "hominy block" and in the "plumping mill" to save these long trips; of "bees" for house and barn raising; of corn huskings followed by merry dancing; of "sugaring off" in the maple woods; of abundant game; of the cultivation of flax and the rearing of sheep to provide home-made clothing; of how every man was his own tanner and boot-maker; and—to sum up the story—of how the hardy settlers,

becoming skilled in their tasks, fought their way through much discouragement to comfort and even affluence. One evil they were spared: no hostile red man lurked on the outskirts of settlement. The worst enemy they had to dread was a prowling bear, wolf or wildcat, but these have long since disappeared to northern wilds.

Indian Settlements in Canada.—Many of the Six Nation Indians of northern New York who had taken sides for England were also settled in Upper Canada. The Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea (to give him his Indian name), had distinguished himself in the war. He now secured blocks of land for his tribesmen, one upon the Grand River on the north shore of Lake Erie, another near Deseronto on the Bay of Quinte. Though large portions of these grants have since been sold or surrendered by the Indians, there are still large Indian reserves in these two localities, where the descendants of the once powerful and ferocious Iroquois now live, largely upon the bounty of the Canadian government.

JOSEPH BRANT.

Upper Canada before the Division.—The first influx of 1784 was followed for several years by a gradually decreasing stream of Loyalists, who took up the townships adjoining those already settled. The desire of these English-speaking settlers for English law had a potent influence in bringing about in 1791 the division of the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada. Before the Act of 1791 the newly settled region was divided into four districts—Eastern or Lunenburg (the St. Lawrence settlements), Midland or Mecklenburg (the Bay of Quinte region), Nassau or Home (the Niagara frontier), and Western or Hesse (the Amherstburg district)—with a judge and a sheriff for each. As a first step toward the education of the rising generation Dr. Stewart opened an academy at Kingston (1786), and here and

there schools—usually for the winter months only—were started through private enterprise. In 1791, when the division of the old province took place, the population of the upper province was placed at about twelve thousand. The total immigration into the Maritime Provinces and Canada during the years immediately following the peace has been computed at about forty-five thousand. The majority went at first to the Maritime Provinces, but after 1791 many of these removed to Canada.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT, 1791.

Divided Opinions.—The English-speaking population in what is now the province of Quebec had greatly increased, and in 1791 it numbered about five thousand out of a total population of about 125,000. The majority of this class had always desired an assembly, but they wanted the representation so arranged as to put them on a footing of equality, at least, with the French-speaking Canadians. Among the latter there had gradually taken place a marked change of opinion, and they were now about equally divided upon the question, the division showing itself "even in the bosom of families." Those who advocated an assembly did so of course in confidence that no religious test would limit their right to elect as members men of their own race. The new settlers in what is now Ontario were not only in favor of an assembly; they also wanted the province divided in order that they might relieve themselves from the old French law, to which they were entirely unaccustomed. To this division the British party (as they were called), in and below Montreal, were opposed, as it would leave them in a hopeless minority in the lower province. Thus we see that the various classes who favored an assembly were actuated by widely different motives, and that there was little agreement as to the details of the change which should take place in the government of the province. The council and the officials were throughout opposed to any change, and they of course had friends and adherents, particularly in Quebec, to support their views.

The Constitutional Act, 1791.—At length, in 1791, Pitt deemed the time ripe for conferring on Canada a permanent form of government. To that end the Constitutional Act was introduced by him into the British parliament, and after a warm debate became law. Under it the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were governed for nearly fifty years.

The boundary line between the two new provinces was fixed by royal proclamation, and, although it has since been found necessary to define this line more accurately, it is still the dividing line between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Nothing on the south shore of the St. Lawrence was included in the new province of Upper Canada. The line began on the north shore of Lake St. Francis, at the western end of the seigneury of New Longueuil ("at the cove west of Pointe au Baudet"), and followed the western limits of the seigneuries to the Ottawa; thence it followed the Ottawa to Lake Temiscaming; thence it was drawn due north to Hudson Bay.

Provisions of the Act.—(1) The Two Parliaments.—By the Act the council, which for the last sixteen years (1775-1791) had passed such laws as were deemed necessary for the province of Quebec, was dissolved, and for each of the new provinces a parliament was provided. It consisted of (1) the Crown, (2) an appointed legislative council, and (3) an elective legislative assembly; with power to pass laws "for the peace, welfare, and good government" of the province.

The Crown would of course be represented in each province by the governor or lieutenant-governor, whose assent was necessary to all Acts of the provincial legislature. The legislative council of Lower Canada was to consist of not less than fifteen members, that of Upper Canada of not less than seven. In each the members were appointed by the Crown and held their seats for life. The Act indeed provided for the creation of hereditary titles in Canada, to which the right to a seat in the legislative council should be annexed, but this clause happily was allowed to remain a dead letter. Public opinion in the provinces has always decidedly condemned the idea of a Canadian House of Lords. In addition to the legislative council there was in each province an executive council to advise the governor in the conduct of public affairs.

The legislative assembly of Lower Canada was to consist of not less than fifty members, that of Upper Canada of not less than sixteen. The electoral franchise was what was known in England as the forty shilling freehold for counties and the £5 freehold and £10 leasehold for towns. Roughly speaking, these figures had reference to the annual rental or income of the property in respect of which the right to vote was claimed. No member of the legislative council and no clergyman was to be eligible to a seat in the assembly. The oaths required, as well from voters as from members of the council and assembly, contained nothing in the nature of a religious test to debar any citizen from voting at an election or from being elected.

The provincial parliaments were to meet at least once a year. Their legislative power over certain matters was restricted, not by way of absolute prohibition, but by requiring certain formalities to be observed. Laws relating to religion (including tithes) were among these, and the restrictions were imposed apparently in order to prevent hasty legislation at any time of religious excitement. The power to pass laws relating to the granting of Crown lands was also restricted as these were relied on to provide a revenue, and in the interest of the Crown their too rapid sale was not considered desirable. The greater part indeed of all the revenues of the provinces continued to be collected and spent by the officials under Acts of the British parliament, so that for many years the assemblies were able to exercise very little control over them—a defect in the system of colonial government which was remedied only after a long struggle.

(2) Tithes—Clergy Reserves.—The right of the Roman Catholic clergy to collect tithes from adherents of that Church was confirmed, but provision was also made for the setting apart of a certain part of the Crown lands for the support of a "Protestant clergy." Out of this enactment grew, about thirty years later, the celebrated "Clergy Reserves" question, which for many years created intense political excitement, particularly in Upper Canada. It was not finally set at rest until the year 1854.

(3) Legal Systems.—The only other provision of the Constitutional Act which need now be noticed is the clause which continued all existing laws in Canada, subject, however, to future repeal or variation by the provincial assemblies. What would

take place was well understood. Lower Canada stood fast by the old laws. Upper Canada, as we shall see, at once introduced English law as the basis of the legal system of that province.

CHAPTER XXII.

INCREASE OF POPULATION (1791-1812).

The Various Migrations.—During this period there was a marked increase in the population of all the provinces, and just at its close (1812) the foundations of the present province of Manitoba were laid. Of this increase a few came from England and a large number from Ireland, but the great sources of supply during these years were the United States and Scotland. An attempt, indeed, was made early in the century to settle about five hundred Maroons—a race of rebellious blacks from Jamaica—in Nova Scotia; but, after a short stay, they were removed to the west coast of Africa, to which region, at an earlier date, a number of negro Loyalists had been sent. After the first great Loyalist migration there was a decided falling off in the movement from the United States to the Maritime Provinces, and it was toward the Canadian provinces that the tide of American migration set in most strongly. Of the flow from the British Isles all the provinces received some portion, but the provinces by the sea were the chief gainers from this source during the period before us.

"Highland Clearances."—To deal first with the Scotch migration. The latter half of the eighteenth century, following upon the failure of the Stuart uprising of 1745, saw the breaking up of the half-feudal clan system of the Highlands of Scotland. A powerful factor to this end was the formation by Pitt of those Highland regiments whose achievements, from the Plains of Abraham to the fields of the Crimea, have shed lustre upon the British army. But the severest blow to the system was given by its own chiefs, who, upon taking the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, were now given an absolute title to the soil occupied by their clans. Many of them soon began a wholesale eviction of their clansmen, whom they now treated simply as their tenants, and vast stretches of the Highlands of Scotland were thus turned

into sheep-runs. The misery which followed upon these "Highland clearances" was extreme. With a view to relief, colonization projects were adopted toward the close of the century, which resulted in the migration of thousands of Highlanders to the British provinces in America.

Scotch Migration to Nova Scotia.—Their first settlements in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, as early as 1773, have already been mentioned. Further arrivals took place, spreading eastward toward and into Cape Breton. During the earlier years of the present century the migration into these regions was enormous. As many as two or three ships a day sailed from Scotland during the summer season from 1801 to 1805. In one year not less than 1,300 settled in the county of Pictou alone. There was so much suffering and discomfort on board the badly-ventilated ships that the movement gained the unenviable name of the "white slave trade." Once settled, however, in their new homes, these Scotch immigrants entered upon an era of comfort and even prosperity, very different from the distress then prevalent in their old homes in the Highland glens. As early as 1791 the movement into Cape Breton began, first from Nova Scotia, afterwards directly from Scotland. Between the years 1791 and 1828, not less than twenty-five thousand Scotch settlers found their way to this beautiful island, where their descendants still form the chief element in the population.

Scotch Settlers on the St. Lawrence.—The shore of the upper St. Lawrence was another great gathering-place for Scotch settlers. After the disbanding of the Glengarry Fencibles, who had taken part in putting down the rebellion in Ireland (1798), as many as 1,100 of them, including friends and kinsmen, came at one time (1804) to the St. Lawrence townships. They were largely Roman Catholic, and their leader, Alexander Macdonell, was afterwards well known as the first Roman Catholic bishop of Upper Canada.

Selkirk's Prince Edward Island Colony.—The place of honor among those who took the lead in bringing out the Scotch Highlanders must be given to the Earl of Selkirk. The character of this nobleman has been the subject of much question. In connection with his Red River settlement he came into conflict with the North-West Company, at that time a most potent factor

in the government of the Canadian provinces. If we are to believe what the friends of that company wrote of Selkirk, he was actuated solely by motives of self-aggrandizement; if we take the eulogies of his friends, he was a leader among philanthropists. Motives apart, his schemes of colonization were vigorously executed, and resulted in the introduction of a large number of hardy settlers, whose influence for good upon the communities where they were located has been most marked. Selkirk's first design was to take his colonists to the Hudson Bay country; but the British government insisted that the vacant lands of the older provinces should first be taken up. Selkirk's earliest settlement (1803) was, therefore, upon Prince Edward Island. About eight hundred was the number of this first company, and their prosperity was immediate. Their descendants form to-day a large element in the population of the central portion of the island.

EARL OF SELKIRK.

Selkirk in Upper Canada.—Selkirk also owned much land in the western district of Upper Canada, and in this same year (1803) his Baldoon settlement on Lake St. Clair was founded. The land was low lying, malaria thinned the ranks, and the colony was not a success. In Upper Canada, indeed, Selkirk appears to have met with but scant encouragement. The litigation which afterwards arose between him and the North-West Company was largely conducted in Canada, and Selkirk complained bitterly of the partiality shown to his opponents by the authorities in both of the Canadian provinces. It was not, however, until 1811-1812 that Selkirk, having secured a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, sent out the first settlers to his lands upon the Red River. The events connected with that settlement fall, therefore, within the next period of Canadian history.

Talbot Settlements.—The same perhaps may be said of the Talbot settlements in the townships in rear of the Lake Erie

frontier. Their founder was Colonel Thomas Talbot, who, as Simcoe's *aide-de-camp*, accompanied him upon his western trips in Upper Canada. He afterwards obtained a grant of many townships in the district just mentioned. Active settlement, however, did not begin until 1809, and Colonel Talbot's career in Canada is more closely identified with the period following the war of 1812. Twenty-eight townships in all owe their first settlement to his somewhat eccentric energy.

The Eastern Townships.—We turn now to what may be called the second great migration from the United States to Canada. Very shortly after the division of the old province of Quebec proclamations were issued in both Lower and Upper Canada inviting settlers from the United States to take up their abode in Canada. Those who chose the lower province settled chiefly in what are known as the Eastern Townships. The method pursued by the government of Lower Canada was thus described many years afterwards (1828) by John Neilson, the well-known reformer of that province: "From the year 1790 down to a late period there was a practice of granting an immense tract of land, called a township, to a leader; that leader gave in a number of names which were put in the patent, and he managed beforehand to get deeds of conveyance from them so that he became possessor of the whole." After the war of 1812, when Sir Gordon Drummond desired to reward those who had taken part in the defence of the province, he found that there were no Crown lands available in this region. Over three million acres were held by "a couple of hundred lucky grantees,"—the leading officials of the province and their friends. For a time this policy to some extent retarded settlement. Not all, however, of the "leaders" were of the character described by Neilson. Many of them were leaders in reality, who brought with them into Canada an industrious and intelligent class of settlers. The first-comers were largely Loyalists; the subsequent influx was an overflow into Canada from the settlements in northern Vermont and New Hampshire.

Simcoe in Upper Canada.—In Upper Canada this second migration from the United States began during Simcoe's tenure of office (1792-1796). This energetic lieutenant-governor rejoiced to see men forsaking the old colonies and returning to British rule. All that he required was that the new-comers could show that

they were likely to prove good settlers, and that they were willing to take the oath of allegiance to King George. As a rule these new immigrants, many of them Loyalists, were of a desirable class. With the good settlers, however, came many of the idle, discontented, and even vicious of the population of the United States, who were long a source of annoyance to their more industrious neighbors. This second immigration filled up the gaps between the earlier settlements—particularly in the western part of the province—and spread back into the rear townships. Simcoe's policy was to place those of approved character and loyalty upon the frontier as a living barrier against invasion. Along his military highways he carefully reserved blocks of land for actual settlers, but after he had gone these were parcelled out among the members and friends of the official class, and the interests of settlers were ignored.

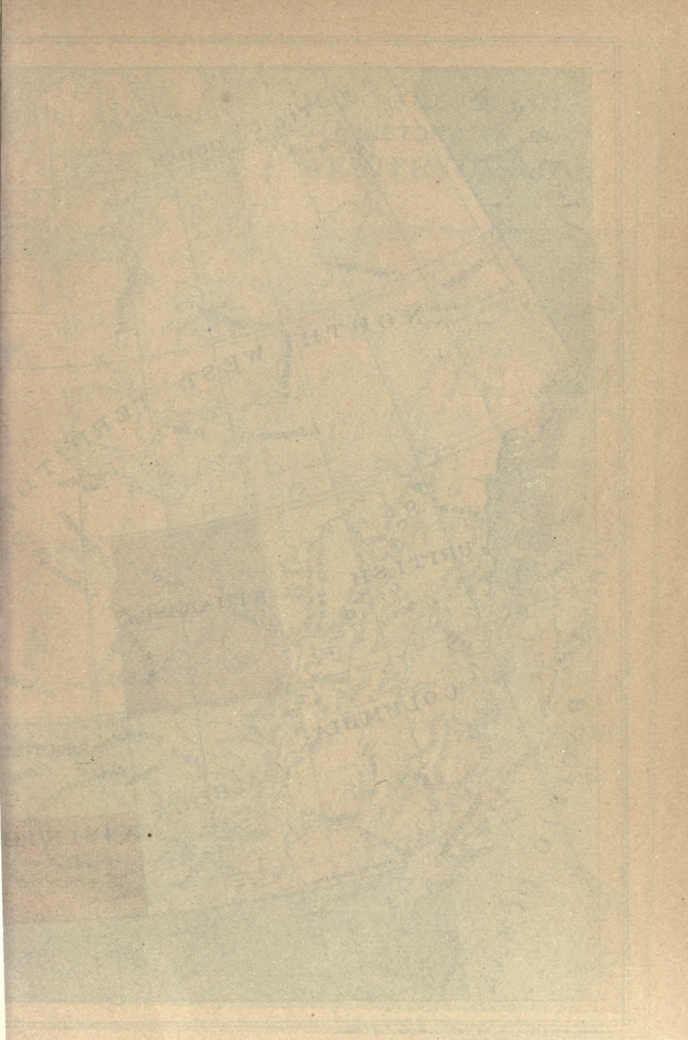
A Large Increase.—The tide of immigration, however, flowed steadily on, and the forests along the frontier slowly disappeared before the settler's axe. Following the troubles in Ireland (1798), there was a considerable influx of Irish settlers into Canada during the early years of the present century. Toward the close of the last century a number of French *emigrés*—many of them of the nobility—driven from France during the storm of the revolution, found an asylum in Upper Canada. They were settled upon what were called the Oak Ridges, north of Toronto. But the soil proved unyielding to their unaccustomed hands, and before long they had almost entirely disappeared. The extent of the flow of population toward Upper Canada may be gathered from the fact that by the year 1812 the population had increased to about 75,000, spread along the entire frontier from Lake St. Francis to the Detroit River. The more thickly populated regions were the original seats of settlement—the St. Lawrence townships, the Bay of Quinte region, the Niagara frontier, and the Amherstburg district—to which was soon added the neighborhood of the capital, "Muddy York," now Toronto.

CHAPTER XXIII.

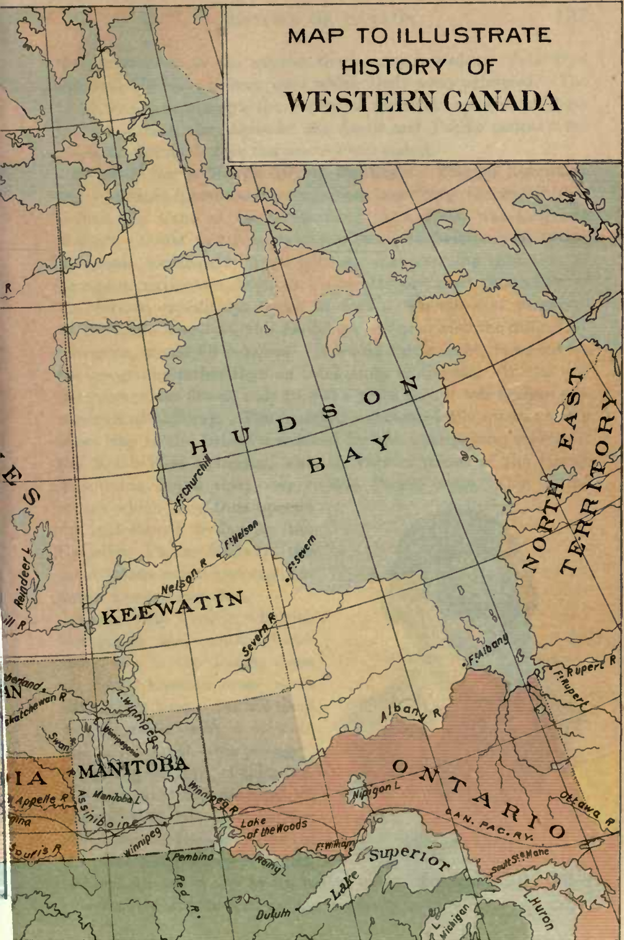
FUR TRADE AND THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

The Hudson's Bay Company.—For nearly one hundred years after securing their charter in 1670, the Hudson's Bay Company had been content to let the Indians bring their furs to the company's trading posts on the shores of the great bay, and had done nothing toward the exploration of the vast region which lay to the west. The French had done battle with them on the shores and waters of the bay for a share in the fur trade; and the encroachment of Frenchmen upon their rear, the cutting off of their traffic at its fountain-heads by Vérendrye and his successors, at length drove the company to penetrate the interior in order to preserve their monopoly. Complaint, too, was made in England that the company were allowing the French to secure the region covered by their charter. A parliamentary investigation was had (1749) and, although the company's charter was not revoked, the outcry evidently stirred them to increased activity.

The Nor'-Westers.—The loss of Canada by France did not cut off rivalry. Only once again, indeed, were the company molested upon Hudson Bay. During the American War of Independence, when France came to the assistance of the revolted colonies, a French fleet, under La Perouse, entered the bay and committed havoc upon some of the company's forts (1782). But even before that time the fur trade which the French had carried on from Montreal had been taken up by Scotch merchants there, who, about 1786, joined to form the North-West Company, or, as they were commonly called, the "Nor'-Westers." These new rivals of the Hudson's Bay Company were, equally with the "adventurers" of that company, British subjects, and, therefore, resort could not be had to force of arms to expel the intruders. The charter of the Hudson's Bay Company gave them exclusive jurisdiction (subject only to their allegiance to the British Crown) over all the country watered by streams flowing into Hudson Bay. What was really covered by this description was at this time largely a matter for conjecture. The Nor'-Westers, all the while, vigorously pushed their operations north and west of Lake Superior, and the older company were compelled to act with equal energy, not only to hold



ENGRAVED EXPRESSLY FOR THE DOMINION HISTORY OF CANADA.


MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
HISTORY OF
WESTERN CANADA
HUDSON
BAY
NORTH EAST
TERRITORY
KEEWATIN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
Ft. Churchill
Ft. Nelson
Nelson R.
Ft. Severn
Severn R.
Reindeer L.
L. Winnipeg
Winnipegosis
Manitoba L.
Swan R.
Assiniboine
Winnipeg
Winnipeg R.
Lake of the Woods
Pembina
Red R.
Rainy L.
Ft. William
Lake Superior
Duluth
Nipigon L.
Albany R.
Ft. Albany
Ft. Rupert
Rupert R.
Ottawa R.
CAN. PAC. RY.
Sault Ste. Marie
L. Michigan
L. Huron
Souris R.
Appelle R.
Saskatchewan R.

their traffic, but also to explore the interior in order to determine the limits of the territory over which their sway extended. The result was that, through the efforts of the rival explorers of these two companies, the shores of the Arctic and Pacific oceans were reached overland before the century had ended.

Search for a North-West Passage.—Though Europeans had long since found the Southern Seas and China, the way thither around the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn was long and difficult. Could not a more direct route be found north of the American continent? This problem occupied the attention of European navigators down to a very recent time. The story of the various expeditions taken to find a "north-west passage," of the noble lives lost, the hardships endured and the difficulties overcome, would fill volumes. It would throw light, however, on the geography rather than on the history of Canada. In the end the passage was found, only to make plain that it was useless as a commercial highway. The practical solution of the question of a short way to the Orient was found by the enterprising traders of the North-West Company, who, by various passes of the Rocky Mountains, found their way to the Pacific coast. One of the routes which they thus opened up is followed to-day by the Canadian Pacific Railway, the great commercial highway between Europe and Asia.

CAPTAIN COOK.

Captain Cook.—British navigators had again found their way to the Pacific coast of North America some years before this time. On his third voyage, taken with a view to finding a "north-west passage" by sailing in from the Pacific, the celebrated Captain Cook in March, 1778, dropped anchor off Vancouver Island. He called the place King George's Sound, but it is known to-day by its Indian name, Nootka Sound. Here he remained only so long as was necessary to repair his two ships,

the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, and then sailed again to the north. He explored the coast to a point beyond Behring Straits, but was finally obliged to turn back as solid ice barred further progress. While wintering at the Sandwich Islands he met his death at the hands of the natives.

The Pacific Coast Indians.—Captain Cook reports in his journal that the Indians whom he met at Nootka and along the coast were very friendly and disposed to trade. All sorts of furs were freely offered, particularly that of the sea-otter. In appearance the natives are described as under the common stature, "pretty full and plump, though not muscular." The men and women were so encrusted with paint and dirt that their color could not with certainty be determined, but the children, he says, were nearly as fair as Europeans. These Mongoloids, as they are now termed, were spread in villages all through the coast region. Unlike the Indians of the Atlantic seaboard, they offered but little resistance to the encroachment of the European—largely, however, because they were fairly and kindly treated by the traders of the North-West Company. To-day the Indians of British Columbia number only about twenty-five thousand souls—a decreasing people divided into many tribes.

The Pioneer Traders.—The fame of Captain Cook's discoveries was soon noised abroad, and in 1786 no less than four expeditions were fitted out in different parts of the globe to engage in the new fur trade. British merchants in China and India, as well as in England, were concerned in these ventures, and the flags of the great chartered companies—the East India and South Sea companies—floated over the ships. A British captain, James Hanna, was the first to arrive at Nootka (August, 1785), and it is said that from his season's trade he netted, in China, a profit of $26,000. Others soon followed. The flag of the United States appeared for the first time in these waters in 1788, a company of Boston merchants having decided to take up the trade. The names of many of these early traders still appear upon the map of British Columbia ; in Cape Scott, Barclay Sound and other localities. Queen Charlotte Islands were visited by Captain Dixon in 1787. They were named after the Queen-consort of England, whose name Dixon's ship also bore.

Captain Meares.—In 1788 Captain John Meares, formerly a

lieutenant in the British navy, arrived at Nootka with two ships and ninety men, including European artisans and Chinese smiths and carpenters, "shipped as an experiment." A grant of land was obtained from the chief of the Indian village near by, and upon this land a "two-story" house was constructed "sufficiently spacious to contain all the party intended to be left at the Sound." Captain Meares, after describing with evident pride this first house put up in British Columbia, says: "On the whole, our house, though it was not built to satisfy a lover of architectural beauty, was admirably well calculated for the purpose to which it was destined, and appeared to be a structure of uncommon magnificence to the natives of King George's Sound." Around it a strong breastwork was constructed, and a cannon was mounted to command the cove and village of Nootka. During the summer a forty-ton vessel was built, the *North-West America*, which was launched that same fall, amid loud cheers and booming cannon.

Spaniards Capture Nootka.—Spain at this time claimed the entire Pacific coast, although her most northerly settlement in California did not extend beyond San Francisco. She still, too, held Louisiana, that indefinite region west of the Mississippi which France had ceded to her in 1763, and she claimed that the northern part of this territory extended to the Pacific Ocean. In assertion of this claim, a Spanish ship of war "from the port of San Blas in the province of Mexico" sailed into Nootka Sound in 1789, captured Captain Meares' ships, confiscated the cargoes, and took possession of the post on shore. Great Britain and Spain nearly came to blows over this affair. Finally, in 1790, Spain abandoned her claim to exclusive ownership and agreed to surrender the post, as well as to indemnify Captain Meares for his losses. Thereafter the subjects of either power were to be at liberty to settle upon unoccupied territory.

Captain George Vancouver.—Captain George Vancouver was sent out by Great Britain to receive possession of Nootka. Instructions to the Spanish captain in command there did not arrive in time to allow Vancouver to carry out this part of his mission. He was, however, also under orders to make a close examination of the coast, and this he did during the years 1792, '93, '94, returning to England in October, 1795. His survey extended from the Columbia River to beyond the north end of

Vancouver Island, including the inside channels. Mount Baker takes its name from one of his lieutenants, who was the first to catch a glimpse of its snow-clad summit. Puget Sound was named after another lieutenant who had in charge the survey of its sinuous shores. Nootka was finally handed over to a representative of Great Britain in 1795. No attempt was ever again made to plant a settlement there, though for some time it continued to be a summer rendezvous for the fur traders.

CAPT. GEO. VANCOUVER.

Samuel Hearne.—Meanwhile the rival companies beyond the Rocky Mountains had been pushing their explorations westward. Samuel Hearne led the way for the Hudson's Bay Company. From their posts on the great bay he made several trips into the interior, and in the year 1771 finally succeeded in reaching the Arctic Ocean by way of the Coppermine River. Afterwards he led a party up the Saskatchewan, and, in 1774, established a post on that river—Fort Cumberland. He has been called "the Mungo Park of Canada," his extensive explorations rivalling those of the celebrated traveller in Africa. He was followed by many others of the most skilled officers in the company's employ, and, before 1800, posts had been established at various points on the Saskatchewan, from Lake Winnipeg to Fort Edmonton, not far from the Rocky Mountains. There were also posts on Lake Winnipeg, on the Red River, and on its great affluent, the Assiniboine.

The X. Y. Company.—All through this same region the North-West Company had built its posts, the rival establishments often standing side by side or facing each other across some stream. At one time indeed a third competitor appeared in the field. In 1796 there was a division among the Nor'-Westers, and a new North-West Company, commonly called the X. Y. Company, was formed by the outgoing partners. At many points three rival posts took the place of two. In 1804, however, the X. Y. Company was again merged in the old North-West Company.

Mackenzie Reaches the Pacific.—The most distinguished of the many explorers in the service of the North-West Company was Alexander—afterwards Sir Alexander—Mackenzie. In 1789, leaving the company's post, Fort Chippewyan on Lake Athabasca, Mackenzie, by way of the river which bears his name, reached the Arctic Ocean. Again, in 1792, he ascended to the head waters of the Peace River. Then, after spending the winter trading with the Indians of this region, he crossed the Rockies and made his way to the coast of the Pacific, proudly inscribing upon a rock which faced the sea, "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land, July 22nd, 1793." While on the coast he heard from the natives of Vancouver's presence in that region. Fort Chippewyan was again reached late in August, after an absence of eleven months.

SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

Simon Fraser—David Thompson.—Others soon followed. In 1805 the North-West Company decided to take possession of the region beyond the Rocky Mountains by planting their trading posts there. To Simon Fraser the task was assigned, and in that same year the first post in what is now British Columbia was established at Rocky Mountain Portage. In the following years other posts were planted, and in 1808, by the river which bears his name, Fraser reached the Pacific. David Thompson, the astronomer, after whom the Thompson River is named, is another notable figure among these pioneers of British Columbia, or New Caledonia, as it was then called. By a more southerly route than that followed by Fraser, he crossed the Rocky Mountains in 1800 by the Bow River Pass, through which the Canadian Pacific Railway now enters British Columbia. He continued his explorations during the years following, and, in 1811, by way of the Columbia River, reached the Pacific Ocean.

Astoria.—At the mouth of the Columbia, Thompson found a post being planted by a new rival. This was the Pacific Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor, of New York, was the leading

spirit. In his honor the post had been called Astoria. In 1803 the United States had purchased Louisiana, and, to strengthen their claim to the region beyond the mountains, Lewis and Clarke, two noted explorers, were sent in 1804 to find a passage through to the Pacific by way of the head waters of the Missouri. This they successfully accomplished in the following year, reaching the Pacific by way of the Columbia River. In 1811, as already mentioned, Astoria was founded. It had a chequered history, and in the pages of Washington Irving's "Astoria" may be read a graphic account of its doings and sufferings. In 1813 the North-West Company purchased the post, then in a greatly reduced condition. It was a time of war, and British cruisers were on the coast. The warship *Racoon*, indeed, sailed in to capture the place, only to find it already in the hands of a British company. Thereafter for many years the North-West Company alone carried on the interior fur trade, establishing many posts along the Columbia, Fraser and Thompson rivers. Astoria became Fort George, the company's headquarters west of the mountains.

Russian Claims.—Away to the north, a Russian expedition under Behring had discovered and explored the Alaskan coast as early as 1741, and at a later date Russian settlements were made at various points. These were mere trading posts for the prosecution of the fur trade. In 1799 the territory was granted to a Russian-American fur company, which established about forty stations. The chief post was New Archangel, now Sitka. Russia afterwards claimed the whole Pacific coast as far south, at least, as 49°—the present southern boundary of Canada—but no settlements were established that far south, and meanwhile the indefatigable traders of the North-West Company were fast taking possession.

The Nor'-Westers a Power in Canada.—If the Hudson's Bay Company was powerful in England, the North-West Company was all-powerful in Canada. In Lower Canada a majority of the executive and legislative councils, if not actually partners in the company, were at least interested in it. Selkirk did not hesitate to charge that even the judges were not beyond its influence. Once a year a gathering of the partners took place at the company's chief northern depot, Fort William, on Lake Superior, at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, where the town of Port Arthur now

stands. Here the plans for the year were discussed and settled, after which the partners dispersed, some to return with the *voyageurs* by way of the Ottawa to Montreal ; while others—the "wintering partners"—struck again through the wilderness with their *coureurs de bois* to the various posts of the company in the fur regions. Selkirk's settlement on the Red River lay right across the path of the Nor'-Westers, and would almost certainly increase the friction between the rival companies. What did happen we shall see later.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LOWER CANADA (1791-1812).

The First Parliament of Lower Canada.—The division of the old province of Quebec took effect on the 26th of December, 1791. Lord Dorchester was at this time absent in England, and it devolved therefore upon the lieutenant-governor, Sir Alured Clarke, to organize the new government in Lower Canada, Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe performing the like duty in the upper province. Clarke at once formed a legislative council of fifteen, giving nearly one-half of the seats to French-Canadian seigneurs. His executive council was composed of the leading officials, most of whom were also given seats in the legislative council. The first parliament of Lower Canada met at Quebec on the 17th of December, 1792. The French-Canadian population had not been illiberal, and fifteen out of the fifty members of the assembly were English-speaking. The assembly chose as its speaker Mr. J. A. Panet, a French-Canadian lawyer who spoke French and English with equal fluency. It was resolved that both languages should be used in the proceedings of the House, an eminently fair arrangement which was never afterwards disturbed. Loyal addresses to the king were passed, one of gratitude for the boon of a popular assembly, and another expressing horror at the excesses of the French revolution and the hope that in the war which had begun between France and England His Majesty's arms would be successful. The session was further marked by a Quaker Toleration Act, and by a request

from the assembly that the Jesuits' estates should be applied for purposes of education.

Slavery in Canada.—A bill against slavery was introduced, but for some reason failed to pass. A few years later (1800), the Court of King's Bench in Montreal held slavery in Lower Canada to be illegal, but we hear of slaves there as well as in the other provinces for some years after that date. In Upper Canada an Act was passed in 1793 to put an end to slavery in that province. In all the provinces the few slaves who were brought in by Loyalists from the United States were apparently content to stay and share their masters' lot. The unhallowed institution, however, never took root in our soil, and it hardly needed legislation to bring it to an end. An Imperial Act passed in 1833 abolished slavery throughout all British dominions.

Political Calm.—Lord Dorchester returned to Canada in 1793 and so long as that able governor remained at the head of affairs* the French-Canadians seem to have had full confidence in his government. As a result, the first parliament of Lower Canada (1792-96) performed its work with scarcely any friction. For some years after 1791 the taxes collected in the British colonies in America were insufficient to pay the expenses of their government, the deficiency being met out of the Imperial exchequer. The people, therefore, during these years were naturally not inclined to criticise very closely the executive government of the provinces.

A Reaction in Europe.—Other influences were at work to strengthen the position of the official classes. The French revolution was in progress at this time, and the outrages committed in France in the name of "liberty, equality and fraternity" led to a marked reaction in other countries in favor of a strong executive government as opposed to popular rule and

* From 1791 to 1812 the government of Lower Canada was administered by the following officers:

(1) Lord Dorchester	Governor	(1784-1797).
Sir Alured Clarke	Lieut.-Governor	(1791-1793).
General Robert Prescott	" "	(1796-1797).
(2) General Robert Prescott	Governor	(1797-1807).
Sir R. S. Milnes	Lieut.-Governor	(1799;1805).
Hon. Thos. Dunn	Administrator	(1805-1807).
(3) Sir James H. Craig	Governor	(1807-1811).
(4) Sir George Prevost	"	(1811-1815).

individual liberty. Voluntary associations for repressing sedition were formed throughout England. The right to hold public meetings was largely curtailed. Men who ventured to criticise government officials or to promulgate theories of popular government were prosecuted for criminal libel or for sedition. Not, in fact, until after the Napoleonic wars did the reaction spend itself, and progress toward civil and religious liberty again begin.

A Similar Feeling in the Provinces.—Knowledge of these events found its way across the Atlantic and inspired among the colonists in all the provinces a feeling favorable to the growth of a strong executive. In Lower Canada, among the influential classes of the French-Canadians, there was no sympathy whatever with the French revolutionists. In the other provinces the feeling was even stronger in favor of giving a loyal support to those in authority. In the United States there was, among certain classes, a marked sympathy with the revolutionary party in France, and the French ambassadors did their utmost to strengthen this sentiment in order to embroil the young republic in war with Great Britain.

Friction with the United States.—At this time the relations between the Canadian provinces and the United States were somewhat strained. Owing to the failure of the latter to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles in reference to the Loyalists, the British retained possession of a number of frontier posts—Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michillimackinac. For a time it seemed very probable that war would break out afresh. The loyal settlers in all the provinces were, therefore, inclined to give the executive government a free hand in the suppression of every symptom of disaffection. In Lower Canada the English-speaking minority took advantage of this feeling, and succeeded in quietly securing a firm hold upon the executive government of that province. Even after the frontier posts were given up, early in 1796, the intrigues of the French ambassador at Washington kept Lower Canada in disquiet. Some of the lower classes, especially in the towns, desired to imitate the doings of the *sans-culottes* of Paris, and an enthusiast from the United States named McLane was hanged, drawn and quartered at Quebec for endeavoring to stir up a rebellion against those in authority.

Commercial Activity.—The commerce of the province was

largely in the hands of the English-speaking traders living in the towns of Quebec and Montreal. At Quebec the ship-building industry was becoming extensive. Great Britain, in those days, took much Canadian timber for her navy. Montreal was the centre of the revived fur trade. For a few years after the fall of New France the traffic had languished, but traders from the older colonies and from Great Britain (particularly from Scotland) had soon taken it up. After a short period of individual effort they had, as already mentioned, formed the celebrated North-West Company, for many years the great rival of the Hudson's Bay Company for the fur trade of the North-West. The Canadian *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* fell naturally into their old life, and to this day, though the glory of the fur trade has long since departed from Montreal and the furs find their way to Europe chiefly by way of Hudson Bay, the half-breed descendants of these French-Canadians still bear a large part in the traffic. At this time, too, the wholesale trade of Montreal had its beginning, the Loyalist settlements of Upper Canada drawing their supplies largely from the merchants of that town.

Land Policy.—Governor Prescott, during his four years' active tenure of office (1796-1799) took a stand in reference to the land-granting policy of the province which drew upon him the strong opposition of his executive council. The dispute attracted much attention, and for this reason the gradual concentration of power in the hands of the English-speaking population was not very much noticed in Prescott's time. The shores of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu were occupied by the old seigneuries, which extended inland to a depth varying from ten to forty miles. To the east of the seigneuries of the Richelieu lay a rich tract of country known to this day as the Eastern Townships. Up to the time of Prescott's arrival no patents had been issued to the new settlers in this region, many of whom had "squatted" upon the lots for which they had applied. Prescott's council, ignoring the wide invitation contained in the proclamations, desired to exclude all but approved Loyalists. It was charged that their action was due to a desire to secure large blocks of land for themselves and their friends, rather than to any real concern for the character of the immigration. Prescott insisted that the spirit of the proclamation should be observed, and that

those who, upon the faith of it, had begun to clear the land should get their patents. The council in the end managed to have its own way.

Growing Friction.—The dispute between Prescott and his council led to the governor visiting England in 1799 to make explanation. He never returned to Canada, though he continued to hold office until 1807. The lieutenant-governor, Sir R. S. Milnes, seems to have fallen completely into the hands of those who desired to see the French-Canadians excluded from all part in the government of the province. In 1801 an Education Act was passed, apparently with little objection at the moment, which placed the control of public education in the hands of the executive council, which was empowered to create a school board to manage the schools. Though nothing was done under the Act until 1817, its existence on the statute book barred the way to further legislation on the subject of education for many years. The causes of complaint during Milnes' time do not very clearly appear, nor does it appear that the critics of the government were disposed to push their views. The granting of land in large tracts to officials and their friends; the efforts of these large land-owners and of the traders to have taxes laid upon land in the settled parts in order to escape taxation themselves; the exclusion of French-Canadians from office—all these are mentioned as causes of growing friction. That the French-Canadians at this time were loyal to Great Britain, and out of all sympathy with the course of events in France, is shown by their enthusiastic celebration of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar (1805). At this period *Le Canadien* newspaper was established. It was outspoken in its condemnation of the policy of the government in excluding French-Canadians from office. At the same time it dwelt strongly upon the merits of the British constitution, and laid the blame for the state of affairs in the province to the failure of the ruling faction to observe the true spirit of that constitution.

The "Reign of Terror."—Among the French-Canadians Governor Craig's rule (1807-1811) is described as the "Reign of Terror." His secretary, Ryland—who had been secretary to each succeeding governor since Lord Dorchester's time—was well known for his antipathy to everything French and Catholic, and Craig's policy may be inferred from the fact that Ryland wrote of him as

"the very man for this country." At this time the relations between Great Britain and the United States were becoming more and more strained, the trouble finally culminating in the war of 1812. Craig, under the influence of his advisers, put no confidence in the French-Canadian population and treated all criticism of the officials as evidence of disloyalty.

Conflict with the Assembly.—To lessen the influence of the officials in the assembly, a bill was passed by that house to exclude the judges from membership, but the legislative council threw out the bill. *Le Canadien* was very free in its criticism of this action, and as the speaker of the assembly was supposed to have a share in the paper, he and others were dismissed from their positions in the militia. The natural result followed. At the next election (1808) an assembly was chosen which proceeded at once to pass what was practically a vote of want of confidence in the governor's executive council. The debate is noticeable by reason of the demand then made by M. Bedard, the leader of the majority in the assembly, for an executive council which should conduct the government of the province in accordance with the views of the majority and not of the minority. Craig promptly dissolved parliament—the first instance of the exercise of this prerogative in Canada—and thus brought on a new election. As a result a still more hostile assembly confronted the governor. With a view to securing control of the officials the new assembly offered on behalf of the province to undertake the payment of the whole expense of government. Craig was somewhat at a loss how to answer this proposition. The assembly having insisted, however, upon its right to exclude the judges by its sole vote—in which it was clearly in the wrong—the governor again dissolved the assembly. He followed up this action by closing the office of *Le Canadien*, and arresting Bedard, Papineau (senior), and others. This high-handed outrage was not calculated to appease the French-Canadian electors, and the elections again resulted adversely to the executive.

Moderation Counselled.—Craig apparently succeeded in giving the British ministry an unfavorable impression of Canadian loyalty, but, as the outlook toward the United States was threatening, the governor was counselled to use moderation. His action in the matter of the arrest of the French-Canadian leaders was condemned, and they were finally released without trial. Even

at this time some few English-speaking Canadians strongly supported their French-Canadian fellow-citizens in their opposition to the tyranny of the executive faction. The extreme views entertained by Craig are shown in his despatches to England, in which he gives the French-Canadian members of the assembly a very bad character and lauds the legislative council. The governor advocated the repeal of the Constitutional Act of 1791, or, as an alternative, such an adjustment of representation in the assembly as should give the English-speaking minority a preponderance in the House. The union of the two provinces was also favored by him as likely to lead to the same result.

Prevost's Policy of Conciliation.—His successor was Sir George Prevost, a veteran Swiss officer, who was now promoted from the lieutenant-governorship of Nova Scotia. There the mildness of his rule had won for him golden opinions. He at once adopted in Canada a policy of conciliation, appointed Bedard to a judgeship, and other leading French-Canadians to positions of trust. In a short time he was as popular with the people of Lower Canada as his predecessor had been unpopular. The result was seen during the war of 1812, when the French-Canadian militia fought side by side with their fellow-countrymen of British origin, and exhibited equal ardor in defence of home and native land against the foreign invader.

CHAPTER XXV.

UPPER CANADA (1791-1812).

The First Parliament of Upper Canada.—The first steps toward organizing the new government of Upper Canada were taken at Kingston. For the time being, however, Newark (now Niagara) was fixed upon as the most central point for the seat of government, and here the first assembly was called together on the 17th of September, 1792. The very first Act of this first Upper Canadian parliament introduced English law as the rule of decision in all matters relating to "property and civil rights." Trial by jury was also provided for. After a short session of four weeks, during which eight Acts in all were passed, the assembly

was prorogued by Simcoe, who delivered upon the occasion a speech in which he asked the members to explain to their constituents "that this province is signally blessed, not with a mutilated constitution, but with a constitution which has stood the test of experience and is the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain, by which she has long established and secured to her subjects as much freedom and happiness as is possible to be enjoyed under the subordination necessary to civilized society."

The Settlers Contented.—The members dispersed to their homes well satisfied, no doubt, that the province was now properly equipped with a system of British laws and a government like that of the motherland. The scattered pioneers were too busy in the hard work of hewing out for themselves new homes in a forest country to pay much attention to the details of administration. So long as the government was strong enough to leave them to pursue unmolested their peaceful tasks, they were content. Their natural instincts were in favor of respect for authority, and the events of the time, as already pointed out, tended to strengthen rather than diminish this feeling. The early settlers of Upper Canada, lightly taxed, were not inclined to criticise too closely the conduct of the officials.

Simcoe Prepares for War.—Simcoe was above all things a soldier, and his government was distinctly military. The Indians of the Ohio region to the south of Detroit were in a ferment over the encroachment of settlers upon the district, and Simcoe was hotly accused of stirring up the savages to resist the advance of civilization. In view of possible war, Simcoe dealt with the province as a military district which it was his duty to put into the strongest possible condition for defence against invasion. He went about the work most energetically, and so constant was he in his appeals for an increase of the military force in Upper Canada that Lord Dorchester felt compelled to remind him that there were other parts of the British colonies in North America which required

LIEUT.-GOVERNOR SIMCOE.

protection as well as the upper province. There was at this time a naval force on Lake Ontario consisting of six vessels, two of them small gun-boats, under command of Captain Bouchette, who prepared the first charts of the harbors on the lake.

Military Roads.—Simcoe undertook the opening up of military highways to facilitate communication between the military stations in the province. Yonge Street, running north from York (now Toronto), was projected to connect Lake Ontario with the military post at Penetanguishene on the Georgian Bay. It was opened as far as Lake Simcoe by the Queen's Rangers, of which troop the lieutenant-governor was colonel. Dundas Street was also projected as a great military highway to traverse the entire province from the Detroit River to Montreal. Only a small part, however, westward from York, was opened during Simcoe's time, and not until the war of 1812 was road communication opened through to the lower province. Goods for the Upper Canadian settlements were carried in bateaux and flat-bottomed "Durham boats" up the St. Lawrence to Kingston, and there shipped on board vessels for the upper ports.

York (Toronto), the Capital.—One of the frontier posts delivered up to the United States in 1796 was Niagara on the American side; and as it was not thought fitting that the capital of the province should be under the guns of a foreign power, it was determined to remove the seat of government from Newark. Simcoe, on one of his western tours of exploration, had been much impressed with the site of the present city of London, and strongly urged that it should be made the capital of the province. Lord Dorchester favored Kingston. By way of compromise York was chosen—largely on account of its fine harbor—and here the assembly met in 1797.

The Assembly Asserts Itself.—During Russell's term of office (1796-1799),* the practice, which became afterwards so notori-

* Upon Simcoe's departure (1796) the senior executive councillor, Peter Russell, became administrator and conducted the affairs of the province until 1799. In 1799 Major-General Hunter, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, became lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. His military duties required his frequent presence at Quebec, and very little is known of his government at York, though it lasted for six years. He was followed by Commodore Grant, who held the position of administrator for one year only. In 1806 Francis Gore became lieutenant-governor, holding the position until 1818.

ous, of granting large tracts of land to members of the two councils and to their friends became common. Peter Russell, administrator, granted many such tracts to Peter Russell in his private capacity; and other officials fared equally well. In Grant's time occurred the first serious dispute between the assembly and the executive. There had been some little friction between the assembly and the legislative council at different times, but the causes of dispute were trivial. In 1806, however, the assembly took exception to the unauthorized expenditure by Grant of certain provincial funds. The dispute was ended by Grant giving way to the assembly, but the debates were bitter and the general conduct of the government was much criticised.

Power of the Officials.—Robert Thorpe, an English lawyer, was at this time a judge in Upper Canada, and he encouraged the grand juries at the different courts throughout the province to find fault with the way in which public business was carried on. In those days a judge could sit in the provincial assembly. Thorpe became a member, pursuing in the House the same line of criticism in which he indulged on the bench. The official classes were, however, too strong for him, and he was dismissed from his judgeship. Wyatt, the surveyor-general, and Sheriff Willcocks were also dismissed from their positions, their criticism being visited with all the harsher punishment for being, as it were, treason within the official camp. Willcocks subsequently went to the United States and joined in the invasion of the Niagara frontier in 1812; and the official party in later years were not slow to impute like disloyalty to all who ventured to complain of their arbitrary and selfish government. From the beginning the executive council and the government officials, with their families and friends, formed an exclusive social circle to which none were admitted who failed to recognize their right to monopolize all public positions in the province. With the lieutenant-governor as the head of this official aristocracy in a place like York—a mere village at that time—the power of the executive faction was hard to overcome.

Material Progress.—During this period, as already seen, the population of the province was largely increased. There was also a steady advance in material prosperity. The assembly gave liberally toward the opening up of roads to connect the various

settlements. There were no large towns; Cornwall, Kingston, York, Newark and Amherstburg were but villages in which the official classes formed as yet the predominant element. An active trade grew up with the United States, and the "pedlar's pack" became a well-known visitor at the settlers' clearings. This traffic became so extensive that it was found necessary to establish custom houses at various points upon the frontier.

Early Newspapers.—Man's natural thirst for news was not left wholly unsatisfied. As early as 1793, Simcoe established an official newspaper known as *The Upper Canada Gazette or American Oracle.* After the removal of the seat of government to York it became the *York Gazette*, and was for many years the only newspaper in the province. It was the organ of the official class who during these years were almost supreme in the government of the province. Willcocks, for a short time, published an opposition paper. The *Kingston Gazette* dates from 1810. Delivery was difficult, postal charges were enormous, and our early newspapers had a hard struggle to gain a foothold.

Education.—The assembly was not unmindful of the educational interests of the province, and in 1807 a Grammar School was established in each of the four districts into which Upper Canada was divided. Simcoe, who was an ardent Anglican, desired that the Church of England should be recognized as the "Established Church" of Canada, and that to it, as in England, the control of education should be given. At his instance, the Rev. John Strachan, afterwards so well known as the first Bishop of Toronto, came out to Canada to take charge of a state school. From the first, however, the Anglicans were but a small minority of the population, and the plan failed of adoption. Dr. Strachan, therefore, started a private school at Kingston, removing it afterwards to Cornwall, and finally to York. In this school many of the men most distinguished in the history of Upper Canada during the first half of the present century received their education.

Marriage Laws.—There was "a sad lack of religious instruction" during these early years owing to the small number of clergymen in the province. Many irregular marriages had been entered into from the same cause, and one of the earliest Acts of the provincial assembly was passed to validate marriages performed by the military officers. For the future, in places more

than eighteen miles distant from an Anglican clergyman, magistrates were empowered to perform the marriage ceremony after due notice had been posted up. The law of England at this time did not recognize the right of ministers without the pale of the established Church to baptize, marry, or bury even the members of their own congregations. The Presbyterian clergy in the province, relying upon their position as the established Church of Scotland, petitioned for an Act empowering them to perform these necessary ceremonies. Simcoe professed his astonishment and regret that they should have preferred a request which, in his opinion, could only be the outcome of a spirit of disaffection! In 1798, after Simcoe had gone, an Act was passed by which regularly ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland (the language of the Act practically confined its benefit to these) might, after going through very rigorous formalities, secure permission from the Courts of Quarter Sessions to perform the marriage ceremony; only, however, in case one of the parties had been for six months at least a member of the minister's own congregation, and then only after publication of the banns upon three successive Sundays. Thus the law stood for over thirty years.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES (1783-1812).

Steady Progress.—The Maritime Provinces during these years were also steadily progressing. Here as in the two Canadas government was in the hands of an official class. The settlers were busy making new homes. The assemblies confined themselves to passing such laws as the necessities of the provinces called for, and interfered little with the work of the officials.

New Brunswick.—As already mentioned, there was a great influx of U. E. Loyalists into the old county of Sunbury, Nova Scotia, after the close of the American revolution, the valley of the St. John receiving the greatest addition to its population. The new settlers immediately asked that they should be allowed more representatives in the Nova Scotia assembly. This being denied them, and there being trouble as well in getting their land

patents from the officials at Halifax, a vigorous demand was made for a separate government. This was almost at once granted by the home authorities, and in 1784 a new province was set apart, named, in honor of the royal house, New Brunswick. It included not only the old county of Sunbury, but also the older-settled districts at the head of the Bay of Fundy as far as the isthmus which connects the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Provision was also made for the calling of an assembly, which met for the first time in 1786. The Maritime Province assemblies, it should be noted, were created by royal authority and not by Act of the British parliament as in the two Canadas. They continued in unbroken succession until Confederation.

Thomas Carleton.—The first lieutenant-governor of the new province was Thomas Carleton, a brother of Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester). He arrived at St. John in November, 1784, and at once organized the new government. At the first election all males twenty-one years old and resident three months in the province were allowed to vote, a somewhat radical extension of the franchise for which Carleton was mildly rebuked by the home authorities. Like his brother in Canada, Thomas Carleton was very popular with all classes, excepting perhaps the officials. During his nineteen years' residence in the province (1784-1803) he did much to help the settlers in the work of improvement. He refused the fees of office to which he was entitled upon the issue of their land patents, and in many ways encouraged them in their tasks. In other respects, too, he was a vigorous administrator. As commander of the forces both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, during the war with France (1793-1802) he organized "King's regiments" for home service. These were commanded by half-pay officers, and in the ranks were many veterans of the revolutionary war. In March, 1788, Carleton made a trip on snow-shoes to Quebec to visit his brother, Lord Dorchester, who was reported to be ill. Though Carleton and his party passed eight nights in the woods, he refers to the journey as a "pleasant trip." He left New Brunswick in 1803, but retained the lieutenant-governorship until his death in 1817.

The Assembly—Peaceful Progress.—The city of St. John was incorporated in 1785, and the assembly held two sessions there. In 1788 the seat of government was removed to Fred-

ericton because it was a place less exposed in case of hostile invasion and less subject also to the corrupting influence of a more populous centre. The lumber trade at once took a foremost place among the industries of the province, and, down to 1812, little is heard of New Brunswick beyond the individual experiences of the early settlers, the various changes among the officials, and the progress of the fisheries and of the lumber and shipping industries. There was one notable dispute, however, between the assembly and the council, arising out of a bill passed by the former to provide for payment of a small sessional allowance to members. The council rejected the bill, and a dead-lock was the consequence, lasting for three years (1796-1799). The assemblymen finally gained their point.

The Maine Boundary.—As already mentioned, the Treaty of Versailles (1783) fixed the River St. Croix, the scene of Champlain's first attempt at settlement, as the boundary line (in part) between Maine and the then province of Nova Scotia. There was in 1783 no river so named, and a dispute at once arose as to what stream was meant. The United States claimed the Magaguadavic as the old St. Croix; New Brunswick upheld the claims of the Schoodic. For ten years the bickering went on, and there was some friction among the settlers around Passamaquoddy Bay. In 1794 a joint commission was agreed upon between Great Britain and the United States to settle the question, and in 1798 the decision was given in favor of the British. The Schoodic (now the St. Croix) was found to be the St. Croix of Champlain's time, and that stream to the head of its eastern branch was fixed as the dividing line between Maine and New Brunswick. The question of the further boundary to the north and as to the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay remained unsettled until later.

Prince Edward Island.—In Prince Edward Island the population was as yet small, and the action of the proprietors did not much tend to increase it. In 1779 the assembly of the island petitioned that those proprietors who had failed to perform the conditions as to settlement should forfeit their lands. From this petition it appears that twenty-three townships out of the original sixty-seven had not a single settler. On twelve others the total population was 216 souls. Spread all over the island were large tracts of wild land owned by absentees who put no settlers

upon them, but were content "to speculate on the industry of the colony." The proprietors in England were able, not only to procure the disallowance of every Act passed by the island legislature to remedy the grievance, but even to secure a large abatement in the quit-rents due to the Crown. This last measure of relief turned indeed to the benefit of the island. Some of the lands, thus relieved from a heavy charge, were sold to men who honestly endeavored to bring in settlers—notably the Earl of Selkirk. Apart from the land question, the history of the island during this period is one of gradual growth through individual effort, agriculture and fishing being the chief industries.

Nova Scotia.—Sir John Wentworth was lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia for sixteen years (1792-1808). He seems to have held somewhat arbitrary notions, and was much opposed to public meetings. On one occasion (1806) he went so far as to refuse to accept the assembly's choice of a speaker, on account, it is said, of his personal dislike of the gentleman chosen. The assembly, strange to say, submitted to this encroachment upon its privileges and chose a new speaker. The loyalty of the inhabitants was conspicuously exhibited in 1793, when it was reported that a French fleet was about to make a descent upon Halifax. A numerous militia was collected with commendable celerity, and one company marched overland from Granville to Halifax—135 miles—in thirty-four hours. The alarm proved groundless, but of the spirit displayed by the young men at this juncture nothing was heard but the highest praise. Wentworth was succeeded by Sir George Prevost (1808-1811). Upon his promotion to the governorship and consequent removal to Quebec, Sir J. C. Sherbrooke became lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. During Prevost's time the assembly showed a disposition to assert its rights against the executive, but the subjects of dispute were not of sufficient importance to call for further mention here.

The Duke of Kent.—For about five years, 1794-1799, Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, was in command of the troops at Halifax. During his stay he became very popular in the province, though his discipline is said to have been somewhat strict. Prince Edward Island, as already mentioned, was, in 1799, named after him. He also visited Quebec, where he publicly expressed his regret that any such

distinction as "old subjects" and "new subjects" should have been allowed to arise. All, he said, were equally loyal citizens of one common province.

Trade.—The embargo placed upon trade by the United States —one of the events which preceded the war of 1812—gave a great impetus to the trade of the Maritime Provinces and the lower St. Lawrence with England. Prevost reported that in Nova Scotia there was a marked improvement in agriculture and the fisheries; that much lumber was supplied to England, affording "unquestionable proofs of the prosperity and rapid increase of the province."

Education.—In all the Maritime Provinces the assemblies gave liberally in aid of education, but there was little yet in the way of systematic effort. The missionaries sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel long continued to do good work in their schools. Such other elementary schools as then existed were the result of local or individual enterprise, stimulated by legislative grants. Following upon the establishment of the public school at Halifax in 1780, an agitation for a college sprang up, and in 1787 the assembly established a seminary at Windsor, which afterwards (1802) received a charter as a university under the name of King's College, Windsor.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE WAR OF 1812.

Napoleonic War—"Right of Search."—The war of 1812, as it is popularly called, between Great Britain and the United States was a side wind from the storm of war in Europe. Napoleon was now at the zenith of his career. All Europe, save Great Britain, Russia and Spain, lay prostrate before his victorious armies. The British navy had become the mainstay of European liberty, and Britain neglected no precaution to preserve her supremacy upon the sea. She had long insisted upon what is known as "the right of search," that is, the right to board neutral ships in search of deserters from her navy. There were unhappily many such, for it was the time of press-gangs and harsh discipline. The mercantile marine of the United States had profited largely by these desertions, and for some years American vessels had

submitted with very bad grace to the exercise by British men-of-war of the right of search as then recognized among the powers of Europe. But at this crisis in European history, Great Britain declined to forego any right the exercise of which could strengthen her hands in the contest with Napoleon. At the same time she desired to keep within her rights as then recognized. Therefore when, in 1807, H.M.S. *Leopard* boarded the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake* in search of deserters, Great Britain promptly made reparation, admitting that the right of search did not extend to the national ships of a neutral nation, but only to private vessels.

Neutral Rights.—The chief cause, however, put forward by the United States to justify the war of 1812 was the passing of what are known as the British "Orders-in-Council." The British navy had established a blockade of the French coast in order to cut off France from supplies by sea. To offset this, Napoleon in 1806 issued his celebrated "Berlin Decree," declaring the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbidding all trade with or through British ports. There was no pretence of an actual blockade. The decree simply attempted to establish a "paper blockade," which international law does not recognize. Nevertheless Napoleon's cruisers rigorously enforced the decree against neutral ships wherever they were found, and the commerce of Great Britain and all who traded with her suffered in consequence. The Orders-in-Council were passed in January and November, 1807, as a measure of retaliation on the part of the British. French law had for many years denied to foreigners the right to trade with French colonies. Now, debarred by British cruisers from herself carrying on the colonial trade, France had allowed neutral nations to take it up, and it was mainly to put a stop to this, which was really a French trade, that the Orders-in-Council were passed. Napoleon retorted by the "Milan Decree" (December, 1807), by which any ship submitting to the Orders-in-Council was made in effect a British ship, and as such liable to seizure by French cruisers.

Retaliatory Measures by the United States.—The United States was now almost the only neutral nation, and the effect of the "Decrees" and "Orders-in-Council" upon her commerce was undoubtedly severe. Jefferson, who was then president, was decidedly opposed to war. He endeavored to retaliate upon

the European powers by an embargo by which foreign trade with the United States was entirely cut off. This proved the severest blow of all to New England commerce, and the obnoxious measures were soon repealed.

Real Cause of War.—If the proceedings of the European belligerents justified the United States in declaring war to maintain her rights as a neutral nation, France as well as Great Britain should have been attacked. "The injuries we have received from France," said a New York convention, called to protest against the war, "are at least equal in amount to those we have sustained from England, and have been attended with circumstances of still greater insult and aggravation." In fact, as a distinguished writer has said, American commerce had adjusted itself to the risks, and trade was very profitable. The war, when it did come, was the act of a political party, and was determined upon in face of the strongest opposition from those for whose protection it was ostensibly designed. Madison, who had in 1809 succeeded Jefferson as president of the United States, confined himself to diplomatic protest until the time for the next election—the autumn of 1812—approached. He was a candidate for re-election, and, as a party manœuvre, Henry Clay of Kentucky, the leader of the "war-hawks," succeeded in inducing Congress to vote in favor of war with Great Britain. The vote of the northern states was as two to one against the war. The west and south persisted in protecting the mercantile interests of the eastern states against the will of the latter. Clay made no secret of his desire to drive Great Britain from the American continent, and to this end the war was to be directed against her colonies to the north.

War Declared—Plans for Invasion of Canada.—War was declared by the United States on the 18th of June, 1812, and preparation was at once made for the invasion of Canada by three "Grand Armies." Brigadier-General Hull, in command of the Grand Army of the West, was to cross the Detroit River; General Van Rensselaer, at the head of the Grand Army of the Centre, was to attack the Niagara frontier; while the commander-in-chief, General Dearborn, was to lead the Grand Army of the North by the old route of the Richelieu against Montreal.

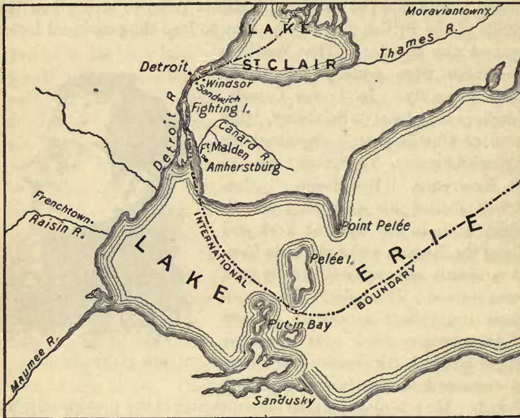
Preparation in Canada.—Sir George Prevost was commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America. The

regular troops in Canada were few. Great Britain, straining every nerve against Napoleon in Europe, was obliged during the first two years of the war to leave her North American colonies largely to their own defence. Newfoundland contributed a corps of Fencibles to aid the Canadian provinces, and the Loyalists of New Brunswick sent detachments to help their brethren in the west. Everywhere enrolment in the militia proceeded rapidly. The assemblies of Upper and Lower Canada did all in their power, by liberal grants and the passing of Militia Acts, to strengthen the hands of the British officers who were to lead the provincial forces against the invader. The Maritime Provinces were equally prompt in their liberality. In Lower Canada, Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry, "the hero of Chateauguay," organized his French-Canadian Voltigeurs; on the St. Lawrence, "Red George" Macdonell drilled his Glengarry Fencibles; while in the west, at York and along the Niagara and Lake Erie frontier, militia companies of young men were formed. Throughout the war all these did valiant service in defence of their native land. At this time Major-General Sir Isaac Brock was in command of the forces in Upper Canada. He was also the civil administrator of the province during the absence in England of the lieutenant-governor, Francis Gore.

SIR ISAAC BROCK.

Hull Crosses the Frontier.—The Grand Army of the West was ready first. There had been continuous war with the Indian tribes to the south-west of Detroit, and the United States forces there were soon gathered for an attack upon Canada. On the 12th of July, 1812, Hull crossed from Detroit with a large force. From his "headquarters" at Sandwich he issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants of Canada—at this point largely French-Canadians—to observe a strict neutrality. He apparently anticipated that the Indian tribes would flock to the British standard, and he therefore announced that no quarter would be given if they were allowed to take part in the war. The only British regulars

on the Detroit frontier formed the small garrison at Fort Malden (Amherstburg), and Colonel Proctor was at once despatched thither by Brock with reinforcements. The approaches to Fort Malden by land were carefully guarded, and on several successive days detachments from Hull's invading army were repulsed at the little River Canard. The British naval force on the Detroit proved superior to that of the United States, and Proctor was therefore



able to send detachments across the river, to the south of Detroit. With the assistance of the Indians he thus cut off that fort from its sources of supply.

The British Take Michillimackinac.—Meanwhile, acting under orders received from Brock, Captain Roberts with a small detachment of regulars from the block-house on St. Joseph's Island, one of the Manitoulin group at the head of Lake Huron, had performed a noble exploit—the capture, without bloodshed, of the important post of Michillimackinac. It was the western centre of the fur trade. In this trade the North-West Company of Canada were largely interested, and, as the retention of Michillimackinac

by the Americans would tend to drive them from the traffic, the local agent of the company zealously assisted Captain Roberts in his enterprise. One of their vessels conveyed the attacking force. It consisted of the company's own *voyageurs* and a number of Indians, led by Captain Roberts and his small detachment. The

American commandant, not having received notice of the declaration of war, was taken entirely by surprise, and surrendered without resistance (July 17, 1812). The post remained in the hands of the British until the close of the war, in spite of a vigorous effort in 1814 for its recapture.

Detroit Captured.—To return now to the Detroit River. Brock had been detained at York by the session of the assembly, called to concert measures for defence. At once upon prorogation he crossed with the York militia to Fort George—his military headquarters—at the mouth of the Niagara, and, with such of

the regulars as could be spared from the garrisons along the Niagara frontier, proceeded by way of Lake Erie to Fort Malden. Here, too, gathered the militia from the Loyalist settlements along the north shore of Lake Erie. Hull, seeing that the tables were being turned upon him, withdrew his forces from the Canadian side of the river and prepared to defend Detroit. Brock, with characteristic vigor, at once laid his plans for its capture, though his force was much inferior in number to that under Hull. A battery was secretly erected on the Canadian side opposite the fort, and when, on the 16th of August, the British troops were ready to cross the river, the concealing trees were cut away and a destructive fire was opened upon the American position. Brock crossed with his forces, including a large number of Indians under the Shawanoe chief, Tecumseh, some distance south of Detroit. Upon his approach toward the fort he was agreeably surprised by the appearance of a messenger from Hull with an offer of capitulation. The whole territory of Michigan was included in the surrender. The American general was sent a prisoner to Montreal, and the Grand Army of the West was heard of no more for this year. Leaving Proctor (now Brigadier-General) in command at Detroit, Brock hastened back to the Niagara frontier, for there he expected the most formidable invasion.

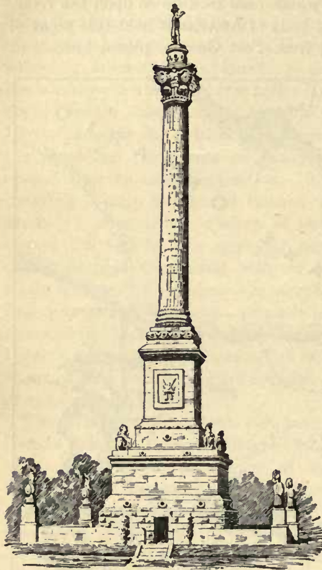
The Niagara Frontier.—Meanwhile Sir George Prevost had learned that the British "Orders-in-Council" had been revoked before news of the declaration of war had reached England. Thinking that the war would now proceed no further, he and Dearborn arranged an armistice, and there was in consequence a cessation of hostilities until early in October. Congress, however, declined to withdraw the declaration of war, and Brock prepared for a resolute defence. The delay was favorable to General Van Rensselaer, who was thus enabled to concentrate his Grand Army of the Centre upon the Niagara frontier. Brock was not idle, and from Fort George at the mouth of the river to Fort Erie at its head, every point where an invading force might land was carefully guarded.

Queenston Heights—Death of Brock.—General Van Rensselaer finally determined to attempt a landing at Queenston, opposite his own headquarters at Lewiston. Before dawn on the 13th of October a small force succeeded in landing on the Canadian

side. Though hotly assailed by the British detachment stationed in the village, it managed to maintain its position. Somewhat out of the line of the British fire, an unguarded path was discovered leading to the lofty heights which here look down upon the river, and in a short time a strong body of Americans held this point of vantage. Brock, hastening from Fort George, placed himself at

the head of the few regulars and York militia then at hand, and with rash impetuosity charged up the slope in face of a hot fire, determined to drive the Americans from their position. Forced once to take cover, he advanced a second time to the assault. His commanding figure, over six feet in height, drew upon him the attention of those who defended the heights, and one of them, taking deliberate aim, shot him through the left breast, killing him almost instantly. Though slain thus early in the war, his

energetic measures for the defence of the province and his high personal courage, placing him ever in the van when danger threatened, had endeared him to the Canadian militia. To all time Major-General Sir Isaac Brock must occupy a foremost place in our affection, not only because of his heroic death in defence of our soil, but also because of the animating effect of his resolute spirit through all the remainder of the war. A few days after the battle, as his mortal remains were borne to their burial at Fort George, minute guns were fired by the American troops along the opposite shore as a mark of respect for a brave enemy.



BROCK'S MONUMENT.

Surrender of the Invading Army.—After Brock's fall the attempt to dislodge the enemy was for a few hours abandoned. General Van Rensselaer himself crossed from Lewiston, reviewed his forces upon the heights, and returned to his headquarters across the river apparently satisfied that a permanent foothold had been secured upon Canadian soil. He reckoned without his host. Major-General Sheaffe, upon whom the command of the British forces now devolved, marched from Fort George to a point upon Queenston Heights west of the coveted position. Here he was joined by reinforcements from Fort Erie, by enthusiastic militia from all the surrounding country, and by a large body of Indians. In the early afternoon the

American force, now nearly one thousand strong, under General Wadsworth, was completely hemmed in upon the rocky plateau overlooking the river. Mingled cheers and warwhoops heralded the British attack. Charge after charge was made upon the American position, and it was finally carried at the point of the bayonet. After a gallant defence, General Wadsworth was obliged to surrender with all his men.

"Proclamation Smyth" Retires to Winter-quarters.—An armistice was again agreed upon between Van Rensselaer and Sheaffe, and not until the end of November was the Niagara frontier again menaced. General Smyth—sometimes spoken of as "Proclamation Smyth," from the bombastic tone of the proclamation with which he began his invasion of Canada—was now at the head of the Grand Army of the Centre. A small force succeeded in landing on the Canadian side near Fort Erie, captured a battery and spiked the guns, but, being unsupported, was in the end obliged to surrender. The further proceedings of General Smyth degenerated into a farce, and the army was finally marched into winter-quarters. The braggart general was promptly dismissed from the service.

Lake Champlain—General Dearborn also Retires.—The Grand Army of the North under the commander-in-chief had this year done practically nothing. The Lower Canadian frontier was crossed near the foot of Lake Champlain, but, after suffering a repulse from a mere handful of militia at Lacolle Mill, General Dearborn, pleading the rawness of his own troops, recrossed the border and took up his winter-quarters at Plattsburg.

Naval Operations in 1812.—During this year the British naval force upon the lakes met with little opposition, but active preparations were being made by the United States to turn the scale in the next year's campaign. Upon the ocean the result of the operations of 1812 was upon the whole decidedly favorable to the United States. She had thus far utterly failed where she had confidently expected an easy conquest, and had succeeded where she had scarcely hoped to hold her own.

1813—Western Frontier—Frenchtown.—For the year 1813 the American plan of campaign was the same as that for the preceding year, except that there were different leaders and that the Grand Army of the Centre was divided. Its right wing was to

operate by way of Oswego and Sackett's Harbor, and its left upon the Niagara frontier. The year was crowded with incident, and it will conduce to clearness of view to disregard the strict order of events and treat separately of the operations in each locality. And first we turn to the western frontier. General Harrison* was now in command of the Grand Army of the West. He had distinguished himself in the Indian wars, and much was expected of him in the present campaign. Proctor was still in command at Detroit. Toward the end of January Harrison despatched General Winchester to drive the British from their outposts to the southwest of Detroit. Frenchtown on the River Raisin was taken, but before Winchester had time to strengthen his position there Proctor advanced against him from Detroit and retook the post. Winchester himself was captured together with the greater part of his force. After this disaster General Harrison decided to hold his position on the Maumee until the fleet which the Americans were then fitting out at Presqu'île could co-operate with him in an advance upon Detroit. Proctor meanwhile besieged the American fort at Sandusky, but was obliged to withdraw.

Perry Defeats Barclay on Lake Erie.—The British naval force on Lake Erie was commanded by Captain Barclay, who for a time maintained a strict watch outside Presqu'île harbor. When the American fleet was ready to sail, it was found that the ships could not cross the harbor bar with the guns on board, and to venture out without them meant a speedy capture by Barclay. The latter, unfortunately, left his post to pay a visit to some friends on the north shore. In his absence the guns were shipped over the bar in lighters and then transferred again to the ships, which had in the meantime sailed out of the harbor. Barclay was obliged to make for the Detroit River, leaving the command of Lake Erie to Commodore Perry and his new fleet. Proctor was thus cut off from his supplies, and, in order to reopen communication with the Niagara posts, Captain Barclay finally decided to risk an engagement. Off Put-in Bay the two fleets met (September 10th, 1813), and an obstinate battle ensued. At one time it seemed as if the British fleet must win; but a change of wind and a skilful manœuvre by Commodore Perry

* Afterwards President of the United States, and grandfather of a recent President, Benjamin Harrison.

turned the scale, and Captain Barclay was finally obliged to strike his flag.

Moraviantown.—General Harrison now embarked for Fort Malden. Proctor deemed it useless to attempt to hold his position at Detroit against the forces now brought against him, and therefore gathered his own troops together and retreated eastward up the Thames. He neglected, unfortunately, to destroy the bridges behind him, and Harrison overtook him near the Indian village of Moraviantown (October 5th). Proctor turned and gave battle. A cavalry charge by Kentucky woodmen broke the British line, and though Tecumseh, on the right wing, fought bravely to retrieve the disaster, the result was a decisive victory for the American troops. Tecumseh himself was slain with many of his bravest warriors. Proctor escaped with a small part of his force, the remainder being taken prisoners. Harrison returned again to Detroit, and for the remainder of the war the Americans held control of the western frontier and Lake Erie. Beyond some petty raids upon the north shore of Lake Erie, their control advanced them very little toward the conquest of Canada.

Capture of York.—During the winter and spring (1812-1813) the United States had made vigorous efforts to equip a fleet which might secure control of Lake Ontario, and thus cut off the Niagara district. Sackett's Harbor was their navy-yard, and in April a well-appointed fleet sailed out, having on board a large force under Generals Dearborn and Pike, destined for an attack upon the Upper Canadian capital, York. Major-General Sheaffe was in command of a small force of British regulars there. The Americans effected a landing (April 27th, 1813) in Humber Bay, to the west of the town, drove back those who opposed them, and, marching eastward, captured the fort at the harbor's mouth. By an unfortunate explosion just as the final assault was about to be made, a large number on both sides were killed and many wounded. Among the latter was General Pike, who died on board ship a few hours later. Sheaffe abandoned the town and marched with his regulars for Kingston, leaving the local authorities to arrange terms of capitulation. American historians gravely assert that the American troops found hung up over the speaker's chair in the legislative assembly chamber a human scalp, which so incensed them that

they proceeded to burn a number of the public buildings. Deeming York useless as a strategic point, the American fleet sailed again for Sackett's Harbor.*

Stoney Creek.—Toward the end of May the American fleet again ascended the lake, this time with intent to capture Fort George. Under cover of the guns of the fleet the land forces secured a foothold to the west of the fort. The British general, Vincent, despairing of holding out against a combined assault by sea and land, blew up the works (May 27th, 1813) and retreated; first to Queenston Heights, and then, having gathered all his forces from the Niagara frontier, to Burlington Heights, near the western end of Lake Ontario. He was pursued by a large body under Generals Chandler and Winder, who, on the night of the 5th of June, pitched camp on the east bank of Stoney Creek, a few miles from Vincent's position. Here Adjutant-General Harvey—afterwards Sir John Harvey—made a night attack upon them. In the confused mêlée which followed, both of the American generals were captured. Chandler, it is said, was trying in the dark to manœuvre a *British* regiment! Next morning the American army retreated. In a short time, General Vincent reoccupied all the other frontier posts, and the enemy was confined to the immediate neighborhood of Fort George.

Beaver Dams.—There was considerable skirmishing between the opposing forces. At Beaver Dams, some miles to the west of Queenston, a small British detachment was stationed under the command of Lieut. FitzGibbon. By interrupting communication and cutting off supplies, this little band made itself so obnoxious to the Americans that, toward the end of June, a force of five hundred men with two guns was detailed to effect its capture. Learning of the intended movement, Laura Secord, wife of a militia-man wounded at Queenston Heights, made her way through the American pickets, and toiled on foot all the way from Queenston, a circuitous journey of some twenty miles, to give warning of the enemy's approach. FitzGibbon at once set out to reconnoitre. He found the Americans drawn up in an open field, subjected to an annoying fire from a band of Indians, who, under Captain Kerr

* During the summer York was visited by the enemy a second time (July 31st), and again abandoned after some stores had been captured.

and the younger Brant, had hung upon their rear during the entire march. Seeing that they appeared to be undecided whether to advance or retreat, FitzGibbon rode out from the woods under a flag of truce and demanded their surrender. In terror of the Indians, and ignorant of the real strength of the British, the whole American detachment, after a brief parley, surrendered. The heroic exploit of Laura Secord and the bold stratagem of FitzGibbon are among the memorable events of the war. In July, Fort Schlosser and Black Rock were captured by British troops, who, however, made no effort to hold them. Thus matters remained on the Niagara frontier until the year was nearly ended, each side maintaining a defensive attitude.

Americans Withdraw from the Niagara Frontier.—In December (the year's operations in the east having, as we shall see, resulted gloriously for the Canadians), General Drummond was sent to the Niagara frontier with instructions to take the offensive. The American general, McClure, determined to abandon Fort George, but before doing so he perpetrated an act of wanton barbarity in burning the town of Newark (Niagara), exposing the inhabitants to the rigors of a winter night. He then withdrew to the American side. The British, exasperated by this outrage, laid waste the opposite shore from Fort Niagara to Buffalo, capturing at different dates various positions on that side. General Drummond afterwards issued a proclamation condemning this savage warfare, justifying it only as a retaliation for McClure's brutality.

Naval Movements.—Events this year in the Niagara district had been much affected by the naval movements on Lake Ontario, where, upon the whole, the American fleet, under Commodore Chauncey, proved superior to the British fleet under Sir James Yeo. While the former was absent from Sackett's Harbor forwarding the attack upon Fort George, Sir George Prevost led in person an expedition to capture the American naval stronghold. The British fleet, under Yeo, conveyed the troops thither from Kingston. At the moment when victory seemed assured, when the enemy had set fire to their stores to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British, Prevost recalled his forces from the attack and returned to Kingston. He was alarmed, it is said, by a movement made by the enemy as if

to capture the boats, and he feared for the safety of the troops on shore. During the summer there was much manœuvring and little fighting between the two fleets. Late in September, however, a more decisive encounter took place off York. After a hot fight, Yeo was defeated and forced to seek shelter under Burlington Heights, leaving Chauncey free to capture a fleet of transports with nearly three hundred troops on board destined for Kingston

from York. The approach of winter soon put a stop to further naval operations. The Americans, deprived of the support of the fleet, were unable to hold Fort George, and the year's operations on the Niagara frontier ended with Canadian soil intact in that quarter.

Upon the ocean the tide had turned, and the Atlantic seaboard of the United States was under an almost complete blockade. In this year took place the famous encounter off Boston harbor, between the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake* and H.M.S. *Shannon*, in

which the British frigate won the day, carrying her antagonist a prize of war into Halifax.

St. Lawrence Frontier and Lake Champlain. — We must now turn to Lower Canada and the St. Lawrence frontier. During the winter of 1812-1813 raiding parties from both sides had from time to time crossed the ice and committed petty depredations. In retaliation for a raid upon Brockville, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell crossed from Prescott toward the end of February, and, after a sharp conflict,* captured Ogdensburg, retiring to the Canadian shore with much booty. During the summer there was fighting on Lake Champlain, in which the small British fleet was completely successful. This was followed up by raids upon the American towns along the west shore of the lake—among others upon Plattsburg, the headquarters of the Grand Army of the North.

Chateauguay.—This army during the summer had been diligently drilled, but autumn was well advanced before it was deemed ready to take the field. A decisive movement was then planned. General Wilkinson, called from the south to take command, was to lead the east wing of the Grand Army of the Centre from Sackett's Harbor down the St. Lawrence against Montreal; while General Wade Hampton should lead the Grand Army of the North to join Wilkinson above that town. Hampton advanced upon the Canadian frontier near Lacolle Mill, but, meeting with opposition, turned to the west, intending to reach the St. Lawrence by way of the valley of the Chateauguay river. To Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry was entrusted the task of checking Hampton's advance. On the

COLONEL DE SALABERRY.

* In this affair Captain Jenkins, late of the 104th (New Brunswick) Regiment, greatly distinguished himself at the head of his company of Glengarry Light Infantry. With one arm shot off and the other disabled, he cheered on his men until, through loss of blood, he fell exhausted.

northern bank of the little river, de Salaberry chose his position, and, having made all necessary arrangements, awaited Hampton's coming. The Canadian forces were a mere handful—Voltigeurs, Fencibles, a few regulars, and a score of Indians—but the position was well taken, and de Salaberry was a host in himself. The attack was made on the 26th of October, and the action lasted for several hours. De Salaberry's ruse of the bugles is often mentioned. By scattering his buglers through the woods he impressed upon the enemy the idea that they were opposed by a numerous force. An attack upon de Salaberry's rear by way of a ford on the river was repulsed; the main body of the Americans on the north bank were unable to force the position in front of them; and finally Hampton withdrew his entire army. The whole affair was afterwards spoken of by one who took part in it as a farce, so completely was the attacking force deceived. None the less, however, must be the praise bestowed upon the Canadian militia for their steady defence of their position against such overwhelming odds. Hampton, apparently satisfied that he could make no headway against such vigorous opposition, withdrew his army to winter-quarters.

CHATEAUGUAY MONUMENT.

Chrysler's Farm.—About this time General Wilkinson was on his way down the St. Lawrence with a large force. General de Rottenberg, at this time in command of the British troops in Upper Canada, was at Kingston, where during all the summer an attack had been expected. Learning of Wilkinson's embarkation upon the river, he sent a detachment of troops under Colonel Morrison to harass the rear of the American army. A strong body from the latter, under General Boyd, had landed upon the Canadian shore below Prescott. At Chrysler's Farm, some distance above Cornwall, Morrison overtook the enemy,

forcing them to turn and give battle. This conflict is spoken of by military critics as the best contested battle of the war. The British held their ground against the attack of a superior force, and finally drove Boyd from the field. Farther down the river Wilkinson heard of the disaster at Chateauguay and of Hampton's retreat, and he thereupon decided to abandon the enterprise. His forces were withdrawn to the American side of the river, where an entrenched winter camp was formed.

CHRYSLER'S FARM MONUMENT.

1814—British Regulars Sent to Canada.—Meanwhile the war in Europe had ended for a time in Napoleon's imprisonment upon Elba. Great Britain was now free to turn her attention to the war in America, and, as a result, the year 1814 was one of disaster to the United States. Before the summer ended she had abandoned the attempt to conquer Canada, and from the assailant had become the assailed. Hitherto the Canadian militia had borne the brunt of the conflict, but now British regulars were sent out in large numbers to assist in the defence of Canada. Sir George Prevost detained the greater part of these regulars in Lower Canada, intending to invade New York. The number sent to the Niagara frontier was nevertheless large. Discipline, too, was beginning to tell upon the American troops, and the concluding battles of the war in Canada were very different from the skirmishing engagements of the previous years. But, before speaking of these, mention should be made of the earlier events of the year in other parts of Canada.

Plattsburg.—On the Lake Champlain frontier an attack was

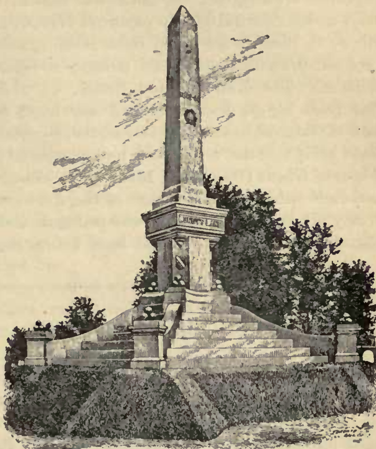
made early in the season (March), but again the Grand Army of the North found it difficult to get beyond Lacolle Mill, and soon retired again to Plattsburg. Upon receiving his reinforcements Sir George Prevost determined to attack Plattsburg by land and sea, as a first move toward the invasion of New York. The British fleet, however, was completely defeated off Plattsburg, in sight of the contending forces on shore, and Prevost deemed it prudent to draw off his army. For this he was much blamed, though Wellington, it is said, approved of his decision to resume a strictly defensive attitude upon losing command on the lake.

Naval Operations on Lake Ontario.—During the winter the British fleet upon Lake Ontario had been strengthened, and the American fleet was kept shut up in Sackett's Harbor during the summer of 1814. Oswego was captured by Sir James Yeo early in May after a short resistance, but the military stores for Sackett's Harbor, which were the object of the expedition, had been removed up the river. During the subsequent blockade of Sackett's Harbor supplies for that point were intercepted, but on one occasion a British party, venturing up Sandy Creek in pursuit of a supply flotilla, fell into an ambuscade, many being killed and the rest captured.

Niagara Frontier—Chippewa Creek.—On the Niagara frontier, General Drummond at Fort George was first-in-command over the British forces. General Brown was at the head of the American army which was gathered at Buffalo for a further attempt upon Canada. Early in July a crossing was effected, the British garrison at Fort Erie abandoning that position and falling back upon General Riall's camp at Chippewa Creek (Welland River). On the 5th of July a battle was fought on the south side of that stream, in which Riall was finally forced to give way before superior numbers. He retired across the stream to his entrenchments upon the northern bank, and finally retreated toward Fort George.

Lundy's Lane.—Further British reinforcements arriving, General Brown, who had advanced to attack Fort George, retired again toward Chippewa Creek. It is said that Brown's retrograde movement was taken in order to draw Drummond out. However this may be, Drummond did follow. Late in the afternoon of the 25th of July, 1814, he was taking a position at Lundy's Lane, a

short distance below the Falls of Niagara, when Brown made a furious assault upon his lines. Late into the night the battle raged. The high ground toward the river was the key of the situation, and charge after charge was made upon the British position there. Drummond, however, resolutely held his ground, and the American army, though superior in numbers, finally withdrew from the field. This has been claimed as a drawn battle, but, as the Americans failed to carry the coveted British position and after the battle at once withdrew into Fort Erie, the victory must clearly be conceded to our troops. Considering the number engaged, the carnage had been frightful.



LUNDY'S LANE MONUMENT.

The Invaders Retire.—Drummond at once laid siege to Fort Erie. In an attempt (August 15th) to carry the place by storm, an exploding magazine committed frightful havoc upon one attacking column. Its leader, Colonel Drummond, brother of the General, was killed, and the assault failed. A month later (September 17th) a sortie in force was repulsed with some difficulty, and Drummond decided to raise the siege. He withdrew his forces to Queenston Heights, hoping to draw out the American general to battle in the open. Brown, however, declined further combat, evacuated Fort Erie, and withdrew to the American side.

Peace of Ghent.—The year 1814 had completely turned

the scale against the United States. Her commerce was almost completely cut off. A British army had landed upon her coast in August, and with little difficulty had marched inland and captured Washington, the American capital. In July a British fleet under Admiral Hardy captured Eastport, and in September Sir J. C. Sherbrooke sailed from Halifax, captured Castine, and received the submission of the military commandant of the Maine District. The New England States, on whose behalf the war had been begun, had never had any heart in the conflict and now threatened to secede if it were not stopped. The war, as has been said, was not a national but a political-party war, and the Peace of Ghent (December, 1814) which closed it was hailed with satisfaction by the greater part of the American people. By this treaty all captured territory was restored, and the boundaries of Canada were left as they had been before the war began.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MATERIAL PROGRESS (1815-1840).

An Important Period.—From every point of view, the twenty-five years following the close of the war of 1812 form a most important epoch in the history of the British provinces in America. The British Isles poured out of their abundant population to fill up the vacant lands in all the older provinces, and the various elements which—with the original French—go to make up the Canadian people were firmly fixed upon the soil. Material progress was marked. The principle of religious equality was established. Finally, after a bitter struggle, the hold of the official faction upon the government of the various provinces was loosened, and Great Britain conceded to her colonies the inestimable boon of self-government.

Immigrants from the British Isles.—First, then, of growth in numbers. For more than twenty years prior to 1815 Great Britain's commercial activity had been upon a war footing. Napoleon's final overthrow upon the field of Waterloo brought peace to Europe, but it also brought on an industrial crisis of extreme severity. Those who had been engaged in the various

industries to which war gives rise were left without occupation, and the disbanding of many regiments added to the army of the unemployed. The British government at once adopted a comprehensive scheme of state-aided emigration to relieve the distress. The colonies were the chosen field. A free passage was provided for all persons of good character, to whom settlers' tools were also promised and provisions for their support until the first crop should be reaped. Of the settlers who, under these inducements, came to Canada, a large number were from England. These, as a rule, came singly or in family parties, and spread themselves through the older settlements. The Scotch immigration, on the contrary, partook largely of the character of an organized movement on the part of those who joined in it, as well as on the part of the British government, under whose auspices it was conducted. The same may be said of the Irish immigration which shortly afterward set in.

The Scotch immigration of this period was so largely composed of disbanded soldiers and their families and friends that it was taken in charge by the British Quartermaster's Department, and was known as the military settlement. The district, south of the Ottawa River, in which the main body settled was called the Bathurst District, after the British minister of that name ; and the various townships of the district still bear the names of the chief British officials connected with the movement. A region, of which the town of Perth is about the centre, was occupied by these settlers (to the number of nearly two thousand) as early as 1816. During the following years they were joined by a large number of operatives from the manufacturing towns of Scotland. In one year, 1820, as many as eleven hundred, it is said, arrived in this "Perth settlement," which very soon became a populous and thriving region. The banks of the St. Francis River in the Eastern Townships also received some portion of this Scotch immigration. To this same period belongs the settlement of the clan McNab in the township of McNab on the Ottawa River. Their chief made a vigorous effort to maintain a feudal rule over his clansmen, but the system never took root, and soon all trace of it even in that township died out. During this period, too, the Scotch settlement around Galt, on the Grand River, was begun on land purchased from the Indians.

The next state-aided immigration which bore a well-marked national character was that of the Irish, commencing in the year 1823 and continuing for several years. Great commercial distress in Ireland was the cause. The first year's arrivals were located in the region lying between the Perth settlement and the Ottawa River. In 1825 was settled that portion of the Newcastle District on the north shore of Lake Ontario, of which the town of Peterborough is the centre. Nearly five hundred Irish families received land there. They were generously treated, and a good mill was built for them by the Imperial authorities, who spent £43,000 upon this one movement alone.

Crown and Clergy Reserves.—By the Constitutional Act of 1791 provision had been made for the setting apart of a certain portion of the land in both provinces as Crown Reserves, and of another portion as Clergy Reserves. Both classes of reserves proved a most serious hindrance to settlement. Shortly after 1791 blocks of land in the immediate neighborhood of the earliest settlements had been set apart as Crown and Clergy Reserves. But, in course of time, these had been granted to favored individuals, members and friends of the ruling faction, and lands in the back townships had been substituted for them. Lying as they did, often in great blocks, between settlers, both the Crown and Clergy Reserves were an impediment in the way of all improvements, particularly of road making. If to these reserves we add the lands granted, often in large tracts, to these same favorites in the regions now being opened up, it would appear that fully one-third of the land was thus withheld from settlement.

The Canada Company.—The most potent factor in the settlement of the inland districts of Canada was the famous Canada Company, which obtained its charter in 1826. It was at first intended that the whole of the ungranted Crown Reserves and one-half of the Clergy Reserves should be sold to the company at a low price, upon terms which would necessitate a speedy settlement. Owing, however, to the refusal of the Clergy Reserves Corporation to accept the price fixed for their lands, what is known as the "Huron tract" was taken by the company in their stead. This tract consisted of about one million acres of land, covering a region stretching from Goderich on Lake Huron nearly to Hamilton at the head of Lake Ontario. The

ungranted Crown Reserves amounted to over 1,300,000 acres more. The town of Galt takes its name from the secretary of the company, the well-known writer, John Galt, father of Sir Alexander T. Galt, and of Chief Justice Sir Thomas Galt. In 1827, Guelph and Goderich were founded with much ceremony. To the extent that the purchase of the Crown Reserves by the Canada Company threw them open to immediate settlement, the company proved a blessing to the country. When it began its operations immigrants were arriving "by thousands," and the company's lands scattered through the more settled districts were rapidly taken up. But in the Huron tract, where their land lay in one huge block, settlement proceeded but slowly, and the company's monopoly was for many years a standing grievance in western Upper Canada.

A Large Influx.—By the year 1830 the immigration from the British Isles into Canada, particularly into the upper province, had assumed very large proportions. In 1831 it amounted to 34,000, while during the period from 1829 to 1833 it reached a total of 160,000. English, Scotch and Irish, all were represented.* The migration from Ireland was the most marked during the years after 1830. The Adelaide settlement in the western part of Upper Canada was begun by a number of Irish soldiers, officers and men, and this soon became a well-known and prosperous region. A number of Irish immigrants also settled at Quebec and in the country south of it, at Montreal, and in the Eastern Townships.

Cholera Checks Immigration.—In 1832, an immigrant ship brought Asiatic cholera to Quebec, and in spite of all precautions the epidemic spread through Canada. In 1834 it broke out again with increased severity, and the mortality, particularly in the towns, was appalling. The result was an outcry against further state-aided immigration, and for some years there was a marked falling off in the flow of population to the Canadian provinces.

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* THE INCREASE IN CANADA.—The extent of the increase in the population of the two Canadas during this period may be gathered from the following figures: The upper province, which had in 1812 a population of 75,000, had increased by 1824 to 157,000, and by 1841 to 470,000. Lower Canada, meanwhile, increased from 225,000 in 1812 to 430,000 in 1824, and to 630,000 in 1841.

The Maritime Provinces.—Of the Maritime Provinces, New Brunswick, sparsely populated and with much fertile land ungranted, received during this period the greatest addition to her population. The year 1819 saw the commencement of the movement thither, and at the port of St. John alone there arrived during the summer of that year over seven thousand souls. Of these about twelve hundred were Scotch and Welsh; the rest were Irish. The Irish movement, particularly after the cholera visitation, was largely directed to New Brunswick, and between 1834 and 1840 as many as thirty thousand settlers arrived in the province. The Scotch migration to Cape Breton, already mentioned, took place chiefly during this period. With the Irish and Scotch came also many English. Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island also received their share of this large immigration, as we may gather from the statistics of population in those provinces.*

Industrial Advancement.—Despite the political ills of the provinces, there was also a steady advance during this period along the line of material improvement. The log cabins of the early settlers gradually gave place to more commodious dwellings, often of stone or brick. The assemblies were very liberal in grants to aid agriculture, as well as road building and other public works. Communication became easier as the roads improved, and the social life of the people was materially broadened. Individual enterprise was not lacking, and the face of the country underwent a marked change from the days of 1812. Then wheat, potash and fur were the chief Canadian exports, and fishing was still almost the only industry of the Maritime Provinces, though the lumber trade was beginning to show signs of activity. By the year 1840, though wheat was still the chief article of export from Upper Canada, the culture of other grains and of fruit had made marked progress, and there were also a few manufactures. In Lower Canada and the Maritime Provinces agriculture was not neglected, and the fisheries were in more active operation than ever before.

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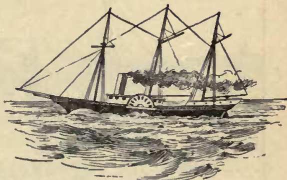
* Between the years 1824 and 1847 the population of New Brunswick was more than doubled, or, as the statistics put it, had increased from nearly 75,000 in the former year to over 150,000 in the latter. Nova Scotia, with a population in 1814 of "not over 100,000" had in 1827 nearly 144,000, and in 1844 over 250,000, while Prince Edward Island, which at the close of the war of 1812, had probably not over 15,000 inhabitants, had in 1827 over 23,000, in 1833 over 32,000, and in 1848 not less than 62,000.

Ship-building.—But the chief advance was in the lumber trade and its allied industry, ship-building. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia supplied themselves with all the ships necessary for carrying on the fisheries and the coasting trade, and had still much lumber left for export. Quebec, owing to its situation, attained a recognized position as a ship-building centre. Between Quebec and Montreal the first steamboat in British North America—the *Accommodation*—had begun to ply as early as 1809, and it was not long before there were many steamboats on Canadian waters. The *General Smyth* made her first trip on the St. John in 1816. The *American Eagle* plied between St. John and Eastport in 1825. In 1829 a steam ferry was in operation between Halifax and Dartmouth, and in the following year there was a steamboat running between Pictou and New Glasgow. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the *Royal William*, built in Quebec (1830-1831) by a company composed largely of Halifax and Pictou merchants. She sailed from Pictou in August, 1833, and the passage to London was made in twenty-five days.

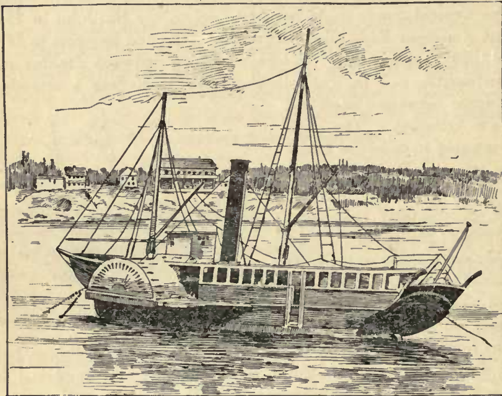


THE "ROYAL WILLIAM."

The first steamship to enter the Pacific Ocean was the *Beaver*, built in England for the Hudson's Bay Company, and employed for many years in the carrying trade of the Pacific coast. She rounded Cape Horn on her first voyage in 1835. Not until about 1838 was the problem of transatlantic steam navigation practically settled. One of the first to enter systematically upon it was a Nova Scotian, Samuel Cunard. In 1839 he entered into a contract with the British government for the carriage of the mails between England and America by means of a steamship line. The first ship of the line—the *Britannia*, a paddle-wheel steamer—sailed from Liverpool in July, 1840. Out of this venture has grown the well-known Cunard Line of ocean steamships.

Attention Given to Canals.—The application of steam to land traffic was yet in its infancy. The first locomotive in Canada was used in 1837 on a short tram-line between Laprairie (opposite

Montreal) and Chambly. In 1839 there was another in use in hauling coal from the Albion mines in Nova Scotia to the loading grounds near New Glasgow. Not, however, until 1850 was there any serious attempt at railway construction. Attention was more particularly directed, during the period before us, toward the improvement of the water communication of the St. Lawrence valley; and the Lachine, Welland, Chambly, and other canals afford striking evidence of the public spirit of the Canadian



THE "BEAVER."

people during these years. The Lachine Canal was designed to overcome the rapids immediately above Montreal. It was built (1821-1824) by a private company, but the enterprise was liberally aided by the legislatures of both provinces. The Welland Canal, which owed its inception to the enterprising spirit of William H. Merritt, was built (1825-1829) to connect Lakes Erie and Ontario, between which nature has imposed the barrier of the Niagara Falls. It, too, was largely state-aided, Lower Canada giving generously toward its construction. The Chambly Canal was designed to improve the navigation by way of the Richelieu to Lake Cham-

plain, which was obstructed by the Chambly Rapids. Among the enterprises of the period the Desjardins and Burlington canals, at the head of Lake Ontario, should also be mentioned. The Rideau Canal, between Kingston and Bytown (now Ottawa), was an Imperial undertaking. It was built (1827-1834) in order to open a communication between Montreal and Lake Ontario which would be free from danger of interruption in case of war with the United States. The old Carillon canals on the Ottawa were part of the same enterprise. For many years this was a favorite passenger route between Kingston and Montreal, but it fell somewhat into disuse after the St. Lawrence canals were opened for traffic. It still, however, affords a delightful trip during the summer months.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE RULE OF THE EXECUTIVE.

The system of government in the British provinces in America must now be examined as a first step toward a proper understanding of the various phases of the struggle for civil and religious liberty. For the present, attention may be confined to the five provinces possessed of representative assemblies.

Political System of Great Britain. — Government in England at this time was, as at present, divided into two branches: (1) the legislative or law-making branch, and (2) the executive or law-enforcing branch. In theory, the two were entirely separate. Parliament, the law-making body, consisted of the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, the latter (often called the "people's house") being composed of members elected by the people of the various towns, boroughs, and counties of Great Britain. Parliament had no power to interfere directly in the daily routine of administration. It could pass laws, but the enforcement of those laws must be left to the king and his officers, the executive branch. In truth, however, parliament had secured even at this time complete control over public affairs. The king could levy no tax without the consent of parliament, and from very early times the House of Commons had claimed the right to determine what moneys should be granted for the public

service and how such money should be spent. In times long past, when the revenues from Crown lands and other sources sufficed to pay the various officials, English kings were able to govern without much regard for the wishes of parliament. But when (as frequently happened) they had to apply to parliament for money, the House of Commons was able to enforce the redress of grievances, to procure the dismissal of incompetent officials, or, in short, to insist on any line of public policy being followed as the price to be paid for the money. Taking advantage of the frequent necessities of the Crown, the House of Commons gradually secured complete control of the public purse. The heads of the chief departments, who formed the king's executive council or cabinet, had to be men possessing the confidence of the "people's house"; otherwise supplies for carrying on government might be refused.

The Colonies Governed from Downing Street.—For many years the British colonies were not looked upon as sufficiently important to need a special department in England to watch over their affairs. The Board of Trade and Plantations—often styled the Lords of Trade—was entrusted with this duty. In 1768, however, a Secretary of State for the Colonies, usually spoken of as the colonial secretary, was appointed. The office was abolished in 1782 (after the loss of the American colonies), but was revived in 1794. It at once became, and has ever since continued, an active and important department of British government. So far as Great Britain was concerned, the government of her colonies was long looked upon as a part of her own executive government, and, though in many of them representative assemblies were established, all the officials, from the governor to the youngest clerk, were held responsible for the proper discharge of their duties only to the colonial office in Downing Street, London.

The Colonial Office.—The attitude of the colonial office toward the colonies may be shortly stated. To the very end of this period (1815-1840), there was an absolute refusal to admit that the officials in the colonies were answerable for their conduct to anyone but the colonial secretary. At the same time a strong desire was often expressed to remedy any and all abuses of which the colonists could justly complain. The colonial office said, in

effect: "If the governor does wrong blame him to us, and if we agree with you we will recall him or instruct him to do better in future. If he retains in office men against whom you have just cause of complaint, lay your complaints before us, and if we agree with you we will see that the delinquent officials are dismissed." In the last resort, therefore, what policy should be pursued in the government of the provinces was determined by the British ministry. No doubt each succeeding ministry honestly desired that the colonies should be governed in harmony with the wishes of the colonists; but, so long as the local officials were held responsible to Downing Street instead of to the colonial assemblies, just so long were the provinces without real self-government.

The Governor.—In each of the provinces the head of the official staff was the governor (or lieutenant-governor), the representative of the Crown. His powers were: (1) to summon, adjourn, prorogue and dissolve the provincial parliament; (2) to appoint the members of his executive and legislative councils, judges, magistrates and all other officials; (3) to pardon offenders; (4) to grant Crown lands; and (5) to perform all other necessary acts of executive government. These wide powers were to be exercised subject to instructions from the colonial secretary, so that the governor was in reality one of the staff of the colonial department.

The Executive Council.—Associated with the governor in the government of each province was an executive council. In each of the Maritime Provinces one council combined both executive and legislative functions:—as an executive council, advising the lieutenant-governor in the work of executive government; as a legislative council, having an equal voice with the assembly in passing all laws. In the two Canadas the councils were distinct. In Upper Canada the executive council was a very small body, composed exclusively of the heads of the chief public departments. In Lower Canada it contained (in 1828) eleven members, including, in addition to departmental heads, the chief justice and one other judge, the Anglican bishop, and one leading partner in the North-West Company. The powers of the executive council were very ill-defined. Some few acts of the governor were required to be done "by and with the advice" of this body, and in some of the provinces the governor and his council constituted a court of

appeal. In the performance of most of his duties, however, the governor was under no obligation to consult the members of his council. Downing Street held him alone responsible.

Colonial Officials.—In the early history of the provinces all appointments to office in the colonies were made by the colonial office in England. Sir Thomas Erskine May, a well-known writer, says: "The colonies offered a wide field of employment for the friends, connections, and political partisans of the home government. The offices in England fell short of the demand, and appointments were accordingly multiplied abroad. Of these many of the most lucrative were executed by deputy. Infants in the cradle were endowed with colonial appointments to be executed through life by convenient deputies. Extravagant fees or salaries were granted in Downing Street and spent in England, but paid out of colonial revenue. Other offices, again, to which residence was attached, were too frequently given to men wholly unfit for employment at home, but who were supposed to be equal to colonial service, where indolence, incapacity, or doubtful character might escape exposure."

A "Family Compact" in the Provinces.—Gradually the officials of the colonies became more settled. Colonial appointments though nominally "during pleasure" were practically for life, and the office-holders and their families became permanent residents. Living chiefly in the larger towns in each province, they formed an official aristocracy, with the governor (or lieutenant-governor) at its head. There was naturally much inter-marrying among them. Social and business ties drew them together, and it was not long before in each province there was a tacit "family compact" to work together to hold a monopoly of place and power. The executive council was composed of the leading members of this Family Compact, and as the years went by they secured an ever-increasing control of the patronage of the Crown. Although they are usually spoken of as an "official" aristocracy, they embraced, particularly in the Maritime Provinces and in Lower Canada, the most influential of the mercantile class, those interested in trade with England, and the magnates of the North-West Company. New officials, as they arrived from England, naturally fell within the circle. Those who failed to adopt and uphold the views of the ruling faction found that

faction strong enough in influence with the governors and the colonial office to secure their dismissal.

Colonial Parliaments.—Let us now turn to the legislature in each province. In form, as Simcoe said, it was the "very image and transcript" of the British parliament. It consisted of the Crown (represented by the governor), a legislative council, supposed to take the place of the British House of Lords, and a representative assembly, chosen by popular election. The assent of all three branches was, of course, necessary to the passing of any Act. The governor, in giving or withholding the Crown's assent to bills which had passed the two Houses, was responsible to the colonial office. The legislative council was, in theory, a body of superior citizens. The fact that its members held their seats for life was considered a guarantee of independent action ; of freedom, on the one hand, from subserviency to the Crown, and of immunity, on the other, from any sudden impulse of popular passion or prejudice. The assembly was the sole representative of the wishes of the people.

Colonial Revenues.—The power conferred upon the colonial parliaments to make the laws by which in local matters the colonists were to be governed must not be lightly valued. That it did not carry with it proper control over the executive government of the provinces was owing to the fact that for many years the colonial revenues were largely derived from sources over which the assemblies had no control. Even in the matter of legislation, the officials long retained a dominant influence, for, through the legislative council, they could defeat any measure tending to weaken their hold upon the government of the province. For many years, therefore, the only remedy for executive misrule was an appeal to the British ministry through the colonial secretary.

Financial control by the "people's house" would have prevented all this, and reforms would speedily have been forced upon the executive without the necessity for an appeal to Downing Street. After years of practically useless struggle to remedy particular abuses the popular leaders became convinced—to use the words of Joseph Howe, one of the most noted of them—that the touchstone of liberty was the control of the supplies. The colonial revenues may be conveniently classified as follows: (1) The "casual and territorial" revenues of the Crown, arising from

the sale of lands, mining royalties, fees of office, fines and the like; (2) duties payable under Imperial statutes upon goods imported into the colonies; and (3) duties levied and moneys collected under Acts of the provincial parliaments. The salaries of the majority of the officials were paid out of the first and second classes, and over these the assemblies had no control whatever. The "Civil List," as the officials' pay-roll was called, was settled in England. All the assembly could do, if they thought the salaries too high, was to complain to the colonial office in Downing Street. They could, of course, pass Acts granting moneys for road-making, bridge-building, and other public works, and could control the raising and spending of such moneys. These formed the third class above mentioned. To "withhold supplies," therefore, might inflict great injury upon the country by stopping public improvements; it could not affect the officials. They held their positions and drew their salaries regardless of the censure of the people's representatives in the assembly.

Election Laws Favor the Family Compact.—Even in the composition of the legislative assemblies there was much which tended to give undue weight to the wishes of the official class. The towns, in which that class was the predominant element, were allowed representation in the assemblies out of all proportion to their population. Placemen also were eligible to seats in the assembly. Many of them held official positions which brought them into close contact with the people in the different towns and counties. It was in the power of the government to advance or retard progress in any particular region, and the individual settler, too, could be helped or hindered by government officials, who frequently used their powers, with little scruple, to secure their own election to the provincial assembly. Every effort to effect reform in this direction was in every province long frustrated by the legislative councils.

Control Through the Legislative Council.—It was in the composition of the legislative council that the hand of the Family Compact was most apparent. It was essential that this branch of the provincial parliament should be secured for the ruling faction. It would have been well-nigh impossible to prevent the legislative redress of grievances had the two branches concurred in passing bills for that purpose. The governor, no matter how

well disposed toward the social oligarchy of which, indeed, he was the head, would have hesitated to withhold the assent of the Crown to such bills unless well assured of the support of the colonial office at home. But, with a friendly legislative council, all measures obnoxious to the Family Compact could be quietly defeated in that chamber. How well they succeeded in securing control of this branch of the legislature will appear from a glance at its composition in the different provinces.

In the Two Canadas.—The legislative council of Lower Canada, as described by John Neilson in 1828 to a committee of the British House of Commons, consisted of twenty-seven members, seven of whom, he said, had ceased to attend its sessions. Eighteen were either office-holders or pensioners. Members of the executive council were eligible for appointment to the legislative council, and in Lower Canada seven of them had seats. Two, at least, of the legislative council were partners in the North-West Company, while several others were described simply as British merchants. Four were French-Canadians, two seigneurs and two office-holders. The chief justice and three of his brother judges were members, the chief justice being the speaker. The Anglican Bishop of Quebec was *ex-officio* a member. Nine only of the council were natives of Canada.

In Upper Canada, in the year 1835, those who usually attended the sessions of the legislative council numbered about fifteen. Six of these were executive councillors, four others were government officials, and two—Archdeacon Strachan and Bishop Macdonell—were church dignitaries. Here, too, therefore, the Family Compact had a safe majority.

In the Maritime Provinces.—In the Maritime Provinces, where one council exercised both executive and legislative functions, advocates of reform thought for a time that an improvement might be effected by a division of the council. This was done in New Brunswick in 1832, in Nova Scotia in 1837, and in Prince Edward Island in 1839, but, as Joseph Howe expressed it in somewhat robust phrase, it was but "cutting a rotten orange in two in order to improve its flavor." The Family Compact controlled the two councils as they had before controlled the one. In New Brunswick, after the separation, three families formed a clear majority of the legislative council, and the same invidious

preferences—local, commercial and religious—were shown in its composition as in the other provinces. Before its division the council of Nova Scotia consisted of twelve members, all resident in Halifax. The Anglican bishop was a member *ex-officio*, and eight others were of that Church. The chief justice presided, and around the board were the heads of departments and other influential members of the Family Compact. Two families were represented by five members. One mercantile partnership was also represented by five members. The result was that while needed measures of civil and religious reform were prevented, the interests of the outlying parts of the province were sacrificed to benefit Halifax merchants.

Strongly Entrenched.—This then was the position in all the provinces. The official class had at its command all the executive machinery, all the patronage of the Crown, a subservient legislative council, and, as a rule, a friendly governor. The executive machinery was harshly and arbitrarily used to put down critics; the patronage of the Crown was used to reward friends or buy off opponents; the legislative council prevented legislative reform; while a friendly governor dissolved a too hostile assembly and reported to the colonial office that all was well. If the long-suffering colonists carried their complaints to the colonial secretary they found, as Howe said, that "there was hardly a public servant in the province who could not by his representations and influence thwart any resolution or address which the assembled representatives of the whole country thought it their duty to adopt."

The System at Fault.—Out of such a system grave abuses were sure to arise. But, while we must strongly condemn the system, we must not forget that even among the officials, there were very many able and upright men, to whom we owe much for the material progress of the country during those years. Colonial government was then in its infancy, and many men both in England and on this side of the Atlantic conscientiously believed that to give entire control to the colonial assemblies would be but a step toward separation from Great Britain. We know now that they were mistaken. We have long enjoyed a full measure of self-government in Canada without any loosening of the strong tie of affectionate attachment which binds us to the motherland.

But the men of the Family Compact had not our experience. They looked rather to the loss of the older American colonies, and many of them honestly thought that the popular leaders here were pursuing the same course as had been pursued there, and that the same results would follow. We repeat, therefore, that while we must condemn many of the public acts of the Family Compact, we must give credit to many of its members for uprightness of life and sincerity of motive.

CHAPTER XXX.

EXECUTIVE ABUSES.

Growing Discontent.—Even before the war of 1812 there had been, as already seen, marked evidences of popular discontent in Lower Canada, where the French-Canadian majority were not disposed to look quietly on and see the whole machinery of government used to further the interests of a small English-speaking official and trading class. In the other provinces there had been only slight symptoms of dissatisfaction before 1812. Shortly after the close of the war, however, when the tide of immigration had well set in, complaint of executive misgovernment became more frequent and outspoken. In this chapter will be described briefly the doings of the Family Compact in all the provinces, both in creating abuses and in repressing those who complained of them.

Official Favoritism.—From the favors shown to the members and friends of the ruling class the greatest abuses arose. Pensions were bestowed with a lavish hand. The construction of public works was made a means of public corruption, and even incorporated banks were used as political machines in the interest of the government. Large grants of land were made to executive favorites in return for public services of the slightest character—sometimes even without that pretence—and these tracts * proved, as we have seen, a serious impediment in the way of settlers. In the disposal of timber limits in the lower provinces

* In Lord Durham's celebrated report may be found statistics showing the amount of Crown Lands held by members and friends of the provincial governments, and the figures are certainly startling.

the same favoritism was shown and the same results followed. The mercantile members of the Family Compact managed to secure for themselves trade advantages of which the assemblies long tried in vain to deprive them. They were able, for instance, to dictate what ports should be ports of entry* for foreign produce, and thus to retain a monopoly of foreign trade.

Local Improvement.—In those days the executive government of each province controlled the local affairs of every community within its borders. Local taxation was fixed in quarter sessions by the magistrates—all Crown-appointed; and thus road-making, bridge-building, and all the other necessary work of local improvement were, in their hands, under executive control. The influence which the government was thus able to exert in all parts of the yet sparsely settled provinces was very great. In Lower Canada there was a somewhat peculiar system (a relic of the old *régime*) for making and repairing roads and building bridges. This work in each of the three districts of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal was under the control of a *grand voyer*, who, though he could act only upon petition of the inhabitants, was the sole judge of the route to be followed and of the share to be paid by each of those benefited by the work. In the case of the main highways, for which grants were freely made by the assembly, complaint was made that the course of these highways was fixed with a selfish view to the improvement of the vacant lands held by large proprietors.

Road Grants.—In the effort to control road expenditure the assemblies frequently came into collision with the executive. Proper accounts of this expenditure were insisted upon but were long refused. When the assemblies, particularly in Lower Canada, declined to make road grants unless upon conditions which would ensure to them some control over their disposal, they were represented to the colonial secretary as factious drags upon public improvement. In Nova Scotia, from very early times, the assembly insisted upon giving control of its road grants to the members for the constituency in which the money was to be

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* In the Maritime Provinces, Halifax, Pictou, Sidney, St. John and St. Andrews were long the only ports of entry. It was only as the result of persistent petitioning to the colonial office that such important shipping towns as Liverpool and Yarmouth, and, afterwards, Lunenburg, Windsor and Arichat, were added to the ist.

expended. This naturally resulted in patchwork, often unevenly put on; nevertheless, when, in 1820, Lord Dalhousie urged that some regular system should be adopted and placed under the control of the executive, his suggestion was "coldly received" by the assembly, and no change was made. In Lieutenant-Governor Kempt's time (1828) they so far yielded as to agree to the appointment of permanent commissioners for the main highways.

Municipal Government.—This control over matters which are now left to local municipalities, the Family Compact were very loath to relinquish. Even the larger towns were denied control of their local affairs. St. John, N.B., long remained the only incorporated town in British North America. In Lower Canada the legislative council continually rejected bills passed by the assembly to confer municipal institutions upon the larger towns. Quebec and Montreal were at last incorporated in 1832, with the provision, however, that their local regulations should be submitted to the judges for approval. In Quebec the judges rejected these regulations because they were drawn up in the French language! In Upper Canada, York was incorporated under its present name, Toronto, in 1834. Though the capital of the province, with a population of several thousand, its government by the executive had not been very satisfactory, for "there was not a sidewalk in the town." Kingston tried in vain to procure an Act of incorporation; the assembly passed the bill but the legislative council rejected it. It was not until after the advent of responsible government and the union of the two Canadian provinces that a general Act was passed for the establishment of municipalities with large powers of local self-government. In Nova Scotia, Halifax did not succeed in securing incorporation until 1841. As Howe said, "There was not an incorporated city in any part of the province. They were all governed, as Halifax was, by magistrates who held their commissions from the Crown, and were entirely independent of popular control."

Executive Oppression.—The methods employed by the executive to stifle complaint and put down opposition give to this period a somewhat tragic interest. In the Maritime Provinces, however, while there was the same vicious system and the same exclusive spirit as in the Canadian provinces, there was a marked

absence of that active oppression to which the Family Compact resorted in order to maintain their position in Upper and Lower Canada. The battle for reform was, as a natural consequence, well advanced in the two Canadas before it began in the Maritime Provinces; and in the latter, where executive oppression had been less felt, it was fought with less bitterness.

The Family Compact in the Courts.—It was in the harsh use of harsh laws that the executive factions of the two Canadas became prominent. That in the superior courts there was actual corruption has been freely charged; but proof is wanting. That there was a disposition to uphold a strong executive at the expense of popular rights is undeniable. Even had such bias been wanting, the close family, social, and even political ties existing between the judges and the Crown officers gave rise to a distrust in the administration of justice. The court, from judge to crier, was of the Family Compact. The laws then in force left too much discretion to the sheriff in the selection of juries, and the jury-box, it is said, was often "packed." In the subordinate tribunals—quarter sessions and magistrates' courts—matters were even worse.

Public Prosecutions.—But, apart from the composition of the courts, there were harsh laws to be invoked, if need be, by the Crown officers against "libellous and seditious persons." As some of the prosecutions under these laws called forth much popular sympathy and materially helped to create an organized opposition to Family Compact domination, they merit special attention.

Robert Gourlay.—Among the many who came to Upper Canada in 1817 was Robert Gourlay, the son of a Scotch laird who had fallen upon evils days. Gourlay went into business as a land agent, and thus became familiar with the many grievances under which settlers labored. He was outspoken in his condemnation of the abuses of the land system, and soon incurred the enmity of the authorities, who looked upon him as a grievance-monger. He was twice prosecuted for libel against officials and twice acquitted. Finally under an old statute of 1804, respecting alien immigration, he was taken before two members of the legislative council. Although it seems clear that his case was not within the statute, they declared him to be a seditious person and ordered him to

leave the province. Failing to obey the judgment pronounced against him, he was again arrested, and, after a long and harsh imprisonment, was brought to trial at Niagara in August, 1819. We are told that his confinement had so impaired his reason that his trial was a solemn mockery. He was found guilty of disobedience to the order previously pronounced against him. It was now repeated and this time obeyed. At the same assizes a local editor was found guilty of seditious libel and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and to pay a fine of £50. His fault was that he had published a letter, written by Gourlay, in which the governor, the Duke of Richmond, and the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, Sir Peregrine Maitland, were severely criticised.

Criminal Libel.—The law of libel was perhaps the most powerful weapon in the hands of the officials, and it was used—in the two Canadas particularly—with merciless severity against political opponents. On the other hand, the most outrageous attacks by newspapers which supported the government, upon the character and motives of the leading reformers, were quietly ignored by the Crown officers. Words spoken of those in authority were treated as criminally libellous, which, when spoken of their opponents, were even applauded.

Editors Prosecuted.—In the year 1828 a committee of the British House of Commons inquired into the civil government of Canada. The reformers of Lower Canada had been active in preparing petitions to be laid before the committee, and in holding public meetings at which strong resolutions against the ruling faction were passed. The libel laws were at once resorted to against newspaper editors who ventured to report these proceedings, while at the same time the government press teemed with the most scurrilous abuse of those members of assembly who were taking part in the agitation. To make this harsh proceeding still more harsh the prosecution was conducted, not where the defendants lived, but at Quebec, the seat of government.

In 1828 an editor at York named Collins was brought to trial for a libel upon the attorney-general—a gentleman known to a later generation as a learned and upright judge, Sir J. B. Robinson. Collins was found guilty and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and to pay a fine of £50. The persistent refusal of the lieutenant-

governor, Sir John Colborne, to extend executive clemency to this unfortunate man was attributed to vindictiveness on the part of the officials, and did much to excite public sympathy.

The prosecution of Joseph Howe (1835) for libel upon the magistrates who governed Halifax resulted in his triumphânt acquittal. Though the law of criminal libel did not allow a plea of justification (that is, a plea that what had been written was true and therefore no libel), Howe boldly set up that his article was written without criminal intent, in a fair and legitimate attempt to procure the reform of notorious abuses. These he described to the jury, and the strong light thus thrown upon the conduct of municipal government finally resulted in the passage of the Halifax Act of Incorporation already mentioned.

HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

Mackenzie's Printing Office Raided.—While active in enforcing the law against their opponents, the Family Compact of Upper Canada were guilty of a most flagrant act of lawlessness. The victim of their violence was that "peppery Scotchman," William Lyon Mackenzie, editor and proprietor of *The Colonial Advocate*, at that time the most pronounced and uncompromising exponent of popular grievances. Mackenzie had already felt the weight of executive displeasure. He had started his newspaper at Queenston, and upon the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of Brock's monument in 1824, a copy of it had been placed under the stone. Sir Peregrine Maitland ordered the stone to be lifted, and the obnoxious sheet was removed. Mackenzie afterwards moved his printing office to York, and his outspoken utterances there made him an object of extreme dislike to the

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE.

officials. In 1826, in open daylight, a gang of young men, all of the Family Compact, marched into the *Advocate* office in Mackenzie's absence, wrecked the furniture and threw the type into Toronto Bay. The perpetrators of the outrage were not only not prosecuted; they were the lions of the hour with the official society of the capital. When Mackenzie recovered by civil action a large verdict against them, the amount was raised by a private subscription, to which even the leading officials contributed.

Petty Tyranny.—To the abuses in the administration of justice were added others equally glaring in the exercise of the ordinary powers of executive government. Pressure was brought to bear upon all would-be reformers over whom the Family Compact could exercise any authority. Those settlers, including even some of the men of 1812, who complained of grievances, found the patents for their land withheld upon one pretext or another for many years. By way of contrast, the eve of an election—notably the critical election of 1836 in Upper Canada—saw a wholesale distribution of patents among those whose votes were deemed safe for government candidates. There had been a decision in England that all who had remained in the United States after the Peace of 1783 were, in the eyes of English law, aliens, and as such incapable of holding land in a British colony. This decision affected the title to many farms in Canada and the right of several members of the assembly to seats in that body. The law was in some cases harshly enforced, while in others it was allowed to remain a dead letter. Efforts on the part of the assembly of Upper Canada to remedy this grievance were long resisted by the legislative council, and not until 1828, and then only after a mission had been sent to England, was an Act finally passed to remove it.

Free Speech Denied.—In 1818 a Seditious Meetings Act—popularly known as the "gagging bill"—was passed in Upper Canada by a House friendly to the executive. It gave magistrates power to forbid meetings to discuss grievances, or, as the authorities described it, to talk sedition. Colonel Beardsley, who presided at a meeting called in this year to appoint a delegation to England to lay the state of the colony before the colonial office, was deprived of his commission. On New Year's Eve, 1825, some American actors gave a performance at York. Some of the members of the assembly were there; among others was Captain

Matthews, the Reform member for Middlesex. He, in rather hilarious mood, called upon the orchestra to play "Yankee Doodle." He was a half-pay officer in the British army, and, as a result of representations from the York officials, his pension was stopped. To secure its restoration Captain Matthews was obliged to go to England, which, it is said, was what the Family Compact wanted. About the same time Fothergill, king's printer, was dismissed for venturing to criticise the government. The dismissal of Mr. Justice Willes, who in a rather too public way found fault with the Crown officers and belittled his brother judges, was also ascribed to the influence of the ruling faction.

In Lower Canada the same course was adopted, and French-Canadian militia officers were, without previous notice, dismissed from their positions for taking part in the agitation for reform. At the same time the list of magistrates was revised, and all who were friendly to the reform movement were deprived of their commissions.

Friendly Assemblies.—The officials were quick to make use of a friendly assembly to secure the passing of laws to strengthen their authority, knowing well that Acts of this description, once passed, could not be repealed without the concurrence of the legislative council, in which their influence was predominant. Nor did they scruple, as we shall see, to turn to their own advantage the well-known tendency of popular assemblies to insist upon their privileges. This, however, is part of the parliamentary history of this period, which it will be convenient to reserve for a later chapter.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Church and State.—In the early years of the present century the Anglican Church enjoyed in all the provinces many advantages over other religious denominations. An effort, indeed, was made to secure its recognition as the "Established Church" of the colonies as well as of England, but from the beginning its adherents had been in the minority in the colonies, and the home authorities declined therefore to make it a state church out-

side of England. In the two Canadas alone was there anything in the nature of a state endowment of the Anglican Church, and there the efforts of that Church to retain this advantage gave an added bitterness—particularly in Upper Canada—to the struggle for religious equality. Some of the advantages, however, enjoyed by the Anglican Church were common to all the provinces, and to these reference should first be made.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.—One advantage possessed by the Anglican Church in America arose from its connection with the Established Church in England. Other denominations supported their ministers and met the expense of maintaining places of worship out of the voluntary contributions of their members. The Anglican Church in the colonies was sustained almost entirely by that great missionary society of the Established Church, the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which was in early times (1814-1834) in receipt of large annual grants from the British parliament. The Anglican clergy were thus for many years better paid than the ministers of the other churches. Objection was naturally raised to the granting of further state aid to a Church which already occupied a position of advantage; whose members, moreover, were at least equally as able as those of other denominations to support their own Church.

"Dissenters."—The law of England at the beginning of the present century placed "dissenters" under many disabilities. English law as it stood in 1792 had been introduced into Upper Canada; and English law of a still earlier period formed the basis of the legal systems of the Maritime Provinces. There was no law to secure to religious bodies other than the Anglican "a foot of land on which to build parsonages and chapels, or in which to bury their dead; their ministers were not allowed to solemnize matrimony, and some of them had been the objects of cruel and illegal persecution on the part of magistrates and others in authority." That these persecutions, as a result of which several ministers were actually imprisoned, were illegal under the laws in force at that time may perhaps be doubted; that they were cruel will not be denied; they certainly gave rise to an agitation which, in spite of opposition, was finally successful in securing an amendment of the law.

Marriage Laws.—The Act of 1798 passed in Upper Canada in relief of Presbyterian ministers has been already mentioned. The benefit of the Act was much lessened by the rigorous conditions under which only could a license to perform the marriage ceremony be obtained. It was not until 1831 that an Act was finally passed giving all Christian ministers power to perform the ceremony. Prior to that date marriage fees formed no inconsiderable portion of the income of the Anglican and Presbyterian clergy. An Act empowering religious bodies to hold land soon followed. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick similar Acts were not obtained until a few years later (1834). In all the provinces the long delay was attributed to the intolerance of the ruling faction.

Sectarian Schools.—Through their influence in England the dignitaries of the Anglican Church in the British provinces in America procured royal charters for sectarian colleges which were liberally endowed with lands and generously supported by parliamentary grants. The first of these was King's College, Windsor, in Nova Scotia. Its charter was, as already mentioned, obtained in 1802, through the exertions of Dr. Charles Inglis, the first bishop of Nova Scotia. The governing trustees were all Anglican, and in spite of the protest of the bishop (in which he was supported by the Archbishop ot Canterbury), subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England was made a condition of matriculation. The result of this exclusive policy was a strong popular aversion to the college. All efforts to open its doors failing, other denominational colleges and academies were established. To these, grants were from time to time made by the provincial assembly. Though religious tests have long since disappeared, the early establishment in Nova Scotia of a number of denominational schools for higher education has so far barred the way to the creation of one central provincial university.

In New Brunswick a royal charter was obtained about the year 1800 for a college at Fredericton which received a liberal endowment. In 1828 it was remodelled under a new charter, becoming "King's College, New Brunswick," with university powers. The same exclusiveness was not shown here as in Nova Scotia. The Anglican bishop was visitor, the president

and staff were Anglican, but no religious test was required of students. Not, however, until the year 1860 was the college made entirely non-sectarian and provincial. There were also complaints in this province that the "school reserves," which had been set apart at a very early date, were largely granted to church schools, either Anglican or Presbyterian.

In Upper Canada a royal charter for a King's College was obtained in 1826 by Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Strachan. Lands for the support of schools had been set apart as early as 1797, and a great part of these—over 225,000 acres—was now taken to form a land endowment for King's College, supplemented by a liberal money grant. Members of the college council—of which Archdeacon Strachan was the first president—were to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. No religious test, however, was to be imposed upon matriculants. King's College charter was from the beginning an object of unceasing attack, but not until 1849 was this institution finally made entirely non-sectarian under the name of the University of Toronto.

In Lower Canada the refusal of the French-Canadians to attend the schools founded under the Education Act of 1801 was based upon their objection to the exclusive control of those schools by the Anglicans. Apart from this, the province was very free during this period from purely sectarian disputes. John Neilson, speaking in 1828, said: "No country was ever more exempt from religious animosities than Lower Canada has generally been during the thirty-seven years I have resided there." The non-sectarian McGill College, Montreal (chartered in 1821), owes its existence to the liberality of a merchant of that city whose name it bears.

An Anglican Official Class.—Above every other cause it was owing to their position in reference to the executive government of the various provinces that the Anglican minority were long able to hold their advantages. The head of the government in each province was an Anglican, members of the executive and legislative councils were for many years largely Anglican, and the majority of the government officials were of that denomination. Every vacancy was, as a matter of course, filled by the appointment of one of their own social and political friends. The natural result was the concentration of power in the hands of the Anglicans. Every effort of the popular assembly to pass laws

to put other denominations upon an equality with them was long made fruitless by the negative voice of the second chamber. The assemblies, indeed, were for many years provided by the government with Anglican chaplains. When objection was taken, the service ceased but the salary continued. It was this invidious religious distinction, carried to the extreme of social ostracism, and the denial to "dissenters" of all share in the patronage of the Crown, that gave to the battle for political equality during this period its peculiar bitterness.

Prince Edward Island.—Prince Edward Island appears to have been singularly free from agitation arising out of a claim on the part of any one denomination to monopolize state favor. The Roman Catholics have at all times formed a large element in the population of the island. Up to the year 1820 there was only one Protestant clergyman upon it. Though freedom of conscience was denied to Roman Catholics by the terms of Patterson's commission, there was apparently no interference with their right to worship God in their own manner. Not, however, until 1830 were those civil disabilities, to which they were subject under the unjust laws of England prior to the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), entirely removed by the island assembly. In this matter it declined (by the casting vote of the speaker in 1827) to proceed faster than the Mother Country. If any feeling of jealousy was entertained by the various religious denominations on account of the executive officials being exclusively Anglican, it does not appear in the island records. The land question overshadowed every other grievance. The necessity for combined effort against the influence, so potent in England, of the absentee proprietors would seem to have stilled sectarian strife. As early as 1829, when the "Central Academy" at Charlottetown was established by Act of the island legislature, it was expressly stipulated that no religious tests should be imposed upon either teachers or pupils.

The Clergy Reserves—In Upper Canada the battle for religious equality largely turned upon questions of state endowment—the Clergy Reserves and Rectories questions. By the Constitutional Act of 1791, as already mentioned, provision was made for setting apart a portion—one-seventh—of the Crown lands in each province for the support of a "Protestant clergy."

The Act further provided that the governor might erect within every township or parish one or more parsonages or rectories according to the establishment of the Church of England, and might endow the same with lands chosen from these "Clergy Reserves," as they were called.

Claim of the Church of Scotland.—Though the Clergy Reserves were a great hindrance to improvement in the various settlements, the income derived from them was for many years so trifling in amount that no question arose as to its distribution. At length, in 1819, the Presbyterians asked that a grant might be made out of the Clergy Reserves fund to assist them in rebuilding one of their churches which had been destroyed by fire. The law officers of the Crown in England, to whom the request was referred, gave their opinion that the words—"a Protestant clergy"—included the ministers of the Church of Scotland as well as those of the Church of England, but that they did not include those of any other denomination. The Anglican Church in Canada declined, however, to admit the claim even of the Church of Scotland. About this time a Clergy Reserves Corporation was formed, consisting exclusively of Anglican clergymen, to whom power was given to lease the reserves and collect the rents. The balance, after paying expenses, was for many years very small, but the Upper Canadian assembly supported the claims of the Church of Scotland to share even in this small balance.

REV. EGERTON RYERSON.

Rev. Egerton Ryerson.—In the years 1826 and 1827, certain events occurred which brought other religious bodies into the controversy, and turned the contest between the Churches of England and of Scotland into a campaign for "secularization" pure and simple, that is to say, for the appropriation of the reserves to the general improvement of the province. At this time Archdeacon Strachan was exerting himself to procure the charter for King's College, and also to secure for the Anglican Church in Canada pecuniary assistance from the British parlia-

ment. To this end he preached a sermon—afterwards printed for use in England—in which other denominations were attacked.

BISHOP STRACHAN.

This attack brought into the lists to do battle, not only for his own Church, but for the larger cause of religious equality, a young Methodist minister of vigorous intellect and marked personality, Rev. Egerton Ryerson, known to a later generation as the Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. His published "review" of Dr. Strachan's sermon was but the beginning of an agitation which united all "dissenters" to make common cause for secularization.

The Assembly Supports "Secularization."—The first fruit of this agitation was the Act of 1831, already mentioned, extending to all Christian ministers the right to perform the ceremony of marriage. The conflict over the reserves was long and bitter. In 1828 the assembly recommended that the proceeds of the sale of the Clergy Reserves should be used to promote general education, and this course they advocated down to the year 1831. By large majorities they passed resolutions in which the legislative council refused to concur; they passed bills which the legislative council year after year rejected. In 1832 a bill was introduced in the assembly to revest the reserves in the Crown freed of all trusts, that is to say, to turn them into Crown lands pure and simple. In 1832 and 1833 this bill passed its second reading by large majorities, but for some reason proceeded no further. In 1834 it passed in the assembly in spite of vigorous opposition from the executive, but was rejected by the legislative council. The action of the assembly during these sessions is the more remarkable, as it was the same House which time and again expelled the well-known reformer, William Lyon Mackenzie.

Rectories Created.—In 1835 the legislative council again rejected a bill passed by the newly-elected reform assembly to apply the reserves to purposes of education. The power to create and endow rectories had, up to this time, not been acted upon;

but now, in the very heat of the dispute, Sir John Colborne created forty-four rectories and endowed them with lands from the Clergy Reserves to the extent of seventeen thousand acres. This naturally added fuel to the flames, and the agitation went on with increased bitterness. Shortly afterwards (1837) came the outbreaks in the two Canadas, and for a time the Clergy Reserves question was overshadowed by other issues.

A Compromise Act.—Various efforts were made to settle it, but without result until 1840, when what was intended as a compromise Act was passed by the Upper Canadian parliament at the instance of Lord Sydenham. By it the proceeds of the sale of the reserves were divided as follows: one-third to the Anglicans; one-sixth to the Presbyterians; and the other half to such other religious bodies as should apply for a share in it. The Act, however, was disallowed, the judges in England having given an opinion that, so far as it had assumed to deal with lands already sold, the provincial parliament had exceeded its powers. An Act, which modified the disposition made of the reserves by the provincial Act so as to meet this objection, was introduced by Lord John Russell and carried in the Imperial parliament. It divided the proceeds of past sales between the Anglicans and Presbyterians exclusively; the proceeds of future sales were to be divided in the manner provided by the disallowed provincial Act. Here the matter rested for some years.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LOWER CANADA TO 1837.

Charges Against Judges.—Even while the war of 1812 was in progress, and while the assembly of Lower Canada were, as Neilson put it, "giving all they had and more than they had" to aid in the defence of the province, they still kept up the attack upon executive abuses. Stuart, who afterwards himself became chief justice of the province, formally impeached the chief justices, Sewell and Monk, for usurping legislative power. He charged that, on pretence of regulating the practice of the courts, they had increased official fees, thus making law-suits a means of

oppression and rendering it difficult for humble suitors to obtain justice. The assembly (1814) sustained Stuart and voted funds to pay his expenses to England to support the charges before the colonial office. The legislative council threw out the item. They also rejected a bill passed by the assembly to appoint a permanent agent for the province in London. This bill was passed almost annually by the assembly and as regularly rejected by the legislative council, who took the ground that the governor was the only proper channel of communication between the province and the home authorities. There was thus a one-sided investigation by the colonial secretary into the charges against the judges, and they were acquitted of all wrong-doing. When a message to this effect was communicated to the assembly by Sir Gordon Drummond, much dissatisfaction was expressed. Drummond thereupon dissolved parliament, with an expression of regret that after the decision of the colonial office the assembly should "again enter on the discussion."

Papineau—Neilson.—In 1815 the newly-elected assembly chose as its speaker a young man, twenty-six years old, who was destined to take a foremost place in the history of his province—Louis Joseph Papineau. He had a handsome face and a striking figure; and, through his fiery eloquence, he soon became the idol of his compatriots. For many years he had associated with him in the assembly the warm-hearted Scotchman to whom reference has frequently been made—John Neilson. Papineau was impatient for immediate reform of all abuses. Neilson, equally earnest for reform, had greater political sagacity, and was content to advance step by step. For many years they worked together, until finally, when Papineau declined to accept concessions from the colonial office because they did not, in his opinion, go far enough, Neilson withdrew his support, and Papineau rushed into rebellion.

LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU.

Sherbrooke Conciliatory.—In 1816 Sir J. C. Sherbrooke

became governor. The elections had resulted in the return of an assembly bent upon attacking official abuses, particularly those connected with the administration of justice. The governor was instructed to dissolve the House again if necessary, but, in preference, to interpose "the firmness and good dispositions of the legislative council." Sherbrooke reported that there was no hope of a change. He urged, therefore, that Chief Justice Sewell should be superannuated; that a colonial agent should be appointed; and that Papineau should be made a member of the legislative council. This, he said, would gain for that body some measure of public confidence. Sherbrooke's policy of conciliation was not entirely adopted, though the elder Papineau and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec were appointed to the legislative council. Attacks upon the judges still continued, and the governor apparently despaired of reconciling the disputes. At his own request he was recalled (1817), and was succeeded by the Duke of Richmond.

The Civil List.—Meanwhile offices had been multiplied in the province, and the revenues at the sole disposal of the executive were not now sufficient to pay all the officials. When called upon, in 1819, to make up the deficiency, the assembly insisted upon revising the whole civil list, in order, as they said, to see how it was that a deficiency had arisen. They pruned vigorously, and adopted a "Supply Bill" which, if accepted by the legislative council, would have wiped out several sinecure offices. It would also have reduced the salaries of many other officials. The upper chamber, however, rejected the bill upon a ground which sounds strange to us in these days. The assembly, they said, had no right "to prescribe to the sovereign the number and quality of his servants, and what exact wages he should pay to each."

This financial question was for many years the chief bone of contention in Lower Canada. It was no mere theoretic reform the assembly desired. The more the expenses of the executive staff could be reduced, the more would there be available for purposes of public improvement. Year after year they attacked the estimates, cutting off here and reducing there, and year after year the legislative council rejected their bills. It would take too long to follow this contest through all its phases. The remedy in the hands of the assembly was to refuse supply altogether when

their views as to how that supply should be spent were contemptuously ignored. The Duke of Richmond died in 1819. Next year the Earl of Dalhousie came from Nova Scotia to assume the government, holding office until the year 1828. During all this period the financial question was ever to the front. The assembly, indeed, several times refused supplies. In their anxiety to carry their point, they even neglected, at times, their proper legislative functions, and works of public improvement were delayed.

The Union Project of 1822.—Upper Canada was a loser by this strife. She was entitled to a portion of the duties collected upon goods imported into the lower province, many of which were, of course, simply on their way to the upper. The existing agreement was allowed to expire and no new one could be arrived at. The English-speaking minority in Lower Canada were not slow to attribute the troubles of the province to the French-Canadian majority, representing them as hostile to British immigration and British trade. The ruling minority would have been glad to join hands with the English-speaking inhabitants of Upper Canada. To this end a bill for the union of the two provinces was (clandestinely, it is said) introduced into the British House of Commons in 1822. Though rejected in that year it was apparently the intention to re-introduce it in the following session, and there was in consequence great excitement in Lower Canada. Neilson characterized the bill as most unfair in several particulars. On the basis of population Upper Canada was to be given too large a number of members in the union assembly; the property qualification was too high; and the use of the French language in the proceedings of the assembly was to be abolished. Strange to say, the legislative council by a narrow majority disapproved of the union project. Upper Canada, too, opposed it, and the bill, therefore, was not again introduced.

Financial Legislation in England.—But, although the Union Bill was dropped, the British parliament came to the rescue of the executive in Lower Canada in a somewhat high-handed way. Several revenue Acts of the provincial assembly, which were about to expire, were continued for five years by an Imperial enactment — the "Canada Trade Act." The result was that the executive of Lower Canada had at their command all the revenues under these provincial Acts in addition to the other

regular revenues. True, they had no right to spend these moneys, as the assembly had passed no appropriation bill, but they did spend them nevertheless. By the Canada Trade Act the division of the revenues between Upper and Lower Canada was also fixed.

Crisis of 1827.—The financial battle went on, session after session, with little yielding on either side. In 1827 there came a crisis; the assembly refused all supply, and Dalhousie dissolved parliament with strong expressions of disapproval. The elections, conducted amid much excitement, proved disastrous to the executive. By an overwhelming majority Papineau was again chosen by the new House as its speaker, though his opponent was a French-Canadian friendly to reform. Dalhousie declined to recognize the assembly's choice. The assembly insisted and was at once prorogued. Public meetings were held and committees appointed in every district to procure signatures to petitions to England. The executive, in a vain attempt to stop the agitation, resorted to those oppressive measures—dismissals of militia officers and press prosecutions—referred to in a previous chapter. They also procured counter-petitions from the Eastern Townships, signed by about ten thousand persons, who complained (1) of the want of courts within their own limits, as a result of which they were obliged to go for legal redress to Quebec, Three Rivers, or Montreal, where French law was administered in the French language; (2) that they had not as many representatives in the assembly as their territorial extent should entitle them to send to that body; and (3) that the roads to the townships were bad through the fault of the assembly, who did not want to encourage British settlers. Their prayer was for union with Upper Canada.

Inquiry Before the British Parliament.—In 1828 a committee of the British House of Commons inquired into the grievances set out in the petitions on both sides. As to the complaint that French law was administered in the Eastern Townships, the committee reported that ever since 1774 there had been great uncertainty as to the real estate law there. An Imperial Act passed in 1826 ("The Canada Tenures Act") had finally determined that English law should govern lands held "in free and common socage." In the opinion of the committee, it was desirable that local courts should be established in the townships to enforce that law. Every facility, too, should be given to those

who desired to change the tenure of their lands from the seigneurial to the English freehold system, and to this end the rights of the Crown in seigneurial estates should be relinquished. At the same time, the committee strongly disapproved of all attempts to deprive Canadians of French extraction of their laws and privileges, as secured to them by British Acts of parliament.

Representation.—Upon the question of representation in the assembly, the committee reported in favor of the petitions from the Eastern Townships. The double basis, of population and territory, was, in their opinion, best suited to a young country where various districts, as yet sparsely settled, were being rapidly filled up. They pointed out that this system was in operation in Upper Canada, and worked well there, as it gave the new settlers a larger voice in public affairs.

Roads.—In reference to the complaint as to roads, the committee supported the provincial assembly. Large tracts of land in the Eastern Townships had been granted to officials in the province, who had bound themselves to provide for their cultivation, but had entirely neglected to do so. The legislative council had persistently rejected bills passed by the assembly to lay a tax on these lands to aid road-making in the townships. The assembly had, in fact, Neilson said, voted nearly £100,000 since the war of 1812 for road improvement, but "it all did no good." "The road commissioners," he added, "constructed useless roads, all since grown over, and roads to benefit their own large grants. The executive had the spending of the money, and no account was properly kept. Some of these roads back into the townships might have done some good had it not been for the reserves and the absentee owners preventing settlement." Neilson somewhat warmly denied that the assembly desired to prevent British subjects from settling in the province.

Charges against the Family Compact.—The other petitions were signed by about eighty-seven thousand persons, resident in the seigneuries—largely, of course, French-Canadian, though by no means entirely so. They complained of the arbitrary conduct of the governor, of his having applied public money without legal appropriation, and of his violent prorogations and dissolutions of the assembly. Above all, they complained that the Family Compact of Lower Canada had, through the legislative

council, persistently rejected useful measures passed by the assembly. A short statement of the bills rejected will serve to show the various measures of reform for which the assembly had contended, thus far unsuccessfully. These were (besides numerous supply bills) bills for education; for municipal government; for law reform—particularly as to juries; for increasing the representation; for securing the independence of the judges; for the trial of delinquent officials "so as to insure a just responsibility in high public offices within the province;" and, lastly, for appointing an agent for the province in London.

A Favorable Report.—The committee, in their report, did not attempt to deal with the merits of the various bills rejected by the legislative council. They struck at once to the root of the matter by earnestly recommending (1) that the second chamber should be reformed and made independent of the executive; (2) that all the revenues of the province (excepting the casual and territorial) should be placed under the control and direction of the assembly. That body, however, should first vote a permanent Civil List for the governor, the members of the executive council, and the judges, so that these officials should have fixed salaries assigned them, and not be dependent upon annual votes. The action of the executive in spending moneys without legal appropriation was severely criticised.

Attitude of the Assembly.—Upon this report nothing was done by the Imperial parliament, but the colonial office evidently tried to carry out its spirit. Dalhousie was transferred to India, and Sir James Kempt came from Nova Scotia to take his place. The press prosecutions were stopped. The dismissed militia officers and magistrates were restored to their positions. Papineau's election as speaker was recognized. To crown all, the assembly was informed that control of the revenues would be given them upon the terms mentioned in the report. This last measure of reform could only be effected by an Imperial Act, and, pending such legislation, the Lower Canadian assembly passed an address to the British parliament asking that various other reforms should be granted before they should be called on to vote a permanent Civil List even for the officials mentioned. In the meantime comparative harmony reigned, and many useful laws were passed (1829-1830). The representation in the assembly was increased

from fifty to eighty-four. Liberal provision was made for the public service, but with the intimation that it would not be repeated if the reforms asked for were not conceded. In grants for public improvements the assembly was almost lavish — for docks at Montreal, for improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, for lighthouses, for public buildings, for road improvement (£38,000), and for education (£8,000).

Revenues Control Act, 1831.—In 1830 Lord Aylmer became governor. A fresh election resulted in the return of many English-speaking members, some of whom were on the popular side. In the matter of reform in the legislative council, Kempt had reported against any organic change. He suggested merely that a few independent members should be added—one or two of them from the popular party. The assembly, in the spirit of the report of 1828, passed a bill to exclude judges from both councils, but the legislative council rejected it. This, apparently, led the assembly to take a firm stand against settling the Civil List until the reform in the council had been carried out. In 1831 the necessary Imperial Act was passed to transfer control of all provincial revenues (except the casual and territorial) to the provincial assembly. The colonial office, however, insisted that before assent could be given to any provincial bill to appropriate these revenues, a Civil List should be voted which would place about £26,000 per annum at the disposal of the executive. At the same time, the legislative council was changed; certainly for the better, though the executive still controlled a clear majority.

A Division in the Reform Ranks. — At this point, a difference of opinion showed itself clearly in the reform ranks. The extremists, headed by Papineau, and forming a majority in the assembly, insisted upon a full measure of reform at once. The moderate wing, headed by Neilson, and comprising a number of influential French-Canadians, favored the immediate acceptance of the Crown's offer. They urged that such a large measure of control over the revenues would enable the assembly to enforce reform from within the province, instead of taking it as a boon from the Imperial authorities. The extremists, however, declined to yield; and the contest with the executive and the colonial office became at once decidedly bitter.

A Five Years' Deadlock.—The change in the composition of the legislative council had not resulted satisfactorily, for that body still persisted in rejecting bills passed by the assembly by large majorities. An agitation, therefore, sprang up in favor of making the second chamber elective. This innovation the colonial office firmly refused to sanction, and the action of the legislative council in rejecting supply bills passed by the assembly without a Civil List provision was approved of. The result of it all was that for five years (1832-1837) no supplies were granted. Lord Stanley, who in 1833 replaced Lord Goderich as colonial secretary, was more unyielding than his predecessor. He refused peremptorily to accede to the demand for an elective council, and intimated that it might be found necessary to recast the constitution of Lower Canada if the deadlock continued.

The Ninety-two Resolutions. — In 1834 the assembly passed the famous ninety-two resolutions, the burden of which was that a systematic exclusion of French-Canadians from office was carried out in the government of the province, and that the only satisfactory remedy for grievances was the making of the second chamber elective. The governor, Lord Aylmer, reported that the country was quiet and that the clamor was confined to the politicians. A new election, however, kept up the excitement, and the new assembly was more with the extremists than the old. Even the constituencies of the Eastern Townships declared for Papineau, who now went so far as to advocate a boycott of British goods as a means of putting pressure upon the colonial office. At this same time an election was in progress in Upper Canada, and committees were appointed to conduct a correspondence between the reformers in the two provinces.

An Imperial Commission Sent Out. — In 1835 the Melbourne ministry again took office in England. It included the leading men who had been instrumental in passing the great British Reform Bill of 1832. The subject of colonial grievances was taken up, but it soon became apparent that the British parliament was not yet prepared to concede the principle that the officials of a colony should be responsible to the people of the colony. Nor was the idea of an elective second chamber then acceptable. Lord Aylmer, however, who had been altogether too overbearing in his dealings with the Lower Canadian assembly,

was recalled. Three commissioners—Lord Gosford (governor), Sir Charles Grey, and Sir James Gipps—were sent out to investigate and report upon the state of the province. Some reform in details was effected by the new governor; some officials were dismissed; and some appointments to office were made from among the more moderate reformers. But the assembly decided to await the commissioners' report, and declined to grant supplies for more than six months. Should the commissioners' report be unfavorable to the views of the extremists, a crisis seemed inevitable.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

UPPER CANADA (1815-1837).

Rise of a Reform Party.—In Upper Canada the Family Compact endeavored to stem the rising tide of opposition by a harsh use of all the terrors of the law and all the powers of patronage. For many years, indeed, their influence was such as to ensure the return to the assembly of a friendly majority. Thus, to a large extent, the control of legislation was added to their other powers. In 1822 they secured the passing of a law to disqualify the elder Bidwell, whose opposition in the assembly had angered them, from being elected to that body. They also tried—for a short time, indeed, successfully—to extend the disqualification to his more celebrated son, Marshall S. Bidwell, afterwards speaker of the assembly. At the general election of 1824 a majority of the members elected were of the popular, or Reform, party.

Efforts for Reform Thwarted.—In Upper Canada the revenues at the disposal of the executive were quite sufficient to pay official salaries and provide for the administration of justice. This first Reform assembly, therefore (1824-1828), could do very little beyond passing resolutions upon grievances. They adopted, amongst others, an address to the Crown upon the question of the Clergy Reserves and King's College charter. At the general election of 1828 the Reformers were again successful. Bidwell was chosen speaker, and a vote of want of confidence in the executive government of the province was passed; without any effect, how-

ever, upon the ruling faction. In this assembly William Lyon Mackenzie appears for the first time as a member of parliament, and his energetic probing of abuses soon brought him into prominence. One of the reforms persistently urged by him was in respect to the postal service. This department was not considered a colonial department at all, but was controlled directly from England. Postage charges were high, as Mackenzie had found in connection with the distribution of his newspaper, and the service was very poor. This assembly, like its predecessor, could effect no legislative reform. It was the exception rather than the rule that a bill passed by it passed also in the legislative council. In 1829 a committee on the state of the province adopted thirty-one resolutions, from which can be gathered what reforms were particularly desired. The Upper Canadian assembly, like that of the lower province, wanted an agent in England. Entire control of the revenue, religious equality, the independence of the judiciary, libel law amendment with a view to stopping the too frequent prosecutions, a check on pension abuses, these were the chief reforms mentioned in the resolutions.

The "Everlasting Salaries Bill."—The death of George IV. having dissolved the House, a new election (1830) resulted in the return of a clear majority favorable to the Family Compact. Among reform leaders Robert Baldwin was beaten in York, and Rolph and Matthews in Middlesex. Mackenzie, however, was re-elected. To this assembly came the offer—of which, as we have seen, Lower Canada failed to take advantage—to surrender to the assembly control over all revenues (except the casual and territorial) in return for a fixed Civil List. In Upper Canada the offer was accepted and a permanent Civil List of £6,500 was voted. The increased control thus gained by the assembly does not seem to have been fully appreciated at the time, for the Civil List Act was denounced as the "Everlasting Salaries Bill." An Act which met with a larger measure of popular approval was one providing for the establishment of district agricultural societies, to each of which a grant was promised of £100 for every £50 raised by local subscription.

Petitions to the Reform Ministry in England.—At this time a Reform ministry held power in England, and much was evidently expected of it by colonial reformers. Public

meetings were held throughout Upper Canada, and petitions were largely signed asking the Imperial authorities to provide a better system of colonial government. Lord Durham afterwards in his celebrated report gave the reform leaders of Upper Canada credit for their appreciation of the true point for attack, namely, the irresponsible executive council. In the petitions now carried to England by William Lyon Mackenzie, the various reforms desired in the province were set forth:—control of all provincial revenues; reform in the Crown Lands office; secularization of the Clergy Reserves; municipal government; law reform; and the exclusion of judges, ecclesiastics, and placemen from both branches of parliament. But, as a means to these ends, it was insisted that responsible government should be established.

Mackenzie Expelled from the Assembly.—During the last parliament the government newspapers had indulged in the most violent attacks upon the assembly. The lieutenant-governor, Sir John Colborne, a staunch supporter of the executive, had publicly acknowledged "with thanks" the receipt of an address from certain "gentlemen of Durham" in which the reform majority in that assembly were spoken of as "a band of factious demagogues." Now, in order to get rid of their most formidable opponent in the House, the privileges of the assembly were illegally invoked by the executive party. Mackenzie had published in his paper two articles criticising the action of the majority of the House. Compared with articles in the government press of that day, or even with articles which now appear daily in our newspapers, Mackenzie's attack was mild. It was, nevertheless, voted a libel upon the House and a breach of privilege, and Mackenzie was expelled from the assembly (December, 1831).

Four Times Re-elected.—York County promptly re-elected him and presented him with a gold medal. He again took his seat, but soon published another article in general condemnation of the neglect of the assembly to further measures of reform. Thereupon he was again expelled (January, 1832), and declared incapable of sitting in the House. He was a second time re-elected, but the session closed before he could take his seat. When parliament next met, Mackenzie was in England. The assembly, nevertheless, declared his seat vacant (November, 1832),

and a third time he was re-elected, this time by acclamation. Again a new election was ordered and again he was returned by acclamation. Upon presenting himself at the House he was not at first permitted to take the oaths, and was ejected as a stranger by the sergeant-at-arms; afterwards, although allowed to take the oaths, he was forcibly ejected in pursuance of a fresh resolution of expulsion.

The Family Compact Protests.—Mackenzie so far succeeded in his mission to England that the colonial secretary, Lord Goderich, sent instructions to the lieutenant-governor (1832) to concede certain of the reforms asked for, and to dismiss the Crown officers (Boulton and Hagerman) for insisting upon the expulsion proceedings after having received official notice that the colonial office did not approve of them. In hot anger the Family Compact threatened that "a new state of political existence" would have to be sought for if Downing Street persisted in interfering with their management of the affairs of the colony. Having the assembly with them, they displayed a zeal for self-government which would have done credit to the most advanced reformer. An Act respecting the Bank of Upper Canada—a thoroughly political machine in which the government and its officials held most of the stock—had been disallowed in England, and the language of the protest against this disallowance is admirable. It indicated the true relation which should exist between Great Britain and her colonies, as recognized at the present time. "We humbly submit," they said, "that no laws ought to be, or rightfully can be, dictated to or imposed upon the people of this province to which they do not freely give their consent through the constitutional medium of representatives chosen by and accountable to themselves." Had the Family Compact been equally anxious to see the will of the assembly carried out when it differed from their own, the struggle for political liberty would never have been necessary.

A Retrograde Movement.—By other methods, of a less open character, the influence which Mackenzie had gained with Lord Goderich was undermined. Lord Stanley, who in 1833 became colonial secretary, restored Hagerman to his position, and appointed Boulton to the chief-justiceship of Newfoundland. Lord Stanley's policy was also in other respects less favorable

than that of his predecessor to the cause of colonial reform, and, though the election of 1834 resulted in favor of the reformers of Upper Canada, they were unable to make any headway against executive misgovernment, which now apparently had the support of the colonial office. About this time the British radical, Hume, wrote a letter in which he spoke of the evil effect upon the colonies of the "baneful domination" of England. Mackenzie published the letter in his newspaper with apparent approval, and at once the cry of disloyalty was vehemently raised against him.

The Celebrated "Seventh Report."—At the general election of 1834 Mackenzie was of course re-elected, and the new assembly expunged the whole record of the proceedings against him from the journals of the House as subversive of the rights of electors. In the first session, also, the famous "Seventh Report of the Committee on Grievances" was adopted by the House, and an address founded on it was sent to England. It discussed at length the various grievances under which the province labored. It pointed out that it was useless to withhold supplies as a means of forcing reform. The large civil list granted in perpetuity some years before (1831), added to the casual and territorial revenues, supplied the executive with all the means necessary to pay the official staff, over which, therefore, the assembly could exercise no control. The composition of the legislative council was also complained of. The prayer of the address was that the legislative council should be made elective; that municipal government should be established throughout the province; that the post-office should be surrendered to colonial control; and that, above all, the executive council should be made responsible to the assembly.

A Favorable Reply.—The reply to this address came in the shape of instructions from the colonial secretary to the new lieutenant-governor, Sir Francis Bond Head. Upon the vital question of executive responsibility there was no concession, but in some other respects the instructions gave satisfaction to the reformers of the province. In the exercise of the patronage of the Crown, natives and residents were to have the preference. Appointments to offices worth over £200 per annum were alone to be reserved for Imperial approval. All useless offices were to be cut off, and the salaries attached to others reduced. While pen-

sions already granted should be held inviolate, the scale for the future should be settled upon a moderate basis. The appointment of a board to audit public accounts was authorized, though the governor was allowed a discretion as to laying these accounts before the assembly, if to do so would, in his opinion, be detrimental to the public service.

Sir F. B. Head Disappoints Reformers.—The reformers of Upper Canada expected much from Sir Francis Bond Head, who had been appointed by the Melbourne ministry in England, and was described as himself a "tried reformer." Toward the end of February, 1836, he appointed to the executive council three well-known members of the popular party, Baldwin, Dunn, and Rolph; and men began to think that a new era had dawned. The lieutenant-governor, however, insisted that he alone was responsible for the executive government of the province, and that he was, therefore, under no obligation to consult the members of his council. Early in March, without any previous intimation to them of his intention, he refused the Crown's assent to a bill which had passed both branches of parliament. Thereupon the executive council resigned; the majority, it is said, availing themselves of this means of getting rid of their reform colleagues. The Family Compact vigorously applauded the lieutenant-governor's firm stand, and he at once threw himself into their hands. A new executive council was appointed, exclusively from that party. The assembly promptly passed a vote of want of confidence in the new council and refused to grant supplies. Amid much excitement the lieutenant-governor dissolved the assembly.

The Election of 1836.—Into the election which ensued Sir F. B. Head threw himself with the utmost vigor, and, as was afterward said, "adroitly turned the issue." In reply to flattering addresses he delivered the most inflammatory harangues, denouncing Mackenzie and the other popular leaders as traitors to British connection. Hume's letter was paraded as the platform of the reformers. Actual grievances were quite ignored. We have Lord Durham's authority for saying that the election was unfairly conducted; that all the powers of the executive were brought into play to secure a favorable result for the ruling faction. The constituencies were told in the most unblushing fashion that their claim to receive benefits from the executive would depend upon

their electing government candidates; hence the name by which the assembly, thus elected, was known—"the bread-and-butter parliament." The result was that the reformers were utterly routed. Mackenzie, Bidwell, Lount, Perry, Matthews, and other leading men of the party were defeated, and in the new assembly the Family Compact held complete control. An Act was passed (1837) to prevent the death of the sovereign operating as a dissolution of parliament—a perfectly proper measure in principle, but one which, in the precarious state of the king's health at that time, was regarded as an attempt to lengthen the existence of this friendly assembly.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

NEW BRUNSWICK (1815-1837).

"Military Settlements."—In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia there was very little agitation for radical reform in the system of government until after 1830. There was, indeed, on the part of the assemblies in both provinces a continual effort to remedy individual abuses which grew out of the rule of the Family Compact, but as late as 1836, Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, complained that very little had been effected. The record of events in New Brunswick still continues meagre. The province had no resident lieutenant-governor from Carleton's departure in 1803 until the appointment of Major-General George Stracey Smyth in 1817, the government in the interval being administered by the successive presidents of the council. At the close of the war of 1812 a large number of disbanded soldiers were settled on the St. John River in what is now the county of Victoria. These "military settlements," as they were called, were formed not only to forward the development of the country but also to protect the frontier of the province and to facilitate communication with the two Canadas. The census of 1824 showed the total population of the province to be nearly 75,000.

The Assembly Asserts Itself. — During the time of Lieutenant-Governor Smyth (1817-1823) the assembly showed a strong disposition to assert its right to control financial matters. In a commendable effort to prevent the too rapid exhaustion of the

pine timber of the province, regulations were framed by the lieutenant-governor and his council, under which a duty of one shilling per ton was laid upon all pine cut upon Crown lands. The assembly protested that this was a most injurious tax upon one of the staple commodities of the Province. This was in 1819, and from that time until his sudden death in 1823 the lieutenant-governor was in perpetual difficulties with the assembly over money matters. For his efforts on behalf of education, however, he received the thanks of the assembly. Both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia what was known as the Madras system was introduced, and the results are reported to have been phenomenal.

Agriculture Improved.—In 1824 Sir Howard Douglas became lieutenant-governor. He was an energetic officer and did much to encourage agriculture, road-building and other public improvements. Before his time the fisheries, lumbering, and ship-building had so engrossed attention that agriculture was neglected, and the province depended upon foreign lands for its food supply. The lieutenant-governor's protest did much good in bringing about a change in this respect. Sir Howard Douglas was also a man of letters. It was largely owing to his efforts that the college at Fredericton was placed upon a more efficient basis.

A Destructive Fire.—In 1825 occurred the great fire upon the Miramichi. The lumber industry had drawn many immigrants to this region, and for one hundred miles along the river bank there was a thickly populated strip of territory backed by dense forests. It contained four thriving towns and many villages. All were wiped out by the conflagration. Nearly two hundred people perished, and the pecuniary loss was not less than a million dollars. The calamity caused great distress, and an appeal for aid drew forth a generous response from the other provinces and from the United States.

Boundary Trouble with Maine.—In 1827 there was much excitement in the province over the attempt of the governor of Maine to assert the jurisdiction of the United States over the territory then still in dispute between Maine and New Brunswick. Commissioners had been appointed under the Treaty of Ghent (1814) to settle the ownership of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay and the boundary line beyond the head waters of the St.

Croix. The dispute as regards the islands was settled in favor of the British contention, and all the islands, except Moose (now Eastport) and Frederick, became indisputably a part of New Brunswick. As to the line beyond the head of the St. Croix the commissioners had failed to agree. Now apparently the governor of Maine was about to occupy the ground in dispute to the utmost extent claimed by the United States government. A band of filibusters, under one Baker, entered the Madawaska region and hoisted the Stars and Stripes. Baker was promptly arrested, taken to Fredericton, and fined. The difficulty was settled for a time by an agreement between Great Britain and the United States to refer the boundary question to the King of the Netherlands.

The Assembly Desires to Control all Revenues.—In 1831 Sir Archibald Campbell became lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick. He upheld the Family Compact of that province in their most extreme pretensions, and during his time the opposition in the assembly was regularly organized. The chief cause of complaint was the management by the executive of the Crown lands and the timber upon them. From these, large "casual and territorial" revenues were derived, out of which extravagant salaries were paid to government officials, leaving, however, a balance for general purposes. The assembly desired to reduce official salaries and to improve the management of the Crown Lands department. In both of these ways the proceeds available for purposes of general improvement would, in their opinion, be largely increased. With the control of the revenues, the vexed question of "quit-rents," which here, as in the other Maritime Provinces, had long caused much agitation, would also find speedy solution.

HON. L. A. WILMOT.

Control Conceded.—For some years the officials were able by secret influence in England to thwart the efforts of the assembly. In 1834, however, Lemuel A. Wilmot became a member of that body, and soon made his influence felt upon the popular side. In 1836 he and

William Crane were appointed delegates to the colonial office to press the views of the assembly. Lord Glenelg settled with them a civil list, in return for which the casual and territorial revenues of the province were to be surrendered to the assembly's control. This civil list, though extremely liberal, was voted by the assembly; but the executive council, dissatisfied with the scale of salaries, induced the lieutenant-governor to withhold the Crown's assent to it until one of their number could visit the colonial office. To counteract such influence, the assembly reappointed Crane and Wilmot as delegates to England. They succeeded so well on their second mission that Sir Archibald Campbell was recalled and Sir John Harvey appointed in his place, with instructions to assent to the Civil List Bill.

"Responsible Government" not yet Demanded.—It is remarkable that while the New Brunswick assembly was thus making rapid strides toward securing control over the administration of public affairs, the idea of a "responsible" executive council was not favorably received. In 1837 a resolution was adopted by the assembly repudiating the claim "set up by another colony, that the executive council should at all times be subject to removal at the instance of the popular branch." But, almost in the same breath, they declared that "the executive council should be composed of persons possessing the confidence of the country at large." Evidently they were troubled by the same theoretical difficulty which troubled many honest men, as well as the Imperial authorities: the difficulty, namely, of a divided responsibility—to the colonial office on the one hand, and to the provincial assembly on the other. When convinced that "responsible government" could be practically carried out in a colony, the reformers of New Brunswick were quick to claim it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

NOVA SCOTIA (1815-1837)

The Earl of Dalhousie.—In Nova Scotia Sir J. C. Sherbrooke was lieutenant-governor when the war of 1812 closed. Upon his appointment to the governorship in 1816, and his

consequent removal to Quebec, the Earl of Dalhousie succeeded him in Nova Scotia. Four years later he, too, was in turn promoted, and we have already seen what a stormy eight years he spent in Lower Canada. His four years in Nova Scotia (1816-1820) were much less troubled, though even here he evinced toward the close of his term great impatience with the assembly because of its refusal to adopt his views on the question of road grants and a provincial survey. Notwithstanding this little friction, Dalhousie was regarded in Nova Scotia as a most able and useful officer. The depression in the trade of the Maritime Provinces which set in after the close of the war of 1812 led to a movement for the improvement of agriculture. Here, as in New Brunswick, it had been somewhat neglected for lumbering and the coast fisheries. The letters of the Hon. John Young, written under the *nom de plume* of "Agricola," are frequently mentioned as having brought about the formation of an agricultural society, of which Dalhousie was patron, and to which the assembly made a liberal grant.

Higher Education.—In 1805, after King's College, Windsor, had received its charter as a sectarian college, the Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch proposed that the college should be open to all, but failed to secure the adoption of his plan. He therefore founded Pictou Academy as a private enterprise. In 1816 an Act of Incorporation was procured from the assembly, but in the legislative council a clause was inserted that the trustees should be either Anglican or Presbyterian. The effect of this was to make "Pictou Academy" a Presbyterian institution. In 1820 a provincial college was established at Halifax, and named, after the lieutenant-governor, Dalhousie College. An effort was made to unite Dalhousie College with King's College, but the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is said, disapproved of the idea, and the effort was unsuccessful.

Sir James Kempt.—In 1820, when Sir James Kempt became lieutenant-governor, an order-in-council was passed in England re-annexing Cape Breton to Nova Scotia. This caused a great outcry upon the island, particularly from those officials for whom satisfactory positions could not be found upon the amalgamated staff. Legal redress was sought before the Privy Council in England, but there the order-in-council was declared valid, and

the agitation at length subsided. During Kempt's time the population of Nova Scotia increased so rapidly that Boards of Location were established to facilitate settlement, and there was a marked effort to improve the road communication throughout the province. Kempt, whose administration is described as "most efficient," was in 1828 promoted in his turn to the governorship, and of his rule in Lower Canada mention has already been made. He was succeeded in Nova Scotia by Sir Peregrine Maitland from Upper Canada.

The Question of Quit-rents.—For many years the subject of quit-rents caused much agitation in the province. There had been no regular attempt by the Crown officers to collect them, and they had ceased to be considered a charge upon the lands. In 1811 Receiver-General Uniacke took steps to enforce payment of arrears, which in many cases amounted to as much as the land was worth. The assembly at once vigorously protested. In reply it was informed that the claim to quit-rents would be abandoned if a suitable endowment were voted to the Anglican Church. This the assembly declined to do. During the war of 1812 and for some years afterwards no active step was taken to enforce collection, though the claim was not relinquished. In 1827, however, it was announced that all arrears were abandoned, but that, for the future, payment would be enforced and the rents applied to local improvement. The assembly insisted that the claim should be abandoned in its entirety. After several years of warm dispute the Crown in 1834 agreed to accept £2,000 per annum (to be applied on the lieutenant-governor's salary) as the price to be paid for the relinquishment of the claim. It was during the disputes over this question that the opposition to the Family Compact became well organized.

The Barry Case.—In 1829 a somewhat exciting contest took place between the assembly and Barry, one of its members, on a question of privilege. Barry in debate used strong language toward a brother member, and was called upon by the House to apologize. Declining to do so, he was suspended, and afterwards was committed to gaol for attacking in the newspapers the action of the assembly. There was much popular feeling over the matter, particularly among Barry's constituents. Howe in his newspaper, the *Nova Scotian*, warmly defended the action of the assembly (of

which he was not then a member) so far as Barry was concerned. With equal warmth he disapproved of its action in reprimanding at the bar of the House two editors who had in their papers commented on the proceedings. Howe claimed for the press the fullest liberty to discuss all public questions.

The Brandy Dispute. — In the following year a dispute arose between the council (then both legislative and executive) and the assembly. It was discovered that owing to a clerical error in the provincial Customs Act of 1826, a lower duty was being collected upon brandy than had actually been voted. The assembly passed the necessary bill to correct the error, but the council declined to concur unless the duty upon a number of other articles was at the same time revised, manifestly in the interest of Halifax merchants. The assembly insisted upon its right to sole control over money bills. The council remained obdurate. The result was free trade in brandy and a loss to the province of £25,000 in revenue alone. The appropriation bill, moreover, for the year was not passed, and public improvement was thus stopped.

A Reform Assembly.—Just at this time a general election (caused by the death of George IV.) came on. The action of the council was discussed throughout the province, and the people were awakened to the necessity for a radical reform in the system of government. An assembly was elected distinctly hostile to the executive, and although Howe complained of a want of vigor on the part of the popular leaders (S. G. W. Archibald, Beamish Murdoch, and others) the line of reform was clearly laid down. On the brandy question the council wisely gave way, and, in 1831, passed the assembly's bill without amendment. Sir Peregrine Maitland is spoken of by Nova Scotian historians as utterly wanting in decision of character and administrative capacity, a view which is borne out by his record in Upper Canada, where during his time the Family Compact ruled with a high hand. He left for England in 1832, and for nearly two years the government of Nova Scotia was administered by the senior member of the council, Hon. T. N. Jeffrey.

The Question of Financial Control. — An attempt in 1833 to improve the banking system by establishing a gold basis for all bank-notes was frustrated by the council in the interests of its banking members. In this same session, with a view to

putting an end to the dispute about quit-rents and to controlling the coal mines of the province, the assembly passed resolutions asking that entire control of the provincial revenues should be given up to them. At this time, it must be remembered, the Imperial government was in favor of surrendering the control of colonial revenues to the colonial assemblies if the latter would pass Acts to secure official salaries on a scale acceptable to the colonial office. In Upper Canada the offer had been promptly accepted by an assembly favorable to the official party and with little trouble on the question of scale. In Lower Canada, what moderate reformers had thought a fair offer was rejected by the extremists. New Brunswick, as we have seen, settled her civil list in 1837, after a short contest. In Nova Scotia the struggle was long and bitter. The officials of the province had sufficient influence with the colonial office to have the civil list arranged upon so high a scale that the assembly for many years declined to pass it.

Joseph Howe Attacks the Council.—In 1834 Sir Colin Campbell became lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. In the following year the prosecution of Joseph Howe brought him so prominently before the public as an ardent advocate of reform, that at the general election of 1836 he was returned as one of the members for Halifax County. In the assembly he became in a very short time the leader of the popular party. At this time the council, even while acting in its legislative capacity, sat with closed doors. The assembly had from time to time passed resolutions against this secrecy, and in favor also of dividing the council into executive and legislative branches. A resolution of this character was passed early in the session of 1837 and communicated to the council. Their reply was so unyielding that Howe determined at once to attack them. To this end he proposed twelve resolutions in which the composition of the council was graphically described and condemned. The council thereupon threatened to stop public business if the resolutions were not rescinded, and, as the appropriation bill was not yet passed, the position was serious. Rather than cause this public inconvenience, Howe moved that the obnoxious resolutions be rescinded, and they were rescinded accordingly.

Reform in the Council Demanded.—Later in the session,

however, after pecuniary provision had been made for carrying on the public business for another year, an address to the Crown was passed by the assembly reiterating the charges made against the council. The prayer of the address is notable as disclosing the uncertainty which then existed in the minds of colonial reformers —except perhaps in Upper Canada—as to the exact method to be adopted to ensure responsible government. "As a remedy for these grievances we implore your Majesty to grant us an elective council; or to separate the executive from the legislative council, providing for a just representation of all the great interests of the province in both; and, by the introduction into the former of some members of the popular branch, and otherwise securing responsibility to the Commons, confer upon the people of this province what they value above all other possessions, the blessings of the British constitution." However, when once convinced that the British system of government through a "responsible" executive council, or cabinet, was as feasible in a colony as in the motherland, colonial reformers were quick to demand it.

A Satisfactory Reply.—The reply of Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, to the above address was received with much satisfaction. Although he was not prepared to concede the principle of executive responsibility to the assembly, he instructed Sir Colin Campbell to divide the council, and to take care in forming the new councils to avoid all appearance of favor to sectional, sectarian, or special commercial interests. The judges were to be entirely excluded from the executive council, and, as far as possible, from the legislative council. The claim of the assembly to control the revenue was fully conceded, subject only to the settlement of a proper civil list. In Nova Scotia, therefore, as in New Brunswick, the reformers toward the close of 1837 were inclined to be well satisfied with their prospects.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE NORTH-WEST AND NEW CALEDONIA.

The Red River Settlement.—Meanwhile, in the great North-West, Lord Selkirk's colony of Assiniboia on the Red

River was still the only settlement. This colony—popularly known as the Selkirk or Red River settlement—had a hard struggle to establish a foothold. It was long the battle-ground of the rival fur-trading companies, and more than once during its earlier years had been entirely abandoned by the harassed settlers.

First Arrivals.—The first settlers sent out by Lord Selkirk arrived at Red River in the year 1812, and Captain Miles McDonell, the colony governor, found himself at the head of "eleven or twelve families to begin with." These were largely Irish, with a few Scotch from Glasgow. In 1813 they were joined by a company of Highlanders, victims of the "Highland clearances" already mentioned. Fort Douglas, about a mile north of the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red rivers, was the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, while the Nor'-Westers had a post (Fort Gibraltar) at the junction of the two streams, where Winnipeg now stands. The colonists were almost entirely without the implements necessary for agriculture, but they were freely supplied with arms and ammunition. This fact has been put forward as showing that the Hudson's Bay Company — of which Selkirk was now the leading member — had determined to eject their rivals, and to this end, rather than in the interest of settlement, had sent the colonists to Red River.

The Rival Companies.—Up to this time the rivalry of the two companies, though keen, had not been unfriendly. Now, however, the colony governor, claiming the soil of the Red River country as Lord Selkirk's absolute property under his grant from the Hudson's Bay Company, issued a proclamation (1814) forbidding, in the interests of the settlers, all export of provisions. Several seizures of Nor'-Wester stores took place, and in the fall formal notice to quit the territory was given to the officers of that company. They retaliated by arresting Captain Miles McDonell and his sheriff and sending them to Montreal for trial on a charge of stealing stores. During the absence of the governor, the resident officer of the North-West Company at Fort Gibraltar induced the entire colony to migrate to Upper Canada. The settlers had declined to take part in the quarrel between the two companies and were glad to find quieter homes in the older province. Their descendants are still to be found around Lake Simcoe and in some of the western counties of Ontario.

Seven Oaks.—In 1815 the Hudson's Bay Company appointed Robert Semple governor-in-chief of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, and gave him power to hold courts and to appoint sheriffs to enforce the company's rule in those regions. He arrived at Red River in the autumn with a new colony governor and a fresh supply of Scotch settlers from Kildonan, Sutherlandshire—seventy-two in all. Fort Gibraltar and another Nor'-Wester post at Pembina were seized, and Duncan Cameron, the resident officer above referred to, was sent a prisoner to England. In order to keep open the communication between Montreal and their more westerly posts, the officers of the North-West Company took decisive action. They gathered together a considerable force, Canadian employees of the company and half-breeds, and in June, 1816, a lamentable collision took place at Seven Oaks, not far from Fort Douglas, in which Governor Semple and about twenty others lost their lives. The settlers, who had taken no part in this affray, surrendered Fort Douglas to the victorious Nor'-Westers, and, abandoning the settlement, started for Hudson Bay, intending to return to Scotland.

Lord Selkirk Retaliates.—At this time Lord Selkirk himself was on his way from Montreal to the colony. He had with him over one hundred soldiers, officers and men, of the disbanded de Meurons regiment, who were to become settlers. His rivals of the North-West Company said that settlement was a secondary consideration ; that Lord Selkirk's real purpose was to employ these soldiers in ejecting them, the Nor'-Westers, from the territory. On his way up Lord Selkirk received news of Seven Oaks, and of the capture of Fort Douglas. He thereupon seized the chief depot of the Nor'-Westers at Fort William, arrested the leading partners, and sent them prisoners to Canada. Proceeding onward to Red River, Selkirk recaptured Fort Douglas, and the Nor'-Westers in turn were driven from their posts. The settlers, on their way to Hudson Bay, heard the news and returned again to their homes.

The Two Companies Unite.—Meanwhile the Imperial authorities had interposed to stop the strife, and, under instructions from Lord Bathurst, Sir J. C. Sherbrooke sent commissioners to the North-West to enforce mutual restitution. There was little further friction, and after Selkirk's death in 1820 the rival com-

panies reached an agreement for union. The North-West Company transferred all its property to the older company, and its partners became members of the latter. An Act was passed by the British parliament in 1821 by which all the rights and privileges of the two old companies were conferred upon the new company, which continued to be known as the Hudson's Bay Company. All territory east and west of the Rocky Mountains not included in the old charter was now conferred upon the new company, together with an exclusive right to trade therein for twenty-one years. In 1838 this exclusive trade license was continued for a further period of twenty-one years, *i.e.*, to 1859.

International Boundaries.—Toward the Pacific, New Caledonia was claimed by three great powers—Great Britain, the United States and Russia. By the London Convention of 1818, the boundary line between the United States and British territory was fixed along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. Beyond that range the line was not then settled, but it was agreed that the Pacific coast region should be "free and open" to the subjects of both powers for a period of ten years, a term which was afterwards extended indefinitely. All this was to be without prejudice to the claims of either party to any part of the region. For years the negotiations went on, finally resulting in the Oregon Treaty of 1846, by which the line along the forty-ninth parallel was continued to the Pacific.

In 1825 Great Britain and Russia settled the line of demarcation between their respective territories on the Pacific coast of North America. Shortly described, the line was to commence at the southern point of Prince of Wales Island; thence along Portland Channel to a point on the mainland (the fifty-sixth parallel of north latitude); thence along the summits of the mountain range, which here runs close to the coast, to the intersection of the fifty-sixth parallel with the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude; thence along this latter to the Arctic Ocean. Where the mountain range should be found to be more than ten miles from the sea, the line was to follow the curves of the coast. In 1867 the United States purchased Alaska, as the Russian territory was named, from the Russian government. Out of her claims under this purchase have arisen the Behring Sea dispute

and the Alaska boundary question. The latter has arisen from the very general language used in the treaty with Russia in 1825, just mentioned. A joint boundary commission is now (1896) at work making exact surveys of the region with a view to the final settlement of our north-western boundary line. The Behring Sea dispute must be discussed in a later chapter.

The Pacific Coast Fur Trade.—After the close of the war of 1812 the North-West Company held the exclusive control of the fur trade beyond the mountains. After the union of the two companies in 1821, Fort George (the old Astoria) was abandoned for a better site higher up the Columbia River, where a strong palisaded and bastioned post was established, and named Fort Vancouver. It remained the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company in New Caledonia until the Treaty of Oregon (1846) gave the region of the lower Columbia to the United States. Fort Victoria (formerly Fort Camosun), on Vancouver Island, was then made the company's headquarters. During all these years the fur trade was vigorously carried on, not only through the interior posts, but also all along the coasts to Alaskan territory. For many years, indeed, the Hudson's Bay Company held a lease of the strip of land at the south of Alaska. They carried on a profitable trade at all times with the rival Russian-American Fur Company, to whom they sold provisions in return for furs.

BASTION, FORT VANCOUVER.

The Red River Settlement Acquires Stability.—At the other extreme of the company's domain, Selkirk's Red River settlement slowly acquired stability. While in the colony in 1816, Lord Selkirk concluded a bargain with the Indian tribes of the Red River region, by which, in return for an annual gift of one hundred pounds of "good marketable tobacco" to each of the two tribes (Crees and Salteaux), they transferred to him the territory included in the colony. A free grant of one hundred acres was made to each of the settlers, and Lord Selkirk promised to send them a Presbyterian minister. The promise was not

fulfilled, and for many years the Scotch settlers were without any spiritual guide other than the Anglican chaplains of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Roman Catholic bishop, Provencher, who arrived in 1819. The first effort toward education in Manitoba was made in 1820, in which year the Rev. Mr. West started a school in the settlement. The long rivalry between the two companies had brought them both to the verge of bankruptcy. After their union there was no longer need for the double staff, and many were thus thrown out of employment The greater part of these—many of them half-breeds—settled along the Red River, and the colony more than doubled its population. With Bishop Provencher, the first Roman Catholic bishop of the North-West, came a number of French-Canadians from Lower Canada. The de Meurons remained for a time in the colony, where they were joined by other Swiss immigrants; but after the great flood of 1826 they all migrated to the banks of the Mississippi.

The Great West.—The governor of the Hudson's Bay Company was now the energetic George Simpson—afterwards Sir George Simpson — under whom the operations of the company were pushed far into the north-west, and stockaded posts were built even on the banks of the Yukon. Sir John Franklin and other explorers traversed the northern wilds and gave to the world a larger geographical knowledge of them. But the company made no effort toward settlement, even on the fertile plains of the west. On the contrary, in the interest of their monopoly they spread the report that the whole country was, by reason of the cold, unfit for settlement. For many years to come, therefore, the colony of Assiniboia alone need claim attention. It was now to a great extent cut off from Canada, the fur being carried to Europe chiefly by way of Hudson Bay. Montreal was shorn of its former glory, and Fort William, the old storehouse and rendezvous of the Nor'-Wester partners, became a mere trading post.

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON.

Varying Fortunes—The Company's Monopoly.—The settlers, during the fourteen years which followed the union of the rival companies, experienced many vicissitudes of fortune. During three successive seasons (1818-1820) their crops were destroyed by grasshoppers, which came upon them in swarms from the south. In 1821 seed wheat was obtained from the United States by Selkirk's executors, at great expense, and for some years apparently the colony prospered fairly well. In 1826, however, a great flood upon the Red River washed away the settlers' houses, destroyed their crops, and left them to begin the battle anew. But the great drawback to progress was the company's monopoly, not merely of the fur trade, but of all commerce. Selkirk's executors, for a time, had supplied the settlement with goods, but shortly after the union of the two companies this enterprise was given up, and the settlers were left to procure their supplies from the company's post at Fort Garry —the name by which the rebuilt Fort Gibraltar was thenceforth known. The company charged what they thought proper for supplies sold, and fixed to suit themselves the scale of prices for what they had to buy. They guarded their monopoly of the fur trade with extreme jealousy. None but the company's men were allowed to buy skins from the Indians. The Scotch settlers, who lived chiefly by farming, were not much affected by this restriction upon their freedom; but the half-breeds, both English and French, chafed under it, and finally, in 1835, broke out in open defiance of the company's authority.

The Council of Assiniboia.—It was at this time that the company bought out the interest of the Selkirk heirs in the Red River settlement. With a view to securing a more regular and firm administration of affairs, they, in 1835, established in the colony the Council of Assiniboia with legislative and judicial powers. This council was composed of the governor of Rupert's Land, the colony governor, and other officials of the company; but, though its members were "the wealthiest men in the colony and generally well-informed," it was in no proper sense representative. At its first meeting it passed laws for the establishment of a volunteer corps; for the division of the colony into four districts with a magistrate for each; for regular sittings of a court to be known as the Court of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia;

for trial by jury in all criminal cases and in all civil cases involving more than £10; and, lastly, for the imposition of a duty of 7½ per cent. upon all exports and imports. The people of the colony, about five thousand souls, looked upon this council as but the mouthpiece of the company, and upon the volunteer corps as a sort of standing army to enforce the company's rule. The import duty was also viewed with much disfavor, as the settlers would fain have bought goods at St. Paul, across the border, rather than pay the extortionate prices charged by the company. Trial by jury and the more orderly administration of justice did much, however, to reconcile the settlers to the new system.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OUTBREAKS IN CANADA.

The British Parliament Refuses "Responsible Government."—In Lower Canada the report of the three commissioners appeared early in 1837. It was considered by all classes of reformers as extremely retrogressive. Lord Gosford, indeed, expressed a strong opinion in favor of reform in the composition of the two councils, but the report as a whole threw the blame for the deadlock upon the assembly. In March, 1837, Lord John Russell introduced into the British House of Commons a series of resolutions in which the course the British government intended to pursue was indicated. No supplies having been granted since 1832, the arrears of official salaries now amounted to £142,000. It was resolved that if the Lower Canadian assembly should persist in refusing to pass an Act settling the Civil List as desired, the Imperial parliament should take upon itself to appropriate the provincial revenues. While it was intimated that it might be proper to alter the composition of the two councils so as to bring them more into harmony with public opinion, the principle of an elective legislative council was negatived. Upon the question of executive responsibility the resolutions were even more emphatic: "While it is expedient to improve the composition of the executive council of Lower Canada, it is unadvisable to subject it to the responsibility demanded by the House of Assembly."

Dissatisfaction in Both Provinces.—In both the Canadas these resolutions were regarded as a death-blow to the hopes of reformers. In Upper Canada the assembly was with the Family Compact, and now the Reform ministry of England had declined to afford any assistance. In Lower Canada, the Civil List was to be settled by an Imperial Act and the assembly treated as an erring child. Through the summer of 1837 public meetings were held in both the provinces, at which the exasperated feelings of the popular party found expression in strong resolutions. The newspapers were equally forcible in giving vent to their views. But when Mackenzie and Papineau, with a few of the more ardent of their friends, began to threaten a resort to arms to obtain redress, it soon became apparent that such a step would find but little support.

Lower Canada—Revolt Threatened.—In Lower Canada the assembly met in August, 1837, and promptly declined to deal, under compulsion, with the question of supplies. It was forthwith prorogued. The agitation went on with increased warmth, but, outside of a small district in the immediate neighborhood of Montreal, there was no thought of an armed rising. The French-Canadians were prepared to elect extremists to the assembly, but rebellion was no part of their plan. When threats of revolt were made, *Le Canadien*, the most influential of the newspapers upon the popular side, emphatically protested. The Roman Catholic bishop issued a *mandement* setting forth the duty of obedience to the authorities. Papineau himself for a time advocated nothing more pronounced than a refusal to purchase British goods. He seems finally to have been induced to take stronger ground by Dr. Wolfred Nelson, who spoke of a trade war as a "peddling policy."

Colborne's Vigorous Measures.—Sir John Colborne, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, made every preparation to put down any outbreak. He organized volunteer corps in Montreal and Quebec, and ordered up regulars from New Brunswick. The militia, under such officers as Hertel de Rouville and others of the French-Canadian seigneurs, were drilled and held in readiness. Early in November there was a street riot in Montreal between members of the Doric Club and the Sons of Liberty, and shortly afterwards warrants were issued for the arrest of a number of the extremists upon a charge of

high treason. The charge was based upon the utterances of Papineau, Dr. O'Collaghan, Dr. Nelson and others of the popular leaders, who at this time were holding a series of meetings through the districts lying immediately around Montreal. The attempt to execute these warrants met with armed resistance at St. Denis and St. Charles, on the banks of the Richelieu. These villages lie about midway between Sorel and Chambly, from each of which points detachments were sent to enforce the execution of the warrants for the capture of the popular leaders.

St. Denis.—Colonel Gore, marching up from Sorel with five companies of regulars, a few horsemen, and one field-piece, was confronted (23rd November) at St. Denis by a motley collection of insurgents ensconced in a distillery and a stone building adjoining. Dr. Nelson was at their head, Papineau having retired to St. Charles. They numbered about eight hundred, but of these only about one hundred had fire-arms (with a poor supply of ammunition), the rest being armed with pitchforks, cudgels, and other like weapons. The fighting lasted several hours. The insurgents were reinforced early in the afternoon by about eighty additional armed men, and Gore was finally compelled to retire with heavy loss.

St. Charles.—Two days later Colonel Wetherell, marching down from Chambly at the head of a column of about three hundred, with a few mounted volunteers and two cannons, attacked the rebel position at St. Charles, the chief point of concentration. Here rude entrenchments had been thrown up, supported by a stone mansion house. The whole, however, was commanded by a neighboring hill, upon which Wetherell planted his cannon and proceeded to batter down the rebel defences. The conflict was short. The insurgents lost heavily, the leader (Brown) fled, and the position was soon carried by assault. A week later Colonel Gore returned to St. Denis only to find that it had been abandoned. A band of American "sympathizers" from Vermont was dispersed near Lake Champlain, and the Richelieu district was again at peace. Dr. Nelson was taken prisoner; Papineau and the other insurgent leaders sought safety across the border.

St. Eustache.—To the north of Montreal, in the Two Mountains district, Papineau's supporters had for some time been demonstrative, and now, under Dr. Chenier and a Swiss settler,

Armury Girod, they broke into open insurrection. Their numbers have been variously estimated at from four hundred to fifteen hundred. They established themselves in the villages of St. Eustache and St. Benoit, and all the efforts of their clergy and of the local members of the assembly to induce them to disperse failed of effect. Sir John Colborne marched against them with a force of about two thousand men and an imposing array of artillery. For two hours (December 13th) the insurgents at St. Eustache held the village church, convent, and surrounding dwellings against a vigorous artillery fire, but at length, Dr. Chenier being killed, the place was carried by assault. St. Benoit was also abandoned by the insurgents, and the rebellion in Lower Canada was at an end. With unnecessary severity St. Denis, St. Eustache and St. Benoit were given to the flames.

Upper Canada—A Plan to Take Toronto.—In Upper Canada the reformers of Toronto had issued (July 31st) a declaration setting forth the grievances of the province. Arrangements were at the same time made for a series of public meetings to be held throughout the province during the early fall. At these strong resolutions were adopted, and delegates were elected to attend a convention to be held at a later date at Toronto to take into consideration the state of the province. Mackenzie was the leading figure in the agitation, the more moderate of the reform leaders, such as Bidwell and Baldwin, holding aloof in distrust apparently of Mackenzie's rashness. Sir F. B. Head and the Family Compact refused to believe that any outbreak would occur, although Mackenzie's utterances in his new paper, the *Constitution*, were certainly becoming treasonable. Afterwards, indeed, the lieutenant-governor professed that he had known the rebel plans from the outset, and had purposely allowed them to ripen in order the more effectually to crush out disaffection. If so, he rather overdid his part. The regular troops were sent to Lower Canada, and Toronto might easily have been taken had not the insurgents' programme been so badly managed. After some hesitation it was decided (November 18th) that the malcontents to the north and west of Toronto—the district most under Mackenzie's influence—should be collected at Montgomery's tavern, a few miles north of Toronto. From this point a descent should be made upon the town on the 7th of December.

Gathering at Montgomery's.—While Mackenzie was in the north making arrangements to carry out this plan, word reached him that owing to alarming rumors a change of date had been decided upon by the Toronto committee, and that the attack should be made on the 4th of December. But when that day came there were less than one hundred men at Montgomery's. Colonel Van Egmond, who had seen service under Napoleon, was to lead the rebel forces, and he had not yet arrived. It was decided, therefore, to defer the attack. Two men were captured on Yonge Street, but one of them (Powell) managed to escape, after shooting his guard, and at once gave the alarm in Toronto. That same night Colonel Moodie was shot in front of Montgomery's while trying to force his way to the town through the rebel lines.

Two Days of Anxiety.—Roused from their beds at midnight, the loyal citizens of the capital quickly organized a volunteer force under Colonel FitzGibbon, the hero of Beaver Dams. The leading officials, including Chief Justice Robinson and his brother judges, took their places in the ranks. The force, however, was not large, and, in order to gain time to gather in the militia, Sir F. B. Head, on the morning of the 5th, sent Rolph and Baldwin with a flag of truce to the rebel headquarters to ascertain their demands. "Independence and a convention to arrange details" was the answer. It is said that Rolph himself was deeply involved in the rebellious movement; that he accepted the mission to avoid suspicion, and that he privately urged Mackenzie to advance on the town at once. An advance was at all events made that night, but, meeting a scouting party under Sheriff Jarvis, the insurgents became panic-stricken and rapidly withdrew. Next day was one of much anxiety both in the town and in the rebel camp, but beyond a raid on a mail-coach nothing was done.

The Rebellion Crushed.—On the 7th, the day originally set for the attack, Van Egmond arrived. A council of war was held, and the rebel leaders decided to hold their position and await further reinforcements. Meanwhile the Gore militia, under Colonel MacNab, had arrived in Toronto—almost as motley a crowd as the rustic insurgents, but loyal to the core. Sir F. B. Head, having now, as he himself tells us, "an overwhelming force," marched against the rebel position. All was over in a few minutes. The artillery fire was too much for the undisciplined

malcontents and they rapidly dispersed. It appears to be doubtful whether there was any loss of life, though circumstantial accounts have been given of one man's death. The few prisoners who were taken were dismissed by the lieutenant-governor with a caution against meddling with treason. Mackenzie himself escaped with some difficulty, and, by way of the head of Lake Ontario, reached Buffalo. In the following week an insurgent force, under Dr. Duncombe, which had collected at the village of Scotland, near Brantford, dispersed at the approach of Colonel MacNab, and the rebellion in Upper Canada was at an end, though for a time Mackenzie threatened invasion on the Niagara frontier.

Mackenzie Establishes Himself on Navy Island.—Mackenzie had been received in Buffalo with much popular demonstration. On the 13th of December, with a few of the Canadian refugees, he took his station upon the British soil of Navy Island in the Niagara River. Here a "Provisional Government" for Upper Canada was established. A proclamation having been issued for the enforcement of the United States neutrality laws, the more reputable of the American "sympathizers" held aloof, and only the lawless element joined the Canadian insurgents on Navy Island. Van Rensselaer, who undertook to lead the "Patriot" army, was of dissolute habits, and nothing was done beyond spasmodic drilling. Colonel MacNab was in command of the Canadian militia on the opposite shore.

The "Caroline" Affair.—On the 29th of December an event occurred which for some time threatened to embroil Great Britain in war with the United States—the capture and destruction of the steamer *Caroline*. She had been plying between the American shore and Navy Island, carrying supplies and men to the rebel camp, and MacNab determined to put a stop to this work. A volunteer force, under Captain Drew, crossed in small boats to Navy Island, and, not finding the steamer there, proceeded to the American side, where they found her moored to the wharf. They boarded her, drove her crew ashore, towed her into midstream, set fire to her, and sent her flaming over Niagara Falls. This invasion of American territory was bitterly complained of by the United States, and Great Britain afterwards apologized, though at the time MacNab was knighted for his exploit. Navy Island was abandoned by the rebels on the 13th of January, 1838.

Subsequent Frontier Movements.—Before turning again to the internal affairs of the Canadian provinces, it will be well to mention shortly certain frontier raids by lawless American "sympathizers" which followed the Canadian outbreaks. During January and February, 1838, there were confused proceedings along the Detroit River, and some sharp skirmishes took place in which the would-be invaders were roughly handled. Early in March an unsuccessful raid was made from Sandusky upon Pelee Island, the raiders being driven off with severe loss. These incursions were part of the plan of campaign agreed upon at Navy Island. The Canadian refugees, however, soon saw the hopelessness of such proceedings, and very few, if any, of them were implicated in the subsequent movements. In May, 1838, the *Caroline* exploit was imitated at Wells' Island, near Kingston, the British steamer *Sir Robert Peel* being burned by a lawless band from the American shore. In June another band of marauders was dispersed at Short Hills on the Niagara frontier. During the summer an attempt was made to organize another invasion on the Detroit frontier, but, failing to secure arms from the United States arsenal, the enterprise collapsed.

Hunters' Lodges.—In the autumn "Hunters' lodges" were organized all along the American frontier from Cleveland to Lake Champlain, with design to invade Canada. A rising was fomented in the Richelieu district, and Dr. Robert Nelson—a brother of Dr. Wolfred Nelson—led a band from the United States which took possession of Napierville (November, 1838). He quickly retired, however, upon the approach of a force sent against him by Sir John Colborne, under whose orders the disaffected district was laid waste with much cruelty.

Von Schultz.—Prescott was during this same month threatened by a somewhat formidable force which had gathered at Ogdensburg on the opposite shore. A small body of men under an enthusiastic Polish patriot, Von Schultz, landed on the Canadian side, where they were quickly obliged to take refuge in a round stone mill. Their friends failed to send them any reinforcements, and on the 16th of November Colonel Dundas arrived with a force from Kingston, and he at once opened a vigorous artillery fire upon Von Schultz's stronghold. After losing heavily Von Schultz surrendered at discretion. He was afterwards tried at

Kingston, found guilty, and executed. Upon his trial he was defended with much ability by a young lawyer who afterwards became a distinguished Canadian statesman—John A. Macdonald.

Raid on Windsor.—Early in December there was a raid on Windsor. The invaders were vigorously repulsed by Colonel Prince, who, with somewhat excessive zeal, shot some of his prisoners without trial. This was the last attempt upon Canadian soil, though for some months longer alarming rumors continued to disquiet the Canadian provinces.

The Result of the Outbreaks.—Of these Canadian outbreaks we may say with Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, "They were impolitic, unjustifiable and cruel." In Upper Canada, the honest but impulsive Mackenzie had failed to discern that the rebuff the reformers had experienced could be but temporary. In Lower Canada, Papineau had unwisely declined to accept concessions because they were not sufficiently full. The outbreaks were cruel, not only to those who were led to take part in them, but also to all those who were working for the cause of reform; for they gave the Family Compact a pretext for fastening upon all their opponents a common stigma of disloyalty. But the troubles in Canada convinced the Imperial authorities that there must be a radical defect somewhere in the system of colonial government, and energetic measures were at once taken for its discovery. Lord Durham was sent out to Canada as High Commissioner, and, as a result of his celebrated report, "responsible government" was soon conceded. One thing, therefore, may be said. If the rebellion in the two Canadas led—as no doubt it did lead—to Lord Durham's report, and so to the enlargement of colonial self-government, then not only Canada but British colonies the world over should have a kindly feeling for Papineau and Mackenzie.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

"A NEW AND IMPROVED CONSTITUTION."

Dark Days.—During the winter of 1837-38 and the following spring there was "literally a reign of terror" in the two Canadas, and the jails were crowded with prisoners charged with complicity in the rebellious movements. These, as we have seen, had been

confined to a very small and extreme section in each province, but now the Family Compact, in a spirit of vengeful triumph, branded as disloyal all reformers alike. The wave of loyal feeling which had swept over the upper province was treated by the ruling faction there as an evidence of approval of their conduct in every particular. Those who had never dreamed of securing reform except by constitutional means were wantonly insulted and oppressed. So gloomy indeed appeared the prospect in Upper Canada, that there was a movement on the part of certain loyal reformers to emigrate in a body, a movement only checked by cheering news from England.

A Promise of Improvement.—Sir F. B. Head had resigned early in the year because the colonial secretary had expressed strong disapproval of his conduct, but of this reason for his resignation the reformers were ignorant. Instead of drawing cheerful conclusions from it, they viewed the appointment of Sir George Arthur (lately governor of the penal colony of Van Diemen's Land) as the new lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada as an indication that England intended to deal harshly with Canada. The suspension of the constitution of Lower Canada, the recall of Lord Gosford, whose attitude before the outbreak had been conciliatory, and the appointment of Sir John Colborne as governor in his place, tended to confirm the gloomy forebodings of reformers. In April, 1838, Lount and Matthews, for their share in the rebellion in Upper Canada, were executed in spite of every effort by petition and otherwise to secure a commutation of their sentences. The Family Compact in the upper province, by their vindictive conduct, soon caused a marked revulsion of feeling. Those timid reformers who had supported Sir F. B. Head in the election of 1836 now found that the Family Compact were more resolutely set than ever to prevent reform of those abuses by which they profited. It was soon learned that the appointment of Colborne and Arthur was but an arrangement for temporary security, and that the British ministry had appointed the Earl of Durham governor-general of British North America and Lord High Commissioner to inquire into the grievances of the Canadas, with a view to the establishment of a constitution which should remove them. The great majority in Upper Canada hailed the new appointment with delight.

Lord Durham.—Lord Durham reached Quebec toward the end of May, 1838. As already intimated, the constitution of Lower Canada had been suspended by the Imperial parliament. Until some permanent form of government should be adopted, that province was to be ruled by the governor and a "special council." Lord Durham, on his arrival, dissolved the council which Colborne had appointed, and formed one more to his own liking. It consisted of members of his own staff, five of the judges, and two of the leading officials. Commissions of inquiry were at once appointed, and during the summer and autumn of 1838 Lord Durham collected a large mass of information concerning the state of all the provinces. He convened at Quebec a meeting of the lieutenant-governors and leading men of the different provinces to discuss the question of a union of all the British colonies in North America. The time, however, was not yet ripe for such a project, and Lord Durham in his report merely mentions the idea with approval, without suggesting its adoption at that time. It was not until the different provinces had separately enjoyed a short period of self-government that of themselves they evolved the plan of Confederation under which we now live.

LORD DURHAM.

Durham's Policy in Lower Canada.—When Lord Durham arrived in Lower Canada he found many political prisoners awaiting trial. With a laudable desire to put a stop to further political excitement, he induced Dr. Wolfred Nelson and others of these prisoners to acquiesce in their own banishment from the province. Thereupon an Act was passed by the governor and his special council for their transportation to Bermuda. An amnesty was proclaimed as to all others, except Papineau and some of the other leaders, who at the time were in the United States. In England a violent attack was made by opponents of the govern-

ment upon Lord Durham's transportation Act. The law officers of the Crown having questioned its legal validity, the British ministry announced that it would be disallowed. Lord Durham, in high dudgeon, resigned his position and set sail for England (November, 1838), first, however, issuing a proclamation in which he blamed the Imperial authorities for not supporting him. This manifesto gained for him among his political opponents the name of the Lord High Seditioner.

The Famous Report.—On his way home, Lord Durham, with the assistance of his secretary, Charles Buller, prepared his celebrated report—the keynote of colonial emancipation. To the French-Canadians his recommendation in favor of the union of Upper and Lower Canada was extremely obnoxious; but even they admit the wisdom of his views upon the general question of colonial government. His statement of the various grievances under which the colonies labored is very long; his suggested remedy may be shortly stated, and, as Howe said, it is "perfectly simple and eminently British." Lord Durham said in effect: "Place the internal government of the colonies in the hands of the colonists themselves. They now make their own laws; let them execute them as well. If they make mistakes they will find them out, and they will remedy them more quickly and thoroughly than can we in Great Britain. It needs no Act of parliament to effect this change. Simply tell each governor that he must govern by means of an executive council having the confidence of the people of the colony. Tell him, too, that he need count on no aid from home in any difference with the assembly which does not directly touch the interests of the Empire as a whole. In short, assure each colony that its government shall henceforth be carried on in conformity with the views of the majority in the assembly. All the grievances, of which we have heard so much, have arisen from the faulty system of government. Reform the system as I suggest, and these grievances will soon disappear."

Lord Russell's Despatches.—This report was laid before the British parliament early in 1839. Lord John Russell introduced a bill for the union of the two Canadas, which, after discussion, was allowed to lie over until the next session in order that the consent of the two provinces might be secured. For this purpose

the Hon. Charles Poulett Thompson—better known to us as Lord Sydenham—was sent out as governor. Of the steps taken by him to this end mention must be made later. Just now this most important period of our history may be closed by stating briefly the action taken upon Lord Durham's report. The idea was strongly held in England that it was inconsistent with the colonial relationship that the officials of the provinces should be made responsible to the provincial assemblies. In the spring of 1839, in the debate on the Canada Bill, Lord John Russell, the colonial secretary, argued that this feature of British government could not be extended to the colonies. In the fall he penned despatches to Lord Sydenham, in which he repeated, it is true, the same theoretical objections, and yet these despatches are rightly looked upon as the Magna Charta of colonial self-government, for in them practical instructions were given to carry out Lord Durham's views. In the first of these celebrated despatches (September 7th, 1839) the new governor was instructed to call to his councils and to employ in the public service "those persons who, by their position and character, have obtained the general confidence and esteem of the inhabitants of the province." In the second (October 14th, 1839) he was told that the British authorities did not desire to make the colonial service "a resource for patronage at home." Residents of the provinces should be preferred; and Her Majesty "will look to the affectionate attachment of her people in North America as the best security for permanent dominion."

"Tenure of Office" Despatch.—One thing more was needed to introduce the new system. Those officials who were members of the executive council in each province, and who had therefore the chief control over public affairs, must be told that they no longer held their offices for life. This was done by a circular despatch, sent to the head of the government in each province. This circular announced that thereafter the chief administrative offices should not be held permanently, but that the holders of them should be removed whenever any "sufficient motive of public policy" should require it. The judges and the subordinate officials would not, of course, be affected by this change.

Responsible Government.—Sir John Harvey, lieutenant-

governor of New Brunswick, hailed this despatch as conferring "a new and improved constitution" upon the provinces. If the maintenance of harmony between the legislature and the executive was to be the particular care of the governor, and such harmony should at any time be wanting, the desire to restore it would clearly be a "sufficient motive of public policy" to warrant him in calling upon his executive councillors to retire and give place to those in whom the assembly had confidence. This meant "responsible government." Though a few years were to elapse and some notable conflicts were to take place before the principle was thoroughly established, its final triumph was never in doubt after the publication of these despatches.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND (1815-1840).

The Land Grievance.—The history of Prince Edward Island during this period stands somewhat apart from that of the other provinces. Her population was small, and there was, as yet, no demand for responsible government. Her troubles arose, not from the tyranny of executive government upon the island, but from the repeated disallowance by the authorities in England of Acts of the island legislature passed with a view to removing the evils of the land system.

The Question of Quit-rents.—Upon one phase of the question the islanders were now in accord with the proprietors, both resident and non-resident. Payment of the quit-rents due to the Crown had never been properly enforced. In earlier years a forfeiture of the original grants for non-payment of these rents would have been a popular measure. Now their collection could be enforced by levying a distress upon such goods and chattels as were upon the land—in other words, at the expense of the tenants. While, therefore, the islanders were as anxious as ever that absentee proprietors should have their huge wilderness tracts taken from them and opened up for settlers, the claim was now put upon the ground of non-performance of the conditions of settlement, The collection of the quit-rents was vigorously resisted,

A Crisis.—This phase of the land question came to a head during the time when C. D. Smith—a brother of Sir Sidney Smith—was lieutenant-governor (1813-1824). He carried on the government of the island with a high hand, dispensing altogether for long periods (from 1813 to 1817, and again from 1820 until his recall) with the assistance of the assembly. Upon two other occasions he dissolved it very summarily when it failed to please him. He and his officials undertook in 1823 to collect the arrears of quit-rents. As there then seemed to be no prospect of any session of the assembly in which this grievance could be regularly ventilated, public meetings were called together in the three counties. At these meetings resolutions and an address to the Crown, strongly condemnatory of the lieutenant-governor, were passed. Smith treated these as criminal libels upon the constituted authorities, and caused some of the leaders in the movement to be arrested. The address to the Crown was, however, safely conveyed to England, and procured the speedy recall of the unpopular lieutenant-governor. No attempt was ever again made to collect quit-rents.

Landlord Influence in England.—On the other hand, every effort on the part of the assembly to force the absentee proprietors to settle their lands or give them up proved unavailing. Through the influence of the proprietors in England, every Act of the island legislature in any way interfering with their absolute ownership was promptly disallowed. In 1837 an Act was passed for levying an assessment upon wild land, in order to force some slight contribution from these absentee owners toward the opening up of roads and the building of bridges for the improvement of internal communication. Even this was objected to, but, owing to Lord Durham's emphatic protest against interference, the Act was not disallowed. In Lord Durham's opinion, the Act did not go far enough. "It was but natural," he wrote to Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, "that the colonial legislature—who have found it impossible as yet to obtain any remedy whatever—should hesitate to propose a sufficient one. Your Lordship can scarcely conceive the degree of injury inflicted on a new settlement, hemmed in by wilderness land which has been placed out of the control of the government, and is entirely neglected by its absent proprietors. This evil pervades British North America, and has been for many years past a subject of universal and bitter

complaint. In Prince Edward Island this evil has attained its maximum. The people, their representative assembly, the legislative council, and the governor have cordially concurred in devising a remedy for it. All their efforts have proved in vain. Some influence—it cannot be that of equity or reason—has steadily counteracted the measures of the colonial legislature."

Evils of the System.—When writing the despatch from which the above extract is taken, Lord Durham had in his hands a memorandum prepared by a joint committee of the assembly and the legislative council of the island. From this it appears that to a total expenditure, during twelve years, of about £107,000 for roads, bridges, wharves and other local improvements, the proprietors had contributed only the odd £7,000. The extent to which this vicious land system delayed improvement may be gathered from the fact that as late as 1827 we find the lieutenant-governor (Colonel Ready) congratulating the assembly upon the western roads being "now open as far as Princetown"—not half way to the west end of the island. To this check upon expansion and improvement were added all the evils which arise from tenant holdings as contrasted with freeholds. Short leases, without security for renewal, prevented the tenants from making improvements, for which they might not only get no compensation, but even might have to pay again in the shape of increased rent.

Other Political Questions.—In Prince Edward Island, as in the other provinces, there was a long dispute about money bills between the assembly and the council. It began in 1827 and lasted for several sessions. It appears finally to have been amicably adjusted, though at one time the assembly resorted to the extreme measure of "stopping the supplies." In 1833 a Quadrennial Act was passed, reducing the duration of the assembly from seven years to four, at which it has ever since remained. In 1839, following the example of the other Maritime Provinces, the council was divided into executive and legislative branches.

Education.—In spite of the ever-pressing evil of the land system, the province made progress. As already mentioned, a fair share of the great immigration of this period fell to Prince Edward Island. Education was a matter of some concern with the assembly. In 1837 an official visitor of schools was appointed,

who reported fifty-one schools, with over fifteen hundred scholars. These schools were the result of local enterprise, assisted by grants from the assembly. The teachers, apparently, were not, in most cases, of a very high order, and the official visitor complained that the practice of "boarding around the neighborhood" led to their being treated much like menial servants.

Industrial Progress.—Agriculture and fishing were still the chief industries of the island. Ship-building, too, was becoming an important business. After the example of the other Maritime Provinces, agricultural societies were started about the year 1829. The first newspaper was the *Prince Edward Island Register*, which dates from 1823—the time of the contest with the lieutenant-governor on the question of quit-rents. A Mechanics' Institute was begun at Charlottetown in 1839. In 1832 the first steamship communication was had with the mainland, the *Pocahontas* making two trips a week between Charlottetown and Pictou.

CHAPTER XL.

UNION OF THE TWO CANADAS.

Lower Canada's Consent.—In October, 1839, the Hon. Charles Poulett Thompson arrived in Quebec as governor of British North America. His first duty was to obtain the consent of the two Canadian provinces to the terms of the Act for their union, which was to be passed by the Imperial parliament at its next session. The Constitutional Act of 1791 was still in abeyance so far as Lower Canada was concerned, and the government of the province was entirely in the hands of the governor and his special council, in which English-speaking members predominated. Special courts had been established for the trial of those implicated in the outbreak in the Richelieu district in the fall of 1838, and a number had been hanged. The tone of the official press was exceedingly vindictive and blood-thirsty. No secret was made of the fact that a new constitution was to be imposed upon the province without regard to the wishes of the French-Canadian majority. Under these circumstances, when the new governor, shortly after his arrival, convened his special council, their consent

was a foregone conclusion, though Neilson, Quesnal and de Léry voted nay with vigorous protest.

Upper Canada's Consent.—In Upper Canada the governor's task was not so easy. The Family Compact, feeling securely entrenched in power, were opposed to the union. But their day was past. Moderate men were disgusted with their arrogance in the hour of seeming victory. Their refusal to make any concession, particularly in the matter of the Clergy Reserves, opened the eyes of many who, in 1836, had supported "Head and British connection" against "Mackenzie and republicanism." Without at all justifying rebellion, these were now fain to admit that Mackenzie had made a truer estimate than they of the real object of the official party. Lord Durham's coming had put new life into the reformers of Upper Canada. As early as July, 1838, Francis Hincks had begun the publication at Toronto of *The Examiner*, with the motto, "Responsible government and the voluntary principle." When Lord Durham's report appeared it was hailed with delight, and during the summer of 1839 "Durham meetings" were held in all parts of the province. The tide of reaction was at the full when the new governor arrived in Upper Canada. The result was seen in the vote upon the union project in the assembly, where reformers and moderate conservatives joined to carry it against the Family Compact. It required all the great tact of the governor to reconcile the legislative council to the union, but in the end his efforts were successful.

CHARLES POULETT THOMPSON.
(LORD SYDENHAM.)

The Union Act, 1840.—It now only remained to have the Act passed by the British parliament. This was accomplished on the 28th of July, 1840. But not without protest. Lord Gosford, in the House of Lords, declared that the Act was most unfair to the French-Canadian majority of Lower Canada, to whose loyalty

he bore strong testimony, while he assailed what he termed the "overweening pretensions" of the English-speaking minority. For his services in forwarding the union the governor was made a peer, with the title of Lord Sydenham. On the 5th of February, 1841, he issued a proclamation, as required by the Union Act, naming the 10th of February, 1841, as the date when the union should take effect.

Under the Union Act, the province of Canada—for by this name the united provinces were to be known—was provided with a legislative council and an assembly. The legislative council was to consist of not less than twenty members, appointed by the Crown for life; the assembly of eighty-four members, one-half from each of the two old divisions, Upper and Lower Canada. The number of representatives in the assembly could be altered only by a two-thirds majority in both branches of the legislature. The capital of Canada was to be fixed from time to time by the governor. The assembly was to continue for four years after each election, unless sooner dissolved by the governor. Any provincial Act, even when assented to by the governor, might be disallowed in England at any time within two years after its receipt by the colonial secretary. All written proceedings and records of the legislature were to be in the English language only.

All taxes levied in the province under Imperial Acts were to be appropriated by the provincial legislature, subject, however, to payment of a Civil List of £75,000 per annum as fixed by the Union Act. The casual and territorial revenues of the Crown were at the same time surrendered to provincial control, with a provision, however, that any Act dealing with Crown lands should receive approval in England before coming into force. All revenues collected in the province were to form a consolidated fund out of which were to be paid (1) the expenses of collection, (2) the interest on the public debts of the provinces, (3) the moneys payable to the clergy of different denominations under the Act, passed at the same session, to settle the Clergy Reserves question, and (4) the Civil List; and the balance was to be appropriated as the provincial parliament should determine. The wise provision was made, however, that no moneys were to be voted except upon message from the Crown—that is to say, upon the responsibility of the executive council. Lord Durham had pointed

out in his report the danger arising from "that scramble for local appropriations" which would take place so long as private members were allowed to propose money votes. In the Maritime Provinces this vicious system remained unchanged for some years longer.

Lower Canada Dissatisfied.—This Act, as has been said, was forced upon Lower Canada, and its provisions were in several respects not such as to reconcile the majority there to the union. The population of Canada was then about 1,100,000, of which the lower province had 630,000, and the upper 470,000. Equality of representation under these circumstances was looked upon by the French-Canadians as the unfair creation of a majority against them in the assembly. The exclusion of the French language from the records of parliament was naturally resented, even though the use of that language in debate was not forbidden. Upon this language question the union parliament proved better than their fears. Another injustice of which they rightly complained was in respect to the public debt. Upper Canada had—particularly after 1836—entered upon a career of wild extravagance in public works, and her debt was over $5,000,000, while Lower Canada, with a larger population, had but a trifling debt. It was urged, however, by the upper province that the expenditure upon the canal system—for which a large part of the debt had been incurred—was as much in the interest of the lower province as in her own. Whatever the reason, no compensation was given to Lower Canada for the burden of Upper Canada's debt, which she was now compelled to share.

CHAPTER XLI.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT INAUGURATED.

New Brunswick.—We must now turn again to the Maritime Provinces, where we left the people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia somewhat jubilant over their prospects in the autumn of 1837. In the former province an unyielding lieutenant-governor had given place to Sir John Harvey, who introduced into the executive council a slight leaven of reform. For a time political

agitation largely subsided. Much interest was naturally taken in Canadian affairs; the progress of events along the Canadian frontier was eagerly watched; and New Brunswick offered to send twelve hundred volunteers to aid in repelling the incursions of American "sympathizers."

The Maine Boundary Trouble.—Early in 1839 it looked as if there would be work for these volunteers upon their own frontier. The King of the Netherlands had in 1831 made his award concerning the unsettled boundary line between Maine and New Brunswick. It was a compromise pure and simple, and therefore satisfactory to neither party. Instead of deciding what were the "highlands" mentioned in the Treaty of Versailles (1783), it arbitrarily placed the boundary line in the bed of the River St. John. The United States flatly declined to recognize it, and the whole question was thus again at large. Rival lumbermen of the Aroostook and the Madawaska again quarrelled over their limits, and the governor of Maine again threatened to take possession of the disputed territory. Sir John Harvey at once took steps to maintain the integrity of what was then claimed as British soil, and, with a small force, marched to the scene of the threatened invasion. The loyalty of the province was enthusiastic. Money was liberally voted and the militia were ordered out both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. A troop of volunteer dragoons under Colonel L. A. Wilmot—the leader of the reformers in New Brunswick—performed despatch duty on the border, securing communication with the provincial capital and blocking every forest path by which the enemy might advance. Happily the opposing commanders, Sir John Harvey and General Winfield Scott, were sensible men. They soon arranged that the region should be evacuated pending further negotiations between the two powers.

Reformers in the Executive Council.—The personal influence of Lieutenant-Governor Harvey was sufficient to prevent marked friction in the carrying on of the government of New Brunswick. Upon his departure for Newfoundland in 1841, Sir William Colebrooke became lieutenant-governor. As he showed a disposition to favor the Family Compact, Wilmot and the other reform leaders determined to contest the election of 1842 on the question of responsible government. They were utterly routed at the polls, electing only two of their candidates (Wilmot himself

being one) out of an assembly of forty-one members. Joseph Howe tells us that while he and his friends were fighting the battle for responsible government in Nova Scotia, they were frequently "taunted with the quiescent condition of New Brunswick." But even in New Brunswick the existing executive well understood that if they lost control of the assembly their fate was sealed. In 1844, in order to increase the confidence of the people in the executive council, Wilmot and other reformers were added to it.

Nova Scotia—Sir Colin Campbell Disobeys Instructions.—In Nova Scotia the joy of the reformers over Lord Glenelg's despatches of 1837 was short-lived. The old single council was, indeed, abolished; but, in forming the new executive and legislative councils, Sir Colin Campbell entirely disregarded the principles laid down by Lord Glenelg. The old sectarian and sectional preferences were almost as strongly marked as before. The proposed Civil List, too, was, in the opinion of reformers, upon an extravagant scale, taking the circumstances of the province into consideration. The session of 1838 was consequently a somewhat stormy one. The assembly passed a Civil List Bill upon what they considered a liberal scale. The legislative council rejected it. The assembly then passed an address to the Crown in which they pointed out that the instructions of Lord Glenelg had been practically disobeyed; that in the executive council of nine there were five Anglicans; that in the legislative council eight out of fifteen were of that denomination; that more than one-half of the members of the legislative council were from Halifax; and that only two of them were farmers. Apparently there was some slight improvement in the composition of the legislative council, for a Quadrennial Bill, reducing the duration of the assembly from seven years to four years, became law in this session.

Discouraging Despatches.—In 1839 despatches were laid before the assembly which were looked upon as decidedly retrogressive. The offer to surrender control of the casual and territorial revenues was withdrawn, and the councils were maintained as they stood. A number of provincial Acts were, at the same time, disallowed; among others, an Act respecting the postal service within the province, another respecting admiralty courts, and a third granting bounties upon the exportation of certain goods. All of these the Imperial authorities set aside as opposed

to the policy of British Acts. The assembly at once appointed delegates to visit England to expostulate with the colonial secretary. These delegates went at their own cost, the legislative council refusing to sanction payment of their expenses—a somewhat graceless act in view of the liberality of the assembly, which had just voted £100,000 to assist New Brunswick in repelling the threatened attack upon her borders.

Reformers Take Vigorous Action.—Under these somewhat depressing circumstances we can understand with what pleasure the news of Lord Durham's report was received in Nova Scotia. When Lord Russell's despatches were received, toward the close of the year 1839, the reformers of Nova Scotia determined to force the question of responsible government to an issue. The want of harmony between the executive and the assembly was notorious. Sir Colin Campbell's attention was formally drawn to it by a want-of-confidence motion which passed the assembly by a vote of thirty to twelve. Thereupon the Hon. James B. Uniacke, who for some years had been the ablest upholder of the old system, resigned his seat in the executive council, and signified his adhesion to the principle laid down in Lord Russell's despatches. Sir Colin, however, expressed his confidence in his executive council, and declined to dismiss the other members, who, despite the vote, still clung to their seats. An address to the lieutenant-governor was then passed by the assembly. It drew his attention to Lord Russell's despatches, and requested him to call to his council men having the confidence of the assembly. Sir Colin replied that he saw nothing in the despatches to indicate any change in the system of colonial government, and again declined to dismiss his council. The assembly thereupon passed an address to Her Majesty requesting the recall of the obdurate lieutenant-governor, because, they said in effect, he refused to obey his instructions.

The Principle Conceded.—During the summer Lord Sydenham visited Nova Scotia and for a short time administered affairs. Howe attributed to the governor's penetration and firmness the change which was soon afterwards made. Sir Colin Campbell was recalled, and in the autumn Lord Falkland became lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. Howe and MacNab, two of the leading members of the popular party, were called to the executive council.

Both in Nova Scotia and in Canada the aim was to unite the old parties under a coalition government. Afterwards in New Brunswick the same policy was pursued. As a result of the contests of the next few years this attempt to prevent the creation of "party" government was abandoned, and in the year 1848 that system—apparently inseparable from popular government—may be said to have become firmly established in the different provinces. For the present, however, the reformers of Nova Scotia were disposed to give the government a generous support, so long as measures of reform were not obstructed. After an agitation extending over four years, during which time, as Howe with pardonable pride remarked, "not a blow had been struck nor a pane of glass broken," the principle of responsible government had been practically acknowledged.

The New Canadian Council.—Lord Sydenham had selected Kingston as the capital of Canada. For the legislative council a judicious selection was made of twenty-four men from different parts of the now united provinces. An executive council of eight members was appointed, consisting of certain of the old heads of departments. It was decidedly a "no-party" council, for in it sat together such men as W. H. Draper and Robert Baldwin. The former had hitherto been a staunch upholder of Family Compact doctrines; the latter had been the recognized leader of the Upper Canadian reformers. Baldwin had with some difficulty been induced by Lord Sydenham to accept a seat in the council, which he looked upon as a mere temporary make-shift until the meeting of parliament should disclose the real state of public opinion in the united provinces.

HON. ROBERT BALDWIN.

Parties in the Assembly.—The first general election was held in March, and the first parliament met on the 14th of June, 1841. Francis Hincks, himself a member, tells us that there were

no less than four distinct parties in the assembly. The Family Compact Tories, quite unreconciled to the new principle of colonial government, were there in diminished numbers (some seven or eight), led by Sir Allan N. MacNab. The Moderate Conservatives, opposed to many of the reforms for which the popular party had long striven, were now inclined to bow to the inevitable and accept the new system. Draper was at the head of this party. The Moderate Reformers, on the other hand, were content to give the executive council a fair opportunity to establish itself in the confidence of the people by forwarding reforms. Of this wing the provincial secretary for Upper Canada, S. B. Harrison, was the leading member. The Extreme Reformers included the Lower Canadian members of the popular party, led by such men as Neilson, Morin and Viger, and a small body of Upper Canadians under the leadership of Robert Baldwin. By dividing this fourth party into French-Canadians and Baldwinites, some have counted five parties in this first parliament of (old) Canada. As Lord Sydenham declined to reconstruct the executive council before the session, Robert Baldwin resigned his seat in it two days before parliament met.

The "Responsible Government" Resolutions.—Almost at once after parliament opened, the Moderate Reformers insisted upon a declaration by the ministers of their adhesion to the principle of responsible government. Lord Sydenham, over a year before, had sent a message to the assembly of Upper Canada that he had "received Her Majesty's commands to administer the government of the provinces in accordance with the well understood wishes and interests of the people, and to pay to their feelings, as expressed through their representatives, the deference that is justly due to them." Did the ministry recognize this principle? Would they resign as soon as it became apparent that the people's representatives in the assembly were opposed to their policy? After some hesitation Draper gave an answer in the affirmative, and by so doing secured for a time the support of the Moderate Reformers. At a later period in this session formal resolutions affirming the new principle of colonial government, as understood by Reformers generally, were adopted, the irreconcilables of the Family Compact, to the number of seven, alone voting against them.

French-Canadians in the Assembly.—To the French-Canadian members the course of events during the session was somewhat reassuring. A motion by Neilson attacking the Union Act was indeed voted down by a large majority, but a well-known French-Canadian, Mr. Austin Cuvillier, was chosen speaker at the opening of the session. Moreover, the rules of procedure adopted were those which had been in force in the old assembly of Lower Canada, and only in the official records was the use of the French language forbidden. As yet no representative of the French-Canadians had a place in the ministry. Overtures had been made to Lafontaine, the leader of the Lower Canadian Reformers, but he was content to await the reconstruction which even then appeared inevitable, and therefore declined to join the ministry.

SIR L. H. LAFONTAINE.

The First Municipal Act.—Upon the work of practical reform this first parliament of Canada entered with much energy. Before the union the special council of Lower Canada had passed an Act establishing municipal institutions in that province, where, owing to the absence of any system of local assessment, popular opinion was not ripe for their adoption. A somewhat similar Act was now passed for the upper province, in spite of opposition from the extremists on both sides. Robert Baldwin and his followers thought the Act was not sufficiently liberal, because the wardens were to be Crown-appointed ; the extreme Conservatives, under Sir Allan MacNab, thought the Act altogether too democratic. It is impossible to overrate the importance of a proper municipal system ; not merely because it removes from the provincial parliaments much work that can be more efficiently managed by each locality for itself, but chiefly because of the training in self-government thus afforded. The Municipal Act of 1841, therefore, although defective in many respects, must be considered as the most notable first-fruit of responsible government.

Education.—An attempt was also made to provide a uniform system of popular education, but the Act passed this year proved

so unworkable that it was repealed in the following session, when a new Act was passed, the provisions of which may be briefly stated. Up to this time the only schools which could be considered state schools were those known as District Schools—comparatively few in number—for more advanced pupils. These were managed by Crown-appointed Boards, largely Anglican, and were supported by government grants. The Act of 1842 established a regular system of Common and Grammar Schools, to be managed by trustees elected locally. The whole system was to be under the control of one General Superintendent of Education, with an assistant for each section of the province. The schools were to be supported by government grants, local assessment, and a rate-bill upon the parents. In order to supply good teachers, township and county Model Schools were provided, and the ultimate establishment of provincial Normal Schools was also contemplated. The system naturally developed many defects in its practical working; and, after the Rev. Dr. Ryerson became General Superintendent of Education in 1844, it was entirely recast and made more complete and efficient.

Public Improvements.—Particular attention was also paid to public works. The Welland Canal became the property of the province, and the navigation of the St. Lawrence was improved by the construction of additional canals. Liberal sums were also voted for road improvement, and the old "corduroy" or small log roadbeds rapidly gave place to gravel and "macadam." Canada was able to borrow money for public works at a low rate of interest, because, as part of the plan of union, the Imperial government guaranteed to lenders the payment of the interest upon their loans. The next ten years, therefore, of Canadian history show a marked improvement in road-making, bridge-building, and internal water communication; and this was followed in the next decade by a wonderful development of railway enterprise.

Death of Lord Sydenham.—Shortly before the session of 1841 closed, Lord Sydenham, riding out one afternoon, was thrown from his horse. Though not seriously injured, the shock to a constitution already somewhat shattered proved fatal, and on the day following the prorogation the governor died. At his own request, he was buried in Kingston cemetery. It has been said of him that he gave but a half-hearted adhesion to the doctrine

of responsible government; that he was his own prime minister; and that his policy of "no-party" government was doomed to prove a failure. So indeed it turned out; but, in a time of transition, his skill and tact did much to obliterate old feuds. At all events, his policy commended itself for a time to the moderate majority not only in Canada but in all the provinces.

Sir Charles Bagot.—After a short interval, during which Sir R. D. Jackson, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, acted as administrator, a new governor arrived in the person of Sir Charles Bagot. In England, Lord Melbourne's ministry had given place to the Conservative cabinet of Sir Robert Peel. Lord Stanley was now again colonial secretary. Sir Charles Bagot was known as a strong supporter of the new British administration, and the Family Compact in Canada took heart when they heard of his appointment. He, however, kept entirely aloof from party strife in Canada, and gave his advisers for the time being a constitutional support. He displayed much zeal in forwarding the work of public improvement, particularly in the matter of road communication. The appointment of a French-Canadian to the position of chief justice in Lower Canada gained for him the confidence of that section of the province.

United States — Strained Relations. — For some time there had been growing friction between Great Britain and the United States, and, of late, war between them had appeared not improbable. There were several matters in dispute. In her efforts to suppress the African slave trade, Great Britain had found that many ships, strongly suspected, had, when pursued, hoisted the Stars and Stripes. She insisted upon her right to search such ships; the United States objected; and meanwhile the inhuman traffic was assuming large proportions. Great Britain's refusal to surrender fugitive slaves was another ground of complaint. Upon touching British soil or the deck of a British ship the slave became a freeman, and Great Britain positively declined to change her law in this respect. The law as to the surrender of fugitive criminals was also in an unsatisfactory condition. The *Caroline* affair, too, had reached an acute stage in 1841. One of the crew of the steamer had been killed by the boarding party under Captain Drew, and a man named McLeod had been arrested in the United States charged with his murder. Great Britain

accepted the responsibility for the attack upon the *Caroline* and demanded McLeod's surrender. The United States refused. Happily, McLeod was able to prove an alibi and was acquitted, so that the danger upon this score was averted. The chief cause of dispute was now the question of the international boundary line, which already upon two occasions had nearly brought about a collision on the New Brunswick frontier.

The Ashburton Treaty, 1842.—In 1842 Lord Ashburton was sent from England to negotiate, if possible, a treaty which would settle all the outstanding questions between the two powers. On the part of the United States the negotiations were conducted by the celebrated Daniel Webster. The result was the Ashburton Treaty (1842), which Lord Palmerston called the "Ashburton capitulation," so manifestly one-sided did the treaty appear to him. It can serve no good purpose now to enter into the various claims put forward on each side upon the boundary question, or to discuss the charge afterwards made against Webster of having concealed a certain old map which supported the British claim. The treaty settled authoritatively, in its present position, the boundary line not only between Maine and the British provinces, but also that from Lake Superior to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods. In other respects the treaty was satisfactory. Methods for suppression of the African slave traffic were agreed on. Provision was also made for the delivery up, upon demand by either of the contracting powers, of all persons charged with murder, piracy, arson, robbery or forgery, who should seek an asylum in the other's dominions. Though this list is small, Great Britain and the United States have up to the present been unable to agree upon any extension of it. Upon the question of surrendering fugitive slaves Great Britain declined to make any concession, and the United States forbore to press the point.

The First Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry.—Meanwhile the feeling had become strong among the Upper Canadian Reformers, even of the moderate type, that the continued exclusion of the French-Canadians from a nominally Reform ministry was unfair So long, however, as W. H. Draper and some others—formerly leading men of the Family Compact—remained in the ministry, Lafontaine and the other Lower Canadian leaders declined all overtures. When parliament reassembled (1842) Baldwin promptly

moved a vote of want of confidence in the existing ministry. It became unnecessary, however, to press the motion. Draper and the other obnoxious members retired, and a reconstruction took place. It united all parties in the House with the exception of the extreme Conservatives, who looked with angry amazement at the spectacle of a governor calling to his council men whom they regarded as little better than rebels. The new ministry is known as the first Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry. It contained such men from the lower section of the province as A. N. Morin and T. C. Aylwin, in addition, of course, to Lafontaine himself. He, it may be noted, sat in the House as member for one of the ridings of the Upper Canadian county of York, while Baldwin represented the Lower Canadian constituency of Rimouski. Another well-known member of this ministry was Francis Hincks, whose knowledge of finance made him a valuable councillor. The adoption of a double name for the Canadian ministry was followed in every administration (save one) down to Confederation—typical, unhappily, of the sectional difficulties which, at a later period, brought about a dead-lock in public affairs.

Death of Sir Charles Bagot.—Owing to the change of ministry during the course of the session of 1842, legislation was somewhat limited. Sir Charles Bagot was at this time in poor health and solicited his recall. It has been said that his course in allowing the formation of a distinctly "party" ministry—the first in the British colonies—was criticised by the colonial office, and that this had something to do with his request to be recalled. The request was granted, but before Sir Charles could act upon it his illness terminated fatally. He died at Kingston in May, 1843. His successor was Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, during whose tenure of office "responsible government" was sorely tried

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CHAPTER XLII

A TIME OF TRIAL.

A Striking Likeness.—There is a marked similarity in the history of the three provinces, Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, during the period from 1843 to 1848; so much so

that political speakers and writers have seen a mysterious connection between the action of Sir Charles Metcalfe in Canada and that of the two lieutenant-governors, Lord Falkland in Nova Scotia, and (at a somewhat later date) Sir William Colebrooke in New Brunswick. It is said that Lord Stanley—afterwards the Earl of Derby—was at heart opposed to responsible government in the colonies, and that he sent Sir Charles Metcalfe to undo what Sir Charles Bagot had done. Of this, however, there is a complete absence of proof. We can only say that there was a curious coincidence of events in the different provinces.

Nova Scotia—The Ministry Divided.—In Nova Scotia, the attempt to carry on the government by means of a coalition ministry was not a success. The reform majority in the assembly complained that the reform leaders in the ministry were not allowed their due weight in the administration of affairs. On the other hand, there was here, as in Canada, a small band of irreconcilables who opposed the ministry because of the presence in it of any reform element. It is said that this faction was quietly encouraged to attack, not only the reform leaders, but even Lord Falkland himself for having called those leaders to the ministry. One or two members of the executive council itself made light of "responsible government," and, to satisfy the reformers in the assembly, Howe, MacNab and Uniacke had to insist upon a formal declaration of adhesion to the doctrine being made by all their colleagues.

The Sectarian College Question.—There being this want of accord in the ministry, there was very little important legislation. In 1843 an Act was passed to do away with the old law which required that a member of the assembly should possess a property qualification in the constituency for which he sat. Resolutions were also passed in favor of establishing one central provincial university, to which end a withdrawal of all grants to sectarian colleges was advocated. In the debate upon these resolutions, Howe made a statement regarding the different colleges in the province. Each of the five large denominations had its own college, inefficient and expensive. Pictou Academy, after "a sickly existence of fifteen or sixteen years," had finally become "a wreck on the face of the province," Dalhousie College

taking its place as the college of the Presbyterians. The Baptists had, in 1828, established Acadia College; the Methodists had the Sackville Academy in New Brunswick; while the Roman Catholics, "as they were taxed to maintain other people's hobbies, thought they might as well have one of their own," and had established St. Mary's College at Halifax. A committee was appointed to draw up a bill in accordance with the resolutions.

The Assembly Dissolved.—Upon this educational question the lack of harmony in the ministry made itself manifest. The council was hopelessly divided. The attorney-general (Hon. J. W. Johnson) led the old section, which favored a continuation of the sectarian system. The agitation throughout the province became very pronounced, and the ministers were drawn into direct personal antagonism. At this juncture Lord Falkland dissolved the assembly and brought on a new election. The result was to leave in doubt, until the new House should meet, to which side victory had inclined.

Canada—Metcalfe and his Ministry.—Sir Charles Metcalfe, before coming to Canada, had spent some years in India, where the word of the British official was law. In private life he was a most kindly gentleman of estimable character. In the conduct of public affairs in Canada, he evinced from the beginning a determination to lead his executive council, instead of being guided by their advice. He sought counsel openly of men well known to be hostile to his ministers. They had signalized their advent to office by advising that pardons should be granted to those implicated in the outbreaks of 1837. The advice was followed (except in the case of Mackenzie), but, it was said, grudgingly. As the session of 1843 progressed, it was openly reported that the governor had no confidence in his ministers. Appointments to office were made without regard to the wishes of the ministry, and, finally,

SIR CHARLES METCALFE.

one was made in direct opposition to their advice. After remonstrance, the entire cabinet, with the exception of Dominick Daly, resigned.

The Question at Issue.—The principle at stake may be shortly stated. The governor claimed that the power of appointment to all public offices rested solely with himself; that the patronage of the Crown was entirely in his keeping, and should not be dispensed to further the views of the party in power. The ministers, on the other hand, claimed that the character and standing of those subordinate officials, through whom public affairs must necessarily be carried on, was a matter of public importance ; and that it was their duty, as a cabinet responsible to the people of the province, to see that offices were not conferred upon men whose views were hostile to those of the majority in parliament. As the contest went on, the governor further claimed that he had been required by his late ministers to pledge himself, in advance, to follow their views. This the ministers denied, stating that they had merely claimed the right to resign if their advice as to the distribution of patronage was not followed. That they were right and the governor wrong is now universally admitted. At that time, however, many able men took the view that the distribution of patronage should be kept clear of party politics.

Distinguished Champions.—After the resignation of the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry the assembly passed resolutions supporting the stand they had taken. Shortly afterwards parliament was prorogued. Then followed a most notable contest extending over many months, and bringing into the field some distinguished champions on either side. Dr. Ryerson threw his great influence into the scale on the side of the governor, and, under the *nom de plume* of "Leonidas," wrote able pamphlets supporting his views. R. B. Sullivan, one of the ex-ministers, upheld their cause in letters signed "Legion." Their most influential advocate, however, was a young Scotchman, George Brown, who, in March, 1844, established the *Globe* newspaper. By his trenchant articles he soon won for his paper a position as the leading organ upon the reform side. It is also worthy of note that, in the election which came off in the autumn, the successful candidate in Kingston was a man who afterwards became a prominent Canadian states-

man—the Rt. Hon. Sir John Alexander Macdonald. He was elected as a supporter of the governor.

The Governor Wins.—Much difficulty was experienced in forming a new government. Until after prorogation Dominick Daly was the ministry. Then Hon. W. H. Draper was induced to take up the apparently hopeless task of forming such an executive council as should be able, when parliament next met, to secure the confidence of the assembly. To this extent responsible government was never questioned; the majority for the ex-ministers in the assembly must be changed in some way into a majority for the new cabinet. One notable defection there was from the ranks of the reformers. Denis B. Viger accepted a seat in the new council, and the ministry became known for a time as the Draper-Viger ministry. For over nine months the remaining seats in the council went "a-begging," so hopeless appeared the prospect of securing parliamentary support. In September, 1844, three additional councillors were sworn in. One of these was D. B. Papineau, a brother of the celebrated Lower Canadian leader. With this ministry of six members, Sir Charles Metcalfe dissolved parliament and appealed to the country. A stormy election followed. When the returns were all in, it appeared that the governor had secured a small majority. Lower Canada had pronounced strongly against him, Upper Canada even more strongly for him. In England the opinion of leading statesmen was with the governor, upon the supposition, apparently, that a pledge had been demanded of him by his ex-ministers. He was made Baron Metcalfe as a mark of approval of the course he had pursued.

A Small Majority.—The political history of Canada during the next three years may be passed quickly over. The ministry was upheld by a very slight majority, and little important legislation was effected. In 1843 it had been decided to make Montreal the capital, and the first session of the new parliament was held there. A resolution in favor of the use of the French language, as well as the English, in the records of parliament was passed by a unanimous vote. As the exclusive use of the English language was imposed by an Imperial Act—the Union Act of 1840—Imperial legislation was necessary to carry out the resolution, and this was not obtained until nearly four years later (1848). Overtures were

again made to Lafontaine and others of the popular leaders in the lower province, but they were content to await the result of the next appeal to the electors and declined to join the ministry. In the fall of 1845 Lord Metcalfe resigned, owing to extreme ill-health. He died in England in the following year. He was succeeded by Earl Cathcart, the senior officer in command of the British troops in America, who held the position until the end of January, 1847, when Lord Elgin became governor.

The Oregon Treaty. — Earl Cathcart's appointment was owing to the threatening aspect of affairs in the United States. As already mentioned, the forty-ninth parallel of latitude had been fixed in 1818 as the northern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. To the west of the Rockies the Pacific coast region had been left "free and open" to the subjects of either power. This has been called a "joint occupation," although for many years the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were the only occupants. Had the question been settled during those years the Columbia River, at least, would have been our southern boundary in that region. As it was, protracted negotiations took place, and the whole history of early exploration was studied and discussed by the contending diplomats. Meanwhile, settlement from the older States was now extending into the Oregon territory. Friction developed, and it finally became necessary to fix the boundary westward to the Pacific in order to avert war. The agitation of this question had given rise to a party in the United States whose motto was "Fifty-four-forty or fight." To allow this extravagant claim to the country up to 54° 40′ was practically to give the whole coast region as far as the southern boundary of Alaska to the United States. The Oregon Treaty (1846) put an end to the dispute, and fixed, not "fifty-four-forty," but forty-nine as the line westward from the Rocky Mountains to the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland; thence the line was to follow this channel south-westerly to the Pacific Ocean.

By Way of Contrast.—The passing of a Militia Bill by the Canadian parliament in the session of 1846 was one good result of the war-scare. It was the practical beginning of our present militia force. In the early summer of 1845 two disastrous fires swept over the city of Quebec, leaving twenty thousand people

homeless and destitute. Liberal aid came from all quarters. When a ship-load of food and clothing arrived from the United States, followed by subscriptions in cash amounting to over $100,000, it was said that if Brother Jonathan was not inclined to be just, he at all events knew how to be generous.

The Civil List.—In 1846 another step was taken toward more complete self-government. The colonial office, as has been seen, had insisted, as a condition of surrendering financial control to the provincial assemblies, that a Civil List Act acceptable to it should be passed in each province. In Nova Scotia the fight over the Civil List was still going on. In Canada the Civil List was settled by the Union Act of 1840, and, to make any change in it, Imperial legislation was necessary. In 1846 the Canadian parliament deemed it expedient to alter the scale of salaries as fixed by the Union Act, and passed an Act for that purpose. In the following year an Imperial Act was passed recognizing the Canadian Act, and empowering the Canadian parliament to legislate upon the question from time to time as might be thought expedient. In Nova Scotia the question was settled in 1848 by the passing of a Civil List Act by the provincial assembly. This Act, after slight protest from the colonial office, was allowed to go into operation. Since that time there has been no further attempt on the part of Great Britain to dictate to her colonies what salaries shall be paid to public officials.

Education.—In 1846 Dr. Ryerson secured the passage of certain Education Acts, by which the system introduced by the earlier Acts was much improved. The framework of the new educational structure was an adaptation of the system in use in the Middle States; the plan of local assessment was taken from the New England States; the Normal and Model Schools were founded on the German system; while the text-books adopted were those in use in Ireland. Experience has since suggested many improvements in this educational system. In Ontario, Grammar Schools have become High Schools and Collegiate Institutes. The University of Toronto, which in 1849 became a non-sectarian provincial institution, has drawn into affiliation with it nearly all the denominational colleges, and is now the key-stone of an educational arch of which the province may well be proud.

A Large Immigration.—The immigration from the British

Isles during the years from 1840 to 1850 was very large. After the potato famine in Ireland in 1847 there was a large state-aided emigration of destitute Irish. At Quebec nearly one hundred thousand arrivals were entered. Ship-fever broke out in the vessels engaged in the work of transportation, and at one time there were ten thousand sick in the hospitals. For the ten years from 1840 to 1850 the arrivals at Quebec numbered 350,000. The Maritime Provinces received a large increase to their population during the same period. From 1840 to 1850 New Brunswick alone received thirty-seven thousand, and Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were not without their share. These later arrivals were distributed through the settled districts, and did not form distinct settlements as the earlier immigrants had done.

End of the Draper Ministry.—The Draper ministry meanwhile had a hard struggle to maintain itself in power. There were frequent changes in its membership. In May, 1846, John A. Macdonald became receiver-general. In the same month Hon. W. H. Draper retired, and was shortly afterwards made a judge. He died, in 1877, chief-justice of the Court of Error and Appeal for Ontario, after a judicial career of singular ability. Upon his retirement the ministry was known as the Sherwood-Daly ministry. It managed to survive the session of 1847, but in the elections held in January, 1848, the Reformers—once more reunited—swept the country.

A Crisis in Nova Scotia.—We must now return to Nova Scotia, where the election of 1843 had left it somewhat in doubt which of the warring sections in the ministry had secured a majority of the assembly. About this time the resignation of the Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry in Canada and the cause of it became known in Nova Scotia. Very shortly afterwards Lord Falkland, without any previous intimation to the Reform members of his council, appointed a brother-in-law of Attorney-General Johnson to a seat in it, thus increasing the influence of the old section. Uniacke, Howe and MacNab at once (December, 1843) resigned, taking the ground that as they were not prepared to justify the appointment in the assembly no other course was open to them. Lord Falkland somewhat warmly accused them of endeavoring to wrest from him the prerogatives of the Crown. Being supported in this view by the remaining members of his

council, he threw himself into their hands, becoming, as Sir Charles Metcalfe had become in Canada, a party leader. In the assembly, by the use of every influence which could be brought to bear, a majority of one was secured to support the new ministry.

Lord Falkland.—With such a slight majority the ministry were unable to do much in the way of legislation during the next four years (1844-1847). A Simultaneous Polling Act was passed in 1847 with the concurrence of the Reformers. A bill to improve the Crown lands administration was opposed by the ministry and defeated. Overtures were from time to time made to the Reform leaders looking to the formation of a new coalition government, but these were steadily declined. Lord Falkland very foolishly took an active part in the contest. At one time there was read in the House a despatch of the lieutenant-governor in which he wrote of the speaker of the assembly as "the associate of reckless and insolvent men." Thereupon Howe, with righteous indignation, said that if such conduct were allowed to continue, some outraged colonist might hire a black man to horse-whip a lieutenant-governor.*

A Reform Victory.—It was a great relief when Lord Falkland in August, 1846, gave place to Sir John Harvey. Even he, however, failed to secure a coalition. The Reformers, feeling sure of their ground, were content to wait the issue of a general election. It came in August, 1847, and the result justified the stand they had taken. In the new assembly they would have a clear majority.

The Contest in New Brunswick.—Early in 1845 Sir William Colebrooke, judging from what had taken place in Canada and Nova Scotia that his right to appoint whom he pleased to office was beyond question, made his son-in-law provincial secretary. Wilmot and some others of the executive council at once resigned. The colonial office, indeed, refused to ratify the appointment, but the contest had the effect of breaking up the "no-party" coalition, and the Reform leaders, Wilmot, Fisher and

* There was also a humorous side to the contest. In Howe's paper, the *Nova Scotian*, Lord Falkland was ridiculed in prose and verse. "*The Lord of the Bed-Chamber*"—Lord Falkland had occupied that position in England—is entitled to rank as the most amusing piece of political literature in the annals of Canadian party warfare.

Ritchie, went into regular opposition. It will be remembered that in the election of 1842 the electors of the province had supported the executive council against the advocates of responsible government. The Reform leaders again took their stand upon the doctrine, and at the next general election so far succeeded that by formal resolution (February, 1848) the new assembly signified its adhesion to it.

CHAPTER XLIII.

INCREASING AUTONOMY.

A Common Triumph.—When Lord Elgin was appointed governor-general of British North America (1847) his instructions from the colonial secretary, Earl Grey, were to carry out the principle of Lord Russell's despatches to its logical result. Lord Elgin had married a daughter of Lord Durham, and was naturally anxious to see the views expressed in the celebrated report fairly applied to the government of the provinces. The spring of 1848 saw the second Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry in power in Canada, the Uniacke ministry installed in Nova Scotia, and Wilmot and Fisher—two of the leading Reformers of New Brunswick—made members of an executive council which openly avowed that it held office on the tenure of public confidence. In this complete establishment of "responsible government" the different provinces enjoyed a common triumph. The Reformers in each province had watched with much sympathy the progress of the struggle in the others. The leaders had been in frequent communication, and a concession gained from the colonial office for one province had often been a gain for all.

LORD ELGIN.

Further Imperial Concessions.—The right of self-govern-

ment in all matters relating to the internal affairs of the provinces being now fully conceded, the only question which could arise was: What matters are to be treated as matters of Imperial concern, and, as such, withheld from colonial control? In this question all the provinces were equally interested. Each province desired that its sphere of self-government should be as large as possible; that so far as was consistent with its relations to the British Empire it should enjoy a full autonomy. To this desire on the part of her colonies Great Britain made a most generous response. She had already given up all claim to dictate what salaries should be paid to colonial officials. Now many other matters, which had previously been controlled by the Imperial authorities, were handed over to be dealt with by the provincial parliaments as they might deem proper.

Great Britain's Trade Policy.—Freedom of trade and the right to control their own tariffs was gained, strange to say, in a way which for a time was extremely unpopular in the British provinces in America. To understand how this came about, Great Britain's trade policy in reference to her colonies must be briefly described. For nearly two hundred years she had monopolized the colonial trade. By the "Navigation Laws," passed in the time of Charles II., none but British-built ships could carry goods to or from British colonies. In the interest of British trade, Great Britain also framed the colonial tariffs. Even Franklin admitted the difference between duties imposed as a part of her trade policy and duties imposed with a view to raising a revenue within a colony. The American colonies rebelled because Great Britain insisted upon her right to lay a tax upon them in order to raise a revenue. In the celebrated Renunciation Act (1778), by which Great Britain declared that no such right would be exercised in future, she expressly reserved the right to impose duties in the interest of trade. Her right in this respect had never been disputed by the provinces, doubtless because the Act provided that the proceeds of all duties should be expended in the colonies in which they were respectively collected. As late as 1842 a complete colonial tariff had been framed in England for the British colonies in America. The provinces, indeed, from the earliest times had raised money for their own needs by customs duties; but all such Acts were closely scrutinized by the colonial

office. Any that were deemed hostile to British trading interests were promptly disallowed. As an offset to this monopoly of colonial trade, Great Britain imposed upon colonial products a lower rate of duty than was charged upon the same articles when imported from a foreign country. Lumber from the Maritime Provinces, for instance, had thus an advantage over Baltic timber. When a proposal was made in England in 1830 to reduce the duty on the latter, New Brunswick was much excited. Poulett Thompson—who afterwards became Lord Sydenham—was burned in effigy at St. John and Fredericton because he favored the proposed reduction.

A Change of Policy.—For many years a struggle had been going on in Great Britain between those who supported the protective system—of which the colonial trade policy was only one phase—and those who desired free trade. In 1846 the corn laws were repealed by the British parliament, and the British markets were thrown open to the world's competition. The colonies were no longer given advantage there over other competitors; but—what ultimately proved a greater boon—they were expressly empowered to repeal any and all tariff Acts imposed upon them by Imperial legislation. Three years later (1849), the old navigation Acts were repealed, and the colonies became free to buy and sell wherever their interests might dictate.

Other Concessions.—In the same year (1849), Great Britain surrendered control of the postal service in the provinces. There was an intercolonial conference held during the summer at Halifax, for the purpose of concerting measures for postal communication between the provinces, as well as to discuss the possibility of intercolonial free trade. This last, however, was not to be until Confederation. Of Great Britain's attitude on the question of colonial freedom, George Brown was able to say, in 1850: "Frankly and generously she has, one by one, surrendered all the rights which were once held necessary to the condition of a colony—the patronage of the Crown, the right over the public domain, the civil list, the customs, the post-office, have all been relinquished." As early as 1856 it was laid down by Imperial authority (in the regulations for the colonial service): "The customs establishments in all the colonies are under the control and management of the several colonial

governments, and the colonial legislatures are empowered to establish their own customs regulations and rates of duty."

The British North American League.—In the British provinces in America, the loss arising from the radical change in Great Britain's trade policy was much felt before the larger gain became manifest. Canada, particularly, was placed at a disadvantage. An Imperial Act of 1843—sometimes spoken of as the Canada Corn Act—had made it profitable to import wheat into Canada from the United States. When turned into flour, it was imported into England at a low rate of duty. Mills and warehouses had been built in Canada for the carrying on of this industry, which the free trade legislation of 1846 would destroy. The Canadian assembly, therefore, passed an address protesting against the new trade policy of Great Britain. By the year 1849 the commercial distress had become so pronounced that the discontented merchants of Montreal formed a British North American League with a view to devising a remedy. The situation, unhappily, was complicated by an angry political agitation, in which some of the members of the League were prominent, over the Rebellion Losses Bill. This, doubtless, accounts for the extreme nature of some of the measures proposed in the League's manifesto. A return by Great Britain to the protective system; the adoption by Canada of that system; a confederation of all the British North American provinces; Canadian independence and free trade with the United States—all these were suggested. If, upon consideration, none of these should appear practicable, annexation to the United States was advocated. Over three hundred signed this manifesto. Among them were leading merchants and bankers, and some also who afterwards became prominent in public life in Canada.

Trade Revival.—The movement was short-lived. A marked revival in trade set in during the following year, and, as usually happens, all agitation for political change soon died out. There was a branch of the League in New Brunswick, but "the spirits of the people rose with the price of timber," and there, too, the League soon disbanded. From 1850 to 1857 the provinces enjoyed unwonted prosperity. Railways were being constructed in all directions, giving employment to all who sought it. The Crimean War in Europe sent up the price of grain, to the great

enrichment of the farming community. The Reciprocity Treaty gave free access to American markets. As a result, there was over-speculation. Railways were built which could pay no dividends. The close of the Crimean War finally brought on in 1857 a commercial crisis of extreme severity. This disaster, following upon the Desjardins canal railway accident, by which about seventy were killed, and the burning of a steamer on the St. Lawrence, with a loss of about 250 lives, marked this year as one to be long and sadly remembered. The commercial recovery, however, was remarkably rapid, giving evidence of the stability of our resources. Trade with the United States reached large proportions. When the American Civil War broke out (April, 1861) prices rose to figures almost fabulous, and so remained throughout the four years of that momentous struggle.

Tariff Control Fully Conceded.—For a time, indeed, the colonial office—at the instance of British merchants—showed a desire to keep Canadian tariffs within lines favorable to British trade. In 1859, however, the Canadian finance minister, Mr. Galt—afterwards Sir A. T. Galt—in answer to objections to the Canadian Tariff Act of that year, strongly affirmed "the right of the Canadian legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should, unfortunately, happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial ministry." Since that time no attempt has been made to interfere with our tariff legislation. Even in 1879, when a tariff was adopted—commonly known as the National Policy or N. P. tariff—confessedly based on the principle of protection to native industries, the colonial office declined even to send a protest to Canada. "However much Her Majesty's government," they said, "may regret the adoption of a protective system, they do not feel justified in opposing the wishes of the Canadian people in this matter."

CHAPTER XLIV.

COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.

The Victorian Age.—In all the provinces there was a common desire to profit by those remarkable developments in the use of

steam and electricity which constitute one of the chief glories of the period since the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of Great Britain. Of the various efforts in which this desire found expression, the project of an intercolonial railway to connect Canada with the Maritime Provinces deserves our first attention as being the earliest practical movement toward Confederation.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

An Intercolonial Railway—Early Projects.—As early as 1834 there had been a project for the building of a commercial line of railway between Canada and New Brunswick, and Major Yule, of the Royal Engineers, had surveyed a line for that purpose. It lay, however, through the territory in dispute between Maine and the British provinces, and, therefore, when the Ashburton Treaty gave the territory to the United States, nothing further was heard of this as an interprovincial undertaking. During the troubles of 1837-1838 the want of communication between the provinces had been felt, and Lord Durham in his report urged the necessity for an intercolonial railway as an Imperial work. The project was often discussed by leading men in all the provinces, but the first practical step was taken in 1846. Then, as a result of correspondence between the colonial secretary, the governor-general, and the different lieutenant-governors, the three provinces made provision for the survey of a line at their joint expense. It was understood that if a suitable route could be found, the line was to be built by the Imperial government, the provinces assisting to the best of their ability. Major Robinson and Captain Henderson, two officers of the Royal Engineers, laid out a line (1846-1848). The provinces in 1849 made liberal grants in land and money to aid the project, but in the end the Imperial government declined to proceed with

the work, taking objection to the expense and to the route proposed.

Imperial Encouragement. — In 1850 there was a great railway convention at Portland, Maine, at which delegates from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were present. Much enthusiasm was manifested, and a scheme was adopted for the building of the European and North American Railway from Portland through New Brunswick to Halifax. New Brunswick strongly supported the project, but Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, thought it impossible to raise the necessary capital. Upon his return to Halifax he suggested a further attempt to procure Imperial assistance to an intercolonial line. With characteristic energy he visited England, and by addresses and pamphlets created a strong interest in the British provinces in North America, whose vast resources he most eloquently portrayed. The colonial secretary, Earl Grey, was induced to promise an Imperial guarantee for payment of the interest upon any sum, up to £800,000, which might be borrowed to carry out the work. With such security the necessary funds could be borrowed at a low rate of interest, thus lessening the annual burden upon the provinces.

Colonial Conference at Toronto. — Lord Elgin was informed of these proceedings, and at once invited delegates from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to meet the Canadian government at Toronto. E. B. Chandler and Joseph Howe were the delegates chosen. The meeting took place in June, 1851, and the terms upon which the work was to proceed were arranged with little difficulty. The adhesion of New Brunswick was secured, apparently, upon the understanding that the European and North American Railway (mentioned above) was to form part of the project, and that an effort would be made to procure the adoption of the line by the valley of the St. John instead of what is known as the Gulf Shore line. This latter route is that now followed by the main line of the Intercolonial Railway. As a glance at the map will show, it does not touch either Fredericton, the capital of the province, or St. John, its commercial centre. Before returning to Nova Scotia, Howe visited Montreal and Quebec, and by speeches and interviews with leading men did much to create a cordial feeling among the different provinces.

The Project Fails. — In January, 1852, three members of

the Canadian ministry, Hincks, Taché and Young, proceeded to Halifax, and a final conference was had with Howe and Chandler. At this stage Howe grew lukewarm and failed to accompany the other delegates to England. He thought, apparently, that to the scheme, as now proposed, the Imperial authorities would turn a deaf ear. So it turned out. The offer of an Imperial guarantee was withdrawn, and the project of an intercolonial railway—though several times discussed between the provinces—was left to find its fulfilment in the larger project of Confederation. Hincks procured the assistance of British capitalists, and the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada was the result. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, after a short delay, took up, each upon its own account, the work of constructing such local lines as the trade of those provinces required.

Navigation.—In an earlier chapter a short account was given of the introduction of steamboats, and of the improvement of the great waterway of the St. Lawrence valley by the building of the Lachine, Welland and other canals. The establishment of the Cunard line of ocean steamships was also mentioned. Further progress in this direction was made during the period before us. Canal construction along the St. Lawrence went on apace. In 1852 the Canadian parliament offered a liberal subsidy to aid in the establishment of a transatlantic line from Montreal to Liverpool. Out of this enterprise grew the well-known Allan line, which was in regular operation by the year 1856, running in summer from Montreal and in winter from Portland and Halifax.

Railways in Canada.—This, however, is pre-eminently a railway era. Scarcely were the Canadian canals in good working order when railway competition in the United States threatened to divert traffic from them. Shrewd Canadians saw that they, too, must build railways. As early as 1845 a charter was obtained for the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, to run between Montreal and Portland. This was afterwards made part of the Grand Trunk. The year 1849 saw many charters granted, and an Act passed guaranteeing payment of the interest on loans to railways more than seventy miles in length. This gave a great impetus to railway projects. In 1850 there were not more than forty miles actually open for traffic; before the close of 1853 the Grand Trunk was completed between Montreal and Portland, the Great

Western was running between Hamilton and Windsor, on the Detroit River, and the Northern was open from Toronto to Barrie, on Lake Simcoe. An Act passed in 1852—the Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund Act—permitted municipalities to borrow money on the credit of the province to aid railway enterprise. Counties, townships, towns and villages vied with each other in bonusing railway lines in all directions. The result was disastrous. Railway construction became a mania, and it needed the crisis of 1857 to put a stop to the building of useless lines. Many years elapsed before the municipalities were relieved of the burden of debt thus incurred.

Railways in the Maritime Provinces.—In Nova Scotia an Act was passed in 1854 providing for the construction of railways as government works. In the following year a line was opened from Halifax to Windsor, and an extension of it toward Pictou was well under way. In New Brunswick the work of railway construction was at first let to contractors, who became bankrupt, and in 1855 a line from St. John to Shediac was undertaken as a government work. It was completed in 1860. In 1864 was passed what was facetiously called the Lobster Bill—in so many directions did its various clauses point—offering liberal grants in aid of railway construction. Under it many lines were built.

A Fair Equipment.—By the time Confederation became an accomplished fact, the various provinces were all fairly well equipped with railway facilities, and only a connecting link was needed between Canada and the Maritime Provinces. Telegraphic communication had kept pace with the railways—to some extent, indeed, had preceded them. By the year 1860 there was an efficient service throughout the provinces. In 1858 the first Atlantic cable was laid, but was almost at once broken, and it was several years before it was again in successful operation.

The Reciprocity Treaty, 1854.—The desire for commercial expansion was also shown in efforts to obtain free trade with the United States, by a mutual abandonment of the customs duties upon importations. In 1854 Lord Elgin went to Washington in company with delegates from Canada, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and succeeded in negotiating the Elgin-Marcy Treaty, popularly known as the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.

Under it certain natural products — grain, flour, breadstuffs, animals, meat, hides, wool, timber, coal, fish, poultry, and some other articles—were to be reciprocally admitted free of duty into the United States and the British provinces. The navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Canadian canals was made free to American vessels; that of Lake Michigan to all British vessels. No duty was to be levied in New Brunswick upon lumber floated down the St. John River from its upper waters in the State of Maine. The other provisions of the treaty had reference to the sea-coast fisheries, and as these are still a subject of dispute between Canada and the United States, a fuller statement concerning them must be given.

The Fisheries Question.—When the United States ceased to be subject to the British Crown, her citizens lost the right, which they had previously enjoyed, of fishing in what are called the territorial waters—that is, within three miles of the coast—of the loyal British provinces. In 1818 an agreement was entered into between Great Britain and the United States, and upon this "Convention," in the absence of any other arrangement, the rights of American fishermen upon our coasts still depend. By it Great Britain agreed to allow citizens of the United States to fish around the Magdalen Islands and along certain parts of the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, with the privilege of landing on those coasts for the purpose of drying and curing their fish. Their rights upon all other parts of the coast are very limited. American fishermen are allowed to enter bays or harbors "for the purposes of shelter and of repairing damages therein, or purchasing wood and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever." For some years the chief cause of complaint on the part of the American fishermen was that they were not allowed to go ashore to buy bait for use in the cod fisheries, which were carried on almost entirely beyond the three-mile limit. After a time, however, the mackerel fishery grew to large proportions, and, as this fish is caught within the limit, the American fishermen felt aggrieved at their exclusion. But, in the interest of their own fishermen, the Maritime Provinces resented all encroachments upon their fishing grounds; and, in 1837, the British parliament voted £500 to arm small vessels to prevent any breach of the Convention of 1818. This strict enforcement

of its terms naturally created much ill-will. By the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 an end was put for a time to all difficulty upon the question. The liberty to take fish of every kind, except shell fish, upon the coasts of the British provinces was conceded to American fishermen, without any restriction as to the three-mile limit. They were also to be at liberty to land for the purposes of drying their nets and curing their fish, so long as they committed no trespass upon private property. The concession was limited to the sea fishery, fishing in the rivers being forbidden.

The Treaty Abrogated.—Through some misunderstanding, Nova Scotia was not represented at the negotiation of this treaty, which was looked upon at first with much disfavor in that province. Nova Scotians thought that the valuable inshore fisheries had been "bartered away" for a slight return. After the treaty had been for a few years in operation, Nova Scotia was fain to admit, with all the provinces, that an enormous impetus had been given to the trade between the United States and the British provinces; and she, therefore, joined with them in the endeavor to secure its renewal. The treaty was in force for eleven years (1855-1866), and came to an end pursuant to notice given by the United States, the reason put forward for its abrogation being that the British provinces received a larger benefit from it than the United States. The real reason was the hostile feeling toward Great Britain on the part of the northern States, owing to British sympathy with the South during the American Civil War. Efforts have from time to time been made to secure a renewal of the reciprocity clauses of this treaty, and even to extend them, but up to the present time these efforts have been fruitless. The fishery clauses of the treaty fell, of course, with the others.

CHAPTER XLV.

POLITICAL HISTORY (1848-1864).

Maritime Provinces — Municipal Government. — The internal affairs of the Maritime Provinces from 1848 to 1864 must be dealt with very briefly. In Nova Scotia the Uniacke ministry, composed of such men as Uniacke, Howe, Young, MacNab, and

Huntington, remained at the head of affairs until the general election of 1855, when they were defeated at the polls. During their eight years' tenure of office much attention was given to reform in the practical working of the various departments of government, to educational improvement, and to consolidating the laws of the province. Owing to the absence of any system of local assessment, every effort to establish a municipal system

MARITIME PROVINCES
OF CANADA.

failed to secure popular support. Much of the time of the provincial legislature was, in consequence, spent in providing for local improvements such as, in Upper Canada, were looked after by the individual municipalities. The same remark applies to Prince Edward Island. To this day no regular municipal system has been adopted in these two provinces. The chief towns indeed are self-governed, but under charters of incorporation granted from time to time by the provincial parliament. In New Brunswick an Act was passed in 1851 under which counties were given the right to adopt a municipal system if they should think fit. They have

all long since done so, and the powers of these county councils are yearly becoming wider and more important.

Educational System.—The same causes long operated to prevent the adoption of efficient educational systems. In 1849 Joseph Howe declared that there was an utter lack of system. In the following year the example of Canada was followed in Nova Scotia to the extent of appointing a general superintendent of education. School libraries were also provided. School trustees were elected by popular vote, but the schools were maintained by those whose children attended them and by government grants. Not until 1864 was a system of free schools, supported by local assessment, established in Nova Scotia. Prince Edward Island had adopted the new system—not very successfully, however—in 1855; but New Brunswick continued the old system until 1872. The result of the establishment of free schools has been most satisfactory in all the provinces. In Nova Scotia the war against denominational colleges continued during all these years, but the system defied all efforts to uproot it.

Political Battles in Nova Scotia.—In the election of 1855 Joseph Howe was defeated in Cumberland by Dr. Charles Tupper, who became provincial secretary in the Johnson ministry, which succeeded to office in 1856. Dr.—now Sir Charles—Tupper has ever since occupied a prominent position in public affairs. At the general election of 1859 the Johnson ministry was defeated, and the Hon. G. R. Young chosen premier. In 1863, however, the electors again declared in favor of the party led by the Hon. J. W. Johnson. Upon his elevation to the bench, the Hon. W. A. Henry—afterwards Mr. Justice Henry, of the Supreme Court of Canada—took his place at the head of affairs in Nova Scotia.

In New Brunswick.—In New Brunswick, during these years, no very serious local questions agitated political parties. Upon the question of railway construction opinions were divided, and the relative merits of "through" lines and "local" lines were much discussed. Reciprocity, law consolidation, the improvement of agriculture, reform in administration and in the school system, all came up in turn and provided the political parties with battle-cries at the different elections. The old Reform leader, the Hon. L. A. Wilmot, was now a judge; but his former colleague, Charles Fisher, was still in public life. For some time prior to Confedera-

tion, a Liberal government under the leadership of the Hon. S. L. Tilley held office in New Brunswick.

The Rebellion Losses Bill.—In Canada the second Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry (1848-1851) accomplished much in the way of wise legislation. The session of 1849 is remembered chiefly on account of the celebrated Rebellion Losses Bill and the lawless proceedings to which its passage gave rise. This bill was a legacy from the evil days of 1837-1838, and made provision for payment of losses suffered in Lower Canada during the outbreaks there. Losses in Upper Canada had been paid under an Act passed in 1842; and in 1845 the assembly had unanimously adopted an address to the governor asking that steps might be taken toward payment of the losses in the lower province. The difficulty was in determining what persons should be compensated. The Draper ministry had failed to face the question, but the new Reform ministry took it up. A bill was introduced under which none would be excluded but those actually banished for complicity in the rebellion, or convicted by the sentence of a court of justice. To take any other course was to open up the question of every claimant's loyalty, and this in the face of an Imperial amnesty. The bill passed both Houses, and Lord Elgin, being of opinion that the measure was one of purely provincial concern, gave the Crown's assent to it. A mob of well-dressed young men gathered about the entrance to the parliament buildings as Lord Elgin rode away, and pelted his carriage with rotten eggs and other missiles. That night (25th April), a mass meeting was held on the Champ de Mars, at which inflammatory speeches were delivered, with the result that the infuriated crowd rushed to the assembly chamber, drove out the members, and set fire to the building. It was entirely consumed, and with it one of the best libraries on the continent, and all the public records. Next night there was further rioting, and Lafontaine's house was sacked. A few days later Lord Elgin again came in from his residence at Monklands, and was literally driven out of the city by an angry mob. Though stones were freely used by his assailants, happily no one was seriously injured. The governor acted with marked forbearance throughout this unpleasant episode, and forbade the calling out of the military to put down the rioters. In August the ringleaders were arrested, and this was the signal for a further outbreak.

The mob again attacked Lafontaine's house, but this time he was prepared and they were driven off after one of their number had been killed. One result of these outrages was the removal of the seat of government from Montreal. As a mark of approval of his conduct during these trying times, Lord Elgin was made Baron Elgin of the peerage of the United Kingdom.

Return of Papineau and Mackenzie.—During the same session (1849) another Act was passed granting a general amnesty to all who had been concerned in the outbreaks of 1837-1838. From time to time pardons had been granted or prosecutions formally abandoned in individual cases, and many of the refugees had already returned to Canada. Dr. Wolfred Nelson had been a member of the last parliament. Papineau himself was a member of this, but, though for a time he showed a disposition toward agitation, he never regained his old ascendancy. He endeavored to put himself at the head of a movement for colonizing vacant districts in Lower Canada, but was skilfully forestalled by Lord Elgin, who, by himself taking up the project, prevented it from assuming a political or racial character. This movement, it may be noted, had a marked effect in stopping emigration to the United States, and in filling up unsettled tracts along the lower St. Lawrence. About the only one left to profit by the amnesty was William Lyon Mackenzie. He had suffered imprisonment in the United States for breach of their neutrality laws, and after his release had experienced many reverses of fortune. All his old admiration for republican institutions had vanished, and he at once took advantage of the amnesty and returned to Toronto. At a bye-election in 1850 he was elected to the assembly as member for Haldimand, his opponent being George Brown. In the assembly Mackenzie became a somewhat privileged character, but was never again an important factor in politics. He died in Toronto in 1861.

Two Wise Acts.—In the sessions of 1850 and 1851 much useful legislation was passed. The only Acts which call for special mention were two, passed in 1851. By one of these our present decimal currency was introduced. By the other the law of primogeniture was abolished, so that upon the death of any person without a will his land is divided among his children instead of going to the eldest son or nearest heir.

A Division among Reformers.—The Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry proved too conservative for the more ardent reformers in both sections of the province, while the more moderate Conservatives, disgusted with the Montreal outrages, inclined to give the ministry a reasonable support. By the year 1850 two new parties had become distinctly developed, the "Clear Grits" in Upper Canada and the "*Parti Rouge*" in the lower section of the province. Both of these favored the immediate secularization of the Clergy Reserves, the abolition of the seigneurial tenure, and certain radical reforms in the election law. In the autumn of 1851 Baldwin and Lafontaine withdrew from public life, and their places were taken by Francis Hincks and A. N. Morin.

The Liberal-Conservative Alliance.—The Hincks-Morin administration (1851-1854) was marked by great railway development, by the passing in 1852 of an Act increasing the representation in the assembly from eighty-four to 130 (sixty-five from each section of the province), and by the negotiation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. After the election in the summer of 1854, it became evident that the ministry was no longer supported by a majority, if Clear Grits, *Rouges*, and Conservatives were all counted against it. The ministry therefore resigned. No party having a majority in the House, a coalition of some sort seemed unavoidable. John A. Macdonald was the leading spirit in bringing about a union between the Conservatives and those who had supported the late ministry, the former agreeing to accept the verdict of the people—which had been strongly pronounced—in favor of secularizing the Clergy Reserves and abolishing the seigneurial tenure. The result was the Liberal-Conservative Alliance of 1854, and the formation of the MacNab-Morin ministry. The agreement in reference to the reserves and the seigneurial tenure was faithfully observed.

The Clergy Reserves Secularized.—And first as to the Clergy Reserves. It will be remembered that by the Imperial Act of 1840 the proceeds of all past sales of these reserves were set apart for the exclusive benefit of the Anglicans and Presbyterians, while the proceeds of all future sales were to be distributed: one-third to the Anglicans, one-sixth to the Presbyterians, and the remaining one-half among such other religious bodies as should choose to become suitors for state aid. This arrangement, though

viewed with much disfavor by a majority of Canadians, was allowed to remain unquestioned for some years. The whole question was reopened in 1847 by the action of those who benefited by the Act. It was said that the management of the reserves by the government was not judicious, and a request was made, therefore, that the lands themselves should be handed over to the churches to be dealt with as they might deem proper. Public attention was thus drawn to the question, and an agitation at once sprang up for complete secularization. At first many of the more moderate reformers deprecated a renewal of the old feud. By the year 1850, however, the current of popular opinion had set in so strongly that an address was passed by both Houses requesting that the Canadian parliament should be allowed to deal with the matter. Owing to political complications in England, the necessary Imperial Act was not passed until 1853. In 1854 the question was finally disposed of by the Canadian parliament. Provision was made for the sale of the reserves, and, after setting aside a fund for those clergymen who had acquired vested interests in the income arising from them, the balance was divided among the municipalities in proportion to population. The further endowment of rectories had been forbidden by an Act passed some years before this time.

The Seigneurial Tenure Abolished.—In the same year (1854) an Act was passed abolishing the Seigneurial Tenure in Lower Canada. In the earlier years of British rule the seigneur had desired to change his tenure into English freehold in order to escape payment of feudal dues to the Crown, and in order also to turn his obligation to accept tenants upon customary terms into a right to sell the land freed of all such conditions. The *habitant*, prizing the right to secure land upon easy terms, had opposed the change of tenure. Now the position was reversed. The Crown had long since abandoned all claim upon the seigneurs, and, as the seigneuries filled up and became more valuable, the rents payable by the *censitaires* were raised. It was contended that under the ordinances of the French intendants the exaction of an increased rent was illegal, and upon this question the agitation first arose. In the year 1852 a bill was passed by the assembly dealing only with this question of rent. It fixed a low rate for the future, with provision, however, for compensation

to the seigneurs should the rents previously exacted be held legal. It did not attempt to abolish the tenure. Fortunately, perhaps, the bill was rejected by the legislative council, in which the influence of the seigneurs was strong. The result was an increased agitation for a total abolition of the tenure. The Act of 1854 effected this. It provided for the appointment of a special court—usually spoken of as the Seigneurial Court—to determine what legal rights and privileges the seigneurs really possessed and what compensation should be paid to them for their loss. The amount fixed was duly paid by the province, and so vanished this feudal tenure.

Lord Elgin.—Toward the close of 1854, Lord Elgin's term of office came to an end. In their efforts for public improvement his ministers had always found in him an eager ally, and by his eloquent speeches throughout the province he had done much to spur the people to further endeavor. At the same time he had, during a somewhat trying period, held an even balance between opposing parties. His subsequent career was distinguished, and he was finally made Viceroy of India, which position he held at the time of his death. His successor in Canada was Sir Edmund Head, who was promoted from the lieutenant-governorship of New Brunswick.

Sectional Difficulties.—The alliance of parties which supported the MacNab-Morin ministry was sufficiently powerful to retain the control of public affairs for nearly eight years,* with one notable intermission to which reference will be made later. The legislation of 1854 had settled the last of the great questions which had divided political parties and a short season of comparative calm now followed. The strength of the government lay in the difficulty experienced by the opposition—led by such men as George Brown, A. A. Dorion, and John Sandfield Macdonald—in agreeing upon a political platform which would find support in both sections of the province. In Upper Canada an agitation had been growing up for some years against Separate Schools, for which provision had been made by the School Act of 1841. The granting of public money to sectarian institutions was another subject of attack. Upon these questions there was little prospect of agreement between the two sections of the province.

* During these years the ministry underwent many changes in its composition, and was known by various names—MacNab-Morin, MacNab-Taché, Taché-Macdonald, Macdonald-Cartier, Cartier-Macdonald.

"Rep. by Pop."—Still less prospect was there for agreement upon the question of "Rep. by Pop.," as it was called, which about this time began to agitate Upper Canada. The census of 1852 had disclosed that the position of the two sections was now reversed; that the population of Lower Canada was some sixty thousand less than that of Upper Canada. It was evident that this difference was increasing, and a claim was put forward by the Reformers of Upper Canada that in the assembly there should be "representation by population." This had been denied to Lower Canada at the union when she had the majority, and it was hardly reasonable to expect that she would agree to any change now that she was in the minority. The Reformers of Upper Canada contested the election of 1857 on the platform of "Rep. by Pop." and "No Sectarian Schools," and secured a majority from that section of the province. In Lower Canada, on the other hand, the ministry was sustained by an overwhelming majority, the alliance of the *Parti Rouge* with the Upper Canadian Reformers proving fatal to the influence of the former.

The Seat of Government.—Another question over which sectional feeling was aroused was the question of the seat of government. When Montreal was abandoned (1849) it was agreed that Toronto and Quebec should enjoy the distinction alternately, four years each. This had been found very inconvenient, and the propriety of choosing a permanent capital was recognized by all. Montreal being out of the question, no agreement was possible, and after some vacillation the selection was left to Her Majesty. The result was that Ottawa was chosen, and there the parliament of old Canada met for the first and last time in 1866.

The "Double Shuffle."—In the session of 1858 an event occurred which is still often referred to on account of its constitutional importance. The Macdonald-Cartier ministry was defeated on a motion respecting the seat of government. Although afterwards sustained by a small majority on a vote of want of confidence, moved by George Brown, the ministry saw fit to resign. Sir Edmund Head thereupon called upon George Brown to form a cabinet, but after it was formed the governor declined to dissolve parliament as advised by his new ministers. He took the ground that an election had just been held, and that there was no reason to expect any change in the relative strength of parties

as the result of a new election. The Brown-Dorion ministry at once resigned after holding office for less than three days (August 2nd to August 4th). The governor's course was much criticised by the Reform party, and it is now generally admitted that he should not have called upon Mr. Brown to form a ministry if he was not prepared to follow its advice. The old ministry returned to office with a new name—the Cartier-Macdonald ministry—perpetrating what is known as the "Double Shuffle." The several ministers took charge of departments other than those they had before controlled, and relying upon the strict letter of a provincial statute did not seek re-election in their respective constituencies. Almost immediately there was another change, and the ministers were installed in the offices they had respectively held before the resignation. The proceeding was held legal, but was so clearly opposed to the spirit of the constitution that the statute was amended to prevent its repetition.

A Federal Union Suggested.—In 1859 the Reform party of Upper Canada declared in favor of a federal union between the two sections of the province. Each section should have its own parliament to regulate its local affairs; while one parliament, chosen on a basis of representation by population, should legislate on all matters of common concern. This is the principle upon which the larger confederation of all the provinces was afterwards established. The Reform party of Lower Canada also adopted this platform, but there was little cohesion between the two wings. When a resolution in favor of the project was moved in the assembly in 1860, it was defeated by a large majority. The census of 1861 showed that Upper Canada had a population about three hundred thousand in excess of that of Lower Canada, and the demand in the former for "Rep. by Pop." grew vehement.

The Canadian Dead-lock.—The result of the general election in 1861 was to give to no party a decided majority. From that time until a coalition government was formed in 1864, no less than four—some say five—different ministries held office.* The position in 1864 cannot be better described than in the

* In 1862 the Cartier-Macdonald ministry was defeated on a militia bill, which was thought too expensive a measure. It was succeeded by the Macdonald (J. S.)-Sicotte ministry, which, after a few months, was defeated on a motion of want of confidence. Parliament was dissolved and the ministry was reconstructed, becoming the Mac-

language of John A. Macdonald, when, in 1865, he moved the adoption of the Quebec resolutions, upon which our Confederation is founded : "Then men of all parties and all shades of politics became alarmed at the aspect of affairs. They found that such was the opposition between the two sections of the province, such was the danger of impending anarchy in consequence of irreconcilable differences of opinion in reference to representation by population between Upper and Lower Canada, that unless some solution was arrived at we should suffer under a succession of weak governments—weak in numerical support, weak in force, and weak in power of doing good. All were alarmed at this state of affairs. We had election after election, we had ministry after ministry, with the same result. Parties were so equally balanced that the vote of one member might decide the fate of the administration. This condition of things was well calculated to arouse the earnest consideration of every lover of his country, and I am happy to say it had that effect." The solution was Confederation.

CHAPTER XLVI.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND (1840-1867).

A Desire for "Responsible Government."—In Prince Edward Island, with its comparatively small population, the demand for responsible government came at a much later period than in the other provinces. Once demanded, it was conceded with very little delay on the part of the colonial office, and without much friction on the island. The disputes between the executive and the assembly were apparently never of a very serious character. The administrative staff was not large, and was supported by the Imperial government out of the revenues collected on the island under Imperial Acts. Sir H. V. Huntley, who was lieutenant-governor from 1841 to 1847, quarrelled bitterly with the speaker of the assembly (Hon. Joseph Pope) over a proposition, opposed by

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donald (J. S.)-Dorion ministry; but the result of the election was to leave matters in as tangled a condition as before. Again the ministry resigned, and the second Taché-Macdonald government was formed. It in turn was outvoted, and to all appearance a dead-lock had come.

the latter, to increase the lieutenant-governor's salary. From this rather petty beginning a desire grew up that all expenditure should be controlled by the people's representatives. There was the hope, too, that an executive responsible to the people for its conduct of public affairs might urge on with more energy and more weight a settlement of the vexed land question. The feeling, therefore, in favor of following the example of the other provinces gradually acquired strength.

A Short Contest.—To this end an address to Her Majesty was carried in the assembly in 1847. It advocated the appointment to the executive council of four members from the popular party in the assembly. These four were to be responsible to the assembly for all acts of government. To this address the colonial secretary replied that owing to the small number and poor circumstances of the population (the wealth of the island being largely centred in Charlottetown) it was not as yet thought expedient to introduce the system of responsible government into the island. It was intimated, however, that in the opinion of the home authorities the island assembly should now undertake to pay all official salaries, except that of the lieutenant-governor. To this the assembly promptly responded that it was prepared to do so, if control of all the revenues of the island were given up, all claim to quit-rents abandoned, the few Crown lands transferred, and a system of responsible government introduced. All these demands were agreed to by the colonial secretary, with the one important exception of responsible government. In order to ascertain how far the people of the island supported their representatives in their demands, the lieutenant-governor, Sir Donald Campbell, dissolved the assembly. Upon the meeting of the new House, George Coles, the leader of the movement for responsible government, moved a vote of want of confidence in the executive

HON. GEORGE COLES.

council, which was carried. Then, in order to force the matter to an issue, the assembly declined to proceed with the work of legislation, or to vote any but the most meagre supplies.

Responsible Government Conceded.—Sir Donald Campbell, in proroguing the assembly, expressed his disapproval of what he called "the premeditated neglect of their legislative functions." But the assembly soon had reason to congratulate themselves upon the result of their decided stand. When they next met (1851) a despatch was laid before them in which the new lieutenant-governor (Sir A. Bannerman) was instructed to introduce responsible government. The executive council was at once remodelled upon this basis. Control of the internal postal service of the island was at the same time conceded as in the case of the other provinces, and the island legislature at once passed an Act for the improvement of this important service. The result of the introduction of responsible government was very soon seen in the wiping out of the public debt of Prince Edward Island, which in 1850 had amounted to £28,000.

Political Progress.—Other political events may be briefly mentioned. In 1848 a Simultaneous Polling Act was passed, under which elections to the assembly are all held on one day. In 1852 an Act was passed which very materially extended the elective franchise. At this time there was apparent danger of a deadlock between the legislative council and the assembly, a majority of the former being opposed to the government (the Holl ministry), which had but a small majority in the assembly. Although an election had just taken place, it had been held upon the old franchise. With a view, therefore, to an expression of opinion by the enlarged electorate, Sir A. Bannerman dissolved the assembly. The result was a decided majority against the government, and the Holl ministry at once resigned. While substantially in the right, the lieutenant-governor was much blamed for his action. It was generally anticipated that a general election upon the new voters' lists would result adversely to the government, and Sir A. Bannerman's conduct had the appearance of undue favor to the party which had a majority in the legislative council. There was in some respects an apparent failure to properly appreciate the true workings of popular government. Thus, as late as 1857, there was a strong feeling on the island that the salaried heads of departments should not have seats in the assembly, the provin-

cial secretary being the only member of the executive administration who was able to secure a constituency. In 1861 the legislative council was made elective, a previous attempt to bring it more into harmony with the popular branch by increasing its numbers having failed of effect.

Material Advancement.—The census of 1861 disclosed that in spite of the incubus of a bad land system the province was making a steady growth. Its population had increased to over 80,000, as against 62,000 in 1848. The effect upon Prince Edward Island of the Elgin-Marcy Reciprocity Treaty was most beneficial, opening up for products of the farm, the forest and the sea the splendid markets of the American cities on the Atlantic seaboard.* Ship-building was extensively carried on, but of late years, owing to the substitution of iron for wood in ship construction, the industry has declined. In 1855 Charlottetown was incorporated; and in the same year the Bank of Prince Edward Island received its charter.

Education.—An Education Act, the basis of the present provincial system, was passed in 1852, and in 1861 there were 352 schools upon the island. In 1855 a Normal School for the training of teachers was established at Charlottetown; and in 1859 Prince of Wales College, the apex of the non-sectarian system of the island, was incorporated.

The Land Question.—Meanwhile, the evils of the land system remained unremedied. The position of the proprietors had apparently become stronger as the years rolled by. To enforce a forfeiture against the present owners, who had become possessed of the lands in the ordinary course of law by inheritance, or, in many cases, by purchase, would have been looked upon as an act of spoliation. Though many huge tracts of wild land still impeded settlement, the most serious phase of the land question had come to be the relation between landlord and tenant. Efforts were from time to time made to induce the proprietors to grant long leases, so that the tenants might feel safe in making improvements upon their lands; but, upon the whole, these efforts had proved unavailing. There seemed to be nothing left but to pass a compulsory Land Purchase Act, under which the proprietors would be

* The census returns of 1861 show that there were 89 fishing establishments upon the island, 141 grist mills, 176 saw-mills, 46 carding mills, and 55 tanneries.

compelled to sell the land to the tenants upon fair terms. But in this matter the Imperial authorities practically withheld those rights of self-government which in other matters were freely admitted. It was insisted that the settlement of the question must be by some voluntary arrangement between the proprietors on the one hand and the island government, acting for the tenants, on the other. Two large estates, aggregating over 143,000 acres—one of them owned by the descendants of the Earl of Selkirk—were, accordingly, purchased by the government and resold to settlers at a low price.

The Commission of 1860.—As a final solution of the vexed question, certain proprietors—headed by Sir Samuel Cunard, the founder of the Cunard Line of ocean steamships—suggested that three commissioners should be appointed, one to be named by the British Government, one by the proprietors, and the third by the island government. These commissioners were to inquire into the relations between landlord and tenant on the island, to fix the price at which every tenant might have the option of purchasing his land, and also to determine in what cases arrears of rent should be remitted. The island legislature promptly agreed to this suggestion, and named Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, as their commissioner. The proprietors named Mr. J. W. Ritchie, of New Brunswick, as their commissioner; and the British Government appointed Mr. John H. Gray as the third. Their report (1860) depicted in strong language the evils resulting from the improvident grant of nearly the whole island to a few large proprietors. The remedy suggested was a compulsory Land Purchase Act. The general principles were laid down upon which the price to be paid by the tenants should be fixed, but the working out of these principles in each particular case was to be left to a Land Purchase Court.

The Question Unsettled.—Unfortunately, their suggestions were not adopted, for the proprietors declined to accept the suggested solution of the question. In their refusal they were supported by the law officers of the Crown, upon the ground that the proprietors had agreed that the commissioners should fix the price, but not that they should delegate this duty to another tribunal. The result was that an Act passed by the island legislature to confirm the report was disallowed in England, and

thus the whole question was thrown again into the arena of dispute. Its final settlement was not to take place until after Prince Edward Island had become a province of the Dominion of Canada.

CHAPTER XLVII.

"THE GREAT LONE LAND" (1835-1867).

Twenty Years on the Red River.—With the exception of a settlement at Portage la Prairie, amounting to about four hundred, chiefly English half-breeds, the only population in all the region west to the Rocky Mountains (except Indians and the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company) was along the banks of the Red River. The council of Assiniboia, formed in 1835, was still the governing body in the colony, and still the creature of the company. For some years (1839-1853), Recorder Adam Thom—a Scotch lawyer from Montreal—acted as judge in the Red River settlement. But from the year 1853 the Court of the Governor and Council of Assiniboia alone exercised judicial functions, in all but trivial cases. The monotony of life in the settlement was diversified, in 1846, by the arrival of five hundred regulars of the Sixth Royal Regiment, who were sent to Fort Garry on account of the threatening aspect of the Oregon boundary dispute. After two years they were replaced by a force of pensioners, 140 strong, under Major Caldwell, who remained in the settlement until 1855. As a result of persistent complaint, the customs duty of seven and a half per cent. upon all exports and imports was reduced to four per cent.; but the company's monopoly of the fur trade was still vigorously insisted upon. They were, however, practically forced to abandon the prosecution of the French half-breeds (*Métis*) for taking furs from the Indians in exchange for other goods, and to this extent their monopoly was broken (1849) in the immediate neighborhood of the Red River settlement.

Quiet Progress.—In 1849 a census was taken, from which it appears that along the Red River from Upper Fort Garry, at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, to the Stone Fort or Lower Fort Garry, over twenty miles below, there was a total population of 5,391 souls (about one-fifth of that number being

adult males), living in 745 dwelling houses and having over 6,300 acres of land under cultivation. The French half-breeds were frequently drawn into the Indian wars between the Sioux and the Salteaux to the south-west of the settlement; but apparently the settlers themselves did not suffer from Indian hostility. In 1852 there was another great flood upon the river, which did much damage; and from time to time the grasshoppers proved very destructive to the settlers' crops.

Canadian Immigrants. — About the year 1856 a large measure of attention was given in Canada to these north-western regions, and much credit must be given to the Hon. William Macdougall for his persistent advocacy of Canada's claim to this great territory. A committee was appointed by the Canadian parliament to investigate the title of the Hudson's Bay Company to exercise jurisdiction and enjoy a monopoly in the north-west. The committee reported that this territory belonged largely to Canada, having been part of that New France which was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, at which time the Hudson's Bay Company had scarcely ventured away from the shore of the great bay. The company were now seeking to secure a renewal of their monopoly, and Chief Justice Draper was sent to England to uphold the Canadian claim. But the company were still too powerful, and were left in control of the territory east of the Rocky Mountains. Canada did not forget her claim. An exploring party was sent out in 1857, and as a result of its report a number of Canadians were induced (1859) to migrate to the Red River settlement. Among them was one whose name must ever be intimately associated with Manitoba's early history—Dr. John Schultz, afterwards Sir John Schultz, and lately lieutenant-governor of that province. A newspaper, the *Nor'-Wester*, was established, of which for some time Dr. Schultz was proprietor. From the first it took strong ground in opposition to the autocratic rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in favor of an elective assembly.

A Desire for Self-Government.—In the same year (1859) the first attempt at steam navigation on Red River was made, and, though as a commercial venture the experiment was not a success, it deserves notice as an evidence of increasing enterprise. The agitation for representation in the council went on apace. As the company gave no sign of any intention to grant it, memorials were

drawn up and largely signed in favor of union with Canada. At Portage la Prairie, the people set up a local government of their own, which, however, they at once abandoned on learning from the colonial secretary that the proceeding was illegal.

The Pacific Coast—A New Colony.—After the Treaty of Oregon (1846) a tide of immigration set in to the Oregon territory. In 1848 the United States, as a result of a successful war with Mexico, acquired California. To offset this increase of strength on the part of our neighbors, Great Britain planned to plant a colony on the Pacific coast. The Hudson's Bay Company, with their usual enterprise, offered to undertake the government and colonization of all the British territories in North America beyond the older provinces. Fortunately this large offer was rejected, but, as the company had exclusive trade privileges over the coast region which would not expire until 1859, the plan for the new colony there was largely committed to their hands.

Vancouver Island.—Early in 1849 the whole of Vancouver Island was granted for ten years to the Hudson's Bay Company upon terms which would, it was thought, ensure speedy settlement. A regular form of government was established for the new colony, and Richard Blanshard was sent out from England as

its first governor. There was to be a council of not more than seven members, and the governor was also empowered to call an assembly. For reasons which will appear, no assembly met until 1856. The whole expense of government, including the governor's salary, was to be defrayed by the company. When Governor Blanshard arrived at Fort Victoria early in 1850, he found none but the company's employees to greet him, and soon discovered that he was a mere figure-head. As has been said, "his time was occupied, and his administration consisted, in giving orders which were disregarded, and in writing despatches to the home government complaining of the actions of the company's officers." In disgust he tendered his resignation in November, 1850, and left the colony in the following summer. He reports that there was "no colonization worth mentioning;" that, all told, the settlers amounted to thirty, and that the company had made but one real sale of land for colonization purposes.

The Company's Monopoly.—The company, indeed, were all-powerful. Besides controlling all expenditures, they were lords of the soil of the island. Settlers would interfere with the fur trade, and the company, therefore, reserved the best land and fixed the price of what was left at such a figure as to drive intending settlers away. While in the neighboring territory of Oregon land could be bought for $1.00 per acre, the Hudson's Bay Company fixed the price of theirs at £1 per acre. All minerals were the property of the company, unless the settler chose to pay an exorbitant royalty for a mining privilege. The discovery in 1849 of coal at Nanaimo—now the chief coaling station on the Pacific—failed to draw settlers, as the company monopolized the mines. The necessaries of life could be obtained only from the company's stores at high prices. The only school was conducted at the company's fort by the company's chaplain, Rev. Robert Staines. After Blanshard's withdrawal from the island, James—afterwards Sir James—Douglas, the company's chief factor, took his place as governor of the infant colony. Thereafter the nominal, as well as the real, control was in the company's hands. Under these circumstances settlement proceeded but slowly. In 1853 there were only some 450 white people on the island, the company's employees included. The grant of the island to the company had provided that if in five years they failed to

colonize it the grant should be revoked. The few settlers in 1853 petitioned the home authorities to enforce this provision, on the ground that the course pursued had practically prevented colonization, but the influence of the company in England was sufficiently strong to secure the continuation of their rule on the island.

The First Assembly.—Governor Douglas was, however, instructed to call an assembly. The island was divided into four districts, from which seven members in all were to be elected. Only those could vote who owned twenty acres, and only those could be elected who held freehold land worth £300. There was difficulty in finding seven such men on the island. The members finally chosen were all officials of the company, or under the company's practical control. The upper House at this time consisted of but three members, "chief factor, chief trader and ancient pensioner respectively of the Hudson's Bay Company." The first parliament met in August, 1856. During the next few years it framed such laws as were deemed necessary for the well-being of the island, but the real law was the company's will.

The Mainland Colony.—During all this time the mainland —New Caledonia as it was called—was practically known only to the Indians and to the company's factors and traders. In 1857 gold was discovered on the Fraser River, and at once there was a rush of California miners and others to the new gold fields. To preserve order it was deemed necessary to establish some form of government. In 1858, therefore, the mainland was made a province under the name British Columbia, to be ruled by a governor and a small council. Until 1864 James Douglas was governor of both the new and the older province, receiving at the close of his term the honor of knighthood. In 1859 New Westminster was founded and made the capital of the colony, though all public business was in fact carried on from the government offices in Victoria. British Columbia, during these years, was a typical mining community. Its population was of an unsettled character, the man who "made his pile" usually disappearing to spend it in more settled regions. Apart from preserving order, the chief work of the governor and his council was to open roads to the different gold fields. Vancouver Island profited by the activity on the mainland, and Victoria rapidly became a thriving town, much occupied in furnishing supplies

to the miners. When the gold fever subsided the two colonies suffered a severe relapse, and hard times had much to do in bringing about first their own union and then their accession to the Canadian Confederation.

End of the Company's Rule.—The charter of the Hudson's Bay Company was the subject of an investigation in 1857 by a committee of the British House of Commons. The grievances of the coast settlers were laid before it, and, as one result of the inquiry, it was decided that the company's privileges west of the Rocky Mountains should cease. The soil of Vancouver Island was resumed by the Crown (1859) and new provision was made for its government. Douglas was continued in his post as governor, but only upon the distinct stipulation that he should cease to be connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. He at once withdrew from it and his rule thenceforth was that of a wise, upright and impartial governor. The assembly was continued as before. The two colonies, though nominally distinct, were for purposes of executive government practically one. A number of new officials arrived from England, and a company of Royal Engineers was also sent out to make surveys and to assist in the laying out of roads to the different settlements and mining camps. When this company was disbanded in 1863, a large number of them settled in the colony. The administration of justice was remodelled, and Matthew B. Begbie—afterwards Sir Matthew B. Begbie—an English barrister, was appointed chief-justice. His was a notable figure in the history of British Columbia. After a long and able career upon the bench he died in 1894. Owing largely to the influx of miners and traders the white population at one time amounted to about forty thousand, dropping again to about ten thousand after the gold fever had subsided.

SIR MATTHEW B. BEGBIE.

The San Juan Difficulty.—At one time there was serious trouble with the United States over the ownership of the islands

CANADA
AND ADJACENT REGIONS,
IN 1763

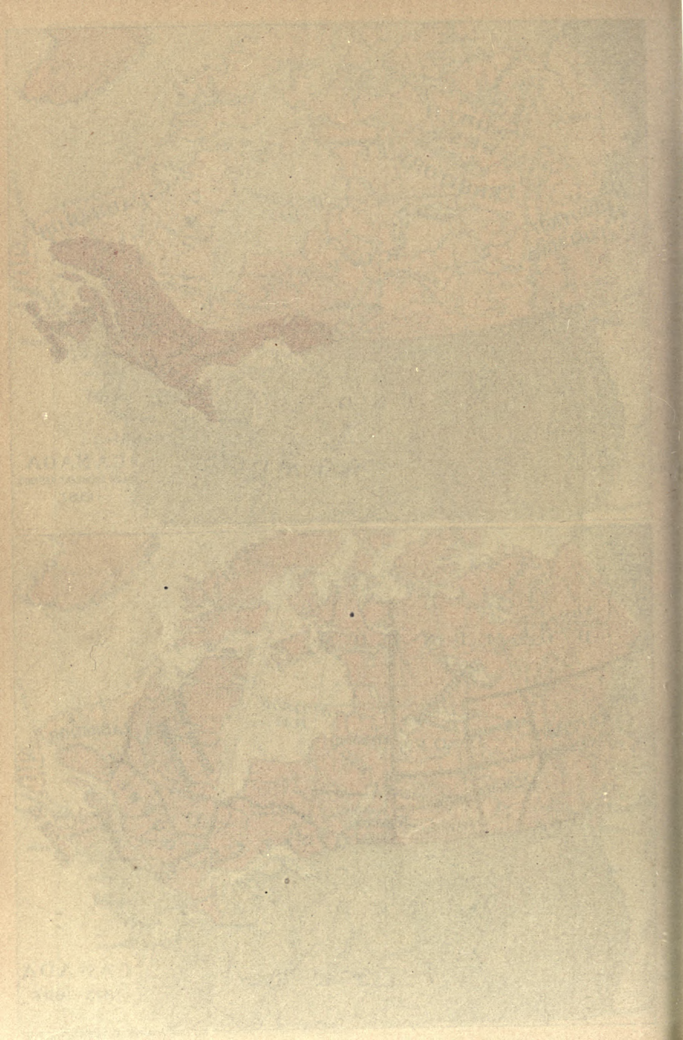
CANADA
AND ADJACENT REGIONS
1783.

ENGRAVED EXPRESSLY FOR THE DOMINION HISTORY OF CANADA.

CANADA
AND ADJACENT REGIONS,
1867.

CANADA
1873-1897.

THE COPP, CLARK CO LIMITED LITHO. TORONTO.



in the channel to the south-east of Vancouver Island. Which was the true channel mentioned in the Oregon Treaty? The Island of San Juan was the one chiefly in dispute. The Hudson's Bay Company had a post upon it and there were also a few settlers there, largely from the United States. A dispute arising, American troops, under General Harney, occupied the island in 1859. There was much excitement and a collision seemed imminent. Fortunately the government at Washington disapproved of the somewhat braggart tone which General Harney adopted, and General Winfield Scott was sent to supersede him. In 1860 a wise arrangement was made for a joint occupation of San Juan until the question should be finally settled. This was not accomplished until the Treaty of Washington (1871) by which it was left to the Emperor William of Germany to decide between the two powers. By his award in 1872 he found in favor of the United States, and the British troops were at once withdrawn from San Juan.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CONFEDERATION.

Earlier Union Projects.—The idea of a union of the different British colonies in America was by no means new. Early in the century the Hon. Mr. Uniacke, an eminent Nova Scotian, had submitted to the colonial office a plan for such a union. Chief Justice Sewell, in 1814, had written to the Duke of Kent in favor of the project. At the time of the movement in 1822 for a union of Upper and Lower Canada, Sir John B. Robinson had advocated the larger union. These early suggestions, however, had come from men of the official class, and no popular support had been given to them. Lord Durham's advocacy of union has been already noticed; but the different provinces were at that time (1839) too much engrossed in the struggle for responsible government to give the project practical attention.

Individual Efforts.—In each province, however, the question continued to be discussed, and on several occasions official communication was had with the colonial office upon the subject. In 1857, for instance, the Johnson ministry of Nova Scotia sent a

delegation to England to discuss the question of a union of the Maritime Provinces. In Canada, A. T. Galt in 1856 advocated a confederation of all the provinces, and in 1858 he was one of a delegation sent by the Cartier-Macdonald government to urge the matter upon the Imperial authorities. In 1861, on motion of Joseph Howe, a resolution was carried in the Nova Scotia assembly requesting the colonial secretary to open communication with the different provincial governments upon the subject of union. The response made to this request was, in effect, "Settle it among yourselves." But until 1864 no action was taken toward carrying out the suggestion of the colonial secretary.

Impelling Causes.—Meanwhile various causes had conspired to impress upon the minds of public men the necessity for union. Imperial statesmen had for some time been urging upon the provinces that with enlarged powers they should acknowledge enlarged responsibilities, particularly in the matter of their own defence. At one time the outlook toward the United States was decidedly threatening. Civil war was in progress there, and in November, 1861, Captain Wilkes, of the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto*, boarded the British mail-steamer *Trent* in mid-ocean, and took off two confederate envoys, Mason and Slidell, then on their way to England. The proceeding was entirely unwarranted by the usages of war, and Great Britain promptly demanded their surrender. Much feeling was aroused, and for a time war between Great Britain and the United States appeared inevitable. In the end the envoys were surrendered, but the episode had created in England a strong current of popular sympathy for the South. Southern refugees amongst us felt encouraged to plan raids against Northern commerce. In September, 1864, two vessels were seized and plundered on Lake Erie. Shortly afterwards a party of twenty-three men under Bennett H. Young crossed the Canadian frontier and plundered three banks in St. Alban's, Vermont, escaping again to Canada with their booty. Young and some others were arrested in Montreal, but were ultimately discharged. As a result the feeling in the North was naturally somewhat bitter. The possibility of war suggested to the scattered provinces the desirability of union. Steps had already been taken toward a union of the Maritime Provinces when the dead-lock in Canadian public affairs gave a sudden and

practical turn to the oft-mooted project of a larger confederation of all the provinces.

Canada's Coalition Ministry.—In Canada, happily, the alarming state of affairs called forth the best qualities of her public men. A committee composed of men of all shades of politics was appointed early in the session of 1864 to take into consideration the state of the province with a view to devising some method for putting an end to the sectional difficulties which had so long distracted her. Sir John A. Macdonald—to give him his later title—tells us that when this committee met "there was found an ardent desire displayed by all the members to approach the subject honestly, and to attempt to work out some solution which might relieve Canada from the evils under which she labored." When, a little later, the Taché-Macdonald ministry encountered defeat, nothing was left for them but to resign, or to bring on a fresh election ; with little hope, however, of any material alteration in the strength of the opposing parties. Then it was that the beneficial effect of the committee's discussions was made apparent. George Brown, who had been president of the committee, made overtures to the defeated ministers with the result that a coalition ministry was formed (June, 1864). This ministry was pledged to introduce at the next session a measure for a federal union between Upper and Lower Canada, with provisions for the ultimate admission of the other provinces and the north-west territories. It was pledged also to open negotiations at once with the other provinces with a view to the larger union. Of this ministry George Brown, Oliver Mowat—now (1897) Sir Oliver Mowat, Minister of Justice for Canada—and William Macdougall became members, and no time was lost in setting about the good work.

Conference at Charlottetown.—The Maritime Provinces had already arranged to hold a conference at Charlottetown on September 1st to discuss their own union project. During the summer a number of the members of the Canadian parliament, including the eloquent Thomas D'Arcy McGee (a member of the Canadian ministry), paid a visit to the Maritime Provinces, where they did much to create a cordial feeling toward Canada. When the Charlottetown convention met, a message was sent from Quebec asking if a Canadian delegation would be allowed to attend. Upon an affirmative answer being received, eight

FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION.

members* of the Canadian ministry at once embarked for Charlottetown. The result of their mission was that the convention dispersed without taking any step toward realizing their own scheme, and with the understanding that a meeting of delegates from all the provinces (including Newfoundland) would shortly be called together at Quebec to discuss the larger project. The Canadian delegates also visited Halifax and St. John, and created much enthusiasm by their able speeches.

The Conference at Quebec.—The Quebec conference met on the 10th of October, 1864. Canada was represented by the twelve members of her coalition ministry, while in the delegations from the other provinces both government and opposition were represented. The conference sat with closed doors, but we have the authority of Sir John A. Macdonald for the statement that on the first day the first resolution was passed unanimously, "being received with acclamation as a proposition which ought to receive and would receive the sanction of each government and each people." That resolution reads as follows: "Resolved, That the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a federal union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union can be effected on principles just to the several provinces." When the conference closed its sittings, on the 28th of October, seventy-one additional resolutions had been agreed upon, embodying the details of the scheme. At one time it seemed as if the negotiations would result in nothing, owing to the difficulty in reconciling the various financial claims. Happily a spirit of compromise, a yielding here and a concession there, carried the conference through to a successful termination. Our system of government under Confederation must be dealt with in a separate chapter. Shortly stated, the Quebec resolutions advocated the creation of a federal system under which each province (old Canada entering Confederation as two provinces, Ontario and Quebec) should retain its autonomy in local affairs, while matters of common interest to all the provinces should be committed to a central or Dominion parliament in which they should all be represented.

Financial Arrangements.—The opposition to Confedera-

* John A. Macdonald, George E. Cartier, George Brown, A. T. Galt, T. D. McGee, William Macdougall, H. L. Langevin, and Alexander Campbell.

tion arose, not from any objection to the scheme of government proposed, but from objection to the financial arrangements, and these, therefore, should now be mentioned. The collection of a revenue by means of a customs tariff was to be entrusted to the central government; and out of this revenue subsidies were to be paid to the different provinces for the support of the provincial governments. The central government was also to assume the various provincial debts. The power to raise money by direct taxation was still to be retained by the provinces. Now it so happened that in the Maritime Provinces the revenues collected by customs duties (that is, by indirect taxation) were largely expended on works of local improvement—road-making, bridge-building, and the like—such as were paid for in Canada by direct taxation in each municipality. By giving up to the central government the power to collect a revenue by customs duties the Maritime Provinces would be driven to adopt direct taxation, unless larger subsidies, proportionately, were paid to them than to Canada. The public debts, too, of these provinces were smaller in proportion to population than the public debt of Canada, and this difference had also to be equalized by a further addition to their subsidies.

The Plan Before the Provinces.—All these difficulties were grappled with by the Quebec conference in a wise spirit of compromise, and the scheme they adopted was now to be laid before the provinces for their acceptance or rejection. Being in the nature of an interprovincial agreement, the plan must be accepted or rejected as a whole. After the close of the conference the delegates made a triumphal progress through Canada. There was much eating, drinking and speech-making, and everything appeared favorable to a speedy execution of the plan agreed upon at Quebec. The colonial secretary sent to the governor (Lord Monck) a despatch warmly approving of the project as set forth in the resolutions. The British and American press spoke cordially of the wisdom of the provinces in agreeing to a union which would convert them from isolated communities into a powerful nation, rich in the resources of all combined. From the first there was no doubt about Canada's position. The adoption of the resolutions by her parliament was a foregone conclusion. But in the Maritime Provinces a determined opposition arose, and two years of hot discussion were to pass before Canada, New

Brunswick and Nova Scotia joined hands. Prince Edward Island held aloof until 1873. Newfoundland still remains a separate colony, Canada's latest proposition (1895) having been rejected by the island government.

New Brunswick Disapproves.—In New Brunswick a general election was held early in 1865, and the Tilley ministry, which supported Confederation, was so utterly routed that for a time it seemed as if the project would have to be abandoned. The Nova Scotia assembly evidently thought so, for a resolution was adopted by that body in favor of resuming negotiations for a union of the Maritime Provinces. The battle for Confederation was centred, therefore, in New Brunswick. A Canadian delegation went to England to urge that pressure should be brought to bear upon the obstinate province. The colonial secretary went so far as to send a despatch to the lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, Hon. A. H. Gordon, expressing the "strong and deliberate opinion" of the Imperial government in favor of Confederation. It was further intimated that, as a matter of Imperial defence, it might be found necessary to unite the provinces even against the will of New Brunswick. Happily it became unnecessary to resort to such a strong measure.

The Reciprocity Treaty Comes to an End.—With a view to united action in trade matters and particularly in order to secure, if possible, a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, a "Confederated Council on Commercial Treaties" met at Quebec in September, 1865. It consisted of six delegates, two from Canada and one from each of the other four provinces. The British provinces were prepared to make important concessions in return for a renewal of the treaty, and to that end arrangements were made to send delegates to Washington. George Brown, indeed, thought that too many inducements were offered, and toward the close of the year he resigned his seat in the Canadian cabinet. The mission to Washington early in 1866 was a complete failure, and the Reciprocity Treaty came to an end on the 1st of March. Another argument was thus added to those which were already being urged upon New Brunswick.

Fenian Raids.—During the summer and autumn of 1865 there were frequent rumors of intended Fenian raids upon the provinces. The close of the civil war in the United States had

led to the disbanding of her huge armies, and many rough characters were thus thrown upon society. Amongst them were many members of the Fenian Brotherhood, an association which owed its existence to the Irish troubles in 1848, and which from time to time had made threats of taking Canada. Not much attention was now paid to their movements, until in the spring of 1866 they began to congregate at various places on the frontier, and it was given out with considerable flourish of trumpets that on St. Patrick's day (March 17th) a grand invasion would take place. That day, however, passed quietly by. In April an attack was threatened on south-western New Brunswick, but on the advance of troops toward the scene the would-be invaders rapidly disappeared. There was, nevertheless, considerable anxiety all along the frontiers, and volunteers were industriously drilled in anticipation of an invasion at some point.

Ridgeway.—None came until the 1st of June. Early in the morning of that day about nine hundred men, under "General" O'Neil, crossed from Black Rock and landed a little below Fort Erie on the Niagara frontier. The regular troops at Hamilton and Toronto were at once sent against them, and the volunteer corps of those two cities were also called out. They responded with alacrity, and were soon on their way to the front. Colonel George Peacock, of the regular army, was in command of the entire force. O'Neil had occupied Fort Erie (a fort in name only) without opposition, and was preparing to advance upon the Welland Canal. The Queen's Own and the 13th Battalion were soon at Port Colborne, on Lake Erie, and the regulars and the other volunteers at Chippewa, on the Niagara River. Colonel Peacock determined to effect a junction of the two divisions at a point a few miles north-west of Fort Erie, and then march the entire force against the invaders. The officers at Port Colborne undertook to vary the plan slightly, and the volunteers there were in consequence sent off by rail toward Fort Erie early in the morning of June 2nd, in advance of the hour appointed. At Ridgeway they left the train and marched toward the rendezvous. On the way they met O'Neil and his motley crowd. As it was thought that Colonel Peacock must by this time be near at hand, the volunteers were ordered to advance to the attack. This they did in gallant style, and drove the Fenians some distance back. At this

moment Colonel Booker, who was in command, received a message that Colonel Peacock would not arrive for some time. A report spread, too, that a Fenian cavalry force was about to charge, and the Queen's Own was therefore ordered to form a square. There was in truth no cavalry to charge, but the Fenians were quick to take advantage of the good target presented to them, and poured in a deadly fire. An effort was made to extend the battalion, but it was only partially successful, and the volunteers were ordered to retire. O'Neil made no attempt to follow, and shortly afterwards returned toward Fort Erie. Meanwhile a Canadian force had come by water from Port Colborne, and had taken possession of Fort Erie, capturing a number of stragglers from O'Neil's force. The "general" managed to retake the village, but that night he and his men recrossed the river and the raid was at an end. To those who fell at Ridgeway a beautiful monument has been erected in Queen's Park, Toronto.

New Brunswick now Declares for Confederation.—It was while these exciting events were in progress along the frontier that New Brunswick was called on to pronounce a second time on the question of Confederation. The legislative council had throughout supported the project, and during the session of 1866 a dead-lock was avoided only by the resignation of the anti-confederation ministry. A dissolution took place, and in the summer of 1866 the people of New Brunswick supported Confederation as strongly as they had opposed it the year before.

The Parliament of Nova Scotia Adopts the Plan.—In Nova Scotia the opposition to Confederation was led by Joseph Howe, who demanded that the question should be submitted to the electors before the province was finally committed. It is a matter for regret that this course was not taken. The Quebec resolutions were adopted by an assembly, which, as the next election showed, did not truly represent the opinion of the province on the question. Nova Scotia was thus practically forced into Confederation, and while she would now, without doubt, decline to withdraw from the union, the original compulsion long left a feeling of bitterness behind it.

The B. N. A. Act.—On the 4th of December, 1866, delegates from Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick assembled at the Westminster Palace Hotel in London, England. They sat, under

the chairmanship of John A. Macdonald, until the 24th of December, by which date the various details had been arranged and the scheme of Confederation was ready to be embodied in an Act of the Imperial parliament. The two Maritime Provinces had succeeded in securing somewhat better terms, but so far as the system of government was concerned the Quebec resolutions were practically unaltered. The necessary Imperial Act—known as "*The British North America Act, 1867*," or, more shortly, the B. N. A. Act—received the royal assent on the 29th of March, 1867. It provided that the union should take effect upon a day to be fixed by royal proclamation. On the 22nd of May the proclamation was issued naming the 1st of July, 1867, as the birthday of the DOMINION OF CANADA.

CHAPTER XLIX.

"FROM OCEAN TO OCEAN."

Westward, Ho!—To John A. Macdonald was entrusted the task of forming the first Dominion cabinet. Disregarding former party lines, he called to his assistance the leading men who in the various provinces had supported Confederation, thus perpetuating in Dominion politics the name Liberal-Conservative. In this first ministry, Ontario had five representatives; Quebec, four; New Brunswick, two; and Nova Scotia, two—thirteen in all. It held power until November, 1873, by which time the Dominion of Canada had reached its present territorial dimensions. It will be convenient, therefore, before describing our system of government under the B. N. A. Act, or taking up the general history of the Dominion since 1867, to show how our bounds were extended. The first parliament of the Dominion of Canada met at Ottawa on the 7th of November, 1867, and attention was at once turned toward the extension of the Dominion "westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean." Early in December resolutions were introduced by the Hon. William Macdougall in favor of the immediate transfer to Canada of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory.

The Hudson's Bay Company Bought Out.—There was but little opposition to their adoption, the only objection urged

being that the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company should be first settled, and not left for subsequent litigation. The resolutions, however, were agreed to, and an address to Her Majesty was then adopted, requesting that an Imperial order-in-council might be passed (pursuant to the B. N. A. Act) annexing Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory to the Dominion of Canada. As it turned out, the Imperial Government took the same view of the question as the minority in the Canadian parliament had taken—

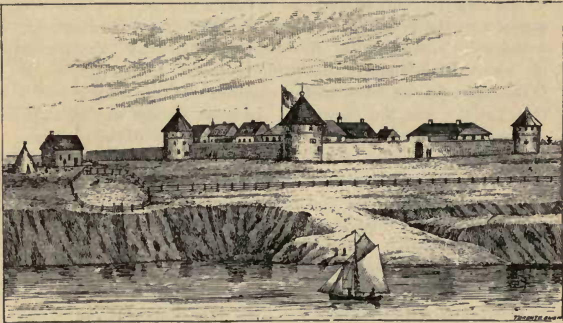
though probably for different reasons. The Hudson's Bay Company must first be bought out. With this view Cartier and Macdougall visited England toward the close of 1868, and early in 1869 the bargain was concluded. The sum of £300,000 was to be paid in cash to the company. It was also to retain the land around the various trading posts, and, in addition, two sections in every township—a total reservation of one-twentieth of the entire region. For this cash payment and large land monopoly the company gave up its trade monopoly and all its claims to government.

Unexpected Opposition.—Canada at once made preparations for the government of the new territory when the transfer should take place. Early in 1869 an Act was passed providing for the appointment of a lieutenant-governor and a small council to administer the affairs of the territory until a more permanent form of government could be arranged. Until that time, also, all laws in the territory were to continue in force, and all officers, other than the Hudson's Bay Company's governor, were to retain their positions. The Hon. William Macdougall was appointed lieutenant-governor under this Act, and in the autumn of 1869 he started for Fort Garry, intending to enter upon his duties on December 1st, to which day the formal transfer had been postponed. On October 30th he reached Pembina. There a startling surprise awaited him. A French half-breed served upon him a formal notice forbidding his entry into the territory. To understand how this came about we must go on to the Red River settlements.

Feeling in the Settlements.—Although the Hudson's Bay Company in London had agreed to the transfer, their officers on this side of the Atlantic were entirely opposed to the proceeding. Some time before this the company had been reorganized. The resident officials (factors and traders) had been made, in a sense, partners in the company, their income depending on the amount of business done. When the bargain was made in London, they were not consulted. They were to receive no part of the purchase money, and the giving up of the company's monopoly meant, of course, a serious loss to them. It has been freely charged that they secretly encouraged the French half-breeds in their lawless proceedings. Certain it is that although, until the transfer should take effect, the Hudson's Bay Company could alone exercise lawful authority, their officers took no steps whatever to restore order. The settlers, too, thought that Canada should have consulted them in reference to the nature of the government to be established in the colony ; and that, in particular, the claims of the half-breeds, both French and English, to the lands over which they hunted should have been settled before the transfer took place. All would be glad to escape from the yoke of the Hudson's Bay Company, but at the same time there was a strong desire to be admitted to a share in the new government. Therefore when the half-breeds, becoming alarmed about the title to their lands, stopped the work of a

Canadian surveying party, and formed a "council" to insist upon their rights, the feeling in the colony was at first one of sympathy for them. Of this "council" John Bruce, described as a French half-breed of Scotch descent, was president, but the leader of the movement was the secretary, Louis Riel. It was he who drew up the notice served upon William Macdougall at Pembina.

Half-breed Outbreak.—This notice Macdougall disregarded and advanced to the Hudson's Bay Company's post within the territory. A band of mounted half-breeds appeared and made such a threatening demonstration that Macdougall thought it



FORT GARRY.

prudent to retire again to Pembina. The French half-breeds had gathered in some force at the River Salle on the road from Pembina to Fort Garry; and on this same day (November 2nd) a party under Riel took possession, without resistance, of Fort Garry—a strong stone fort which the Hudson's Bay Company could easily have held against any force the half-breeds could muster. The "council" now issued a proclamation calling upon the settlers to send representatives to a convention, in order that the demands of the colony might be properly formulated. This convention met on the 16th of November, and was composed of representatives from the English as well as from the French

population. It adjourned for two days in order to allow the quarterly court of the colony to hold its regular session, at which, strange to say, no notice whatever was taken of Riel's proceedings. Upon meeting again, the convention was asked by Riel to establish a provisional government, but the English-speaking members objected, and the convention adjourned to the 1st of December in order that the proposition might be considered. Meanwhile the "council" ruled the colony, and Riel took possession of the public records and the company's stores.

A "Provisional Government."—On the 1st of December the convention again met, and a "Bill of Rights" was agreed to by the majority, but, as Riel was unwilling to send a deputation to confer with Macdougall at Pembina, the English-speaking members withdrew. Thereupon a "provisional government" was formed of which Riel shortly afterwards became president. W. B. O'Donohue, private tutor to the children of the colony governor (MacTavish), was the treasurer; Ambrose Lepine was adjutant-general, and A. G. B. Bannatyne, a brother-in-law of the governor, had charge of the post-office.

Riel Left in Control.—Meanwhile, without Macdougall's knowledge, the date for the transfer of the territory had been again postponed. Canada declined to pay over the £300,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company until order was restored. In ignorance of this, Macdougall, on the 1st of December, issued his proclamation as lieutenant-governor, and also gave a commission to Colonel Dennis to collect the loyal inhabitants of the colony and put down the half-breed insurrection. The attempt proved abortive. The "Bill of Rights"—a moderate document—had influenced many; with the exception of the Canadians under Dr. Schultz, few responded to Colonel Dennis' appeal, and that officer retired again to Pembina. Shortly afterwards Macdougall, learning of the false position in which he had been placed, returned to Canada. Riel, meanwhile, had besieged a building in which Dr. Schultz and his friends were ensconced, and on the 6th of December the party, nearly fifty in all, surrendered and were imprisoned in Fort Garry. The "provisional government" established a newspaper, the *New Nation*, which advocated independence as a first step toward annexation to the United States.

Peaceful Councils.—Toward the end of the year Vicar-

General Thibault, Colonel de Salaberry and Donald A. Smith—afterwards Sir Donald Smith—were sent from Canada to inquire into the grievances of the colony, and to assure the inhabitants of the good intentions of the Canadian government. Riel had always been anxious to secure the co-operation of the English-speaking settlers, and in the hope of turning the agitation into a more peaceful channel Donald A. Smith supported the proposal to call another convention. This convention met on the 25th of January and continued in session until the 10th of February. Another "Bill of Rights" was agreed upon, and delegates were appointed to proceed to Ottawa to lay the claims of the colony before the Canadian government. The somewhat strange course was taken, with the assent of Governor MacTavish, of forming a new "provisional government" of ten members, five French and five English, who were to be assisted by an elective council of twenty-four members. Of this "provisional government" Riel was chosen president.

The "Kildonan Rising."—Dr. Schultz had already made his escape from Fort Garry, and it was now expected that the other prisoners would be released. As this was not done a number of men from Portage la Prairie marched over to Kildonan parish to join Dr. Schultz in an attack on Fort Garry. Riel, however, released the prisoners, and at D. A. Smith's request the force dispersed. As the men from Portage la Prairie were passing to the rear of Fort Garry, Riel intercepted them and took the entire party prisoners. Dr. Schultz, with an Indian as his guide and only companion, made his way on snow-shoes to Duluth at the head of Lake Superior, and thence to Canada. Major Boulton, the leader of the Portage la Prairie party, was sentenced by Riel to be shot. Apparently this was only a ruse to secure D. A. Smith's good offices in inducing the English-speaking parishes to elect their members to the new council which was shortly to meet. Upon a promise being given, Major Boulton's life was spared.

Murder of Thomas Scott.—Riel still persisted in detaining, as rebels against the new "provisional government," the prisoners lately taken. Matters, nevertheless, seemed to be shaping for a peaceful solution of all difficulties, when an unexpected exercise of his power by the half-breed leader created dismay in the settlement, and hot anger in Canada. Among the prisoners was a young

man named Thomas Scott, against whom, it is said, Riel had a personal grudge. Scott was charged with striking his guard, tried by court-martial on the 3rd of March, and sentenced to be shot the next day. In spite of every effort by D. A. Smith and by the Rev. George Young, Methodist minister at Fort Garry, to shake Riel's cruel purpose, the sentence was carried out. In Canada the news of this cold-blooded murder created intense indignation, and preparations for a military expedition to Red River were pushed rapidly forward.

Bishop Taché Restores Quiet.—During all these troubles the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface (Bishop Taché) had unfortunately been absent from his diocese attending a Vatican Council at Rome. He had been requested to hasten his return, and a few days after the murder of Scott he reached Fort Garry. He had received an assurance from the Canadian government that the propositions embodied in the last "Bill of Rights" were in the main satisfactory, and that the delegates from the convention would be duly received at Ottawa. He understood further that a full amnesty would be granted to Riel and his followers. Without taking into consideration the altered circumstances arising out of the Scott murder, he promised immunity to all if the union with Canada were peacefully carried out. The result was that matters at once quieted down, the prisoners were released, the delegates departed for Ottawa, and the *New Nation* became particularly loyal.

The Manitoba Act, 1870.—There was a strong feeling in Canada—particularly in Ontario—against receiving the delegates. It was called "treating with rebels and murderers." Upon their arrival, indeed, two of the delegates, Father Richot and A. H. Scott, were arrested upon a charge of complicity in the murder of Thomas Scott, but they were discharged, no evidence being forthcoming to connect them in any way with that outrage. The result of the deliberations following upon their mission was the Manitoba Act of 1870. By this Act the Red River and Portage la Prairie settlements, with the surrounding region, were erected into the province of Manitoba, to which the provisions of the British North America Act were to apply "as if the province of Manitoba had been one of the provinces originally united by the said Act." An exception, however, was made in reference to the public lands of

the province, which are still under the control of the Dominion parliament. Special provision was made, too, to satisfy the claims of the half-breeds, a large amount of land (1,400,000 acres) being reserved for them. The provincial government was to consist of a lieutenant-governor, legislative council, and an assembly of twenty-four members. In 1875 the legislative council was abolished; and Manitoba has now (1897) a single chamber of forty members. The Manitoba Act was formally accepted by the "provisional government" of Red River on the 23rd of June, 1870, and on the same day an Imperial order-in-council was issued, which provided that Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory—including, of course, Manitoba—should, from and after July 15th, 1870, form part of the Dominion of Canada.

The Red River Expedition.—The Hon. Adams G. Archibald was appointed first lieutenant-governor of the province, and in order to ensure a peaceful inauguration of the new government, it was decided that the military expedition to Red River should be proceeded with. Accordingly, in the summer of 1870, a force of about fourteen hundred (of whom less than four hundred were British regulars) under the command of Colonel Wolseley—afterwards Sir Garnet Wolseley, commander-in-chief of the British army—proceeded to the mouth of the Kaministiquia River on Lake Superior. Thence, by a long and fatiguing journey, partly by canoe and partly on foot, the soldiers proceeded over the height of land to the shores of Lake Winnipeg. Ascending the Red River, they reached Fort Garry toward the end of August. No amnesty had been proclaimed, and for a time threats had been made that resistance would be offered to the advancing troops by the French half-breeds. No steps, however, were taken to carry out these threats, and upon Wolseley's approach, Riel, Lepine and O'Donohue fled to the United States.

SIR GARNET WOLSELEY.

Provincial Government Established.—Early in September, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald entered upon the duties of his office; executive and legislative councils were formed; the first provincial election was shortly afterwards held; and the early months of 1871 saw Manitoba fairly launched upon her career. Within a week after their arrival at Fort Garry the regular troops had been sent back to Quebec. The militia battalions spent the winter in the province, and many of the soldiers afterwards became settlers.* Immigration at once set in from the older provinces, particularly from Ontario, and Manitoba soon became an important member of the Confederation. The remainder of the territory westward to the Rocky Mountains was, until 1876, under the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba, who, with the assistance of a small council, passed such ordinances as were deemed necessary for its local government. With the admission of British Columbia to our Confederation, followed by the construction of a transcontinental railway, a great impetus was given to settlement in the North-West; but before dealing further with this we must cross the Rocky Mountains.

The Coast Colonies United.—In 1866 the two colonies upon the Pacific coast were at their own request united under the name British Columbia, and the government was entrusted to a governor and a legislative council. The island assembly was abolished. The new council was to consist of both elected and appointed members, the latter, however, forming the majority. An agitation at once sprang up in favor of an elective assembly and "responsible government." It was said that the official majority in the council carried on public affairs as they saw fit, and that the only self-government in the colony was the municipal self-government of the two towns, Victoria and New Westminster. The agitation very soon assumed the shape of a demand for union with Canada. As early as March, 1867, a resolution had been passed by the council in favor of Confederation, but apparently the official majority afterwards repented their action. Not until early in 1870, after a warm agitation of the question during the two preceding years, were resolutions again passed in favor of the

* In 1870 the population of the region embraced within the limits of Manitoba was nearly 12,000, of whom 558 were Indians, 5,757 French half-breeds, and 4,063 English half-breeds, 1,565 being the total white element.

project. Three delegates — J. W. Trutch, Dr. Helmcken and R. W. W. Carroll—were then despatched to Ottawa, empowered to negotiate terms of union.

British Columbia Joins Confederation.—Their mission was successful. Early in 1871 the terms agreed upon were ratified by the Dominion parliament and by the council of British Columbia, and on the 20th day of July, 1871, British Columbia became a province of the Dominion of Canada. Before that day arrived, however, the constitution of the province was altered. The legislative council was abolished, and in its stead was established an assembly consisting wholly of elected members. British Columbia, therefore, entered Confederation with a provincial constitution very like that of the older provinces and with the assurance that "responsible government" was firmly established.

A Transcontinental Railway.—One of the terms of union should be particularly noticed. The Dominion of Canada undertook to commence within two years the construction of a railway to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of the older provinces and to complete the work within ten years. When in 1885 the last spike was driven to connect the two sections of the Canadian Pacific Railway—that with the east with that from the west—British Columbia found herself on one of the world's main highways.*

Prince Edward Island Comes In.—Meanwhile, "the Barbadoes of the St. Lawrence"—as Prince Edward Island has been called—still held aloof. In 1871 the island assembly, with much enterprise, undertook to construct a railway to traverse the island from end to end. The work was successfully accomplished, but the burden of debt thus incurred was very heavy, and direct taxation seemed inevitable. Delegates were sent to Ottawa, and

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* RAPID GROWTH.—Her growth since that time has been phenomenal. Her white population in 1871 was little over 10,000, the total population being about 36,000. Victoria, the capital, with a population of about 4,000, was the only town; New Westminster and Nanaimo were but villages. In 1881 the population of the province had increased to nearly 50,000; Victoria having 6,000; New Westminster, 1,500; and Nanaimo, 1,600. In the next decade (1881-1891) the population was doubled. Victoria had increased her numbers to 16,000, New Westminster hers to 7,000, Nanaimo hers to 4,500; while at the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway the new city of Vancouver had sprung up with a population of over 13,000.

without much difficulty terms of union were arranged. We need only notice the provision made for buying out the island landlords. A large sum was set apart by the Dominion government for the purpose; courts were established to fix the amount in cases of dispute; and before long the evils of the land system were entirely removed. Prince Edward Island entered Confederation on the 1st day of July, 1873. Since then there has been a marked advance in agriculture, and the dairying industry has wonderfully developed. The island continues to grow in favor as a healthy watering-place during the summer months.

CHAPTER L.

OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

A Self-Governing Federation.—It is impossible to overrate the importance to us of our Confederation. Our vast territorial expanse, our great natural resources, and our salubrious climate, all point to future greatness. Moreover, the federal form of government which we have adopted is one well calculated to ensure national strength and stability through united effort in one Dominion parliament, side by side with an efficient administration of the local affairs of each province through provincial assemblies. The tie which binds us to the motherland is the strong tie of affection, with no element of coercion. Our gracious Queen is still content "to look to the affectionate attachment of her people in North America as the best security for permanent dominion." The British parliament has conceded to us the fullest right of self-government, and legislates for us only upon those matters which are of concern to the British Empire as a whole.

The Dominion and the Provinces.—Our form of government under the British North America Act is, as we have seen, federal; that is to say, it consists, firstly, of one general or Dominion government having jurisdiction, throughout the whole Dominion of Canada, over certain matters which are of common concern to all the provinces; and secondly, of seven local or provincial governments having jurisdiction, within the respective

provinces, over matters of local concern. These different classes of matters are enumerated at great length in the British North America Act, and may be thus summarized:

Dominion Jurisdiction.—The Dominion parliament has general power "to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada" in relation to all matters not assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces, particularly: (1) Taxation (any system) and borrowing—for Dominion purposes. (2) Dominion officials. (3) Elections to the parliament of Canada, including Dominion franchise and Dominion election trials. (4) Census (for use in settling the representation of the provinces in the parliament of Canada). (5) Naturalization of aliens. (6) Military and naval service and defence. (7) Postal service. (8) Supreme Court; the appointment and payment of superior, district and county court judges. (9) Criminal law (public safety and morality). (10) Interprovincial trade and commerce, including navigation and shipping, light-houses, quarantine, general fishery regulations, etc. (11) General financial and commercial system, *e.g.*, currency and coinage, banks, paper money, legal tender, bills and notes, interest (usury laws), weights and measures, bankruptcy. (12) Copyright. (13) Marriage and divorce. (14) Public works, railway and steamship lines (interprovincial or for the general benefit of Canada). (15) Indians and Indian lands. (16) Performance of international obligations imposed by the British parliament. (17) Territories not within the provinces, including the establishment of new provinces.

Provincial Jurisdiction.—The various provincial assemblies may exclusively make laws in reference to: (1) Amendment of provincial constitutions (except as to lieutenant-governor). (2) Sale and management of public lands (including timber). (3) Direct taxation and borrowing—for provincial purposes. (4) Provincial officials. (5) Provincial elections, franchise, and election trials. (6) Municipal system. (7) License system. (8) Charitable institutions (except marine hospitals). (9) Administration of justice in the province; establishment of courts (both civil and criminal); punishment for breach of provincial laws; provincial prisons. (10) Education (with saving clauses as to separate schools enjoyed by religious minorities). (11) Property and civil rights in the province. (12) Solemnization of marriage.

(13) Local works; companies with provincial objects. (14) Matters of a "merely private nature in a province."

Concurrent Jurisdiction.—Concurrent jurisdiction is given to pass laws relating to agriculture and immigration, with the provision, however, that in case of conflict between a Dominion and a Provincial Act upon either of those subjects the Dominion Act shall override the Provincial.

The "Residuum of Power."—It will be noticed that the Dominion parliament has jurisdiction over all matters not assigned to the provincial legislatures. In thus giving to the central government the "residuum of power," as it is sometimes called, our federal system differs from that of the United States, under which all matters not assigned to the central government are reserved to be dealt with by the individual states.

Responsible Cabinet Government.—We turn now to the organization of the different governments, Dominion and provincial. In all, the principle of responsible government is recognized; that is to say, the executive government is carried on by means of a cabinet or ministry (composed of the heads of the chief departments) responsible to the people's representatives in parliament. They must therefore have the support of a majority of the members in the elective branch. If they lose this support, they must resign and give place to a cabinet composed of those who have the support of a majority. This is what is called responsible cabinet government. The people elect the members; the members control the ministry; and, therefore, the will of the people is supreme in government.

Dominion Parliament.—The parliament of Canada consists of three branches: (1) The Queen, represented by the governor-general, who is appointed by the Imperial government. (2) The Senate,* which now (1897) consists of eighty members. Senators are appointed by the governor-general in council (that is, by the

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* Originally, in making provision for the Senate of Canada, the Dominion was divided into three sections—Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces—twenty-four senators being appointed for each section. The principle of equal representation (in the Senate) has been abandoned so far as Manitoba, British Columbia and the North-West Territories are concerned, the first two of these being at present entitled to three members each and the last to two. Prince Edward Island when she joined Confederation was given four senators, two being deducted from each of the other Maritime Provinces.

Dominion ministry), and hold their seats for life. (3) The House of Commons, which now (under the census of 1891) consists of 213 members, elected on the principle—as between the provinces—of representation by population, as follows: Quebec, 65—a fixed number; Ontario, 92; Nova Scotia, 20; New Brunswick, 14; Manitoba, 7; British Columbia, 6; Prince Edward Island, 5; North-West Territories, 4. These numbers bear to the population of the respective provinces the same proportion as sixty-five (Quebec's fixed number) bears to the population of Quebec under the census of 1891. After each decennial census, the representation as between provinces must be readjusted (if necessary) on this basis. The House of Commons is elected for a period of five years (subject to being sooner dissolved).

Provincial Parliaments. — The provincial legislatures of Ontario, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and British Columbia consist of (1) the Queen, represented by the lieutenant-governor of the province, who is appointed by the Dominion ministry; and (2) a single "legislative assembly" chosen by popular election. In each of the other two provinces (Quebec and Nova Scotia) there is a second chamber or legislative council, the members of which are appointed by the lieutenant-governor in council; that is, by the provincial ministry. Seats in these legislative councils are held for life.

Safeguards.—Any Act, Dominion or Provincial, which oversteps the bounds prescribed by the B. N. A. Act will be held void by the courts as being *ultra vires*, that is, "beyond the powers" of the legislature which assumes to pass it. Any Act of the Dominion parliament may be disallowed by the British ministry within two years after its receipt by the colonial secretary. This power of disallowance is only exercised where a Dominion Act conflicts with an Imperial Act in force in the Dominion, a contingency of very rare occurrence. In like manner any provincial Act may be disallowed by the Dominion ministry within one year after its receipt by the secretary of state at Ottawa. This power is now very rarely exercised.

CHAPTER LI.

ON TRIAL (1867-1878).

Organization.—The first Dominion ministry was, as already mentioned, composed of the leading men who in each province had done battle for Confederation. The first Dominion election took place during the summer of 1867, with the result that this "coalition" ministry, as it was called, was sustained by large majorities in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. In Nova Scotia, however, only one supporter of the government—Dr. Tupper—was elected out of the nineteen members to which that province was entitled, and in the provincial elections which took place there about the same time only two supporters of Confederation found seats in an assembly of thirty-eight members. This, of course, necessitated the resignation of the provincial government, a new ministry being formed under the leadership of Hon. William Annand. In New Brunswick no provincial election took place at this time as the assembly there had only been in existence for one year. In Ontario and Quebec—now separate provinces—new provincial governments had to be organized. This was accomplished by Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald and Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau respectively, and in the elections during the summer these new provincial governments were sustained by fair majorities.

The First Dominion Parliament.—The first Dominion Parliament met at Ottawa on the 7th of November, 1867. Its attention was largely directed toward the organization of the different departments of the Dominion government, and toward the maturing of measures relating to the customs tariff, the militia, and the postal service of the Dominion. As many of the members of the Dominion parliament were members also of the different provincial assemblies, it was found necessary to have a long adjournment of the former in order that the first sessions of the latter under Confederation might be held. Upon this question of "dual representation," as it was called, opinion in the different provinces was divided. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at once passed Acts to prevent it. In 1872 Ontario followed their example. Quebec, however, declined to do so. The question was finally set at rest by a Dominion Act, passed in 1873, by which

members of the provincial assemblies were declared ineligible for election to the House of Commons of Canada. The first session of the Dominion parliament closed in May, 1868. There had been little mere party warfare. The government received the support of a large majority in the House, and the opposition members from the different provinces had not as yet perfected their organization. Their leader was the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. One well-known figure disappeared from the scene a few weeks before the session closed. Early in the morning of the 7th of April, after a long day's work in the House, Thomas D'Arcy McGee was shot down in cold blood upon the steps of his lodgings—an act of cruel vengeance for his refusal to countenance the course of the Fenian Brotherhood.

"Better Terms" for Nova Scotia.—In 1868 Sir John Young—better known by his later title, Lord Lisgar—became governor-general, holding the position until 1872. Every effort was made to reconcile Nova Scotia to her position as a province of the Dominion. She had gone so far as to send delegates, headed by Joseph Howe, to ask of the Imperial authorities that the B. N. A. Act should be repealed so far as she was concerned. Dr. Tupper had been sent to counteract the influence of the delegates, and the colonial office had declined to interfere. Howe now decided to submit to the inevitable; but, before doing so, he succeeded in getting "better terms" for Nova Scotia in the shape of an increased provincial subsidy. Early in 1869 he entered the Dominion ministry as President of the Council, a step which cost him the support of many of his former friends. He was now an old man, and soon ceased to take a prominent part in public affairs. In 1873 he was made lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, his native province, but died within a few weeks after his appointment.

Events of 1870.—The year 1870 was marked by the entry of Manitoba into Confederation. Taking advantage, apparently, of the troubles on the Red River, "General" O'Neil organized a second Fenian raid against the Lower Canadian frontier. Toward the end of May two incursions took place, one at Missisquoi Bay (at the north end of Lake Champlain), the other into Huntingdon county. Both were repulsed by small bands of volunteers hastily gathered. The American authorities promptly interposed; O'Neil was arrested, and the enterprise collapsed. Toward the close of

the year all British troops were withdrawn from Canada, with the exception of the force at Halifax. The Canadian provinces had now reached man's estate, and could undertake to garrison with their own soldiers the citadel at Quebec and such other posts as might be deemed necessary. The year was further marked by the passing of a Banking Act, the basis of our present banking system, which among financial authorities is considered one of the best in the world.

Treaty of Washington, 1871.—The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 had opened up again the question of the right of American fishermen to ply their calling along the coasts of the Maritime Provinces. Canada enforced the terms of the convention of 1818 and seized several American vessels, thus creating much ill-feeling. There were other questions, too, which at this time threatened to cause trouble between Great Britain and the United States—the navigation of the St. Lawrence and the canals, the Oregon boundary, and, above all, the claims arising out of the depredations of the Southern cruiser *Alabama*, which had been fitted out in a British port. With a view to a friendly adjustment of all these questions, negotiations took place which resulted in the Treaty of Washington (1871). These negotiations deserve particular mention not only on account of the questions involved, but also because, for the first time, a Canadian plenipotentiary—in the person of Sir John A. Macdonald—took part in the settlement of Canadian relations with a foreign power. By the Treaty of Washington the *Alabama* claims were referred to a tribunal which afterwards sat at Geneva, in Switzerland, and awarded to the United States a very large sum, which Great Britain promptly paid. The settlement of the Oregon boundary by the Emperor of Germany has already been mentioned. In settlement of the fisheries question, it was agreed that the fisheries should be thrown open for a period of ten years, and that fish (except lake and river fish) and fish oil should be reciprocally admitted free of duty into the United States and Canada. What sum the United States should pay for the privilege, accorded to her fishermen, of fishing in Canadian waters was to be determined by three arbitrators. The arbitration was afterwards held at Halifax, in 1877—A. T. Galt being the Canadian arbitrator—and the sum of five and one-half millions of dollars was awarded to Canada, and duly paid.

The navigation of the St. Lawrence and the canals and of Lake Michigan was also made free to both nations by the Treaty of Washington.

The Fisheries Question.—The further history of the fisheries question may be shortly stated. In 1883 the United States declined to renew the fisheries clauses of the Treaty of Washington. Canada was again driven to enforce the terms of the convention of 1818, and again much ill-feeling was created by the seizure of American vessels. In 1888, a treaty was negotiated between British plenipotentiaries—of whom Sir Charles Tupper was one—and the American secretary of state, Bayard; but the United States senate declined to ratify it. The fisheries question is therefore still open, and, pending further negotiations, a *modus vivendi*, as it is called, has been arrived at by which American fishermen are allowed to take out Canadian licenses on payment of a reasonable fee.

A Third Fenian Raid.—In October, 1871, another Fenian raid was threatened, this time on the Manitoba frontier. It was largely the work of O'Donohue, who, as we have seen, had taken an active part in the Red River rebellion. "General" O'Neil was again on hand, but the whole affair proved a poor farce, the entire party being arrested by a United States marshal. Some time before this Riel had returned to his home on the banks of the Red River. He now offered his services in repelling the invaders, an offer for which he received the thanks of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald. It is charged, however, that Riel had himself fomented the raid, and that his offer of assistance was made only when he had learned of its failure. Great indignation was felt in Ontario when it became known that no attempt was being made to arrest Riel for the murder of Thomas Scott. To quiet the agitation, Riel was secretly paid a large sum to leave the country.

Fall of the Macdonald Ministry.—In 1872 Lord Dufferin, one of the most popular of our governors, succeeded Lord Lisgar. Toward the close of this year a general election took place, with the result that the ministerial majority in the House was somewhat reduced. An Act had been passed during the preceding session providing for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a chartered company. A company was duly formed,

of which Sir Hugh Allan was president, and to it the contract was let. In the session of 1873 a formal charge was made against the government that the company had bought its charter by means of large subscriptions to the ministerial campaign fund for the election recently held. Evidence was taken before a Royal Commission; and, though the ministers denied the existence of any corrupt bargain, the fact that very large sums had been paid them for use in the elections was clearly proved. This transaction —known as the Pacific Scandal—wrecked the ministry, and early in November Sir John A. Macdonald resigned office.

The Mackenzie Administration. — He was succeeded in the office of premier of Canada by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. Parliament was dissolved, and as the result of the election a large majority was returned to support the new ministry, which held power for nearly five years. The introduction of the vote by ballot in Dominion elections by an Act passed in 1874, the establishment of the Supreme Court of Canada in 1875, and the Canada Temperance Act of 1878 (usually called the Scott Act), were among its legislative achievements. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was taken up as a government work. The policy of the Mackenzie government in reference to this great undertaking was much criticised by the opposition, but now that the road is an accomplished fact nothing can be gained by going over the old grounds of dispute. British Columbia was much incensed at the announcement that the road was to be built slowly, and it required all Lord Dufferin's tact and eloquence to still the outcry. A world-wide depression in trade, which set in toward the close of 1873 and lasted for several years, led to the adoption, by Sir John Macdonald and his party, of what is known as the "National Policy" of protecting home industries by heavy duties upon goods imported from other countries. This policy received such support throughout the Dominion that in the general election of 1878 the Mackenzie ministry was utterly routed, and Sir John A. Macdonald returned to power supported by a very large majority in the House.

CHAPTER LII.

UNITED PROGRESS.

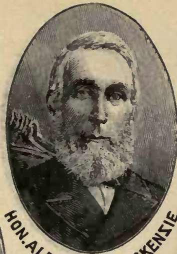
Political Parties.—As political parties are still divided in opinion over many of the events of recent years, our reference to them must be brief. In the session of 1879 the "National Policy" was carried into our tariff legislation, and long maintained its place there. The government of the Dominion was, during all these years—until the summer of 1896—in the hands of the Conservative party. Until his death, in 1891, Sir John A. Macdonald remained at the head of affairs. Sir John Abbott then became premier, giving place in a short time, however, to Sir John Thompson. Upon his death, in December, 1894, Sir Mackenzie Bowell succeeded to the position. In 1880 the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, and during the next seven years it was held by the Hon. Edward Blake. In 1887 he withdrew from Canadian public life, and Hon. Wilfrid Laurier became the Liberal leader. Early in 1896 Sir Charles Tupper resigned his position as High Commissioner for Canada in England, to take the leadership of the Conservative party as premier of the Dominion. At the general election in June, 1896, his ministry was defeated at the polls, and shortly afterwards resigned. A Reform ministry, under the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, was thereupon called to the head of affairs.

Recent Governors.— In the fall of 1878, the Marquis of Lorne became governor-general of Canada, and for nearly five years Canadian society was graced by the presence amongst us of Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise. In 1883 the Marquis of Lorne was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne, who, in 1888, gave place to Lord Stanley of Preston, and he in turn, in 1893, to the present governor-general, the Earl of Aberdeen.

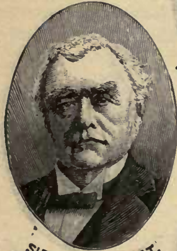
Provincial Progress.—To give, with any detail, a history of the individual provinces since Confederation would swell this book beyond all reasonable limit. Only those matters can be referred to—and that very briefly—which touch our progress as a Dominion. In the older provinces internal progress has been very largely along lines which were laid down before Confederation. The laws relating to the administration of justice, to education, to municipal

government, to the regulation of the liquor traffic, and to the settlement and development of the outlying districts of the different provinces, have from time to time been improved and systematized. In social matters we have been quick to adopt those improvements which science has of late years so wonderfully multiplied. Electricity has been put in harness, and electric lighting and heating, electric street railways, and the telephone have become a part of daily life in our cities, towns, and even villages. All these things, however, are before our eyes, and need no extended reference.

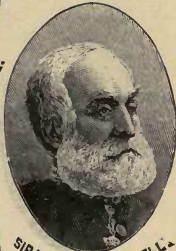
Provincial Rights.—Various questions as to "provincial rights" have been fought out in the courts, and have in many cases received their final adjudication in the Privy Council in England. As a result of this litigation a marked advance has been made toward the determination of the true line which divides the Dominion and provincial spheres of authority. The dismissal by Sir John A. Macdonald's government in 1879 of the lieutenant-governor of Quebec, Letellier de St. Just, excited much interest. That officer had dismissed the de Boucherville ministry in Quebec, and had called upon Henri—now Sir Henri—Joly de Lotbinière to form a new government. In the election which followed the Joly ministry was sustained by a very narrow majority. Nevertheless the Dominion ministry, ignoring the popular verdict in Quebec, dismissed Letellier—a proceeding which created much discussion as to the position and functions of our lieutenant-governors and as to the control of the Dominion government over them. In 1881 an Act of the Ontario assembly—popularly known as the Streams Bill—designed to facilitate lumbering operations in the province, was disallowed by the Dominion government as an invasion of private rights. Ontario very warmly protested, and, in the end, the Act was again passed by the assembly and allowed to go into operation. Some years later (1888) the action of the Quebec assembly in passing what is known as the Jesuits' Estates Act, by which those estates were devoted to educational purposes, was much canvassed in the other provinces; but the Dominion government, deeming the Act to be well within the powers of the provincial assembly, refused to interfere. In the same year (1888) provincial ownership of lands purchased in earlier days from the Indians was affirmed by a decision of the Privy



HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.



SIR JOHN ABBOTT.



SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

SIR JOHN THOMPSON.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. WILFRID LAURIER.

PRIME MINISTERS OF CANADA SINCE CONFEDERATION.

LORD LISCAR.

THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

VISCOUNT MONCK.

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

GOVERNORS OF CANADA SINCE CONFEDERATION.

Council. The power of provincial assemblies to regulate their own procedure, and to enlarge or limit the privileges of members, has been established by a still more recent decision of the same tribunal (1896).

Manitoba. — Since Confederation Manitoba has rapidly advanced. Municipal and educational systems have been adopted, founded largely upon those of Ontario. Out of the clause in the Manitoba Act, which secured to the religious minority there their rights in respect to denominational schools, has arisen the celebrated "Manitoba school question," which it would be out of place to discuss here. A settlement has recently (1896) been arrived at, by which the Manitoba government, while adhering to the principle of a national school system under provincial control, has agreed to make provision for religious teaching during certain school hours. The question as to the boundary line between Ontario and Manitoba gave rise for a time to a little friction between the two provinces. Its settlement involved much historical research, as the northern limit of the old province of Canada had never been very accurately defined. Another matter in which Manitoba was much interested was the question of the railway monopoly possessed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company under their charter. After a warm agitation of the question, the monopoly clause was revoked and Manitoba's railway development has, of late years, been marked. She is at present preeminently an agricultural province, and her wheat has a world-wide reputation. The opening up of the vast wheat areas of Manitoba and the North-West Territories has caused in the older provinces an increased attention to stock-raising and the cultivation of dairy products. Our butter and cheese industries are making rapid strides.

The C. P. R.—North-West expansion has, of course, been largely the result of the construction of our great transcontinental line, the Canadian Pacific Railway. The work of surveying the line to be followed through the passes of the Rocky Mountains proved one of extreme difficulty. The work of actual construction was in consequence delayed until 1876, and British Columbia, as already mentioned, became much incensed. In 1880 the contract for the construction of the line (then partly under way) was let to the present company, who took up the work with such

energy that on the 7th of November, 1885, the last spike was driven to connect the two ends of the line. On the following day a train from the east reached the Pacific coast. Three of those most intimately connected with the construction of the line have received the honor of knighthood—Sir Donald Smith, Sir George Stephen (Lord Mountstephen), and the present general manager, Sir William C. Van Horne—a striking acknowledgment of the Imperial character of the undertaking. The C. P. R. is the realization of the old idea of a north-west passage to the Orient. The company has established two steamship lines to cross the Pacific Ocean. One of these runs between Victoria and Hong Kong in China, and already our trade with the Orient has assumed large proportions. The first steamship of the present line was the *Empress of India*, which made its first trip in 1891. The other line runs between Victoria and Sydney, New South Wales, viâ Honolulu. The first steamship of this line, the *Miowera*, began to run in 1893, and our trade with our Australian kinsfolk is already encouraging. Other lines run from Victoria—to Alaska and to American ports to the south.

The North-West Territories.—The local government of the North-West Territories was until 1876 in the hands of the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and a small council of eleven members. In October, 1876, an Act (passed under the Mackenzie administration in the previous year) came into force under which Hon. David Laird, the first resident lieutenant-governor, was appointed. He was assisted by a council of five members. The first session of this council was held in 1877 at Livingston on Swan River. Battleford was, however, fixed upon as the seat of government, and subsequent sessions of the council were held there until 1883. In that year the present capital, Regina, was chosen, it being on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, then under construction. Provision was also made by the Act of 1875 for the creation, as population increased, of electoral districts for the election of additional members to the council. When these should reach twenty-one in number the council was to be abolished and a legislative assembly take its place. Population was somewhat scanty until the advent of the railway, and the first election did not take place until 1883. The council then consisted of the lieutenant-governor, four appointed members, the stipendiary magistrates

(*ex-officio*) and six elected members, who held office for two years. In 1886 an Act was passed giving the Territories representation in both the Senate and the House of Commons of the Canadian parliament. At the present time (1897) two senators and four members of parliament represent the great North-West in the federal legislature.

Increasing Autonomy.—In 1888 an Act was passed abolishing the North-West Council and substituting for it an assembly of twenty-two elected members. Four of these members, chosen by the lieutenant-governor, were to form an advisory council on financial matters. Three legal experts were to sit in the assembly and take part, if necessary, in debate; but they had no vote. Their chief duty was to see that no Acts were passed by the assembly which would conflict with Dominion legislation. Until the creation of a new province the Dominion has, of course, the paramount legislative power over the Territories, a power which is not exercised in respect to those matters which have been handed over to the control of the assembly. In October, 1888, the first assembly met at Regina. The new lieutenant-governor, Hon. Joseph Royal, did not allow his advisory council that control of financial matters which the assembly thought they should have, and in 1889 the council therefore resigned. This battle for "responsible government" went on with considerable vigor until 1891, when an Act was passed by the Dominion parliament giving the assembly of the Territory the control it desired, and enabling it to sit apart from the lieutenant-governor. No doubt, ere long other provinces will be formed out of the North-West Territories.

Marked Progress. — The powers of the assembly of the Territories now fall very little short of the powers of the various provincial legislatures. Courts have been established; municipal institutions have been introduced; an educational system of much excellence is in operation; liquor license Acts have been passed. The great North-West, thus almost completely self-governed in local matters, is filling up with a thrifty and industrious population.* Its great ranching districts, its vast areas for wheat growing, its resources in timber and minerals, all give promise of a prosperous future.

* In 1871 the population of the region west of Manitoba to the Rocky Mountains was computed at about 18,000. In 1891 it had increased to over 67,000.

The Second Riel Rebellion.—In 1885 occurred what is known as the North-West Rebellion. The French half-breeds near the forks of the Saskatchewan deemed themselves aggrieved at the delay of the Canadian government in settling their claims to certain land grants. They invited the rebel leader, Riel, who at that time was living in the United States, to come and aid them in procuring redress. The result was that in April there was an outbreak at Duck Lake, where a small detachment of Mounted

Police and a few volunteers from Prince Albert were repulsed by a body of half-breeds. At Frog Lake a band of Indians, under a Cree chief named Big Bear, cruelly murdered several persons, including two priests in charge of the mission there. Other Cree Indians, under a chief named Poundmaker, also joined in the rebellious movement. A force of volunteers was at once despatched to the scene. The half-breed stronghold at Batoche was soon taken by the main column under General Middleton, with the loss, unhappily, of several of our brave volunteers.

Shortly afterwards Riel himself was captured. Poundmaker's band was sharply checked by Colonel Otter's column at Cut Knife Creek, not far from Battleford, and the chief soon afterwards gave himself up. Big Bear managed to escape for a time, but was subsequently captured. A third column under Colonel Strange prevented the more westerly bands from taking part in the outbreak. Before the summer was over the volunteers were again at their homes. For this second rebellion, Riel was tried at Regina, found guilty, and afterwards hanged.

British Columbia.—Since Confederation the Pacific coast province has made marked progress, as the figures given on a previous page will show. The Public School system had lost somewhat of its efficiency during the years immediately preceding the union, owing to the refusal of Governor Seymour to give it financial support from provincial funds. At once after becoming part of Canada the system was reorganized, and, with liberal assistance from the provincial legislature, has gradually reached its present condition of usefulness. It is modelled upon the school system of Ontario, and at its head is a responsible Minister of Education, holding a seat in the provincial cabinet. In other directions, too, great progress has been made. The administration of justice, municipal institutions, the management of the Crown lands, and, in fact, all the departments of provincial administration, have been placed upon an efficient footing. The industrial advance has also been marked. Coal, silver, and gold reward the toil of the miner. The deposits are so rich and widely spread that marked attention has been drawn to British Columbia, and a large population is being attracted to the province. The salmon-canning industry, which began in 1876, has attained to large dimensions, and there are good prospects also for the deep-sea fisheries. The lumber trade is rapidly developing to large proportions, and railways are being constructed to open up the fertile valleys for settlement.

The Behring Sea Question.—Within the last few years a question has arisen between Canada and the United States in reference to the right of our British Columbia seamen to take Alaskan seals. A claim was advanced by the United States that not only was the whole of Behring Sea a closed sea (*mare clausum*) and, as such, part of American territory, but that the seals, whose land-home is on the Pribyloff Islands, were an American herd, the property

of the American "Alaska Company." Acting upon this double claim, American revenue-cutters seized certain British schooners from Vancouver in 1886 and 1887, and the whole matter was thus brought to an issue. After much diplomatic correspondence between Great Britain and the United States it was agreed that, instead of resorting to the barbarous arbitrament of war, the entire question should be dealt with by a special tribunal appointed by mutual consent. Of this tribunal, which sat in Paris, 1893, the Canadian premier, Sir J. S. D. Thompson, was a member. Its award was against the United States so far as the claim of right was concerned. At the same time, in order to prevent the extermination of the seals, certain regulations were laid down as to the carrying on of the seal fisheries, and of these British Columbia is inclined to complain as unduly favoring the Alaska Company.

Our Place in the British Empire.—The prominent part assigned to Canadians in connection with the Behring Sea arbitration, as well as various other events of recent years, serves to emphasize the high position occupied by the Dominion of Canada as a member of the great British Empire. Our public men are taking their part, not merely as Canadian, but as Imperial statesmen. We have had, since 1880, a High Commissioner to represent us in Great Britain. The Hon. Edward Blake is now (1897) a leading member of the Home Rule party in the British House of Commons. During Sir John A. Macdonald's last illness messages of sympathy came to Ottawa from all parts of the Empire, and after his death a memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey in recognition of the distinguished services rendered by the dead statesman to the cause of a united Empire. And when in December, 1894, Sir John Thompson died suddenly at Windsor Castle, whither he had gone to receive the honor of appointment to the Imperial Privy Council, Great Britain sent a ship of war to bear his remains to Canada.

SIR WILLIAM DAWSON.

Alpheus Todd, late librarian of the Dominion parliament, and Dr. J. G. Bourinot, the Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons, have written works upon parliamentary government which are of recognized authority throughout the empire; while such men as the late Sir Daniel Wilson of Toronto University, the late Sir William Logan, and Sir William Dawson of McGill University, Montreal, have made the name of Canada known in the still larger world of science and literature.

Closer Union.—The recent colonial conference at Ottawa (1895), participated in by representatives from nearly all Great Britain's colonies, affords a marked indication of a desire on the part of the various members of the British Empire for a closer union. Professor Seeley has said that the study of history should end with a moral. Our recent history, our growth from weak and divided provinces to one great and united Dominion, should encourage us to look forward to the still wider federation of all the lands which fly the Union Jack.

INDEX.

Abbott, Sir John, premier, 333.
Abenakis, 11 (note), 46, 47, 50, 53.
Abercrombie repulsed at Ticonderoga, 80.
Aberdeen, Earl of, governor, 333.
Acadians, under British rule, 57, 58, 63, 68-70, 72, 79; expulsion of, 71, 72, 79.
Acadia, origin of the name, 8; extent of, 15; French settlements in, 15-17, 21, 22, 30, 32, 44; fur trade of, 8; 17, 21, 22, 30-32, 44, 45; fisheries of, 4, 8, 21, 22, 30, 32; the Hundred Associates in, 29-32; captured by Sedgwick, 31; population of, 32, 44, 58, 68; and New England, 17, 31, 45, 48, 50, 51, 53-55, 63, 64, 66, 71; Phips' expedition against, 48; taken by the British, 54, 55; ceded to Great Britain, 56; French abandon all claims to, 94. (See *Acadians* and *Nova Scotia.*)
Administration of Justice during French régime, 33, 37, 62; during military period, 88, 91; under king's proclamation, 96-98; under Quebec Act, 100, 117, 120; under Constitutional Act, *1791*—in Lower Canada, 130, 131, 142, 196, 197, 200, 207-209, 211, 213; in Upper Canada, 130, 131, 149, 152, 196, 197, 199, 201; in Maritime Provinces, 201; in North-West (early), 236, 237, 299; in British Columbia (early), 304.
Agriculture, 10, 11, 16, 20, 24, 29, 30, 36, 37, 44, 57, 58, 61, 62, 75, 98, 99, 102, 103, 105, 118, 126, 131-135, 157, 158, 178-182, 223, 226, 231, 236, 251, 252, 277, 278, 283, 286, 290, 297, 300, 335, 337.
Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of, 66.
Alaska, 142, 233, 234, 339, 340.
Albanel, Father, reaches Hudson Bay, 39.
Albany, 25, 38, 40, 50, 52, 53, 73, 74.
Algonquins, 9-12; tribal divisions, 11 (note).
Allan, Ethan, seizes Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 108; captured at Montreal, 109.
American Revolution, 106-117.
Amherst, Sir Jeffrey, 78; secures Lake Champlain, 82, 83; takes Montreal, 89, 90.
Annapolis, 55, 57, 63. (See *Port Royal.*)
Anville, Duc d', disaster to French fleet under, 64.
Appointments to office, question of, 268, 272, 273.
Argall, Samuel, destroys Port Royal, 17.
Arnold, Benedict, seizes St. John's, 108; besieges Quebec, 110-112; abandons Montreal, 113; defeated on Lake Champlain, 114.
Ashburton Treaty, 264.
Assemblies, early colonial, 106; early, 189, 190.
Assembly, agitation for, in Quebec, 95-99; refused, 100; further agitation, 119, 128; settlers in Upper Canada favor, 119, 128; of Lower Canada, first, 143; conflict with executive, 148, 207-216; of Upper Canada, first, 149, 150; conflict with executive, 216-222; of Nova Scotia, first, 102, 103; of New Brunswick, first, 155; conflict with executive, 222-225; of Prince Edward Island, first, 105; of Canada (old), 254; of Canada, first, 259-262.
Assiniboels, 12, 60.
Assiniboia, council of, 236, 237, 299. (See *Red River Settlement.*)
Astoria, 141, 142, 234.
Aulnay-Charnisay, d', 30, 31.
Austrian Succession, war of the, 63-66.
Aylmer, Lord, governor, 214, 215.

Bagot, Sir Charles, governor, 263, 265.
Baldwin, Robert, defeated in York, 217; holds aloof from Mackenzie, 240; visits rebel camp, 241; resigns, 259; in first parliament of Canada (old), 259-261; first Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry, 264, 265, 267, 268; second Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry, 274, 287-289.
Barclay, Captain, defeated on Lake Erie, 168, 169.
Barry case in Nova Scotia, 227, 228.
Beauharnois, de, governor of New France, 56, 59, 62, 64.
Beauséjour, Fort, 69; captured by Monckton, 71.
Beaver Dams, 170, 171.
Begbie, Sir Matthew B., 304.
Behring Sea question, 233, 234, 339, 340.
Bidwell, Marshall S., 216, 222, 240.
Bigot, the intendant, 74, 98.
Blake, Hon. Edward, 333, 340.
Boscawen, Admiral, at Louisbourg, 78.
Boucher, Pierre, mission to France, 29.
Boucherville, de, ministry, dismissed, 334.
Bougainville, at Cap Rouge, 85, 86, 88; abandons Isle aux Noix, 89, 90.
Boundaries (Quebec), 94, 95; under Quebec Act, 100; (Canadian) under Treaty of Versailles, 116, 117; between Upper and Lower Canada, 129; Pacific coast, 233, 234; Canada and United States, 116, 117, 156, 223, 224, 233, 234, 256, 264, 270, 304, 305.
Boundary, the Maine, 116, 117, 156, 223, 224, 256.
Bouquet, Colonel, puts down Ohio Indians, 93.
Bourinot, J. G., 341.
Bourlamaque, at Ticonderoga, 81; abandons Lake Champlain, 82.

Bowell, Sir Mackenzie, premier, 333.
Braddock's defeat, 70, 71.
Bradstreet destroys Fort Frontenac, 80; expedition against Ohio Indians, 93.
Brandy dispute, Nova Scotia, 228.
Brant, Joseph, 127.
Breda, treaty of, 31, 35.
British Columbia, the fur trade in, 141, 142, 234, 301-304; (*1846-1866*), 301-305; province of, formed, 303; Vancouver Island united with, 322; joins Confederation, 322, 323; population of, 323 (note); subsequent history of, 339, 340. (See *Pacific Coast.*)
British Empire, our place in, 327, 336, 340, 341.
British North America Act, 313, 314; government under, 324-327.
Brock, Sir Isaac, 161; captures Detroit, 163, 164; death of, 165, 166.
Brown, George, establishes the *Globe*, 268; defeated in Haldimand, 288; Brown-Dorion ministry, 292, 293; in coalition government, 307; resigns, 311.
Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga, 114.

Cabot, John, 2.
Callières, de, governor New France, 51-53.
Campbell, Sir Colin, 229, 230.
Canada, early use of name, 6; extent of, at different times, 6 (and see map, page 304); ceded to Great Britain, 94; under military rule, 90-94; under king's proclamation, 94-99; invaded by Congress troops, 108-113; under Quebec Act, 117-121; Loyalist settlers in, 125-128; under Constitutional Act, *1791*, see *Upper Canada* and *Lower Canada;* (old), (*1841-1843*), 259-265; (*1843-1848*), 267-272; (*1848-1864*), 287-294; dead-lock in, 293, 294; Dominion of, formed, 314; extended, 314-324.
Canada Company, the, 180, 181.
Canadian Pacific Railway, 137, 323, 331, 332, 335, 336.
Canals, 119, 183-185, 255, 262, 281, 283, 331.
Cape Breton, 4, 22, 30, 56, 57, 63, 64, 66, 76, 78, 79, 94, 102, 103, 124; ceded to Great Britain, 94; Loyalist settlers in, 124; Scotch settlers in, 132, 182; a separate province, 124; reannexed to Nova Scotia, 124, 226.
"Card money," 78, 98.
Carignan-Salières regiment, 34, 36, 45.
Carleton, Sir Guy, 96-99, 108-114, 117-120, 143, 144, 150, 151, 155.
Carleton, Thomas, lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, 155.
Caroline affair, the, 242, 263, 264.
Cartier, George E., 291 (note), 292, 293, 309 (note), 315.
Cartier, Jacques, 5.
Castin, Baron de St., 45-47.
Cathcart, Earl, governor, 270.
Catholics, disabilities of, in early days, 96, 97, 100, 201, 202, 204. (See *Religious Liberty.*)
Cayugas, 10. (See *Iroquois.*)
Censitaires, see *Seigneurial System.*
Champlain, Lake, 10, 11, 18, 59, 82, 83; Amherst on, 82, 83; Carleton defeats Arnold on, 113, 114; war of *1812*, 167, 173, 175, 176. (See *Crown Point*, *Ticonderoga* and *Fort William Henry.*)
Champlain, Samuel, 14-22.
Charlottetown, 105, 116, 252; incorporated, 297; conference at, 307-309.
Chateauguay, battle of, 173, 174.
Chippewyans, 12.
Chippewa Creek, battle of, 176.
Chrysler's Farm, battle of, 174, 175.
Church and State, 28, 34, 41, 200-207.
Civil List, 190, 271, 276; Lower Canada, 209, 213-215; Upper Canada, 217; New Brunswick, 224, 225; Nova Scotia, 229, 230, 257, 271; (old) Canada, 254, 271.
Clergy Reserves, 130, 180, 204-207; secularized, 289, 290.
Colbert, 33-35, 40.
Colborne, Sir John, governor, 207, 218, 238, 240, 243, 245.
Coles, Hon. George, 295.
Colleges, see *Education.*
Colonial government (British), 186-193.
Colonial self-government, see *Civil List*, *Revenue* and *Responsible Government.*
Commerce, see *Industrial Progress.*
Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, 21; (see *Hundred Associates*); des Habitants, 26; du Nord, 50.
Confederation, early suggestions for, 293, 305; impelling causes, 306, 307, 311-313; history of, 305-324; system of government under, 324-327.
Conseil Superieur, 33.
Constitutional Act, *1791*, 128-131.
Cook, Captain, 137, 138.
Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia, 68, 69.
Corruption in New France, 42, 44, 45, 74, 75, 88.
Cortereal, 3.
Côtes, 36.
Council, Legislative, under Quebec Act, 101, 109, 117, 118; under Constitutional Act, 129; Executive, 129, 187, 188; Legislative, 190-192; of Canada (old), 254, 259; of Nova Scotia, 229, 230, 257.
Courcelle, de, governor of New France, 33-35.
Coureurs de bois, 24, 38, 42, 47, 146.
Courts, see *Administration of Justice.*
Craig, Governor, 147-149.
Crane, William, 225.
Crees, 12, 234.
Crown Lands, 105, 130, 134, 146, 147, 152, 180, 187, 189, 190, 193, 199, 212, 224; colonial control of, 189-191; in Canada (old), 254; in New Brunswick, 225; in Nova Scotia, 230, 257; in Prince Edward Island, 295.
Crown Point, 59, 70, 74; abandoned by French, 82; seized by Allan, 108.
Cunard Line, 183.

Dalhousie, Earl of, governor, 210-213; in Nova Scotia, 195, 225, 226.
Dawson, Sir William, 341.
Decimal currency, 288.
Denonville, governor of New France, 43, 44, 51.
Denys, Nicholas, 30, 32.
Detroit, 52, 59, 82; transferred to British, 92; besieged by Pontiac, 93; during American revolution, 115; surrenders to Brock, 163, 164.
Dieskau defeated at Lake George, 73, 74.
Disallowance, power of, 157, 207, 219, 254, 257, 258, 276, 327, 334.
Dominion of Canada formed, 314; first parliament of, 328, 329.
Dorchester, Lord, see *Sir Guy Carleton*.
Dorion, A. A., 291, 293 (note); Brown-Dorion ministry, 292, 293.
"Double Shuffle," 292, 293.
Douglas, Sir Howard, in New Brunswick, 223.
Douglas, Sir James, 302-304.
Drake, Sir Francis, 9.
Draper, W. H., 259; first Draper ministry, 260, 265; second Draper ministry, 269-272, 300.
Dual representation, question of, 328, 329.
Dufferin, Lord, governor, 331, 332.
Duquesne, Fort (Pittsburg), 70; abandoned by the French, 80, 81.
Duquesne, Marquis, governor of New France, 69, 72.
Durham, Earl, 244-248.
Dutch, the, in America, 25; lose New Netherlands, 35.

Eastern Townships, early settlers in, 134, 146, 147, 179; French law in, 211; representation of, in assembly, 211, 212; roads, 212.
Education under French régime, 34, 62; in Quebec (early), 120, 121; in Nova Scotia, 104, 158, 202, 223, 226, 266, 267, 285, 286; in New Brunswick, 158, 202, 203, 223, 286; in Prince Edward Island, 158, 251, 252, 297; in Upper Canada, 127, 128, 153, 203; in Lower Canada, 147, 203, 213; in (old) Canada, 261, 262, 271; in Manitoba (early), 235; Separate School question, 335; in British Columbia, 302, 339; in North-West Territories, 337. (See *Sectarian Schools*.)
Election laws, 130, 190, 251, 254, 257, 273, 296, 328, 329, 332.
Elgin, Lord, governor, 274, 291; negotiates reciprocity treaty with United States, 282; rebellion losses, riots, 287, 288.
English colonies in America, early, 17, 25; English and French compared, 46-56; English and French in America, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45-47, 50-90.
English-speaking population of Quebec, early, 96, 99, 108, 128.
Erie, Lake, early knowledge of, 25, 38; naval battle on, *1813*, 168, 169.
Esquimaux, 12, 18.
Executive council, 129, 187, 188; rule of the, 185-200; council of Canada (old), first, 259; abuses, 193-200.

Falkland, Lord, 266, 267, 272, 273.
Family Compact, 188, 189. (See *Executive, Rule of*, and *Executive Abuses*, and *Religious Liberty, Struggle for*.)
Fenian raids, 311, 313, 329, 331.
Fisheries, the Banks, 3, 7; of Maritime Provinces, 104, 105, 156-158, 182, 223, 226, 252 (see *Acadia*); in Canada during French régime, 62; question, 283, 284, 330, 331.
Forbes, Brigadier, takes Fort Duquesne, 81.
France aids revolted colonies, 114.
Franklin, Benjamin, congress commissioner, Canada, 113; Sir John, 235.
Fraser, Simon, explorer, 141.
Fredericton, capital of New Brunswick, 155, 156, 280; other mention of, 224, 256, 276.
French and British in America, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 90; rival claims of, 50, 52, 53, 56, 66, 67; colonies compared, 46, 56.
French-Canadians during military period, 91, 92; under king's proclamation, 96-99; under Quebec Act, 120, 128; exclusion of, from office, 96-98, 146, 147, 215; in first assembly, (old) Canada, 261.
French laws, agitation respecting, 96, 99, 117, 119, 120; restored, 100; language, use of. in parliament, 143, 254, 255, 261, 269; revolution, 143-145.
Frontenac, 40-42, 45-51; Fort, 40-43, 59, 123; taken by Bradstreet, 80. (See *Kingston*.)
Fuca, Juan de, 9, 301.
Fur trade during French régime, 8, 12, 17, 21-23, 32, 37, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49, 52, 53, 57, 60, 61, 62; of Hudson's Bay Company and Nor'-Westers, 97, 118, 136, 143, 146, 230-237, 299-305.

Galissonniere, governor of New France, 65-67.
Galt, Alexander T., 181, 278, 306, 309 (note), 330.
Galt, John, 171.
Garry, Fort, 236, 299, 317-321.
George, Fort, see *Niagara Frontier*.
George III. and the American revolution, 107.
George, Lake, battle of, 72, 73.
Ghent, peace of, 178.
Giffard, Seigneur of Beauport, 35.
Gilbert, Sir H., 8.
Gosford, Lord, 200, 216, 237, 245, 253, 254.
Gourlay, Robert, 196.
Government, system of, during French régime, 23, 32, 33, 39, 40, 62; during military period, 90, 91; under the king's proclamation, 94-99; under Quebec Act, 99-101; under Constitutional Act, 129, 130; colonial system of, to *1840*, 185-

193; system of, under British North America Act, 324-327; responsible, see *Responsible Government.*
Governors, French, powers, etc., of, 23, 32; under British rule, 120, 129, 187; recent, 333.
Grandfontaine in Acadia, 32, 44, 45.
Grand Pré, the affair of, 65.
Groseilliers, Canadian explorer, 39.

HABITANTS, the, 24, 36, 62; La Compagnie des, 26.
Haldimand, Governor, 115, 118, 119, 123, 125.
Half-breed outbreak on Red River, 316-321; in North-West, 338, 339.
Halifax founded, 68; incorporated, 195; arbitration, 330; other mention of, 102, 104, 116, 123, 155, 157, 158, 183, 192, 194, 198, 226, 228, 257, 267, 276, 280-282, 309.
Hanna, James, visits Pacific coast of British Columbia, 138.
Harvey, Sir John, 170, 225, 248, 255, 256, 273.
Head, Sir Edmund, governor, 291, 292.
Head, Sir Francis Bond, 220, 221, 241, 245.
Hearne, Samuel, Hudson's Bay Company explorer, 140.
"Highland clearances," 131-133, 231.
Hincks, Sir Francis, 253, 259, 265, 281, 289.
Hochêlaga, 6, 7.
Howe, Joseph, prosecuted for libel, 198; attacks council of Nova Scotia, 229, 230; and Sir Colin Campbell, 258; member of council, 258-266; struggle with Lord Falkland, 272, 273; and railways, 280, 281; in the Uniacke ministry, 284-286; other mention of, 227, 228, 298, 306; opposes confederation, 313; enters Dominion ministry, 329; lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, 329.
Hudson Bay, early knowledge of, 18, 39; French and British rivalry on, 39, 45, 50, 51; given up by the French, 56.
Hudson's Bay Company, formed, 39; early posts, 50; French rivalry, 50, 51, 136; contest with Nor'-Westers, 136, 140, 231-233; and Nor'-Westers unite, 232, 233; in North-West, 136, 140, 235, 299; in British Columbia, 234, 270, 301-304; claims of, purchased by Canada, 315.
Hundred Associates, 21, 23-32.
Hunters' lodges, 243.
Huron-Iroquois, 9; tribal divisions, 10, 11.
Huron Mission, 18, 25-27.
Hurons, 11, 27, 44.

IMMIGRATION during French régime, 23, 30, 35, 44; Halifax, 68; U. E. Loyalists, 121-128; (*1791-1812*), 131-135; (*1815-1840*), 178-182; (*1840-1850*), 271, 272; to British Columbia, 302, 303, 323 (note), 339; to Manitoba and North-West Territories, 231, 232, 235, 300, 322, 337.
Imperial concessions, 274, 277. (See *Responsible Government.*)
Indian tribes of Canada, 9-14; lands, policy as to, 95; treatment of, by French and British, 92, 95.
Industrial progress, general references to, under French régime, 20, 39, 60-62, 77, 78; in Quebec, 97-99; in Lower Canada, 146, 182-185; in Upper Canada, 152, 153, 182-185; in Nova Scotia, 104, 105, 158, 182-185, 226, 282-284; in Prince Edward Island, 105, 157, 182-185, 252, 297; in New Brunswick, 156, 182-185, 223, 282-284; in Canada (old), 262, 277, 278, 282-284; in the Dominion, 332, 335, 336; in Manitoba, 335; in British Columbia, 339; in North-West Territories, 337. (See *Agriculture, Canals, Fisheries, Fur Trade, Lumber, Manufactures, Mining, Railways, Ship-building, Trade.*)
Intendant, powers, etc., of, 32, 33, 63, 75.
Irish immigration, 135, 180-182, 231, 272.
Iroquois, 10; wars, 18, 20, 26-28, 29, 34, 35, 42-44, 46, 47, 49, 51; acknowledged British subjects, 56; during American revolution, 115; settle in Canada, 127.

JESUITS in Canada, 23, 24, 28, 29, 49; missions, 24-27, 37, 46, 60, 68; estates, 121, 144, 334.
Johnson, Sir William, 65, 70, 73, 74, 82, 95, 115.
Joliet, Canadian explorer, 38.
Joly, Sir Henri, de Lotbinière, 334.
Jonquière, de, governor of New France, 64, 65, 68, 69.
Juan de Fuca, 9, 301.
Judges, see *Administration of Justice*; in parliament, 148, 152, 218, 230.
Justice, see *Administration of Justice.*

KENNEBEC RIVER, 46, 47, 110.
Kent, Duke of, 105, 157, 158, 305.
King Philip's war, 46.
Kingston, U. E. settlement at, 125; first capital of (old) Canada, 259. (See *Frontenac, Fort.*)
Kirke captures Quebec, 21.

LA BARRE, governor of New France, 42.
Lachine, 41; massacre of, 44.
Lafontaine, Sir L. H., 261; first Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry, 264, 265, 267; second Lafontaine-Baldwin ministry, 274, 287, 289.
Land policy, early, 146, 147, 152, 193, 199.
Langevin, Sir H. L., 309 (note).
Lansdowne, Lord, 333.
La Salle, 38, 41, 42.
La Tour, 30, 31.
Laurier, Hon. Wilfrid, 333, 334.
Laval, Bishop, 28, 29, 34, 40, 41.
Laval University, 29, 34, 121.
Le Moyne Brothers, 51, 59.
Lescarbot, 16.
Letellier de St. Just, 334.
Levis, Fort, taken by Amherst, 89; Chevalier de, 75, 77, 88, 89.
Lisgar, Lord, governor, 329, 331.

Local improvements, 194. (See *Municipal institutions.*)
Lorne, Marquis of, 333.
Loudon, Earl of, 76, 78.
Lount and Matthews executed, 245.
Louisbourg founded, 57; first siege of, 63, 64; second siege of, 78, 79; demolished, 104.
Louise, Her Royal Highness Princess, 333.
Louisiana, 52, 59; ceded to Spain, 94; purchased by United States, 142.
Lower Canada a separate province, 129; parliament of, 129, 130; first parliament, 143; assembly of, 143 (see *Responsible government*); legislative council of, 129, 143, 149, 208, 209, 212, 213, 215, 237; executive council of, 143, 146; (*1791-1812*), 143-149; (*1812-1837*), 207-216; outbreaks in, 238-240, 243; united with Upper Canada, 252-255.
Lumber industry, 39, 62, 105, 146, 156, 158, 182, 183, 223, 226, 276, 283, 297, 334, 339. (See *Ship-building.*)
Lundy's Lane, 176, 177.

Macdonald, Hon. John Sandfield, 291, 293 (note), 328.
Macdonald, Sir John A., defends Von Schultz, 244; first election, 269; joins Draper ministry, 272; and Liberal-Conservative alliance of *1854*, 289; premier, 291 (note); "double shuffle," 292, 293; coalition ministry, 307; first prime minister of Canada, 314; Treaty of Washington, 330; resigns, 331, 332; again returns to power, 332; death of, 340.
Macdonell, Bishop, 132, 191.
Macdougall, Hon. William, 300, 307, 309 (note), 314-318.
Mackenzie, Hon. Alexander, 329, 332, 333.
Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, explorer, 141.
Mackenzie, W. L., printing office raided, 198, 199; in Upper Canada assembly, 217-222; expelled from, 218, 219; rebellion in Upper Canada, 241, 242, 244; returns to Canada, 288; member of assembly, 288.
MacNab, Sir A. N., 241, 242, 260, 261; MacNab-Morin ministry, 289-291.
Maisonneuve, governor of Montreal, 26.
Malicites, 11 (note), 32.
Manitoba, early knowledge of, 60. (See *Red River Settlement.*)
Manitoba, Province of, formed, 320, 321; subsequent history, 322, 331, 335; population of, 322 (note); school question, 335.
Manufactures, under French régime, 39, 60-62; in 1769, 98, 99; in Nova Scotia, early, 104, 105; in Cape Breton, early, 124; in (old) Canada, 182. (See *Industrial Progress, Lumber, Ship-building.*)
Marquette, Father, reaches the Mississippi, 38.
Marriage laws, early, 153, 154, 202.
Matthews, Captain, 200, 217, 222, 245.
McGee, Hon. T. D., 307, 309 (note), 329.
Meares, Captain, visits Pacific coast of British Columbia, 138, 139.
Metcalfe, Sir Charles T., governor, 265, 266-270.
Mézy, de, governor of New France, 33.
Miamis, 11 (note), 42, 43, 67.
Michigan, Lake, early knowledge of, 25, 37.
Michillimackinac, 37, 43, 47, 52, 82; transferred to the British, 92; captured by the Indians, 93; during American revolution, 115; taken by the British, 162, 163.
Micmacs, 11 (note), 53, 68, 79.
Military roads, 34; opened by Simcoe, 151; settlements, 36, 125, 179, 222, 232; rule, period of, 90-93.
Militia Bill, 270.
Minas, Basin of, 44, 57, 58, 65, 68.
Mining in British Columbia, 303, 304, 339.
Miramichi fire, 223.
Mississippi, discovery of the, 38; valley, 38, 41, 56, 59, 60, 67.
Mohawks, 10, 25, 35, 65, 73. (See *Iroquois.*)
Monck, Lord, governor, 310, 335.
Monckton, 71, 72, 79, 84, 85.
Mongoloid Indians, 12, 138.
Monopoly, trade, 20, 26, 60, 61; land, in Prince Edward Island, 105, 156, 250, 251, 297-299; Hudson's Bay Company's, see *Hudson's Bay Company*; land, Vancouver Island, 302.
Montagnais, 11 (note), 14.
Montcalm, 75-78, 80-87.
Montgomery, General, invades Canada, 109; takes St. John, 110; killed before Quebec, 111.
Montgomery's, the affair at, 241, 242.
Montreal founded, 25; harassed by Iroquois, 27, 28; capitulation at, 90; attacked by Allan, 109; occupied by Congress troops, 110, 112, 113; fur trade of, 146; incorporated, 195; capital of (old) Canada, 261; the British North America League of, 277; riots at, 287, 288.
Monts, de, 15.
Moraviantown, battle of, 169.
Morin, Hon. A. N., 260, 265; Hincks-Morin ministry, 289; MacNab-Morin ministry, 289-291.
Morrison, Colonel, victory at Chrysler's Farm, 174.
Mowat, Sir Oliver, 307.
Municipal institutions, 62, 63, 101, 194, 195, 333, 334; (old) Canada, 261; in Maritime Provinces, 284-286; in British Columbia, early, 322, 339; in Manitoba, 335; in North-West Territories, 337.
Murray, governor, 85, 88-90, 94-97.

Napoleon, 158, 159, 175, 178.
National Policy, see *Tariffs.*
Navigation, see *Ship-building* and *Canals*; laws, British, 97, 106, 107, 275, 276.
Necessity, Fort, 69, 70.
Neilson, John, 208, 210, 212, 214, 253, 260, 261.

Nelson, Dr. Wolfred, 238, 239, 243, 246, 288.
Neutrals, the (Indians), 11.
New Brunswick, early French settlements in, 32; early British settlers in, 103; Loyalist settlers in, 124, 154; further immigration, 182, 272; Province of, formed, 154, 155; first assembly of, 155; (*1783-1812*), 154-156; (*1815-1837*), 222-225; (*1837-1844*), 255-257; (*1844-1848*). 273, 274; (*1848-1864*), 286, 287; and Confederation, 307, 311, 313; Maine boundary, 156, 223, 224, 256, 264.
New Caledonia, see *British Columbia*.
New England, French raids on, 47, 50, 53. (See *Acadia* and *Nova Scotia*.)
Newfoundland, 8, 56, 57, 91, 94, 100, 161, 256, 309, 311; Banks of, 3, 7.
New France, 5, 7, 8; under Champlain, 14-22; under Hundred Associates, 23-32; Royal Province, 29, 32-90.
Newspapers, 97, 147, 153, 252, 253, 268, 300; editors prosecuted, 148, 197, 198, 211, 213, 218, 228.
New York State, 35, 37, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 58, 65, 96; northern, French and English claims to, 42, 43, 56.
Niagara, Fort, 58, 59, 70, 74-76, 81; captured by the British, 82; frontier, early settlement of, 125, 126; during war of *1812*, 164-167, 170, 171, 176, 177; during rebellion of *1837*, 242, 243; during Fenian raids, 312, 313; during American revolution, 115; Newark, first capital of Upper Canada, 149; burned by General McClure, 171.
Nicholson, Francis, 54, 55, 58.
Noblesse, Canadian, see *Seigneurs*.
Nootka, 137-140.
Northmen, the, 1.
North-West, early exploration in, 60, 136, 140-143; (*1812-1835*), 230-237; (*1835-1867*), 299-301. (See *Red River Settlement* and *Hudson's Bay Company*.)
North-West passage, 137.
North-West Territories, 321, 322, 336-339; Half-breed outbreak in, 338, 339.
Nor'-Westers, the, 136, 137, 140, 141-143, 231-233; and Hudson's Bay Company unite, 232, 233.
Nova Scotia, early British settlers in, 68, 102; U. E. Loyalists in, 123, 124; Scotch settlers in, 132; first parliament of, 102, 103; and the American revolution, 115, 116; (*1783-1812*), 157, 158; (*1815-1837*), 225-230; (*1837-1841*), 257-259; (*1841-1847*), 266, 267, 272, 273; (*1848-1864*, 284-286; and confederation, 307, 311, 313, 329.

Officials, early, under British rule, 96, 117, 147-149, 152, 188, 193, 194, 203, 204; "tenure of office" despatch, 248. (See *Responsible Government*.)
Ohio Valley, 41, 67, 69-71, 80-82, 92-94, 117.
Oneidas, 10, 20. (See *Iroquois*.)
Onondagas, 10, 49. (See *Iroquois*.)
Ontario, Lake, early knowledge of, 20, 25, 38; rival posts on, 58, 59; warfare on, between French and British, 75, 76, 80, 82; during war of *1812*, 169-172, 176; province of, see *Upper Canada*.
Oregon Treaty, 270.
Oswego founded, 59; captured by Montcalm, 76; during American revolution, 115, 125; captured by Yeo, 176.
Ottawa, capital of (old) Canada, 292; of Dominion, 314; colonial conference at, 341.
Ottawa River, early knowledge of, 12, 18.

Pacific Coast, early voyages to, 8, 137-142; fur trade of, 141, 142, 234; rival claims on, 141, 142, 233, 234. (See *Vancouver Island* and *British Columbia*.)
Papineau (senior), 148, 209; Louis Joseph, 208-215; in Lower Canada assembly, 208-216; and rebellion of *1837*, 238, 239, 244; returns to Canada, 288; D. B., 269.
Paris, Treaty of, 90, 94.
Parliament of Great Britain, 185, 186; of Nova Scotia, first, 102; of New Brunswick, first, 155; of Prince Edward Island, first, 105; of Lower Canada, 129, 130; first, 143, 144; of Upper Canada, 129, 130; first, 149, 150; of Canada (old), 254; first, 259-262; of British Columbia, 323; first, 303; of Manitoba, 321; of North-West Territories, 337; of Dominion, 326, 327; first, 328, 329; of provinces, 327; colonial parliaments (early) 189-192. (See *Assembly* and *Council*.)
Party government, 259, 263, 273.
Phips, Sir William, captures Port Royal, 48; attacks Quebec, 48, 49.
Pitt, William (Lord Chatham), 78, 131; the Younger, 129.
Plains of Abraham, battle of, 86, 87.
Plattsburg, 167, 173; British repulse at, 175, 176.
Polo, Marco, 1.
Pontiac war, 92-94.
Population, see *Immigration*.
Port Royal founded, 15, 16; destroyed by Argall, 17; re-established, 30, 44; captured by Phips, 48; captured by the British, 54, 55. (See *Annapolis*.)
Postal service, 217, 276, 296, 325.
Poutrincourt in Acadia, 15, 17.
Prescott, governor, 146, 147.
Prevost, Sir George, governor, 149, 157; during war of *1812*, 160, 164, 171, 175, 176.
Primogeniture, law of, abolished in (old) Canada, 288.
Prince Edward Island in early times, 56, 79; ceded to Great Britain, 94; separate province, 105; assembly of, 105, 156, 250, 251, 294-296; Loyalist settlers in, 124; Scotch settlers in, 132, 133; further immigration to, 182, 251, 272; land monopoly in, 105, 156, 250, 251, 297-299, 324; religious liberty in, 204; (*1758-1774*), 105, 106; (*1783-1812*), 156, 157;

(*1815-1840*), 249-252; (*1840-1867*), 294-299; joins confederation, 323, 324.
Provencher, first bishop of Manitoba, 235.
Provincial progress since Confederation, 333-335, 339; rights, 334, 335.

QUEBEC founded, 17; first colony, 20; captured by Kirke, 21; attacked by Phips, 48; threatened by Walker and Hill expedition, 55; siege of, by Wolfe, 83-88; capitulates, 88; besieged by de Lévis, 89; besieged by Montgomery and Arnold, 110-112; province of, formed, 94; boundaries, 94, 95, 100, 117; divided into Upper and Lower Canada, 129; ship-building, 183; incorporated, 195; fires, 270, 271; capital of (old) Canada, 292; conference at, 309, 310; Act, 99-101.
Queen Anne's war, 52-56.
Queenston Heights, battle of, 164-167.
Quit-rents, Prince Edward Island, 106, 249, 250, 252, 295; New Brunswick, 224; Nova Scotia, 227.

RADISSON, Canadian explorer, 39.
Railways, 183, 184, 262, 277, 281, 282; Intercolonial, 279-281; Canadian Pacific, 137, 323, 331, 332, 335, 336.
Ramezay, de, governor of Montreal, 54, 65, 83, 88.
Razilly, Isaac de, in Acadia, 30.
Rebellion of *1837*, 237-244; Losses Bill, 287, 288; amnesty, 288; Riel, first, 316-321; second, 338, 339.
Reciprocity treaty, 282-284, 297, 311.
Récollets, the, in Canada, 18, 20, 46.
Red River settlement, early history of, 133, 230-232, 234-237, 299-301; Canadian immigration to, 300; transferred to Canada, 315; first Riel rebellion in, 316-321; expedition to, 321. (See *Manitoba*.)
Religious liberty, terms of Treaty of Paris, 94; of Quebec Act, 101; struggle for, 200-207.
"Representation by population," agitation for, 292, 293.
Responsible government demanded in Lower Canada, 148; struggles for, in Lower Canada, 207-216; struggles for, in Upper Canada, 216-222; struggles for, in New Brunswick, 224, 225, 256, 257; struggles for, in Nova Scotia, 228-230, 257-259; struggles for, in Prince Edward Island, 294-296; conceded, 244-249, 296 (see *Appointments to Office*); attitude of imperial authorities toward, 186, 187, 213-216, 220, 225, 229, 230, 237, 244, 245, 247-249, 257-259; under British North America Act, 326; in British Columbia, 322, 323; in North-West Territories, 337.
Revenue under French régime, 61; under Quebec Act, 101; under Union Act, 254; colonial, 189, 190, 214; Lower Canada, 209, 210, 213, 214; Upper Canada, 216, 220; colonial, question of control of, 189, 190, 222, 224, 225, 295; in Lower Canada, 209-216; in Upper Canada, 217, 218, 220; in Nova Scotia, 228, 229; in New Brunswick, 222-225; in Prince Edward Island, 295; taxation, question of, 107.
Richmond, Duke of, governor, 197, 209, 210.
Ridgeway, affair at, 312, 313.
Riel, Louis, 317-321, 331, 338, 229.
Roads, see *Military Roads, Municipal Institutions.*
Roberval, viceroy of New France, 7.
Robinson, Sir J. B., 197, 241, 305.
Rolph, Dr. John, 217, 221, 241.
Russell, Lord, 207, 237; responsible government despatches, 247-249, 258.
Ryerson, Rev. Dr., 205, 262, 268, 271.

SALABERRY, COLONEL DE, 161; at Chateauguay, 173, 174.
Saratoga raided, 65; Burgoyne surrenders at, 114.
Schultz, Sir John, 300, 318, 319.
Scotch settlers in Nova Scotia, 102, 132, 182; in Cape Breton, 132; in Prince Edward Island, 133; in New Brunswick, 182; in Upper Canada, 132, 133, 179, 181; on Red River, 231, 232.
Sectarian schools, 202, 203, 291, 292, 335; college question in Nova Scotia, 266, 267, 286.
Seigneurial system, 23, 33, 36, 37, 44, 120, 211, 212; abolished, 290, 291.
Seigneurs, 33, 36, 47, 63, 101; during American revolution, 108, 112.
Selkirk, Lord, 132; Prince Edward Island settlement, 133; in Upper Canada, 133; on Red River, 232, 234.
Senate, Canadian, 326.
Senecas, 10, 43, 93. (See *Iroquois*.)
Seven Oaks, affair at, 232.
Sherbrooke, Sir J. C., governor, 157, 178, 208, 209, 225, 232.
Ship-building, 41, 62, 104, 139, 146, 183, 252, 281, 297, 300.
Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, 63-65, 68, 70, 71, 74-76.
Simcoe, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, 134, 135, 143, 150, 151, 153, 154.
Simpson, Sir George, 235.
Slavery in Canada, 144.
Smith, Sir Donald A., 319, 320, 336.
Spanish succession, war of the, 52-56.
Stadacona, 6.
Stanley, Lord, of Preston, 333.
State endowment of rectories in Upper Canada, 206, 207. (See *Clergy Reserves* and *Sectarian Schools*.)
Steamboats, see *Ship-building*.
Stoney Creek, battle of, 170.
Strachan, Bishop, 153, 191, 203, 205, 206.
Sulpicians, the, in Canada, 25, 35.
Superior, Lake, early knowledge of, 25, 37, 60.
Sydenham, Lord, governor, 207, 248, 252, 253, 259, 260, 262, 276.
St. Castin, Baron de, 45-47.
St. Charles, rebels defeated at, 239.

St. Denis, rebel victory at, 239.
St. Eustache, rebels defeated at, 239, 240.
Ste. Foye, battle of, 88, 89.
St. Germaine-en-Laye, peace of, 22.
St. John, New Brunswick, 124; incorporated, 155; mentioned, 182, 194, 195, 276, 280, 282, 309.
St. John's, siege of, by Montgomery, 109, 110.
St. Lawrence River, early knowledge of, 4-6.
St. Pierre and Miquelon, 94, 97.

TACHE, BISHOP, 320; Sir E. P., 281, 291 (note), 294 (note), 307.
Tadoussac, 14, 17; naval battle off, 21.
Talbot settlements, 133, 134.
Talon, the intendant, 32-39.
Tariffs, colonial, 275, 276, 278; the National Policy, 278, 332, 333.
Tecumseh with Brock at Detroit, 164; killed at Moraviantown, 169.
Thompson, David, explorer, 141.
Thompson, Hon. C. Poulett, see *Sydenham, Lord.*)
Thompson, Sir John, 333, 340.
Thorpe, Judge, 152.
Three Rivers, 22, 25, 29, 90, 110, 113, 121.
Ticonderoga, Fort, 74, 75; British repulse at, 80; abandoned by the French, 82, 83; seized by Ethan Allan, 108.
Tilley, Hon. S. L., 287, 311; also in group, *Fathers of Confederation*, facing 309.
Tithes, 62, 101, 130.
Todd, Alpheus, 341.
Tonty, La Salle's lieutenant, 41, 42.
Toronto, French post at, 59, 67, 82 (see *York*); incorporated, 195; attacked by rebels, 240-242; capital of (old) Canada, 292; other mention of, 253, 271, 280, 282, 288, 341.
Tracey, Marquis de, viceroy of New France, 34; destroys Mohawk villages, 35.
Trade, see *Industrial Progress*; between Acadie and New England, 45, 54; between Canada and United States, see *United States.*
Tupper, Sir Charles, 286, 309 (facing), 328, 329, 333, 334 (facing).

U. E. LOYALISTS, 121-128; in Maritime Provinces, 123-125; in Canada, 125-128, 135.
Uniacke, Hon. J. B., 258, 266, 272, 274, 284.
Union project of *1822*, 210; Act of, *1840*, 253-255.
United States, friction concerning frontier posts, 145; war of *1812*, 158-178; Ashburton treaty, 263, 264; Oregon treaty, 270; San Juan difficulty, 304, 305; friction with, during United States civil war, 284, 306; Treaty of Washington, 305, 330, 331; Fenian raids from, 311-313, 329, 331; trade with, 153, 277, 278, 282-284, 311; Behring Sea question, 233, 234, 339, 340. (See *American Revolution* and *Boundaries.*)
Upper Canada, pioneers of, 125-128, 135, 150; before *1791*, 127, 128; a separate province, 129; (*1792-1812*), 149-154; (*1815-1837*), 216-222; outbreaks in, 240-244; united with Lower Canada, 252-255; parliament of, 129, 130; first parliament of, 149, 150; assembly of, 130, 151, 152, 216-222; early education in, 127, 128; Scotch settlers in, 132, 133, 179, 181; other early settlers in, 134, 135, 178-181.
Utrecht, peace of, 55-58.

VANCOUVER, CAPTAIN GEORGE, 139, 140; Fort, 234; Island, early knowledge of, 137-140, 234; made a colony, 301, 302; first assembly of, 303; end of Hudson's Bay Company's rule in, 304; united with British Columbia, 322.
Vaudreuil, de, governor of New France, 53, 56, 73; Cavagnal, the last French governor, 72, 74, 75, 87, 88, 90.
Verchères, the heroine of, 49.
Vérendrye, de la, father and sons, explorers, 60, 136.
Verrazano, 5.
Versailles, treaty of, 116, 117, 122, 145.
Vetch, Samuel, first governor of Nova Scotia, 54, 55.
Victoria, Fort, 234, 302, 303.
Viger, Hon. D. B., 260, 269.
Villebon, 50, 53.
Von Schultz, 243, 244.

WAMPUM BELTS, 13, 14.
Washington, city of, captured by the British, 178; treaty of, 305, 330, 331; George, 69, 70, 112.
Wentworth, Sir John, 157.
Willes, Judge, 200.
William Henry, Fort, taken by Montcalm, 77; Fort, Nor'-Wester post on Lake Superior, 142, 143, 232, 235.
Wilmot, Hon. L. A., 224, 256, 257, 273, 274, 286.
Wilson, Sir Daniel, 341.
Windsor, Upper Canada, raided, 244.
Wolfe, General James, at Louisbourg, 79; at Gaspé, 79; at siege of Quebec, 83-87.
Wolseley, Lord, 321,
Wyoming, affair of, 115.

YEO, SIR JAMES, 171, 172, 176.
York (Toronto), capital of Upper Canada, 151; other mention of, 135, 152, 153, 197-199; captured (*1813*), 169, 170. (See *Toronto.*)

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