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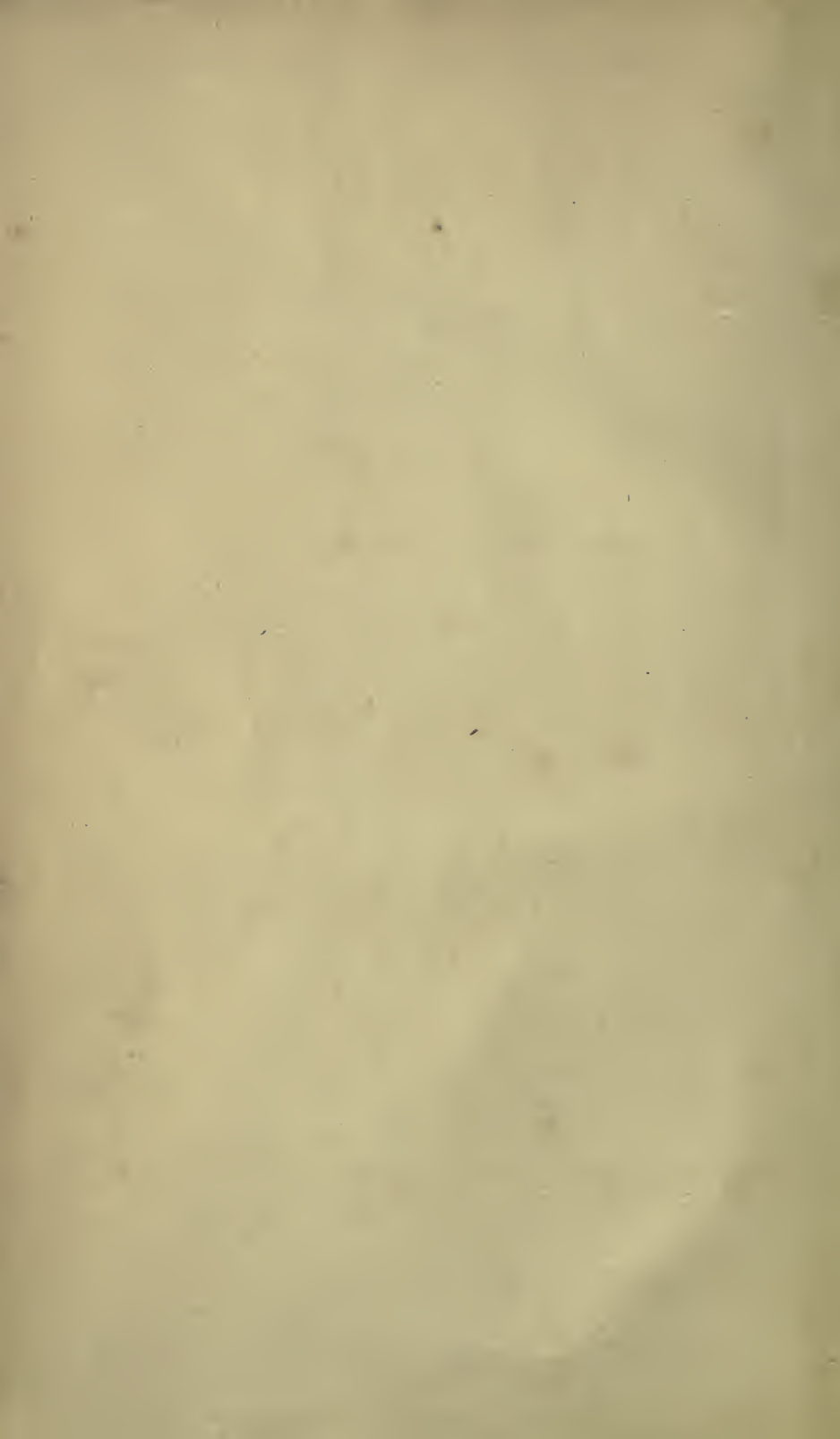
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PINE FORESTS

AND

HACMATACK CLEARINGS;

OR,

Travel, Life, and Adventure,

IN THE

BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES.

BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SLEIGH, C.M.,

LATE OF HER MAJESTY'S 77<sup>TH</sup> REGIMENT.

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## P R E F A C E.

THE prevailing features of the northern division of the British North American Continent, are vast successions of PINE FORESTS, which stretch along the shores of the Atlantic, and timber the bays and rivers which disembogue themselves into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The same genus, *Pinus*, including every variety of resinous evergreens; grows within the regions bounded by the 43rd and 50th parallels of latitude. Proceeding inland are to be found the white pine (*Pinus Strobus*), the red pine (*Pinus rubra*), the black pine (*Pinus nigra*), hemlock (*Pinus Canadensis*), the spruce (*Pinus nigra et alba*), the balsam, or fir (*Pinus balsamea*), the tamarack (*Pinus pendula*), and the cedar (*Thuja occidentalis*). These species are most generally in the intervals, forming what are termed "soft woodlands."

Where the progress of man has not as yet swept away the timber of those solitudes, they cannot be more appropriately designated than PINE FORESTS.

The tree next in frequency to be met with by the traveller is the *Larix Americana*—the HACMATACK of the Indians, and *Tamarack* of the Dutch. Botanists state that the Hacmatack grows in profusion in the North-eastern States and British America; but it prevails to an even greater extent in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. It is more frequently used in ship-building of Colonial vessels, as it is a “wood, hard, strong, and very durable,” while the houses of the settlers are almost entirely constructed of it. It is “not so easily ignited as most of the Pine tribe, but when once blazing, it burns with great briskness, giving out a fervent heat; it is therefore in great request for steam-boats and engines in Canada and the States.”

It is the most durable wood to be found in British North America, equalling English oak or the far-famed teak. There is “no record of a vessel built of Hacmatack having been destroyed by dry-rot;” whilst, in several cases, the *oak, and other timber* surrounding and immediately contiguous to it, has been found decayed. This tree attains a great age: Linnæus states that species have been found more than

four hundred years old. "Tiberius caused the Naumachiarian Bridge, constructed by Augustus, and afterwards burnt, to be rebuilt of larch-planks brought from Rhætia. Painters, from the time of Pliny to that of Raphael, trusted their works to this wood, which the Roman naturalist styles '*immortale lignum.*' The Romans, when first acquainted with the larch (the hacmatack of the American continent), lost no time in bringing it down from the Alps. Vitruvius bears evidence of its value as a building timber. Pliny says, 'This tree is the best of the kind that bears resin; it rots not, but endures a long time.' And this assertion of Pliny is well borne out by the fact, that the immense floating palace, or ship, built of cypress and larch by the Emperor Trajan, as a summer residence on Lake Nesni, having been weighed up, the timber was found sound after fourteen hundred years' immersion." The Colonists are fortunate in having in such abundance the favourite timber of the Romans.

Where the forests have been felled by the axe of the pioneer, these places are called, in Provincial phraseology, 'Clearings;' and as the locations where now are to be found the great cities and cultivated lands of the British North American Provinces, were formerly timbered with the *Larix Americana*, I considered it as appropriate, and conveying the meaning I wished

to be understood by the title of this work, to refer to those places as 'Hacmatack Clearings.' Hence the combination of these two woods has suggested to the Author "Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings."

Of "Travel, Life, and Adventure"—the former will be found blended with the latter in those chapters which are descriptive, historical, and statistic.

I consider the word "Life" to apply to all that relates to the Social and Political condition of the Provincials. Their social peculiarities will be best judged of after perusing the chapters that contain Travel and Adventure; while in referring to their Political state, I do not mean by that expression what has so happily been designated by the late lamented Earl of Durham as "the petty objects of Colonial faction," but their political views, as they affect the governmental policy of the British Empire, and have a tendency to the permanent retention or the dismemberment of those Provinces from Great Britain.

I have introduced a lengthy chapter on travel in the United States, and the "impressions" made on my mind, as to the progress of the people of the American Union in wealth and all that constitutes a high state of civilization. It will be seen that this chapter is important, as affording a means of comparing the state of the British Provinces adjoining.

The military incidents narrated occurred during my service in Canada and the Maritime Provinces in 1846; and incidents of travel over the same country in 1852 are added, thereby exhibiting both the present state of the Provinces, and the progress made by them in the interval. So much for the title of this Volume.

It is but natural, when a new Work is announced on a Colonial or other topic of general interest, to inquire from what sources the information is derived which an author professes to convey to the public. The opinions I have expressed in the following pages, and the conclusions I have arrived at, are the result of personal observation, made after a rather lengthened sojourn at different periods on the American continent. During two separate epochs of early life I have resided in the British American Provinces. For four years, on that continent, I was the school-fellow and college chum of many men who have since achieved a position and standing in their country. My first breath was drawn on the shores of the mighty St. Lawrence. I may perhaps therefore claim the right of feeling and expressing a deep interest in Canadian affairs.

During my service in the military profession, I was quartered as an officer in the army, in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Lower Canada. I then had

many opportunities of hearing the political sentiments of all classes in the different Provinces. The extended circle of society presented, and the well-known hospitality of the Colonists to military men, likewise rendered me familiar with their social state. Afterwards, and at a comparatively recent period, I again resided in the British North American Provinces, and during that time I travelled over a large extent of country in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the Canadas, as well as in the United States. In this instance I served Her Majesty as a Field-Officer of militia, as Lieutenant-Colonel commanding a regiment, and as a Justice of the Peace.

My numerous avocations gave me fresh opportunities of examining and forming my observations upon the political system now operating in those Provinces. I have exercised an influence as a Proprietor over forty-five miles of country, and hence have had the best means of obtaining information from the tenantry and yeomen. Entering extensively as a Colonist into public affairs, I connected the British North American Provinces, during last summer, by a steam communication: as a ship-owner, I derived much important information on the Maritime Colonies.

Having thus participated, during my ten years of residence, in military, landed, and commercial pursuits, I hope the experience thus acquired, the result of which will be found in the following pages, may entitle my remarks to some small amount of consideration.

Should my work excite, in the most remote degree, a stronger interest than has been heretofore shown on the part of the English reader, in the destinies of Her Majesty's magnificent Colonial possessions in British North America, I should be satisfied.

But should these pages attract the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers to the danger which threatens those Provinces, and should the facts stated and the conclusions drawn be considered of sufficient importance to cause inquiries to be made, which may lead to the permanent retention of the British North American Colonies as appendages of the British Crown, through the introduction of institutions more suited to their advanced state of progress, then indeed will the object which I have in view be more than achieved.

*London, May, 1853.*





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PINE FORESTS  
AND  
HACMATACK CLEARINGS.

CHAPTER I.

NOVA SCOTIA.—PROXIMITY OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES TO ENGLAND.—THEIR RETENTION OF IMPORTANCE TO GREAT BRITAIN CONSIDERED IN A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW.—POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THE VARIOUS PROVINCES.—THE FISHERY QUESTION.—CHECK ON THE UNITED STATES FRONTIERS.—AGRICULTURAL AND MINERAL RESOURCES OF THIS PROVINCE.—HALIFAX.—THE GREAT NORTH AMERICAN RAILWAY TERMINUS.—DISTINGUISHED NOVA-SCOTIANS.—CAPE BRETON.

ON approaching the shores of Nova Scotia, in one of the Royal Mail Steamers, the idea forcibly presents itself, that fifty years ago Edinburgh and Dublin were, as to time, seven days removed from London ; no one however presumed, on the 1st January, 1803, to suggest that, as Scotland and Ireland were a week's journey from the seat of the Imperial Parliament, their interests should be disregarded, or that, such being

the fact as to distance, the dismemberment of those portions of the Empire was a matter of not the most remote importance to any one in England. At the period we speak of, the sea-voyage to Ireland frequently occupied a fortnight in its performance: a week from Dublin to London was a remarkably rapid trip, even when travellers availed themselves of the facilities of the overland journey from Holyhead.

The nearest point of the British North American possessions from Great Britain—not referring to St. John's, Newfoundland, which is again removed by the sea from the continent—can be reached in seven days by steam, and for communication, despatches by the electric telegraph from Quebec, the capital of the Canadas, *viâ* Halifax, could be received in London, *viâ* Galway, within one week.

This fact offers the only apology we consider necessary, for obtruding upon the British Public the following observations upon the social and political condition of those vast colonial possessions—as near, in point of fact, to the throne, as Ireland or Scotland half a century ago. The man who in 1803 would have suggested the idea of a dismemberment of Ireland or Scotland from the English Crown, would have received for his reward a traitor's doom on Tower Hill. In 1853, to assert the possibility, the probability, and even to advocate the advisability of a severance of the British North American Colonies, with an area twenty times as large as Ireland and Scotland, and a population close upon three millions, is by no means an



uncommon occurrence, either in the press or in Parliament. The significance of the meaning of the word "traitor" must have wonderfully changed within the last half-century.

The political system of each of the British North American Colonies, and the working of the Government, pretty nearly approximate in form and usage. Each Colony we shall afterwards take in detail; we will now, however, refer to them as a whole. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Canada, have each a Lieutenant-Governor, an Executive Council, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly. Each Colony is independent of the others, and passes what laws it deems best for itself, without any consideration for the interests of its neighbours, whom it in fact considers as aliens. This spirit even extends to a jealousy so keenly felt, that in many articles a prohibitory duty is levied by one Province upon the imports of another. Viewing the maritime provinces of British North America, they as nearly as possible assimilate to rival states, with views and interests foreign to each other. The benefit which a republic confers by granting high offices to members of any one State of the Union, who may be placed as Presidents or Senators to govern the whole, or vote upon questions affecting any individual State, or the States as a confederacy, is unobtainable by a colonist. Hence, the denizens of one Province are in perfect ignorance respecting the affairs of another. This absence of reciprocal information cannot be better exemplified

than by referring to the late dispute with the United States upon the fishery question. One Province—an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence—represented through the Governor to the Home authorities the vast benefits which would arise from throwing open the fisheries to the Americans, and that, unless this were done speedily by treaty, the islanders would be the more inclined to join the United States, and that on this question mainly depended the loyalty of the colonists. At the same period a large and influential meeting was held in Halifax, which was attended by very eloquent men of all classes and shades of politics, at which it was unanimously resolved, that to throw open the fisheries to the Americans would be a gross violation of good faith on the part of the Mother country, and would tend more than anything else to lessen those feelings of loyalty which had hitherto so warmly beat in the breasts of the Nova-Scotians. Here we see two neighbouring Colonies, almost within sight of each other, threatening to become rebels, if Great Britain assents, or refuses to assent, to open the fisheries to the citizens of the United States. The political system at present in operation in those Colonies must be radically wrong, when such a difference of views and interests exists between neighbouring provinces, both maritime in their situation, and upon which the operation of the fishery question must be identical.

This spirit of disunion has been further exemplified in the discussion upon the railway between Halifax and Quebec. Nova Scotia proposes certain guaran-

tees ; New Brunswick differs from the Halifaxians in their views ; and Canada dissents from the propositions of both,—although the simple question at issue is, whether a railway is imperatively required between Halifax and Quebec. Had the issue been left to the decision of a united House of Parliament for all the British North American Provinces, at this moment the railway from Halifax to Quebec would have been in full operation. The fact of the disunion of the Provinces has alone prevented, long since, the accomplishment of this great national undertaking, and thereby most materially retarded the progress of the Lower Provinces.

An extraordinary anomaly exists in the position of Upper Canada, with reference to the other Provinces. Canada West, with a population of 952,004, is denied—or at least has had withdrawn from it, through the union with the Lower Province—its resident Governor, Executive and Legislative Councils, and House of Assembly. At present it is only favoured with a migratory seat of government. On the other hand, an insignificant province, Prince Edward Island, with a population of only 70,000 inhabitants, rapidly decreasing by emigration from its shores, has a Lieutenant-Governor, the usual Houses of Assembly, and the officers of Government. This is an island, in point of fact, not half so important as a fifth-rate English municipality, and its Legislative Councils are immeasurably beneath, in talent, wealth, and respectability, an insignificant parish vestry. Cape Breton,

with a population of 50,000, is however denied the benefit (?) of so respectable a show of government, since it is annexed to Nova Scotia; and most judiciously so, and as the island should be to New Brunswick, from which it is only distant nine miles, between Capes Traverse and Tormentine. Again, Newfoundland, with 100,000 inhabitants, has not as yet had conferred upon her the full benefits (?) of responsible government. The obvious result of the present disjointed state of the political system of the British North American Provinces is to rapidly widen the distance between each in feelings and interests. Having once become tinged with colonial envies, hatred and malice will not be slow to follow, whereupon, as a necessary consequence, the attachment of the colonists to the Mother-country will equally abate in the same ratio, if it has not already done so to a very large degree. When once the provincials have become thoroughly estranged, there will be no hesitation, on the first favourable opportunity, in directing their hopes towards a union with the United States. To prevent so deplorable, but, if not soon checked, unavoidable a disaster to the dignity of Great Britain, it is necessary that these truths should be well pondered upon, premising that it be taken for granted, by every well-informed person capable of judging the question, that the loss of the North American Colonies would be a national humiliation and injury to Great Britain of a most grave and serious import.

In a military point of view, the retention of the

British Provinces of North America acts as a decided check upon the aggrandizing spirit of the United States. While England retains her Canadian possessions, the whole northern frontier of the republic is vulnerable—is open to assault. Once lose the Provinces, and the West Indies are, in fact, lost also. Then the United States would be placed in a position most advantageous for any offensive operations the bad spirit of her citizens and hatred to England might offer a pretext for. While Great Britain retains British North America and the West Indies, the Southern States would present a field for successful operations on our part in the event of a war. The dread, by the Americans, of the liberation of their slaves in the South, affords at the present critical moment in European affairs the chief inducement to restrain the bellicose predilections of the citizens of the Union. Were England to be involved in a war with France, we have no hesitation in asserting, however unpopular our view of the case may be, and in the face of all the expressions of amity and goodwill which the educated and refined American expresses towards the Mother-country, that the first ally that would offer assistance to our enemies would be the United States of America. We have reluctantly come to this conviction almost against our belief, from an actual observation made in the States, and with the most ardent feelings of friendship and admiration towards an energetic, talented, and, like England, as fine and brave a race as is to be found

on the face of the globe. But unfortunately, in the United States, wealth, talent, and chivalrous honour, which are to be found on all sides, form the least influential portion of the community. The mob there decides the question of peace or war, and not the least eager in that mob for war with England are renegade citizens from the Mother-country. France—be it not forgotten, once assisted the struggling States with subsidies and a La Fayette : a debt of gratitude is still due by the latter, which she would not be slow in repaying. For Great Britain to retain her North American Provinces is, therefore, not a question of choice—it is one of urgent necessity. But that necessity, however great it may be, will not save those Provinces, unless a speedy change take place in the entire political system of their government. What that change must be, and why it is called for, will be more apparent when we have taken a view of the British North American Provinces in detail.

The maritime Provinces first receive our consideration, because of their proximity to the Mother-country. Halifax to Galway is but six days' steaming. The telegraph from Galway to London renders communication, as we have shown, from Montreal or Toronto to the Metropolis of Great Britain within a fraction of the same time. Hence, the position of Halifax and the Province of Nova Scotia must ultimately become of the first importance. The capital of the Province, with its 30,000 inhabitants, situated as it is within a noble harbour open at all seasons of the year, will,

when the railway is in operation, connecting the Province with Canada and the United States by the St. John's line, become the great terminus of the North American continent. Her future is destined to be brilliant. A vast city will rise upon the site of the present respectable town, which will extend around the North-west Arm, nor limit its boundaries until it reach to the Bedford Basin. Where there are 30,000 inhabitants, there will then be 300,000. Noble streets of stone and brick will supersede the present wooden edifices; and where now the traveller seeks in vain for a respectable hotel, he will then only be puzzled in his choice in the number of Halifax "Tremont's," "Rivière's," "Metropolitan's," or "Astor's." All this will occur within the next twenty years,—much, within the five years following the completion of the railway.

The mineral wealth of Nova Scotia is inexhaustible. With its mines of coal and its water-power, this Province will ultimately become the centre of the great manufacturing wealth of the continent. It will be to America as the midland counties in England are to Great Britain,—the Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester of industry and mechanical progress. As yet the mineral wealth of this Colony is but partially known; it is in its infancy of discovery. Coal, iron, copper, have all indicated their presence, while marble of the purest kind is known to abound in great abundance. The region eastward from Halifax to the Bend of Petigodiac and Basin of Mines is mountainous and difficult of culture; but magnificent plains, of

agricultural capabilities, extend from the Cumberland mountains to the waters of the Straits of Canso. From Halifax towards Windsor, each step westward conducts the traveller through a district matchless in soil and productiveness, and abounding in substantial farm-houses, and country hotels of the first respectability. The dyked marsh-land of the Avon is passed, and then commences that extraordinary farming country, teeming with life and the healthful pursuits of the agriculturist, which continues uninterrupted to Annapolis and the shores of Nova Scotia, bordering upon the Bay of Fundy. Digby and Yarmouth largely export livestock to St. John's, and the Bermudas draw their provision from the like prolific source.

The popular error in Europe is to consider Nova Scotia a country of fogs and barrenness. A trip from eastward to westward in this noble Province will soon remove so unfavourable an impression. The position of the Province is one of peculiar importance from its great agricultural and commercial capabilities. On one side, the mariner on the broad Atlantic finds the harbours of Chedebucto, Halifax, and Liverpool with ten other ports, capable of receiving ships of the line, before reaching Cape Canso. The Bay of Fundy has St. Mary's Bay, the splendid Basin of Annapolis, and the Mines Basin. To obviate, for coasting-vessels, the dangerous navigation round Cape Sable, the Shubenacadie Canal, from Halifax to the Mines Basin, was proposed.

An amusing and rather romantic incident is con-



nected with the early history of Cape Sable, when it was under French dominion. During the progress of a squadron fitted out in England to operate against the French fortifications in Acadia, they captured eighteen French transports, with 135 pieces of cannon and other valuable stores, destined for the fortifications of Quebec and Port Royal. In one of the captured transports was Claude de la Tour, a gentleman of fortune and enterprise, who held a large tract of land on the St. John, under a grant from the French Crown. Being brought to England, La Tour was introduced to Sir William Alexander, "the philosophical poet;" and in order to secure his lands, otherwise confiscated by conquest, he agreed to establish upon them a party of Scotch emigrants. Having entered into this new engagement, he repaired to Cape Sable, where there was a fort held by his son. The father employed every kind of entreaty and threat, to induce young La Tour to co-operate with him in his arrangements with the English; but all was in vain, and his son indignantly refused to take any part in an act which he considered treasonable. An engagement took place between the forces of both parties, the father attacking, and the son defending the fortress. The latter repulsed his father with considerable loss; and old La Tour, being ashamed to return to England, was permitted by his son to remain at Cape Sable; but the father was prohibited by the son from entering the fort! The harbour where the fort stood is now called Port La Tour, where the remains of the

fortification may still be seen. This young gentleman, Charles Etienne de la Tour, had confirmed to him by the French Government, Sable Island, La Have, Port Royal, and Minos, with large tracts of the adjoining lands and the country bordering upon the St. John's, granted to his old father in 1627. The female members of the La Tour family were no less remarkable for their belligerent propensities. It is narrated that Madame La Tour had been engaged in England in adjusting her husband's affairs, and having completed her work, she sailed for the St. John; but the master of the vessel proceeded to the St. Lawrence, and having finished his traffic there, finally set the lady on shore at Boston. For this violation of his charter, and the loss Madame La Tour had sustained by him, she recovered £2000 damages. She then proceeded to the fort on the St. John's; and Charnisse, an old enemy of the La Tours, having heard of the absence of her husband, pursued her, and attacked her fortress, which, from its being commanded by a female, he probably thought would be an easy conquest. But the lady defended the place with great spirit, and her artillery fired with so much precision, that Charnisse's frigate was rendered unmanageable, and he was compelled to draw off beyond the range of her cannon. In the engagement he had twenty men killed, and thirteen wounded. Having repaired his vessel, he returned to Penobscot, under the humiliating reflection that he had attacked a woman during the absence of her husband, and had received at her hands an

ample chastisement for his ungallant and cowardly proceeding.

From motives of policy the people of Massachusetts now refused to afford La Tour any further assistance, and Charnisse seized another opportunity to attack the fort, when the former was absent on a trading excursion. Having sailed up the river St. John, a siege was commenced, which, from the weakness of the garrison, offered a chance of conquest. But Madame La Tour, with a handful of men, was determined to defend the place, even at the risk of sacrificing her own life; and during three days the besiegers were several times repulsed and compelled to retreat. On the fourth day, which happened to be Easter Sunday, she was unfortunately betrayed by a mutinous Swiss, who had gone over to the enemy and communicated information fatal to the safety of this heroic woman. Even under these untoward circumstances, her courage did not fail; and when Charnisse had scaled the wall, she met him in the front of her little garrison, ready to perish in her husband's cause. Having reason to fear so true a heroine, and having been several times beaten by a woman, Charnisse proposed a capitulation, which Madame La Tour accepted, for the humane purpose of saving the lives of the few brave men who had so long defended the place against a superior force; but no sooner had her cowardly adversary signed the articles of capitulation, entered the fort, and observed its defenceless state, than he immediately hanged all the survivors, reserving only one, whom he compelled to

execute his comrades. Besides this act of fiendish barbarity, he compelled Madame La Tour to witness the revolting and inhuman scene, and also led her to the gallows with a halter round her neck. All the ordnance, stores, merchandise, furs, and plate, of great value, were carried away by the cowardly and dishonourable villain to Penobscot. The privation and perils Madame La Tour had suffered, the dreadful fate of her family and followers, with the loss of fortune and the danger to which her husband would consequently be exposed, had a violent effect upon the health of this heroic woman, and she died shortly afterwards, deeply commiserated by all who had heard of her name and misfortunes. As a *finale* to this extraordinary narrative, Charnisse being dead, La Tour married the widow of his inveterate enemy! About this time, Charnisse's sister also died, having bequeathed her property in Acadia to La Tour, whereby he obtained possession of the whole country\*.

The grand trunk-line of rail will extend from Amherst to Halifax, and from thence westward to Windsor and Annapolis; thus radiating from one extreme of the Province to the other. With the profitable markets of the United States, nought is wanting to render Nova Scotia great and prosperous, save a sound system of government, which will remove it from its present petty isolated position, and place the Province in that station which nature has destined it should occupy.

\* Gesner.

Party-spirit, engendered by the want of some nobler aim, to attract the hopes and aspirations of the talent of the Province, has been the necessary consequence of a restricted sphere for the exercise of genius. Notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which she has laboured, Nova Scotia has reason to be proud of her sons. In Judge Haliburton we see judicial acumen combined with literary talent of the first order, which has secured a European reputation; in Young, the Speaker of the House, a soul-stirring eloquence almost worthy of a Grattan or a Curran. Johnstone, late Attorney-General, the clear and lucid exponent of the laws, is a most able and highly-gifted debater. In the leader of the Ultra-liberal party, Howe, we recognize considerable native talent, which would have shone more resplendently, had early education refined the thought and speech, and taught that elegance of expression and gentlemanly suavity of manners are more valuable in a public man than rude and reckless sarcasm. No one, however, can deny to the favourite politician of Nova Scotia that genuine goodness of heart which should cover a multitude of sins. Nova Scotia requires that healthy feeling amongst her sons which shall render the leadership of a faction no longer sought after solely as a means of subsistence. With a settled Government, the increase of wealth which will follow, and such creditable institutions of learning as Windsor College, under the eye of the accomplished and amiable Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Right Rev. H. Binney, D.D., politics will

assume a tone of patriotism devoid entirely of self. The effect of the party-spirit now dividing the Province is to close every office against conservative talent, and confine the public service in the hands of a chosen few, irrespective of other claims urged by public men.

From amongst her merchants, a spirit of unrivalled enterprise has familiarized us with the name of Cunard, through whose genius and sagacity the ocean is now spanned by those leviathan steamers of the deep, which have brought two worlds into such close proximity, and Halifax as near to London as Edinburgh was half a century ago. If the architect and the artist have received honours from a Sovereign, how much more deserving is that man, a Nova-Scotian, who has conferred upon the British Colonies and the world such vast benefits!

Nova Scotia, with such a galaxy of able and enterprising men, *must* become great. She has at the present period, including Cape Breton, which was annexed to the Province in 1820, a population amounting to 300,000.

In 1625, Charles I. renewed a previous patent granted in 1621 to Sir William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling, conferring certain lands in Nova Scotia upon this gifted individual, who was designated by the King a "philosophical poet." Dr. Gesner says, "Sir William appears to have possessed a variety of talent, and was styled by the King a Philosophical Poet. Among his poetic works was one called the 'Aurora;' a long complaint on his unsuc-

cessful addresses to a young lady." This worthy was first created a Knight, and afterwards a Peer, with power to create titles of honour, and appoint bishops, as Lieutenant-General, Justice-General, and High Lord of Admiralty of Nova Scotia. He never visited this Province; but his son was afterwards created Governor.

In the creation of the order of Nova Scotia Baronets, it was provided that "each was to hold jurisdiction over a tract in the Province extending three miles along the coast and ten towards the interior, and to receive in full property 16,000 acres of land. In return, each was bound to fit out six men for the Colony, or to pay two thousand marks. By an extraordinary regulation, they were allowed to take seisin or legal possession, not on the spot, but on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, Nova Scotia being included in a county of that name."

Cape Breton, separated from Nova Scotia by the magnificent straits denominated the Gut of Canso, which excels in beauty, boldness, and marvellous diversity of scenery, anything to be found on the whole continent, and which at its extreme width is not more than a mile, has a population, almost entirely agricultural, of 50,000. Sydney, the capital, is a rising town, not far removed from the coal-mines, which are extensively and profitably worked, at the entrance of the harbour. The interior of Cape Breton is magnificently watered by the Bras d'Or Lake, fifty miles long, with an extreme breadth of twenty,

and a depth from twelve to sixty fathoms, and presents objects of romantic beauty in its numerous indentations and labyrinthine passages, which extend to within one mile of the Atlantic, opposite Isle Madame and Chedebucto Bay. This slight isthmus will doubtless be cut through, when the increase of population will demand a more direct route for the produce of the interior to the Halifax markets. The Colony returns six members to the House of Assembly at Halifax: at the period of her union to Nova Scotia, she returned but two.



## CHAPTER II.

NOVA SCOTIA.—A JOURNEY FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE GUT OF ANNAPOLIS.—BAY OF FUNDY, VIA WINDSOR AND THE MINES BASIN.—THE TALE OF A MUSICAL BOX.

HALIFAX has one drawback, which is very remarkable for a city of its size and maritime importance : there is no hotel, strictly so called. Some seven years ago, I put up, when quartered there with my regiment, at the "Halifax Hotel," which is a large building in Hollis-street, every way suited to the purpose for which it was built. But having been badly managed, it was closed, after a profitless career ; and on the old barracks being burnt to the ground, it was taken by the Government and converted into officers' quarters, to which use it is now consigned, greatly, in my opinion, to the injury of the city. From the day of the closing of the hotel, the outer and inner walls have remained without a single scrubbing or coat of paint, and the building now presents an exterior as well as an interior surface of dirt, which ought to prove rather repugnant to the feelings of its military occupants. Barrack quarters are not generally the cleanest buildings in the

world, but the officers' quarters in Halifax I will back as the dirtiest.

There is now opposite the Province Building the “Acadian Hotel,” a small and unimportant hostelry, but really the only one to which a traveller can go. As an additional convenience, a large boarding-house in the neighbourhood of the Governor's, has been opened, which we shall designate the “Abbotsford House,”—not from any desire to recommend that place of refuge; on the contrary, the result of a rather lengthened experience there would prompt us to a different course. But, however, a perusal of the “Tale of a musical box,” which will be found in this chapter, will equally as well answer our purpose.

The proprietress of this establishment, whose name savours of the ancients, Mrs. Athens, is one of those country-reared colonial bodies, full of tattle and mystery, never minding her own business, but taking a vast amount of pains to meddle with that of others which in nowise concerns her. With full staring eyes, and a hesitating, half-sorrowful, half-injured expression of countenance, the traveller, at the portal of her hospitable abode, consigns himself to her charge. If, in half an hour, Mrs. Athens does not glean all his past, and present intended, movements, it is from no fault of hers, or from a negligence to put point-blank interrogatories, which have a plain and decided import, and will permit no equivocation in answering. Before an hour, that lady has gone the round of her house, into each family apartment, and the secrets of the

new arrival are imparted confidentially to all, with several glowing and piquant additions, which her over-imaginative propensities for the marvellous have suggested the necessity of adding. With this introduction of our hostess, we leave "Abbotsford House" in one of King's Western Stages, bound for Windsor, premising that we shall have to refer again, before our journey is ended, to that amiable creature, Mrs. Athens.

The vehicle which was to convey us on our route, was a large cumbrous coach of American build, with three seats inside,—one in the centre, with a moveable strap at the back, which unhooked, to permit passengers to deposit themselves in the usual seats, with their backs or faces to the horses. Thus, nine persons could be stowed into the space originally intended for six. Behind the stage was a carriage-board, suspended to the roof, on which some ton or two of baggage could be placed; while on the top, besides a living cargo, several sailors' heavy sea-chests were piled up. We started—it was in the month of April, 1852—with eighteen passengers and a load of luggage, which was about half as much again as we could really carry. Six horses drew the ponderous machine; and away we rolled, by the upper road, past the Garrison Chapel, and thus to the one which skirts Bedford Basin.

Bedford Basin—the name brings back pleasant recollections! This beautiful sheet of water, which is separated from Halifax Harbour by a narrow passage, opens out into a magnificent expanse twenty miles in circumference. The scenery along the shore is lovely

in the extreme, with the dark forests stretching down to the water's edge, while the gentle ripple of the sparkling spray sighs in sweet cadence upon the pebbly sand of its margin. Fish here and there jumping upward at a fly; a canoe with a Micmac Indian paddling along, or a boat with white canvas spread to the breeze, flying gunwale-under toward some pretty haven, form a continued panorama. The whole country around is timbered with spruce-fir and dwarf-birch, which, with the dull green of the former and the lighter foliage of the latter, forms a pleasing contrast. Huge masses of rocks strew the woods and clearings, thrown together in endless confusion. To look at the stony surface of the ground, the idea conveyed would be, that these fragments were cast down by some volcanic eruption. They certainly are not of original formation, as now situated.

The theory which to my mind more correctly accounts for the presence of these boulders is, that this portion of Nova Scotia was once covered by the ocean, and the rocks strewn about were dropped from passing bergs of ice. This is the more confirmed by the various geological specimens seen in close proximity to each other, but of different formations and species. It is also believed—and, I should say, correctly so—that North America was once under a tropical sun. There have been petrifactions of the palm and cocoa-nut tree found imbedded a great depth in the earth; while the fossil remains of the mastodon, mammoth, and other crea-

tures of an earlier age and different clime, have also been found in Nova Scotia and the other northern Provinces. I was much struck with a similarity of appearance between some portions of Halifax county, where it is barren and rocky, evidently presenting traces of a volcanic origin, and the land back of Port Henderson and Apostles' Battery, Jamaica.

About seven miles from the city we passed the remains of a summer-house, built upon the margin of Bedford Basin, which was in former years the favourite retreat of the Duke of Kent, Her Majesty's father, when quartered in the Province. The lodge in which His Royal Highness resided is now fallen to ruins; and the neighbouring grounds, upon which great care and attention were bestowed, are entirely neglected. The place embraces some hundred acres, and is for sale; I believe the price asked is £800 currency. I was once very much inclined to purchase it, and build a house there for a residence. The road, as we proceeded, became, from recent heavy rains, in a terrible condition, and our over-laden coach plunged into ruts in the most frightful manner, threatening each moment to capsize, and to verify the adage "Long threatenings come at last:" the straps upon which the coach was hung now gave way on one side, and down we went with a crash. To extricate the nine insides was a matter of considerable difficulty, for the door which was uppermost became jammed, and no exertion could open it. One by one each had to be drawn out of the window, until the corpulent bulk of an old

gentleman resisted all efforts exerted in his behalf, and we had to leave him inside to his fate, or, worse than all, to his amusing terrors, until the coach could be righted again. We all got some long pine-branches, and uniting our strength on one side, assisted in giving purchase to the body of the vehicle, and lifting it up from the broken leather springs. A long sapling was at once introduced beneath; and, thus kept up, we resumed our places, and were once more on our way.

When near Jeffersonville, a heavier plunge than usual cracked our support, and we broke down for a second time. On hastily jumping out, we found the leather springs on the other side had also given way, and this added to our perplexities. Nothing now remained, but we must all walk on to the next stage, a distance of five miles. The rain fell in torrents, and the road became a perfect quagmire. We floundered on, knee-deep in mud, now and then leaving a boot behind, or splashed head over ears with mire. I think it was fully two hours before we reached the small wayside inn, where we changed horses. We here got a blacksmith to work, and after the united efforts and suggestions of all, as to how to patch up the concern, a couple of chains were procured, and fastened to the fore and aft axles; they formed a support upon which the body of the coach rested. Away we drove again, and had hardly cleared the confines of the inn, when down we broke, and on the ground lay the driver, who had been thrown off the coach-box, though he was still clinging to the reins. The horses fortunately stopped, and on

getting out, we found that no bones had been broken. The old plan of pine-poles under the vehicle was again resorted to. We drove on slowly, and thus, at nine in the evening, we crawled into Windsor, instead of arriving at five. I now found, to my extreme disgust, that the boat by which I was going to cross over the Bay of Fundy to St. John's, had left with the tide at seven, and nothing was going across for three days, except the steamer from Annapolis a hundred miles off, which sailed on a Friday morning. This completely nonplussed us, although nothing was left but to take matters patiently. One consolation to myself was, that my family were to follow me on Wednesday, by the mail for Annapolis, and thus we would proceed together.

I put up at Kelbert's hotel, a comfortable hostelry, but with a most independent and not over-polite host. I found that a detachment of the 73rd had just arrived from St. John's, *en route* to Prince Edward Island. This was a most extraordinary, roundabout way of sending troops. Instead of their embarking at St. John's, and going by steamer to the head of the Bay of Fundy, to the bend of Petigodiac, and from thence march across the isthmus to Northumberland Straits, which was only forty miles, whence a sailing vessel would have taken them to Charlottetown in five or six hours;—instead of this, the Quartermaster-General's route entailed the necessity of crossing the Bay of Fundy to Windsor, a trip of some thirty hours, from thence to Halifax, where the company was to embark

for the Island, and proceed *via* the Gut of Canso,—a journey double the extent of the former, and thrice as expensive to Government. On my expressing my astonishment to the Captain, who was not the most fascinating military man it has been my fortune to meet, he replied with a drawl, “Ah, you would not be surprised at anything in this command, if you had had the experience I have had in my lengthened service in the Provinces.” On inquiring how long he had cast his life on these desert wastes, he replied, “About twelve months.” I then told him I had served above seven years ago in the Colonies, so that my experience was something longer than his. All I got in return was “Aw, indeed!”

I must confess,—and I do it with great regret, as one who has served for many years in the Army,—that officers in the Colonies often assume most abominable airs of self-importance. Detached in out-of-the-way localities, the red coat is a passport to any society, and the officers are *par excellence* the lions of the day. This spoils the weak-minded people of “the cloth;” and attributing the attention they receive to other than the real kindly feelings of colonial hospitality, they look down upon all around and fancy themselves, for a time, “monarchs of all they survey.” This has tended much to exclude them from the houses of many families, who cannot and will not perceive any superiority in these gentlemen, to their own educated and accomplished sons. Nothing has such a beneficial advantage upon young officers, as when their



regiments return to England, their being quartered in the large cities and towns. Then they at once find their proper *status* in society, and are no longer the only people of importance, who inhale the same atmosphere.

On the following morning I rose early: the weather had cleared up, and an unclouded sky brought more favourable and cheering impressions. The town of Windsor is prettily situated on the river Avon, which derives its source from some lakes in Lunenburg county, and is supplied by the tributaries of the St. Croix and Kennetcook. The river rises and falls from twenty to thirty feet at neap and spring tides. The houses are all wooden, and some of the private residences are very large and tastefully constructed. Near at hand is the domain of Judge Haliburton, the well-known author of "Sam Slick." The Judge's residence is prettily sheltered by belts of wood and judiciously-arranged plantations, with tortuous paths winding through densely-foliaged avenues, in some sequestered spots of which, rustic seats invite rest and calm reflective contemplation of the wooded beauty around. When I was at Windsor, the Judge was on circuit.

The only railway at present in Nova Scotia, except one from the coal-mines near Pictou, is on this property,—constructed for the purpose of conveying plaster of Paris from the quarries, which are very productive, to the Avon, for shipment to the United States, whither large quantities are exported. The whole of the county of Hants presents large gypsum deposits, and a good deal of capital is profitably expended in

their working. The country around Windsor is totally different from the sombre and rocky nature of Halifax county. We here see vast plains of fertility, with most luxuriant meadows, many of them reclaimed from the low marsh-lands bordering on the Avon, and carefully diked in by early Acadian settlers. The forests are also quite distinct in their timber, the pine and birch having given way to the beech, hemlock, elm, and maple.

I took a walk and paid a visit to a couple of young acquaintances at Windsor College, or, as it is designated, King's College, Windsor. The appearance of the large long frame-building is exactly that of a barrack, situated on an eminence; and can be seen many miles off. An amusing anecdote is told of a subaltern's detachment, who were on the march to be quartered in the town of Windsor. Seeing in the distance the college building, the officer at once perceived its barrack appearance, and not questioning for a moment the correctness of his military recognizance, he made a sharp detour, and had soon "Threes, left shoulder forward! Halt! Dress! Order arms! Stand at ease! Stand easy!" He then went to report his arrival, and made for the Principal's abode, where, on handing in his route, he was amazed and exceedingly disappointed on being informed by a clerical gentleman, that he had made a mistake, as he was now in the precincts of King's College. We can easily imagine the subaltern's feelings of exquisite delight, when he gazed upon the College, and the well-trimmed and care-

fully fenced grounds and lawns stretching invitingly around, and his mental expression, thinking it was the barrack, "Come, this is not so bad after all;" and then the hurried command, "Attention!" and the rapid "quick march" of the detachment towards Windsor, in the valley.

The building is rather aged and out of repair. The College was founded in 1802, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is now under the control of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, although all sectarian tests have been abolished. It has about £1300 a-year granted for its support, and there are now about twenty students. It has greatly fallen off of late years, from the establishment of a similar institution in New Brunswick, to which the youth of that province now repair. At King's College, many colonial celebrities have graduated; and the successful career of those gentlemen bears high testimony to the sound education imparted at that seat of learning.

If there is one condition which tends more than any other to lower the spirits, it is passing a weary day in a country village, where the novelties of the place are exhausted in an hour. But, be situated in a colonial county town, and you have arrived at what Mark Tapley designates a "jolly" state of enervated existence. Windsor cannot be considered as a lively spot; I believe its inhabitants do not claim for it that distinction. The social circle around is narrow and confined: the arrival and departure of the coach from Annapolis or Halifax affords the only ten minutes of variety in the twenty-four

hours. Once these conveyances rumble away, and neighbours look into neighbours' faces, with something akin to a feeling of disgust, and they then silently sneak off to their respective abodes. Having watched the departure of the Kentville stage, my attention was arrested by the performances of a wind saw-mill, situated in the rear of a grocer's store, the owner of which, by the bye, gloried in the name borne by the hereditary champion of England—Dymock. The wings of the mill were made of wood, four boards about four feet square each, placed slantingly at obtuse angles, so as to catch the wind. These acted upon an axle, which revolved, and, with the addition of some simple machinery, all self-constructed, a saw was moved backward and forward, and thus the logs for firing were cut in twain. A child could attend it, all that was necessary being to push log after log under the saw. I sat down and watched this simple contrivance to economize labour by the hour, my philosophical researches affording intense delight to its mechanical constructor.

At five o'clock the Halifax coach arrived, true to its time, and as I was gazing at the passengers as they alighted, my attention was arrested by one whose dress and *personnel* bespoke a recent arrival from England. We were soon in conversation, and both having to wait at Windsor until the following evening, a suitable companionship was a relief to both parties. We chatted on "men about town" in the great metropolis of the world, named common acquaintances, and thus were soon on the best possible terms. The

evening was passed far more agreeably than the previous one had been. On the following morning my new companion proceeded to Kentville, where I was to rejoin him by the afternoon mail from Halifax, in which I expected my wife and children, I undertaking to bring on with me a couple of portmanteaus, which bore his name on a brass plate, as the "extra" he had hired had not sufficient room for all his baggage.

On the arrival of the coach from the East, I found my family safe inside; and while changing horses, the ladies partook of a slight repast. On passing through the hall, I gave directions for the two boxes to be put on the top of the coach. My wife seeing the name on the brass plates, turned pale, and drawing me to one side, asked me if I knew who those belonged to? I answered in the affirmative, and mentioned the origin of my acquaintanceship with the owner. She immediately said, "Have nothing to do with them; they are the property of a terrible character, who escaped out of the Boston steamer, on her arrival at Halifax, in the middle of the night: some confederate gave him warning of officers from Canada being after him, and he at once left the ship, and went to the Abbotsford House: Mrs. Athens told me all about it the following morning. When he arrived, he asked the quickest way to get to Annapolis and over to New Brunswick. Mrs. Athens, little thinking she was aiding a fugitive from justice by her information, recommended him to go by the coach in the morning, which left at eight, to Windsor, and try to catch the boat;

from thence across the Bay of Fundy. He returned her many thanks, and Mrs. Athens remarked, he appeared very much agitated. His luggage had to go through the Custom-house, and the poor wretch, fearing to wait for a small box to be searched, of which he could not find the key at the moment, actually gave the key of it to Mrs. Athens, and said, 'You will find this opens a valuable musical box, which I have left at the Custom-house: I give you an order for it; keep it, I will make it a present to you. I cannot wait for the Custom-house to be opened in the morning; I must be off.' He left by the coach; and, a few moments after, Mrs. Athens came into my room, and gave me these particulars, and further added, that the Sheriff had just been to search for him, and that a telegraphic message had been sent on to St. John's, to arrest him on his arrival there. The crime he had committed was unknown; but from what Mrs. Athens could gather, it was a most terrible one,—daring highway robbery in Canada, or breaking open a military chest, and getting away with the money. Mrs. Athens gave it as her opinion, that the latter was the crime, as he did not appear strong enough for a highway robber, nor bold-looking enough: he had more the appearance of some one connected with the service—no doubt the commissariat. Indeed, Mrs. Athens said, a soldier-servant of hers, who had served in the Rifle Brigade in Canada, remembered his face. However that may be, he is traced, and there is a suspicious-looking fellow on the coach, who I think is after him."

As may be readily supposed, on listening to this narrative, I felt some anxiety. I could not believe all that Mrs. Athens had said; but still she would not dare to propagate so base a slander. There was something in it; but until I knew the real state of the case, I resolved to treat my companion, on re-joining him at Kentville, with civility, not sufficient to compromise myself; but I would not turn my back upon him, unless on more positive proof of his delinquencies. His manners, conversation, and knowledge of society, evidently proved him a gentleman by birth, however much he might have forfeited that title by his after-errors.

At Windsor, before starting, I heard mysterious whisperings among the passengers, and inquiries: "So he has been here!" "He'll never escape!" "What a bold chap, to travel so openly!" "I should like to see him caught;" with other Christian desires of "doing unto others as they would wish to be done by." But once call a dog mad, and it will be hunted to death, although more sane than its pursuers. Human beings are sometimes persecuted in the same manner, but intellect and mind can combat that which inferior creatures fly from. The fleetness or savage courage of the four-footed animal forms its sole chance of escape or conquest; on the other hand, moral and physical courage combined can resist the shafts of envy, hatred, malice, and all other uncharitableness, and rise triumphant above the petty herd of its opponents.

We drove on to Kentville, and arrived there with a

beautiful moon shining in unobscured splendour. The hotel was delightfully situated on the banks of the River Gaspereaux, a boiling turbulent stream, which flows past over a rocky bed, with its countless foaming crests, here and there adding music to the ear, of falling water. What a spot for the angler! trout and gaspereaux in surprising abundance amply reward his labours.

For the disciple of Izaak Walton, Nova Scotia is happily situated. The whole province is indented with lakes and rivers, rivalling each other in their piscatory riches. It is computed that 3000 square miles are occupied with lakes and streams, from the mountain-torrent to navigable rivers. The whole surface of the country is studded with small lakes; and not more than fifteen miles in any direction can be found without one of these romantic sheets of water. The Moose and Bear River, the St. Croix and Kennetcook, the Gaspereaux, La Have, Tusket, St. Mary, Maccan, Musquedoboit, Shubenacadie, and others, with their pretty Indian and Canadian names, invite to closer intimacy. In their wild beauty and serpentine loveliness they are unrivalled, flowing between mighty forests or secret dells, with the grass green and untrodden.

Kentville is situated on the borders of Cornwallis county, which is considered the garden of Nova Scotia; although this term is equally applicable to the lands stretching from Windsor to Annapolis, a distance of sixty miles, the latter county being in fact the orchard of the province.



During our drive to Kentville, where we remained for the night, and where we found in readiness an excellent dinner, with a large salmon gracing the head of the table, invitingly laid on a bed of green herbs—I had noticed the agitation of the passengers respecting the unfortunate runaway, and had overheard their speculations as to his ultimate fate. On entering the hotel, he met us, and cordially assisted, as a gentleman would do, in the transfer of the countless knickknackeries, which a lady does not think it possible to travel without, from the stage to our room, where, according to previous arrangement at Windsor, he had ordered a private table; and he was to join my family at dinner—a great relief from the *brusquerie* of a provincial table d'hôte, where driver and all sit down in common, and associate at the social board.

No reference was of course made by us to the rumours of the day. I adroitly put a few questions, which were answered unhesitatingly, and tended the more to perplex and puzzle me. There was a mystery—not in his manner, but in the whole affair. The popular feeling was evidently running high against the poor outcast. If he entered the public room, all within would, one by one, withdraw into the outer piazza; an approach to that pleasant retreat to smoke a cigar, resulted in an equally respectful distance being maintained by all parties. They now discovered the coolness of the night air—too much for their delicate, susceptible frames—and again retreated within. This was certainly pleasant, I thought; and still *he* does not ap-

pear to notice it. Wonderful man ! what strength of mind "under difficulties" you possess !

In the morning we were up early, and started before seven for Annapolis. The only inside passenger, besides myself and family, was the great Unknown. All the other passengers had crowded on the roof,—one heavy individual, in rather a contracted attitude, with his feet drawn up ; but he, good Christian ! preferred such inconveniences, to breathing the same atmosphere inhaled by the mysterious fugitive. At each stage, as we changed horses, the news evidently circulated in a minute, for people looked in askance, and groups pointed with wondering air at our traveling companion.

When he got out to stretch his legs, all eyes were after him. People peeped behind curtains and out of windows ; and on applying at the bar for some slight refreshment, a glass of sherry or a bottle of universal Bass, there was a peculiar hesitation in ministering to his wants, even though the Queen's coin was proffered in return. That coin was evidently considered unlucky, and consigned to some dark nook in the till, as unworthy to associate with Yankee fips, dimes, quarters, or provincial tokens.

Thus the day went on, by no means pleasantly for ourselves ; our companion still unsuspecting of the notice he was attracting and the sensation which his presence created. About six we approached Annapolis Royal, situated on a peninsula jutting out into the river of the same name, having on either side two

broad expansive sheets of water, while opposite are a range of hills wooded down to the river's margin, and which add not a little to complete a panorama of exquisite wildness and beauty. The situation of the town, to my mind, is one of the prettiest and most romantic in the lower provinces. It was formerly a place of considerable importance, and the first military command in the Province, while under French occupancy. In 1760 the seat of Government was transferred to Halifax. There are now numerous remains of strong fortifications, which are rapidly falling into decay. On entering the suburbs of the town, the neatly-arranged hedgerows of English hawthorn, with prettily built villas, in gardens arranged with exquisite care and attention, remind one forcibly of an English scene.

We had our luggage transferred to the hall of the small hotel where the coach stopped,—a hostelry patronized by the present contractors for the Mail service, in opposition to a larger and far more comfortable one adjoining it. Shortly after our arrival and occupancy of various apartments, I proceeded to order dinner; but the woman who kept the establishment answered me in rather an impertinent tone, and I soon discovered that she had not the most remote intention of providing us with creature comforts. To my inquiry for various viands, the reply was invariably, 'None to be got,'—'Not market-day,'—'All eaten,'—'Can give you fried pork, and tea.' This last notification sufficed. I at once ordered all

my trunks to be taken into the road, while I sought for more hospitable quarters. During the bustle attendant upon this rapid proceeding, I was aided in my hasty efforts to quit the abominable inn, by a curious old Negro woman, rather stunted in growth, as black as the ace of spades, and dressed in a man's coat and felt hat: she had a small stick in her hand, which she applied lustily to the backs of all who did not instantly jump out of the way. Poor old dame! she was evidently a privileged character.

When I had got all removed into the hotel adjoining, which was the 'Original' Royal Mail Booking-office, I learnt, to my surprise, that the incivility of the hostess whose house I had left, had arisen from a dislike to accommodate the mysterious stranger. Thus were we again thrown into close communion, and I now became, in my turn, subjected to the mishaps which followed his unlucky presence.

The apartments we were ushered into, consisted of a delightful, well-furnished drawing-room, looking out upon the Annapolis river and the hills beyond, a bed-room, equally pleasantly situated. The walls of both were covered by a painting, representing Indian scenery, most admirably executed by an itinerant artist, who some years ago paid for his board by the exercise of his brush and pallet. The house, if we remember rightly, formerly belonged to one of the old French governors. Taken all in all, by our removal, we had certainly fallen into 'clover.'

A most substantial repast was provided by our ex-

cellent hostess. After dinner I resolved to break ground, and have an explanation with my strange acquaintance of untoward provincial celebrity. It was a difficult and a delicate task, to hint at the rumours I had heard, respecting the character of one with whom, for three days, I had been on most friendly terms. I really pitied his situation; and by going over, as he intended on the following morning, in the steamer which crossed the Bay of Fundy, for St. John's, New Brunswick, he would, I considered, completely fall into the trap laid for him. Not giving him a hint, was like consigning an unconscious animal to the shambles. Again I hoped, and from his manners I could not believe otherwise, that some trivial matter, involving no moral turpitude, was the extreme of his offending; and such being the case, a warning was perfectly justifiable. Whatever may be thought of my motives, I confess I had not within me that Brutus style of Stoicism, which would cause me to desert the unfortunate in a strange land. I was willing to consider a man "innocent, until he is found guilty."

I commenced my unpleasant task by a circuitous commentary upon Colonial tittle-tattle, and the unpleasantness resulting therefrom, adding that my plan had ever been to take one-tenth of what I heard in the Provinces for reality, and that was leaving a broad margin for the exercise of the marvellous. I then stated an improvised case of two travellers, against one of whom evil reports were flying about, and asked

my companion's opinion as to what course the innocent man of the two should adopt,—whether he ought to leave the suspected one without warning, or would it be justifiable to give him a friendly hint? The stranger most warmly coincided with the latter course being adopted by any one who owned gentlemanly feelings. I expressed my gratification that our ideas coincided so fully on that head. During this, on my part, pointed allusion, the mysterious Unknown did not change countenance or give any token of alarm. I now rather broadly hinted, that if any one did not particularly wish to meet an expectant friend on the other side, and would like to avoid him, he need not go by the steamer in the morning, but proceed by the coach-road to Digby or Yarmouth, whence schooners were daily sailing for Eastport in Maine, and Boston, and thus he could effectually give said expectant friend the slip. My friend continued to smoke his cigar in silence, and did not appear to be in the slightest struck or charmed with the originality of my remarks, or the value of my geographical knowledge of these out-of-the-way localities.

I now thought I would put the question a little closer, and asked point-blank, "Would you like to avoid crossing in the steamer?" "By no means," he replied, "unless you and Mrs. S. are tired of my company." I meditated on this reply. "Poor fellow, he has repented; his crimes weigh heavily on his conscience, he is resolved to expiate them by surrendering to the civil power. Well, I shall avoid that

unpleasant scene, and will not cross over in the morning. I will give him the slip at the last moment: this will save the necessity of any parting, or excuses on my part; for, after all, it is so difficult to be rude to any one who has done you personally no injury." But, as his mind appeared made up to meet his destiny with fortitude, I thought, on second consideration, I would speak more plainly to him, and bring on an immediate *dénouement*. "Now," I said, "I hope you will excuse me, if I tell you my reasons candidly, for the strange turn which I have given to our after-dinner conversation." I then detailed from first to last all I had heard of him, from his landing at Halifax to the present moment,—the rumours, the suspicions, the unpleasantness of my situation as it affected my sociability with him *en route*. As I spoke, I watched his features. I had not been talking many minutes before he threw his cigar into the fire; he started in his chair; his features, at first confused, as if awaking from a dream, relaxed into an inquiring expression: as I proceeded, they became quizzical, then comical, until at last, as I wound up, he burst into a hearty peal of laughter. "Well, come, this is cool," thought I; "the man's anxieties have unsettled his reason, he has become a maniac." He, however, was not long in regaining his wonted serenity of countenance. He had found the use of his tongue: it was no longer "obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit."

He commenced by expressing a due appreciation of

my considerateness, and paying certain compliments upon my conduct in this delicate affair, which it is not necessary here to refer to; and at once gave a flat and perfect denial to and a triumphant refutation of all and every the remarks, rumours, slanders, and aspersions, propagated by Mrs. Athens, and improved upon on the road. The simple fact was this:—He had embarked for England at Boston in one of the Royal Mail Steam-ships, *viâ* Halifax. On calling at that port, he received a telegraphic despatch, announcing the sudden illness of a lady. He resolved to return to Boston overland, and with that object in view had quitted the steamer, gone to the Abbotsford House to sleep, and in the morning, as the coach started before the Custom-house was open, he left the key of a little musical box at the hotel, as he could not wait for it to be searched, and he thought it a pity to leave it as a donation to that not over-popular department, Her Majesty's Custom-house. The obsequious attention of Mrs. Athens warmed his heart, and he gallantly presented to that high-minded, amiable woman, as a memento of his pleasant sojourn under her roof, the key of that box which discoursed such sweet music, so that when it tuned up "Some love to roam o'er the dark sea foam," she might think of the pleasant and agreeable stranger. "This," concluded my friend, "is the head and front of my offending."

After-events fully corroborated this statement. My travelling companion is a near connection of the pre-



sent noble Governor-General of Canada, the Earl of Elgin, and is well known at home, as well as in the first circles of American society, as an English barrister of scientific and literary celebrity. I afterwards met him at Boston, the guest of the distinguished families of that delightful city; and not more than a week ago we dined together in London, and most heartily laughed over our adventure at Annapolis; and at my friend's suggestion I have brought in this "plain unvarnished tale."

From this explanation, it is unnecessary to remark, that every word of the tale promulgated by Mrs. Athens was sheer invention from first to last. The stories about the sheriff, the highway robbery in Canada, and the breaking open the military chest, the despatch to St. John's to arrest him,—all were creations from the same prolific source. Had our friend returned to Halifax, it was his intention to severely punish the person from whom it emanated.

In the lower Colonies the propagation of slander is a most marvellous source of amusement and excitement to the natives. I have heard stories told of persons, which would make the hair stand on end, but which upon inquiry I found had not the shadow of a foundation. Let one's back be turned for a second, and the gossips commence work; and if an unenviable series of personal reminiscences be not hawked about, that man is indeed fortunate. Falsehoods assume every form and shape. The propagators are to be found in all classes; and a fellow getting

a sound thrashing in the street, as a reward of the exertions of his inventive brain, is usually the utmost punishment which follows the offence. We once heard a story of a young lady, the daughter of a gentleman holding a high position in the civil service of the Crown. She had gone on a visit to some friends into a neighbouring province: the moment after she had sailed for her destination, rumours flew about, and from mysterious whisperings her offence assumed a tangible form; and the tale generally believed was, that she had left for a convenient period to hide her shame. Shortly afterwards we met her in the first circles in Halifax, and the aspersion cast upon this amiable and accomplished young lady was without the shadow of a foundation. No one walks the streets without some grave anecdote of slander being told of him to the new comer, who may perhaps inquire, "Who is that?" "What! don't you know? that is —— Have you not heard of, etc.," and then follows a tissue of lies.

We have seen gentlemen who by their industry have amassed great wealth, and have been informed, "The Hon. ——? Oh, we all know how he originally made his money; he was a pirate." "The Hon. A. B.? Oh, he cheated the East India Company, every one knows that; hence the source of his prosperity. He has been particularly fortunate in having a large number of his vessels wrecked,—all insured." And thus each person comes in for his share of calumny; and the most maligned are

the most likely, in their turn, to "bear false witness against their neighbour." There is one comfort, however—these local slanders are soon refuted; and unless they extend beyond the sphere of their creation, no harm is done.

## CHAPTER III.

CAPE BRETON.—SIX WEEKS' MILITARY LIFE IN CAPE BRETON.—  
THE CRUISE OF THE "DARING" REVENUE-CUTTER.

ON the 19th of June (1846) the mail arrived from England, and orders were received to send out detachments of my regiment (the 77th) from head-quarters, Halifax, to relieve similar detachments of the Rifle Brigade, quartered at the out-stations of the command. "A" Company, in which I was Lieutenant, was to proceed to Cape Breton; "B" Company, to Prince Edward Island; and one subaltern and twenty rank and file to Annapolis.

The "Daring" revenue-cutter, of eighty tons, commanded by Captain Darby, a noble-hearted son of Nova Scotia,—poor fellow, since deceased,—was taken up to convey my company to its destination. The cabin accommodation was excessively limited, yet, through the kindness of Captain Darby, I succeeded in obtaining the entire possession of his cabin for myself and Mrs. Sleight, while he accommodated himself

and two other military passengers in a small cabin adjoining. At three P.M., on the 25th, we marched out of barracks, headed by the band of the regiment, and embarked at Queen's Wharf on board the *Daring*, and at five o'clock we set sail.

There had been a fine breeze blowing all day, but it went down in the afternoon, and we barely made way, with our sails flapping lazily against the masts. After an hour's creeping along the water, the wind died away entirely, and we came to anchor on Major's Beach, off M'Nab's Island, at the entrance to the Harbour. To pass away the time, I got into the schooner's boat, and went lobstering. Lobsters of the finest size and flavour abound in Halifax Harbour; and their abundance is so great, that when you purchase a salmon in the market, a large lobster is thrown in for nothing, to make sauce.

In catching the lobster, all that is necessary is to get a slight pole about ten feet long, and tying several layers of cord about a foot from the end, a slit is made with a knife, opening it up until the twine arrests its splitting further, then cutting away the centre, until the shape is not unlike a clothes-peg. Armed with this weapon, you proceed in a boat or canoe—the latter the more frequent and desirable conveyance—towards the shore, and intently looking down, you see the black forms of the lobsters crawling along. The pole is at once lowered gently, and the pronged part passed over the body, and thus the victim is drawn to the surface, struggling hard with its claws to be released. I had

not been out more than half an hour, when we had caught twenty to thirty lobsters of all sizes. A dense fog now set in, and by the time I had reached the schooner's deck, the bowsprit could not be seen from the stern.

The following morning the sun rose in unclouded splendour, and the scene from the deck of the "Daring" was most lovely. The harbour stretched out before us, well protected by York Redoubt, Sherbrook Tower, the Battery, and other minor fortifications. On the other side was the city of Halifax, with its Citadel rising above the numerous spires and steeples, which add to the beauty of its position; the wharves crowded with coasting vessels, fishing-smacks, and ships of larger burden; while, further up, the dockyard and some men-of-war at anchor, the steam-ferries crossing over to the rural village of Dartmouth, canoes paddled along by Micmac Indians, and tiny yachts and minor craft, completed a scene of commercial bustle, life, and variety.

The peninsula upon which Halifax is placed, is fringed on either side by pine and spruce forests, which, flanking the city, afford an agreeable background of sombre green, and relieve the white buildings, which stand forth in the clear blue, cloudless sky. Nothing on the continent can exceed the beauty of the carriage-drive, skirting as it does the harbour, and winding gracefully round the rocky and heavily-timbered North-west Arm.

The fresh aroma, swept by the morning breeze

from the wild-flowers sparkling with dew-drops, and from the scented fir-trees, was delicious to inhale. The spirits rose with the exhilarating atmosphere, and, standing on the fresh-washed decks, shoeless and coatless, I enjoyed an air-bath of fragrant healthfulness, well worth a trip across the ocean.

The wind rose with the sun, and soon a dead head-breeze, with a heavy sea outside the bar, prevented our moving from our present anchorage; and thus we continued the whole day dancing about off the island. On Saturday a heavy fog again covered the harbour, and a light wind assisted us in running across to Halifax for water and provisions. On starting we had only three days' allowance on board for eighty men, officers, and crew. We anchored off the Queen's Wharf, and there lay all night in a dense fog and drizzling rain.

On Sunday, at eleven A.M., we weighed anchor for the third time, and sailed down the harbour. We passed the lighthouse, the red buoy, and once again tossed in the open sea. During the day, with a light breeze, we ran along the coast, hugging the shore closely. We passed Chezzetcook, the mouth of the Musquedoboit river, and got as far as Indian Harbour by nightfall. During the night it was a dead calm; a breeze sprang up on the Monday morning, and we made better progress. An old fisherman's cabin was all that was to be seen, along the low, bleak, and uninteresting shores of this portion of Nova Scotia. At six P.M. we were off the Gut

of Canso, and parted company with our consort the "Tweed" schooner, which had on board the detachment for Prince Edward. On Tuesday morning we were sailing along the shores of Cape Breton, and during the day passed the entrance of Louisburg.

The sight of the harbour of Louisburg brought up many historical recollections of an interesting and melancholy nature. Louisburg was once the pride and glory of France; heavily fortified, and gallantly garrisoned, it had sent forth brave battalions, and sheltered mighty fleets. It had once a population of six thousand souls; now not as many hundreds are to be found. It had noble wharves, and handsome buildings of granite and stone; now nothing remains but a *débris* of mouldering rubbish. Here the chivalrous Drucor had flashed his sword, in combat with our own immortal Wolfe. Off this now deserted spot had once cruised an English fleet of thirty-one sail of the line, with a total of 10,200 men and 1350 guns; now nought but the "Daring" schooner, with one six-pounder, bore the pennant. There 231 pieces of cannon and eighteen mortars had poured forth deadly discharges on the British forces, while 5637 French officers and soldiers had capitulated and surrendered to our arms as prisoners of war; eleven pair of the enemies' colours had been captured, and afterwards triumphantly deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral. The fear of re-conquest, which caused the English to dismantle the fortifications of their recent acquisition, and destroy the *prestige* attaching to the ancient



capital of Cape Breton, is greatly to be lamented. The policy of that step is much to be questioned.

We cannot resist the temptation of inserting the following graphic account of the early state of Louisburg, its rise, its glories, and its fall, from the pen of Mr. Haliburton :—

“Louisburg was two miles and a half in circumference, and entirely encompassed by a rampart of stone, from thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide, with the exception of a space of two hundred yards near the sea, which was enclosed by a dyke and a line of picquets. The water in this place was shallow, and numerous reefs rendered it inaccessible to shipping, while it received an additional protection from the side fire of the bastions, of which there were six, and eight batteries, containing embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon and sixteen mortars, but of which forty-five only were mounted. On an island, at the entrance of the harbour, was planted a battery of thirty cannon, carrying 28-pound shot; and at the bottom of the harbour was the grand or royal battery, of twenty-eight cannon, 42-pounders, and two 18-pounders.

“The entrance to the town was at the west gate, over a drawbridge, near which was a circular battery, mounting sixteen guns of 14-pound shot. Governor Shirley had conceived the idea of attacking this place soon after the capture of Canso, and the same Autumn had solicited the assistance of the British Ministry, supposing that it might be surprised, if

an attempt was made early in the spring, before the arrival of succours from France. He communicated his plan, without waiting for answers from England, in his despatches to the other Colonies, under an oath of secrecy. Wild and impracticable as this scheme appeared to all prudent men, it was natural to suppose that it would meet with much opposition, and it was accordingly rejected; but, upon reconsideration, it was carried by a majority of a single voice. Circulars were immediately addressed to the Colonies, as far south as Pennsylvania, requesting their assistance, and that an embargo might be laid on all their ports. The New England Colonies were, however, alone concerned in this expedition. The forces furnished by Massachusetts consisted of upwards of 3200 men, aided by five hundred from Connecticut, and three hundred from New Hampshire: the contingent from Rhode Island, of three hundred, did not arrive until too late to be of service. Ten vessels, of which the largest carried only twenty guns, with a few armed sloops from Connecticut and Rhode Island, constituted the whole naval force. The command of the expedition was given to William Pepperal, a gentleman who, from being extensively concerned in trade, but yet more from his unblemished character and affable manners, had great influence both in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, where he was very generally known. This popularity was absolutely necessary to the commander of an army of volunteers, his own countrymen, who were to leave their families

and occupations, and engage in a hazardous enterprise, to which they were chiefly incited by patriotism and religious enthusiasm. In waging war against the Papists, many doubtless believed themselves to be doing God service, and every means was used by their leaders to strengthen this opinion. The famous George Whitefield (then an itinerant preacher in New England) was presented by Pepperal with the colours, and he returned them with the motto, 'Nil desperandum; Christo duce.' Many of his followers enlisted: one of them, a chaplain, carried a hatchet on his shoulder, for the purpose of demolishing the images in the French churches: the expedition wore the air of a crusade.

“ Previous to the departure of the fleet, a despatch was sent to Commodore Warren, who was on the West India station, informing him of the contemplated attack on Louisburg, and soliciting his co-operation, which Warren refused, on the plea that he had received no orders on the subject, the expedition being wholly a provincial affair, undertaken without the assent, and perhaps without the knowledge, of the Home Government. This was a severe disappointment to Governor Shirley; but being determined to make the attempt at all hazards, he concealed the information from the troops, and on the 4th of April they embarked for Canso, where they arrived in safety; but were detained three weeks, waiting the dissolution of the ice, with which the coast of Cape Breton was environed.

“ After Commodore Warren had returned an an-

swer to Governor Shirley, he received instructions from England, founded on the communications which the latter had made on the subject, by which he was ordered to proceed directly to North America, and concert measures for the benefit of His Majesty's service. Hearing that the fleet had sailed, he steered direct for Canso, and after a short consultation with General Pepperal, he proceeded to cruise before Louisburg, whither he was soon followed by the fleet and army, which arrived on the 13th of April in Chaparogue Bay. The sight of the transports gave the first intelligence of the intended attack; for although the English had been detained three weeks at Canso, the French were, until the moment of their arrival, ignorant of their approach. Preparations were immediately made for landing the men, which was effected without much opposition, and the enemy driven into the town. While the troops were disembarking, the French burned all the houses in the neighbourhood of the works, which might serve as a cover to the English, and sank some vessels in the harbour, to obstruct the entrance of the fleet.

“The first object was to invest the city. Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan conducted the first column through the woods within sight of Louisburg, and saluted the city with three cheers. At the head of a detachment, composed chiefly of the New Hampshire troops, he marched in the night to the northeast part of the harbour, where he burned the warehouses containing the naval stores, and staved a

large quantity of wine and brandy. The smoke of the fire, driven by the wind into the grand battery, so terrified the French, that they abandoned it, and, spiking their guns, retired to the city. The next morning, Vaughan took possession of the deserted battery, and having drilled the cannon left by the enemy, which consisted chiefly of 42-pounders, turned them with good effect on the city, within which almost every shot lodged, while several fell on the roof of the citadel. The troops were employed for fourteen successive nights in drawing cannon from the landing-place to the camps, through a morass. To effect this, they were obliged to construct sledges, as the ground was too soft to admit of the use of wheels; while the men, with straps on their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, performed labour requiring the strength of oxen, and which could only be executed in the night, or during a foggy day, the morass being within view of the town and within reach of its guns.

“On the 7th of May a summons was sent to Duchambon, who refused to surrender, and the siege was pressed on with great vigour and spirit.

“By the 28th of the month, the Provincials had erected five fascine batteries, mounted with sixteen pieces of cannon and several mortars, which destroyed the western gate, and made a perceptible impression on the circular battery of the enemy. The fortifications on the island however had been so judiciously placed, and the artillery so well served, that they

made five unsuccessful attacks upon it, in the last of which they lost one hundred and eighty-nine men.

“In the meantime Commodore Warren captured the ‘Vigilant,’ a French seventy-four, having a complement of five hundred and sixty men, and a large quantity of military stores. This prize was of the utmost importance; it added to the naval force of the English, and furnished them with a variety of supplies, in which they were deficient. Preparations were making for a general assault, when Duchambon determined to surrender; and accordingly, on the 16th of June, he capitulated.

“Upon entering the fortress, and viewing its strength, and the excellence and variety of its means of defence, the impracticability of carrying it by assault was fully demonstrated. The garrison, which contained 650 veteran troops, and 1310 militia, with the crew of the ‘Vigilant,’ and the principal inhabitants of the city, in all 4130, pledged themselves not to bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked on board, fourteen cartel ships were transported to Rochfort. The New England forces lost one hundred and one men, killed by the enemy, and other accidental causes, and about thirty from sickness, while the French were supposed to have lost three hundred men, killed within the walls.

“During the forty-nine days the siege lasted, the weather was remarkably fine for the season of the year; but the day after the surrender it became foul,

and rain fell incessantly for ten days : had the change occurred at an earlier period, it must, in all human probability, have proved fatal to a large number of the troops, fifteen hundred of whom were suffering from dysentery. Not the least singular circumstance connected with this gallant action was the fact, that the plan for the reduction of this skilfully constructed fortress *was drawn up by a lawyer, and executed by a body of husbandmen and merchants* ; animated, indeed, by patriotic zeal, but wholly unpractised in the art of war.

“The fortuitous concurrence of events did not,” as Mr. Haliburton justly remarks, “detract from the merit of the man who planned, or of the people who effected, this remarkable conquest; neither did it lessen the benefit thereby conferred on England. Cape Breton was useful to France; and, in many respects, Louisburg had realized the hopes of those who projected its establishment. It formed a commodious station for the fisheries, which were gradually becoming a source of naval power, as well as wealth, to France; and its central position, between the principal fishing-stations of the English at Newfoundland and Canso, enabled it to check the trade of both. Louisburg was the French Dunkirk of America, whence privateers were fitted out to infest the coast of the British Plantations, and to which prizes were conveyed for safety.

“In the November preceding the capture of Louisburg, the grand French fleet sailed from thence, con-

sisting of three men-of-war, six West India ships, thirty-one other ships, nine brigantines, five scows, and two schooners. The French West Indian fleets found a secure harbour there, and the supplies of fish and lumber were carried with convenience from thence to the Sugar Colonies; besides which, it must be remembered, Cape Breton commanded the entrance into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and consequently the navigation to and from the favourite colony of France. The existing state of Nova Scotia must be noted. An attempt had been made by the French to recover the province; the taking of Cape Breton frustrated the execution of this plan, and gave the English an additional bridle over this half-revolting and disturbed country.

“The news of this conquest being transmitted to England, General Pepperal and Commodore Warren were preferred to the dignity of Baronets of Great Britain, and congratulatory addresses were presented to the King, upon the success of His Majesty’s arms. Reinforcements of men, stores, and provisions having arrived at Louisburg, it was determined, in a council of war, to maintain the place and repair the breaches. Extreme mortification was felt by the French Court at this unexpected event; and an expedition on a very unusual scale was fitted out, for the recovery of Cape Breton, and the conquest of Nova Scotia. At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, Cape Breton was restored to France, greatly to the surprise and grief of the brave colonists, who had so valiantly obtained it,



and who, with much reason, considered its position essential to the safety and tranquillity of their territory.

“In 1757 colonial rivalry between England and France had reached its highest point, and it was resolved again to attempt the capture of Cape Breton. The state of Louisburg at this time appears to have been very flourishing. A publication, entitled, ‘Genuine Letters and Memoirs, relative to the National, Civil, and Commercial History of the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John, by an impartial Frenchman,’ of which an English translation was published in London in 1761, gives the following account of the town, immediately before its capture by the English in 1758, by an eye-witness:—‘It was built on a neck of land on the south-east part of the Island, and was nearly a league in circumference, with wide and regular streets, a spacious quay; wharves projecting into the sea, convenient for shipping; fortifications consisting of two bastions and two demi-bastions, three gates, and near the principal fort and citadel a handsome parade. The stone buildings, for the use of the troops and officers of the French Government, were constructed with materials brought from Europe.

“The port, about three miles in length and upwards of a mile in its smallest breadth, with a careening and wintering ground for ships, was protected by a battery, level with the surface of the water, consisting of thirty-six 24-pounders; the harbour was also defended by a *Cavalier*, with twelve embrasures, called by the name of *Maurepas*. The royal battery, at the

distance of a mile from the town, which it commanded, and also the bottom of the bay, contained thirty pieces of cannon, viz. twenty-eight 36-pounders, and two 18-pounders. The population of the town, exclusive of the troops, was about 5000: its administration was confided to a Governor and Supreme Council. There were courts of law and of admiralty; a general hospital for soldiers and sailors, served by brothers of the Charitable Fraternity; and the nuns of Louisburg superintended the education of young girls. The inhabitants of Louisburg, and the other settlers in Cape Breton, of which the principal places were Port Dauphin within the Bras d'Or, St. Ann's, Spanish Bay (now Sydney), Port Toulouse (St. Peter's), Arichat, Petit de Grat, and Rivière, were chiefly engaged in the fisheries, which must have been carried on to a great extent.

“Mr. M'Gregor says, that the trade there employed nearly six hundred vessels, exclusive of boats, and between 27,000 and 28,000 seamen. If this were the case, it is not surprising that the French Ministry paid such attention to Cape Breton, and considered the fishery a more valuable source of wealth and power to France than even the mines of Mexico and Peru would have been. The Parliament of England also, by the energetic appeals of Mr. Pitt, had been fully awakened to the mistake that had previously been made in relinquishing Louisburg, not only from its importance, which had been greatly undervalued, but because no course of policy which gave to the Colo-

nists a just cause of dissatisfaction with the Mother-country, could be justifiable, however weighty the considerations which dictated it. A large body of men were raised in England in aid of the Colonists. Halifax was fixed upon for the rendezvous of the British land and sea forces. Admiral Holborne arrived at Chebucto harbour in the middle of July, with a powerful squadron and 5000 British troops, under the command of Viscount Howe, and was soon after joined by Lord Loudoun, with a corps of 6000 men from New York; but the season was considered too far advanced for the enterprise, and it was resolved to defer it to the ensuing spring.

“Admiral Holborne sailed for Louisburg, with fifteen ships of the line, four frigates, and a fire-ship, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy. On the 20th of August he appeared before the harbour, and saw the French Admiral, La Motte, make the signal to unmoor; but being greatly inferior in strength to the enemy, he did not choose to risk an engagement, and therefore returned to Halifax. About the middle of September, having received a reinforcement of four ships of the line, he again appeared before Louisburg, and endeavoured to draw the enemy to a battle. La Motte however, in his turn, was too prudent to hazard an engagement, the loss of which must have exposed all the French colonies to the attacks of the English. Before the arrival of the reinforcement, the British fleet at Halifax consisted of the following ships:—

Name of Ship.	No. of Men.	No. of Guns.	Name of Ship.	No. of Men.	No. of Guns.
Newark . . .	700	80	Ferret, sloop . .	120	16
Invincible . . .	700	74	Success . . .	150	22
Grafton . . .	500	68	Port Mahon . . .	150	22
Terrible . . .	630	74	Nightingale . . .	150	22
Northumberland	520	68	Kennington . . .	150	20
Captain . . .	580	68	Elphingham . . .	150	20
Bedford . . .	480	64	Furnace, bomb . .	100	16
Orford . . .	520	68	Ditto . . .	100	16
Nassau . . .	480	64	Vulture, sloop . .	100	14
Sunderland . . .	400	64	Hunter . . .	100	14
Defiance . . .	400	64	Speedwell . . .	90	12
Tilbury . . .	400	64	Hawke . . .	100	12
Kingston . . .	400	60	Gibraltar, prize . .	80	14
Windsor . . .	350	54	Jamaica . . .	100	14
Sutherland . . .	306	50	Lightning, fireship	50	—
Winchelsea . . .	160	24			

Total—10,200 Men, 1350 Guns.

“The squadron continued cruising before the harbour of Louisburg until the 25th, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm; they were driven within two miles of the breakers, on the coast of Cape Breton, when the wind providentially shifted, and saved the whole squadron from inevitable destruction, except one vessel, which was lost on the rocks, and about half her crew perished. Eleven ships were dismasted, others threw their guns overboard, and the whole returned to England in a shattered condition.

“The success of the French during this campaign left the affairs of the British North American Colonies in a gloomy state. The former had obtained full possession of Lakes Champlain and George,

and the command of those which connect the waters of the Mississippi, and the undisturbed possession of all the country west of the Alleghany Mountains. But the appointment of Mr. Pitt, during the Autumn, to the Premiership of the new Administration, gave cheering hopes to all parties, both at home and in America. Immediately after taking office, Mr. Pitt wrote a circular-letter to all the Colonies, assuring the Colonists of his determination to send out a large force to co-operate with them by sea and by land against the French, and urging them to raise as large bodies of men as the number of inhabitants in their respective governments would permit.

“The Provincials displayed upon this occasion their usual energy, and were ready to take the field early in May, previously to which Admiral Boscawen arrived in Halifax with a formidable fleet, and a powerful army under General Amherst. The whole armament, consisting of 151 sail and 14,000 men, took their departure from Nova Scotia on the 28th of May, and on the 2nd of June, 1758, anchored in the Bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisburg, whose garrison, commanded by Chevalier Drucor, consisted of 2500 regular troops, 300 militia formed of the inhabitants, and who, towards the end of the siege, were reinforced by 350 Canadians and Indians. The harbour was secured by six ships of the line and five frigates, (the *Prudent*, *Entreprenant*, each 74; the *Capricieux*, *Célèbre*, and *Bienfaisant*, of 64 guns; the *Apollo*, of 50; the *Chèvre*, *Biche*, *Fidèle*, *Diana*,

and Echo, frigates,) three of which they sank across the entrance, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. Six days elapsed before the troops could be disembarked, on account of the heavy surf, which broke with prodigious violence on the whole shore; but on the seventh, the agitation of the water having partly subsided, the troops were distributed in three divisions, and ordered to effect a landing. The right and centre, under the command of Governor Lawrence and General Whitmore, received instructions to make a show of landing, to distract the attention of the enemy, while the real attempt was made in another quarter by General Wolfe.

“The French reserved their fire until the boats had nearly reached the shore, when they opened a tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry, which, aided by the surf, upset and sank many of the boats. The men, encouraged in all their difficulties by the example, spirit, and conduct of their gallant commanders, gained the beach at the Creek of Cormoran, and compelled the enemy to retire to the town.

“As soon as the stores and artillery were landed, which was not effected without great difficulty, General Wolfe was detached, with two thousand men, to seize a post occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, from which the ships in harbour and fortifications in the town might be greatly annoyed. On his approach, it was abandoned, and several very strong batteries were erected there. The fire from

this place, by the 25th, completely silenced the island battery, which was immediately opposed to it. In the interim the besieged made several sallies, with very little effect, while the approaches to the town were conducted with resolute but cautious vigour. The Bizarre and the Comet escaped the vigilance of the squadron before the commencement of the siege, and the Echo attempted to follow their example, but was captured soon after she left the harbour.

“On the 21st of July one of the largest of the French ships blew up, with an awful explosion: the fire was communicated to two others, both of which were consumed in a short time to the water’s edge. Admiral Boscawen then sent six hundred men in boats into the harbour, to make an attempt on two ships of the line which still remained in the basin—the Prudent, a seventy-four-gun ship, and the Bienfaisant, of sixty-four guns. The former, having been run aground, was destroyed, and the latter was towed past the batteries in triumph, with the inconsiderable loss of seven men killed and nine wounded. This gallant exploit placed the English in complete possession of the harbour; and several important breaches being made in the works, the fortress was no longer deemed defensible, and the Governor offered to capitulate. The terms proposed by him were refused, and it was required that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war, or sustain an assault by sea and land. These humiliating conditions, at first rejected, were afterwards agreed to, and on the 26th of July,

1758, the Chevalier Drucor signed the articles of capitulation.”

To return to my cruise in the *Daring*. After passing the harbour of Louisburg, the wind rose, and the little schooner laboured fearfully. I pitied the poor soldiers on deck: only half of the company at a time could be under hatches, while the other half stood exposed to the drenching spray which we each moment shipped over our bows. The masts of the schooner creaked in the most unpleasant manner, while she pitched forward into the slough of the sea, bowsprit-under, and several times I really thought she would never rise again. A night of great discomfort was thus spent, and we got up sick and weary, with splitting headaches. On Wednesday morning the weather cleared, and with a more favourable breeze, at three P.M., we entered Sydney Harbour, and at five, with a light wind, we hove-to off the town and cast anchor, having spent seven days in performing a voyage of about two hundred and fifty miles. I lost no time in landing; and finding accommodation in the small hotel of the place, I was soon located in a couple of snug rooms.

The men were disembarked on the following morning, and proceeded to the barracks vacated by the company of the Rifle Brigade, who marched direct on board the *Daring*, which set sail in the afternoon on her return to Halifax. I chose, for my quarters, a detached cottage in the barrack-field, which was prettily situated, with the river in the rear, the cottage



being perched on an eminence, with the surge rolling on the pebbly shore, directly beneath. It contained a bed, drawing, and dining-room, and an excellent kitchen. A well-kept enclosure of grass lay in our front, while on the left-hand side of the cottage was a nice garden, well planted by our predecessors with vegetables, and on the other side was a large plot devoted to the soldiers, who cultivated it with great judgment and horticultural skill. A slight hill before the cottage shelters the barracks from view, which are placed on the summit. This building has wings, in which the men are located, while the centre contains officers' quarters, the "Mess House," "Orderly Room," etc. On the right are the magazine, and the rear is flanked by stabling. On a line with my quarters, about a hundred yards off, is the guard-house and engine-house, while the barrack-gate, leading into the town, is in close contiguity. The barrack-field contains about five acres, enclosed by a high stockade, and four sentries, at the respective angles, keep watch and ward. The rooms of my quarters were all on the ground-floor, a long piazza running in front, while inside, another parallel passage, with doors leading off, conducted to the respective apartments.

The first thing, on entering new quarters, and which fully occupies an officer's attention, is to furnish, rig up, and put all to rights. A married officer has increased duties thrown upon him in this line: while a couple of hours ought to fit up a bachelor's room, it

takes as many days to arrange everything to a lady's fastidious taste. It is quite like a picnic, that continued shifting about in the colonies, which a military man is liable to. With the uniform thrown aside, and rough 'Mufti' in constant wear, in arranging matters, the avocations of the carpenter, upholsterer, and house-decorator are all very creditably exercised and performed. Then, with the assistance of your man-servant, and that glorious prerogative of an officer, a "fatigue party" of a corporal and six men, heavy chests are soon moved about; the cases taken out, and highly polished, brass-mounted chests of drawers appear, ready to grace the bed-room. An old square-looking box is opened, and an armchair of Morocco-leather, with castors, and arms, and well-padded backs, suggests an aldermanic air of dignified comfort. A long narrow case, well knocked about, reveals, on opening it, a large four-post brass bedstead; while a large black valise of leather contains beds and bedding, curtains and hangings. A teak-built canteen, with knives and forks, wine-glasses and tumblers, tea-pots and coffee-pots, decanters, china service, plates and dishes, conduce not a little to the facility of a participation in creature comforts.

Then a large chest of books, in moveable cases, are duly hung against the walls, and add considerably to the owner's reputation as a reading man. A box full of pictures of favourite dancers, Opera contraltos, leaves from 'Books of Beauty,' Ackermann's 'Indian Scenes of Fighting,' and race-horses who were once

favourites, but are now most probably consigned to a Hansom's Patent Safety and are hardly to be recognized as the hack cab-horse. Hunting plates, conveying the idea of the possessor's having been a great equestrian or steeplechaser before entering the army; some fox-brushes, as trophies of success in the field; moose antlers, more probably the real emblems of conquest,—all these, and a thousand other trifles, form the generality of a young officer's displays of varied tastes; many of these treasures having been purchased from time to time at the sale of effects of deceased comrades, and thus conveying with them the history of many owners; the halo of all casting around the present possessor's head a repute as a "hunter bold," a terrible conqueror of prima-donnas' favours, and a most distinguished and evidently, by these tokens, acknowledged "man of taste about town;" whereas, in nine cases out of ten, the gallant owner of those "pearls above price" most probably, before entering the service, had not been ten miles in his life from some obscure heath-covered Highland home, or the Castle Rackrent of some Irish squireen, whose hereditary possessions have long since been bid away in an Encumbered Estates' Court.

On the Sunday we marched to church. Before parade, not having received any orders on the subject, I put on my blue frock-coat and scales; but seeing the senior officer in red and gold, I of course followed his example, as he said, "we should not put on full dress in future, but for the first Sunday it would have

a good effect." I was a married man, he was not : thus the difference in our ideas and tastes.

The congregation assembled presented a vista of young and elderly ladies, very flashily dressed, with airs of considerable pride and conceit. As new comers, we were the observed of all observers. A long, uninteresting sermon, urgently recommending subscriptions for some mission to Timbuctoo or other African locality, formed the theme of the clergyman's discourse. The Military pew, which was close to the altar, had an uninterrupted view through a door, which was open, over a fine expanse of well-wooded luxuriant country ; and in gazing on that charming scene, my thoughts were far more impressed with the wondrous works of God, and my senses were more prompted to religious contemplation, than in listening to the vague, soulless, vapid nonsense issuing from the pulpit, which consumed above an hour and a half in its delivery.

The town of Sydney consists of two long straggling streets, with four minor intersecting ones, running up from the water. A few grocers' stores, numerous small drinking-shops, an odd cottage here and there, two stories high, the Church of England, Methodist and Catholic Chapel, all unpretending wooden edifices, —and you have a full description of this rising spot. The grass grew luxuriantly in the streets, and the cattle were evidently divided in opinion, as to whether the town or country pastures were preferable. Flocks of geese monopolized the roadway, saucily hissing at a

stray wayfarer, as if such a human intruder was a novelty. An odd youth, in shooting jacket and slouched sailor's glazed cap, with a fowling-piece, gave occasional token of the place being inhabited; while the men of my company, with their red coats, sauntering about, as they continually do to kill time, forming the majority of the male kind to be seen, conveyed the idea of a military occupancy of some deserted village.

On Wednesday, the 8th day of July, exactly one week from my landing in Sydney,—a day to me ever memorable—as I was busily engaged arranging a small room, which I had partitioned off as a study, my servant came running into it, in a state of evident excitement. “There's something up today, Sir,” he commenced: “all town's alive; everybody rigged out in Sunday clothes; such swarms in the streets!”

As I had heard of nothing remarkable about to occur on this day, my curiosity was excited, and I proceeded to the piazza, to find out what was really the matter. On looking towards the barrack gate, I saw the long street running from it dotted here and there with groups of the masculine and feminine gender, the latter displaying a wonderful variety of colours, pink, green, blue, white and brown, parasols of every shape and size, from the antique to the modern, adding not a little to the gaiety of the scene. To my surprise, the long string of fashionable pedestrians appeared wending their steps towards the Guard-house at the barrack-gate, and passing the sentry and the

corporal's guard, who had rushed to the front to scrutinize, with amazed air, the Sydneian exodus of "manhood, youth, and beauty," they boldly advanced down the little path leading to my cottage. I looked around to see by what exit they proposed to get out of the field, but a large stockade forbade escape in this direction; while pursuing my military recognizance, I fancied the party leading the advance-group smiled at me in a very friendly manner. "Come," thought I, "these people are going to a regatta, and want to be inconveniently civil, and thus obtain the shelter of my cottage, from the windows of which there is a fine view of the harbour. Now, though of a very hospitable turn, still I am unprepared, with our little cottage not quite to rights, to have it thus unceremoniously carried by assault; I am not ready to do myself the honour of entertaining such an apparently distinguished company of the beaux and belles of the place; therefore I will not return their smiles with gracious *bonhomie*—I will retreat." My thoughts occupied but a second: I had presence of mind under difficulties.

On re-entering my cottage, and gently fastening the door after me, while rendering all secure, and determining to 'be out,' self and wife, with hurried directions to that effect to my servant, a knock well-applied upon the panels made me start back; and as I was retreating into an inner room, a head appeared through the window of the passage which opened upon the piazza, and a friendly, though unknown voice, cried

out, "How do you do, Sir? Hope you are quite well. If agreeable, have called to pay our respects to Mrs. S."

I was taken aback; the fortress surrendered at discretion; and ordering the door to be unlocked, with a most bland request that the gentleman would walk into the drawing-room, I retired to put on my blue frock, which hung conveniently in my study, and giving notice to my wife of visitors, I entered in a few moments with her into our *salle de réception*.

Surprises were never to cease this day. I found the room already occupied by some couple of dozen ladies and gentlemen, all smiling at us most facetiously as we entered. With a request that all would be seated, I stood to the front, and begged to introduce to our "welcome visitants, whom we were delighted to see, and make their acquaintance—my wife." At once the company rose, and, crowding around her, most heartily we were shaken by the hands. Then, as each individually retained the friendly grasp, the inquiry was made, "How do you like Sydney, ma'am? Lovely situation the cottage is placed in; fine view from the windows. Cape Breton the garden of the Province—Sydney once the ancient capital, a gay place then." On came another party: "How do you like Sydney?" was again asked; a third and a fourth and a fifth family group were all shaken by the hands; and to each we answered to the never-failing inquiry, "that Sydney appeared a delightful spot, we were quite pleased with it; that we enjoyed good

health : the air was no doubt most salubrious, far superior to Nova Scotia." The latter being the universal opinion of all present, we could do no less than politely acquiesce in the fact.

One old Provincial broke forth in ecstasies : " Ah, Sir, Sydney is the place ! such a situation ! destined to be a great city : we'll have the capital here again : should never have been removed ; a regular job of the Halifax people : they were getting jealous of us ; nearer to England than they are. And then our coal-mines ! —been to the coal-mines yet ? Little Sydney quite a rising place. Well, Sir, I have travelled in my time pretty well over the world, seen a good deal in the different colonies, and I am satisfied, after all, there's no place like Sydney." Quite charmed to meet so well-travelled an individual, I inquired, *en passant*, as to his peregrinations over the world. He replied, to my surprise, " Oh ! I have been the length and breadth of Nova Scotia, seen New Brunswick, and been in the Island, but there is nothing like Sydney." *His* " world " embraced those three provinces !

" My daughters, Sir," he continued, " go up to town almost every season. They are very fashionable, but I do not often go to the city : Sydney suits me at my age, without gallivanting to those gay places." The " town " and " city," with its routs and duly appointed " season," was Halifax. The " fashionable " daughters were two huge, fat, ungraceful women, who playfully considered themselves " children of nature." Vulgar specimens, I must confess.



While this pleasing conversation was proceeding, in came fresh visitors. The room was now crowded to suffocation, the windows were thrown open, and all the available chairs in the cottage were occupied by files of the fair sex, while that noble creation—man—stood, during the reception. I now sent for a fatigue-party up to the barracks, and they came at the double, with benches, which were arranged in the piazza. These were soon filled; and, as the afternoon wore on, every nook and cranny in the cottage was crowded, while expectant parties, awaiting the *entrée*, were promenading on the grass before. There appeared no disposition to move; with one accord each party seemed resolved to outstay the other. I at one moment thought of making an excuse about “parade and duty,” to get off, and break up the levee; but then, that would not relieve my little wife, and I could not leave her to do all the honours. A few now moved off, perfectly exhausted with heat and standing, for the first occupants of the seats firmly retained possession to the last. “No surrender” was visible on their countenances.

While reclining against the window, pretty well worn out, and endeavouring to keep up a *feu de joie* of remarks with all parties, a gentleman whispered in my ear, “Can I have one word with you privately?” “Oh! certainly,” I rejoined; and glad to escape for a second, I followed my mysterious friend. The cottage being full, he directed his steps to the extreme end of the garden, and then looking around and seeing

no one was near, he commenced his important communication: "I think it my duty, Sir, as you are a stranger, to caution you against too close an intimacy with some persons in that room. Their presuming to call upon you is an act of excessive impertinence. I would particularly warn you against a fellow called —— and his daughters;" and then followed a series of names never before heard of by me, with a running commentary upon their previous life and character.

Thanking my informant for his consideration, I remarked that "I reserved to myself the entire right of deciding as to whom I considered fit and proper persons to associate with, and that in these matters I would not form a hasty conclusion on *ex parte* statements."

"Oh! of course," rejoined the individual; "but I have done my duty, as the father of a family; my conscience is clear."

"Thank you," I rather sarcastically replied; and hastened to rejoin the party assembled, from which I had been thus rather rudely withdrawn. On approaching the piazza, I saw several persons peeping into the garden, and fierce looks of hatred were exchanged between the gentleman who had evinced such an interest in the company I was to associate with, and the spies who had watched his movements. He passed them with a triumphant air, and as I hurried on, I was caught by the arm, and a voice, "One word, Sir," whispered into my ear. "Not now, I thank you; I really must be excused." "Some other opportunity

then, Sir; but mark that man you were talking to: he is a well-known character, a real villain, Sir, and I would tell him so to his face." With this pleasant information still ringing in my ears, I rejoined the ladies.

There was now an appearance of moving exhibited by the major portion of the company, and a rustling of silks and shaking of hands preceded their departure. It was four; they had allowed their respective dinners to cool two hours. Some few still remained with a tenacity perfectly astounding, and my wife informed me that their object was, as it was gathered by her from their remarks, to "caution" us against certain parties who had so recently graced the presence-chamber with their company.

This habit of tittle-tattle in the minor dependencies of the Lower Provinces is a perfect nuisance to a stranger; and the worst of it is, that it is only "the pot calling the kettle black." I was highly amused once, on receiving a communication from a person in *the* Island—as Prince Edward's is designated in this part of the world—to me in England, advising me to call upon him on my arrival before seeing any one else. As well as I can remember, his letter ran thus:—"Should you decide upon coming here, I shall be ready to give you every advice. I am glad you have been advised to come to me, not only because it will do me good, but because I think it is for your advantage, that you should not in these matters fall into the hands of those who might give you advice which possibly might tend to their own advantage, but not

to your profit. There are persons in this community capable of doing and saying anything." I certainly "fell upon my legs" by taking his advice, instead of the counsel of those who "were capable of doing and saying anything."

I believe, if a person wants to get on in that Province, he should employ those persons, on the principle of "setting a thief to catch a thief." The person to whom this letter pointedly referred was a notorious thief and an unprincipled vagabond; but my experience of the world has taught me, that it is safer to have to deal with a known thief than a fool: against the former you can be on your guard, and you are sure to get off the best in the long-run, but once in the hands of the latter, and you have no chance,—you are provoked, perplexed, and all rational rules of conduct are knocked on the head.

The levee broke up, and I learnt that it was the custom of the place, to defer calling upon the military until one week after arrival; and, punctual to the point of etiquette, the townspeople had that day, with one accord, paid us "their respects."

The scenery around Sydney is very pretty, and a favourite evening's amusement was, to pull up the river in a boat lent to me by Judge Dodd, to whom we were indebted for many acts of courtesy. In the "Kitten" I could enjoy the cool breeze and the healthful exercise of rowing.

There were several encampments of the Micmac Indians in the neighbourhood, with their bark wig-

wams situated in judiciously screened nooks of the woods. Take these Indians as a body, and they are the laziest, dirtiest, and most drunken set on the face of the earth: there is nothing of the old warrior left in them, and in dress and appearance they are not unlike our roving gipsies in England. Their wigwams look pretty at a distance, but within all is dirt. Of an evening, from my bedroom window, I would be attracted by a gleam of light passing along the wall, and on looking out numerous canoes were to be seen, with pine-torches burning, while the Indians were spearing salmon, which are attracted to the surface by the light passing over it. In the rear of the barrack-field was a swamp, in which snipe and plover shooting afforded an occasional day's excellent sport.

I purchased a couple of red foxes from an Indian, and chaining them up, they afforded me considerable amusement. I never saw animals so ferocious in my life; and when feeding on fish, a dainty dish of theirs, the manner in which they flew at each other was quite surprising. Cape Breton abounds in these destructive animals; but, as a slight recompense, there are a good many black foxes about, whose skins are most valuable, and fetch a high price in the Halifax market.

There were a few very pleasant families in the town, and at the hospitable house of the Collector of Customs, a most kind-hearted, gentlemanly man, with an amiable and lady-like partner, I spent many pleasant hours. The town Mayor, Sutherland, an accomplished officer, deeply read, and an exquisite artist in oil-

painting and water-colours, and whose productions would reflect credit on our London Exhibitions, was a great acquisition to our little circle. His house, delightfully situated on the opposite side of the river, recently built in the Italian style, was a favourite retreat, where a hearty welcome and a refined tone of conversation were ever to be found, and assured a pleasant evening. Sydney was further fortunate in the residence of one of the most eminent lawyers in the Province, the then Solicitor-General, but who is now promoted to the Bench, where his learning and legal knowledge must prove most valuable: I refer to Judge Dodd. There was also an open house at the Barrack-master's pretty retreat, "Coleby." In this little circle our time was pleasantly diversified; while, through the kindness of a Canadian resident, Mr. Bunsinot, I was always provided with the most recent American reprints of the works of favourite English authors.

The hospitality of the farmers and the gentlemen settled in the Province is proverbial, and deserves grateful mention. They never sent in a waggon to market, but some present was forwarded to our cottage. Quarters of lamb, poultry, exquisitely-flavoured butter, vegetables and fruit of every kind, and sundry other produce of the farm-yard, or results of the gun, were daily placed in the larder,—the whole the presents of this really kind-hearted people, notwithstanding their faults, peculiarities, and tittle-tattle, to which indeed most small Colonial communities are liable. To

refuse to accept these well-meant offerings, would be considered an offence; indeed "No refusal" was their motto. I can safely say, that during our entire sojourn in Cape Breton, I had not occasion to spend a single sovereign in marketing, such was the unbounded kindness of the habitants to myself and my wife.

Our dressing-table was always decorated with fresh bouquets, gathered in the well-arranged gardens of some of the residents; and their kindness went so far, that they never thought of brewing, making preserves, or home-manufactured wine, without sending to the "Lieutenant and his lady" a tithe thereof. We were then both very young, and perchance on that account became especial favourites; however that may be, I never heard a military man who had been quartered in Cape Breton, but speak kindly and gratefully of the hospitality of the people.

Rumours had reached us within the last few days, that my regiment was under orders for Lower Canada, and that the detachments recently sent to out-quarters were to be called in to Halifax without delay; it was further stated that the Belle Isle, 74, troop-ship, had arrived at Quebec, to convey the right wing, 89th, and 2nd Battalion 60th Rifles, to Nova Scotia, to relieve the 77th and Battalion Rifle Brigade, now stationed in that command. This startling and most unwelcome announcement of a probable route, arriving just after we had got comfortably settled down, having made every preparation for a twelvemonth's residence at Cape Breton, was fully confirmed by letters after-

wards received, and an order to hold the company in readiness to embark at a moment's notice for Halifax. Within three hours all my worldly effects were packed up; the cottage was dismantled, and I sulkily awaited the arrival of the company to relieve us. On the evening of the 7th of August, the *Daring* hove in sight, and came up to her anchorage off the town, with a smart breeze. I boarded her, and found a company of the 89th awaiting orders to disembark. On returning to shore, a heavy sea was running, and in the dark we were nearly swamped. On the following morning, at nine, the men and baggage were embarked; and after bidding good-bye to a group of friends assembled to take farewell of us, we pulled in a boat to the *Daring*, and ere many minutes, with a favourable breeze and all sails set, we bore down the harbour, passed our dear little cottage with feelings of sincere regret, with the smiling landscape before our late happy retreat looking more lovely than ever. Sydney had soon faded from view, and we were once more on the ocean.

The *Daring* regained her character for speed, which had been sadly clouded by the length of our last voyage, for on the following morning we had passed the Lights of Canso and Chedebucto Bay, and at six P.M. we had breasted M'Nab's Island, and dropped anchor inside the lighthouse, in a dense fog. In the morning, the fog having cleared up a little, we got under weigh again, with a light baffling breeze. The town gradually emerged from the mist, and the citadel stood



forth from the clouds of vapour which encircled its base. At eleven A.M., after four hours' tacking, we warped into Queen's Wharf; the Daring was made fast, and, preceded by our band, we marched up to barracks.

The thoughtless expense entailed upon officers and men by sending them to distant out-stations, to remain one year, and then recalling the same detachments to head-quarters, before they have been detached more than six weeks, is most absurd, and reflects great discredit upon all parties concerned. Thus it is that the public money is so uselessly and lavishly expended at home and in the Colonies, by the marchings and countermarchings of regiments and detachments, to please the whim or caprice of the authorities. The British army could be maintained in an equally high state of efficiency as it now is, for one-half the amount yearly voted in the Army Estimates.

## CHAPTER IV.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT.—MILITARY SETTLERS.—  
 MILITARY COLONY.—AGRICULTURE.—FISHERIES.—MINERALS.—ST.  
 JOHN'S.—FREDERICKTON.—THE ASHBURTON TREATY.—PRESI-  
 DENT PIERCE'S "EXPANSIVE" NOTIONS.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

NEW BRUNSWICK is united to Nova Scotia by a narrow isthmus, commencing from Bay Verte and extending to the head-waters of the Bay of Fundy, in Chignecto Bay,—a slip of land barely forty miles across. On the east the shores are watered by the Northumberland Straits, extending to Bay Chaleur, which, with the Restigouche River, forms the boundary of the Province on the north, from Bonaventure, in the district of Gaspé, Lower Canada. The western portion of the Province has also Lower Canada on its frontier, until the Grand Falls on the river St. John are reached, when the State of Maine abuts upon New Brunswick, and continues the boundary to the waters of Passamaquoddy Bay. From thence the southern shores of the Province are bounded by the Bay of Fundy. The Province covers an area of above 26,000 square miles, and has a seacoast of 500 miles in extent.

From the year 1761 New Brunswick has attracted a considerable emigration from the Mother-country, and she has now a population of about 220,000 souls. In 1783, after the termination of the American Revolution, great numbers of disbanded soldiers were settled in New Brunswick, whose descendants are now to be found amongst the most wealthy and influential classes in the community. In tracing the geographical outlines of the Province, we find various points which have been entirely settled by military emigrants.

In the county of York, the parish of Kingsclear was founded by retired soldiers of the "New Jersey Volunteers," one of the loyal American corps; in Prince William parish, the "King's American Dragoons" were located; in St. Mary's parish, on the north side of the river St. John's, the "Royal Guides" obtained large grants of land; and the "New York Volunteers" settled on the river Keswick. On Tay Creek, the officers and soldiers of the "42nd Highlanders" formed a flourishing settlement; and the "Queen's Rangers" were located in the parish of Queensbury. At Mars Hill (afterwards celebrated in the dispute about the boundary-line) the "West India Rangers" became located, as well as the "New Brunswick Fencibles;" while on the river Tobique a large body of disbanded soldiers settled on the termination of the war, and their descendants now enjoy the finest farms in the province; while on the Miramichi River, which appropriately signifies, in the Micmac language, "Happy Retreat," are already a great number of mili-

tary settlers. A proposal to carry out on a large scale the principle of military colonies was once submitted to Earl Grey, and received from Her Majesty's Government considerable approval. One of the late Governors-General of British North America wrote upon this subject:—

“My late service in British North America has induced me to take a lively interest in everything that is likely to conduce to the welfare and prosperity of those important possessions of Her Majesty's Crown, and I am satisfied that if such a scheme, having the beneficent object contemplated in the formation of the *Military Colony*, could be successfully carried out, it would be productive of very great and mutual benefit, both to the colony and to the settlers.”

The idea contemplated was very ably explained in a letter which appeared in a public journal, written by an officer recently returned from the Province. It is only to be regretted that so feasible a plan did not receive more cordial assistance from the Provincial Government.

“In New Brunswick there are large tracts of arable land, watered by numerous tributaries, with a soil capable of the most extensive agricultural operations. These plains are unpeopled, and a long frontier lies open to the attacks of ambitious foes. Portion out a fine tract of country, and offer to the officers certain allotments on reasonable terms, and to the soldier, pensioned or discharged, his quota of land. Extend the principle to, first, officers on half-pay, or officers

retired from the service ; second, to the sons of families of deceased officers ; and third, to pensioners or discharged soldiers, with good characters, and the sons of either class. In nowise make the movement a military one ; hamper not the emigrant with drill or command ; let it be a military organization only as far as the material of the force is concerned, and thus unite for the military settlement of a fine country. Society will be ensured to the gentleman, and a rising colony would be at once formed ; the officers would not be thrust into the bush as exiles from all intellectual intercourse, but banded together ; families would commingle, and in a few years rising cities would be formed, and a loyal hand would vouchsafe to England the continued supremacy of the British Crown over a noble and happy province. Military men with ample means would join, while the officer, not blessed with a superfluity of earthly riches, would obtain his tract of land. No equality of property would be aimed at ; no Utopian schemes of equal division, but upon the capital possessed, the energy displayed, and the intellect panting for an open field for its display. These things, and the blessings of Providence, would be the only course open, to obtain comfort, happiness, and wealth in this military colony. We are not ignorant of the existing provision of the Royal Warrant, for isolated grants of land to officers intending 'to settle in the Colonies ;' but North America is now excluded from the boon : and even as it was, the prospect of a small slip of a wilderness,

with a Micmac Indian for a neighbour, offered but a poor inducement to the retired officer with accomplished daughters and educated sons. Let the scheme be extended as suggested, and the Anglo-Saxon race will rear an addition in New Brunswick which will form an effectual bulwark against annexation."

The termination of a long correspondence with the Governor upon the subject resulted in an offer to purchase twenty thousand acres for this purpose, which would have been accepted, had it not been that the proposed site of the settlement was on the line of railway to Quebec, and no portion of the Crown lands abutting upon that project could be sold by the Provincial Government; consequently the land was not bought. The railway is as far off as ever from commencement, and New Brunswick has still her millions of unoccupied, uncleared wilderness-lands in the market. Had there been a legislative union of the provinces, the Governor-General in Council would have viewed this question in a more liberal and enlightened spirit. It however affords another instance of the narrow-minded policy which is nurtured by the present disjointed state of the British North American provinces.

In 1784 New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia, with which it once formed one province.

The soil of the province is represented as most prolific, and Professor Johnson compares it most favourably with the Genessee County of New York, which is the most celebrated wheat-growing district in the

United States. The natural advantages of the Colony are described as "equal to any country in America; and it requires only an addition of industrious settlers to secure its prosperity, and make it one of the most important of Her Majesty's Colonies. Its resources are great, and it is capable of maintaining at least three millions of inhabitants." Dr. Gesner writes on emigration:—"Thousands of families who have landed in New Brunswick penniless, have by their own labour obtained and paid for tracts of land, which they now live upon in comfort and independence. This plain fact is enough to show that the transference of a redundant class to the Colony is not only a work of national importance, but also one of exalted benevolence." The same writer remarks upon the increase of population:—"In the old country early marriages are discouraged, because they contribute to an increase of numbers, and consequently of misery. In these colonies they are viewed as being very advantageous, from the accession they make to the population; and the birth of a child in the backwoods is hailed with more than ordinary natural joy, because by the labour of his offspring the capital of the colonial settler is increased."

There are several rising towns in the province, at the head of which stands the city of St. John's, which has thirty thousand inhabitants, and is decidedly one of the most business-like cities in British North America. Its streets are spacious, and studded with elegant public buildings of stone or brick. The wharves

are imposing, and give to the traveller an idea that St. John's may well be designated "the Liverpool" of America. There are several squares, and two most excellent hotels. Ship-building has employed some of the best shipwrights on the continent, and from the port, vessels have sailed which have excelled any performance ever made by the finest clipper-ships of the United States; the most recent instance of which is the "Marco Polo," which made the voyage out to Australia in sixty-eight days from England, beating any steamer: she in fact sailed half round the world in two months and eight days.

Frederickton, the capital and seat of government, is eighty-five miles removed from the city of St. John's, on the noble river of the same name. There are also, in the Province, St. Andrew's, Newcastle, Chatham, and Bathurst. From the former town a railway is in course of progress to the Forks of the St. John.

The fisheries of New Brunswick have been a prolific source of profit to the inhabitants. The Bay Chaleur is generally the resort of hundreds of small fishing-craft, amongst which, we regret to add, a large number are American fishermen, who are prohibited by treaty from fishing within three miles of the coast, or within the headlands.

In the Miramichi river the salmon-fishery is very productive. These fish are generally salted down for export. An idea may be formed of the quantity caught, from the fact that last July I purchased, at Fox Island, at the entrance of the Miramichi, a quan-



tity of fresh-caught salmon at fifty cents each, or two shillings sterling, the fish weighing from twelve to eighteen pounds apiece : any quantity would have been regularly furnished at the same price.

The mineral resources of the Province are most promising, and a recent survey by Sir Charles Lyell is expected to furnish some important discoveries. The coal-field of the Province may well be designated inexhaustible. "It commences at Bay Verte, and occupies the whole of the counties of Kent and Sunbury, the chief part of Queen's, York, and Northumberland, a part of Albert county, and nearly all Westmoreland. On its south side it is 145 miles in length ; on its north-east about 110 miles : the area is estimated at 7500 to 10,000 square miles, or nearly one-third of the whole area of the Province. This immense coal-field presents a low and level surface, excavated by water-channels, and, in general, not elevated more than forty feet above the level of the sea. The coal, so far as known, is bituminous. A variety of cannel-coal has been found in Albert county."

Copper-ore has also been discovered on the banks of the Nepisigvit river, yielding 53 per cent. of pure metal. The lumbering business has been largely followed in New Brunswick, her forests presenting every variety of the finest timber.

The Government of the Province is analogous to that of Nova Scotia and the neighbouring Colonies. It has its Governor, Executive Council, Legislative Council, and House of Assembly, the latter consisting

of thirty-nine members. The revenues are regulated on a different plan from Nova Scotia or Canada, as in New Brunswick there are discriminating duties in favour of British and Colonial produce, ranging as high as 300 per cent. in favour of England. This exhibits on the part of the New Brunswickers enlightened and patriotic views, well worthy the attention of the other provinces, although New Brunswick has a very just cause of complaint against the Mother-country, for the large slice of her territory which the Ashburton Treaty handed over to the State of Maine and the United States: not one of the least ill effects of this treaty is, that a direct route to Quebec, the capital of the Canadas, has now been cut off by the land which has now become a portion of a foreign Power; and the line of railway to Quebec must now pass to the Modawaska river, instead of some eighty miles to the south, in a direct line with Quebec.

This treaty and the spoliation of a loyal province would never have been ratified, had the whole been united by a Legislative Union. As it is, the maritime Provinces are each too feeble to resist such a wrong, and their present separate Legislatures remove them from the powerful aid and sympathy of the whole, united in one senate.

The people of Canada were most indignant at the result of the "Ashburton Treaty," and in the 'Montreal Gazette,' of the 13th July, 1849, the following appeared upon this subject:—

"The revolt of 1837 was suppressed; but Great

Britain, instead of fortifying her authority, that it might be rendered permanent, immediately granted to the revolting colony a form of Government which set her supremacy at naught, and left the colony nearly as independent as though the revolt had proved successful.

“The settlement of the North-eastern boundary had been left in abeyance from 1783. To admit the American pretensions, was to separate her possessions, and forego the advantages of continuous territorial dominion; and so long as the desire for supremacy in America existed, the question was kept open, in the hope that by some inducement this American pretension might be overcome, and the Upper united with the Lower Provinces; but when the idea of supremacy—of a Western British Empire—was abandoned, a treaty was hurriedly concluded, admitting the American claim, which thrust the State of Maine like a wedge between Canada and New Brunswick.

“When Mr. Polk, four years ago, declared that the United States would permit no European interference in the affairs of this continent, Great Britain took no direct or indirect exception to the doctrine, which assuredly she would have done, had she desired longer to be considered an American power.

“The Oregon question involved a territory stretching from the Russian possessions to 42° north latitude, in which both Great Britain and the United States had rights clear and unquestionable, for they were joint-tenants or tenants in common, and each was

entitled to an equitable share in the division; but suddenly again, as with the North-eastern boundary, Great Britain, as if fearful that she might possess lands on which people would settle, and thus become her subjects, gave away all that will be inhabited during the present century, and reserved only the extreme inhospitable north—north of latitude  $49^{\circ}$ —and thus for ever barred herself from dominion on the Pacific. Nothing remained but the Hudson's Bay territory, which, for present purposes, is as little important as the Desert of Sahara.

“France deemed the balance of power sufficient cause for objecting to the annexation of Texas; and England, as an American power, had high interests to interpose; but, as evidence of her withdrawal from that position, little opposition was expressed, and the rival republic became, quietly, the twenty-eighth State of the Union.

“In every European quarrel, Great Britain, as a European power, deems it her right to interfere. As an American power, she had the same right to interfere on the war between the United States and Mexico; but as a further evidence that she no longer desired to be so ranked, or to maintain the consequent supremacy, she interposed in no way, though the results of that war wrested from the Mexicans, and transferred to the Americans, all the harbours of value on the central-northern Pacific, and the gold regions of California.”

The “European Interference” question, as originally

propounded by Mr. Monroe, has lately assumed a more audacious form. Mr. Cass actually brought a motion before the Senate at Washington, which virtually denies to Great Britain the right to the possession of Honduras, and the new colony of the Bay Islands. We are not aware that any decided remonstrance and denial of the right of the Americans to interfere with Great Britain, has yet proceeded from our Government. While the Americans would refuse to England the right of territorial acquisition on the American Continent, General Pierce, in his inaugural address on the 4th March, on assuming the Presidential office, enthusiastically advises the "expansion" of the United States territory! The General proceeds: "The apprehension of increased danger from *extended territory* and *multiplied states*, has been proved to be quite unfounded. The greater our power—our wealth—*our hold of the earth's surface*, the better our position. The policy of my administration will not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from *expansion*. Indeed it is not to be disguised, that our attitude as a nation and our position on the globe render the *acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction*, eminently important for our protection, if not in the future essential for the preservation of the rights of commerce and the peace of the world."

Whether the "certain possessions" referred to, embrace, in the General's comprehensive and sanguine mind, any reference to the Northern and Eastern

frontiers of the Union, must be determined by what "looms in the future." That those portions of the continent "not within the jurisdiction" of the United States, are "eminently important" in a military point of view, we pointed out in our introductory remarks.

The first act of French occupancy in New Brunswick was the erection of the Fort of La Tour, previously mentioned, on the Genessee, and of other positions on the river St. John. In 1639, the country bordering upon Bay Chaleur, or Bay of Hearts, was colonized by M. Jean-Jacques Enaud. In 1673 an extensive community, who had recently emigrated from St. Malo, in France, settled down on the river Miramichi, at the Baie des Vents, at Bay Verte, Acquaak, Canadian Point, and other places. The town of Petite Rochelle was founded near the entrance of the Restigouche river. At Beaubair's Point, another village arose. On Beaubair's Island a battery was erected, deriving its name from a gentleman who was one of the French Governors of the Colony.

In 1757, a fearful pestilence and famine carried off eight hundred of the early settlers, whose bleached bones are still to be found on the banks of the river; amongst the victims was Governor Beaubair. Most of the survivors fled to Bay Chaleur, Prince Edward (then St. John's) Island, and to Petigodiac. After the capture of Quebec, a ship, in which were the remains of the immortal Wolfe, was driven by a storm into the Miramichi river, and some of the crew, going ashore at Henderson's Cove for water, were attacked by a

party of Indians and French soldiers from the fort, and cruelly massacred. In retaliation for this ungenerous action, the captain landed, and destroyed the settlement at Canadian Point, blew up the battery, and on his way out to sea set fire to a large chapel at Nequaak, which was destroyed, and the place is now marked on the maps as 'Burnt Church,' and the stream flowing past, 'Burnt Church River.' This spot was pointed out to me by a pilot last year, as I sailed past: it is a desolate, forlorn-looking place, which may be aptly described as—

"The raven's bleak abode;  
 'Tis now the apartment of the toad;  
 And there the bear securely feeds,  
 And there the poisonous adder breeds,  
 Concealed in ruins, moss, and weeds."

In sailing to the northward is Bay Chaleur, rendered memorable by the retreat, in 1760, of a French fleet, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, who had intended further operations to retake Quebec, followed by the British squadron, under the command of Captain Byron, who commanded the British fleet, then lying at Louisburg. The English men-of-war consisted of the 'Fame,' 'Dorsetshire,' 'Achilles,' 'Scarborough,' and 'Repulse.' The French numbered twenty-two store-ships, and a strong convoy of frigates. The 'La Catherine' was captured in Gaspé Bay, and another ship near Carraquette. The French Admiral finally sought shelter at the head of the Bay Chaleur, in the Restigouche river, opposite the town

of Petite Rochelle, where he was protected by two batteries, and a boom thrown across the river. Captain Byron, with the British fleet, overcame these obstacles, and engaged the French fleet in close action. Captain Bourdo, one of the gallant French commanders, fell early in the action; then a powder-vessel blew up; and, finally, the entire fleet was captured, consisting of the Marchault, thirty-two guns; Espérance, thirty guns; Bienfaisant, twenty-two guns; Marquis de Malose, eighteen guns; and a number of armed privateers and valuable transports. The fortifications were destroyed, and Petite Rochelle rased to the ground, with its two hundred houses. The remains of two French vessels may still be seen at low-water, near Mission Point, where several pieces of cannon are partially buried in the sand.

It is narrated that, during this action, two English sailors, who were French prisoners, jumped overboard and escaped, and swimming across the river, although fired at, they succeeded in gaining the decks of one of our men-of-war, and going at once to the guns, gallantly served them, till the battle was ended.

A long French eighteen-pounder was found near this spot, a few years ago; while, on the site of Petite Rochelle, muskets, swords, bomb-shells, with other warlike munitions, have been frequently dug up; and among the ruins, china, silver forks and spoons, and other articles of luxury, have been found. The walls, cellars, and foundations of many of the houses can still be traced.



After the final conquest, by the British, of all the French Settlements in North America, the French Acadians who desired to remain, signed a declaration of adhesion and loyal submission; while in the following winter the Micmac tribe of Indians, six thousand strong, joined the English standard, and the following representatives signed the treaty of allegiance to the English sovereign:—Louis Francis, Chief of Miramichi; Denis Winemowet, of Taboqunkik; Etienne Abchabo, of Pohoomoosh; Claude Atanage, of Gediaak; Paul Lawrence, of La Have; Joseph Algemoure, of Chignecto; John Newit, of Pictou; Baptiste Lamourne, of St. John's Island; René Lamourne, of Nalkitgoniash; Jeannot Piquadauduet, of Minas; Augusti Michael, of Richibucto; and Bartélemy Annqualet. They smoked the pipe of peace and buried the hatchet, at Halifax, on the 1st of July, 1761, with great pomp, ceremony, and military display. Shortly after, immigration commenced to flow upon these shores, led by several enterprising gentlemen, who obtained large tracts of land from the Crown.

When the American Revolution broke out, the Indian tribes painted for war, and declared themselves "rebels:" their conduct is thus narrated, in an event which occurred in 1777, a year after the American Declaration of Independence:—

"The Indians were holding a grand council at Bartibog Island, and had resolved upon the death of every individual belonging to the infant Settlement. While the council was sitting, and Davidson and his

associates were making preparations to escape, the Viper sloop of war, commanded by Captain Harvey, appeared in the Bay. She had captured the American privateer Lafayette, and in order to decoy the savages, she was sent up the river under American colours. But the Indians were too wary to be deceived by this stratagem, and by assuming the character of pirates, they resolved to make a prize of the vessel. Upwards of thirty of them were allowed to come on board; after a desperate struggle they were overpowered, and such as were not killed in the affray were put in irons. Among these desperadoes was one named Pierre Martin, whose strength and savage courage were truly characteristic of his tribe. Two marines were unable to bind him, and he nearly strangled two others, with whom he was engaged. After he had received several severe wounds, he tore a bayonet from the hands of a sailor, and missing his thrust at one of his opponents, he drove the weapon through one of the stanchions of the vessel. Covered with wounds, the savage at last fell, as was supposed, to rise no more; but even in his dying moments, when his flesh was quivering under deep sabre-cuts, and his body was bathed in blood, he sprang to his feet, and fastened himself upon the throat of one of his companions, upbraiding him with cowardice. He had almost strangled the trembling Indian, when he was despatched by one of the crew. The wretches thus taken were sent to Quebec, and nine of them were afterwards put on board a vessel bound for Halifax.

On her passage, the vessel engaged an American privateer; 'Etienne Barnaby,' one of the prisoners, requested to fight for King George: permission was given, his irons were removed, a musket put into his hands, and he killed the helmsman of the American cruiser. The English gained the victory; and when the prize was brought to Halifax, Barnaby was liberated on account of his bravery. Of sixteen Indians carried away, only six ever returned to Miramichi; among these were two villains called Knives and Tax, who afterwards murdered two men and a boy. On another occasion, the English inhabitants of Miramichi would have been destroyed by Indians, except for the timely arrival of Monsieur Cassanette, a Roman Catholic priest, who checked them in this diabolical scheme. The Julian family also frequently employed themselves in restraining their tribe from acts of violence.

During the American Revolution, the loyal inhabitants suffered greatly from the conduct of the Indians and the white malcontents in the Province, who sympathized with the Americans. This bad feeling had extended so extensively, that the people of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry, in Nova Scotia, refused to take the oath of allegiance. In King's County, Nova Scotia, a liberty-pole was cut, and made ready to be hoisted, when an arrival of a detachment of the King's Orange Rangers put an end to all disaffected movements. "With the increase of population, there has been an increase of loyalty, although there are many,

at the present day, enjoying the forms of the Government, who would not venture to make any appeal to the loyalty of their forefathers." In 1784 New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia. Governor Carleton was the first Governor, and he has since been succeeded by sixteen other representatives of Her Majesty.

The following highly interesting statement, regarding the "Disputed Territory," to which we have previously referred, is extracted from Dr. Gesner's invaluable work on New Brunswick, to which I am indebted for many interesting incidents, with reference to this Province.

"It was not until after the peace between Great Britain and the United States had been ratified in 1815, that the Americans began to occupy a tract of country situated between the State of Maine and New Brunswick, since known as the Disputed Territory. As early as 1783 the British had settled a party of Acadians at Madawasca, and they had exercised jurisdiction over the country from its first discovery, except at those periods when it was held by the French as forming a part of ancient Acadia, or Nova Scotia.

"The vague terms employed in the treaties between the two Governments respecting the north-western boundary of the Province began to attract the attention of some of the inhabitants of the Northern States. At first a kind of undefined title was set up to certain lands southward of the St. John, and finally their claim was extended northward to the high lands that overlook the St. Lawrence. That the framers of the Treaty of 1783, and the

Treaty itself, never contemplated such a claim, is certain ; and it was only by the imperfect phrasology of the article establishing the boundaries, that the Americans hoped to be successful in extending their north-eastern frontier. The treaty declares that the north-west boundary of Nova Scotia, which then included New Brunswick, shall be 'formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix to the high lands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut River.' The words, which form a part of the Treaty, were written without any knowledge of the country they were intended to dispose of. Instead of one chain of high lands from which the waters fall in opposite direction into the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there are two, and between them is situated the territory that was in dispute. The British insisted upon making one of those chains the line, and the Americans the other ; and thus a controversy arose, that had nearly involved the two nations in a war. All the rivers on the south side of the British line do fall into the Atlantic Ocean ; but on the northern side of that line they flow into the St. John, and not into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The line claimed by the Americans was also at variance with the Treaty ; for from one of its sides all the waters fall into the St. Lawrence, and from the other they descend into the Restigouche, opening into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and into the St. John, opening into the Bay of Fundy.

"But the treaty contemplated 'reciprocal advantages' and 'neutral convenience' upon 'principles of liberal equality and reciprocity.' With such principles the territory in dispute would be assigned to the British ; and the whole history of the country, from its earliest date

to the present time, clearly gives Great Britain a just title to all the lands she has now given away to the American States.

“ Even a brief review of the Reports and other works that have been written on the subject would occupy a volume. The Messages of the Governors of Maine had teemed with invective against the British, for holding what they had always possessed ; and the Congress of the United States was yearly pressed with this vexatious question. The intemperate portion of the American press also found in the ‘disputed territory’ an ample field for animadversion, until the agitation required to be appeased by the final adjustment of the line between the two Powers. Although an able work was written on the subject by a gentleman at St. John, and the press of the British Colonies occasionally touched upon the dispute, the Legislature of New Brunswick appeared to view the matter with indifference, until they found it necessary to place a sum of money at the disposal of the Government, to prevent the further encroachments of the people of Maine, and to prepare for a threatened Border war.

“ A Commission was appointed to establish the line, under Jay’s Treaty, in 1794. The Commissioners agreed in regard to the identity of the St. Croix, and established the boundary along that river and the Cheputnaticook to its source, and thence to Mars Hill. From that point the American Commissioners insisted upon extending the due-north line to the River Metis, falling into the St. Lawrence. The British declared Mars Hill to be the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, and at that point the due-north line should have terminated. From Mars Hill a continuous chain of mountains and hills separates the sources of the Penobscot, Kenebec, and Androscoggin Rivers, which fall into the Atlantic, from the branches

of the St. John, falling into the Bay of Fundy, and the Chaudière, and other streams, descending into the St. Lawrence.

“ Whatever may be the language of the treaty, these are evidently the high lands to which it alludes as being the boundary. From this disagreement the Commissioners abandoned the work, and the question remained unsettled.

“ By the Treaty of Ghent of 1815, provision was made for the final settlement of the question; and the whole matter in dispute was referred to the King of the Netherlands, who was chosen an arbitrator between the two Powers. After hearing the arguments, and examining the reports on both sides, His Majesty took a common course in such cases, and, to use an American expression, ‘split the difference’ between the contending parties.

“ The line of the award extended from the source of the St. Croix due-north to the St. John, thence along the middle of the ‘Thalweg’ (deepest channel of that river) to the St. Francis, and thence along certain lines marked on maps to the north-westernmost source of Connecticut River.

“ Notwithstanding the astringent clauses of the Treaty of Ghent to make the decision of the King of the Netherlands binding and conclusive, it was not agreed to by the American Government, and the whole matter being thrown open, soon became a source of strife and contention on the borders, and endangered the peace of the two nations.

“ In the meantime, the Government of the State of Maine spared no pains or expense in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the country. Topographical and geological surveys of the ‘disputed territory’ were authorized, and the information gained by her own people afterwards afforded the United States a great advantage in the final settlement of the question.

“ In July 1839, Lieutenant-Colonel Mudge, of the Royal Engineers, and Mr. Featherstonhaugh, were appointed Commissioners to examine and report upon the boundary. The professional celebrity of the former gentleman would attach great weight to the Report made afterwards ; but the time allowed to survey an extensive wilderness region was far too short for him to perform the task, and the work appears to have been assumed by his colleague, who spent a few weeks near the territory in dispute, and then compiled the Report.

“ Although this *ex-parte* survey cost the Government a large sum of money, it was not attended with any good results. Some of the statements in the Report were found to be incorrect ; the charge made against the former Commissioners was unfair, and but few of the facts stated were collected by persons employed in the Survey. The Americans, ever ready to avail themselves of a favourable circumstance, made the Report a subject of severe criticism, and an instrument to weaken the British claim.

“ While Great Britain was expending large sums of money in negotiations, commissions, surveys, explorations, etc., the people of the United States were taking possession of the territory in dispute. They crossed the high lands separating the waters that flow into the St. John from those that flow through the American territory into the Atlantic, and pitched their tents upon the Aroostook, where they erected Fort Fairfield. They also built another fort a few miles above Madawasca ; they granted the lands, made roads, and opened settlements, in a tract of country which justly belonged to Great Britain.

“ In 1842 a Border war was threatened, and Lord Ashburton was despatched to America with power to settle the Boundary Line. After much negotiation, the matter was amicably disposed of, but with a great sacrifice on the part



of Great Britain. The line established by the Ashburton Treaty does not differ materially from that awarded by the King of the Netherlands; but while it has secured to England a communication between New Brunswick and Canada, it has yielded to the Americans a vast tract of excellent land and timber, and also the navigation of the St. John, along which munitions of war may be sent by the Republic into the very heart of a British Province previous to the outbreak of hostilities.

“The President of the United States, in his Message to Congress in 1845, has said, in reference to the Oregon question, and the Navigation of the Columbia River, that ‘the right of any foreign power to the free navigation of any of our rivers through the heart of the country was one’ he ‘was unwilling to concede.’ If such are the views of the President and the people of the United States in regard to a river to which they have no claim, how must Lord Ashburton blush when he considers that he gave away the navigation of the St. John to that same power, and to those who had never claimed it! The following facts are derived from indisputable authority.

“The sentiments advanced by the senators during the secret discussion in the United States’ Senate, in August, 1842, on the question of ratifying the Ashburton Treaty for the settlement of the Boundary Line dispute, have recently been made public, with some of the inducements which led to the approval of the Senate. Among these, a most important document was brought forward by Mr. Rives, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who stated, that it was due to the distinguished gentleman (Mr. Jared Sparks, of Boston,) by whom the document referred to was discovered in the Archives of France, while pursuing his laborious and intelligent researches connected

with the history of the United States, that the account of it should be given in his own words, as contained in a communication addressed by him to the Department of State. The following is a copy of the communication:—

“ ‘ While pursuing my researches among the voluminous papers relating to the American Revolution in the Archives des Affaires Etrangères in Paris, I found in one of the bound volumes an original letter from Dr. Franklin to Count de Vergennes, of which the following is an exact transcript:—

“ ‘ Passy, December 6, 1782.

“ ‘ SIR,—I have the honour of returning herewith the map your Excellency sent me yesterday. I have marked with a strong red line, according to your desire, the limits of the United States, as settled in the preliminaries between the British and American Plenipotentiaries.

“ ‘ With great respect, I am, etc.,

“ ‘ B. FRANKLIN.

“ ‘ This letter was written six days after the preliminaries were signed; and if we could procure the identical map mentioned by Franklin, it would seem to afford conclusive evidence as to the meaning affixed by the Commissioners to the language of the treaty on the subject of the boundaries. You may well suppose that I lost no time in making inquiry for the map, not doubting that it would confirm all my previous opinions respecting the validity of our claim. In the geographical department of the Archives are sixty thousand maps and charts, but so well arranged with catalogues and indexes, that any one of them may be easily found. After a little research in the American division, with the aid of the keeper, I came upon a map of North America, by D’Anville, dated 1746, in size about

eighteen inches square, on which was drawn a strong red line through the entire boundary of the United States, answering precisely to Franklin's description. The line is bold and distinct in every part, made with red ink, and apparently drawn with a camel-hair pencil, or a pen with a blunt point. There is no other colouring on any part of the map.

“ ‘ Imagine my surprise on discovering that this line runs wholly south of the St. John, and between the headwaters of that river and those of the Penobscot and Kennebec. In short, it is exactly the line now contended for by Great Britain, except that it concedes more than is claimed. The north line, after departing from the source of the St. Croix, instead of proceeding to Mars Hill, stops far short of that point, and turns off to the west, so as to leave on the British side all the streams which flow into the St. John between the source of the St. Croix and Mars Hill. It is evident that the line from the St. Croix to the Canadian high land is intended to exclude all the waters running into the St. John.

“ ‘ There is no positive proof that this map is actually the one marked by Franklin ; yet, upon any other supposition, it would be difficult to explain the circumstances of its agreeing so perfectly with its description, and of its being preserved in the place where it would naturally be deposited by the Count de Vergennes. I also found another map in the Archives, on which the same boundary was traced in a dotted red line with a pen, apparently coloured from the other.

“ ‘ I enclose herewith a map of Maine, on which I have drawn a strong black line, corresponding with the red one above mentioned.

“ ‘ JARED SPARKS.’

“ Not only do this document and the map referred to go directly to prove that the original line claimed by the British was the line understood by the Plenipotentiaries of both countries when the treaty of peace was concluded, but this undeniable fact is corroborated by proof from the archives of an American Statesman.—Mr. Rives said :—

“ ‘ A map has been vauntingly paraded here, from Mr. Jefferson’s collection, in the zeal of opposition (without taking time to see what it was), to confront and invalidate the map found by Mr. Sparks in the Foreign Office at Paris ; but the moment it is examined, it is found to contain, by the most precise and remarkable correspondence, in every feature, the map communicated by Mr. Sparks ! The Senator who produced it could see nothing but the microscopic dotted line running off in a north-easterly direction ; but the moment other eyes were applied to it, there was found, in bold relief, a strong red line, indicating the limits of the United States according to the treaty of peace, and coinciding, minutely and exactly, with the boundary traced on the map of Mr. Sparks. That this red line, and not the hardly-visible dotted line, was intended to represent the limits of the United States, according to the treaty of peace, is conclusively shown by the circumstance that the red line is drawn on the map all around the exterior boundary of the United States ; through the middle of the Northern Lakes, thence through the Long Lake and the Rainy Lake to the Lake of the Woods, and from the western extremity of the Lake of the Woods to the River Mississippi ; and along that river to the point where the boundary of the United States, according to the treaty of peace, leaves it, and thence, by its easterly course, to the mouth of the St. Mary’s on the Atlantic.’

“ With such evidence of the correctness of the position

taken by the British Government in the possession of the American Cabinet, the readiness of these wily statesmen to assent to a proposition by which they would knowingly overreach honest and unsuspecting John Bull is easily accounted for; and Britain must only blame herself in being so unprepared to defeat the designing trickery of which, in the present instance, she has been the subject.

“ In the settlement of the question, the principle that a British subject could never be alienated from his allegiance to his native country has been violated, and the people of Madawasca have been bartered as if they were common articles of traffic.”

## CHAPTER V.

CAPES TORMENTINE AND TRAVERSE.—THE ICY PASSAGE.

IN proceeding with my review of the various Maritime Provinces, I assume that the period is winter, and that my business requires me to cross Northumberland Straits, so as to reach Prince Edward Island. The dangers and difficulties of such an enterprise will be understood by a perusal of the following personal narrative of the adventures and privations I experienced in the spring of 1852, in crossing over the Icy Straits.

The period was the first week in March, and I was desirous of proceeding from Halifax to the Island without further delay; for to wait for the usual mode of transit by steamer from Pictou to Charlottetown, would entail the probable detention of a couple of months, as the navigation was not generally open, or free from ice, until the middle or latter end of May. Having obtained all necessary information from friends in Halifax, and notwithstanding urgent recommendations that I would not risk a winter passage over the

icebergs of the Straits, which was described as an undertaking of imminent peril and hazard to life and limb, which I did not heed, as in this instance I was obliged to proceed at once, and obey the adage "Necessitas non habet leges," I booked myself a seat in Hyde's six-horse sleigh for Truro, Amherst, and New Brunswick.

The morning of my departure arrived, and at eight I crossed over to Dartmouth, opposite Halifax, and, taking my seat, was soon speeding onwards in a clear frosty atmosphere, with an exhilaration of spirits known only to those who have inhaled the bracing breeze of our matchless northern clime. The horses became frisky, and playfully throwing their pretty heads in the air, the sleigh-bells chimed in pleasing tinkling chorus. We passed along the great chain of Lakes, stretching further than the eye could see along our left, now silent, and frozen over with a dazzling mantle of snow, sparkling in the early sun's rays.

At Schultz we made our first stage, having travelled eighteen miles in less than two hours; here we got an excellent breakfast, and bidding good-bye to an old lady, my only fellow-passenger, I resigned myself to the company of a by no means communicative Whip. Silently we glided over our smooth path, now passing some sledge laden with hay for the Halifax market, or the lighter curricule of the Provincial, through dense pine-forests, not enlivened by a human sound; here presenting the appearance of some new Pine or Haccatack clearing, there dark and burnt, with sapless

branches, the mournful emblem of the too oft recurring conflagration. During the day I met numerous tracks of the moose-deer.

At three we arrived at Truro, where the mails were transferred into another sleigh ; and after partaking of a well-provided dinner at the table d'hôte of the hotel, we resumed our seat, and under the guidance of a natty, shrewd little fellow, a native of Scotland, we soon left the village far behind, and ere long commenced our ascent of the Cumberland Mountains. The path, in many places, bordered upon deep ravines, and it was wonderful, considering the rate we went at, that at some sharp turn, our light conveyance did not go over the brink of some yawning precipice, where, if we escaped from a broken neck, the chances were favourable of being smothered in the deep snowdrifts resting in the gullies. About ten at night we arrived at Sutherlands, a mountain inn, where to my delight I found a most comfortable cottage, with a snug well-furnished room, in which a large wood fire merrily blazed on the hearth, imparting renewed life to my almost benumbed limbs. The landlady, a young woman of very genteel, prepossessing exterior, soon attended to our wants, and before long a well-spread supper allayed the wolfishness of our appetites. We here met a couple of gentlemen on an electioneering tour in the mountain district, for the Conservative candidate for the House of Assembly.

I was sorry when the horses were put to, and a summons from the driver warned me it was time to re-



fur and cloak up, and go out once more into the chilling atmosphere. It was a pitch-dark night, and the cold was intense: soon a heavy fall of snow set in, and we were covered with a white mantle of crystalline flakes, which at any rate kept the warmth within, if it did not in some degree protect us from the nipping cold without. Dashing on, as we did, down steep declivities, round sharp angles of the mountain-road, and now and then plunging into soft holes which fearfully shook the whole system, the drowsiness encouraged by the intense cold was kept off; and more closely hugging the buffalo robes, with a firm planting of the feet on the footboard of the sleigh, we awaited each renewed shock with stoical firmness. A cigar in some measure soothed the spirit; but even that luxury had to be abandoned, from the impossibility of keeping it alight with the snowdrift full in the face.

After many narrow escapes, and several haltings to re-arrange and "fix up" the harness of our mettled steeds, at two in the morning we pulled up at the post-office of the village of Amherst, which is situated some half-mile out of the town, in a desolate log-hut. We here found the postmaster up and alive, early as it was, to receive the mail-bags; and on expressing my surprise at his wakefulness and readiness to receive the mail, I was informed by the driver that he was an "enthusiast" in the performance of his public duties. I should think so—with the thermometer below zero, and one solitary taper to cheer his lonely vigil!

On inquiring whether the mail from Prince Edward

had arrived, I was answered in the negative; and though two days over-due, it had not made its appearance; from which it was justly argued that the "ice boat" had not been able to cross the Straits. With a promise from the postmaster, that he would send the letter-carrier to me the moment the expected mail arrived, as I was waiting a conveyance in the mail-sledge to Cape Tormentine, I left for a small hotel, the best the town offered, where, after considerable difficulty, I roused the natives from their slumbers; and getting a fire lit in my bed-room, with something warm within, I soon sought repose in a very comfortable bed, thoroughly weary and frozen out, after my trip of eighteen hours in an open sleigh.

The following morning I got up early, and the Island mail not having arrived during the night, I determined to push on for Cape Tormentine, a distance of forty miles, without further delay. A small sleigh was provided, well furnished with buffalo robes, and driven by a young American from Maine, whose sister kept the hotel. The outskirts of the town were soon passed, and making a detour from the road, in consequence of the heavy snowdrift of the preceding night, which rendered it impassable, a fence was removed, to allow of our getting into some corn-fields, where we floundered over half-bare hollows and ridges, in a manner sufficiently rough to set your teeth on edge. A couple of miles off the road was regained, and, more at ease, we went at a glorious rate towards Bay Verte, where we arrived in less than two hours,

without stoppage. The Bay was frozen over, and the outlines on the stocks of some half-built ships, covered with snow, presented a melancholy appearance. After an hour's delay, to rest our steed, with "Allez!" from the driver—for your real Canadian horse scorns to exert his speed for the English vernacular—we again resumed our journey.

About eighteen miles off we met a sleigh approaching at full speed, while a little crazy-looking individual was wildly blowing a horn, and on our nearing him, he shouted out, "Make way there, you fellows, for Her Majesty's mails." We had just time, in moving to one side, to glean from the excited driver and his two equally excited companions, that the "ice-boat had got over: such an awful passage! nearly lost; sixteen hours in crossing: if the weather was fine, the ice-boat would go over again tomorrow." This pleasant information was wound up by a piece of advice: "Let the gentleman go to Allan's, the best house in New Brunswick."

With this, away flew the curricule, and the woods re-echoed with the shouts of "Wild Tom," or "Poor Tom," as the driver of Her Majesty's mail was designated. We were soon crossing the brittle sheet of ice which formed the surface of a salt-marsh abutting upon Cape Tormentine. A few hay-ricks were dotted here and there, and on a slight eminence, with a belt of pine-wood in the background, stood the log-building of those respectable New Brunswickers, the Messrs. Allan,—lonely, desolate, and forlorn,—while before me

I saw the Straits, covered further than the eye could scan with vast confused masses of ice, of every distorted shape and size; the field-ice, which is that which stretches from either shore for about a mile out, with a smooth glittering surface, was fringed with misshapen masses, with sharp conical points thrown together, as if by some mighty convulsion of nature, some twenty, some ten feet high, their peaks forming a *chevaux-de-frise* which appeared to bid defiance to human progress. Further out again, more mighty blocks rolled and thundered down the Straits, while the distant roar, of awful import, told of the rude internecine strife and mad headlong passage of those icy masses.

A vast bank, apparently a couple of hundred feet high, white, shrouded with snow to the summit, with a few glistening angles presented to the setting sun, which sank angry, red, and sullen in the west behind Bay Verte, stretched beyond the intervening gulf. "This then," I said, "is the Island?" "Island!" interrupted my informant, "what you see is not more than four miles off; Cape Traverse is nigh upon ten: that is a mass of bergs which have come down this afternoon with the tide from the north." "Heavens!" I muttered, "have I to cross this hideous Rubicon?"

I now entered Allan's hospitable abode, and was ushered into an apartment grandiloquently designated the "Governor's room," from the reminiscence of a few days' sojourn of the Governor of Prince Edward, who, the previous year, had waited a week at Cape

Tormentine, for favourable omens, to warrant his attempting the passage over. This apartment was carpetless ; two rickety chairs, an old deal table, and an American cooking-stove, which smoked most painfully, formed the unique and unostentatious embellishment of the regal room. A small door to the rear opened upon a recess, in which a bed monopolized the entire space, except half a foot, behind which the toilet was performed. The walls were planked, the floor and ceiling rivalling each other with al-fresco diversities of dirt.

I passed from this chamber into the public kitchen, where I found Arthur Irving, the conductor or captain of the ice-boat, and his crew, warming and drying themselves at the fire. To judge from their wearied appearance, they had had a hard time of it. Arthur looked particularly sad ; for his narrow escape had caused reflective thoughts. When Irving learnt who I was, he expressed great pleasure at seeing me, having been on the look-out for me ever since the ice set in. After gleaning information regarding my Island purchase, I requested Mother Allan to produce her best viands. These in time appeared, and consisted of slices of fried fat pork, with a large bowl of boiling grease by way of sauce, and some watery potatoes, with a plate of brown doughy bread, rather inclined to a sourish flavour. A cup of whisky was also added, to tempt me the more ; while that everlasting accompaniment to every Provincial dinner, a teapot, completed the spread. I was hungry when I entered, but

the peculiar fragrance of the pork acted as the herring in the "White Horse of the Peppers," and I soon rose from the table, after a very frugal repast.

I sauntered about until nightfall, and then was only too glad to seek rest, and in sleep forget the dulness which surrounded me, for it was wretchedly melancholy—that lonely log-hut perched on Cape Tormentine, with the wind howling round it, and the snow pattering at the windows.

In the morning at six I was roused by Irving; the wind had gone down over-night, and he reported the appearance of the Straits as favourable for a passage over. I was soon dressed. I put on my pair of American India-rubber jack-boots, extending to the thighs; my fur cap with its lappets covered the ears; while gauntlet gloves of Astracan fur protected me to the elbows. Besides my portmanteau, I had a small carpet-bag, in which was a flask of pale brandy, a bundle of cigars, a box of lucifer-matches, and some slices of bread and pork. Thus provided, I bade farewell to old Allan and his wife, not forgetting "Poor Tom," who had arrived at four in the morning, with the mails from Amherst, and who accompanied us as far as the shore-ice, to assist in starting the ice-boat, which we found keel upwards under a snowdrift.

On turning over the boat, underneath lay some oars, a couple of boat-hooks, a pole with a three-pronged iron head, two Indian paddles, a hatchet, a small hammer, an old tin pot to bale with, a water-keg, a few old rusty nails in a bag, and one or two

other unimportant etceteras. The boat was about fifteen feet long, built of very slight planking, and sheeted outside with tin, while on each side of the keel, which was but a nominal one—for the boat was nearly flat-bottomed—were wooden runners placed parallel to each other, upon which the boat passed along the ice like a sledge.

The crew consisted of Irving the captain, and three strong Islanders. There was one passenger, the master of a coasting craft which had been frozen in the Gut of Canso, and myself,—six in all. Our preparations were soon made for starting. The bags containing the mails were placed in the bottom of the boat, and my portmanteau in the centre, while the carpet-bag was tied under one of the seats. Limited to freightage, these boats carry only what cannot possibly be avoided, as it is all-important, for passage on the surface of the ice, that it be light. We were now placed in order: three stood on either side of the boat, a leather strap was passed over the right shoulder of those on the larboard, and left shoulder of those on the starboard side, meeting under the opposite armpit. To each of these was attached an iron chain, which was fastened inside the gunwale of the boat. We were thus harnessed, with our faces to the bows, one hand firmly holding the gunwale, the body stretched slightly forward; and, at the word "Start!" each man equally drew the boat, and thus, from a walking pace we got into a trot, then a canter, and, the speed once up, away we ran over the slippery

surface of the ice, with the cheering "Pull hearty, my boys!" of our conductor, the boat gliding on the runners.

In crossing, a passenger must work the same as one of the crew, as it is impossible to give him an idle seat in the boat, from the increased weight which would be thus caused, and consequently thrown upon those through whose muscular exertions the light craft is propelled; and, as will be seen further on, when casualties occur, extra weight might lead to the swamping of the boat.

We had proceeded about a mile on the shore-ice, when we halted for a few moments to enable us to remove our outer garments, which had become unbearable from the warmth the rapid exercise had created. Away went coats, wrappers, and gauntlets, into the boat, and with only my shooting-jacket on, after a drink of water all round, away we started again. We had soon reached the extent of the shore-ice, and now commenced our labours. All unfastened the straps from off the shoulder, as a long ridge of sharp boulders had to be escaladed. Irving sprang forward with a line, and clambered up a mass of ice some fifteen feet high; he got on the other side, and all hands applying full strength, we pushed the boat upwards after him; a couple of the crew now mounted on the top of the ice, and getting the bows of the boat well poised, they overbalanced her, and down she glided on the other side.

I found it a most difficult task to follow these



nimble fellows ; my India-rubber boots caused me continually to slip on those portions of the ice where no snow lay ; but having gone head-over-heels half-a-dozen times, I soon became familiar with the ups and downs of my journey. After clambering up a boulder, I found the easiest way to gain the other side was to slide down on my back ; this in some instances became a dangerous experiment, as in the gullies between two masses of ice snow had generally collected to the depth of several feet ; and, on going down a rather steep declivity, I found myself up to the armpits in broken ice, snow, and water, and Irving being near, he snatched at me, otherwise I ran a fair chance of disappearing. This rendered me more cautious in my sliding experiments, for the masses of ice thus thrown together in confusion were unconnected at the base, floating independently of the others around. More than two hours were occupied in crossing a quarter of a mile of this barrier. The wind the previous night was from the northward and eastward, which drove over the bergs towards the New Brunswick shore, and, having blown a gale, the masses were thrown with violence one on another, assuming every fantastic shape the imagination can conceive.

On reaching the last ridge, we had an opportunity of again looking out upon the Straits. Further than the eye could see were enormous fields of ice, with black patches and streaks here and there, appearing like ink from the contrast with the whiteness around : this was the water. A snowdrift soon obscured the

horizon, but passing away to the south, we lost no time in launching the boat into a surging mass of broken drift-ice. The pilotage through this was most difficult: all hands were engaged with boat-hooks, paddles, and oars, in shoving away one block, drawing on towards another, or with united strength pushing some larger obstruction to one side. Then we would come to a patch of field-ice about a hundred feet broad: each man stepped from the stern towards the bows, and, assisted by those who had first jumped on the ice, one by one we stepped on the frozen surface. A long line was laid hold of, and thus we would drag the boat on the field, and again harnessing ourselves to the gunwales, drag it towards another opening. The boat was shoved, bows into the water, and then drawn alongside the ice. In we all stepped; by renewed exertions similar to the last we succeeded in making a few hundred yards of distance, but frequently not in our right course, as the noon tide, which set in with a strong southerly force, had carried us a couple of miles too far to that quarter, as our direction was east by north. To regain our lost ground, we had to make for larger fields of ice, and hauling the boat on it, head up at a rapid canter. It was a strange feeling, when drawing the ice-boat along on the runners, and proceeding at the rate of three miles an hour, to know that the field upon which we stood was passing with the current away to the south at the rate of five miles an hour. Thus we were propelling the boat north-east, while the tide was

carrying us towards the south-west. The experience of the conductors of the boat is here called into active requisition, as what with snowdrifts and the banks of icebergs on either side, the horizon is frequently obscured to a circle of perhaps a quarter of a mile in extent. The compass will show the position and course, but the travelling masses of ice put all calculation out of the question; and the knowledge of the tide's tremendous power on the floating fields, upon whose treacherous surface the traveller entrusts himself, confuses, perplexes, and frequently causes serious doubts as to the real position of the boat. One great danger in going too far to the southward, arises from the difficulty of getting back to the shore from whence you started, as a half-mile below Cape Tormentine, Bay Verte opens, and if you are five miles out in the Straits, and to the southward of the Cape, then, to regain the shore, you have before you the twenty miles of Bay Verte, or twenty-five miles in all to traverse before you are in safety. Benumbed with cold, fatigued beyond expression with some eight or ten hours' labour, a snow-storm may set in, and resting for awhile, all run a fair chance of being carried direct south-east, and once past Cape Bear, the north-east influence of the tide would carry you out into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, between Prince Edward and Cape Breton. It is true the return of the tide would, if there was no wind, again propel the masses of ice up Northumberland Straits; but thus exposed, and driven from "Scylla to Charybdis," the chance of life would be but small.

Many have been thus lost and frozen to death on the passage.

During the previous winter, one boat's crew, commanded by our friend "poor crazy Tom Allan," got into this difficulty, and were for thirty-six hours out in the Straits, lost and bewildered. At sunset they turned the boat over in a sheltered position in the recess of an iceberg, well to the lee of the wind; snow fell and covered them in, and with the assistance of the oars, paddles, and seats, cut into chips with a knife, and frugally and carefully piled, a slight fire was kept burning all that dreary night, and the smoke from it assisted in keeping warmth and life in the bodies of the little forlorn band. Their escape from death and destruction was a marvel which no one can explain, save by referring it to the interposition of a merciful Providence. Tom Allan had several of his fingers and toes frozen off, and on reaching the shore three out of five of the survivors shortly afterwards died from the effects of the exposure.

To resume my narrative. We at last succeeded in reaching an extensive field of ice, upon which we again propelled the ice-boat. While running at full speed, I felt the surface beneath me gave way, and with a loud shout from all, the boat sank, and in an instant we were struggling up to our shoulders in the water and broken ice. Now the utility of the strap and chain was manifest: it kept us tied to the boat, and the hand on the gunwale, still firmly grasped, saved our being plunged into the foaming mass of broken

ice, and sucked under by the current. Irving in an instant manfully disengaged himself, and clambered into the boat; then cautioning all to remain still, he drew us, one by one, out of the water, drenched to the skin. The intensity of the cold I shall never forget: it chilled me to the very heart: my clothes became in an instant stiff and frozen, and had it not been for a glass of raw brandy, twice repeated, all round, nothing, I verily believe, could have caused our congealed blood to circulate again through our torpid veins. We hastened to drag the boat again on the ice, out of the flaw we had fallen into, and, succeeding in this effort, the exertion once more gave renewed life to the system. We were not so fortunate however as to proceed many hundred yards before we again broke in, though, from the caution our last accident taught us, in this instance we clung with both hands to the gunwale, and only got up to our thighs in water. Our career now became one continued series of breaking down and floundering, which only terminated upon reaching open water, which we did after being eight hours out.

Irving was of opinion that the water before us would be bounded on the other side by the shore-ice, and, if so, that we should get over to the Island without further difficulty. He calculated the distance at about four miles. We all got into the boat, the oars were out, and with a hearty pull all together, we flew over the water, hoping to reach our destination in another hour or two. But human calculations are destined to disappointment, for we had not rowed above a mile,

when a breeze suddenly sprang up, which it frequently does in these northern regions in a few moments; it increased to half a gale, and the boat began to ship an icy spray over her bows. The build of our craft, flat-bottomed, rendered her dangerous in an open sea; indeed Irving said he durst not proceed, or we should be all swamped. At my request we continued on for another quarter of an hour; but the boat shipping waves, she half-filled with water, and we were obliged to put her head about for the ice-field we had left, I baling out as fast as my hands were able, bucketful after bucketful. The wind now lay after us, we shipped less water, and soon found ourselves among the floating masses I had hoped we had an hour before left behind for good.

Nothing is more surprising than the sudden and almost instantaneous change which the Straits at times present. In an hour there has been known a free expanse of water of six to eight miles in extent, and before another hour the whole of that surface has been covered with enormous masses of ice,—field-ice, detached blocks, and mountainous bergs. Our return towards New Brunswick was resolved upon by Irving, in consequence of the gale which had sprung up, and with sundown not more than an hour and a half off, it would have been dangerous to have remained out any longer, or otherwise we should have had to spend the night out in the Straits, on some migratory berg. We found a total change in the appearance of the ice: the masses were more open and separated, the large

fields had passed to the south, and between the floating blocks, narrow passages, small lakes, and tortuous canals, enabled us to make good way. We went over in three-quarters of an hour the same extent we had before taken nine hours in crossing. On approaching the shore-ice, the abrupt and rugged ridge over which we had to clamber in the morning had disappeared, and no difficulty offering, we were soon running along the ice, and before half an hour we were once more under Cape Tormentine, after having been eleven hours out,—a period of excitement and peril I shall never forget. Once more I found myself in old Mother Allan's kitchen, and the fat pork which was the day before treated by me with disgust, was now eagerly devoured with a wolfish appetite. Before this repast, however, I had changed my saturated habiliments, and enjoyed the comfort more than I can express.

It was dark, the wind howled in fearful gusts, the crew sat around the fire silently smoking their pipes, Arthur Irving and myself discussed a cigar, while Mrs. Allan, to enliven the scene, cruelly thrashed a poor idiot boy of a grandson of hers, whose mournful wailings and lamentation by no means soothed my spirits, or reminded one of the "music which hath charms to soothe the savage breast." That nice old lady, to complete the evening's amusement, which she was anxious to afford me, gave first a distinct—painfully distinct account of the scalding to death of some poor child, its agonies, its cries, its withering flesh—most minutely and anatomically described. This

pleasing anecdote was followed by the garrulous dame's experience of all the people she remembered to have been frozen to death, or lost in crossing the Straits; how many were now minus fingers, or arms, or legs, from frost-bites; where the widows and the orphans bewailed their loss; the whole wound up with an opinion from Mrs. Allan, who looked out of the window on the bleak expanse around, that the weather prognosticated something "nasty"—the Straits would be in a "nice mess in the morning;" and, from certain forebodings, and the thrice-repeated screech of a neighbouring night-hawk, somebody was destined to be "mutton before long."

This strain of conversation soon "cleared the kitchen," for one by one, "old folk, young folk," escaped,—"Poor" Tom to his wife and shanty, the crew to drink a little in the mansion of that excitable individual, and I, following suit, was soon forgetful of past dangers in a sound sleep. During the night the wind howled in fearful blasts, and the bare idea of such a night spent on an iceberg in the Straits made me shudder.

I was up early in the morning, and found Irving scanning the horizon; to my extreme satisfaction he reported the appearance of the Straits as favourable for a passage. The previous tempest had pretty well cleared the Gulf of ice, and nought but shore-ice leading to open water was to be found on this side. By seven in the morning we were down by the boat, and harnessing on without loss of time, we



hurried along the ice, so as to cross over the open water before the wind might spring up again. Our little craft was soon afloat; and on a surface not presenting a ripple, we pulled away for about an hour and a half, when we approached white streaks of loose ice, which we easily pushed through. But every mile the ice increased in density: the wind of the previous night had driven it all over from the New Brunswick shore to those of Prince Edward Island, and the storm must have been one of considerable force, from the mass of "lolly" afloat.

"Lolly" is the term applied to a conglomeration of minute particles of ice, which is found some four feet deep in extensive patches, and which is most difficult to push through; as the oars cannot be out, and the boat-hooks are useless: nothing but the paddle employed with great strength could move us along. Then the surface frequently freezes over, and the danger of being caught by a nip is carefully guarded against. The lolly, which now boils and bubbles, will before night become a congealed consistency, and form field-ice.

At ten in the morning we had approached to within three miles of the Island, which could be now seen, the shores fringed with pine-forests, dark and imperious, while a long red streak stretched along the coast. This arose from the colour of the soil, which is most peculiar, and we had often seen bergs, the tops covered with red dust, blown from the shores: they had a singular appearance.

We had our renewed struggles of yesterday over blocks of ice and sharp boulders, which were heaped, if possible, in more inextricable confusion. When we had neared the shore-ice, we were cheered by seeing, on an eminence in the distance, some human forms, who by gestures pointed out a favourable course to steer by over the ice. These silent directions we followed, and in another hour we had clambered over the last ridge, and were met by Philip Irving, elder brother of Arthur, who was one of the conductors of the ice-boat Mail service. He had brought down a sledge, upon which all were glad to mount, the ice-boat being previously lifted on to it.

We had landed at Carleton Point, which was about three and a half miles from Cape Traverse, our destination. We were thus drawn along the ice over Guy Cove, past Amherst Point; and once over the cove of the same name, we posted inland, after depositing the ice-boat, keel up, in a sheltered spot. Our passage across was thus performed in about six hours, and was considered an excellent one. We drove to Clarke's farm, where a substantial repast was soon provided, in a nicely furnished parlour, bespeaking comfort and taste. The distance to Charlottetown was forty miles, which I accomplished in a sleigh in less than four hours.

I again crossed over the Straits the same spring, in the ice-boat. I arrived at Clarke's on a Thursday afternoon. On the following morning, at seven, we were down at the boat. Our crew, which was a

fresh one, was commanded by Philip Irving, whose turn it was to relieve his brother. I cannot refrain from taking this opportunity of most highly and justly bearing my testimony to the manly and courageous deportment of the two Irvings. These brothers are both possessors of some six hundred or a thousand acres each, with comfortable farms and homesteads. But for twelve years past, they have performed the winter Mail contract across the Straits for the Government, and have displayed in that dangerous service a courage, coolness, and daring well worthy of a more elevated career. The Irvings are both gentlemanly men, well informed, and superior to the same class of yeomen around them. Arthur is the more adventurous, but Philip, for cool presence of mind in a difficulty, equals his brother. I must say however of both, that they are "chips of the same block"—it would be difficult to find a brave trait in one which is not equally displayed by the other.

The remuneration for this service is small, nay niggardly, and reflects great disgrace upon the local Government. They only receive six pounds island currency for each trip across; that is, from Cape Traverse to Cape Tormentine and back, reckoned as a single journey. This amount is about equal to £4 sterling; but out of this they pay the crew and all expenses. For passengers only two dollars are charged, the average number crossing being about three to four each time. Some small sum in addition is made by the carriage of parcels. The boat is a

most crazy, inefficient one, and has been in use a couple of years. During the summer, Philip Irving is the commander of a very fine schooner packet, which sails from Bedeque to Shadiac, New Brunswick, twice or thrice a week.

Having harnessed to the ice-boat, we proceeded on our course, and, after about four hours' labour, reached open water. But here again a heavy wind blew, and to venture out would be impracticable. We drew up the boat upon a small berg, to see if any change would take place during the morning, hoping that the wind would go down. While smoking a cigar, seated on the snow, we felt a tremulous motion beneath, accompanied by a loud, cracking noise. In an instant, at Irving's command, we jumped to our feet, seized the boat by the gunwale, and ran her on an adjoining field, which we had scarcely done, before the ice, upon which we had been sitting, rent in twain, separated out, and a heavy mass toppled over, and fell into the Gulf, covering us with spray.

This was a narrow escape to commence with. The suddenness with which the ice breaks up, is a common occurrence, from sunken masses being driven by the current below others; and thus, heaving upward, the superincumbent mass receives a shock, and splits up in cracks and fissures which destroy the whole.

The current, with a northerly influence, carried us as far up as Seacow Head, or Navigation Point, which is ten miles from Cape Traverse, from whence we had started. The tide now ebbcd, and falling toward

the south, we passed backward towards Carleton Point, carefully keeping on those glacial fields which were in proximity to the shore-ice.

At Carleton Head we mounted the crest of an eminence, and lighting a pine fire in a sheltered nook, we gathered around, and patiently awaited the wind's lulling, with however but little hope, after all, of getting across that day. We had been out now nearly ten hours on the Straits; and after warming ourselves, we pushed on for Traverse, where we arrived at six o'clock in the evening, perfectly worn out.

Once more Mrs. Clarke's hospitality was called into requisition, and, retiring early, I slept soundly on a comfortable feather-bed. The Saturday, we could not venture out; for it snowed all day, while the wind continued blowing in fearful blasts. The roar, from the contention in the Straits of rival bergs, resembled that of a distant heavy cannonade; at other times a sound would be heard, not unlike the hum and traffic of a great city. There appeared an awful, life-like struggle going on, which rose and fell at appalling intervals; and on looking upon the distant masses with an eye-glass, the confused scene was not unlike a battle raging in fury and desperation.

The Sunday came, and with it a continuance of bad weather,—nothing but snow and wind. With no books to read, the day passed slowly along. I took a long walk on snow-shoes, and, with the assistance of some cigars, night at last again closed in, and sleep relieved me of the *ennui* I had experienced.

On Monday morning we again went down to the Straits, and pushed out. The wind was still high, and a day of peril and unavailing toil spent upon the ice, ended by our returning to Cape Traverse, at nightfall, unsuccessful in our efforts to cross over.

On the Tuesday morning we were up at five, and again tried our fortune upon Northumberland Straits. We passed over the shore-ice, and encountered on its outer edge, what Dame Allan would have designated a "pretty mess." The effect of the recent storm had been to split up the larger fields of ice into detached masses, while numerous bergs, much larger than any I had seen before, had been driven down from the Gulf of St. Lawrence into the narrow pass of the Straits, where they became for a time arrested in their progress, and jammed up. From the very limited extent of our horizon, shut in, as we were, by high barriers around us, we had continually to draw up the boat upon some berg, and climbing to the summit, from thence see how far, and in what direction, we should pursue our course. I had with me a favourite opera-glass, and it became of great use in distinguishing openings in the dazzling mass before us.

The wind blew hard, but from the vast masses of ice, the intervening openings of water were protected from its influence, and the surface remained calm, which was a most fortunate circumstance for us. The field-ice was of no great extent; all was mash, lolly, or regular bergs, and the labour of proceeding exceeded even my previous experience. There was no-

thing but one continual hauling of the boat upon some boulder, and again launching it upon broken masses on the other side. The bows and the stern would rest upon ice-blocks, while the centre had water beneath. We had to jump from block to block, or, holding on by the gunwale, flounder over. Again, the boat in bad places would form a bridge: we would launch it into lolly, lean forward, then stepping in at the stern, pass over the seats, and holding a rope, make a jump from the bows on to a piece of ice. Frequently our foot slipped, and down we went, holding the rope; boat-hooks and paddles were out in a second, and thus buoyed up, we would be fished out by our companions.

When we had reached about the centre of the Gulf, one of the most stupendous and magnificent icebergs I had ever seen loomed in the distance. Its approach was announced by a heavy cannonade of smaller masses, crushed and broken up before it. In appearance it very much resembled Windsor Castle; its turrets and battlements, scarps and counter-scarps, salient points, esplanades, and other varieties of fortification, all here assumed the appearance of man's labour rather than the simple effects of nature in God's wonderful works. The sun glistened on the glacia of many an obtuse point, and thus sparkling, snow-clad, vast, and superb, the mighty mass passed onward at a rate which was astonishing, driven by the double action of the gale pressing upon its extended surface, and the influence of the tide or current, which was running out to the southward at five miles an hour.

We put back some quarter of a mile, to avoid the inevitable destruction which must follow a collision with our frail craft. Drawing the boat upon a high boulder, I mounted, with Irving, to the top, and from thence had a view of this crystalline castle in its awful progress. On its approach, before it were seen vast heaps of the *débris* of crushed bergs and boulders, while each field that it came in contact with was driven upward on the masses before, and thus ridge upon ridge was irresistibly propelled. I should estimate the berg as nearly half a mile long, and about the same breadth, with an altitude of from three to four hundred feet. The moment it had passed, we launched our boat, and were soon pulling with the oars in its wake, as for a time the water in its rear was open and unobstructed; but other masses soon came down, and we had to take to field-ice again.

It was now four in the afternoon. We had been out eleven hours, and only two remained of daylight. We had approached to within three miles of Cape Tormentine. The distance made by us in our direct course was but seven miles in the space of time I have mentioned, although we had probably gone over above twenty during our circuitous navigation. The shore-ice, which is safe, appeared to stretch about a mile and a half out, consequently not more than the same distance had to be traversed to place us beyond the danger by which we were now imminently surrounded. The tide had turned, and accordingly many masses which had passed us a couple of hours before were



again receding to their old stations, while the wind, acting upon the larger bergs, still drove them down the Straits against the current. We were thus placed between an artillery of boulders, passing and repassing in either direction, and hence arose the extreme difficulty of our situation.

In many instances, two great masses would meet, and the roar was appalling, as the larger of the two would crush its antagonist, and drive it, shattered and split up, into the boiling Straits. Let a boat but get between two rival boulders, one maintaining the supremacy of wind *versus* tide, and the other the contrary, and the fragile atom would be crushed to splinters. We had several times, when we saw a collision inevitable, and there was not time to get out of the way, to hasten to the larger bully berg of the two, draw up the boat into some cleft valley, and dragging it as far as possible from the point of attack, await the shock, which came with such an astounding force that the breath was well-nigh driven out of the body. We were not long in leaving our victorious haven, and seeking, on less pugilistic masses, that quietude which the warrior bergs disdained to offer.

In one of our last trips we had just bridged over two masses of ice, and the last man, in stepping into the stern, sprang with an impetus from an elevated mass. In a second, a piece of ice, about two tons' weight, broke off, and rolling down, struck us on the broadside, smashing the gunwale in for above a foot. The mass, if it had fallen direct into the boat, would

have swamped it in a second; our escape from destruction would have been impossible. It however struck it on the side; and the force of the blow drove the boat across, half-filled with water, to opposite ice. We sprang out, up to our middle in water, and clambered up the inviting field: we had regained our legs; the boat was drawn up; the water and a collection of broken pieces of ice poured over the stern; we had reached the shore-ice, and were saved. If we had had one hundred yards further to proceed, our destruction would have been certain. Philip Irving said it was the narrowest escape he had ever experienced. I thought so too; and as I stood on the shore-ice, looking upon the boiling masses which swept past our feet, I offered up a mental prayer for our deliverance.

To reach Tormentine was now an easy undertaking, and before half an hour we were at Allan's door. Our arrival was unexpected; for although Tom had been on the look-out several times during the day, he had seen nothing of us. Cape Tormentine is but a low promontory, and the view from it, across the Straits, is not extensive; then again the first ridge of icebergs shuts out all prospect beyond. The state in which the Straits appeared, after the storm of the last two days, rendered the passage across in the ice-boat an adventure which even Crazy Tom did not think practicable.

Anxious to rejoin my family at Halifax, I lost no time in changing my habiliments; and the mail-bags

being transferred into Tom's sleigh, we were soon galloping across the Salt-marsh, on our way towards Amherst. Allan, hearing of our various narrow escapes, was very excited, and thought he could not do less than become gloriously drunk, in honour of the event,—an operation which no one was more capable of accomplishing at the shortest notice. His shouts became peculiarly bacchanalian, and, with the aid of his horn, he made the welkin ring again, or, more correctly speaking, the pine-forests re-echoed its notes. His spirit of adventure was roused to the highest pitch, and nothing would answer, but he must make a short cut through a recent clearing, studded here and there with half-burnt stumps.

While progressing at the rate of about twelve miles an hour, the horse at full gallop, and Tom in conversation with the driver of a sledge which had the temerity to obstruct his progress for a second, bandying with that Provincial, by no means elegant or complimentary expressions of mutual esteem or regard, and considerately consigning each other to the care of an evil genius, who is presumed to reign paramount in warmer regions,—on a sudden, without the slightest notice, I found myself violently jerked from my seat and lying upon the cold snow, in the place that should have been occupied by our mettled steed. The fact is, the sleigh struck against a stump, concealed by a drift; the horse flew forward some twenty feet, released by the rottenness of its traces from all connection with the vehicle, and fell upon its knees. On

regaining my feet, and after shaking myself, I found Tom sitting in the snow, just as he had alighted, appearing quite perplexed to account for his sudden transfer of position. The mail-bags strewed the ground, while my leather "compendium" was conveniently jammed in the branches of a fallen tree. To repair damages was no easy matter; but, with the addition of my portmanteau-straps, we doctored up the traces, and putting the horse to, were once more on our course, after an hour's delay. We drove along the frozen surface of a river, our track "bushed," as it is called, with pine-branches on either side, placed at equal intervals, to denote the safe portions of the ice.

In a particularly lonely spot, heavily timbered, I saw a couple of black objects pass slowly across our track in front: the horse for a moment hesitated to proceed; but, whether from fright or some innate sagacity, it made a sudden dash forward, and as we flew past, the object first in advance trotted up a snow bank and turned round, while its companion, hardly moving out of the way, sniffed the air, and with a shake of the head, poured forth a loud savage growl, which was at once joined in by our friend on the eminence.

We had encountered two black bears at what might have turned out a most unpropitious moment, for we were unarmed. My pistols were in my portmanteau, and Crazy Tom had forgotten his rifle. No further symptoms of attack were however offered by Bruin, and we were only too glad to hasten from their vicinage.

On arriving at Bay Verte, I was informed that a number of bears were prowling about the neighbourhood, and that a she-bear of great size had been shot the previous day, within a couple of hundred yards of the house of our informant. He further stated as a positive fact, that one evening, on going to look out of his window, on lifting the curtain, he was startled by seeing a large bear, gazing in with characteristic gravity and intentness. The discharge of a couple of barrels, fired through the glass, soon drove off the enemy, evidently severely wounded, from the tracks of blood traced over the snow, into a neighbouring ravine.

On leaving Bay Verte, we passed through some dense pine-forests, keeping a sharp look-out for the enemy; a rifle, which we had borrowed where we had rested, being in readiness for active service. The night was very dark, and at every charred stump we approached, we whispered almost in the same breath inquiringly to each other, "Bear?" The horse continued uneasy, for the same animal drove from Tormentine to Amherst.

It is thought nothing of, driving sixty miles without changing; on one occasion I went eighty miles with a pair, and they were never once taken out of the shafts, having been on the road from ten one night to four the following afternoon. It is true, we had occasional halts to feed and water, but never once was the harness taken off, nor were the animals detached from the traces. Canadian horses will perform won-

ders. I had a pair, purchased by me in Quebec, which frequently went thirty miles within three hours, and returned the same distance the same day.

We arrived at Amherst at about ten P.M. without further adventure, and learned that the New Brunswick sleigh with the Canadian mails was hourly expected, by which I could get a seat to Halifax, without incurring the necessity of hiring "an extra" all to myself. For the first time since five A.M. I broke my fast, and enjoyed an excellent dinner, well served and well provided. The country hotels in the Provinces are deserving of great praise; they are generally comfortable, almost ridiculously moderate in their charges, and you meet with every attention and civility.

During my two hours' rest, I was highly amused with crazy Tom Allan's pastimes. In the bar-room an itinerant fiddler played jigs, to which Tom danced with great vigour. When exhausted with this exercise, he would favour the company with an extemporaneous sermon, in the camp-meeting or revival style. His matter was heightened by a rude eloquence, and at times, when he waxed warm, he brought forth some passages of great vigour, and of most penitential import. When his feelings had found some ten minutes' vent, he would dismount from a chair, and the fiddle tuning up, away jiggled poor Tom Allan, as fresh and as worldly-minded as ever. At twelve P.M. I found myself seated in the mail sleigh, bound for Truro, and at ten the following evening I arrived at

Halifax, without having had a moment's rest, except for a quarter of an hour at a time, on changing horses at each twelve or eighteen miles' stage. I had thus, from my leaving Cape Traverse to my arrival at Halifax, travelled for forty-one hours, without once lying down or sleeping.

Upon my arrival at home, on entering the drawing-room, my wife for an instant did not recognize me, I was as to appearance burnt almost black in the face. It is a curious fact, that frost and exposure to the cold in North America will tan the skin in a tenth part of the time a tropical sun would. I have seen many people in the West Indies, though constantly exposed to the sun, with complexions as fair as untravelled Englishmen. But in a northern clime the frost tans and browns the skin in a manner which puts the sun's operation to shame.

## CHAPTER VI.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—SITUATION.—HARBOURS AND BAYS.—LENGTH OF WINTER.—DRAWBACK ON FARMING.—LANDED TENURE AND PROPRIETARY RIGHTS.—COMPOSITION OF MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT.—THE GOVERNOR'S POLICY.—ESCHEAT THREATENED.—THE FISHERY RESERVES TO THE CROWN.—NEW INTERPRETATION OF THAT CLAUSE IN ORIGINAL GRANTS.—LAND TAX.—EDUCATION TAX ON CLEARED AND WILDERNESS LANDS.—NINTH BILL.—TENANT COMPENSATION BILL.—ADDRESS OF INHABITANTS OF KING'S COUNTY.

It is stated that John, Sebastian, and Louis Cabot, when sailing under a commission from Henry VII. to find a Western passage to India, in 1497, discovered this Island, "where they first became acquainted with the savages of America," and carried away ten of the natives to England. On the capture of this Island by Lord Rollo, in 1758, shortly after the fall of Louisburg, and the expulsion of the French from Cape Breton, above 4000 Indians laid down their arms. At the present moment there are only about three hundred of the Micmac tribe scattered over its surface.

The geographical position of this Province, situated



in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is one of considerable importance, stretching, as it does, for 140 miles from Miramichi Bay on the north to opposite Cape Breton on the south: it thereby forms a breastwork to New Brunswick, from which it is separated by the Northumberland Straits; and from the headland at Cape Tormentine to Cape Traverse, but nine miles of water intervene, forming, during the winter, the only practicable, though highly dangerous, passage of communication for the Islanders with the outer world. The south side of the Island on the Straits has the magnificent harbours of Egmont, Bedeque, Hillsborough, and Cardigan Bays, all capable of receiving in their waters men-of-war of the largest class, while numerous minor harbours afford to the coasting trade secure havens; while on the north side, Holland, Richmond, Greenville, Tracadie, and St. Peter's Bays, are favourably situated for shelter to smaller vessels. But for seven months of the year impenetrable masses of ice choke up those openings for commerce, while icebergs and vast fields of constantly moving ice roll on with fearful rapidity through the narrow pass of the capes, rendering the passage across a work of imminent peril to life.

This is not the only drawback to the progress of the Colony. The winter sets in early in December, and continues in intensity until the following June; nay, snow is often to be found in the woods as late as July. When once the season of more genial warmth commences, the rapidity of vegetation exceeds belief.

Providence, in his goodness, enables the crops speedily to fructify, and the ploughman is quickly followed by the reaper. The fertility of the soil is not to be found equalled in any other portion of North America: the whole island, to the water's edge, is capable of cultivation; the land is easily cleared of the forest, and its prolific nature grants to the husbandman the means of subsistence.

But this happy state of existence has barely three months' duration, within which period are to be reckoned the Spring, the Summer, and the Autumn of this evanescent climate. The expense of supplying fodder for the seven dreary months of winter bears heavily upon the farmer, and in countless instances cattle are actually destroyed in preference to keeping them. The result is, that the people of the Island are decidedly the poorest, as far as pecuniary means are concerned, to be found in the British Provinces. It is a well-known though vulgar saying in the Island, that "the sight of a shilling acts as an onion on a farmer's eyes."

The tenure of land in the island is chiefly proprietary, owned in blocks from 20,000 to 50,000 acres. It is no uncommon occurrence for seven townships to belong to one proprietor\*. The original tenure of the land consisted of grants from the Crown, dating from 1764. Many of the original grantees re-sold or conveyed to other parties; but amongst the older proprietors whose

\* The Author purchased a tract to this extent. The Honourable Samuel Cunard is a proprietor of thirteen townships.

possessions have passed down hereditarily, are to be found the Earl of Selkirk, Viscount Melville, the Countess of Westmoreland, Hon. Colonel Fane, Lady Wood, Sir H. J. Walsh, Sir G. F. Seymour, Sir Graham Montgomery, Lawrence Sullivan, Esq., and others. The proprietary lands have been chiefly let to tenants on leases of 99 years,—in some instances 999 years,—at a rent commencing at threepence an acre, and seldom exceeding one shilling sterling.

The settlers in the Island, who form the chief bulk of the population, are those who have been, either themselves or their fathers, sent over wholesale by the landlords, from heavily-populated estates in Scotland or Ireland. The people who permitted themselves to be thus unceremoniously expatriated as a burden from the soil of the Mother-country were, as a matter of course, composed of the lowest and most degraded class. The sentiments of attachment to the land of their birth could never, under such circumstances, have been remarkable for an excessive display of warmth, nor has any one ever accused them of any stronger love of loyalty. Poverty, and its accompaniment, vice, nurtured by ignorance and petty cunning, did not form a favourable school whence the young islander could draw wholesome example from the sire. An influx of decayed tradesmen, pettifogging lawyers, or ex-stockbrokers from the Mother-country, to whom the turn which affairs took in '45 rendered highly expedient a safe and seldom heard-of retreat, tended not a little to inoculate the masses with that

want of principle which unfortunately has taken root amongst the community.

Distinct from this class are to be found (and their position is greatly to be pitied) the minority, composed of numbers of high-minded, honourable men, to whom the well-known cheapness of living, and the unrivalled healthiness of the climate, notwithstanding its winter rigour, offered strong inducements to settle there. Then there are a few resident proprietors, gentlemen by birth, education, and feeling, and several retired officers from the Army.

The introduction—most unadvisedly, into an island barely numbering 70,000 inhabitants, nine-tenths of whom are ignorant labourers—of the principle of Responsible Government, has ended, as might have been foreseen, by the powers of government passing into the hands of the lower orders, to the total exclusion of the educated class. It will hardly be believed in England, that the highest Member in the Executive Council keeps a grog-shop; and that any admirer or partisan of the liberal Government, or any other thirsty traveller, can enter and purchase from the hands of the Honourable Gentleman a noggin of gin; while his eyes will be equally gratified, if of a republican turn, by seeing the aged father of so exalted a son, wheeling an empty cask from the premises. Another personage in the Government is an ex-cook from a ship-builder's yard, a fellow whose vulgar visage is by no means improved by his official honours.

The remainder, with a couple of exceptions, are

“Honourable” Councillors, who can be seen any day, selling farthing dips, over the counters of their shops, or emulating Cincinnatus, by driving their own wag-gons. Such is the composition of the government which the responsible system has introduced into this island.

To find a Governor willingly condescending to such an association at the Council-board, must have proved one of not the least surprising pieces of news by which a Colonial Minister is often startled. This Government has invariably been held by younger men, as a stepping-stone to more lucrative and distinguished appointments. An aged person filling it is an evidence of its being accepted as a *dernier ressort*. But the qualifications of a Governor of a province are not always discoverable in an ex-M.P. and a broken-down merchant, although, sooth to say, they have sometimes been gratuitously inferred in their behalf. A cruel injustice is inflicted upon the Colonies in a too often indiscriminate selection of men for such high offices. Better would it be, and cheaper for the Crown, if, instead of sending imbecile dotage to govern a Colony at £1500 a year, out of which £1000 a year might be saved for the five years' service (and with the £5000 so saved, an annuity purchased for an aged pair of £200 a year),—better, we repeat, to place a decayed Member thus situated on the Pension List, at £200 a year, with ‘remainder’ to his wife, than jeopardize a British Province, by sending out men, whom a

cruel necessity compels to approve of every measure, however crude and suicidal its nature, which may be brought forward by an ignorant Council, and who dare not encounter, by a refusal to obey the insolent behests of the majority, a chance of deprivation of office, its emoluments, and its petty Colonial power.

In no one instance has the present Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island refused to approve of any measure of his Executive Council; and the only case in which he has intimated his intention of putting a veto, is on one which has been threatened to be passed by the House of Assembly, and which proposes to introduce the Maine *Liquor* law into the Island.

The extent to which the Governor permits the set by whom he is surrounded, to insult the more respectable classes, cannot be better exemplified, than by examining the invites to the Ball of the season, lately given. It is a fact, that nearly all the ladies of the Island were uninvited, as well as the Chief Justice, the Judges, the Adjutant-General of the Militia and Town-Major, the Collector of Her Majesty's Customs, the Ecclesiastical Commissary and Rector, the late Colonial Secretary, the Members of the late Executive Council, the President of the Legislative Council, a Conservative proprietor, and late Attorney or Solicitor-Generals, and others without number. The natural question will be, "Who were there?" We answer, a few military men, unconnected with party, and all the inferior shop-keepers in the town.

With such a party managing the affairs of the Colony, the rights of property, as defined by Blackstone, are, as may be supposed, most grievously tampered with. The grand aim of the present Government is to annihilate the proprietary interest; and most warmly are they supported in these their views by the Governor. They have commenced their operations with that subtle cunning, derived, it may be conjectured, from the example of their respectable sires; which operations, unless arrested in time, will result in the loss of every acre in the island, owned by a proprietor. In the original Royal Grants, a clause was inserted, reserving to the Crown the right of using what was denominated the "Fishery Reserves," namely, to enable the inhabitants to dry their fish, without being proceeded against as trespassers, "on the coasts, five hundred feet from high-water mark," on the lands facing the Gulf of St. Lawrence or Northumberland Straits. This very plain clause has been interpreted to carry with it a right, on the part of the Colonial Government, to take away five hundred feet of every water-frontage, whether on the Gulf, the Straits, the bays, rivers, or harbours. This would, at one fell swoop, deprive the proprietors of the finest and most valuable portion of their properties; and already have the Government commenced leasing portions of land thus situated on the property of one gentleman. This is, for the present, the wedge; but if it be permitted to go on uninterrupted, without any effective proprietary remonstrance being made to the

Home Authorities, it will end in total ruin to the interest of that class.

For some years attempts have been made to claim the "fishery reserves" in the manner we have described, although the length to which this theory of confiscation has now extended was never originally suggested. At first, the intention was to claim the five hundred feet on the coast for the use of the fisheries; then the demand increased to a permanent leasing of the same on the coasts; and now it has extended to a desire to confiscate not only the five hundred feet on the coasts, but on the rivers and bays. As an evidence that the propounders of this measure never originally intended to go to such lengths, we make an extract from a Minute of "Questions put by a Committee of the House of Assembly, in the Session of 1839, to the Solicitor-General" of the Island. Although the person interrogated was a partisan of the fishery-reserve agitators, he answered this question as follows:—

*Question.* Considering the reservation of five hundred feet for a free fishery, made in the Order of Council of 1767, could any individual holding a township by a grant (wherein said reservation is inserted) give a valid deed of land, the whole of which was included within said reservation?

*Answer.* The Order in Council of 1767, to which I am referred, appears (by the Despatches laid before the House by His Excellency Sir Charles A. Fitzroy) to have been inserted in the grants in the following words:—  
'Saving and reserving a free liberty to all His Majesty's



subjects of carrying on a free fishery or fisheries on any part or parts of the *coast* of said township; and of erecting stages and other necessary buildings for the said fishery or fisheries within the distance of five hundred feet from high-water mark.' To answer the question submitted, it is necessary to consider the effect of a grant,—what is the effect of an *absolute* grant of any specific tract of land. It passes the whole legal estate of the grantor therein to the grantee. It is however in the grantor's power to reserve for himself a part of his interest out of the general effect of the grant; and he may exercise this power so as to except a particular piece of the land granted; or, allowing the whole land to pass, reserve a particular right or privilege over the whole, or some particular part of it. In a grant containing the words above recited, it is clear that the legal estate in all the land therein described would pass, and that the privilege therein mentioned of erecting stages, etc., for the purpose of a fishery, on any part within five hundred feet from high-water mark, would alone be reserved. I am therefore of opinion, that an individual holding a township by such a grant could make a valid deed of a piece of land, the whole of which was included in such reservation; the purchaser however would take it subject to *partial interruption* by the exercise of the *right reserved*."

It was never intended by the Crown that a permanent confiscation of five hundred feet should take place; and in this evidence only a "partial interruption by the exercise of the right reserved" is hinted at.

On all lands in the Province a tax of 5s. per hundred acres had been levied, payable by the proprietor, at the rate of 2s. 6d. for every cleared, and 5s. for every uncleared hundred acres. This

was a burden quite sufficient in itself, without any addition. Another pretext, however, has been seized upon, under the plausible cry of education, to inflict an additional tax of 4*s.* per hundred acres; consequently, the proprietor will be taxed 9*s.* on every hundred acres, and a large portion of this amount levied upon forest-land, unlet and unproductive. To render this a measure of still greater hardship, a clause is inserted by which tenants who do not pay the tax are liable to have the land leased by them from the proprietor, seized by the sheriff and sold; be it borne in mind, not their personal effects or stock liable, but the land, which does not belong to them. The result will of course be, with such a wretched, unprincipled tenantry—who are, as it is, a dozen years in arrears of rent—that they will not pay the tax; the land will be sold, if the proprietor does not buy it in, and the *tenant* will become the purchaser at a nominal price. All these measures are highly approved of by the tenantry, whose votes return the members to the House of Assembly, and from whom again the Executive Government is selected.

In a conversation I had with the President of the Executive Council, he candidly informed me that the object of the Government, in thus adding tax after tax on the proprietor of lands, was to “virtually confiscate” the possessions of the proprietors. Comment is needless.

To render the position of landlord and tenant even more complicated, a Bill has been introduced, desig-

nated "The Tenants' Compensation Bill," the main feature of which consists in obliging the proprietor, if he distrain for rent, to allow to the tenant the full value of all improvements made by him on the property distrained. This Bill in full operation, and adieu to all rents, or arrears of rent, for a half-century to come. It, in fact, will operate as a grant of a virtual freehold to every tenant, and rob the proprietor of his land, under the plausible pretext of a just and equitable legal enactment.

As a grand *finale* for one year, I find another bill passed the Legislature in 1851, designated the "Ninth Bill," which presents an equally obvious attempt to deprive the proprietor of his rents. I cannot explain the nature of this measure better than by giving an extract from a letter received from an agent in the Island.

"The Ninth Bill, in my opinion, is a violation of the rights of property. It declares that £5. 11s. 1½d. of the present currency of this Island, depreciated as it is, shall be taken by the landlord, in discharge of £5 sterling, viz. one-ninth added to the sterling. When this practice was first acted upon, dollars were paid to the troops at 4s. 6d. sterling; consequently, the addition of one-ninth would make 5s., being the current value of one dollar in island money, and in fact the legal value, and indeed the only legal tender in the island. Most of the rents in the Island are reserved in the leases to be paid in sterling; but, from the original settlement of the Island, the currency of the Island, with one-ninth added, has been received, viz. £5. 11s. 1½d. for £5 sterling; and when dollars were cur-

rent at 5s., the proprietor received all that in fact he was entitled to.

“Subsequently, however, the nominal value of the dollar has become, at different times, 5s. 3d., 5s. 6d., 5s. 9d., 6s., and more recently 6s. 3d.; and the proprietors have continued to receive the £5. 11s. 1½d. of the circulating medium notes, dollars, and British silver and gold at its nominal value in payment of £5 sterling, no doubt hoping and expecting the currency would some day, and not very distant, recover itself. But even should this be the case, by the provisions of this bill the proprietor would be debarred from participating in the benefits of such a change, and in fact would be compelled to take in discharge of the £5 sterling, reserved in the leases, £3. 14s. 1d., that amount being equal, at the present day, to £5. 11s. 1½d.

“It is urged in favour of the Bill, by the propounders thereof, that it is only to render lawful what the proprietors have themselves for a number of years established as a custom, notwithstanding the currency was occasionally becoming more depreciated. This may be easily answered and accounted for; as for many years past, as you are aware, the rental of an estate in the Island was only nominal, and such was the agitation kept up from time to time, and so frequent were the remonstrances by the Provincial Government, on behalf of the misguided tenantry, with the proprietors, that it was considered prudent not to interfere in the matter, nor to raise the question, always hoping the currency would assume a more healthy state.

“I myself am of opinion it would be imprudent to exact at the present day five sovereigns for the £5 sterling reserved in the different leases; but should the currency assume, at some future day, a more healthy appearance, the proprietors should not be debarred, by any unjust interference by the Legislature, from participating in the benefit. I refer

you to the 'Gazette' for the particulars of the Bill and the debate which took place in both Houses of the Legislature on its passing, and the protest entered on the journals by the *minority* of the Council."

This Bill in fact punishes the moderation and considerate humanity of the landed proprietors, by rendering a voluntary gift an after-act of compulsory law.

Further to exhibit the agrarian notions of the tenantry, which are fostered and encouraged by the countenance they have received from the present Government in the Island, I submit the following extract from an address on the Land Question, adopted at a public meeting in King's County, in September, 1851, and presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and published by authority in the 'Royal Gazette.' I italicize those passages which appear to me to be peculiarly cool and racy.

"We, the inhabitants of King's County, have thought it necessary to take into our consideration a Despatch from the Right Hon. Earl Grey, Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, dated Downing-street, 12th February, 1851, directing your attention to the Land Settlement question, that some satisfactory arrangement of it should now take place, when the people are to have a larger share of control over their public affairs.

"We are thankful that we are allowed a larger share of control over our public affairs, than we have hitherto enjoyed: and it shall be *our study to exercise such control*, to show that an assimilation of our Colonial Government to British institutions will not tend to weaken the loyalty and attachment we have to Her Majesty's person and Government.

“On approaching the Land Settlement question, it is necessary to premise, that *labour is the foundation of property* and the support of all Governments; and while labour supports government, it looks to the government for protection, especially against the *designs of insidious men* [meaning the proprietors], *who assume a specious authority, to possess themselves of the fruits of other men’s labour*. When government and labour uphold each other, property is accumulated, and becomes the bond of civilized society; and the fruit of such mutual support and protection is the political and social well-being of the community. But the failure of either party to perform their allotted part deranges the whole system, as every *infraction of the compact between government and labour* has a withering influence on the industry of the country, and a demoralizing effect on its population.

“This Island was granted apparently to try experiments in colonization, which did not succeed: the conditions of the grants were not performed, and after some years had elapsed, the conditions of the grants were said to have been impracticable. In cases of the like nature, which had taken place in other Colonies, the grantees resigned their grants to the Crown, or the Government reinvested the lands in the Crown by escheat. But this Island was neglected, and the most of the grantees resigned their grants for small considerations to speculators, who tried another experiment. British subjects, with more or less means, were induced to emigrate to this colony to become tenants, to bring the wild lands into cultivation; *consequently the reclamation of the wild land, by the tenant’s labour and means, went to create a capital for the landlord; and the rent, which the tenant has to pay, is the interest upon such capital*.

“Thus, lands which had been bought for less than one

farthing per acre, were let at an annual rent of one shilling and upwards per acre! *A proprietorship so usuriously acquired, for the disturbance of families and the unsettlement of their homes, cannot be held in respect by any enlightened people.* And when higher prices have been given for the grantees' titles, it was not for any improvements which the former proprietors had made; it is the improvements made by the occupants and tenants, and the arrears of rent, whereby the prices of the townships are estimated. In cases where the crops had failed, tenants and occupants were supplied with seed by the Colonial Authorities from the revenue; and the land assessment for the improvement of the Colony was paid by the occupants and tenants in addition to their rents; therefore it is not the proprietors but workmen, and the agricultural population, who have given to this Colony its present value.

“Had the Government *enforced the forfeiture of the grants*, as has been the practice in other Colonies, and in two cases in this Island, *a landlord's claim to a tenant's labour and property could not have existed*, nor any inducement for a land speculator to deprive his more useful fellow-subject of the fruits of his labour and industry.

“The relationship subsisting between landlord and tenant in Great Britain, has led many who are unacquainted with the nature of our case, to suppose a like relationship to subsist here; whereas it is altogether different. In Great Britain, the landlord has an indefeasible title to his land, with all the improvements and fixtures, the moveables only being the property of the tenant, and the rent required is barely common interest on the landlord's capital.

“*But in this Island, the landlord's title to the land is forfeited to the Crown, and all the improvements upon the land, together with the moveables and fixtures, are the pro-*

*perty of the tenant!!* But while the *landlords* have sufficient influence at the Colonial Office to prevent the enforcement of the forfeiture, *they are left in possession* of the *tenant's* property; and consequently, by the non-performance of the condition of the grant, the landlord gains an estate improved by the labour and means of British subjects, who have been left unprotected; and as the rent required is more than the tenant can pay, the *landlord is enabled to exercise an influence over the mind and actions of his tenant, to deprive him of free-will, and of power to seek redress, so that there is no medium left for the tenant between abject submission to the landlord, or to stand in open defiance.*

“The repeated applications which have been made to Her Majesty’s Government, especially since the year 1832, to revert the forfeited lands in the Crown, appeared to be the only constitutional way to do justice to all the parties interested. Freehold settlers might have been secured in their possessions, the *tenantry* would have been willing to pay *for the fee-simple* interest of their *leasehold*, according to the value of wilderness-land, which payment would have constituted a fund to have satisfied any claims which might have appeared to be due in equity, and also a provision for any widows and orphans whose support arose from the rents. But purchasers of the original grants, who were well informed of the forfeiture of the grantees’ title to the land, and depended upon their own superior skill and contrivance—to *enroll tenants—to dispossess occupants—to recover arrears of rent*, and to misrepresent the tenants and their claims at the Colonial Office, so as to gain an estate in the tenants’ improvements, are considered to be unworthy of such indulgence here.

“It appears that Her Majesty’s Colonial Secretary is anxious and desirous that a satisfactory arrangement should



now take place, and an equitable adjustment between landlord and tenant. If this can be effected, it will no doubt satisfy the agricultural population. But it is lamentable that Her Majesty's Minister, while holding out justice and equity to the people of this Colony for the first time, should suppose a case would occur that would make it necessary to bring troops from another Province, amongst a peaceably disposed rural population.

“In Great Britain cases might occur where it would be necessary for the tenants to apply to their landlords for a mitigation of their rents; a failure of the crops, or an overflow of the markets with foreign produce, would make it the interest of landlord and tenant to come to an amicable arrangement with each other, as the ruin and loss of such a tenantry could not be supplied by immigration.

“But in this country, the landlords are quite a different class of men, who, in order to secure an estate for themselves, must get rid of the tenantry and their claims, and find it most for their interest to dispossess them and sell their improvements to immigrants.

“It is a well-known fact, that agriculture carried on with capital and hired labour, has never been successful here; therefore, farming is not a profitable investment for capital, except where it is connected with some other establishment or office; consequently the tenantry are performing the labour and duties of husbandry for a less recompense than labourers' wages! But to induce an influx of immigrants with capital, to give a temporary rise to the value of property, and buy the tenants' improvements, would be a profitable speculation for the proprietors, however great the loss and disappointment would be to many well-disposed industrious families! Yet such are the consequences when Government is misinformed, and allows a class of men to

assume a specious authority to possess themselves of the fruits of other men's labour.

“While the proprietors have such lucrative prospects before them, countenanced by the Colonial Minister, *the tenantry are smarting under a grievous wrong*; and where their interests are so much at variance with each other, it will be necessary; and we pray that any arrangement to be made between them, come through your Excellency, and if it is just and equitable, it will be amicably and thankfully received.

“These are respectfully submitted to your Excellency, that the settlement of rights of such vital importance should not be delayed; and as the law to investigate the Proprietors' Titles is suspended, *we are of opinion, that the laws for the ejectment of occupants from their own improvements ought to be suspended* in like manner, until an equitable arrangement between the proprietors and the tenantry be effected.”

In all our experience we never read a more infamous production. Yet this Address was graciously received, and many of the people who got it up have since been made magistrates by the present Governor. According to this precious document, “labour and government” are the only two interests: a landlord should have no existence. It is also here suggested that the “reclamation of the wild land by the tenant's labour and means,” should in fact entitle him to a freehold!

The proprietorship, or in other words the rights of property, are described as a compact “for the disturbance of families and the unsettlement of their

homes." The Government are recommended the "forfeiture of" the proprietors' estates, and, had the escheat taken place before, "a landlord's claim to a tenant's labour and property could not have existed." We should think not. Another startling announcement is made, when the Governor is informed: "But in this island the landlord's title to the land is forfeited to the Crown, and all the improvements upon the land, together with the moveables and fixtures, are the property of the tenant." A worthy tenantry to put on a rent-roll, as we know to our cost! Then the proprietor, according to this theory, is "left in possession of the tenant's property." It is considered by these worthies as an atrocious evil, that the landlord should be allowed—though, Heaven knows, it is but a nominal act—to "enroll tenants, to dispossess occupants, to recover arrears of rent." The latter is about the most impossible effort any man could undertake. A landlord demanding his rights causes this over-sensitive people to continue "smarting under a grievous wrong." The grand conclusion is especially rich. The memorialists "are of opinion that the laws for the ejection of occupants from their own improvements ought to be suspended;" meaning, in other words, that the proprietor should be deprived by law of the power of ejecting tenants for arrears of rent!

These are the sentiments of the inhabitants of King's County, embracing twenty townships, of seven of which I was once foolish enough to become proprietor, embracing about 100,000 acres.

## CHAPTER VII.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—THE COLONIAL OFFICE.—EARL GREY'S DESPATCH.—THE ATTACK ON RIGHTS OF PROPERTY COUNTENANCED BY THE GOVERNOR.—ANTI-RENTERS.—VIOLENCE AND OUTRAGE.—SIR CHARLES FITZROY.—ISLAND CUNNING.—ABSURDITY OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR THE ISLAND.—EARL OF DURHAM, EARL GREY, AND DUKE OF KENT'S OPINION.—THE COAST SURVEY.—USELESS WASTE OF PUBLIC MONEY.—THE GOVERNOR'S POLICY CANVASSED.

THE Colonial Office has been frequently made aware, by the Proprietary interest, of the shameful attacks upon the rights of property which have been from time to time countenanced and supported by the liberal Government of the Island. Upon the death of the late Governor, and the appointment of the person who for the present acts in that capacity, Earl Grey deemed the opportunity a good one to give strict written instructions as to the line of conduct he should pursue upon the land question. To show that the Lieutenant-Governor, if so disposed, would have been strongly supported by the Colonial Office, in resisting any attempt made to injure the rights of the proprietors, we publish the following despatch:—

*“ Downing-street, 12th February, 1851.*

“ SIR,

“ On your proceeding to assume the Government of Prince Edward Island, I am particularly anxious to direct your attention to a question which perhaps affects more than any other the political and social well-being of its community.

“ It appears to me of the highest importance that some satisfactory arrangement of it should now take place, when the inhabitants of the Island are soon about to exercise a still larger share of control over its public affairs, than they have hitherto enjoyed.

“ I allude to the subject of the Landed Tenures. Without going into the detail, it is sufficient for me to remind you that repeated applications have been made at different times to Her Majesty's Government to consent to measures to deprive the proprietors under the original grants of their estates, on the ground of their having escheated to the Crown by reason of the non-fulfilment of conditions. These applications have been resisted on the grounds with which the correspondence between successive Secretaries of State and Lieutenant-Governors of Prince Edward Island, especially since the year 1832, will render you sufficiently familiar. It is only my purpose now to state that Her Majesty's Government feel themselves bound to adhere to the decisions so repeatedly adopted by my predecessors in this matter, and to state that, both on the grounds of justice to the landed proprietors, and of the permanent interests of the community of Prince Edward Island, they regard such a measure as impracticable; nor on the other hand could they consent to entertain any measure such as has occasionally been suggested, for buying up and extinguishing the rights of proprietors, or any portion of them, at an expense to the Imperial Treasury.

“The subsisting right of parties cannot therefore be altered in any other manner than by that of equitable adjustment; and while the law continues as at present, it is your duty to enforce obedience to it by the firm exercise of the authority entrusted to you, and by the employment, if necessary, of the military force at your command. Should any extreme case occur, you may even apply to Sir John Harvey for an additional force to put down any attempts at resistance to the law.

“But while thus maintaining the law, you will also use all the influence which you may possess to induce the owners of land, and their tenants, to come to an amicable arrangement with each other; and give your best assistance with a view to passing any legislative measures which may be required to complete such arrangement. But you will not fail to recollect, and to impress upon the Legislature, the necessity of abstaining from the introduction into such laws, of any provision which may infringe on the rights of property.

“You will, I trust, experience no difficulty in convincing both the Legislature and the people of the Colony, that a strict respect to those rights is required, not by justice only, but also by a regard for their own true interests. It is obvious that an influx of capital and settlers, by tending to raise the value of property, would be most beneficial to the Colony, and to all classes of its inhabitants. Prince Edward Island, possessed as it is of great natural advantages, which are becoming better known in this country than formerly, is likely, at no distant time, to attract both emigrants and capital, if the policy adopted by the Legislature is not such as to discourage them. But nothing would tend more to this unfortunate result, than the sense of insecurity which must infallibly be created by any attempt of the Legislature to pass laws bearing unjustly on

the owners of landed property; even if the attempt were frustrated by the refusal of Her Majesty's allowance of it, which it would be the duty of the Government to advise Her to withhold in such a case.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

"GREY."

"*His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor,*

"*Prince Edward Island.*"

With such positive instructions to resist "any provision which may infringe on the rights of property," the Lieutenant-Governor had but one duty to perform, and that was, to obey his orders. Instead of doing so, he has given his support and countenance to a band of robbers, who are a disgrace to any community. He has jeopardized the rights of property he was appointed by his Sovereign to maintain inviolate; and through his utter disregard of the positive instructions of the Colonial Minister, he has done more, by assenting to the numerous laws passed to unsettle the landed interests, to injure and retard the prosperity of the Colony, than ten years of good government could redeem. In a far-away and seldom heard-of spot, such negligence of a Sovereign's interests may, for a time, pass unrebuked; but a discerning Ministry will probably see that it is high time to "cancel" that worthy knight's appointment, and permit him to retire to his highland obscurity, where the only injury that can well be done to the "rights of property" consists in the destruction of a few stray grouse on a neighbour's preserve.

The immediate recall of the present Lieutenant-Go-

vernor should be insisted upon. He has disobeyed his orders, and should no longer be permitted to treat with contempt the instructions of the Colonial Minister. Prince Edward Island requires a man of firmness, to govern such a disunited community as is to be found there. It is perilling a Province to send incompetent persons to manage her public affairs. As it is, matters have now come to such a pitch, that when any body of tenants choose to combine, and refuse to pay their rents, it becomes almost a matter of impossibility to compel them, without the most fearful expense, exceeding in fact the value of the acreage. In one township (66) purchased by the Author, he paid a lawyer's bill of 556*l.* sterling, the amount of one year's costs, in endeavouring to bring refractory tenants to acknowledge their right to pay any rent at all. As yet, not one shilling has been received from those worthies (patriots from the county of Monaghan) notwithstanding the above exorbitant bill of costs. A resident proprietor, the Hon. Donald Macdonald, a high-minded man, has been shot at twice while passing through his woods, by concealed tenant assassins; and this in a Province blessed with responsible, or, as it should be here designated, irresponsible, government; and a house which once gave him shelter was burnt to the ground immediately afterwards. Neither the incendiaries nor the attempted assassins were ever discovered, as a matter of course\*.

\* Sir Charles Fitzroy, one of the recent Lieutenant-Governors of the Island, in a communication of his, writes:—"I do not wish to con-



As to obtaining "justice," that is never thought of or expected by a proprietor; there are too many "justices," and too many low lawyers, ever to expect *that* in the Colony; for it is a fact, that men are to be found holding commissions of the peace, made by the present party, who cannot sign their own names. Such is the present state of affairs in this Province. A boon was granted to a people totally unfit to receive it,—a community who should have been first taught to obey the old laws, before they were permitted to make fresh ones.

A more sickening task cannot well be undertaken, than a perusal of the two vast volumes of "Laws of Prince Edward Island," numbering 1719 pages: the great curse of the Island has been a plethora of laws and lawyers, the little village or capital, Charlottetown, having to its share a legal confederacy aptly designated "the forty thieves\*." No wonder, then, they multiply laws for this "Little Peddlington" and the Island Peddlingtonians.

ceal from you, that agitation to a very considerable extent yet exists on the subject of escheat, in many parts of the Island; and you will ere this perhaps have learned from the public papers of the Colony, that the High Sheriff of King's County has recently been resisted by a considerable body of armed persons, while endeavouring to enforce an execution on a judgment obtained in the Supreme Court for rent, and his horses barbarously mutilated; and I will here observe, that this gentleman bears the reputation (and indeed has proved it within my knowledge) of being a person of determined character, and one not easily to be intimidated or hindered from doing his duty."

\* From this category I beg especially to exempt the amiable Chief-Justice, the learned Master of the Rolls, the Attorney-General, the late Solicitor-General, John Longworth, Esq., etc.

The fame of Island lawlessness has extended to neighbouring Provinces ; and when one hears that you are bound for Prince Edward's, you perceive an involuntary shudder, and are favoured with a commiserating caution, such as a traveller in Italy would receive on announcing his intention to enter some well-known banditti pass. A friend of ours in the Island, in speaking about the natives, had a habit, when any particular name came on the *tapis*, of at once referring to a lengthy document, furnished to him by a relative in England, aptly designated the 'Black List,' containing the names of persons, apparently respectable, but whom previous experience, dearly bought on the writer's part, had proved the wisdom of avoiding. Such is the social and political condition of this Province: Responsible Government, instead of benefiting the community, has had a contrary effect, by taking the administrative power out of the hands of competent and respectable persons, and conferring it upon ignorant and unprincipled demagogues.

The Island furnishes a striking example of the evil of the present system of governing certain Colonies. For such a Government as this of Prince Edward, it frequently occurs that only fifth-rate talent is selected. A man of practical and tried experience and real administrative capabilities is not offered an office, with a salary attached to it equalling a head-clerk's in the Treasury or War Office at home ; and, as a necessary consequence, not half such competent persons are sent out as Governors. What a difference neighbouring

Provinces exhibit in their Governors! New Brunswick, only nine miles from the Island, has such a man as Sir Edmund Head, whose talents and standing are fully equal to the responsibility of such a Government, and whose innate dignity of bearing, firmness of purpose, and gentlemanly feeling, place him above the petty influences of low Colonial cliques. Nova Scotia, in the person of Colonel Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, has also secured administrative talents of the first order, which are destined to place that gallant officer always in high positions in the service of the Crown.

In the change which must shortly take place, by the entire re-modelling of the system of Colonial Government for the British North American Colonies, and the Legislative union of those disjointed Provinces, not one of the least benefits to be derived will be the suppression of those wretched cliques, the Houses of Assembly, and the ridiculous and contemptible petty Governments for such places as Prince Edward Island. When that question shall be mooted, 2,500,000 British North Americans will laugh to scorn the idea of 70,000 people being permitted to retain the expensive and useless Executives now kept up. The little huckster and small farmer, relieved from their senatorial duties, will be more profitably employed in sweeping their shops and driving the plough, than in attempting improvements upon the magnificent system of British Jurisprudence. The members to be returned to represent the Province in an Im-

perial Parliament House, in Canada, will be men of standing, education, and property, to whom payment for their services will form the least inducement for seeking the honour of representing their province in an august and dignified Senate. Poor ignorant men will have to stay at home and mind their family concerns, while more educated, independent, and consequently competent gentlemen will take much better care for them of their political interests.

This will not prove acceptable to the office-hunters, but that is of small importance. The isolated situation of the Island is a sufficient guarantee against rebellion. They are too far off from the States to join that Republic, and if refractory, a couple of regiments would soon bring the Islanders to a sense of their own impotence. They require a lesson (though we wish them not so harsh a one as we have indicated); for, removed as they are from all intercourse with the world, these narrow-minded Provincials really fancy themselves *par excellence* THE people of British North America; and when they mention a meeting of the "Cabinet," your thoughts are at once wafted to Downing-street, from the important air of the announcement. But when the Prime Minister is seen emerging from his tavern, and the Councillors from their shops, the illusion vanishes as the "baseless fabric," etc., particularly where an Honourable Executive Councillor's *dray* "stops the way," and he descends from his bundles of dried cod-fish, to sit at the "Council Board" in the Province Building.

That we are not alone in commenting upon the absurd farce presented by such a government having been granted to the Island, we may show by quoting the words of that enlightened statesman, the late Earl of Durham, who said:—"With respect to the two small Colonies of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, I am of opinion that not only would most of the reasons which I have given for a union of the others apply to them, but that their smallness makes it absolutely necessary, as the only means of securing any proper attention to their interests, and investing them with that consideration, the deficiency of which they have so much reason to lament." The Duke of Kent also strongly urged this "small dependency" being annexed to New Brunswick.

To the Mother-country the existence of this government for such a small island is a pecuniary hardship, and it also leads to little hidden jobs for favourites, which Mr. Hume should be made aware of.

There has existed, for some ten or fifteen years, in Charlottetown, the head-quarters of what is denominated "A Government Naval Survey of the Coasts." It is composed of the "Gulnare," sloop-of-war, with two captains, lieutenants, mates, surgeon, draftsmen, crew, etc. When the season for navigation opens, about the end of June, these officers awake from their sluggish repose, the Gulnare draws out into the stream, and a snug summer cruise commences. The sloop may be seen about a month after, in some romantic cove, a few miles off, lying listlessly on the

placid waters : a tent is pitched ashore, well supplied with viands, and a boat is endeavouring to head up the mouth of some muddy stream, while the lead and plummet, industriously thrown, prove a deficiency of water which would seriously retard the progress of a bark-canoe over its weedy, slimy bed. The result is entered on a chart by the two captains, R.N., lieutenants, R.N., mates, etc. ; and after a week spent pleasantly, away the Gulnare crawls to some other inviting spot for sedentary pursuits and piscatory operations. When the "winter winds" approach, the Gulnare gaily speeds to her haven, and the exhausted officers,—*two* captains, R.N., lieutenants, mates, medical officer,—all R.N., with lodging allowance, house themselves for eight months of winter inactivity, but full pay, in their respective cottages ; the captains employing their hours, most creditably it must be confessed, in distributing tracts for the Religious Tract Society, and other pursuits connected with the "propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts," a service which, we submit, could be as efficiently performed by the Ecclesiastical Commissary and his zealous curate.

The retention of an expensively-paid staff of officers of the Royal Navy, who have nothing else to do but pass their time in preaching, is a great hardship upon veterans in the service, who deserve some share in the "loaves and fishes" which these gentlemen have so well provided themselves with. The office is one of those forgotten sinecures which have only to be shown

up, to be abolished. That the emoluments must be considerable, is proved by the investment in mortgages at good rates of interest, screwed out of the unfortunate townspeople, which some of those officers are enabled to advance on "real estate."

As to the survey of the coasts of the Island, one year would at any period have completed that operation to perfection; but fifteen have been spent at it, and fifteen more will doubtless be employed, while officers of the Royal Navy are so left to themselves in isolated Colonies. As it is, the Mother-country must have incurred a loss through this item, and the *conscientious* performance of duty by those officers, of above £50,000\*.

The state of "military" affairs in the Province equally suffers from its isolated position; while one of those useless evils of expenditure which the Secretary-at-War, in the recent debate on the Army Estimates, declared it was the intention of the authorities to lessen in the Colonies, is to be found here in all its pristine absurdity, namely, commissariat and barrack-masterships, both held by non-military persons, who deck themselves out on festal occasions in an undress uniform—as officers of Light Dragoon Regiments!

Since writing my remarks upon the Government of this Island, I have perused a work which has just issued from the press—'The Colonial Policy of Lord

\* A perfect waste of public money, as the sand at the mouth of many of the harbours is continually shifting. No reliance can be placed upon antecedent surveys, which are thus rendered useless.

John Russell's Administration,' by Earl Grey,—and am pleased to find a perfect corroboration of my views upon the absurdity of investing Prince Edward Island with the powers of responsible government. Earl Grey, in his important and highly valuable work (vol. i. page 274), thus writes:—"In two of the Provinces—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—the same system of government which has been established in Canada has been brought into successful operation; and I am willing to hope that the same may be said of *Prince Edward Island*, though I fear in the latter the experiment has been tried somewhat prematurely, and that the *population of this Colony is hardly sufficient* for the effective working of the *machinery of a form of government* better adapted to a community in a *more advanced state of social progress.*"

These are the views of the late Colonial Minister, as expressed in his work, published in March 1853.

This opinion, from so eminent a source, the more confirms us in our statement, that to save the "rights of property" the Island should be without delay annexed to New Brunswick, the House of Assembly closed, and the whole Government transferred to the superintendence of a more valuable and important dependency. If this be not done, to replace the present Lieutenant-Governor without delay is a step that should be insisted upon. His countenance and approval of the shameful measures introduced to interfere with the rights of property, which he has sanctioned in



direct violation of Earl Grey's plain and decided orders, is quite sufficient to justify—nay, to render highly expedient and necessary, his transfer, irrespective of the opinion entertained by the educated and (once) influential classes in the Island, that the present Lieutenant-Governor has proved himself totally unfit for the high trust reposed in him.

Had the Lieutenant-Governor felt disposed to maintain a dignified assertion of the "rights of property," he would have been supported by the wealth and intelligence of the community. In Lord Grey's Despatch, dated the 12th of February, 1851, the Lieutenant-Governor was informed:—"It is your duty to enforce obedience by the firm exercise of the authority entrusted to you, and by the employment, if necessary, of the military force at your command. Should any extreme case occur, you may even apply to Sir John Harvey for an additional force to put down any attempts at resistance to the law."

The Governor has not enforced "obedience to law" as directed. A man of firmness and courage would have boldly carried out his Sovereign's instructions as communicated by her Colonial Minister. The duty of a Governor placed in so important a post is, clearly, to act under, and to obey, the orders and instructions of the Colonial Minister. Where he neglects to do so he disobeys orders, and is no longer worthy of that confidence which should be reposed in Her Majesty's representative.

## CHAPTER VIII.

INTERCOLONIAL COMMUNICATION.—PRESENT ROUTES.—THE HALIFAX AND QUEBEC RAILWAY.—COMPANY TO CARRY OUT THAT OBJECT, WITH PROVINCIAL CHARTER.—THE QUESTION OF EXPENSIVELY-CONSTRUCTED RAILROADS CONSIDERED.—FAILURE OF THE SHUBENACADIE CANAL SCHEME.—STONE FROM ABERDEEN.—AMERICAN MODE OF CROSSING THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS.—THE AUTHOR'S EXERTIONS TO CARRY OUT INTERCOLONIAL COMMUNICATION BY STEAM.—OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.—EXCITEMENT AT HALIFAX AND QUEBEC.—PUBLIC SPEECHES.—ADDRESS OF THE HON. INSPECTOR-GENERAL.—PUBLIC DINNERS AT HALIFAX, QUEBEC, AND PRINCE EDWARD—THE LATTER GIVEN TO THE AUTHOR IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—HISTORY OF STEAM NAVIGATION IN THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE.

BEFORE passing from the lower or maritime Provinces into the Canadas, it may be as well to refer to the modes of transit at present existing, or which have been proposed, to effect a more direct and expeditious route of communication between the capital of the Canadas and the British North American terminus at Halifax. This will show, in all its distinctness, the ruinous consequences flowing from the disjointed interests caused by the separate Legislatures at present in operation in four of these Provinces, and the

narrow-mindedness of all the parties concerned, in permitting local jealousy to interfere with the national welfare.

To proceed from Halifax to Quebec, the only means at present are by coach, a distance of above six hundred miles, and which forms the mail route. The period occupied in this most fatiguing journey averages from five to seven days,—a loss of most valuable time to commercial men, who form the great bulk of the travelling community. When expedition is a matter of vital importance—and, in addition, to save the fatigue—persons frequently embark at Halifax in one of the Honourable S. Cunard's steamers, and proceed from thence to Boston, a course south-west, which occupies on the average about forty or fifty hours (in the winter season the latter may be stated as the time); from Boston the rail can be taken to Montreal, and from thence you proceed by steamer to Quebec,—a most roundabout way of reaching a point due north. In this route a traveller first sails south-west, then north-west, then due east,—a very fair exemplification of the manner in which the Colonists pull together.

To remove and obviate such a dilatory and circuitous route, there has been for years proposed the "never-ending, still-beginning" Halifax and Quebec Railway. In June 1847, an Act passed the Legislature in Canada, to which the Royal Assent was given by Her Majesty in Council on the 15th of April, 1848, and proclamation thereof was made by his Excellency the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine in the 'Canada

Gazette' of the 24th of June, 1848, designated "An Act to Incorporate the Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Railway Company." The first clause of the Act recites:—

"Whereas the construction of a railway from Montreal, through the eastern townships, to Point Levy, opposite to Quebec, and thence, by Rivière-du-Loup, to the Province Line of New Brunswick, to meet a railroad to be continued through that Province, and also the adjoining Province of Nova Scotia to Halifax, would tend much to advance the prosperity of this Province, and would greatly contribute to promote the trade and facilitate the communication between the Province of Canada and the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; and whereas the several persons hereinafter named are desirous to make and maintain the said railway: be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and intituled 'An Act to re-unite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and for the Government of Canada,' and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that the Honourable the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Sir Allan Napier MacNab, Knight, the Honourable John Molson, the Honourable Adam Ferrie, the Honourable James Ferrier, the Honourable John Nelson, the Honourable Robert W. Harwood, Sir George Simpson, Peter Warren Dease, Allan M'Donell, Robert Armour, Charles H. Castle, John Try, Henry Corse, John Matthewson, William B. Jarvis, and Joseph Cary, Esquires, toge-

ther with such other person or persons as shall, under the provisions of this Act, become subscribers to and proprietors of any share or shares in the railway hereby authorized to be made, and other works and property hereinafter mentioned, and their several and respective heirs, executors, administrators, curators, and assigns, being proprietors of any such share or shares, are and shall be united into a Company for carrying on, making, completing, and maintaining the said intended railway and other works, according to the rules, orders, and directions hereinafter expressed, and shall for that purpose be one body politic and corporate by the name of the Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Railway Company, and by that name shall have perpetual succession and shall have a common seal, and other the usual powers and rights of bodies corporate not inconsistent with this Act, and by that name shall and may sue and be sued, as also shall and may have power and authority to purchase and hold lands (which word shall throughout this Act be understood to include the land and all that is upon or below the surface thereof, and all the real rights and appurtenances thereunto belonging), for them and their successors and assigns, for the use of the said railway and works, without Her Majesty's Lettres d'Amortissement (saving nevertheless to the Seigneur or Seignors within whose *censive* the lands, tenements, and hereditaments so purchased may be situate, his and their several and respective *droits d'indemnité*, and all other Seignorial rights whatever), and also to alienate and convey any of the said lands, purchased for the purposes aforesaid, and any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, or communities may give, grant, bargain, sell, or convey to the said company any lands for the purposes aforesaid, and the same may repurchase of the said company without Lettres d'Amortisse-

ment : and the said company shall be and are hereby authorized and empowered from and after the passing of this Act, by themselves, their deputies, agents, officers, workmen, and servants, to make and complete a railway to be called the Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Railway, with one or more sets of rails or tracks, and to be worked by locomotive engines, or on the atmospheric principle, or in such other mode as the said company may deem expedient.”

By virtue of the authority given by this Act, one of the individuals named as promoters, proceeded to England and formed a public company, which was provisionally registered, to carry out the intent of the Act. In bringing the project before the public, the directors stated, in their prospectus :—

“A careful examination of the country along the proposed road was commenced in 1844, for the purpose of constructing a railway from Quebec to Halifax, and also to Montreal, through the eastern townships, *vid* Drummondville or Melbourne, with a branch to Frederickton, likewise to the most eligible point of Chedabucto Bay, or the Atlantic harbour, at Whitehaven, in Nova Scotia, under the auspices of his Excellency the Governor-General of British North America, with the assured support of the Imperial Government. A line of the most favourable gradients has been found for the whole distance, which, from the best authorities, is estimated at 740 miles from Montreal to Halifax. A through knowledge of the immeasurable benefits which would result to the Provinces, as well as to the shareholders, enabled the Directors to succeed in obtaining the Act of Incorporation, with the cheering support of the Provincial Legislatures. Abundant occupation

will, by this Line, be afforded to many thousands of the unemployed; a profitable field will be opened for the surplus population of the Mother-country, increased facilities for lumber operations, more regular employment for the mercantile navy, with a closer connection with the parent country, will be the further benefits conferred by the Line. The Provincial Government has liberally responded to the application for a free grant of land in aid of this great undertaking, by placing the Crown lands, for ten miles on each side of the road, for the whole distance through which the railroad shall pass, at the disposal of the Imperial Government, for that purpose; as well as a free right of way for the road and stations, through all private property requiring to be purchased, together with a guarantee of £20,000 sterling per annum for interest on the capital to be expended. The New Brunswick Government, according to public documents, have munificently made a corresponding grant of the Crown lands for ten miles on each side of the road, and a guarantee of £20,000 per annum; and the Government of Nova Scotia, also, a similar grant of five miles on both sides of the road, and £20,000 per annum. Thus, £60,000 is granted for the yearly interest on the capital expended.

“Upon the completion of this Line, the Mother-country will be brought within nine days of the capital of the Canadas—a shorter period than was usually occupied in a journey from Edinburgh or Dublin to London fifty years ago. To proceed from Halifax to Montreal, even now, occupies about five days, which the present Line will reduce to twenty hours. The entire passenger traffic to and from the Canadas, with a population of upwards of 2,500,000, as well as the great passenger traffic through and from the United States and Western Lakes, will go

over the Line, while a route will offer to the great agricultural countries of the Canadas to send, during the winter, that produce to the Mother-country which, at the present moment, they are shut out from for more than six months of the year. The road will thus not only keep open a ready market for produce, but will have the effect of lessening, in England, the prices of the great necessaries of life. The contemplated line of emigrant steamers will enable, during the winter, dead stock to be weekly sent to England; while the great salmon and cod fisheries will be rendered as available to the Mother-country as the Scotch and Irish fisheries are now. Along the line of railroad countless thousands will settle; and each year's development of industry and population will add to the traffic returns.

“From the past experience of other Lines, the great desideratum of a line of railroad through an extended course of wooded country should be a working Line, strongly constructed, but one formed on the least expensive and most simple plan. It is not deemed necessary that the Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Railroad should vie as a work of engineering beauty, costly detail, and stupendous skill; it is intended to make this Line simple, homely, though strong. The timber of the forests will form the basis of a grand trunk road, on which the iron rails will securely rest. Thus, the felling of the forests will form the foundation, and hence will be removed the necessity of expensive embankments and macadamized ground-works. The directors can thus secure a substantially-made Line, superior, in many respects, to the older ones, while they will also secure to the shareholders an immediate rate of interest, unaccompanied by deductions of expensive contracts, and engineering items of costly requirements.”



The principle laid down, of constructing a "line formed on the least expensive and most simple plan," was the sound one, and if carried out, would ere this have united the Provinces by a good railroad. In the United States, in all the new districts, the railways are perfectly unpretending in their engineering: they answer well in a wooded, wilderness country, and in the Lower Provinces would have worked with economy and certainty.

The railway above referred to secured as patrons, Lieutenant-General the Earl of Cathcart, Lieutenant-General Lord Seaton, Lieutenant-General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., all recent governors in British North America. The Author was appointed deputy-chairman.

The prospects of the company were most cheering, until a representative from Nova Scotia, who fostered in his brain a "line of his own," came in hostile contact with the secretary. The Colonial Office, it was stated, had a pique against the latter, who was not a particularly agreeable individual, and it was also, and truly, said that the Charter had lapsed; and thus, by the interference of one Province, and the jealousy of others, this noble project fell to the ground.

In New Brunswick an estimate was made, which received the approval of the Legislature. It was proposed to construct a railway at £1500 per mile, which would have been about the American price in the "far west." The Provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, after all his interference, has not yet procured

a line of railway; and to that gentleman the Colonists may attribute the resignation of all the gentlemen, who were working heart and soul to carry out the "Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia Railway," which, but for the unwise jealousy of others, would speedily and with ease have raised the capital required, and carried out the original intentions of the Act conferring upon it a Provincial Charter. It is now said that Mr. Jackson, M.P., the eminent contractor, is decided upon commencing operations to construct a railway from Halifax to Quebec this summer. But he proposes to make the line equally as solid as an English one, and on the same expensive principle; £7000 a mile, we believe, is the estimate. All we can say is (and we have personally gone over a great part of the country through which this line will run), that at that estimate the undertaking will not, for many years to come, pay a half per cent. per annum on the capital invested. The Provinces offering certain guarantees to cover loss, it is assuredly to be expected that engineers and contractors will build an expensive line,—hence their large profits. But for the country through which it will pass (fully five hundred miles of Pine and Hacmatack forests), a line at from £1500 to £2000 a mile would fully answer all purposes, and return a fair interest.

The melancholy fate of the Shubenacadie Canal ought to be remembered. This was designed to connect the chain of Lakes, stretching in one line from a mile of Halifax Harbour, to the Shubenacadie River,

which takes its rise in these lakes, and in a rapid and deep stream, with a tide rising and falling fifty feet, disembogues itself in Cobequid Bay. The canal was intended to form a direct water communication with the Mines Basin and Bay of Fundy, thus forming a route for coasting-vessels bound for St. John's and other important points in New Brunswick, across Nova Scotia, instead of going round the dangerous navigation of Cape Sable,—a voyage which frequently occupies a week; and the worst part could have been overcome by the canal in seven hours.

The works of the canal, originally undertaken with great spirit and large capital, are now all mouldering to decay. The locks were constructed of expensive granite, worked up and sent from Aberdeen across the ocean. Stone of the first quality was positively quarried out, and thrown aside to make way for the granite blocks from Scotland. Locks constructed of the rough-hewn oak and haematack, in which the forests abounded, would have answered all the purpose, placed in position with a pile-driver. The canal, as we have said, was never finished, and the granite locks are fast tumbling to pieces. So much for expensive beginnings!

It may be answered, that the railway requires some expensive cuttings. There are a couple of mountain-ranges, and these, until the line paid, could be crossed by stages. The Americans adopt this principle in their early railways. We once crossed over the Alleghany mountains, Pennsylvania, in a stage coach, having arrived at the base by rail-cars, and met rail-cars on

the other side to carry us on. This was in 1834. Provincials, adopt the same plan, if you are wise!

Assured of the vast benefit which would be conferred upon the British North American Provinces by a regular intercolonial communication, in 1852 I tried the experiment, and to carry out my views purchased a very fine steamer, of 1100 tons burden, built in Philadelphia, and designated the "Albatross." I ran her regularly during last summer from New York, calling at Halifax, Nova Scotia—Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island—Miramichi, New Brunswick, and from thence to Quebec, Lower Canada, and back again. The Legislatures of the various Provinces passed acts conferring certain grants of money for this service. The Colonists were in raptures at the project, and the service might have proved one of considerable profit, but from the danger of the navigation, and the exorbitant sums charged for insurance, amounting to 1950 dollars for each trip from New York to Quebec and back, calling at the intermediate ports. Such an impost as this, for the five summer months' service from June to October inclusive, when alone the navigation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is free from ice, would amount to 14,500 dollars, and consequently the enterprise could never pay. I resold the "Albatross," and she now sails from New York to Vera Cruz.

That my endeavours to facilitate intercolonial communication were appreciated by the government of the various provinces interested, is proved by the flattering letters which are in my possession from the

highest authorities. That they were also highly approved in the United States, where the citizens of that great republic are ever alive to sound commercial undertakings, is shown in the following extract from the 'New York Herald:'—

“ We perceive that a fresh impetus has been given to our daily increasing connection with the British Provinces, by the establishment of a line of steamers from our port, which are intended to sail bi-monthly, for Halifax and Quebec, calling at Pietou, Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island, Shodiac and Miramichi, New Brunswick, and from thence to Gaspe and Quebec. This is decidedly the most important line ever established for the development of the vast resources of the British maritime Provinces, and cannot fail to render essential service to the extension of our commerce with those noble portions of Queen Victoria's North American possessions. The route chosen, to tourists, is one of peculiar interest, and will become, we have not the least doubt, a very favourite 'track' for travellers and those seeking the invigorating sea-breezes of the northern shores of the continent. The scenery on the coast up to Canada is very fine, while an opportunity offers of visiting the interesting town and harbour of Halifax, with its superb bay and basin, then skirting along the Nova Scotia shore, with its bold and wild points of interest. The Gut of Canso will be steamed through, with Cape Breton on the right,—that interesting portion of the continent where the French received their first blow from the English and Colonial forces, at the ever to be remembered Louisburg. Pietou will then be visited, with its fine settlements skirting the bay. Then along Northumberland Straits, with New Brunswick on the one side, while the fair and fertile island

of Prince Edward's, with its verdure to the water's edge, lies smilingly on the waters of the Gulf. The visit to Charlottetown, the capital of the Island, with the fine harbour of Hillsborough, exceeds in beauty anything along the coast. Miramichi, that great northern outport of New Brunswick, is well worthy of a visit; while entering the noble St. Lawrence from Gaspé to Quebec, the scenery cannot be exceeded for beauty and loveliness. In a commercial point of view, this line will be of great value, and as an evidence of the interest taken in the intercolonial route, the legislatures of the various provinces have voted large sums of money in furtherance of its operations. Now that the English Colonial Secretary in London has refused all aid to the great Halifax and Quebec railroad, the Colonists will greet with pleasure this opportunity of communication by steamers, so opportunely carried out by one of their enterprising and talented landowners."

In selecting a steamer for this route, I was fortunate in procuring one which, from its economy of consumption of fuel, was in every way adapted to the service.

The engines of the Albatross had attached to them Pirsson's Patent Condensers, which operated by condensing the steam after it had performed its duty in the cylinder, and again forcing it into the boiler in the state of pure distilled fresh water: by this admirable invention all deposit upon and corrosion of the boiler was avoided. Nor was this the only advantage, for if the "blowing off" of the water from the boiler to preserve its necessary state for steam use, be deducted, it saved sixteen and two-thirds per cent. of steam, or in

other words, three per cent. of coal. The boilers only consumed half a ton of coal per hour, and with this an average speed had been made, from New York, of thirteen miles an hour, the passage through the Sound against a seven-mile current.

The build of this steamer, while it ensured great speed from her clipper form, enabled her to carry a large cargo. She could easily stow away four hundred and fifty tons freightage, or 3500 barrels.

She had patent parabolic propellers, and of her first trial at New York the following was the result:—  
“The ship made the run from the Navy Yard shears, to the Fort and back, in seventy-five and a half minutes, going down against the tide and a strong headwind in forty-six minutes, and returning over the same distance in twenty-nine and a half minutes. This is equal to thirteen and two-thirds miles an hour in still water. The propeller of the Albatross is geared to make one and three-fourth turns to one turn of the engine. The whole number of revolutions of the propeller, from the shears to the Fort, and back again to the shears, was 4760, which, at twenty feet pitch of the propeller, is 95,200 feet, which the propeller ran over. The distance which the ship ran over in that time was 87,600 feet, leaving for the entire ship only 5440 feet, or less than six per cent.”

The Author entertained at Halifax, as well as at Quebec, the heads of departments, on board his ship; and the following account, from the ‘British North American’ of July 9th, 1852, will give some idea of

the enthusiasm inspired by my starting this new line. But, first, I must entreat the candid reader to believe that I do not insert what follows, out of any spirit of self-glorification.

“Soon after the arrival of the steam-ship Albatross, on Tuesday, cards of invitation were issued by Colonel Sleigh, to His Excellency the Administrator of the Government and family, Admiral Sir G. F. Seymour and family, the heads of departments, officers of the Army and Navy, and ladies, and other gentlemen and ladies, friends of the gallant proprietor of the Albatross, at a *déjeuner*, at two o'clock on Wednesday.”

The usual loyal toasts were of course drunk. In giving the health of the President of the United States, I made some observations, which I insert here, to show that, however in this Work I cannot approve of Republican institutions, as compared with those of my own country, still I harbour no unfriendly feeling towards the people of the Union.

“Having drunk the health of Her Majesty, and the Governor of this Province, I have a third toast to propose, which I know will be enthusiastically responded to. Gentlemen, we live on a continent of matchless fertility and unbounded commercial resources; and although we are subjects of the Queen, yet there are others who speak the same language, who bow at the same shrine, who adore the same God, and who recognize the same sentiments of chivalry, which we have been taught from infancy; and although they do not bow to the benign sway of the same Sovereign, yet we must not forget that they are brothers—



that they spring from the same stock, and that we should be united in a bond of brotherhood, with the hands of fraternal intercourse stretching out to each other, as we overspread this beautiful continent. I propose to you the health of the President of the United States,—a country of vast extent and unlimited importance, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and almost from the frigid to the torrid zone,—a country possessed of boundless resources, and rearing the productions of every clime,—a country whose people are remarkable for their public spirit, enterprise, and energy, and who I am sure we ought all acknowledge are worthy descendants of our common parent; and though we may regret that they did not adhere to the Monarchy, as we have done, yet we may take an example from that great, enterprising, energetic, and intellectual nation.”

The United States' Consul, in replying to my toast, made the following very sensible remarks :—

“ If there ever was a moment when I felt more embarrassment than at any other period of my life, that moment is the present, when I am called upon to respond to a toast in honour of the Chief Magistrate of my country. Allow me to say, Sir, that whenever an American is in a foreign country, and the health of the President of the United States is drunk as cordially as it has just been received, a thrill of pleasure touches his heart, which finds a ready and cordial response in the millions of his countrymen who reside at home. I find myself mingled together here, Sir, with military men of another country—with men whose pride it is to own—

‘ The flag which braved a thousand years  
The battle and the breeze ;’

and I see around me a fair portion of the human family, different from my own country-women; but, Sir, the same *language* is common to us all—the same philanthropic spirit animates our hearts; and we all feel the truth of your generous declaration, that if ever differences existed between the inhabitants of our respective countries, they should be now buried in oblivion. From that land, which is alike your *mother-country* and ours, has civilization extended to this continent, and to her are we indebted for many of the blessings and privileges we enjoy. We have sprung from the same stock; our principles of freedom have become almost identical; and I say to you, Sir, and to those present, that I believe there never was a tangible reason for any differences between your countrymen and mine. There never would have been *any* differences, if there had been any opportunity for explanation between the parent and the child. But let that pass; let the past be forgotten: I hope it may ever be. Let us not think of it here. This is a day of no common occurrence. We have met to celebrate the opening of a new channel of navigation between the Colonies of British America, and with the United States. And when I speak of maritime improvements and enterprise, I must not pass over in silence the achievements of a gentleman whom I see here to-day, one who stands in a proud position, that I would give the world to occupy. When that gentleman—pursuing his cherished idea of connecting the mother with the daughter, the old world with the new—was met with doubts and discouragements—nay, with the arguments of astute philosophers, that his enterprise must prove a failure, he was not disconcerted by opinions which seemed so much higher than his own. *His* motto was like my own—‘*nil desperandum;*’ and we live this day to see the value of Mr. Cunard’s la-

hours to the present generation, and in all time to come. He might have been baffled by a thousand adverse opinions, but he persevered, and his triumph will be remembered as one of those signal victories which have advanced the happiness of the human race. I only wish, Sir, that his return may be grateful as the plentiful shower after a dry spell,—that his coffers may be filled as the result of his tact and his industry, in connecting the old world with the new. The enterprise in which you, Sir, are now engaged, is of a more limited character, but still, important in its results. You have taken a bold stand, by purchasing this splendid boat, and placing her on the route at once; and though 'tis not in mortals to command success,' none can deny that you deserve it. I am confident that your efforts will result in a successful issue. If I know the spirit of my own countrymen, they will give this enterprise most liberal encouragement. They will do so with more zest and energy when they become better acquainted with your country. At present these Colonies are comparatively unknown. The Mother-country knows nothing of them. My own countrymen know nothing of them. The heads of my Government know nothing of them. This I know, Sir, for I have recently had communication with the head of my Government, who expressed his astonishment when I told him that Nova Scotia alone has resources of more value than any State in the Union—California not excepted. How are these resources to be developed and made available? By encouraging such enterprises as this, which brings to your shores men of enterprise and capital. Colonel Sleigh is not a Nova-Scotian, but should you hail him to your shores with less enthusiasm for that? Show me the man who has invested so much money, at so great a risk, in an enterprise pregnant with such enlarged benefits to

the people of this Province, and tell me if he is not entitled to your respect and sympathy. Is there a man that will not exclaim, 'Success to his cause!' You have launched into a project of great hazard, Mr. Chairman; but let the Governments and people of British America sustain you as they ought, and success is certain—a success which will bring greater prosperity to their doors. But this is not all. I hope not only to see these Colonies more united and prosperous among themselves, but more closely united with my own country. I had the honour of being in company with His Excellency Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, a few days ago, and I said to him then, as I say to you now, the Colonies know nothing of each other. How is it then you are going to unite them together and make them better acquainted? It is only by encouraging such enterprises as this, that you will produce such a result."

The entertainment I gave at Quebec in July last, was thus referred to in the 'Quebec Mercury' of the following day :—

"On invitation to a *déjeuner à la fourchette* from Colonel Sleigh, the proprietor of this fine steam-ship, a select party of ladies and gentlemen assembled yesterday about noon on board of the Albatross, and had a beautiful sail up and down the St. Lawrence. Among the company were the Honourable Messrs. Hincks, Morris, Rolph, Cameron, Drummond, and Morin, several of the Judges, the Mayor and Town Councillors, the Members of Parliament for the city, the Harbour-Master, the Shipping-Master, Magistrates, the chief Officers of the regiments in garrison, several of the leading and influential merchants, and other citizens, and about fifty ladies.

"At a quarter past twelve, His Excellency the Governor-

General, attended by Colonel the Hon. R. Bruce and Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine, A.D.C., stepped on board, being received with every mark of respect; the band playing the national anthem, the gentlemen on the quarter-deck uncovering, and a salute being fired from the steamer's guns. His Excellency and staff, accompanied by Colonel Sleigh, inspected the vessel, and then, having an engagement at three o'clock, left the Albatross under another salute.

After the visit of His Excellency, the vessel was got under weigh and steamed out of the harbour; the weather being most beautiful, and the magnificent scenery on each side the St. Lawrence presenting a panorama indescribably attractive. The steamer proceeded along the south side of the island, down the river several miles, and having returned by the same route, was steered into the North Channel, where she was anchored close under the Montmorenci Falls,—a situation never before reached by so large a vessel. The numerous company on board having been gratified with a prospect of the sublime spectacle, from this well-chosen *point de vue*, descended to the saloon, where a champagne collation awaited them.

“On the conclusion of the toasts and speeches, the gentlemen adjourned again to meet the ladies on the quarter-deck, and the steamer was then turned towards the City, the band of the Fifty-fourth Regiment continuing as before to enliven the scene with their performance. The company landed before six o'clock, all highly gratified with the inauguration of the new line.

“As the Albatross approached the wharf, after a detour of some miles above the town, she exchanged salutes with the steamers ‘Quebec’ and ‘Lady Elgin,’ on their way to Montreal.”

The Halifax papers expressed the pleasure of the

Colonists, and their delight, at the new line of inter-colonial communication.

“The excitement at New York consequent upon the establishment of this line has been great. Every paper in the city has had long articles congratulating the owner and all concerned, for their foresight and judgment in opening up a route which must result in great profit and mutual advantages to themselves, the United States, and the Colonies, and tend, more than anything else, to cement that good feeling which is daily increasing between our neighbours and ourselves—a link of unity of interest, sentiment, and reciprocity of all that is chivalrous and noble, which time and no future events will be ever able to sever. Upon leaving her wharf at New York, the Albatross passed Jersey City, where Cunard’s steamer saluted her; a compliment which the brass six-pounders of the Albatross at once returned, as well as by lowering her colours—the Union Jack at the fore, and the American ensign aft\*. Instead of proceeding to sea by Sandy Hook and the Narrows, the Albatross bravely steered for Long Island Sound, and passed through ‘Hell Gate’—a performance made for the first time by an ocean steamer, and a pilotage which is sure to be followed by the other Atlantic lines for Europe.”

At the entertainment given by me at Quebec to the Earl of Elgin, the Governor-General, his Staff,

\* She was at that period an American ship. I registered her, under British colours, in the Provinces.

and the Members of the Government, the following very flattering address, from the Head of the Executive Government, was delivered by the Honourable Francis Hincks, Inspector-General :—

“ Few were more disposed than the Canadians to receive strangers with hospitality ; none were more hospitable than the citizens of Quebec : and no part of Canada was more interested in undertakings such as the enterprise of Colonel Sleigh, than this city. The citizens of Quebec anxiously desired to see the commerce of the St. Lawrence extended, and to have more frequent intercourse with the other Provinces. A strong feeling with regard to such frequency of intercourse had sprung up within the past few years. Trade with the lower Provinces was rapidly increasing, and the effect of this rapidly increasing trade had been already beneficially and sensibly felt. The public of Canada must feel deeply indebted to Colonel Sleigh for what he had already done, and he had no hesitation in saying that there was every desire on the part of the Government to afford every encouragement to this line of steamers. He repeated, there was every desire to assist an undertaking, of the advantages of which to this Province, too much could not be said.”

The ‘Quebec Morning Chronicle’ of the 20th of July, 1852, wrote :—With a “ few such men as Colonel Sleigh, Canada would make more progress in two years than she has hitherto done in twenty. He not only deserves success, but (else we much mistake) will command it. On the principle of granting a patent to the discoverer of any new application of science, Colonel Sleigh ought to receive for some years a

legislative grant from this and the other Provinces, to place him beyond the possibility of failure. The British Government acted so with Mr. Cunard, the American Government in a similar manner with Mr. Collins, and Canada must, as in duty bound, do something for Colonel Sleigh.”

Let me repeat that I do not refer to my exertions devoted to the welfare of the maritime provinces and Canada in any spirit of egotism. My object is to show that it has not been merely by words and writings that I have attempted to serve those Provinces. I have embarked largely in their behalf, and am therefore the more competent—I take the liberty of saying—to pass an opinion upon those topics of political, social, and commercial interests, which have become familiar by actual observation. A traveller running rapidly through a country can know nothing of the working of its political and social system. All his experience is optical, and often illusive. He sees things generally with a pleased and favourable eye, which is the natural result of the excitement of a constant change of scene. But let a man embark capital in the country, and he will soon become most familiar with the true state of affairs. He is competent to judge of them, and pass his opinion upon facts as they really present themselves, and not as they are supposed or appear to be. Many circumstances, which it is not necessary here to allude to, have rendered the success of the British North American Provinces a subject at all times of peculiar interest to me.



My efforts to complete a perfect inter-colonial communication have been appreciated; and I am satisfied that the people of those Provinces know and feel that it is not by mere words that I have shown my devotion to their interests, and that in this my present effort to awake an interest on their behalf, I am solely actuated by an ardent desire for their welfare and happiness. In Prince Edward Island a public dinner in the House of Assembly was given to me, on which occasion, in returning thanks for my health, I made the following remarks upon the importance of inter-colonial communication, and our policy with reference to the United States:—

“ This occasion is one to celebrate the extension of the commercial intercourse with the United States,—a nation for whom I entertain the most sincere and lively feelings of regard and lasting friendship—a people whose intelligence, ability, and greatness only one can equal, and none surpass. Saxons themselves and Saxons ourselves—a nation has arisen in this western world, the brilliant effulgence of whose glory no future destiny can cloud. I regret that the fisheries of our coast should offer for one second a topic of uneasiness or misunderstanding; but while treaties between nations, decided, ratified, and confirmed by the plenipotentiaries of their respective Powers, have given us certain rights, can we be accused of precipitancy or a desire to act unjustly, if we require those rights to be respected? As far as I myself am individually concerned, I consider it a bad policy to prevent Americans fishing in our waters; but my opinion I do not wish to be considered of any importance, in comparison with the judgment of

older and wiser men than myself. But, Sir, I just heard the American Consul remark, that, equally desirous as he was for reciprocity in trade with the United States, still his country was not to be 'bullied into it.' Now, Sir, I can assure that gentleman, that my country is too powerful—her navies too great—her armies too brave—and our people too chivalrous—ever to condescend to 'bully' any nation, much less that powerful nation on our borders, for whom she entertains such lively feelings of regard and affection. But, Sir, while I, as an officer and a subject of the Crown, may resent a reflection upon her honour, it does not follow that I approve of the present restrictions enforced upon American fishing-vessels. There is now a schooner lying captive in our bay, a lawful prize. This unhappy event reminds me of an anecdote narrated by an officer in the Royal Navy, at a public dinner to which I was invited the other day in Boston, to celebrate the birthday of our Gracious Sovereign, and at which I may remark, I heard from the brother of our esteemed Attorney-General, who sits upon my right, one of the most masterly pieces of eloquence it has ever been my good fortune to listen to. The Hon. William Young, the Speaker of the House of Assembly in Nova Scotia, on that occasion, did an honour to his country, of which Nova Scotia might well feel proud. The officer in the navy alluded to—who was, by the bye, the Admiralty Agent for one of our esteemed landed proprietors, the Hon. Mr. Cunard—said, that in the American war of 1812, when cruising off Boston in a British man-of-war, it was his orders from the English Admiral on the station, that should he fall in with and capture an American vessel, if it belonged to a poor man, he was to permit his prize to proceed unmolested. Might we hope that the example so nobly set us by one of those good old English gentlemen will

be followed by the Imperial Government! May we unite in an earnest appeal, that the schooner prize may be permitted to return home, and her poor owner have it in his power to tell his wife and children that the English people desired not to snatch from their mouths the crumbs earned by their hardy weather-beaten parent."

The following comprehensive remarks, from the 'Quebec Morning Chronicle' of the 20th of July, 1852, furnish an interesting summary on intercolonial communication :—

"Once more we repeat, there is nothing which both Quebec and Montreal want so much as a line of steam-ships between Quebec and Liverpool, and another line between Quebec and the ports of the Lower Provinces, connecting with other lines between Newfoundland and Halifax, Halifax and Boston, or New York and Halifax, and the Bermudas, or the West India Islands. Active measures are being adopted by the Government of Canada, if we are rightly informed, to secure the one; private enterprise has already done much in securing the other. The railroads, now building, must without steam-ships be rather injurious than beneficial to the seaports of this Province. They will enable the importer to bring in his goods by the United States Atlantic ports, the producer to send his produce to United States markets. Steam-ships, on the other hand, will enable importers to bring in their goods *viâ* the St. Lawrence, and to profitably send off produce by the same channel. Twenty years ago, steam between this port and Halifax was contemplated and indeed attempted. The Royal William was built and put upon the route, but the enterprise signally failed. Why that enterprise failed, and

why this one should succeed, may be easily perceived. When the Royal William was launched, steam, as applied to sea-going vessels, was comparatively in its infancy. The speed obtained by such vessels was inconsiderable, and there were few sea-going vessels propelled by steam on American waters. Now, steam-ships are numerous in America. The United States have within the past few years taken a position, with regard to ocean steam-ships, second only to Great Britain. There are vessels of the first class propelled by steam almost daily sailing from New York, Boston, and other ports, for Liverpool, and to the ports of the Southern States, for California, for ports in New Brunswick, and for Nova Scotia. Travelling by steam-ship is rapidly becoming in America as popular as travelling by rail. There are several vessels plying between Newfoundland and Halifax, one, the Cherokee, between St. John's, Newfoundland, Halifax, and Boston; another, the Sir John Harvey, between Boston and Halifax; and the Eastern City and the Admiral, between Boston and St. John, New Brunswick. The Albatross has, then, advantages which the Royal William had not. Were she only to ply between Quebec and the ports of the Lower Provinces, she would be in a position to avail herself of the advantages of a connection with lines of European, intercolonial, and United States (coasting) steam-ships. At the same time few, whose business is with either Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Newfoundland, will go to these places by river and rail to New York and Boston, and from thence by steam-ship to their places of destination, while the Albatross is afloat to carry them direct.

“The arrival of the Albatross at this port may well be called a new era in the history of the Provinces. In a great measure she will supply the loss of the Halifax rail-

road. She will carry to Prince Edward Island, to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, Canadian produce, and come back freighted with the riches of the ocean, the products of the tropics, and the stuffs of New England and New York. More than that, she will expose to the view of the observing traveller a country, bordering on the St. Lawrence below Quebec, the value of which we ourselves have not yet sufficiently appreciated. She will be instrumental in tempting the capitalist of other lands to follow the example of her enterprising owner, and embark capital in schemes offering every prospect of remuneration, and eminently calculated to advance the prosperity of this country. All that these Provinces need is capital: their resources are incalculable. The ocean which washes their shores swarms with untold wealth, the land is fertile, the people industrious, the rivers and lakes surpass those of any other country; water-power, for moving machinery, is everywhere available, the mineral wealth is inexhaustible, and a line of villages extends for three thousand miles, there being almost an unbroken thread of houses from the lowermost parish on the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior. Who shall say then that a line of steam-ships between Quebec and Halifax, or that another between Quebec and Liverpool, will not ultimately pay? He who would say so, in the spite of all this, would be reckless of assertion indeed. It is not a few passengers which are to determine the success or failure of the enterprise, however. Much will depend upon the energy and prudence of the gentleman who has set it afoot. If he is in a position to freight his own vessel, he will soon reap his reward. The difference between the price of a barrel of flour in Canada and the price of a barrel of flour in Charlottetown must be an ample recompense for the trouble and expense of purchas-

ing and carrying it. The difference in the price of flour there and in the Lower Provinces, is always greater than the difference between the price of flour in Liverpool and Quebec. Yet on the latter difference of price many successfully speculate; and will it be supposed that one who has shown himself to be possessed of so much energy, will be less successful than those who have never exhibited a tithé of it? We should think not."

## CHAPTER IX.

PASSAGE IN THE BELLE ISLE FROM HALIFAX TO QUEBEC.—THE EL BODONS.—EMBARKATION.—THE TROOP-SHIP.—MAGDALEN ISLANDS, —A STEAMER ASHORE.—U. S. STEAMER MISSISSIPPI.—ST. LAWRENCE RIVER.—ISLE AUX COUDRES.—ISLAND OF ORLEANS.—POINT LEVI.—QUEBEC.—FALLS OF MONTMORENCI.—THE CITADEL.—WOLFE.—MIDSHIPMAN KINGCOME.—FORTIFICATIONS.—HÔTEL DIEU.—URSULINE CONVENT.—CATHEDRAL.—ENVIRONS.—PERCY WOOD.—EARL OF ELGIN.—LAKE ST. PETER.—RICHELIEU RIVER.—MONTREAL.—BAGGAGE-GUARD.—THE DRUNKEN CORPORAL.—ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.—SŒURS GRIS.—NOTRE DAME.—THE NUNNERIES.—BON SECOUR MARKET.—CHAMP DE MARS.—ST. JOHN'S.—THE BARRACKS.—DESERTERS.—AMERICAN SYMPATHISERS.—THE INDIAN SUMMER.—WINTER UNIFORM.

I HAVE twice sailed up the St. Lawrence River from Gaspé to Quebec. I have twice gone down that mighty stream: my first voyage was in a bark, bound for England, in 1823; my second in a steamer owned by me, in August 1852. I sailed up the St. Lawrence in 1846, in Her Majesty's ship 'Belle Isle,' 74; and again in 1852, in a steamer. To my voyage in 1846 I will now refer: my recollection of the country has been freshened by my trips of last summer.

On the 2nd of September, 1846, the 77th regiment,

commanded by Colonel, now Major-General, Paris Bradshawe, marched out of barracks, Halifax, for the dockyard, to embark on board the 'Belle Isle,' troop-ship, for passage to Quebec. We were preceded by the bands of the 14th, 2nd battalion, 60th, and 89th regiments. It was a lovely day, and the whole town turned out to bid farewell to the old 'El Bodons,' as the officers were proud to designate the corps, from the gallant stand my regiment and the 5th Fusileers made at El Bodon, against a heavy force, some 10,000 strong, of French cavalry. To my mind, the pet names given to many regiments in the British Army are particularly romantic and appropriate.

In Ireland, where I was afterwards quartered on the staff, the natives, ever happy in ridiculous comparisons, designated us the "ould pot-hooks and hangers," from the resemblance of the two 77's on the forage caps, to those early strokes in the caligraphic lessons of a child.

The scene presented by a regiment on foreign service embarking for another station abroad, is quite different from that which is so painful to the beholder when a corps is leaving home for distant climes. Then, indeed, the tear is dropped for the "girls we left behind us," and the band eloquently interpret the feelings of their comrades. As we marched through the streets of Halifax, "Garry Owen," "Lang Syne," and the "girls" were not forgotten, and, whatever we may have felt, a good many kind faces seemed sorrowful at parting with us. My regiment and the



battalion Rifle Brigade, which also accompanied us to Canada, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sullivan, the present Deputy Adjutant-general at the Horse-Guards, embarked from the dockyard in the Belle Isle, commanded by Captain Kingcome. The day previously, the officers had chosen cabins according to seniority, and I was fortunate in obtaining for myself and wife the aft-cabin on the larboard side, with a standing berth, and large port-hole, which rendered it very light, and my anticipatory arrangements had made it most comfortable for the voyage.

What with officers, their families, soldiers of the 77th and Rifle Brigade, and their women and children, about 1800 souls embarked: this number, with the crew, would present a total of nearly 2500 on board. The size of the ship, which had her lower guns out, was however so large, that her decks did not appear in the slightest degree crowded, although carrying such a numerous human freight. The baggage having been placed on board, the adjutants and field-officers' horses stowed away, and live-stock and poultry for our sustenance penned and cooped up, at daylight the following morning the Belle Isle warped off from the shore, and, with all sail set, we stood out majestically to sea, and by nightfall were out of sight of land.

The interior economy of so large a ship, with her crew and military passengers, was one of great interest. The soldiers were divided into respective messes, and one-fourth of the entire number was kept on deck

during regular watches. This relieved the decks below, and, in point of fact, lessened to that amount the sleeping accommodation required. The officers were each day in orders for watch; and thus, for the first time in my life, I passed many a long hour of the night, on duty, on the deck of a man-of-war. At first, to be roused at twelve at night or four in the morning, was more than I relished, but I soon got accustomed to it; and ere many days, we paced up and down, swallowing the raw fog off Newfoundland, drenched to the skin with the never-ceasing drizzle, with perfect indifference. I had a particular dislike to the 4 A. M. watch; 8 to 12 P. M. was the favourite, or the dog watches, 4 to 6 and 6 to 8 P. M.

The first night we were out at sea I had a little dispute, concerning what I considered an attempt to occupy some of the cabin precincts which belonged to me. On being released watch, at twelve P. M., on entering a passage leading to my cabin, and which belonged to it, I found some of my boxes, which occupied a spare berth, removed and placed on the deck, while a female form occupied their place. I at once accosted the intruder, and inquired who she was: in broken English I was informed she was ——'s maid-servant, and that she had taken possession by order of her master, one of the officers of the Rifle Brigade. The latter piece of news somewhat irritated me; and as I considered it a piece of very great presumption to turn in his servant into an adjacent space, which strictly belonged to my quarters, and which were

solely for my wife's maid, I at once suggested her withdrawal. With great reluctance, and no small hesitation, she obeyed. I saw the young lady depart, and I locked the outer cabin door, to prevent a fresh visit. In the morning, an investigation into the merits of the case took place before the colonels of the respective corps and Captain Kingcome, and the result was, I was declared as having sole right and title to the coveted space, and the maid-servant had to seek other quarters wherein to repose.

This scene had its origin in a previous misunderstanding between the officer referred to and myself. I was on guard one day in Halifax, when I was "turned out" by him on going the rounds. I ordered my guard to "carry arms"—the compliment he was entitled to, being, as he was, captain of the day. He at once remarked, "You should present arms to me." I said, "I thought you visited me as captain of the day, and as such, the garrison orders are to carry arms." "No," he replied, "I have taken another duty, and I visit you as field officer of the day." Well knowing that he was not entitled to a "present," I demurred to ordering my guard to pay him this compliment; but as he was senior officer, I struck upon a compromise. "If you order me, Sir, I will not only present arms, but put the men through the manual and platoon: I will obey your orders." Then "present arms." Present I did, when he inquired if "all was right;" I answered in the affirmative, and he rode off, telling me I could "turn in the guard." On

such trifling misunderstandings in the army, after-bickerings and coolness frequently arise.

A scene equally as absurd occurred to me when I was adjutant in Ireland. I was on parade one morning—an officers' parade—when the commanding officer, who was a strict disciplinarian and a very good soldier, came up to me and remarked, "Mr. Adjutant, you are not dressed regimentally; as adjutant you should show a better example to the officers and men." Quite surprised, I surveyed my uniform from head to foot, but could find nothing wrong. I then inquired, "What portion of my uniform, Sir, is incorrect?" "Your gloves, Sir; they are cotton instead of buckskin." And so they were, but the weather was very hot, and officers frequently wore them. I was rather annoyed at this rebuke, as I always prided myself upon being very strict in my uniform; and looking at my senior, I observed—I must confess now rather foolishly, but I was a few years younger then and rather hot—"Your coat, Major, is not regimental." He coloured, and inquired, "How so?" "Because a blue cloth frock-coat should be worn, instead of a blue grass uniform frock." This was a knock-down. I was ordered to "fall in," and heard no more of the matter, though I afterwards learnt serious thoughts were entertained of putting me "under arrest" for my contumacious conduct. But this was not done, as I suppose he thought better of it. It would have been too absurd for the commanding officer to report his adjutant under arrest for not having been properly

dressed on parade, when he himself was equally irregular in the same way; so Major-General Napier was saved a court of inquiry to decide the merits of the case.

On board the *Belle Isle* we sat down above forty officers to mess, and the weather being very fine, we enjoyed ourselves considerably. The band every afternoon played on the quarterdeck; and in promenading with the ladies, chatting, or enjoying the scenery that now and then presented itself, our time passed pleasantly enough.

Our wines and stores were most excellent. They were furnished by the agent of the regiment—and indeed of all the regiments in Halifax—W. M. Harrington, Esq., a merchant well known and very highly respected by the officers of the army, to whom he acts as agent and banker. I have been quartered in a good many stations at home and abroad, and have met, in civil as well as military life, with every class; but I can safely say I know of no one who more truly deserves and well merits the designation of a man of honour,—an upright, sterling, true-hearted, and faithful friend, than this respected gentleman. There is no one in the Province of Nova Scotia who in his personal character and upright conduct reflects greater credit on that Colony than my esteemed friend W. M. Harrington.

On Saturday we were off *St. Paul's*, an island beyond the north point of *Cape Breton*, and towards the afternoon could see the mountains ridging the

coast of Newfoundland, by Port-au-Basque. On Monday we had sailed past the Magdalen Islands, a group situated in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, sixty-four miles north-west of Cape Breton, and about the same distance north of Prince Edward, and about one hundred miles from Cape Anguille, Newfoundland, and two hundred and twenty-five miles from the French islands of Miqueton and St. Pierre.

The Magdalen Islands form a continuous ridge of land for above forty-two miles, running in a north-east and south-west direction. There are not more than about six or seven hundred inhabitants on the group, who are French Acadian fishermen. On Tuesday the Belle Isle was abreast of Cape Rozier, the extreme point of Gaspé, Canada East, and at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

The mention of Cape Rozier and Gaspé forcibly brings to my recollection an extraordinary accident which befell me at this spot last August, as I was proceeding in a steamer from Miramichi to Quebec. It was about five in the morning, and I was asleep in my berth, in a cabin which was on deck, when a violent concussion sent me flying out. I opened the cabin-door and stepped on deck, to see what had occurred, when I found a dense fog hanging on the waters, obscuring everything. The masts could not be seen, and forward of the funnel all was enveloped in mist and cloud. The captain was running about undressed, shouting "Stop her!" "Turn astern!" Passengers were in dishabille, flocking up from their berths

in a great state of consternation, while remarks, "We're ashore," "We're aground, hard and fast," passed from lip to lip. Greatly interested, being owner of the ship, in our fate, I lost no time in summoning the captain, and found from inquiries that he had been down in his cabin fast asleep, the ship having been left entirely in charge of a drunken pilot we had taken on board at Halifax, who had, judging by the log and dead reckoning, imagined we must have been ten miles to the north of Cape Rozier, and well in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. He accordingly altered the ship's course from north to north-west, and instead of our being up the river we had gone ashore; but whether to the southward or westward of Capes Gaspe or Rozier, we could not, on account of the fog, determine.

On my expressing to the captain my surprise that he should not be on deck at such an important and dangerous point of our voyage, and going at full speed, from ten to eleven knots an hour, when from the fore-castle the end of the bowsprit could not be seen, wrapt as it was in mist, and further, my surprise at the state of the weather not having been reported to him, he at once threw all the blame on the first officer, whom he said he had ordered to call him at three in the morning. This the first officer flatly denied, and begged to be excused taking the responsibility on his own shoulders: he asserted that the captain's orders, on retiring the previous night at eleven, were, that he was not to be called until six

A.M. From such gross negligence, in nine cases out of ten, ships and valuable lives are lost every year.

One of the boats was cleared, and, jumping into it with the captain, we lowered it, to take soundings. There was only one fathom (six feet) of water at the bows, and nine aft. We had thus gone up on a pretty even keel; but whether on a sand-bank or on the shore we could not determine at the moment. We pushed off in a direct line from the bows, and after two or three pulls the boat grounded. We jumped out, knee-deep, and wading for a short distance, were soon on a fine pebbly beach. We walked forward, and at about thirty feet observed a line of seaweed and broken drift on the shore; here was evidently high-water mark. We had grounded at low water.

Thus far this was in favour of the chances of getting off, if her bottom was uninjured. While determining this point, the vapour which hung so heavily, gradually rose, and before us we saw, within ten feet, a pine-forest, stretching down to the sand. On turning to look at the steamer, we saw her just emerging from the fog, her bows and bowsprit standing out in bold relief; then her foremast and yards were uncovered, and before many minutes, her funnel, main and mizen masts, and entire hull, were visible. There she lay, like a huge monster of the deep, reclining a little on one side, her bows high and dry. To render apparent our escape from even a worse fate, her bows were not twenty feet removed from a long sharp ledge of rocks, rising some thirty feet perpendicularly, which ran out beyond



her. Had she struck on this ledge, going at the rate we were, we must have split up in the centre and become a total wreck, with an inevitable loss of life and property\*.

The fog had now cleared off; the sun shone out brightly, and we perceived a clearing, with a shanty about half a mile to our right. Towards this I advanced, and proceeding through some fresh clover-grass, smelling deliciously fragrant with sparkling dew-drops clustering around, I crossed a zigzag fence, and was within the precincts of the cottage. An elderly woman, a Canadian, came out, and in answer to our questions informed us we were within Gaspe Bay, on a beach called *Grande Grève*, and that in a direct line from her cottage, over some high hills in the rear, the St. Lawrence River was not more than six miles; we also learnt that it was low water, and that about two the tide would serve. Thanking the good-hearted creature for her information, and rewarding her for her trouble, I had a refreshing draught of new milk, and we hurried to impart the information we had gathered to our expectant friends on board.

The scenery where we lay was most enchanting; but what part of this noble continent is not? It is all, from New Orleans to Gaspe, one continued panorama of interest and beauty. The further north, the more bold it becomes, with dense forests of pine and hacmatack skirting the shores.

\* The following week an emigrant ship was wrecked at this point, when numbers found a watery grave.

We now had all the coal in the bunkers shifted on one side, the cargo also as far as possible; and on the rise of the tide we gave her an uneven keel, and threw her off the perpendicular,—thus gaining the advantage of her round bottom to bring her up in shallower water. Full steam was put on, and her propeller reversed, with a stern movement, while all hands ran from side to side with measured tread, to “rock her.” She soon gave evidence of “life,” grated uneasily, and with a start ran off the ledge, stern foremost, into deep water. Three cheers were given for the gallant craft, and going, as we would say in the Army, “right about face,” her bowsprit was pointed out of the Bay, in which we never should have been, had common prudence and seamanship been exercised; and we gave this time Cape Rozier a wide berth, and were steaming up the St. Lawrence, on our right course, by nightfall.

All the damage this untoward event caused, was a loss of copper off the keel, and on sounding, we found she made no water in the hold. Before leaving, we were surrounded by a perfect fleet of fishing-boats, which came to proffer assistance. They at first took us for the U. S. ship of war ‘Mississippi,’ which was cruising about Bay Chaleur, to protect, or rather warn off American fishing-craft, from within the three-mile-line of “British reserve.”

An amusing incident occurred on the next voyage down of this steamer. She spoke the ‘Mississippi’ close in shore, and reported to me, on arrival at Char-

lottetown, "Spoke United States' steam-frigate 'Mississippi'—boats and all hands engaged fishing." This was about the best thing I ever heard, and was like Brother Jonathan all the world over—to go up to Canada to warn off Americans from fishing within the proscribed limit, and then to cast anchor a mile from shore and lay in a stock of cod for salting;—perhaps provisioning in this economical manner for the Japan Expedition, on which service the 'Mississippi' was to proceed after leaving the fishing-grounds.

On board H.M.S. Belle Isle again. On Wednesday, at four in the morning, being the seventh day since sailing from Halifax, we were off Cape Chat, and during the day were coasting, close in shore, the magnificent scenery of the district of Rimouski. The entire shore was studded as with one street of houses and villages; and here and there a tin-roofed church, with the cross, sometimes of large dimensions, bespoke the prevailing religion of the people.

The situation of some of those village churches was particularly romantic: they were commandingly placed on an eminence, with belts of timber judiciously left standing, to relieve the background. A mountain-stream frequently gurgled by, with a pretty bridge spanning its breadth. The long rows of poplar, with the Norman style of architecture, awakened an idea of other scenes and other countries, on the continent of Europe.

The houses were frequently very large, three or four stories high, studded with windows, and the uniform

tin-roofing sparkled in the rays of the sun. Orchards, heavily laden with fruit, bespoke prolific abundance, whilst the whole scene impressed one with the comfort and substantial prosperity, which were so extensively disseminated amongst the inhabitants.

I was particularly struck with the number of rivers which every now and then disembogued themselves into the St. Lawrence. There are no less than forty-three, with their mouths on the south side of the river, from Cape Gaspe to Point Levi, opposite Quebec. Long lines of mountains stretch parallel with its course on the eastward, until the river Saguenay is reached, when on both shores mountain-ridges add to the bold grandeur of the scenery, although the St. Lawrence is here twenty miles broad.

From Barnaby Island, where we took on board a pilot, to Orleans, a series of beautiful islands sprinkle the surface of the St. Lawrence, the chief of which are the Green Island, Red Island, Hare Island, Kamouraska Island, the Pilgrims, Brandy Pots, and numerous others.

The seignory of Kamouraska, belonging to a Canadian gentleman, is one of large extent, covering above two hundred square miles, and a prettily situated village on the Rivière du Loup is the fashionable resort of the Provincials as a watering-place in summer: here the river comes dashing along from a mountain source, winding through gorges of hills in the rear.

On Thursday morning we were abreast of the Isle aux Coudres, a seignorial possession of the Seminary

of Quebec. The navigation was here particularly difficult, from the narrowness of the ship channel, designated the Traverse, which is not more than fourteen hundred yards broad, having the Coudres and the shoals of St. Roach and English Bank on either side. We had our boats out, and, thus cautiously guided, the Belle Isle picked her way gallantly amid the difficulties by which she was beset.

The tide was running down with great rapidity—at the rate of seven knots an hour—which is a continued source of delay to sailing vessels bound up. When there is a light wind, they have to come to anchor, and await the turn of the tide.

Last summer I passed a ship at anchor below Bic Island, and on returning down the St. Lawrence a week afterwards, we met her off St. Ignace, about thirty-five miles below Quebec, still stemming against the tide. This is not always the case; but I have been informed, the passage from Cape Gaspé to Quebec frequently occupies sailing vessels as long a period to perform, as the time occupied in crossing the Atlantic. That the navigation is dangerous, is proved by the numerous wrecks one passes in going up the river. A line of steam-tug boats is loudly called for, and would pay well: there are at present a few at Quebec, but not half enough for the requirements of commerce.

The Island of Orleans was reached, and never shall I forget the pleasure at gazing upon that highly cultivated isle—to many for the first time. Every inch of

its nineteen miles' extent was covered with orchards, golden grain in the ear, and vegetable abundance. This valuable spot embraces an area of sixty-nine square miles, and contains a population of five thousand souls, all engaged in agricultural pursuits. The island, sometimes called Isle St. Laurent, is, in fact, the garden of Quebec, from whence she derives much of her marketable commodities. It is a seignory belonging to a Roman Catholic order in that city.

On sailing past the Island, a magnificent scene burst upon our view. Before us lay the mighty fortress of Quebec, with its battlements and craggy heights bristling with cannon; while, within the lines of its fortifications, rose up towers and steeples, glittering in the setting sun,—the red-cross banner of England saucily fluttering to the breeze, from its rakish flag-staff on an angle of the bastion, at Cape Diamond, which is three hundred and fifty feet above the bed of the river, frowning upon the ancient or lower town beneath. On our left was Point Levi, with its churches and houses, imbedded in trees; while, to the right, high mountain-ranges reached the horizon, and in a cleft in a gorge, down rushed and swept over a perpendicular rock of granite the noble Falls of Montmorenci.

The murmur of the water, descending two hundred and forty feet, reached the decks of the Belle Isle, while the white foam at its base relieved the dark wall over which it precipitated itself. Beyond Montmorenci was Beauport; and, in the distance, flowed

the St. Charles River—uniting its waters with the St. Lawrence, opposite the gardens of the Hôtel Dieu, a little below the site of the Intendant's Palace.

The wind having died away, we were a considerable time before we approached our anchorage. The twilight, which is so short in these northern latitudes, soon left us; and the lights of the city and an occasional flash from the barracks on the heights above, presented a new feature of interest.

We now fired two guns, and hoisted a lantern on the maintopmast, and burned blue lights as a signal to H.M.S. *Vindictive*, 50, which bore the Admiral's flag. We drew near the Admiral's ship, and were soon abreast of her, when our bower anchor was ordered to be let go, but it caught and choked the cable; another was then cast off, but it caught. At last our stream-anchor was cut loose, and it answered bravely its duty by dashing into the boiling current, and saving us from a collision with vessels near. Now the bower thought fit to cast itself off, and the other, not to be left alone, followed; and thus we were pretty securely moored, with three anchors out, for the night.

I was up early in the morning, to enjoy the prospect opened to our view; and the first news was, that Lady Alexander Russell, wife of Lord Alexander Russell, an officer in the Rifle Brigade on board, and brother to Lord John, the then Premier of England, had been delivered of a child during the night: we had had no casualty on the passage, which had oc-

cupied nine days, and her ladyship had thus added one member to our number.

I cannot forget however, in this place, to refer to poor young Kingcome, a midshipman on board, son of our kind-hearted and gentlemanly Commander. Poor little fellow! he had been particularly polite and attentive to my wife, always bringing for her, from his father's cabin, an arm-chair, and doing other little acts of courtesy. He was about twelve years old, and as handsome a lad as could be seen—the idol of his parents. In an after voyage, he had fallen from one of the yards into the sea. The alarm was given, “A man overboard!” and the boats were lowered; but, poor fellow! he sank to rise no more, before his bereaved father's eyes. Such is the mysterious working of Providence! Man must not murmur nor repine, but say, in the words of the Scripture, “The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: blessed be the name of the Lord.”

After a tour over Quebec, I returned on board—impressed with the idea that it was the most commanding and foreign-looking city I had seen on the American continent. The works of the citadel and fortifications cover an area of above forty acres, and the ramparts stand on the brink of cliffs, rising perpendicularly from one hundred to three hundred feet, except those lines running from the St. Lawrence river to the St. Charles; which, in fact, separate the suburbs from the citadel.

Those walls are now rendered comparatively use-



less, as the town has extended for more than three-quarters of a mile from St. John's Gate, the limit on this side of the citadel walls. Accordingly, those lines of fortifications running from St. Louis Gate to St. Vallière-street, above the Artillery Barracks, are now perfectly useless, as cannon operating from them would blow the suburbs to pieces. To render *new* Quebec a fortified position, the old walls would have to be demolished, and new works erected from Cape Cove, on the St. Lawrence, along Wolfe-street, just taking in Wolfe's monument, on the heights of Abraham, and running parallel to the west line of the city, beyond St. Ours-street, to the General Hospital, on the St. Charles river.

When Wolfe took Quebec, that portion of the New Town, now running up to the race-course from Sillery, comprised what were then called the Plains of Abraham, along which the gallant party marched, after landing at daybreak on the 13th of September, 1759; and off this point were stationed rafts of fire-stages and small vessels with artillery, with the Squirrel, Loestoff, Sea-horse, Eurus, Scarborough, Nightingale, Hind, and Lizard, sloops of war, and twelve smaller vessels of from two to fourteen guns, and transports with troops, ready for landing, after the first battalion had gained the heights. While Wolfe was preparing for his attack, and disembarking his troops at Sillery, now designated Wolfe's Cove, a very pretty feint was kept up off the French encampment, between the rivers Charlesbourg and Beauport,

by the boats of the fleet, during the entire night. It will be recollected that Beauport is about three miles and a half from the Falls of Montmorenci. The French encampment extended on that memorable occasion from the Batterie Royale, where a boom prevented egress into the St. Charles River, opposite Quebec, to the Falls of Montmorenci,—a distance of nearly six miles. Wolfe's encampment in July, preparatory to the attack, was on the left of the river Montmorenci.

During my visit to Quebec, last year, I was presented, by Alfred Hawkins, Esq., of the Harbour-Master's department, with a magnificent plan, executed with consummate ability by that gentleman, of "The Military and Naval operations under the command of the immortal Wolfe and Vice-Admiral Saunders, before Quebec;" and dedicated to "Those Members of the United Services of the British Empire, whose daring achievements this Plan is designed to commemorate and honour." This chart, a copy of which should be in the archives of every garrison library and repository of the records of the chivalry of England, was presented to me with the following kind and complimentary remarks from its gifted and patriotic compiler:—

"In presenting the accompanying engraved plans of the City of Quebec, and of the Military and Naval operations before the City, under Wolfe, in the year 1759, Mr. Hawkins hopes they may be acceptable; and that the regular intercourse established by Colonel Sleigh's steamer with the

British Provinces, may prove as beneficial to her owner as it must be advantageous to the Colonies.”

Quebec is comprised within a limit of about three miles and a half in circumference. That portion of the town below Cape Diamond, which is the most ancient, is called the Lower Town, and at the period of my visit, in 1846, it had suffered only two months previously from fearful conflagrations. The fires of 28th of May and 28th of June of that year extended their ravages into no less than seventy-one streets; and 2932 houses were burnt to the ground, fifteen being blown up to prevent the extension of the flames. But on revisiting the same spot last year—such is the vitality of everything in Canada—all remains of the conflagration had vanished, and more substantial edifices had replaced the old ones.

One never feels tired in wandering over Quebec. From the Citadel a matchless panorama of beauty lies beneath the feet,—a scene of unrivalled loveliness, not to be excelled, if equalled, in the world. Within the City, in the Upper Town, the attention is arrested, after passing up Mountain-street and through Prescott Gate—which the Americans once vainly attacked—by the Parliament-house, which stands on the right,—an edifice, with its recent improvements, in every way worthy of the seat of the Legislature of the United Canadas, the interior decorations combining, to my mind, all that dignity of purpose can require or wish for; indeed, regal splendour is not unworthily emulated in these halls.

The religious edifices, all solidly constructed, and many of them, such as the Hôtel Dieu, standing within park-like walls, planted with ancient timber, give an air of aristocratic solidity and grandeur peculiar to Quebec and Montreal. Then the names of some of those monastic retreats sound to the English ear so peculiar,—the Ursuline Convent,—Jesuit Monastery, now converted into a barracks,—the site of the Palace of the Intendants, and others equally foreign.

The Protestant Cathedral—where, through the politeness of the Governor-General's Aides-de-camp, I was placed in their pew last year—is a solid edifice, not boasting architectural pretensions, but very striking in its appearance, and the interior decorations are rather effective. The Roman Catholic Cathedral, opposite the Jesuits' Barracks and the Market-place, is an edifice 220 feet long and 180 broad, built of a cruciform shape, and capable of accommodating about five thousand persons. The dome is most imposing, being covered with tin, and the sun's reflection upon it renders it a striking object for miles off. The religious establishments of the Nuns are, in fact, hospitals of charity, where sisterly kindness and disinterested attention from those amiable ladies tend to assuage the pangs of disease. The Hôtel Dieu was founded by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, in 1637; and the Ursuline Convent was established in 1639, two years after, by Madame de la Peltrie.

The Castle Garden and Esplanade are fashionable resorts for promenade. In the Place des Armes is

the old château formerly inhabited by one of the French Governors. Payne's Hotel, which stood at the corner of Fort-street, opposite Durham-terrace, was the favourite hotel when I was in Quebec in 1846; but last year I found it closed, and the building, since the removal of the seat of Government from Montreal, turned into Government Offices, the Council Chamber, and other public departments.

Since Quebec has become the seat of Government, a great impetus has been given to the city. There are now two excellent hotels, Sword's and Russell's. The latter, in Palace-street, is a most comfortable house, as I can certify, from having resided there last year; the former, I have heard, is considered as the favourite of the two. But, during the summer months, the rush of American tourists is now so great, that both are crowded to suffocation.

Quebec is fast becoming, to the citizens of the United States, a favourite summer resort, and the boldness and grandeur of the fortifications afford great pleasure to that military-loving people, whilst our regiments, in the perfection of their drill and equipment, convince the most prejudiced that a "Britisher," with a bayonet, is a tough customer to handle, and closely approximates to a Yankee's idea of perfection—"half horse, half alligator, with a touch of a snappin' turtle."

The environs of Quebec, with the seats of the resident gentry, are imposing. Most of the mansions are surrounded by park-like grounds, railed in, with lodge gates, after the English fashion, and an air of opulence

and stationary residence is observable in all. I was greatly pleased with Percy Wood, the seat of the Earl of Elgin, the Governor-General, where I had the honour of dining last summer, and meeting a distinguished circle of Canadian celebrities. The house is approached through a long avenue of pine-trees, fully half a mile in extent, and so densely planted, that, on returning to Quebec late at night in my calash, I thought I had never seen what impervious darkness was before.

The château at Percy Wood has a magnificent prospect before it of the river St. Lawrence; and the alterations which were in progress, at the period of my visit, promise to make it one of the most complete residences in Canada. The elegance and grace of Lord Elgin's manners render him most popular with his guests, while the urbanity of the youthful Countess, the daughter of the late Governor-General, the Earl of Durham, adds not a little to the pleasure of a visit to Percy Wood, which is one of the most delightful reminiscences of Canadian hospitality, left upon the traveller's mind.

To return, after this digression, to the Belle Isle. I found on going on board, after my ramble over the city and environs, that orders had been received to hoist our baggage out, and for the head-quarter division of the 77th regiment, comprising the band, colours, grenadiers, light and A companies, to proceed at five P.M. in a river steamer for Montreal. At four we disembarked into a small steamer; and as we moored

off from the Belle Isle, we cheered the gallant ship, her good old captain and brave crew, with three times three,—a compliment which was returned by the yards being manned, and the sailors giving us three cheers, our band playing, "Should auld acquaintance," and "Rule Britannia."

At five we were on board the Montreal steamer. The bell tolled, and, punctual to her time, away she flew, high pressure, up the river, towards that city. There were a great many lady passengers on board, and our band, which was a most excellent one, charmed them with a variety of selected opera pieces; while dancing passed away the evening most delightfully. The passage-money from Quebec to Montreal was then only one dollar, which included a most excellent supper, and a very comfortable berth.

It was terribly hot during the night, and at four A.M. I was glad to leave my cabin for the promenade deck, to enjoy the cool and fragrant breeze of early morning. The scenery between Quebec and Montreal assumes a remarkable aspect: bold mountain-ranges give place to luxuriantly cultivated lowlands, teeming with life and the rich resources of agricultural industry. The whole country is studded, as far as the eye can see, with substantial houses, white as snow, surrounded by orchards and judiciously-arranged plantations, and here and there a glittering church-steeple emerging from the groves of greenwood by which those sacred edifices are almost invariably belted.

The waving corn-fields, and rustle of the wheaten sheafs, add tenfold to the beauties of Nature's works, which envelope this charming vista of rural abundance. Village after village studs the margins of the river on either side, which sometimes widens, and then resumes its natural breadth.

The names of these clusters of habitations bespoke our presence amongst a people of French origin: we here passed Magdalen, Gentilly, Becancour, Dumou-tier, St. Gregoire, all Canadian hamlets, and entered Lake St. Peter, which opens out to a width of about fifteen miles, and extends for twenty miles towards Montreal. At its head debouches the romantic Richelieu River, called after the eminent Cardinal, which flows from Lake Champlain through the Eastern townships; and on its banks are the now historical villages of St. Charles, St. Eustace, and St. Denis, memorable for the defeat of the insurgents in the rebellion of 1837-8, while Fort Chamblay, St. John's, and Isle aux Noix are now strongly garrisoned positions.

At seven o'clock we approached Montreal, which stood out boldly in the distance, presenting one mass of glittering steeples, domes, and massive stone wharves, fully a mile in extent, and the most costly and substantial in North America. Shipping of every size and nation, crowds of steamers, American and English, bateaus, canoes, timber-rafts, schooners in full sail, all covered the surface of the river; and the city, with its dark stone buildings and iron shutters, gave an impression of ancient grandeur; while towards the



west rose the Mountain, above six hundred feet high, along whose base, and upward, were charming houses and villa residences of the gentry.

Montreal is six hundred miles from Cape Gaspe, and one hundred and eighty from Quebec. Its position is one of vast commercial importance, standing, as it does, in the centre of all the carrying trade of the Canadas with the Lower Provinces and United States. At the present time, this city, through the numerous lines of railroad radiating from it, is placed in close connection with the Atlantic ports. There are now lines running to Boston, New York, and Portland: thus she is connected with three ports, each with lines of steamers to Europe. Montreal is further united by rail with Toronto and Quebec. You can go through to Boston or New York in eighteen hours; it could be done in twelve by express. It will thus be seen that this city is in a position to become one of the first in North America. As it is, the regularity and magnificence of its buildings, its wharves, public edifices, and business carried on, have placed it in a position of the very first commercial importance.

We were moored to the steamboat wharf by eight A.M., when my regiment disembarked, and, receiving orders to proceed to St. John's, there to be stationed on the Richelieu, marched for the Ferry, where they crossed over and proceeded *viâ* Chamblay. I was told off with a sergeant and twenty rank and file, on the baggage-guard, and remained behind in Montreal.

It was a broiling-hot day, and I was exposed to the sun, reflected from the stone wharves, for above ten hours, seeing the regimental baggage moved, and removed, measured, and carted off, to be re-conveyed by steamer to La Prairie, and from thence to St. John's by rail. I had to go to the Quarter-master-General's office and draw rations for my men for two days at the Commissariat.

A corporal on guard got drunk, and charged his sergeant with a bayonet, wounding him in the face. This was a most mutinous and serious offence: I had to handcuff the man, as he was violent, and march him to the main guard, where he was confined. The sergeant, however, having acted with irregularity in permitting the men to procure liquor, and the man having drunk some whisky on an empty stomach after a hard morning's work in the sun before I could draw their rations, I interceded with our Colonel in his favour. In consideration of these extenuating circumstances, and after great trouble and much official correspondence with the Adjutant-General, I saved him from a General Court Martial, by which, had he been tried, he would have been sentenced to death or transportation for life.

To show a "soldier's gratitude," I must mention, that after selling out of the regular service, some years after, I met one day this very man in uniform, and he never even saluted me, although I overheard him say to a comrade, "Why, there is my old officer!"—So much for Corporal Laughlin!

Having got through my day's work, I rejoined my wife at Doneganie's Hotel, a magnificent establishment in Notre Dame Street, but which was afterwards burnt down. It had been built for the town residence of the Governor-General, and was a granite structure. Everything was conducted in this hotel in the first style: the furniture was superb, and the attendance, all French waiters, most admirable, while the *cuisine* was of the most *recherché* character.

In walking over the city, I could not but remark the beauty of some of the shops and the extent of the streets: Great St. James's-street would reflect credit on London, and the marble edifices of some of the banks were really most imposing. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is the largest in America, and the turrets can be seen towering over the city. Its interior decorations are very costly, and the high altar, after St. Peter's at Rome, is as fine a thing as could be seen in Europe. The church is 255 feet long and 134 broad, and the walls attain an altitude of 112 feet. There are seven chapels and altars, and nine grand aisles. The pulpit is a fac-simile of Strasburg Cathedral. The east window, of stained glass, over the high altar, is 70 feet high and 33 feet broad, while all the other windows are 36 feet high by 10 broad. An idea can therefore be entertained of the superb appearance the interior presents. The church will contain 12,000 persons.

When I first entered the Cathedral, the solemn tone of the organ at Vespers, the choristers' chants,

the candles burning on the numerous altars, refulgent with gold and costly gems, the sombre and subdued light, reflected in a thousand prismatic colours from the stained windows, and mellowed by the rays of the setting sun, while the gentle tones of female voices, the Nuns of the Hôtel Dieu and Sœurs Gris (Grey Sisters) pouring forth from their hidden shrines strains of sweet melody, in concert with the fine voices of the monks, filled me with a religious awe, and impressed me with the grandeur of the scene.

The religious establishments in Montreal exceed in extent, if possible, those of Quebec. The Hôtel Dieu, the St. Sulpician Seminary, the nunnery of Notre Dame, and the nunnery of the Grey Sisters, are the principal, all with hospitals attached, and they are kept in the most perfect state of cleanliness and order, while the uniformly kind and tender solicitude of those amiable ladies, who have given up all, to tend the sick, 'the widow, the fatherless and distressed,' cannot be too highly commended. To obtain admission as a patient to the hospitals attached to the nunneries, it is only necessary to show the presence of God's hand, in striking down with sickness and disease the humble supplicant for the balm which shall heal. No inquiry as to faith or creed is made, and the Protestant is received, and as tenderly nursed as the Catholic communicant. The sick have not to go on crutches to governors of hospitals or purse-proud millionnaires, to ask for tickets of recommendation, and then, morning after morning, in cold, fog, and rain, herd together in

a damp passage, awaiting the death or cure of an inmate for the chance of admission.

Handsome equipages, with liveried servants, dash along the streets, while well-dressed ladies, *à la Parisienne*, give an air to the favourite promenades of a fashionable and opulent people. I went, on the morning after my arrival, with H. Driscoll, Esq., Q.C., one of Her Majesty's Prosecutors for Lower Canada, an old friend of my family, to see to me an interesting locale—the site of the house in which I was born. On entering St. Paul's-street, my friend pointed to Trinity Church, a recently-erected place of Episcopalian worship, and *the* Church of Montreal. Before it was a grassplot; and, to my regret, I was informed that on that spot had stood the house in which I first drew breath, which had been pulled down some few years back. Opposite is one of the most superb buildings in Montreal, the Bon Secour market, constructed of hewn blocks of grey granite, and presenting to the St. Lawrence river an imposing frontage of great length.

I was amused at a pun perpetrated by my friend. He remarked, "Sleigh, you went away a child, and you have returned a child." "How so?" I inquired, not at all approving of the infantile impression I seemed to have made, to draw forth the remark. "Because," he replied, smiling, "you left Montreal in arms, and you have returned in *arms*." This pun on my professional pursuits was not bad *before* dinner.

I went to see the regiments in garrison mount guard and troop the colours, in the Champ de Mars,

an extensive parade-ground in the heart of the city, surrounded by rows of old poplars. The number of well-dressed people and the assemblage of beauty would reflect credit on an English city. Indeed, in Montreal, you cannot fancy you are in America; everything about it conveys the idea of a substantial, handsomely-built European town, with modern improvements of half English, half French architecture, and a mixed population of the two races. The *habitans'* strange dress, with their grey cloth *capots*, with the scarlet sash tied round the waist, and *bonnet bleu*, with Indian mocassins, tastefully worked in beads of various colours, is certainly foreign. The Canadian women look very pretty, with the *mantelet* of grey-coloured cloth, stuff petticoat, and head-dress—mob or Normandy caps; and their feet, which are very small, look so saucy in those elegant little mocassins!

There are also to be seen stalking about numbers of Indians, with their squaws, their children tied to their backs in wooden cases, almost invariably sucking a piece of pork fat, tied with a string to avert the chance of suffocation. Canadian voyagers formed another motley group, with their half Indian dresses, bronzed faces, and flaringly-striped cotton shirts. Hunters, from the Hudson's Bay Company's regions, come in with peltries, to return with provisions for some distant fort. Then there is your regular Yankee "b'hoy," belonging to the river steamers, or on tours of trade with the natives. Throw into this crowd an odd monk, in his sombre vestments, a lady of charity,

hidden by a veil from vulgar gaze, swiftly proceeding, with head bended, on a tour of mercy or kindly mission, and Highland soldiers in the kilt, Infantry soldiers, with the (*becoming* ?) Prince Albert Chacos, Artillerymen, Sappers and Miners, Rifles, Officers, Aides-de-camp, gold-lace, cocked-hats and feathers, and you have a fair description of the motley masses, who every day swarm the streets of Montreal.

On Monday, I left this city, with the baggage-guard. I crossed over to La Prairie in a steam ferryboat, and from thence proceeded by the railroad to St. John's, a distance of ten miles, which occupied above an hour. The road however has since been made an excellent one. I reported myself on arrival at head-quarters, and found the regiment comfortably located in the best barracks in the Provinces. They are situated on the banks of the Richelieu, about half a mile to the right of the town, and are built in the form of a square, with the parade-ground in the centre, and an octagon cook-house to the rear, looped for musketry. The front facing the river forms the wing of officers' quarters, with the mess-house, library, and field officers' apartments on the ground-floor. In front is a tastefully laid-out esplanade, with gardens and shrubbery, running down to the banks of the river, which flows past, a silent and majestic stream.

The town of St. John's has not much to be said in its favour. It consists of one long straggling street running parallel with the river, with a few minor ones

off it at right angles ; the houses are wooden, with a few exceptions, and on the outskirts are built of logs ; the streets are knee-deep in mud, with no lamps, and a planked pathway, here and there interspersed with ankle-spraining crevices. A long wooden bridge spans the Richelieu, connecting St. John's with Christoville, a small village on the other side, which forms the favourite evening promenade of the townspeople.

The Roman Catholic Chapel is the best building in the town ; and the Protestant Church had, as its rector, the Rev. Mr. Douse, one of the most amiable men I ever met—a man whose sermons were full of learning and piety,—devoted heart and soul to his mission. He was universally beloved and respected ; and I regretted to learn that he died of consumption a year after my regiment marched to other quarters. He was one of those amiable, talented, unambitious divines so often to be found in our country vicarages, whose life and conduct reflect honour on the Church, and who are worthy of more extended spheres of usefulness.

We suffered much, while lying at St. John's, from the desertion of our men over the American frontiers into the United States. One of the first who deserted was a servant of mine, whom I had brought with me from the depôt in Ireland. He crossed the Atlantic with me, and served most faithfully in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, where he had quite as good a chance of escape from military service. On the 2nd of October two men deserted, and with them my servant.



On the 7th no less than fifteen men deserted in one body. The Provincial Cavalry scoured the country after them, and secured six prisoners, who were in the cells before twelve the same night ; two more were brought in the following morning ; and the search was so strict all over the country, that seven others must have thought escape impracticable, for they came in and surrendered at discretion. These were sent back to their duty after a slight punishment of knapsack drill, with a strict admonition from our excellent and kind-hearted old commanding officer, Colonel Bradshawe. The remainder were tried by District and General Courts Martial, by officers of the 23rd Fusiliers, 71st, and 77th, of which I formed a member. Six were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour ; four to one year's imprisonment and hard labour ; and three others to nine months' imprisonment and hard labour ; and all were marked by brand with the letter "D." We were all ordered to address our separate companies in their barrack-rooms, and point out to the men in a friendly manner the enormity of the offence of deserting the colours of their regiments while on "foreign service," and going over the frontiers which we were there stationed to defend, and joining the ranks of another people and another nation ; and we were instructed to add, should desertion continue, it was probable the Military authorities would be obliged to have recourse to the extreme penalty of the Articles of War, and award death for such an offence. Much to this purport I addressed the

Grenadier Company, of which I then had temporary command. Our admonitions had a beneficial effect, and desertion from the 77th was for a time checked.

We discovered that some Americans were in the town encouraging our men to desert, and a trap was at once laid to catch them. The chief offender turned out to be the steward of one of the American steamboats running between St. John's and Lake Champlain. He had incited, after plying them with drink, a serjeant and corporal of the regiment to desert, who pretended to enter warmly into his views. He gave them plain clothes, and made every arrangement to help them off on an appointed day. This was immediately communicated to the Colonel, and we laid our plans accordingly. A warrant was taken out before a magistrate, and the steamer being about to start in the evening, the American met the serjeant and corporal, and entered into close communication with them in a retired outhouse. Just as the uniforms were being changed, we burst in, and secured the fellow, who was at once handcuffed and marched to barracks, where he was locked in a cell, with a bayonet sentry over him. On the following morning he was handed over to the civil power and taken to Montreal, where he was confined, and afterwards tried, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment.

As early as the 23rd of October we had a fall of snow, which covered the ground some inches deep. On the 4th of November the Indian summer set in,

when the piercing north wind, hail, and snow give way to genial breezes from the south, and a balmy, hazy atmosphere re-animated nature for a short period, so as to be the better enabled to undergo the ordeal of the long winter. Now flocks of wild birds passed over the Richelieu in immense droves, all migrating to the more permanent warm latitudes ; for they instinctively knew that the present genial atmosphere was but the treacherous breath of the moment : before the end of the month the keen north-west winds had set in again, and in the beginning of December the thermometer stood at  $32^{\circ}$  below zero.

Officers and men had put on the Canadian winter uniform,—a dark grey frock-coat, lined with fur, cuffs and collars of fur, braided and frogged, a conical-shaped fur cap with lappets to cover the ears ; gauntlet gloves of Astracan fur reached to the elbows, while black leather top-boots covered the trousers above the knee. The men had the fur caps, gloves, and tanned deer-skin top-boots. On parade, we looked like a regiment of Cossacks or Russians.

## CHAPTER X.

THE CANADAS, EAST AND WEST.—STATISTICS: POPULATION, RESOURCES, RAILWAYS, REVENUE.—SUMMARY OF EVENTS FROM 1534 TO 1853.—SEIGNORIAL TENURE.—EXTENT OF SEIGNORIES.—CANADIAN REBELLION.—UNION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.—THE EARL OF DURHAM.—LORD SYDENHAM.—THE EARL OF ELGIN.—REBEL IDEMNIFICATION BILL.—RESIGNATION OF MILITIA OFFICERS.—REPRESENTATION IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.—SECRETARY AND UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES.—FORMATION OF A PROVINCIAL ARMY.—EFFICIENCY OF PROVINCIAL OFFICERS.—SERVICES OF CORPS OF CAVALRY IN LATE REBELLION.—WEST POINT.—MILITARY COLLEGE AT QUEBEC.—WITHDRAWAL OF REGULAR TROOPS.—MILITIA STATISTICS OF THE PROVINCES.—EARL GREY'S OPINION ON PROVINCIAL FORCES.

No portion of the North American continent impresses the traveller with such feelings of astonishment as he experiences when he enters the noble St. Lawrence, and gazes upon those shores of bold, bluff, towering mountains and aged forests, which commence from Cape Rozier, and extending along the district of Gaspé, are interrupted by the continuous line of Canadian settlements, which first sprinkle the

margins of the southern shores of the river from Cape Chat, and stretch forward in one unbroken line until the fertile and highly cultivated Isle of Orleans is passed, and Point Levi, 350 miles from Rozier, opposite the noble citadel and city of Quebec, with its 40,000 inhabitants, is reached.

Then onward again : on both sides of the St. Lawrence, highly cultivated farms and picturesque homesteads, smiling towns and endless villages, display their inviting charms for one hundred and ninety-seven miles, until the noble island and city of Montreal arrests the attention of the traveller, with its countless sparkling spires and verdure-clad mountain, along the base of which the city, of 70,000 inhabitants, with its European wharves of hewn stone, extends its numerous suburbs.

The St. Lawrence debouches below the island, receiving the waters of the mighty Ottawa, which forms the line of separation between Lower and Upper Canada, or, as now designated, Canadas East and West. The river flows onwards with the northern or British shore, one continuous tract of highly cultivated country, until the St. Lawrence is lost in the waters of Lake Ontario. Then commences, from Kingston, distant from Montreal one hundred and eighty miles—another substantial city, with imposing fortifications—that wondrous chain of inland seas, Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, separated by the mighty Niagara ; but navigation still uninterrupted, through British capital and engineering skill, in the matchless Welland Canal.

On Ontario we have the city of Toronto, with a population of 40,000, and Hamilton, and very many other towns along Lakes Erie and St. Clair, teeming with commercial wealth and spirit; while the shore roads, along the Lakes, pass through nought save land in the highest state of cultivation, which but terminates at the Indian territory on Lake Huron, an entire distance from Gaspe of above 1500 miles.

The Upper Province has, according to the most recent returns, a population of 952,004, or at the present moment, in round numbers, one million of inhabitants, the increase in population during the last ten years being at the ratio of  $104\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., exceeding the increase of population in the United States by  $66\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. The estimates of assessable property for Upper Canada now show the amount of £37,695,931.

In internal improvements, also, this Province vies with the neighbouring republic. There are now constructing the Ontario, Simcoe, and Huron Railway, from Toronto to Lake Huron, ninety miles in extent; the Great Western Railway, from Hamilton on Lake Ontario to Windsor, running through an agricultural country, of 228 miles in extent; a trunk-line from Toronto to Montreal, 380 miles long:—in one Province alone 698 miles of railway communication. All this has been undertaken within the last three years, and is rapidly approaching completion. So much for the enterprise and activity of the Upper Provinces. The great trunk-line from Halifax to Quebec is not

much more than six hundred miles in length, yet that project has been discussed for more than ten years, and not a sod is yet turned!

In the Lower Province there is the Montreal, Richmond, and Quebec Railway, passing through the heart of the eastern townships, connecting Quebec with Montreal. The St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, 126 miles in length, runs from the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal, and is connected with the American line through the State of Maine, to Portland, from whence a line of steamers are to run, during the winter, to Liverpool. From Quebec another railway is in progress, called the Trois Pistoles Line, which advances 160 miles towards the Lower Provinces, parallel with the river St. Lawrence, and runs through densely populated French-Canadian settlements.

The tenure of land held by seigniorial right in Lower Canada is of such a peculiar nature, that we deem it interesting to make the following extract on that subject from the great national work on the 'British Colonies,' by Montgomery Martin:—

“When Canada was first settled by the French, the feudal tenure was in full vigour on the continent of Europe, and was naturally transplanted by the colonizers to the New World. The King of France, as feudal lord, granted to nobles and respectable families, or to officers of the army, large tracts of land, termed seignories, the proprietors of which were, and are still termed seigneurs; these possessions are held immediately from the Sovereign, *en fief* or *en roture*, on condition of the proprietor rendering fealty

and homage, on accession to seignorial property; and in the event of a transfer, by sale, or gift, or otherwise (except in hereditary succession), the seignory is subject to the payment of a *quint*, or fifth part of the whole purchase-money, which, if paid by the purchaser immediately, entitles him to the *rabat*, or a reduction of two-thirds of the *quint quint*s, and they are a fifth part of the purchase-money of an estate held *en fief*, which must be paid by the purchaser to the feudal lord, that is, the Sovereign.

“If the feudal lord believes the *fief* to be sold under value, he can take the estate to himself, by paying the purchaser the price he gave for it, together with all reasonable expenses. The Committee of the House of Commons, in their Report on the affairs of Canada, in 1828, recommended the Crown to relinquish the *quints*. *Reliefe* is the rent or revenue of one year for mutation fine, when an estate is inherited only by collateral descent. *Lods et ventes* are fines of alienation of one-twelfth part of the purchase-money paid to the seigneur by the purchaser on the transfer of property, in the same manner as *quints* are paid to the Sovereign on the mutation of *fief*; and are held *en roture*, which is an estate to which heirs, having equal interests, succeed.

“*Franc aleu noble* is a *fief*, or freehold estate, held subject to no seignorial rights or *duties*, and acknowledging no lord but the Sovereign. The succession to *fiefs* is different from that of property held *en roture*, or by *villainage*. The eldest son, by right, takes the château, and the yard adjoining it; an *arpent* of the garden which joins the manor-house, and the mills, ovens, or presses within the seignory, belong to him; but the profit arising from these is to be divided among the other heirs. Females have no precedence of right; and when there are only daughters, the *fief* is equally divided among them.



“When there are only two sons, the eldest takes two-thirds of the land, besides the château, mill, etc., and the younger, one-third. When there are several sons, the elder claims half the lands, and the rest have the other half divided among them. *Censive* is an estate held in the feudal manner, subject to the seignorial fines or dues. All the Canadian *habitans* (small farmers) are *censitaires*.

“Property, according to the laws of Canada, is either *propre*, that is, held by descent, or *acquits*, which means something acquired by industry, or other means. *Communauté du bien* is partnership in property by marriage; for the wife, by this law, becomes an equal partner in whatever the husband before possessed and acquires after marriage, and the husband is placed in the same position in respect to the wife’s dowry. This law might operate as well as most general laws do, if husband and wife died on the same day; but as that is seldom the case, very unhappy consequences have arisen from it.

“For instance, when the wife dies before the husband, the children may claim half of the father’s property, as heirs to the mother; and the mother’s relations have often persuaded, and sometimes compelled them so to do. The *dot*, or dowry, is the property which the wife puts into the *communauté du bien*: moveable or immoveable property falling to her by descent, is a *propre*, and does not merge in the *communauté*. Dower, in Canada, is either customary or stipulated. The former consists of half the property which the husband was possessed of at the time of marriage, and half of all the property which he may inherit or acquire. Of this the wife has the use for life, and the children may claim it at her death.

“If they are not of age, the wife’s relations, as guardians of the children, can take it out of the father’s hands,

and they may compel him to sell his property to make a division. Stipulated dower is a portion which the husband gives instead of the customary dower.

“The Canadian farms are remarkable for the small breadth of the farm on the bank of the river, and its great depth inland; the latter being often in proportion to the former, as sixty to one, namely, half an arpent broad in front of the St. Lawrence, or other river, and thirty arpents in depth.

“Those farmers who hold land from the seigneur, *en route*, and who are termed *tenanciers*, or *censitaires*, are subject to certain conditions, viz. a small annual rent, from 2s. 6d. to 5s. (or perhaps more of late years), for each arpent in front; to this are added some articles of provision annually, such as a pig, or goose, or a few fowls, or a bushel of wheat, according to the means of the farmer, who is also bound to grind his corn at the *moulin banal*, or the seigneur’s mill, where one-fourteenth is taken for the lord’s use, as *mouture*, or payment for grinding.

“The *lods et ventes* form another part of the seigneur’s revenue. It consists of a right to one-twelfth part of the purchase-money of every estate within his seignory, that changes its owner by sale, or other means equivalent to sale. This twelfth, to be paid by the purchaser, is exclusive of the sum agreed on between him and the seller, and if promptly paid, a reduction of one-fourth is usually made, in the same manner as two-thirds of the *quints* due to the Crown are deducted on prompt payment. On such an occasion a privilege remains with the seigneur, but is seldom exercised, called the *droit de retrait*, which confers the right of pre-emption at the highest price offered, within forty days after the sale has taken place.

“All the fisheries within the seignories contribute also to

the lord's income, since he receives a share of the fish caught, or an equivalent in money. The seigneur is also privileged to fell timber within his seignory, for the purpose of erecting mills, constructing new, or repairing old, roads, or for other works of public and general utility.

“In addition to the foregoing, the farmer is, if a Roman Catholic, bound to pay to his curate one twenty-sixth part of all grain produced, and to have occasional assessments levied on him for building and repairing churches, parsonages, houses, etc.

“The obligations of the seigneur to his tenants are also strictly defined. He is bound in some instances to open roads to the remote parts of his fiefs, and to provide mills for the grinding of the feudal tenant's corn. He cannot dispose by sale of forest-lands, but is bound to concede them; and upon his refusal to do so, the applicant may obtain from the Crown the concession he requires, under the usual seignorial stipulations, in which case the rents and dues appertain to the Sovereign according to the *coutume de Paris*. The “Franc aleu roturier est terre sans justice ou seigneurie, pour laquelle le détenteur ne doit cens, rentes, lods et ventes, ni autres redevances:” and the soccage tenure, like *franc aleu roturier*, leaves the former or landholder wholly unshackled by any conditions whatsoever, as to rents, corvées, mutation-fines, *banalité* (corn-grinding obligation), without, in fact, any other condition than allegiance to the Sovereign and obedience to the laws.

“The quantity of land thus granted in Eastern Canada amounts to upwards of 7,000,000 acres, while under the seignorial grants nearly 11,000,000 acres are held by a large number of small proprietors.

“The British Government have long been desirous of converting the seignorial into soccage tenures, but nothing

compulsory has been attempted. In 1825 an Act was passed (6 Geo. IV. cap. lix.) for the gradual extinction of feudal rights, and enabling seigneurs to release themselves from the feudal burdens (quints, etc.) due to the Crown, and for granting their lands in free and common soccage to tenants, who were also to be relieved from their feudal burdens; which Act, while it provided for the voluntary surrender by the seigneur of his rights, also gave the tenant in fief a power to claim exemption of burdens from the seigneur; who, on refusal, was subject to be impleaded in a court of law, and bound, on a commutation fixed and given, to grant his lands on soccage tenures.

“But this Act has, with two exceptions, been of no effect. The Canadians are peculiarly attached to ancient customs: they contend that a conversion of tenure is equivalent to a conversion of law, as the descent by inheritance would be altered, and with it the whole body of the law applicable to real property. It is therefore probable that the old tenures *en roture* will remain, and those in soccage are not likely to be converted into the former—at least by the present generation.

“The position and extent of the seignorial grants are stated to be:—

Quebec, including Anticosti and other Isles . . .	79 seignories,	5,656,699 acres.
Montreal and Islands . .	63 „	2,786,011 „
Three Rivers and St. Fran- cis, etc. . . . .	25 „	1,039,707 „
Gaspe and Isles . . . .	1 „	1,318,117 „

Total, 168 seignories, comprising 10,800,534 acres, of which it is estimated 4,100,000 are unfit for cultivation. Anticosti Island, which is a perfectly barren and profitless seignory, one hundred and thirty miles long and thirty

broad, at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, adds largely to the uncultivateable average.”

The population of Lower Canada amounts to 890,261, of whom 665,528 are French Canadians. The value of the imports for the year 1852 amounted to £4,404,409.

Such are the physical aspect, population, and commercial progress of those Provinces at present; but of these neglected Colonies of Great Britain, designated Canadas East and West, we may say regarding their geographical and industrial position, barely one in ten thousand in the United Kingdom have the most remote idea.

From the year 1534, when the first French settlement was made on the shores of the St. Lawrence, up to the present moment, the history of the Canadas is most interesting. It is accordingly as well to trace her early history, since thereby we are the better enabled to show the expediency of those measures suggested by the peculiar position of the two races now inhabiting the Lower Province. We will do so by extracting a brief summary from a work written by us a few years ago, which treats exclusively of the Canadas\* :—

“ After various adventurous expeditions of Spaniards and Portuguese to the coast of Newfoundland, the French monarch, Francis I., commissioned Jacques Cartier, with several vessels, to explore the unknown

\* The Outcast Prophet: a Canadian romance. 3 vols. London. 1847.

regions of La Nouvelle France. On the festive day of St. Lawrence, Cartier bore up through the waters of the river of the Lakes, and anchored off Stodaconna, or, as it is now called, Quebec. The valiant Indian chief welcomed the Europeans with open arms. From this period the French pursued their discoveries with unabated ardour. They sailed up the St. Lawrence, and planted their national colours upon Hochelaga, or Mount Royal. It is not necessary to follow the discoveries of the European adventurers, who hastened to reveal the hidden treasures of La Nouvelle France. Their operations were continued with redoubled energy, and they acquired a passion for aggrandisement, which finally led to the total annihilation of the French power in the beautiful woods of Canada.

“The Province was formally taken possession of by the Marquis de la Roche, who was appointed by Henry IV. as his Lieutenant-General. After the termination of the command of Roche, this Province was many times destined to change masters; nor was there any decided spirit to colonize the new possessions of France until 1627, when an association was formed, called the Company of the Hundred Partners, under the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu.

“The object of this society was a conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith, and an extension of that valuable portion of commerce, the fur-trade. From this period we may date the origin of that adventurous class of men—the Voyageurs and Coureurs des Bois, who were the hardy pioneer parents of the race of hunters

and trappers. The French armed the Indians of the Five Nations, and encouraged them in harassing the frontier settlements of their British rivals. This enraged the English colonists, who instantly determined to avenge their wrongs, and with their best blood to protect their adopted soil.

“For this purpose the New Englanders formed themselves into a confederacy for the protection of their frontiers from the attacks of their French assailants. In 1690 the Colonists made their first demonstration against the Canadas. A large expedition, having been fitted out for this purpose under the command of Sir W. Phipps, attacked Quebec; but, from the superior strength of the place, they were unable to take that celebrated fortress. Although this expedition failed, the English, not disheartened, pursued their offensive operations with unabated vigour; nor did they relax from the fatigues of a war accompanied by all the hardships which a comparatively undisciplined force had to encounter, when opposed to the flower of a disciplined and well-organized army, until they planted the banner of their country upon the Heights of Abraham.

“The French, after a gallant defence, under their illustrious commander, General Montcalm, were put to the rout by the immortal Wolfe, who, though mortally wounded, ordered the grenadiers to charge. His command was obeyed: the movement was decisive; and from that moment the power of France in North America, and her dominion over the Canadas

ceased. The conquests of the British army were pushed on with brilliant results; the enemy gave way on all sides, and the Gallic Eagle fled, cowering before the victorious Lion of England. At the bayonet's point was acquired the fairest portion of the North American continent; and the cool bravery of the troops, and their determined charges, demonstrated to the French and to the world that every attempt to oppose the power of England was futile.

“The conquests of the English were continued until the year 1760, when full possession was obtained of all the important posts of the enemy. In 1763 a treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, by which the French relinquished their claims to the northern colonies of America. An implacable foe to our rule was routed on the Heights of Abraham. The old feud of a Continental warfare was extended to North America, and the English and French contested in sanguinary struggles for the supremacy of their races. Victory attended the brave and gallant Anglo-Saxon, and the fairest colony was snatched from ‘La Belle France’ by the right arm of British valour.

“On the conclusion of the war vast numbers of French settlers hastened back to France, preferring to die in indigence in their own country, rather than live in a land which had been torn from their grasp by the victorious bands of a hated foe. The cause of their so doing was the natural expectation that their new masters would treat them with severity as a conquered people. They forgot the magnanimity of the British



soldier, which is always shown to a fallen foe, as the result fully bore out. The Canadians were treated as fellow-countrymen. The English gave them the free exercise of their faith, and a full right to the lands which had been allotted to them by the French monarch; they protected their religious institutions, retained a great portion of their laws, allowing the free use of their language in all Courts of Justice, and granting to the Canadians power to sit in the Assembly of the Representatives of the people.

“By these various privileges and concessions the Canadian found himself still the citizen of his country, with a fair stake in its government and future prosperity.”

The political events which followed the expulsion of *la Grande Nation* during the colonizing schemes of the Mother-country, assumed no very important phase until the year 1831, when Lord Goderich, the then Colonial Secretary, introduced into the Imperial Parliament a Bill, granting to the Colonial Legislatures full power over the revenues of the Provinces. This measure had been preceded by frequent and acrimonious bickerings of ten years' duration, between the Colonists, the Governors for the time being, and the Home authorities. In 1835, the celebrated Commission of Inquiry into Canadian Grievances, composed of the Earl of Gosford, Sir Charles Edward Grey, and Sir George Gipps, left England. Then the “troubles” of 1837 commenced, urged on by the violence of the ultra-democratic party. Sir Francis Bond Head's sup-

pression of the outbreak in the Upper Province, followed by the gallant overthrow of the rebels in Lower Canada, succeeded.

In 1838 the Earl of Durham arrived in Canada, and his celebrated "Report" was published in 1839. In 1840 the second "rebellion" broke out, and was crushed in the bud. This was followed in 1841 by the union of Upper and Lower Canada under one Legislature, and the elevation of the Governor-General to the House of Peers, with the title of Baron Sydenham, in Kent, and Toronto in Canada.

After the union of the Provinces, affairs assumed no very important aspect, until 1847, when the present Governor-General, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, arrived in Canada. In 1849 the celebrated Indemnity Act, for losses incurred in the Rebellion, was introduced by the Governor-General into the House of Assembly, which, after a strenuous opposition and some rioting, was passed; and from that year to the present period, political animosity has been much assuaged, and the energies of all classes have been directed towards those internal improvements which have raised the Canadas to the enviable position they now occupy, as the most flourishing, wealthy, and populous Colonies of the British Crown.

It cannot be denied, however, that considerable dissatisfaction was expressed, and is still felt, by the loyal inhabitants of Upper and Lower Canada, at the result of the Rebel Indemnification Bill; and although not much is now said upon the matter, a great deal is

felt, and with the opponents of that measure the Earl of Elgin is by no means popular. The policy of introducing a bill which virtually rewarded the rebel in common with the loyal subject, may well be questioned; and although the agitation resulting from that measure has ceased, we fear the effect upon the minds of Her Majesty's at present loyal people may prove most disastrous in any outbreak that may occur. The Americans could not conceal *their* pleasure at the passing of the bill, and they acknowledged, while they wrote in an apparently impartial spirit, that this step would stimulate the desire for annexation. We have by us a paragraph which appeared in one of the leading New York papers on the subject, and we think it well worthy of perusal. The article referred to observes:—

“Earl Grey, the British Minister, has transmitted a despatch to Lord Elgin, in reply to his Lordship's account of the recent transactions in Canada, in which the British Government expresses the entire satisfaction of the Queen with all that Lord Elgin has done in Canada. The British Government, we are inclined to believe, has acted in much too great a hurry. It would have been well for it to have reflected, first, that there are a people in Canada; secondly, that the story told was one-sided; and thirdly, that if one individual required some consideration, at least some millions of people required more.

“The British Government has acted in this matter with rash and hurried precipitation.

“This conduct of the British Government is, in our view, to say the least of it, eminently injudicious and ill-advised. The consequence will be, to throw the Canadas more immediately into the lap and arms of the United States. This injudicious step, this hurried insult of the British Government to the Canadian people, will de-monarchize the Canadian people; it will destroy in their minds that feeling of loyal attachment to the British Throne which hitherto they have ever felt; it will alienate all their previous regal and loyal affections; and by so doing, it will pluck from the British Crown some of the noblest jewels which enriched it, or which could adorn any crown, namely, the affections of a people. Henceforth those people, once so loyal, no longer bound by affections with one heart to the British Government and interests, will be ready to cast off a parent whom now they will only regard as an injurious and insulting oppressor.

“We repeat it, the advisers of the Queen have acted most insanely in thus insulting the people, whom it was enough that they had before ill-treated and injured.”

On the passing of the bill, a number of Field-officers in the Militia and Justices of the Peace at once sent in their resignations; amongst others, Colonels Gregg, Thorne, Dawson, Young, etc., officers who had very gallantly assisted in the suppression of the rebellion of 1837-40.

The Canadas have now arrived at a position of im-

portance, hitherto unobtained by any colony of Great Britain, and immeasurably beyond the condition of the British Provinces in 1773, when the first outbreak of the American Revolution took place. The American Colonies, in 1776, on the Declaration of Independence, be it remembered, were six weeks removed from Great Britain, taking the average duration of passage.

It has often been suggested that, to enable the Colonists to feel a greater interest in a continuation of their connection with the Mother-country, Members of Parliament should be returned for each Province, to sit in the Commons' House of England. This, for many reasons, will never be granted; not the least of which is, that the measure is by no means acceptable to the Provincials themselves. It would be a difficult matter to find really patriotic and influential men who would be willing to leave their country to represent it in England. To enable many to do so, would require a private fortune; and if those to be returned are to be paid members, they will degenerate into selfish place-hunters, and the interests of the Provinces will be unsafe in their hands.

This is the opinion of some of the leading members of the Government in Canada, as I found in conversations with many of those gentlemen, last summer, in Quebec. Their number would be totally inadequate to carry any weight in a question of moment in the House of Commons; and Imperial Legislation in England is so occupied with domestic matters, that we question if ever the Colonies will receive their due

share of attention. There is one preparatory step, however, to a more just consideration, by the Mother-country, of the affairs of those Provinces. A Secretary of State for the British North American Colonies, with an Under-Secretary, ought long since to have been conceded to them; the former, if possible, to be one of the past Governors-General of the Canadas, and the latter a man not only theoretically but personally conversant with the Provinces. The Secretary should be a peer, the Under-Secretary a member of the House of Commons. Thus, for the first time, there would be a fair chance for those noble Provinces receiving that consideration in both branches of the Legislature which their importance so imperatively demands. The British North American Provinces must speedily obtain that boon, or they will be lost to England for ever.

In whom could we find a more able and competent nobleman for such an office than the present Governor-General, the Earl of Elgin, whose great administrative talents and thorough knowledge of the wants, wishes, and requirements of the people, have made him popular with all classes in the British North American Provinces? His Lordship's native dignity and graciousness of manner have endeared him to every one with whom he has conversed. If Ireland, so close to the Home Office, requires a Chief Secretary and Under-Secretary of State, how much more does British North America, with nearly three millions of inhabitants, removed as she is seven days

from Downing-street ! The office of Secretary of State for the British North American Provinces should have attached to it a salary equal to that received by the Governor-General.

Another step in the right direction, and which would be most favourably received, would be the entire withdrawal of the present regular forces, stationed in the British North American Provinces, and the substitution in their places of Provincial corps, enlisted for permanent service in North America. These corps could at first be completed from volunteers from the Line, on the same plan as the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment, which has been found to answer so admirably. The majority of officers could be found in retired officers from the army, great numbers of whom are settled in the British Provinces, many holding high rank in local regiments, and whose efficiency was so fully proved in the putting down of the late Canadian Rebellion. The employment of Provincial officers has been happily introduced into the Governor-General's staff in Canada. No officer more ably performed the duties of Aide-de-camp than the late highly-esteemed Colonel Antrobus ; and in no rank in the regular service will a more soldierlike, efficient, and gentlemanly officer be found, than in the person of Colonel Irving, of the Canadian Militia, Provincial Aide-de-camp to the Earl of Elgin.

The eminent services of another Provincial officer, Colonel Sir Allan Macnab, of the Upper Canadian Militia, saved that Province in the early troubles of 1836. Colonel Young also rendered most important

service, in repelling the attacks of the American sympathizers. The services of Colonels Bullock, Gogy, Amos Thorne, Dewson, all of the Militia, can never be over-estimated for gallantry, with numerous others, whose names we could mention. These are the men who are able and willing to command regiments, raised for permanent Provincial service.

The subaltern officers should all be selected from good Canadian and Colonial families, and the position of Quebec, as one of the finest lines of fortifications on the continent of America, naturally suggests itself as the citadel wherein a Provincial military college should be formed, for the education of young gentlemen for commissions in the Provincial army.

The efficiency of corps composed solely of Colonists, was demonstrated by the Provincial Cavalry established at the period of the late rebellion. Three troops of cavalry were raised by the loyal yeomanry of the Lower Province, which were afterwards retained for permanent service, consisting of the Queen's Own Light Dragoons, Royal Montreal Cavalry, and another troop. The conduct of these corps in quarters and in the field was a constant theme of praise from the inspecting generals. As a further proof of their genuine soldierlike qualities, they were detached to the frontiers, *to prevent desertion from the regiments of the line*, and most loyally did they perform this arduous duty, as I can affirm, from actual observations in 1846, when in Her Majesty's service, and quartered with my regiment at St. John's on the Richelieu.

The officering regiments of Provincials, formed for



permanent service, from the Colonists, will be the means of extending into every circle an attachment towards the monarch of these realms. As it is, there are now a series of regiments of the line, and companies of Artillery and Engineers, with officers on the staff, detached or quartered all over the British North American Provinces. The sole thought of the regimental officers is, how soon they are to be relieved from 'foreign service,' and ordered home; the route is an event of supreme joy to all. This feeling the Colonists well know, and it is, to say the truth, by no means provocative of loyalty.

Let the Provincials however have their sons employed in so honourable a profession, and the movements of regiments will then become a matter of real interest. In all classes, and amongst all nations, there is a great love of the profession of Arms. Military glory, let people twaddle as they will, is a very popular delusion. The young Provincial sees at West Point the sons of American gentlemen educated for military commissions, which they receive in the regular army of the United States. He also sees Her Majesty's regiments of the Line in the Province, and their officers; but he knows that to receive a commission in the English army is almost an impossibility; and as to entering the American army as a commissioned officer, that cannot be done until the Provinces rebel. In this case he has no alternative but to lament his fortune, and brood over the miserable fate that awaits a military aspirant, born a Provincial.

Similar restrictions were thought of and pondered upon by the Provincial youth before the American Revolution, and they may have had some little weight in determining on which side to take up arms. The advice of Washington, as a Provincial officer, was despised by General Braddock until the English Army was caught in an Indian ambush. Parallel circumstances may again occur.

One great advantage to be gained by the Mother-country would be the return of twelve regiments of the Line and twelve companies of the Royal Artillery and Engineers, to add to the Standing Army of Great Britain\*.

Grave consideration has led us to suggest that the time is at hand when the British North American Colonists will demand a nationality of their own, and that such measures of gradual concession will the

\* The Militia of *Lower Canada* consists of 36 regiments, forming 173 battalions and 137,769 men. In *Western Canada* there are 34 regiments of Militia, comprising 166 battalions and 122,620 men. To this force is attached a regiment of Cavalry, 11 companies of Artillery, and a regiment of Rifles. The combined force of the two Provinces consists of 260,389 men. There are an Adjutant-General and Deputy Adjutant-General of Militia.

The Militia of New Brunswick consists of a regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry of 10 troops, stationed in different counties; 3 detached troops of Cavalry, a regiment of Artillery, 18 regiments of Militia, Light Infantry, and Rifle Corps, comprising a total force of 1030 serjeants and 27,260 rank and file.

The Militia of *Nova Scotia* comprises 50,000 rank and file.

The Militia of Prince Edward Island consists of two Lieutenant-Colonels, and a force of 7302 men, divided into three regiments of Infantry and four troops of Cavalry.

better enable the Provincials to carry out the utmost of their hopes in a manner becoming a people whose future would then be united irrevocably with that of Great Britain.

In a despatch, which I have seen since writing these remarks, from Earl Grey to Earl Elgin, the following comments upon the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the military establishments now existing in these Provinces, appear :—

“Canada, in common with the other British Provinces in North America, now possesses, in the most ample and complete manner in which it is possible she should enjoy it, the advantage of self-government in all that relates to her internal affairs. It appears to Her Majesty's Government that this advantage ought to carry with it corresponding responsibilities, and that the time is now come when the people of Canada must be called upon to take upon themselves a larger share than they have hitherto done, of expenses which are incurred on this account, and for their advantage. Of these expenses, by far the heaviest charge which falls upon this country is that incurred for the Military protection of the Province. Regarding Canada as a most important and valuable part of the Empire, and believing the maintenance of the connection between the Mother-country and the Colony to be of the highest advantage to both, it is far from being the view of Her Majesty's Government that the general Military power of the Empire is not to be used in the protection of this part of Her Majesty's dominions. But looking to the rapid progress which Canada is now making in wealth and population, and to the prosperity which she at this moment enjoys, it is the conviction of Her Majesty's Government that it is

only due to the people of this country that they should *now* be relieved from a large proportion of the charge which has hitherto been imposed upon them, for the protection of a Colony *now well able to do much towards protecting itself*. In adopting this principle, I need hardly observe to you, that Her Majesty's Government would merely be reverting to the former Colonial policy of this country. You are well aware that up to the period of the American Revolution the then British Colonies which now form the United States were required to take upon themselves the principal share of the burden of their own protection, and even to contribute to the Military operations undertaken to extend the Colonial possessions of the United Crown. The North American Colonies defended themselves almost entirely from the fierce Indian tribes, by which these infant communities were frequently imperilled, and furnished no inconsiderable proportion of the force\* by which the contest of British power with that of France was maintained on the continent of America. . . . It is intended that in future, the troops maintained in Canada should be confined to the garrisons of two or three fortified posts of importance, probably only Quebec and Kingston. . . . It appears to Her Majesty's Government, that if the *Provincial Militia* is maintained upon a proper footing, so long as peace continues, enough would be done to provide for the security of the Province, by maintaining garrisons of regular troops in the two important posts I have mentioned. . . . Upon the reduction of the British force in Canada to the garrisons of these fortified positions, it would become necessary that the warlike stores which are kept in the Colony should be reduced, and that the barracks and other buildings which are no longer required,

\* Of which Lieutenant-Colonel Washington was a Provincial officer.

should be disposed of; but if the Parliament of Canada should be willing to undertake to keep up these barracks and buildings, in case of their being hereafter required, there would be no objection on the part of Her Majesty's Government to make them over to the Provincial authorities; and if the maintenance of a British force at any of the posts now occupied should be desired, for the preservation of internal security, such a force would be readily supplied by Her Majesty's Government, if the actual cost thus incurred were provided for by the Province."

It must be apparent from the above, that the British Government are about to reduce the army in British North America; and we would suggest to the Provincials, whether it would not be far better policy on their parts, to raise and equip local corps, as we have advised, for permanent duty, officered by their sons, than virtually to hire from the Mother-country alien regiments, which can have no sympathy with themselves.

If the British North American desires a "nationality of his own," he must be prepared to bear the expense of it. While in leading-strings the child looks to the parent for its support and equipment; but when once the man enters boldly on the career of life, he must be prepared to raise the ways and means, without seeking aid from the old fountain of supply. The Colonist must and should be called upon to defray the entire support of the military establishments maintained for his protection. But in doing this, if he acts wisely, he will take good care that his own children shall command and officer the Provincial re-

giments. Let the home of the officer be Canada, and not those Islands three thousand miles off. Let service in the Provinces to their military men be "home service," and not, as now, be, and as it is too correctly designated, "foreign service." Enlist Provincials for limited service,—five years for instance,—and expunge from your "Rules and Regulations" that accursed and atrocious system of vile debasement—*the lash*—and your regiments will be composed of the flower of the youth of the Provinces.

It is a most gratifying reflection to me, that during my service on full pay in the British Army, I never once voted for the punishment of the lash, although I have sat as a member of General, District, and Regimental Courts-Martial many hundred times, and as an Adjutant have had many opportunities, by my influence, in the wording of crimes, to prevent that infliction being awarded by the court. I have remarked, when sitting as a member of Courts-Martial, that those most prone and eager to sentence a soldier to be flogged, were almost invariably the younger and least experienced officers. Your boy, fresh from school, and with a vivid recollection of the rod, is a perfect martinet; and I have often thought he has voted for the lash, from the fear of appearing mawkish or effeminate before his superiors. Thus many a man is flogged who would otherwise have escaped with imprisonment.

The old Captains and senior members, who generally form the minority, are never willing to inflict

the lash. In nine cases out of ten they are outvoted by the younger members. Although the punishment is now reduced to a maximum of fifty lashes, it is, I must say, too often inflicted. I have many times seen a man sentenced to be flogged for a prejudice against him; while on the same Court-Martial, a soldier whose crime was as great and was as apparent has escaped with imprisonment. I never can, I never did, nor will I ever, believe, that a man once flogged will ever become a good soldier. *Some may* have, but these are exceptional cases. As a rule, the soldier who has been thus degraded, becomes, and continues for life, sullen, morose, abandoned to drink, a maligner, a bad husband, a tyrannical parent, a hater of the service, a misanthrope, and a blasphemer. Such is the result of my small experience. I therefore consider the punishment of the lash as a vile infliction, which should be entirely abolished.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE CANADAS CONTINUED.—THE TWO RACES.—THE FRENCH CANADIAN AND ANGLO-SAXON PROVINCIAL.—LONG OCCUPANCY OF CANADA BY THE FRENCH.—NOBLE STAND BY THE FRENCH CANADIANS FOR ENGLAND IN 1775.—DEFENCE OF QUEBEC.—WAR OF 1812.—LOYALTY OF THE CANADIANS.—M. PAPINEAU'S TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT.—PREJUDICES AND HABITS SHOULD BE RESPECTED.—LORD JOHN RUSSELL ON RECOGNIZING CANADIAN TALENT.—MR. PITT, IN 1791, ON AN HEREDITARY NOBLESSE.

THERE is one important fact which we must not omit referring to, ere we proceed with those general views deducible from the present condition of the British North American Provinces, and that is, the presence in Lower Canada of an immense population, numbering, according to the present census, 665,528 inhabitants, of French origin.

In any measures which may be taken for the permanent retention of those Provinces intact to the British Crown, the rights of the French Canadian will form a subject of the gravest importance. It is one upon which the Anglo-Saxon Colonists must seriously reflect.

Endued with commendable pride in the achievements of their countrymen, the Anglo-Saxon Provin-



cials should not forget the early history of Canada, and the honour which is due to the brave people who first explored her forests. Let them remember that on the 24th of July, 1534, Jacques Cartier, holding a commission from Francis I. of France, erected upon the shores of the St. Lawrence a cross surmounted by the *fleur-de-lis*, in token of the possession of "*La Nouvelle France*."

Three hundred and eighteen years have elapsed since that period. On the 18th of October, 1759, Quebec capitulated. England has been mistress of the Canadas ninety-three years. For two hundred and twenty-five years the people of Canada acknowledged no other dynasty than that of France. There are Canadians now living who have bowed in loyal fealty to the Houses of Bourbon and Brunswick.

The annals of two hundred and twenty-five years in the history of a nation can hardly be obliterated by a change of ninety-three years' duration. Tradition will descend from father to son, for on the sire's narration the young heart warms with enthusiasm. It is hard to look for a total change of language and customs amongst a people within a period so short in the world's history.

When it was decreed by an All-wise Power that Canada should be a portion of the British Empire, the brave Canadian population accepted that which was to be; and, released from an allegiance no longer demanded from them, they faithfully and honourably espoused the fortunes of our common country. Chi-

valrous devotion and faith find not in the records of the past a more noble example.

The archives of Canada are not silent as to the loyalty of this people. In 1775, four thousand Americans invaded Canada, and invested Quebec. Her garrison amounted to but eight hundred British bayonets, regulars and militia; but her defenders numbered some one thousand eight hundred men, for one thousand were French Canadians, who "vied with the oldest British soldiers in energy."

When Montgomery advanced to storm Prescott Gate, he was valiantly repulsed: the assault was repelled by a force comprising nine British seamen, the remainder were French Canadians.

From November, 1775, to April, 1776, Quebec was in a state of siege, the security of that fortress solely depending upon her French Canadian defenders. In May, notwithstanding a reinforcement of two thousand men, the Americans were obliged to retreat upon Montreal. Quebec was saved.

We find, "at the time of the invasion there were not more than nine hundred regular troops in the British Colony, and the greater part of these surrendered in Forts Chamblay and St. John, or were taken while retiring from Montreal. Such however were the feelings of the Canadians, on account of the honourable treatment experienced from the English Government, that, after the conquest of the Colony from the French, they cheerfully exerted themselves to preserve Canada to England."

In 1812 the Americans a second time invaded Canada. Mark the result. "On the 24th of June, 1812, it was known at Quebec that war was declared between England and America, and the Canadians rose with a noble spirit in defence of England and their country. They might have availed themselves of the disturbed state of Great Britain; they might have joined, on their own terms, the United States, and formed a portion of the Congress: but their impulses were generous; they forgot the injuries, remembered only the benefits, received from England.

"Four battalions of Militia were instantly raised: the Canadian Voltigeurs (a fine corps, especially suited to the country) were organized and equipped in the short space of six weeks, by the *liberality of the younger part of the Canadian gentry, from among whom they were gallantly officered*. Thus, a spirit of military enthusiasm was infused into the whole population, and an example was held up to the settlers of Upper Canada, highly important at a crisis when the regular troops of England were drained from the Colonies for the purpose of combating Napoleon."

At this period there were only 4000 British troops in both Provinces, with an exposed frontier-line of 1300 miles in extent. The defence of the country mainly depended upon the French Canadians. A second time they proved their loyalty: the Americans were repulsed on all sides, and Canada was saved.

In 1815, peace was proclaimed between the United States and Great Britain.

Of the loyalty of the Canadians, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent said, "I rely with confidence on the courage and loyalty of His Majesty's Canadian subjects. I am equally fearless of the result of any attack upon them, or of any insidious attempt to alienate their affections from the Mother-country." This people warrant the confidence thus reposed in them. As an exemplification of the feelings of the French Canadians, regarding the Mother-country and her Government, we will make an extract from a speech recorded in Lord Sydenham's life, as the sentiments there expressed still exist in the French Canadian. The quotation perhaps may be remembered. M. Papineau said :—

" Suffice it then, at a glance, to compare our present happy situation with that of our fathers, on the eve of the day when George III. became their legitimate monarch. Suffice it to say that, under the French Government (internally and externally arbitrary and oppressive), the interests of this country had been more constantly neglected and mal-administered, than any other part of its dependencies. In its estimation, Canada seems not to have been considered as a country which, from fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, and extent of territory, might have been the peaceful abode of a numerous and happy population ; but as a military post, whose feeble garrison was condemned to live in a state of perpetual warfare and insecurity, frequently suffering from famine—without trade, or a trade monopolized by privileged companies, public and private property often pillaged, and personal liberty daily violated ; when, year after year, the handful of inhabitants settled in

this Province were dragged from their homes and families, to shed their blood, and carry murder and havoc from the shores of great Lakes, the Mississippi, and the Ohio, to those of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay.

“Such was the situation of our Canadian fathers. Behold the change! George III., a sovereign revered for his moral character, his attention to his kingly duties, and his love of his subjects, succeeds, in the rule of Canada, Louis XV., a prince deservedly despised for his debauchery, his inattention to the wants of his people, and his lavish profusion of the public moneys upon favourites and mistresses. From that day the reign of law followed the ‘law’ of violence. From that day the treasures, the Navy, and the Armies of Great Britain are mustered, to afford us an invincible protection against external danger. From that day the better part of her laws became ours; while our religion, property, and the laws by which they were governed, remain unaltered.

“Soon after are granted to us the privileges of its free constitution,—an infallible pledge, when acted upon, of our internal prosperity. Now, religious toleration; trial by jury (that wisest of safeguards ever devised for the protection of innocence); security against arbitrary imprisonment, by the privileges attached to the writ of Habeas Corpus; legal and equal security afforded to all, in their person, honour, and property; the right to obey no other laws than those of our own making and choice, expressed through our representatives;—all these advantages have become our birthright, and will, I hope, be the lasting inheritance of our posterity. To secure them, let us only act as British subjects and freemen.”

Canadian loyalty, both by words and deeds, has been traced from 1759 to the present day. As Bri-

tons, it is well to refresh the memory, for then, invigorated by truth, we are the better enabled to combat prejudice. The schism which from time to time appears between a people of two races has gradually lessened in intensesness and animosity. Now is the time to unite those people in a lasting friendship, secured by congenial institutions.

It is strange that a people who have twice virtually saved Canada to the British Crown should find on those shores enemies anxious to deny them that influence their loyalty so justly merits. Numerically strong, educated and intelligent, the Canadian demands that which is his right—an unrestricted voice in the councils of the nation. They who have the honour to boast of a British origin should award to their fellow Colonists that which they have so richly merited. Let us rather espouse the requisitions of a brave race, than seek, in what may be called an “*antagonistic*” union, the sympathies of those who have so often invaded the country, and shed Canadian blood. The destinies of the American and the Canadian must be separate. The latter more sincerely spurns such a union than even our own people of British origin. Then let us, once for all, give the honour which is due to the loyal Canadians.

The security of British institutions depends on the attachment of the Canadian race. Twice have they been sorely tried, and they have not been found wanting. In the contest of 1812 they even “*set an example*” to those whose loyalty wavered in the Upper

Province. In after troubles let us not forget that it was the seditious arguments of designing people of *British* origin, which led astray the unthinking *habitans*, or at least that insignificant portion who listened to the bad counsels of the tempter.

The Canadian is essentially a loyal subject. When these people are mentioned as Annexationists, foul is the libel cast upon them : those amongst the Colonists who desire that project are Americanized Englishmen. The Canadian has never yet been properly appreciated, and well founded is the complaint that he is not so. The reciprocity we desire to see, is that of fellowship between the Canadian and his English brother. The honour of the Province should be alike regarded by both. Religion should be ensured the lasting protection of the Government.

The habits and predilections of a people who for three hundred and eighteen years have colonized Canada must be respected. Let every loyal British subject take into his serious consideration the case of his Canadian countryman.

We must confer upon the Canadian the honours once held by their forefathers. The restitution of their families' rank will bring back a recollection of their ancient glory, and thus shall we restore that spirit which will again prove the surest defence of those magnificent Provinces. Family influence and connection will speedily cement the nationality of the people, and we may then defy "any insidious attempt to alienate their affections from the Mother-country."

Lord John Russell once stated in a despatch to the Governor-General, "that Her Majesty's Government are earnestly intent on giving to the talent and character of leading persons in the Colonies advantages similar to those which talent and character, employed in the public service, obtain in the United Kingdom."

This was written thirteen years ago, and since that period we look in vain for a single instance of honour or advantage conferred upon a Colonist, British or Canadian. The quotation however is useful, as it proves that Her Majesty's Government have long been aware of the necessity of granting these honours, so unjustly withheld. The Earldom of Toronto, conferred as a *second* or honorary title upon a British Baronet, is the only example of this noble country's introduction into the Peerage of England.

One of the greatest statesmen that ever lived, the elder Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was fully impressed with a conviction of the policy of granting to the Canadians honours suitable to their birth and position. In 1791 Mr. Pitt proposed an Hereditary Noblesse, which was to comprise the most respectable of the French Seigneurs. But for the factious opposition of Mr. Fox, this wise measure would have received the approval of the House. If in 1791 the Canadian Gentry deserved the honours purposed to be conferred upon them, how much more are they worthy of them now, after sixty-one years of well-tried loyalty!



## CHAPTER XII.

ANNEXATION OF BRITISH PROVINCES TO THE UNITED STATES.—  
 AMERICAN SYMPATHY.—INCREASE OF POPULATION RENDERS THE  
 CHANCE OF ANNEXATION MORE IMMINENT.—POSITION OF AMERI-  
 CAN COLONIES AT THE REVOLUTION IN 1773.—RECIPROCITY.—  
 PROTECTION OF MANUFACTURES.—EARL GREY ON CANADIAN FREE  
 TRADE.

ONE great danger which threatens the Canadas—and there is no use in concealing the fact—arises from the obstinate desire of disloyal men to annex the British Provinces to the United States. This desire is fostered by designing demagogues on this, and most zealously approved and countenanced by hungry republicans on the other, side of the line. The intent is to inoculate the people with the republican spirit; to disseminate notions of international reciprocity and fraternity; in other words, to gild the pill which the people are expected to swallow, and to heighten the apparent power and grandeur of the United States. It is most delectable—this friendly and disinterested attachment, so suddenly discovered and evinced by our well-intentioned and most loving neighbours!

The Provincials are called upon, by the crafty ar-

guments of the Americans, to renounce at once their protective duties; to admit and reciprocate free-trade in all things with the United States; to sweep away the frontier custom-houses and preventive stations; in a word, to make the frontier line of demarcation a geographical fact, and nothing more. A knowledge of the success of free-trade in the Mother-country blindly hurries on the people to listen to the free-trade suggestions of the States,—the former forgetting that a plenary adoption of the successful policy of one country, and that an island, might tend to the debasement, perhaps to the annihilation, of the nationality of the other, situated on a continent, with an unprotected frontier-line of 1500 miles, the other side inhabited by 25,000,000 of sympathizing and greedy territorial *gourmands*, who have four times within the last half-century crossed that line, and attempted the conquest of the Provinces, the two latter attempts being within the remembrance of schoolboys over whose heads twelve winters have hardly passed.

Our American neighbours' peaceful intentions and inclinations, within that period, have displayed themselves in wresting from a Southern Power a mighty tract of land on the Mexican Gulf, and another portion watered by the waves of the Pacific, while, in addition to those achievements, they have made two armed onslaughts—bravely repelled, however—on the finest island in the Caribbean Sea.

These are the peaceful neighbours, the disinterested

friends, for whom the Provincials are to sink their nationality, to abolish their frontier posts,—and all because the Americans have so suddenly learned to love the Canadians, ere the bodies of those who fell in resisting their armed attacks in 1838–9 are commingled with mother dust.

It is all very well for statesmen to endeavour to impress upon the people of Canada and the Mother-country that their superior sagacity and forethought have averted the threatened danger, or crushed the germ of republicanism in the bud, and consolidated the institutions of British North America on a basis which may defy attack from without or designing machinations from within.

They have done no such thing : the irritation still exists, and the cry of “reciprocity,” *alias* annexation, rings in assenting ears.

Sir Harry Smith, at the Cape of Good Hope, as firmly believed (and England was not slow to take his word for it) that the Kaffirs had been brought by his sagacious measures into lasting loyalty, as does our noble and well-intentioned Governor-General, that the “annexation” question is crushed for ever, and that all classes are united in a deep veneration for the skill exercised in the masterly settlement of that question. The gallant Sir Harry found out when too late that the experience acquired at Aliwal was no match for Kaffir subtlety ; so the noble Earl may likewise discover that the Annexation feeling is imperceptibly extending in the Provinces.

Let not the people of British North America think that they avoid the danger by fearing to look it bravely in the face. Let them not accept a treacherous peace on such terms; rather let them boldly meet the difficulties which beset them, and array themselves as loyal Britons, determined to advocate those measures which, ere it be too late, will secure to them the inestimable blessings attendant upon a firm and lasting connection with the Mother-country, and ensure to their children that true liberty which those alone know, who live beneath the sheltering mantle of justice and equal rights, vouchsafed by the British Constitution.

History affords many parallel cases which to reflective minds are most suggestive. At the present moment, the population of British North America is, in round numbers, about two millions and a half. Emigration adds about 100,000 a-year to the census. The ratio of increase in Canada doubles the population every ten years. In ten years hence we may assume 5,000,000 inhabitants, which will be equal to the present population of Ireland, exceed that of Scotland, or Wales, and equal one-fourth of the present free population of the United States.

Taking the present rate of increase—cent. per cent. every decade—in fifty years these Provinces would have 80,000,000 inhabitants. Thirty years hence, at this ratio, the population will equal that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Who shall venture to say that a people thus numeri-

cally strong, will remain thirty years hence a mere dependency of the Mother-country,—or even ten years from this time, with above 5,000,000 inhabitants?

The population of the American Colonies, at the period of the Revolution, amounted to 2,312,000,—a number about the same as the present population of British North America; but in fact not equal in effective strength to half our present population, when we take into consideration the revolution steam has effected in the powers of rapid concentration of a given number. We, therefore, in effect exceed by 2,000,000 the Colonies in 1773.

With these facts before us, can it be asserted that the probable future tends to any other result than a state of independence for the British North American Colonies? With a population of from 5,000,000 to 10,000,000, will it be possible to mould that mighty mass, after a reciprocal interchange with our republican neighbours of ten years' duration, into a loyal body sincerely attached to monarchical institutions, and proud of her connection with the Mother-country? Intermarriage, immigration from the United States of Americans, American location in all the cities and towns, free and unrestricted frontier "reciprocities" will effectually tend to republicanize and denationalize the people,—a people who have all along been made to feel their dependence on the Mother-country, and have been thus discouraged from fostering national predilections. The result may be—though Heaven

avert it—annexation to the States, or some ill-digested, so-called *independent* Republic, destined, at no distant period, to be absorbed into the American Union, to act as an insignificant balance of the North against the South,—an inglorious destiny for those noble Provinces.

The lull which at the present moment exists in Provincial political circles, no sound politician would accept for one moment as lasting. It derives a certain amount of plausibility from the causes to which it is attributed. One party profess to desire internal improvement, and, with that great object, to throw overboard all other considerations. To secure this happy state of affairs, the only course necessary, it is argued, is to seek for unlimited reciprocity with the United States. The twaddle about Anglo-Saxon destinies, people of the same origin, mutual interests identified, with other *ad captandum* nonsense, has taken the generous-minded off their guard. The really and sincerely loyal have almost become mere idealists, and we find a conglomeration of theorists, forming what was aptly designated by the Emperor Napoleon, “the faction of the Sentimentalists.” The Provincials should be warned from such dangerous and erroneous tendencies. Let them not thoughtlessly hand their country over, bound hand and foot, to a grasping Republic. But once deprive the country of her tariff, swamp her markets with foreign manufactures and produce, and the inevitable result will soon make itself apparent,—and that, to speak plainly, will be not

only the annihilation of British feeling and interests, but the total severance of the Provinces from the Mother-country.

To render British North America really wealthy, instead of depending upon interested allies, the Colonists must protect her interests, both manufacturing and agricultural, for some time to come.

An American writer has recently given a rebuke to the insane doctrine of the Reciprocists, which it is well that the Colonists should be again reminded of. "Now, as our advice has been asked for, we will say that Canada seems to us to be playing a very poor game in this business. Why should she be bothering and bargaining for access to the markets of the United States?—Why not help herself? What she needs is a home market, not a market a thousand miles off. Make it. No country is richer in water power and every natural advantage for manufacturing. There is no sufficient reason why she should not become as prosperous as Massachusetts or Rhode Island, except that she was cursed with free-trade by England, and has no home trade. Let her try the system on which the United States have grown great and powerful, and she can do the same. Lay a protective tariff, build up manufactories, make a home market, and you will have as little occasion to beg for the privilege of making your exchanges in the markets of New York or Boston as in those of London. Help yourself, is the great dictate of practical wisdom for nations as for individuals."

That the danger of annexation is by no means removed, any man, overhearing the everyday talk in the British Provinces, would soon be convinced. Annexation to the United States is generally considered, not as a matter of doubt, but a "question of time." In Canada, we regret to say, that the party for annexation to the States grows stronger and stronger. The 'Courier' and 'Quebec Gazette' expressed their open sentiments upon the subject not a year back. The following is the summing-up of a long article of the former journal; and as it is supposed to speak the opinions of the hitherto ultra-loyal party, it is worthy of attention:—

"They believe that the hereditary loyalty of the British people is to be shaken by no misgovernment; uprooted by no injury, no insult. They believe that the storm will blow over; that the clouds now lowering so threateningly over our political horizon will pass away: thus, if one thing be not done, will end the threats of the British party and the abject terror of the Provincial Ministry. Without change we perish. Will that one thing be done? It is in vain to speculate, and we leave to the future to unfold what Providence has in store for us. That we have now arrived at a great crisis in our history, as a people, it is in vain to deny: we trust that the emblem of England's power, and of our attachment, may continue to float over us; but we can only submit to the decrees of Providence, and wee to any Ministry whose reckless and unprincipled conduct may be the means of severing the cords that bind us to the Mother-country; a separation that will surely come, and that speedily, if the present wicked and insane policy be not at once suspended."



The agitation of this question has only temporarily ceased: it will soon acquire tenfold strength; and the next time it is publicly mooted, unless the crisis be averted by a change of institutions, it will never be suffered to drop, until the Canadas are lost to England for ever. The desire for annexation "is not dead, but sleepeth."

## CHAPTER XIII.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.—PROGRESS OF THE AMERICANS IN WEALTH AND LUXURY.—NARROW-MINDED VIEWS OF TRAVELLERS.—POLITENESS OF THE PEOPLE.—BRUSQUE CONDUCT OF SOME ENGLISH TRAVELLERS.—CIVILITY A PASSPORT ALL OVER AMERICA.—LADIES.—PATRIOTISM.—AMERICAN GENEROSITY.—A PRESIDENT'S PROGRESS, LEGAL AND MILITARY.—AN AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL PILOT.—THE FAIRY QUEEN ASHORE.—A CALL TO THE MINISTRY.—ADVENTURERS.—THE NORMAN CONQUERORS.—EDUCATION AND DIFFUSED INFORMATION.—NO PARVENUS.—THE "B'HOYS."—POLITICS.—THEATRES.—"OUTSIDERS" ELECTED AS PRESIDENTS.—DANIEL WEBSTER.—GENERAL SCOTT.—HENRY CLAY.—A FIRST CONSUL AND STANDING ARMY MAY YET OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC.—SPLENDID HOTELS.—FASHIONABLE EXCLUSIVENESS.—THE REVERE AND WINTHROP HOTELS, BOSTON.—DINNER ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF HER MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY.—RIVER STEAMERS.—BAY STATE.—HUDSON RIVER BOATS.—THE AMERICANS A MILITARY PEOPLE.—VOLUNTEER CORPS.—FOREIGN POPULATION.—PHILADELPHIA, ITS ATTRACTIONS.—NEW YORK, ITS GREATNESS AND MAGNIFICENCE.—BOSTON DESCRIBED.

I THINK the present opportunity a good one, before proceeding further with the British North American Provinces, to note the impressions made on my mind after several visits into the United States. I more especially refer to one paid by me, last year, in the

Eastern States. I am desirous of exhibiting the progress of the people of the American Union, in all that constitutes the *agrémens* of life,—in all that proves a nation to have arrived at a state of refinement, and to have acquired boundless wealth, and the luxurious habits which accompany it. To judge properly of a people, it is necessary to view them in all their social and political relations,—to invite attention to their *litterati* and *savans*—their institutions—their edifices, public and private—their resources and capabilities, displayed by the works of man, or which are as yet undeveloped. No transitory view of a people can give you a just idea of them. An occasional display of vulgarity, exhibited by the lower orders of every nation, ought not to be supposed to define the habits and conduct of a whole people.

With reference to the United States, I have heard from travellers the most different impressions. Some denounce, in unmeasured terms, everything American ; everything, to their eyes, is rough and unsatisfactory. Others are not particularly struck—or, at least, will not confess to be so—with anything they have seen on that continent. The Thames, at Greenwich, is to their minds a more pleasing sight than the waters of the Hudson, flowing between the Catskill range of mountains,—the Ohio, with its bold wooded bluffs on either side,—or the Father of Waters, the Mississippi, with its ocean tributaries of the Arkansas or Missouri, each flowing through worlds of their own, thousands of miles in extent, before disemboguing themselves into

the parent stream. To some, one institution—which none can abhor more than I do—Slavery, is sufficient cause of unmeasured denunciation, which, however, is sometimes levelled indiscriminately at everything American: this is unwise, ungenerous, and unjust. To others, because a minority, a very small minority, prefer to chew, instead of smoke, the tobacco-leaf, the entire nation is stigmatized, and sought to be made accountable for that habit. I have been often asked, in England, by educated people, if it was not very terrible—that habit, in the drawing-rooms of my American friends. When I have replied, that I could not recall to my mind having ever *once* seen that practice indulged in by refined people in the United States, I am afraid I have hardly been believed.

It is a common notion, originated by English people who have visited the United States, that the conduct of the people is extremely rough, uncourteous, and rude. I can readily imagine why this impression sometimes gains currency. English people are generally a reserved race: they journey, and commune with their own thoughts, whatever they may be, instead of conversing with their fellow-travellers in a coach, railway-train, or steam-boat. In the Old Country, hauteur is often assumed, from an idea that it conveys with it dignity and importance. To be brusque and short in your reply, is to be a man of great mark and likelihood; to be particularly sullen and disagreeable in your deportment, is supposed to convey to vulgar minds an impression of aristocratic exclusive-

ness. Answer a person in England particularly civilly, and, I fear I must say, you are at once regarded by the lower classes as of no account. Be tart, snappish, and imperious, and the hat is touched, and you rise in estimation. These ideas, firmly impressed upon the mind of the English traveller, when he arrives on the other side of the Atlantic, and finds himself in the United States, on "foreign" ground, the national thermometer falls to the freezing-point:—the Englishman feels he is abroad, among Americans; and that himself and his nation are the better of the two. This idea may be all very patriotic, and very well in its way; but it operates unfavourably on the spirit of inquiry, by contracting the disposition to be pleased with all one sees, and it opens rather widely the green-eyed spirit of jealousy.

Our traveller starts on his tour; he is addressed civilly by some American—gives a curt and brusque retort; "Yankee dander" is up, and, probably, he learns a few home truths, seasonably administered. Americans are, at once, jotted down in his journal, "impertinent," "brutes," "democrats," etc.; and on this theme a chapter is written.

I can most seriously affirm, that I never once received from an American a rude reply: my inquiries, to whomsoever addressed, from the President to the engine-driver, were invariably answered with politeness, and an anxiety to give every information. In travelling, I remarked particularly how attentive your fellow-travellers were; and whenever believed to be

from the Old Country, I received additional courtesy. My plan was to address every one, whatever his station, with civility; that is all that is required in America: civility is a passport all over the Continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains. But once assume the haughty airs of the Old Country, and you get, what you richly deserve, some sharp retort, conveying probably some unwelcome truths, touching "aristocrats," etc.

The politeness of the Americans to ladies is beyond all praise. A lady can travel all over the Union, and never once be insulted. If she is alone, it is taken for granted that she is obliged to travel without a protector: she may be going to join or rejoin her friends in a distant State; or business may require her presence: they know not, and ask not why she chances to be alone. It appears to me to mark very strongly and favourably the manliness and chivalry of a people,—this treatment of the weaker sex with courtesy and politeness.

Another pleasing feature observable in travelling is, that your fellow-travellers are all clean and well-dressed. Accordingly, in railway trains, in which there are no first, second, or third class carriages, a gentleman does not feel at all inconvenienced by his neighbour. Again, although all are Republicans, and each, from the carter to the millionaire, has an equal chance of arriving at the highest dignity—the Presidential Chair—there is a very marked respect for persons eminent as commercial men, in the Senate, or in the military service.

The Americans are a truly patriotic people. They dearly love their country: her honour each man feels is centred in himself; a national disgrace is by the Americans deemed an individual reproach. The success of a countryman as a senator, an author, or a soldier, even though he be not of the highest rank, is a source of pride and self-congratulation. To insult their flag, even though it may fly only over a flat-bottomed scow, is considered as much a disgrace and humiliation, as if the stars and stripes had been torn from a seventy-four. To degrade an "American citizen" abroad, though that citizen may not rank higher than a vendor of Yankee clocks or an itinerant daguerreotypist, is looked upon as furnishing as strong a case for national interference equally as though the insult or the wrong had fallen on the son of the President.

The Americans are personally generous to each other, in the everyday transactions of life. If a man does not succeed in one profession, he is not cast forth, to wander over the earth, but is encouraged to try his hand at another. Thus, a lawyer in a country village finding no practice, "goes to the wars," and raises a corps in his State, composed of men who are willing to confide their persons to his courage, though not their lawsuits to his legal acumen. He fights, and fights well; returns a "general;" is prized and appreciated by his fellow-citizens, and gets clients. He rises, enters the Senate, devotes himself to politics, and *is now* President of the United States.

Others have been Doctors of Medicine, lawyers,

auctioneers, captains of steamers, Senators, and finally, Ambassadors to European States. In all these pursuits they have tried their hand, and in some one at last succeeded. It has been very justly remarked by a writer, that "the Americans, by their position, have escaped from some European errors. They have always been workers, and therefore know nothing of that contempt for honest industry, and that reverence for well-provided idleness, which pervade some parts of Europe. Their political freedom enables them to use their senses unrestrained by old restrictions and old theories, and accustoms them to speak out boldly, honestly, and frankly. What they do they proclaim and defend. All men seek money, all men to a certain degree use their senses, but only the Americans, as far as we know, boldly declare money-seeking, if honest, to be honourable, and boldly teach that the cultivation of the senses is the chief means of obtaining success in life, and a mastery over the material world."

They "never say die." Last summer I was proceeding from Eastport in the State of Maine, in an American steamer to Portland, when, off the former place, between the American land and the English island of Campo Bello, in broad daylight and a good channel, the pilot most awkwardly ran the ship ashore on a mud-bank, where we had to stay until the rise of tide, when we floated off. Upon expressing to the pilot my surprise at this untoward event, he replied quite naïvely, that "he did not know the channel yet."



This required an explanation, and he most willingly gave it. For the previous twenty-two years he had held the office of chief searcher in the American Custom-house at Eastport. He meddled in politics, and rather warmly supported the party then *in*. On the election for President, the *ins* became the *outs*, and our friend was summarily ejected by the victorious party from his office, to make way for a partisan of theirs. Thrown on his own resources, he accepted the vacant berth of *pilot*, and was learning, it would seem, by practical experience, where the rocks, snags, and mud-banks were to be found, when he sent us ashore.

I was highly amused at the coolness and self-complacency of this man. When he found the steamer was fast, he took a good "*chaw*," for *he* did chew (I never said *no one* chewed tobacco), then sat himself down near the pilot-house, which is on the hurricane deck, forward in American steamers, and commenced a lengthy harangue upon the hard manner in which he had been treated, as an old servant of "Uncle Sam." I was informed by one of the engineers, that the "*pilot*" shortly "expected a call" to take the pastorship of a Baptist congregation "down east," and I have no doubt that at the present moment he is a shining light at "camp-meetings" and "revivals," and is probably far better employed in pointing out to youthful and aged sinners the rocks and shoals they should avoid, than in steering the "Fairy Queen" amid the mud-banks of Campo Bello Channel.

In America, to fight bravely and obstinately for position and wealth is accounted honourable and praiseworthy. An honest man, whatever his calling, is treated with consideration and is respected; every man amongst them there glories in the designation of an "adventurer." In the Old Country, we are sorry to say, if a man, by dint of talent and genius, defies the prejudice against one not nobly born or illustriously allied to some "good old family," enters that field of an Englishman's ambition—the House of Commons—and afterwards obtains office, he is after all stigmatized as an "adventurer." Life is one grand adventure, and the man who rises by dint of talent and genius is not so much an adventurer as were the Norman conquerors, who sacked and pillaged, and divided amongst themselves the fair fields of England. They adventured on England because there was a prize to be sought and obtained by their valour,—acres not to be found attached to their patrimonial "homesteads" in Normandy. In point of fact, they "who came in with the Conqueror" were poverty-stricken marauders, obliged to seek in other lands for a replenishing of the purse, if many of them ever owned such an article. Even the bishops doffed the mitre for the helmet, and the pastoral staff was thrown aside for the battle-axe and lance, as the old pilot of Eastport relinquished the gauge at the Custom-house for the helm of the "Fairy Queen," when he heard that the tenure of the former was placed in jeopardy.

In the United States the people are all more or less educated. To find a perfectly ignorant native-born American would be to discover a phenomenon to be exhibited. They are, it is true, tainted with national prejudices, which are unpleasant to strangers, but by no means injurious to themselves. In the arts and sciences, geography, chemistry, astronomy, mineralogy, and history, they are generally well read. I have often been surprised at hearing country-people account for various phenomena of nature on scientific principles, not, as elsewhere, repeating the traditions of ignorance or superstition. It is a fault in Brother Jonathan that he lets you know the extent of his reading by a continual reference to authorities.

The effect of this widely-diffused education is to render self-respect very conspicuous in the American character. A person may be a tradesman, a mechanic, or an operative engineer, and still he is a gentleman, in the true acceptance of that term, in manners, information, politeness, and his general conduct in society. He can be polite without fear of losing caste. That odious specimen of humanity, a weed which grows and sometimes thrives in England, the "parvenu," is unknown in the United States. There every man is proud of his or his father's elevation in life through his industry and hard labour, mental or physical.

I have hitherto spoken of the educated classes, who are your everyday companions in travelling, in the hotels, or at the theatre. That the lower orders, the rank-and-file of the "American citizens"—the Ger-

mans, Irish, Scotch, and English, and the native American ruffian (the "b'hoy"), are rather unpleasant specimens of humanity, none can deny, and by their votes they virtually govern the upper and more highly-educated classes. In England, property rules; in America, universal suffrage carries the sway.

But the lower orders, except on political occasions, keep within their own sphere, and do not force themselves, as they could if they were so disposed, into the company of the more refined. As a proof of this, take the leading theatres of New York, where, on paying fifty cents (or two shillings), you are admitted to all parts of the house. I have been to the Old Park Theatre, Niblo's Theatre, and the Astor Place Opera-house, and several others, and in all I have seen elegantly-dressed ladies and gentlemen; indeed I never saw a badly dressed or questionable-looking person. There is a total absence of that vulgar class, still, we fear, to be found in the galleries of the metropolitan theatres in England. In the respectable American theatres, the ear is not offended with shrill 'cat-calls,' whistles, and continuous 'turn him outs.' No pewter pots circulate amongst the 'gods,' or orange-women, with their ginger-beer, rudely press between the seats, tearing dresses and trampling on your feet. If a fellow were to attempt, in a respectable American theatre, to use the 'cat-call,' he would be summarily kicked from the upper tier into the street.

The vulgar betake themselves to the theatres suited to their own class, and which are established especially to

pander to their low national or anti-monarchical prejudices. They are in their element at 'stump' meetings, 'celebrations,' and other popular assemblages. To force themselves into the presence of the President of the United States at Washington is considered by them a sacred duty, and, as the elected servant of that class, he must not cavil at the hearty shakes of the hand and congratulations of his ultra-democratic admirers. The same class would hesitate before they intruded their society upon the Prescotts, Washington Irvings, Longfellows, Lawrences, and other distinguished *literati* and men of opulence. It is only in politics that they reign, and desire to reign, supreme.

As a proof of the extraordinary political influence of the mobocracy, it may be stated that not one American, distinguished for exalted eloquence, for learning, or for any qualification which may have rendered him famous abroad, has ever reached that acme of an American's ambition—the Presidential seat. Some military men have attained this exalted station, but it has been only when their achievements flattered the ultra-national pride. But the only military Presidents since Washington's time have been Generals Jackson, Taylor, and Pierce. The generality of their Presidents are selected from what they call, in sporting phraseology, the 'outsiders,' or, as we would say, from the 'field.'

I last year heard that great and eloquent statesman, Daniel Webster, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, 'the cradle of liberty.' His address was magnificent in its conception and delivery. Every word, as it was poured

forth, was received with rapture by the meeting, and there was not one in that great assemblage who was not proud to enthusiasm of his gifted countryman.

The audience was composed of the respectable classes and the celebrities of Boston,—their merchants, divines, senators, and literary men. Daniel Webster was a candidate for the Presidency—the *gentleman's* candidate—and of course he was not elected. He died shortly after, I verily believe of a broken heart, for there can be no doubt that he coveted that distinction. Henry Clay, likewise, a man almost as eloquent, was never elected President. General Scott, a favourite military candidate, had an excellent chance of being elected, but with the masses he was unpopular, because, as a man told me, the “General was too much of an aristocrat;” he meant, that he was rather too refined and gentlemanly: he was educated at West Point, and has risen to command the army, in the regular service. I have heard it was proposed to do away with West Point, because it turned out “too many aristocrats.” This is the result of giving power to the mob. Intellect is light in the balance, where “all men are declared to be free and equal;” the voice of the most ignorant is as powerful as was that of Daniel Webster; accordingly the former stands a chance of being President, whilst the latter never could, had he lived for twenty years to come.

The educated and refined American now feels this, sees this plainly, while no small regret, and much anxiety is expressed, as to how it will end. I think I

can see a solution of the problem. Some popular military genius will be elected President, after or during the continuance of a war, internecine or foreign. There will be a large standing army. He will not resign his command; his comrades or creatures will be satisfied with honours and rewards, and the public estate will be divided. The man of the sword for a time will reign paramount; as First Consul or Protector, or under some similar name, a new dynasty will be formed, and wealth and intellect will proffer a willing allegiance, and thus will "republicanism" be entombed for ever.

The effect of wealth and general prosperity on the minds of the educated classes is becoming daily more apparent in their chief cities. In New York there are hotels where a traveller would not be admitted, unless he were known, or obtained an introduction. I staid last year at one of the most fashionable, "The Union Place Hotel:" but I was introduced by a friend who is one of the leading men in the States. The dinner-hour was six, and the dining-saloon was a large Gothic oak-wainscoted room, the waiters dressed in unexceptionable black, with white waistcoats and neckcloths, the ladies and gentlemen being in evening costume.

There was no indecent hurry,—no swallowing of one's dinner in five minutes, and drinking nothing but water. Out of about seventy who sat down every day, myself and another gentleman from Canada were the only persons who were not Americans. The dinner generally lasted a couple of hours, and in the evening,

in the drawing-rooms, there was intellectual conversation, with music, etc.

There are numerous other hotels of a like exclusiveness. By those who prefer privacy, apartments can be obtained in these hotels, with dinners served in their own rooms. The Americans generally prefer the *table d'hôte*, and so do I.

In the Broadway there is an hotel for bachelors (Delmonico's), where there is no *table d'hôte*; it is conducted on the English system. The hotels in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and the other cities, are magnificent structures, quite beyond what the reader can conceive, who is only familiar with English hotels. In the centre of the 'Metropolitan'—a vast edifice, recently erected—there is a theatre. The San Nicholas Hotel is built of marble, and is five stories high. The other leading houses, the 'Astor,' the 'New York Hotel,' 'Union Place,' and 'Clarendon,' are furnished in a style of lavish costliness that exceeds belief. The *tables d'hôte* are most tastefully laid, while bouquets of flowers are to be seen in elegant profusion; the *cuisine*, for excellence and *recherché* variety, cannot be exceeded. In Philadelphia, the 'Girard House,' in Chesnut-street, is one of the most elegant establishments in the States, while in Boston, the 'Revere' is unrivalled for its size, solidity of structure, and interior decoration. The 'Tremont' was once the favourite, but it has lost the *pas*: at the end of ten years an hotel in the United States becomes *passé*.

Having sojourned at the 'Revere' on one occasion,



I last summer went to the 'Winthrop House,' in that superb park, called in homely phraseology by the citizens "Boston Common." I can truly say I was never in an hotel in my life where I was more truly comfortable. The family suites of rooms were most elegantly and richly furnished: my own bed-room, for example, was hung with purple velvet curtains; it had pile carpets, and the furniture was covered with velvet. There were ottomans, sofas, and easy chairs, gas chandeliers, marble dressing-tables, and full-length pier-glasses from the ceiling to the floor. The drawing-rooms were on a like scale of splendour. The passages were all marble.

Before the house were fountains continually playing, and private carriages waiting, with drivers in plain clothes, who were attached to the establishment. The carriages were pair-horse, closed landaus, lined with watered satin, and as elegant as any nobleman's or gentleman's carriage in London. Several of these vehicles were always at command when one wished to pay a visit, or was invited to dinner or an evening party. The charge was entered in your weekly bill, and I found it always moderate,—not one-half indeed of what would be charged for a London cab.

To show the kindly feeling of the Bostonians towards the "father land," there is an annual dinner given on the anniversary of Her Majesty's birthday: it is attended by the leading gentlemen, British residents, and many who have become, by naturalization, "American citizens." I was favoured with an invitation to the one

given last year, and spent a delightful evening. Before each seat was an elegantly arranged bouquet of flowers, which were intended for the gentlemen to take home and present to their ladies—a very pretty compliment. I insert the bill of fare, premising that the top was fringed with a coloured wreath of forget-me-nots, looped up at the corners, with a bunch of heartsease in the centre. Beneath this chaplet was engraved “God save the Queen;” while around the *carte* was a silver border, with a cream-coloured edging, the whole printed on satin paper.

“GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.”

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ALBION HOTEL, BOSTON.

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PRIVATE DINNER

IN HONOUR OF

HER MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY.

*Monday, May 24th, 1852.*

AT 5 O'CLOCK.

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BILL OF FARE.

Oysters on Shell.

*Soup* :—Julienne.

*Fish* :—Boiled Salmon, Anchovy Sauce.

*Boiled* :—Ham, Glacé, Champagne Sauce, English South Down Mutton\*, Caper Sauce.

*Entrées* :—Timbal de macaroni ; Riz de veau, piqué, aux champignons ; Canton de poulet, aux petits pois ; Filet de bœuf, piqué aux truffes ; Poitrine de pigeon,

\* Brought in ice from England.

à la papillotte ; Bracelette de purée, au foie de veau ;  
Salade de homard, à la mayonnaise.

*Roast* :—Brant, Black Ducks, Widgeon, Plover.

*Pâtés* :—Plum Pudding, Peach Tarts, Plum Tarts,  
Charlotte Russe, Pudding Glacé, Fruitée, Gelée, Blanc  
Mange.

*Dessert* :—Ice Cream, Fruits, Roman Punch.

Café et liqueur.

The predilections of the Bostonians are decidedly English. They delight to refer to the Old Country, and I sincerely believe our Gracious Queen has not amongst her subjects more warm admirers than she could find in the upper circles of this American city. I have often remarked on their plate, seals, etc., the old crest, with the ducal coronet or knight's casque displayed. In New York servants in livery are now frequently to be seen, and the dashing equipages of her citizens would reflect no discredit on *the Drive* in Hyde Park.

Nowhere is the taste for elegant display more observable than in the river steam-boats: those on the Hudson are really magnificent; but I went last June from Boston to New York, by what is called the "Fall River Route," where you embark in a steam-boat on Long Island Sound, and on this occasion the vessel was the 'Bay State.' The grand saloon was the most sumptuously furnished apartment I ever entered afloat: the entire fittings and furniture of this leviathan were costly almost beyond conception. During the evening a "professor" presided at the pianoforte, and enlivened us with selections from fa-

avourite operas. We had quite a concert, which is regularly provided by the liberality of her owners.

The 'Bay State' steams at the rate of eighteen miles an hour. On the Hudson river the boats now go at the rate of *twenty-five miles* an hour, and successfully compete with the railroad, which runs in opposition, parallel to the river, to Albany. I could not credit this speed being obtained by a steamer, until I found it to be actually the case on going over the same route myself in one of the crack vessels.

I have before remarked that the citizens of the United States are a people passionately fond of military display and the profession of arms. They have those ingredients in their character and habits, which go far to form a military population. From their early youth they are accustomed to handle the rifle, are capable of turning their hands to anything, and are always roving about, consequently they are never afflicted with that disease so common to soldiers of European armies—Nostalgia, or home-sickness.

The western and the wild districts of the eastern States are fields for hardy adventurers, in quest of game. There are no laws to protect the wild denizens of the forests, and accordingly it would be almost impossible to find an American who has not bivouacked in the woods and camped out, roughing, encountering, and overcoming most contentedly many hardships and privations. They can handle the axe as well as the rifle; and only give a Yankee a chance, and he will never starve from the want of regular commissariat supplies.

Such men must make good soldiers. One day's drill is ample to put a thousand such men in a comparative state of efficiency for a march.

As a proof of their fondness for military exercises, I have only to refer to their militia and volunteer corps, which are most creditable. There is not a city or village in the United States, in which the citizens are not enrolled in military companies. I have seen those bodies in the "Far West" and in the more advanced Eastern States, and the impression invariably made on my mind, as a military man, was very favourable as regarded their efficiency. In Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, some of the volunteer regiments present a very imposing and soldierlike appearance, which would reflect no disgrace on the regular service of any nation. One corps in particular arrested my attention in New York, from the uniform of the regiment being an exact copy of that of our Grenadier Guards—red coats, bear-skin caps, gold epaulettes, etc. They marched in sections, with a splendid band at their head; and I must confess it would be impossible to find a more military-looking, well-drilled body of men: they were faultless.

The same may be said of many other of their corps. There is a Highland regiment in New York, dressed with the kilt or philibeg, sporran, and bonnet,—an exact counterpart of the English 42nd Highlanders. To see that corps, and to hear the bagpipes, it required no ordinary stretch of imagination to believe they were American citizens. I believe the corps is

mostly composed of Scotchmen, who have become naturalized in their new country.

Their artillery companies are very effective, with light field batteries. The cavalry volunteer corps are invariably richly dressed, as hussars, or heavy and light dragoons. The men are well mounted, and equal in every respect to our Yeomanry at home, while the bands, chiefly German, are far superior. The variety of nations who have become citizens of the States, renders the volunteer corps the more attractive, as numbers of them are composed solely of Germans, Austrians, Poles, Swiss, with their respective national uniforms; and many of the men and officers have fought on the European continent, in well contested struggles. It is computed that there are not less than 5,000,000 Germans in the United States,—nearly one-fourth of the entire population. In fact, if you take the foreigners, the slave population, and the Irish in one total, you will find that not more than a third of the entire white population are native Americans!

With respect to the military corps in the United States, their national jealousy of a standing army restricts it to within 10,000 men, who are almost exclusively Germans and Irish. I have often heard the volunteer corps rather severely criticized by English people, but I have remarked that the most zealous detractors from their soldier-like appearance, drill, and physique, were almost invariably people who did not know the difference between the front

and the rear rank; and to unfix a bayonet would have completely put *hors de combat* their knowledge of the manual and platoon exercise. Military men however cannot but acknowledge that the volunteer corps of the citizens of the United States are entitled to great praise. I must add in this place, that such an intense passion for soldiering will, in my opinion, eventually lead to the pure and simple doctrines of republicanism becoming in time tinged with more ambitious and more brilliant aspirations after national glory and the achievements of arms.

How very few people there are in England who have the most remote idea of the progress in civilization of the people of the United States! The extent and magnificence of her cities, were they more generally seen and known, would appear almost incredible to the natives of the Old Country, when it is remembered that the *real* growth of the American Union only dates from the year 1800—just fifty-three years ago.

There is Philadelphia, on the river Delaware, ninety miles south-west from New York, and, next to the "Empire City," the largest in the United States. I have not the slightest hesitation in affirming that it is the most beautiful city in the world. The streets all run at right angles; the chief ones, Chestnut, Walnut, Arch, etc., are one hundred feet wide, running from the Delaware to the Schuylkill river, about three miles in length, intersected with broad avenues, none less than fifty feet wide.

The streets on either side are planted with trees at equal distances, and in the summer the green foliage above, sheltering the road and side-walks from the intense heat of the sun, renders walking at all hours of the day delightful. The pavements are laid with red bricks, quite porous, so that five minutes after a shower, all is dry again. In the morning every householder is obliged to use a hose, supplied with water from neighbouring plugs, and thus the servants wash the front of the house, the steps, and the pavement before them, and generally water the trees. The effect is most refreshing, and the consequence is, that Philadelphia, for purity and cleanliness, cannot be excelled.

The houses, up to the first story, are almost invariably faced with white marble, the steps and porticos being of the same material; the upper parts are of red brick, with green jalousies. The breadth of the streets, their uniform style of architecture, the splendid houses and public edifices, render this city a most imposing and magnificent metropolis.

There are numerous squares, almost large enough to be called parks, planted with trees and shrubs, with great taste and judgment. In some of these I was highly amused last summer, by seeing squirrels leaping from bough to bough, and peacocks displaying their glittering plumage, while fountains sent upward their high sparkling jets, which fell back into marble reservoirs, where gold fish added their piscatory evolutions to the charming variety of the scene.



The reader must not imagine that Philadelphia is a large straggling town, with these great squares to confer upon it an apparent grandeur,—a city of “magnificent distances,” as Washington is justly called. On the contrary, it is a closely-built, densely-populated city, with a census showing in 1850 between four and five hundred thousand inhabitants.

The public edifices,—such as the Custom-house, formerly the United States’ Bank, the Exchange, the Philadelphia Mint, Girard’s College, and numerous others,—are hardly to be excelled in purity of style and magnificence of structure, being built of pure white marble, by any buildings of a similar size in London. Girard’s College has not its equal in the English metropolis.

The entire city is supplied with water from the Schuylkill Water-works, a public establishment of great extent, situated in park grounds, on the river Schuylkill, with winding paths between grassy slopes, while cascades of water fall over perpendicular rocks some hundred feet high, from the great reservoir on the hill above. In the centre of the grand lawn is a marble monument to the citizen who so nobly conceived and perfected this great work, so matchless for its utility, beauty, and extent.

The rich and varied prospect from the esplanade, of the river, and scenery above and below the dam on the Schuylkill, is most lovely; and accordingly this charming spot, with its fountains, avenues, and foliage recesses, is the fashionable promenade of the

citizens and their wives and families. The building in which the machinery is contained, which forces the water into the great reservoir above, from whence main pipes conduct the *pure* element to the furthest extent of the great city, is a handsome stone structure, and the machinery, set in motion by hydraulic power, is capable of raising seven million gallons of water in twenty-four hours. The great wheels are driven by a current from a dam which is placed above the works across the Schuylkill River.

Philadelphia has been rendered famous by the achievements of two men, whose names will be ever memorable. They differed in many important respects from each other, but they were enabled to stamp an impress of their own peculiar intellectual character upon the aspect and institutions of this great city. The one is Franklin, the sagacious expounder of the doctrine of utility; the other, William Penn, the memorable patriarch, the immortal assertor of toleration, — a doctrine in his time little known, but now universally admitted and lauded in theory, although sometimes even yet it is disregarded in practice.

Another celebrated individual, Stephen Girard, by his having found the reward of uncommon industry and enterprise in an almost unexampled success in commerce and banking, contributed largely during his life to the prosperity of the city. The following narrative of the career of this extraordinary man is worth extracting: it is abridged, I believe, from the 'Historical Collection of the State of Pennsylvania.'

“Stephen Girard was born on the 24th day of May 1750, within the environs of Bordeaux in France. He sailed to the West Indies as a cabin-boy, when only twelve years of age; and, after residing there some time, removed to the United States. He followed the sea, as mate, captain, and part owner of a vessel for awhile, and accumulated some money. He entered into partnership with Isaac Hazlehurst, of Philadelphia, and purchased two vessels to commence the St. Domingo trade; but they were captured, and that dissolved the firm.

“During the war, he was at Mount Holly, in the business of bottling claret and cider. In 1779, he returned to Philadelphia, and entered upon the New Orleans and St. Domingo trade. He then tried a partnership with his brother, which, in the course of three or four years, exploded in a rupture. Shortly after this, his prospects were materially aided by the acquisition of 50,000 dollars. A brig and schooner of his were lying at Cape Française, when the great revolt of the Negroes occurred. Many planters removed their valuables on board of his vessels, but few of them escaped the wholesale butchery of the white population. Whole families perished, and Mr. Girard could never discover the heirs of the greatest part of the wealth, which thus remained in his hands. In 1791, he commenced ship-building, and from that time until his death was engaged in various mercantile speculations, and in banking. In 1811, he had 1,000,000 dollars in the hands of the Barings, who were then in imminent danger of failure. Had they failed, it is very probable that the Girard College would never have been built. The effect on his peculiar constitution of mind would, most likely, have proved fatal. He died in 1832, estimated to be worth 12,000,000 dollars.

“He never gave an opinion on the causes of his success, that I am aware of. When requested to furnish incidents for his life, he refused, replying, ‘My actions must make my life.’ We can probably glean his opinion from the following two or three *little* ‘actions.’

“A gentleman from Europe purchased a bill of exchange on Girard, to defray the expenses of a tour to this country. It was duly honoured on presentation, but in the course of their transactions, it so happened, that *one cent* remained to be refunded on the part of the European, and on the eve of his departure from this country, Girard dunned him for it. The gentleman apologized, and tendered him a six and a quarter cent piece, requesting the difference. Mr. Girard tendered him in change *five cents*, which the gentleman declined to accept, alleging he was entitled to an additional quarter of a cent. In reply, Girard admitted the fact, but informed him that it was not in his power to comply, as the Government had neglected to provide the fractional coin in question, and returned the gentleman the six-cent piece, reminding him however that he must still consider him his debtor for the balance.

“An acquaintance was invited to witness the improvements at his farm, and was shown a strawberry bed, which had been mostly gleaned of its contents: he was told that he might gather fruit in that bed, when the owner took leave. His friend, finding that this tract had been nearly stripped of its fruit by his predecessors, soon strayed to another tract, which appeared to bear more abundantly, when he was accosted by Mr. Girard: ‘I told you,’ said he, ‘that you might gather strawberries only in that bed.’

“A young man who had opened a store in a neighbouring village, requested some wares on credit, though he could not offer any security. Girard asked him how he in-

tended to carry the wares to the village. 'On my back,' said the shopkeeper. Girard was pleased with the answer; he gave him the wares and three dollars beside, in order to hire a donkey for the conveyance of the parcel. But the trader said he could make better use of the money in business, took the parcel on his back, and went away. When shortly afterwards he returned to Philadelphia to pay his debt, Girard opened with him a large credit, saying, 'This man deserves support, and must become rich.' In the end, by the aid of the eccentric Frenchman and his own energies, he did become a rich man.

"Another time he encouraged Samuel Coates, a shrewd Quaker, to call on him next day for some aid needed by the Pennsylvania Hospital, saying, that if he chanced to find him on *the right footing* he might give something. Samuel came at breakfast-time. 'Well, what have you come for, Samuel?' 'Anything thee pleases, Stephen.' Girard gave him a check for 200 dollars, which Samuel stuffed into his pocket without looking at. 'What, you do not look at the cheque I gave you?' 'No, Stephen, beggars must not be choosers.' 'Hand me back the cheque again,' demanded Girard. 'No, no, Stephen, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.' 'By George!' exclaimed Girard, 'you have caught *me on the right footing*.' He then drew a cheque for 500 dollars, and presenting it to Mr. Coates, asked him to look at it. 'Well, to please thee, Stephen, I will.' 'Now give me back the first cheque,' demanded Girard, a request which was instantly complied with.

"Few understood him however so well as Samuel Coates. A Baptist clergyman, to whom he gave 200 dollars in the same way for a church, made a remark concerning his ability to give much more. 'Let me look at the cheque,' said Girard. It was handed to him, and he tore it up with indignation.

“Girard, after his head was white with the frosts of nearly fourscore years, gave minute attention to the most trivial thing that could affect his fortune. ‘Take that lot of fowls away; the roosters are too many; they would keep the hens poor,’ said the old merchant to a farmer, who had brought them for one of Girard’s ships—‘take them away—I will not buy them.’

“He was always homely in his dress and personal appearance; his furniture was of the plainest kind, his equipage an old chaise and a common nag. He indulged in no amusements: his marriage was unhappy on account of the asperity of his temper; his only child died in infancy; he had no one whom he loved as a friend. He had no sympathies for individuals, but only for the masses,—for future generations, not for the present.

“Of his immense wealth, he bequeathed a very few moderate legacies to his relatives; to the city of New Orleans, for sanatory purposes and measures for promoting public health, a considerable amount of real estates in Louisiana; to the States of Pennsylvania, 300,000 dollars, to be expended in internal improvements by canal navigation,—the said sum not to be paid unless the laws were passed by the Pennsylvanian Legislature, required to carry out several clauses of the will. The great bulk of his fortune he bestowed on the city of Philadelphia in trust, 500,000 dollars to be expended in opening, widening, and improving a street along the Delaware; sundry residuary sums to the hospital, other public charities, and the promotion of the health and comfort of the inhabitants; and, as his great and favourite object, 2,000,000 dollars, or more if necessary, to build and endow a college for the education of ‘poor white male orphans,’ as many as the same income shall be adequate to maintain, to be received between the

ages of six and ten, and to be bound out between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, to suitable occupations, as those of agriculture, navigation, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures. The college has turned out a failure; the intentions of Mr. Girard have not been fulfilled; and while his professed desire was to prevent any man from becoming a gentleman with his money, it has gone principally into the hands of professional gentlemen."

An additional anecdote, illustrative of the eccentricities of this remarkable individual, was told to me in Philadelphia; whether it has ever been published before I do not know, at all events I have not seen it.

Girard was walking one day near his bank, when he saw a crowd of well-dressed people surrounding a woman, who was crying bitterly. On inquiring what was the matter, he was informed that a woman had just landed from an emigrant ship, friendless and without money; his informant adding, "How I do pity her!" Several other gentlemen repeated, "Poor creature, how I pity her!" Girard at once remarked to each of those commiserating Christians, "So you 'pity' her,—you 'pity' her,—and you 'pity' her! So do I 'pity' her. Now, how much do you 'pity' her? I 'pity' her ten dollars; you 'pity' her ten dollars; you 'pity' her five dollars; you 'pity' her one dollar." And thus he addressed himself by turns to all, collecting the money in his hat, until the result of the 'pity,' at first so lavishly expressed in *words*, was a pile of substantial dollar 'pities,' which enabled the poor woman to proceed rejoicing on her way.

This city has an admirable library of reference, founded by Franklin, and known as the "Philadelphia Library:" the building contains a museum, a philosophical apparatus, the Philadelphia Library, and the Loganian Library,—the two amounting to fifty thousand volumes.

There are numerous literary societies—the American Philosophical Society, the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, the Athenæum, the Academy of Natural Sciences,—all with their respective libraries and museums.

The benevolent institutions deserve great praise, no less for their internal arrangements, than the liberal endowments bestowed by the citizens of the good city of "brotherly love." The Pennsylvania Hospital has a frontage of 273 feet; attached to which is a beautiful garden. West's splendid painting of Christ Healing the Sick is kept in this institution. The Navy Hospital, two miles south-west of the city, has a front on the Schuylkill of 386 feet, and is three stories high, built of granite and marble. The Alms-house, for aged people, on the western banks of the same river, has a frontage of above one thousand feet. The University of Pennsylvania, established in 1791; the Medical Institution attached to it, with five hundred students; and Jefferson College, suffice for all the requirements of learning and science.

In no one respect do the Americans show their good taste more conspicuously, than in their religious edifices. The churches scattered all over the United



States are noble structures ; and the interior of the Episcopalian, as our Church of England is called, are frequently most richly decorated, with windows of stained glass, and altar-pieces of exceeding beauty. The choirs are generally admirable ; and, excepting our Cathedral churches, the vocal portion of the service is not to be equalled in the Old Country.

Philadelphia is rendered peculiarly interesting, from the historical reminiscences attached to her name. There are many old buildings in the city, coeval with British possession, which are pointed out with great pride by the citizens. None, to my mind, was an object of greater interest, than the Old State-house, in Chestnut-street, where the ever-memorable and eminently courageous "Declaration of Independence" was drawn up and signed. That sublime document (for the wording of it is without its equal in manliness of sentiment) has, unfortunately, not altogether carried out in practice what is so beautiful in theory.

There is an old bell in the tower of the State-house, which was cast in England, before the American Revolution was ever thought of, and originally intended for some church belfry. It was purchased, however, for the State-house at Philadelphia, and around its upper edge, this motto from Scripture was cast on it :—"Ye shall proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof ; it shall be a jubilee unto you" (Leviticus xxv. 10).

It is certainly a curious circumstance, that the State-house bell was the first, after the signing of the

Declaration of Independence, to proclaim "liberty" to the Colonies.

This city has one of the best Navy-yards in the United States, and is celebrated for the excellence and superiority of the marine steamers built by her shipwrights; and, as a place for manufactures, trade, and commerce, she justly maintains the first position. The city occupies the narrowest part of the isthmus between the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, about five miles above their confluence, and one hundred miles from the sea.

The scenery on either side of the Delaware, from Capes May and Henlopen, is peculiarly pretty. I sailed up this river in 1834; and I went up last year, in a steamer, as far as Trenton, where General Washington, on the night of the 25th December, 1776, crossed over the river on the ice, with 2500 men, and attacked our army, in lines, on the New Jersey shore, commanded by Lord Cornwallis.

To describe the impressions created in a stranger's mind, when he first finds himself in New York, would be no easy task. It is a city peculiar to itself, and yet it would be difficult to define in what that peculiarity consists. It is decidedly an American city, and yet the inhabitants from various foreign countries exceed in number the natives.

Near the Battery and Castle Garden, the houses are quite English in appearance,—red brick, solid, and aristocratic, with stone stairs and commanding entrances. A little further on, and you are in that

street of streets, the Broadway, on either side of which, immense lines of warehouses, five stories high, convey an idea of substantial wealth; it is the busy centre of financial operations of her merchant princes. Onwards still, and the steeple of Trinity Church is seen: this is a superb architectural structure, of red granite, with interior aisles, lighted sombrely by groined windows of stained glass; Trinity Church is, in fact, the Episcopalian cathedral of the "Empire City." Opposite, is that world-renowned mart, or thoroughfare, Wall-street, the Lombard-street of America, where every house is a bank, and every man you meet a "banker." Other streets branch off from it down to the North River, with substantial six-story brick edifices, containing the produce and manufactures of the globe, while the pavements present one continuous line of almost impassable barricades of cotton-bales, boxes of dry goods, and crates of merchandise.

On either side of the city are the North or Hudson river, and the East river, diverging from the Battery Gardens, which stand out boldly into New York Bay. For four miles on either side of the two rivers, are vast ranges of wharves, where lies the shipping from every quarter of the globe. Forests of masts, as far as the eye can see, with every foreign flag in the world, fluttering in the breeze, impress the stranger with some notion of her enormous commerce.

On the Hudson river lie the great coasting and oceanic steamers; while opposite, at Jersey City, are

the masts of those leviathans of the deep, the magnificent steamers of the British and North American Royal Mail Steam-ship Company ; while again, boldly facing them, on the New York side, are Collins's noble steamers, the Pacific, Atlantic, Baltic, and Arctic.

The whole surface of the Bay, and rivers which flow into it, is covered with ships,—brigs and barques, schooners, clippers, coasters, tug-boats, ferry-boats, and ocean-steamers,—one-funnel and two-funnels,—red, black, and white,—high-pressure and low-pressure,—paddle and screw,—one continuous roar of cannon announcing their departure and arrival ; for your Transatlantic ships scorn to sneak in or out of the harbours quietly—they must do everything ship-shape and man-of-war style. The arrival or departure of the California steamers, with their human cargoes of five to eight hundred, to or from their El Dorado, afford an exciting spectacle ; the vessels themselves are all minus the bowsprit,—a novel, and, I think, an ugly detraction from the symmetrical appearance of a ship.

We are again in the “Broadway-above-Wall,” as the Americans call it in their Directories, where the word “street” never appears ; an omission which, doubtless, saves a good deal of type. From nine in the morning to six in the evening, this great thoroughfare, extending from the Bowling Green, opposite the Battery, to the Museum, which is at the corner of the Park, a distance of about a mile, is more crowded with pedestrians than even Cheapside in London ; and to

cross the street from one side to another, with the countless number of huge white omnibuses, which perfectly choke up this thoroughfare, and the long drays, heavily laden with merchandise, is a performance of considerable delay and danger: I have sometimes waited ten minutes before I was enabled to venture the attempt.

In the winter season, the snow and ice are sometimes three feet above the pavement, thus elevating the surface of the street, and I have seen open omnibus-sleighs, drawn by twelve horses, two abreast, plumed and belled, *à la Canadienne*, dash along the thoroughfare.

In the summer the Broadway presents an extraordinary spectacle, from the varied costumes and dresses worn by the citizens; the sun shines in unclouded splendour, while the thermometer stands at 120°, or at 90° in the shade. The heat is excessive, and every one is dressed in white, in gauze coats, light roundabout jackets, straw or Panama hats, shoes, and striped-silk socks; not a few use the palm-leaf fan, and thus, as they walk, they circulate a little air for themselves. Umbrellas also form an indispensable accompaniment to the pedestrian, to protect him from the sun.

On returning home, before dinner, every one takes a cold bath, and the private houses, as to obtaining this luxury, are far superior to those in England. In most of the recently built mansions in New York, there is not merely one bath-room, but there is a bath-

room on every flight, with hot and cold water, and shower-bath laid on and ready at a moment, without asking for it, or notifying even to a servant your intention to take a bath. An additional luxury, gas, is also introduced into every room.

Arrived at "the Park," a beautiful common, shaded with trees, about six acres in extent, and on the left stands "Astor House," the largest hotel in the United States, built of granite. The City Hall is opposite, a superb and massive structure of white marble, 216 feet in length, by 105 feet in breadth. Past the Park, and at the opposite corner, stands one of the largest and most superb buildings, devoted to the business of a private firm, to be found in the world—Stewart's Dry-Good Store; it is five stories high, and one hundred feet long, with a depth in proportion, and is built entirely of the purest marble. The show-rooms within, for their size, and display of grandeur, cannot be equalled: there is nothing that can compare to them in London.

I may here remark, *en passant*, that ladies' dresses in New York are fully fifty per cent. dearer than in England; the extravagant price asked for silks and satins is beyond belief. The profits must be enormous, or otherwise such edifices as Stewart's could never be erected by private tradesmen, who commenced business without a dollar in the world.

To the rear of the Park, and commencing from the Broadway, is a railroad, double track, on which cars drawn by horses answer the purpose of omnibuses.

They are large, elegantly fitted up, and airy. The fare is a New York sixpence, or threepence English, from this point to Thirty-seventh-street, a distance of above four miles. This line of rail runs through the Bowery, a street parallel to the Broadway, and joins the Broadway again at Union-square. One would imagine that rail-cars running through densely-populated thoroughfares would be dangerous, but such is not the case: you never hear of an accident from this in New York, and the driver told me—and I afterwards, from close observation, found such to be the case—that he could stop the car as soon as one could pull up a pair of horses in an omnibus, running at fair average speed. The driver stands with the reins in his hand, and at his side is a lever-bar, by one turn of which the progress of the car can be checked in an instant. I thought at first that collisions with sundry carts, and the destruction of people crossing the street, was inevitable, but I soon got accustomed to the thing when I found the great power of stoppage always at hand to prevent accidents.

It is intended—and the bill to that effect has passed the City Council, or the “City Fathers,” as that important body is designated in New York—to lay down a double line of rails from the Battery, which will run along the entire extent of the Broadway, until they meet the rails at Union-square. Omnibus-cars, similar to those now running along the Bowery, will be introduced, and I must say with great advantage, as the old white omnibuses will then be prohibited from running

in the Broadway at all. This noble street will then be relieved of its greatest nuisance and obstruction.

Proceeding up the Broadway, Canal-street is passed, another great conduit of life and bustle, and above Tenth-street long lines of four and five story buildings commence, amongst the chief of which the Great Metropolitan, the San Nicholas, and New York Hotels are conspicuous for their size and magnificence.

Further on stands Grace Church, one of the most elaborate and beautiful Gothic structures in the city. The Parsonage-house, which adjoins, with a marble ornamental screen between it and the vestry, half covered with ivy, presents a front of great taste and beauty.

The Union-square, with its shaded paths and noble fountain, forms an agreeable termination to this part of the Broadway, which has extended thus far, in one line of superb buildings, for three miles and a half. It then winds around the square, and is continued on the other side. Here we see the Union-place and Clarendon Hotels, while streets diverging to the left lead to that *ne plus ultra* of fashion and residence of the wealthy classes, the Fifth Avenue.

New York extends beyond Union-square for fully three miles, with well-built streets running at right angles. Those parallel to the Broadway are designated Avenues, and those intersecting are called numerically, with East or West prefixed to them, according to what point of the compass they lie with reference to the Broadway.

The dense and populous part of the city has a cir-



cumference of nine or ten miles. The city is situated on Manhattan Island, which is thirteen and a half miles long, with an average breadth of one mile and three quarters; and at the present rate of increase before ten years the entire of this surface will be covered by one of the most magnificent cities in the Old or New World. The population now amounts to more than half a million.

To describe in detail the great public edifices, the streets, and institutions, would demand far greater space than I can devote to the subject. All I desired was to convey a general outline of the "Empire City," as I consider that in the great American metropolis, the enormous wealth and advanced progress of the people of the Union is as conspicuously shown as in any other portion of the States.

It would afford me great pleasure to give in detail the result of my journeyings over the "Hacmatack Clearings" of the United States. Were I to do so, however, I should occupy as much space as I have devoted to the "Pine Forests;" I must therefore conclude these my "impressions" by a few words respecting the good old city of Boston.

Notwithstanding the superior attractions of New York, Boston is, to my mind, a far more desirable place of residence. There is something about it so captivating, so home-like, and the people are so kind-hearted and hospitable, so refined and well-informed, that to be called a Bostonian, would always be to me a strong recommendation.

It is a very curious fact, that the more you progress into the so-called Yankee States, the people are far less Yankee than you find them south and west. The New Yorkers are genuine Yankees, so are the Philadelphians ; but the Bostonians and New Englanders are more English in their tone and feeling than really Yankee. This is a fact which I cannot account for.

Boston was founded in the year 1630. It is situated at the head of Massachusetts Bay, on a peninsula about four miles in circumference, and is about three miles in length, and one mile and twenty-five rods, where widest, in breadth, and is connected with the mainland at the south end by a narrow isthmus, called the Neck, leading to Roxbury. The town is built in an irregular circular form round the harbour, which is studded with about forty small islands, many of which afford excellent pasture ; and are frequented in summer by numerous parties of pleasure. The harbour is formed by Nahant Point on the north and Point Alderton on the south, and is so capacious as to allow five hundred vessels to ride at anchor in a good depth of water, while the entrance is so narrow as scarcely to admit two ships abreast. The entrance is defended by Fort Independence, belonging to the United States, on Castle Island, and by Fort Warren on Governor's Island. There is another fort, called Fort Strong, on Noddle's Island. Boston is well situated for commerce, and is a place of great trade and opulence. It is the fourth

city in the Union in population (138,788) and the second in commerce. Its trade is carried on with every quarter of the world. Its wealth is computed at \$174,108,900. The wharves here are said to be the finest in the United States, some being nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and covered with stores. The streets, which were formerly, almost without an exception, narrow and crooked, have been in a great degree rendered wide and commodious; the old wooden structures, in the greater part of the city, have been replaced by handsome buildings of stone or brick. In the western part, particularly, there is much neatness and elegance. The splendour of the private buildings here is not surpassed in any other part of the Union.

The literary institutions of this city are of the first order. The public libraries contain 70,000 volumes. The Boston Athenæum is the finest establishment of its kind in the United States: its library contains above 25,000 volumes, and a reading-room, in which the most esteemed periodicals, from all parts of the world, may be found. If we add to these the library of Harvard College, in the neighbourhood, of 40,000 volumes, making the number of books within the reach of the citizens 110,000, it must be allowed that Boston offers to the scholar a more advantageous residence than any other spot in the western world.

The public schools are not equalled in any other city in the world. In the department of the fine arts there is much taste and liberal patronage displayed

here. The annual exhibitions of paintings in the gallery of the Athenæum is the best in the country, and a fund is collecting from its proceeds for the encouragement of the arts. The Exchange is a superb structure, seven stories in height, 127 feet in length, containing 202 rooms: in this building is kept a public reading-room, similar to the one at Merchants' Hall. The Alms-house is a commodious and elegant building, 270 feet long and 56 broad. The new Court-house is very elegant, built of Chelmsford granite. The State-house is erected on ground elevated about 100 feet above the level of the harbour, and is a noble edifice. It is 173 feet in front and 61 deep, and its situation and size render it a very conspicuous object. The dome is 50 feet in diameter, terminated by a circular lantern, at an elevation of 100 feet from the foundation. The prospect from the top is exceedingly magnificent and beautiful, surpassing everything of the kind in this country, and will bear a comparison with the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, the famous Bay of Naples, or any other of the most picturesque scenes of Europe.

Here may be seen, at one view, the town with its shipping and buildings, the harbour and its islands, Charles River, a fine country, ornamented with elegant country-seats, and more than twenty flourishing towns. In front of the State-house is the Common, containing forty-four acres, surrounded by the Mall, an extensive and most delightful public walk.

The facilities for travelling in the neighbourhood of

Boston are very great. The country here is exceedingly varied and picturesque, adorned with a graceful variety of hill and dale, garden and grove, and abounding in beautiful villages and elegant country-seats.

All the great railway-lines connect Boston with every part of the continent. It is "the chief centre of the New England railroad system, and the iron band diverges from it to all parts of the Union." Boston is supplied with pure water from the Cachtuate Lake, twenty miles to the west. New York, I should have remarked, derives its supply of water from the Croton River, in Westchester County, a distance of forty miles, which is conducted through a magnificent aqueduct, into the city reservoirs.

## CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE PERMANENT ESTABLISHMENT OF MONARCHICAL INSTITUTIONS.—THE VICEROYALTY.—LORD DURHAM ON THE REQUIREMENT OF THE PROVINCIAL OF “SOME NATIONALITY OF HIS OWN.”—THE “DEADENING INFLUENCE OF THE NARROW AND SUBORDINATE COMMUNITY TO WHICH HE BELONGS.”—“POSITION OF INFERIORITY TO HIS NEIGHBOURS.”—SUPERIORITY OF MONARCHICAL OVER REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS.—ORGANIZATION OF A BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN VICEROYALTY.—ITS BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON THE COLONIES.—SIMILAR VIEWS LARGELY ENTERTAINED IN CANADA.—PEACEABLE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT AND PRESENT INSTITUTIONS.

It was wisely declared by the late Lord Durham,—and the words of that declaration have gone forth and have found a hearty response in the breasts of millions,—that

“No large community of free and intelligent men will long feel contented with a political system which places them—because it places their country—in a position of inferiority to their neighbours. The Colonist of Great Britain is linked, it is true, to a mighty empire; and the glories of its history, the visible signs of its present power, and the civilization of its people, are calculated to raise and gratify his national pride. But he feels also that his link to

that empire is one of remote dependence; he catches but passing and inadequate glimpses of its power and prosperity; he knows that in its government he and his own countrymen have no voice."

And further:—

"The Colonist feels the deadening influence of the narrow and subordinate community to which he belongs. In his own and in the surrounding Colonies he finds petty objects, occupying petty, stationary, and divided societies."

And of the denationalizing influence of the neighbouring States, it is also observed:—

"Such is necessarily the influence which a great nation exercises on the small communities which surround it. Its thoughts and manners subjugate them, even when nominally independent of its authority. If we wish to prevent the extension of this influence, IT CAN ONLY BE DONE by raising up for the North American Colonist some NATIONALITY OF HIS OWN; by elevating these small and unimportant communities into a society having some objects of a national importance; and by thus giving their inhabitants a COUNTRY, which they will be unwilling to see absorbed even into one more powerful."

Impressed with the great truths laid down by one who studied deeply the wants of British North America, and appreciated the genius and desires of her people, we accept these words, and we would do our best to disseminate sentiments by which we hope to see established for the North American Colonist some "NATIONALITY OF HIS OWN."

We are strongly impressed with the fact, that the period approaches when the great British North Ame-

rican people should no longer feel an "inferiority to their neighbours;" that the age is past when their connection with the Mother-country should be but as "a link to that empire of remote dependence." We declare that, as "in its government we and our countrymen have no voice," it is high time that they should arouse and "raise up for the North American Colonist some nationality of his own,"—a nationality by which their position will be elevated, and the people removed from a sphere wherein they will no longer "find petty objects, occupying petty, stationary, and divided societies."

Conceding, as a great and wholesome truth, the superiority of Monarchical institutions over the false and degrading influences of Republican government,—acknowledging the inestimable benefits already derived from Canadian connection with the Mother-country, and the mild and happy influence of a gracious Sovereign's sway, we desire so to cement that connection, that each decade of the Canadian population may add to the throne of Great Britain millions of devoted defenders. To secure such a permanent union of chivalrous feeling and loyalty, there is but one course to be pursued, and that is, to "raise up for the Colonist SOME NATIONALITY OF HIS OWN,"—a nationality which will for ever remove him from "the deadening influence of "the narrow and subordinate community to which he belongs." Since "no large community of free and intelligent men will long feel contented with a political system which places them,



because it places their country, in a position of inferiority to their neighbours," it behoves statesmen to remove that cause of discontent, and so elevate the destinies of the country, that free-born and intelligent British North Americans may no longer feel the degrading position of "inferiority to their neighbours," so eloquently depicted by one of Canada's most able Governors-General.

The nationality required by the British North American Colonist is one which has been hallowed by experience, and sanctified by the wisdom of centuries: it is a nationality removed from a wild and speculative theory, and based on nothing less than the Magna Charta of English liberties. The independence he desires is not that which, while it declares "all men free and equal," still subjugates and holds in the chains of debased slavery millions of fellow-creatures: the nationality destined for British North America is a Monarchical one.

To arrive at that great and glorious position, it will be necessary—

1. That there should be a Viceroy for British North America, who should be a member of the Royal Family of England, appointed by Her Majesty, as Her Viceroy "of the United Viceroyalty of the (Eastern and Western, or) Grand Canadas, and the (Lower, or) Maritime Provinces." It would be most acceptable to Her Majesty's loyal subjects, that the Viceroy should be one of the Royal Princes, with a Regent until he be of age.

2. The fountain of all honour, and from whence all honours could be alone derived, should proceed from the Viceroy of the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces.

3. The Viceroyalty to be independent of all and every control in its administration of the internal affairs of the country.

4. The national honour abroad should be confided to Her Majesty's Government, with whom the Provinces should form an irrevocable alliance, both for peace and war.

5. Believing that all men are not born "equals," it would be a wise and commendable measure, that honours should be bestowed on those who have rendered national services, or whose territorial possessions entitle them to rank, according to their ascertained extent. The Provinces require a titled class, not however hereditary.

6. There should accordingly be a House of Peers and an Imperial House of Commons, to be chosen by the people of the Canadas and the Maritime Provinces.

7. The Grand Canadas (Eastern and Western) and (the Lower or) Maritime Provinces should each retain its present Executive Council, to whom be confided Local questions of no national importance. Measures affecting the laws and national credit should be required to pass the House of Peers and Senate, and be approved by the Viceroy. The Legislative Councils and Houses of Assembly should be abolished.

8. The Maritime Provinces should be governed by

Lord-Lieutenants, chosen by the Viceroy from the Colonists, salaried, and with powers more limited than are now exercised by the Lieutenant-Governors thereof.

9. The Bishops of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Prelates should rank as Peers, with seats in the Upper House. The Protestant Bishops would include the Sees of Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.

10. The principal French Canadian and English Seigneurs should be ennobled.

11. A moderate standing Frontier Army of regulars should be formed, completed by volunteers from Her Majesty's Regiments and Provincials, and officered by Canadians and retired officers of the British Army, to be governed by the existing military rules and regulations, with the exception of the purchase of commissions, and the continuance of corporal punishment, which should be abolished. The whole to be under a Provincial Commander-in-Chief and Staff.

12. The Judges should be placed on an equal footing with the Judges of Great Britain, with a Chancellor in the House of Peers.

When these or other similar measures are adopted, we may look forward to the people of British North America securing a Nationality with a centralization of power, and a permanent connection with the Mother-country.

The assured stability of a British North American Viceroyalty would at once enhance the value of pro-

perty, and capital which might be wanting to complete the great system of railways would be readily advanced on a like assurance of stable and dignified institutions. While however they remain as Colonies, with a change of institutions always impending, and that change certain to take place sooner or later, capitalists will hesitate ere they embark money on such precarious security.

When British North America once secures her nationality, emigration will flow upon her shores with tenfold rapidity. Gentlemen with capital will leave the Mother-country, to secure for themselves and families those advantages and honours which are unattainable at home, except by those of enormous fortune. A society will at once be formed upon a monarchical basis, which will soon equal in intelligence and tone that of Great Britain. Families of consideration will gladly quit the democratic tyranny of a Republic, to join in the monarchical nationality of the Provinces. Cities will at once rise into wealth and importance. Opulence will disseminate those comforts by which the industry of a country so greatly benefits. Produce will find ready home markets, and manufactures will increase and multiply with the progressive advancement of the nation. The really worthy and intelligent will hasten to those shores; and while her population will be doubled and trebled with unparalleled rapidity, Canada will secure that which is precious and valuable—a virtuous and industrious community. The nation will advance unencumbered by debt, while the revenues

will multiply, and secure talent and intelligence its due reward. Rendered wise by experience, the Mother-country will grant such monarchical institutions in British North America as will be formed upon a purer principle than such as goes to reward selfish pensioners and place-hunters.

National institutions will furnish the educated classes of the community with honourable employment. The civil and military professions will be open to the Colonists. The requirements demanded by high position will spur on the youth into the higher walks of educational knowledge. Education secures an ample arena for its exercise in the Senate and Government.

At present, those occupations are barred against the gentlemanly Colonist: his talents have no field for their display, and are wasted upon those "petty objects which he finds occupying petty, stationary, and divided societies." The Colonist will have his genuine ambition gratified; he will receive honours which are not to be tarnished by the passing breath of popular faction. A permanent and recognized position will be secured to those whose services and talents deserve a lasting reward.

Not as in neighbouring countries will talent only be used while in its full vigour of intellect, to be then cast aside and forgotten in the immense and still-vexed ocean of citizenship. Our great men will be honoured, even when their service has ended; more than "four years" of greatness will be awarded to the man, whose

life for "threescore and ten" has been devoted to his country: for the gratitude of a monarchy is lasting,—of a republic, fleeting as the wind. The nationality of the Canadas achieved, and these are honours to which all may look forward.

It has been remarked by an able writer, touching the nationality of British North America:—

"I am inclined to attach very great importance to the influence which it would have, in giving greater scope and satisfaction to the legitimate ambition of the most active and prominent persons to be found in them. As long as personal ambition is inherent in human nature, and as long as the morality of every free and civilized community encourages its aspirations, it is one great business of a wise Government to provide for its legitimate benefit. We must remove from these Colonies the cause to which the sagacity of Adam Smith traced the alienation of the Provinces which now form the United States; we must provide some scope for what he calls 'the importance' of the leading men in the Colony, beyond what he forcibly terms the present 'petty prizes of the paltry raffle of Colonial faction.'"

The measures proposed by Lord Durham, of responsible Government, have fallen short of their object. There is still no genuine scope for intellect and talent, and a great people are still squabbling for the "petty prizes of the paltry raffle of Colonial faction." To remove those evils, and secure for the British North American a nationality of his own, founded on the wisdom of the English Constitution, they only require an independent Viceroyalty.

Looking at the page of history, we find that war has hitherto been the forerunner of a change of dynasties, and those great political movements which have given new phases and impulses to the destinies of the nations of the earth. An appeal to arms has been the common arbitrament to decide opinions, and on the success of the sabre has depended the success of liberty or the triumph of despotism. As intellect has advanced and acquired a potential voice in these our modern times, higher and worthier means have disclosed themselves of settling the future of nations.

Knowledge has illumined men's minds, dispersed the chilling mists of cruelty, and assuaged the thirst for blood, which were rather conspicuous items in the catalogue of "the wisdom of our ancestors."

The individual mind can now convey to far distant millions the sedate results of thought and intellect, and, aided by the magical power of the press, a question of the greatest import can be discussed, without calling upon battalions for its solution.

The Canadas have passed through a fiery ordeal of arms; but the strife, not long hushed, has proved, alike to the victor and the vanquished, the unadvisedness, nay, the miserable consequences, of an appeal to war.

Canada requires and loudly calls for a change, and looking at the present state of public opinion, we cannot but confidently expect that that change will be accomplished by peaceable means. The good sense, the patriotism, and the genuine loyalty of the

people at large can be relied upon, as well as the intellect, the intelligence, and the disinterested devotion of the English and native-born Canadian subjects of the Crown. To a people like this, a proposition frankly and sincerely made, will be received with more attention and respect than if it were preceded by "the pomp and pageantry of glorious war."

It is not because the Canadian monarchical question has not as yet been popularly agitated, that it is the less worthy of consideration. We conscientiously believe that our sentiments on that grave question represent the earnest desire of the great body of the educated classes of the community. To England, the mistress of the world, British North America owes everything: to her protection, her fostering care, and her munificence, Canada is indebted for all she has become; and she is now the brightest gem in her Colonial diadem. To preserve that gem, so that it may retain its lustre, is the heartfelt aspiration of every true British North American. That this great object may be won, we must be fully aware, and anxiously careful, of the jewel we possess. It will be coveted, and may perchance be lost to England for ever.

That Great Britain's vast Colonial possessions, in the East and the West, the North and the South, can be governed with unerring sagacity and wisdom, is perhaps to expect more from any statesman, whatever his capacity, than we shall find. Canada, amid the other mighty interests confided by an All-wise Provi-



dence to England's fostering care, may have, and doubtless has been on many occasions and in many particulars wronged by the Mother-country ; but her wrongs have proceeded from errors of judgment, rather than the instigations of hatred or the apathy of indifference. Most cheerfully has England granted subsidies to those Provinces when in their infancy : her armies have been theirs, and the laurels achieved by the one have been entwined with those of the other.

To alienate their sympathies by unwise legislation were to crush the chivalry of the land. That alienation would result in an unhallowed union with America,—a step which would lead to the desecration of every patriotic reminiscence.

To speak plainly : the question of "adherence or separation" is destined shortly to agitate these Provinces. Intellect and loyalty will rally under the banner of the one, while feelings of ignorant irritation and instigations of imagined self-interest will find creatures to chant forth the praises of the other. The time is rapidly approaching when these feelings can be stifled no longer ; on the contrary, they will find loud and vehement advocates. We must separate betimes the good from the bad, and no longer tolerate an unnatural desire of fraternization, which will otherwise soon altogether destroy the loyalty of the people. All who are attached to a connection with the Mother-country must be designated MONARCHISTS, while the traitors within the Provinces,

the Reciprocists and Annexationists, must declare themselves **REPUBLICANS**.

By taking the initiative, our loyal population will be enabled to crush the base designs of their country's enemies; they will anticipate the danger by guarding against surprise. The sentiment of unflinching loyalty, once unmistakably announced, will pass onward through the length and breadth of the land, and meet a loud and triumphant response. By these means the loyalists will secure for British North America that permanent Government which can alone confer true prosperity on the Provinces.

Peaceably but resolutely all true patriots will unite to secure for their country a British Nationality, to which time will add its stability. The connection with the Mother-country will then last for ages yet to come: in British North America England will find the right arm of her strength—a brave, a loyal, and a mighty nation. While other neighbouring States will be agitated by opposing factions,—while the East and the West, the North and the enslaved South, will combat with fury, the Canadas and Maritime Provinces will increase in strength, wealth, and power, under monarchical institutions secured to her by the establishment of a Viceroyalty.

The views we have expressed upon the Viceregal question have been entertained by us for many years: they are not the result of a hasty conclusion, but the embodiment of sentiments which, during two periods of residence in British North America, we have often

publicly expressed, and of which we have received from the most eminent men in those Provinces the most cordial approval.

In 1849 we took occasion to bring forward prominently the opinions of a writer resident in Montreal, upon the union of the Provinces and the Viceroyalty, which re-echoed opinions of our own, often expressed in 1846 when serving Her Majesty in Lower Canada. The writer says :—

“The advocates for a federal union of the Provinces of British North America have an idea that, could such union be effected, it would be better that the reins of government should be entrusted to a Viceroy, chosen from the royal family of England, than to an ordinary Governor-General. Some are even of opinion that the Viceroyalty should be hereditary in one of the junior branches of the royal family. This would be putting Canada in pretty much the same position with respect to England that the Pashalic of Egypt occupies with respect to the Ottoman Porte ; with this advantage perhaps on our side, that the reigning Viceroys of Canada would be connected by blood with the paramount Sovereign of England.

“People think that by an arrangement of this kind the Colonies would be effectually delivered from the interference of the Colonial Office,—we should be as absolutely independent for all practical purposes as if we were a foreign people, and yet sufficient connection with England would be maintained to assure us of her aid against aggression from without, and to gratify that feeling of attachment to the Mother-country and its Sovereign which exists so strongly in the British people in Canada. The Canadians, or rather

the British North Americans, would have the thorough control of all their own officers, and of course would have to bear the whole expenses of their own government, civil and military; commercial matters between the United Provinces and Great Britain would be arranged by treaty, as it were; and there is a general belief that everything would go right when the red-tapery and stupid adherence to routine of the Colonial Office shall be put an end to.

“There is an impression that these Colonies thus united would and must become a great country; and that if the government of it was established on a strictly monarchical basis, by placing it in the hands of one of the royal princes, a vast number of persons would be induced to emigrate to Canada of a better class than we now find doing so—men of higher ability, better education, and larger capital. If men of this class could be induced to emigrate, it would raise up an order of ‘gentry’ (I use the word in the best sense), which Canada so much requires. I attribute many of the evils under which Canada labours to the absence of men of this stamp. It is very fine to say that all men are born free and equal, but they do not live so; there will be a superior and inferior order of men in every form of society, in a republic as well as in a monarchy; to maintain the contrary is to be a Red Republican—a Fourierist or a Communist. If there must be a superior order, it is better to have it distinguished for its intelligence and wealth than for its wealth without the intelligence; and this latter position is just what troubles Canada. The leading men in this country have almost all risen from the veriest obscurity by their own industry and perseverance; but while they have laboured hard to fill their pockets, they have at the same time taken no care to store their heads.

“I have been in many countries, but never in one in which

literature and literary men were held at such terrible discount as in Canada, and Montreal particularly: Toronto is a little better; but in this good city I verily believe that to have the character of a highly educated man is the very worst passport to society. The people are ignorant themselves, and despise learning in others. No man is estimated here but by a pecuniary barometer; and if Shakspeare and Milton were alive to-morrow, and here, with their genius and empty pockets, the Honourable George Moffat would think himself degraded by asking them to dinner. It is also useless to deny that the standard of personal honour in Canada is a very, very low one: men walk the streets and hold their heads up high who have done deeds which in other countries, where a man's honour is something more than an empty sound, would consign them to enduring infamy.

“All this is occasioned by the absence of the gentry: I do not so much mean gentlemen by birth, members of the higher aristocracy of England, but men of that class from which come the clergy, the merchants, the professional men, and the country gentlemen of no profession; men who are taught from childhood to consider a falsehood a breach of faith, or a pecuniary defalcation as an ineffaceable stain upon their characters.

“If by any change in the existing institutions of Canada, men of this class could be induced to emigrate, it would effect a wonderful improvement in society, and consequently in the general prosperity of the country. They will not come now, for the same reason that English capitalists will not lend us money, while to you (America) they lend it freely; they have faith in the stability of your institutions though they are republican, while they have none in ours, which pretend to be monarchical. There are

thousands of men in England, of good family, first-rate education, and moderate means, who would gladly come to Canada for the sake of their families if they could be induced to believe that they would be safe in doing so. Such men—men who would come here with from five to ten thousand pounds in their pockets—would be emigrants worth having.

“It is on such arguments as these, as well as others mentioned in my former letter, that men found their opinion that a federal union of the Provinces under a royal Viceroy, would be a benefit to the whole of them. The great difficulty would be the geographical position in the first place; but that could be surmounted by a railroad from Halifax to Quebec, and thence, when practicable, to Lake Superior; and the conflicting interests of the several Provinces, in the second; these, with respect to the British Colonies, could, I think, be easily overcome: indeed, it is said that the New Brunswickers are eager for the union already. Many persons dread the increased expense which the union would entail, but, I think, without reason.

“The government of this colony, Canada, is now unnecessarily extravagant. It ought to be a rule that no man should receive a larger salary in the service of the State than he would in that of an individual, his talent, etc., being equal. In Canada numberless officials are paid much larger salaries than they could earn in private life, and the expenditure in many departments is shamefully extravagant. By judicious retrenchment and economy, I am persuaded that one fourth part of the present expenditure might be saved; and I cannot see why the government under a viceroy and a federal union should cost more than it now does, except in one particular, which is, that England would expect us to maintain at our own cost whatever

troops we require for our defence, in time of peace at least.

“ But we could do with very few ; four regiments of infantry and five of artillery, of five or six hundred men, would be quite sufficient, means being taken to render the militia efficient. Our wisest plan would be, probably, to pay England for the services of a few regiments, as the East India Company does, at least until we could get them of our own ; at present, men are much too valuable in Canada to spare any from the axe to take the firelock. There is only one Prince of blood-royal who could well take the Regency, that is, Prince George of Cambridge. He is a young man, I believe, somewhere about thirty, and is a major-general in the army ; he is said to be a good soldier and of firm disposition, but beyond that I know little about him. Perhaps an arrangement might be made by which the Viceroyalty might eventually come to the second son of the Queen. However this be, every one with whom I have spoken on this subject seems to think that a federal union cannot be successfully worked with a mere Governor-General, such as we have now, or ever have had, but that it must be in the hands of a higher personage. Conservative papers in Upper Canada advocate the federal union, but I have only heard the Viceroyalty question discussed in private circles.”

We cannot endorse all this writer says as to the low state of moral feeling prevalent in the respectable classes in Montreal. On the contrary, take the educated classes of the Canadas, East and West, and a more gentlemanly and enlightened people cannot be found, even in the Mother-country : they are as well informed upon what is taking place in the world as

the same class in England: their ideas are liberal and extended; and the country in which they live does not form the entire scope of *their* thoughts.

Canada has been peculiarly fortunate in the very great talent the members of her government have displayed on every important occasion. Amongst those who stand high for all the qualities of sound statesmanship, none are more conspicuous than the eloquent and able Inspector-General of the Province, the Honourable Francis Hincks. To the financial measures propounded by this gentleman Canada is mainly indebted for her present state of commercial prosperity. Through his exertions the credit of the Province now stands higher in England with capitalists than it ever did before. His comprehensive views in the various budgets submitted by him as the Canadian Chancellor of the Exchequer, proclaim Mr. Hincks to be a man of consummate tact and admirable ability.

As a political leader he is forcible and commanding in debate; and his plain, straightforward, businesslike manner of speaking renders the topic touched upon, or advocated by him, distinct and impressive. I know of no man in the British North American Provinces more capable of managing affairs in an emergency than this gentleman. He is decidedly *the* man of the times in those Colonies; and while he is a member of the Government, there need be no fear but that the revenues and finances of Canada will flourish.



## CHAPTER XV.

LEGISLATIVE UNION OF ALL THE PROVINCES.—THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN A LEGISLATIVE AND A FEDERAL UNION.—HAPPY RESULT IN THE UNION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.—A UNION OF ALL THE PROVINCES WILL NOT SATISFY THE AMBITION OF THE COLONISTS.—A REGENCY DURING MINORITY OF A ROYAL PRINCE.—THE DUKE OF KENT'S TEN YEARS' SERVICE IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—REGRET OF EMINENT AMERICANS AT THE ESTABLISHMENT IN 1776 OF THE REPUBLIC.—IMPERIAL POWER, WITH THE TITLE OF EMPEROR, OFFERED TO WASHINGTON.—REGRET BY SENSIBLE PEOPLE AT HIS NON-ACCEPTANCE OF THAT DIGNITY.—THE BETTER CLASSES IN THE UNITED STATES NOT AVERSE TO A LIMITED MONARCHY.—SUPERB EDIFICES OF PRIVATE FAMILIES IN NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BOSTON, ETC.—INFLUENCE OF THE MOBOCRACY.—EARL OF DERBY ON THE IMPERFECT INFORMATION POSSESSED IN ENGLAND ON THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.—DEBATES IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT ON PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS.—THE CLERGY RESERVES ANTAGONISTIC TO POPULAR FEELING IN CANADA.—ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH STATISTICS.—REVENUE.—SEIGNORIAL POSSESSIONS.—CLERGY.—DESIRE OF CANADIANS FOR MONARCHICAL INSTITUTIONS.—RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT EXTENDED FURTHER THAN ORIGINALLY INTENDED.—REPUBLICAN NOTIONS OF THE PROVINCIALS.—EXERTIONS OF THE EMIGRATION COMMISSION OF PARK STREET, TO DETER EMIGRATION TO THE PROVINCES.—A MORAL.

IN a former chapter we stated that a change would shortly take place in the entire system of Government

of the British North American Provinces, but what that change would be and why it was called for, we deferred considering at full, as the reason would become more apparent after we had taken a view of those Provinces in detail.

No one can have perused the chapters describing the commercial progress and industrial resources of those Provinces, without the idea being firmly impressed upon his mind, that a people arrived at such a height of wealth and prosperity, would soon seek for a more elevated station for their country than can ever be obtained while it subsists as a Colony dependent upon a greater and a wealthier nation across the ocean. The first step towards a realization of those views, will necessarily take place in a Legislative Union of the whole of the British North American Provinces, under one Parliament. The phrase "Federal Union" has frequently been mistaken to convey this idea. There is however a vast difference between a Federal and a Legislative Union. The former would indeed unite the Provinces, but leave to them their present Legislatures; it would only take cognizance of customs-duties, revenues, post, land, etc., while the existing Houses of Assembly would carry on legislation for themselves on the old plan, with "selfishness and preference of their little local jobs, to any views of general advantage," as is most aptly said by Montgomery Martin in his masterly work on the Colonies.

The *Legislative* Union however provides for "a

complete incorporation of all the British Provinces in North America under one Legislature, exercising authority over all, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom does over England, Scotland, and Ireland.” The Earl of Durham, in his comprehensive Report to Her Majesty on this subject, remarks :—

“ While I convince myself that such desirable ends would be secured by the Legislative Union of the two Provinces (Eastern and Western, or Upper and Lower Canada\*), I am inclined to go further, and inquire whether all these objects would not more surely be attained by extending this Legislative Union over all the British Provinces in North America ; and whether the advantages which I anticipate for two of them might not, and should not in justice, be extended over all. Such an union would at once decisively settle the question of races ; it would enable all the Provinces to co-operate for all common purposes ; and, above all, it would form a great and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good responsible Government for itself, and which, under the protection of the British Empire, might in some measure counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American Continent.”

And again :—

“ A general Legislative Union would elevate and gratify the hopes of able and aspiring men. They would no longer look with envy and wonder at the great arena of the bordering Federation, but see the means of satisfying every legitimate ambition in the high offices of the Judicature and Executive Government of their own Union.”

\* The successful result of the union of these Provinces is a proof of Lord Durham’s foresight.

Lord Durham however viewed the union spoken of as a good school for training the Colonists preparatory to a final separation from the Mother-country. His Lordship writes :—“ But at any rate, our first duty is to secure the well-being of our Colonial countrymen ; and if in the hidden decrees of that wisdom by which this world is ruled, it is written that these countries are not for ever to remain portions of the Empire, we owe it to our honour to take good care, that, when they separate from us, they should not be the only countries on the American continent, in which the Anglo-Saxon race shall be found unfit to govern itself.”

We believe that the obtainment of a Legislative Union will not finally settle the question of a permanent retention of those Provinces as Colonies of Great Britain ; and this was doubtless the conviction of Lord Durham, although he did not formally express it. Our belief is, that the Provinces once united, and the machinery will be so complete, that a total severance from the Mother-country would become a work of no great difficulty,—that is to say, if the Colonists find that they are expected to remain for ever dependent upon her. At present they look forward to a union, as one step gained in the right direction : when once that is accomplished, and established upon a firm basis, ambitious views will again preponderate, and the Provinces will want something further.

Let that union be accompanied by the appointment in Downing-street of a Secretary and Under-Secretary of State for the British North American Provinces ;

at the same time granting to the Provincials an army of their own, taking care to make it thoroughly understood by them that they in fact form an integral portion of the Empire, and then Republican views will speedily be forsaken.

During the minority of the Royal Prince, who is, we hope, destined to become the Viceroy of the British North American Empire, the people of these Provinces will look forward, under the consolidation of their union, to that auspicious day when they will become a kingdom allied to Great Britain. Then there will be an object to fix their hopes upon; now they exist without any means of assuring themselves what changes in their affairs a year may bring forth. The formation of a Regency will grant to them the substantial benefits which would follow the presence of their Viceroy.

It would indeed be a happy consummation, that the grandson of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent—who for ten years served in British North America, and whose sagacity pointed out, as far back as 1814, the wisdom of a Legislative Union of the Provinces—should ascend the Viceregal Throne, and carry out those magnificent projects of centralization, which originated with Her Most Gracious Majesty's Royal Sire. The dynasty of these realms would then be perpetuated to all futurity in British North America.

Reflecting men in the United States now sincerely regret that the American Revolution did not result in the establishment of independent monarchical institu-

tions on their continent. Washington was offered an Emperor's sway; and mistaken, we presume to think, was that patriotic sense of duty which urged his refusal of so high an honour. Had that great and good man accepted a power, which none other could have more ably swayed, that which has become a confederation of States, under the tyrannical rule of twenty millions of democrats, would now be a great nation, blessed with institutions, which of all others, if we regard history, seem destined to enjoy the greatest permanency. A limited monarchy would have conceded that law and justice, and those equal rights, which the republic never has obtained, and never will be able to secure.

The enormous wealth accumulated by the leading merchants of the United States, has now but a contracted field for its personal display. The wealthy classes of the Union would be indeed delighted, had they, at this moment, such a government as we have indicated, under which wealth could be enjoyed. As it is, men with millions of dollars, in some portions of the Union—Boston, for instance—actually dare not set up a private carriage, being fearful of the reproaches from the mobocracy of their "aristocratic notions." This we have been told by some of their leading men in Massachusetts.

Let any one view the superb edifices in Fifth Avenue, New York, which equal, if not excel, anything of the kind in our own Belgravia, the marble mansions of the wealthy in Philadelphia, the magnificent edifices

of the same class in Baltimore, or, advancing more eastward, the stately houses of the enlightened Bostonians, all rivalling their English brethren in solidity, costliness, and display, and he will be impressed with the idea that, let the Americans say what they will, they yearn after a social superiority of classes, protected by the presence of a limited monarchy. And should a war once break out, and the States become antagonistic in their ultra-notions—and we shall yet see some powerful military commander, a second Washington, arise, who will secure the love and admiration of that highly-excitabile people—and with a standing army, which by that time, at the present rate of military increase of their forces, will number some hundred thousand men, and that man will yet be Emperor of a large portion of the present Union. All republics, in the history of the world, have ended in Absolutism: it is not probable that the United States will be exempt from the fate of more ancient nations.

The Earl of Derby, in the House of Lords, in a recent debate upon the Canada Clergy Reserves, said: —“Neither could he be insensible to the advantage which would be derived by any one who proposed to Parliament a mode that recommended itself to their consciences, for getting rid of a considerable amount of business, with respect to which they were but imperfectly informed.”

The Imperial Legislatures, in the Palace of Westminster, when they are better informed touching the wants, wishes, and requirements of these Provinces,

will assuredly take a final step in the right direction, and, before it be too late, grant to British North America a Government founded on an enduring basis.

The continual debates in the Imperial Parliament, and the general tenor of the leading articles of the public press of England, prove that the heavily taxed people of the Mother-country justly view, with excessive jealousy, the large sums expended on the Colonies. This is an evil, an abatement of which the comparative infancy of some of them renders impossible for some time to come ; but as regards the British North American Provinces, this item of foreign expenditure by Great Britain could be swept away at once, by the establishment of a permanent Government, such as has been suggested in these pages. The entire civil and military expenses of the Provinces must then be borne by themselves ; and most cheerfully would that duty be undertaken. The debt of Canada is but trifling, and a loan for double the amount could be obtained, the moment permanent institutions were established. The great increase in the revenue, which would shortly follow, would enable the Provincial Chancellor of the Exchequer to show a balance-sheet of receipt far above expenditure, with the national debt of the Provinces liquidated.

The constant measures brought into the Imperial Parliament, for rescinding, annulling, or altering previous acts with reference to these Provinces, must prove a source of great anxiety to Her Majesty's Ministers ; and in proportion to the progress of those



Colonies in wealth and importance, will they necessarily demand from year to year increased time and attention. As it is, one quarter of a Parliamentary Session would not be too much to devote to those Provinces, in order to do full legislative justice to them. This is however an amount of time that cannot be spared; and the result was very candidly confessed by the Earl of Derby, when he said that the Parliament "is but imperfectly informed" regarding those questions of paramount importance to Colonial interests.

The subject of the Clergy Reserves was the last topic of discussion; and at no distant date, the Proprietary Landed Interest, which has been and is so seriously threatened with a virtual escheat (as detailed in Chapter V.) must cause the interference of the Imperial Parliament.

How much more competent would a United Parliament in Canada be to decide these points! As regards the former measure, the state of things that created the intent for which the Clergy Reserves of Canada were originally granted, has long since been altered. One-seventh of the Crown lands was reserved, to form a support for the clergy of the Established Church of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland. This was done for a considerable period, until the Presbyterian or Established Church of Scotland was, by a legal construction, admitted to a like benefit and participation; and, to carry out the most perfect religious equality in sharing these

revenues, the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church were also benefited from the "Clergy Reserve." Her Majesty's present Government has therefore done wisely in handing over to the Canadian Legislature the decision on this vexed question, which will lead to the virtual secularization of these reserves.

The word "reserves" however was a perfect misnomer, as far as regarded *the* Clergy, for whom the "reserves" were originally granted. In British North America no church or confederation of faiths will ever be enabled to retain to themselves one-seventh of the public lands. They may and do obtain support from revenues of private estates specially held by them, and with which no legislative enactment could justly interfere; but a system, even though for all denominations, or at least for the three establishments—the Established Churches of England, Scotland, and the Roman Catholic Church—analogueous to the taxes in Great Britain, levied for a State Church, would never be tolerated on the American continent. At the present moment the number of acres reserved for the clergy in Canada amounts to 1,574,600, and their estimated value is £430,482. 10s.; the clergy however, since the original grant, have benefited by the sale of 1,771,652 acres. The portion that remains unsold would go far to pay off the entire debt of Canada.

The Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada is very munificently supported by large revenues, chiefly derivable from estates belonging to the various religious orders of that Church; the tithes are also very

remunerative. The income from these sources is nearly £100,000 per annum, and the entire revenue of that Church in Canada, from rents, tithes, and other sources, amounts to nearly £400,000 per annum.

We must remember however that the Roman Catholic Canadian population in the Lower Province exceeds 600,000. The yearly increase from births is very large; and as English emigration into the Lower Province has not been proportionately extensive, the Catholic population has largely increased of late years.

The tithes the Catholic clergy receive consist "of the twenty-sixth part of the grain raised on the lands of the Catholics." The Roman Catholic bishop receives £1000 per annum from the British Government, and is recognized and addressed as "His Grace the Archbishop of Quebec." The curés have a stipend of about £300 per annum, and are most comfortably supported. The Catholic clergy of Canada, taken as a body, are a most gentlemanly and enlightened class, free from the ultra-bigoted notions of the Irish priesthood; they have "no civil or secular connection with the Pope of Rome."

The extent of the seigniorial rights of the Catholic Church in Lower Canada are thus enumerated by Montgomery Martin:—

	Square miles.
1. The Island and City of Montreal . . .	200
2. The Lake of two Mountains and augmentation	140
3. St. Sulpice . . . . .	110
4. Châteauquay (Grey Sisters) . . . . .	54
5. Isle Jésus . . . . .	50

	Square miles.
6. Côte de Beaupré . . . . .	900
7. Isle aux Coudres . . . . .	10
8. St. Jean (Ursal, of Three Rivers) . . . . .	20
9. St. Augustin (Religieuses de l'Hôp. of Quebec) . . . . .	34
10. D'Orsonville (Religieuses) . . . . .	4
	1522

These rights extend over a million of acres. The Catholic Church has other property of great value in Quebec, Montreal, and other places.

There are a great number of religious establishments in the Lower Province: the most extensive are the *Hôtel Dieu de Montréal*, founded in 1664; the *Congrégation de Notre Dame de Montréal*; the *Hôpital général de Montréal*; the *Hôtel Dieu de Quebec*; the *Ursulines de Quebec*; the *Hôpital général de Quebec*, etc.

The Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada forms three divisions: there are about 300 churches to a population of 600,000. In the Montreal district there are 2 bishops, 7 vicars-general, and 191 priests; in the Quebec district, an archbishop, a bishop, 6 vicars-general, and 145 priests; in the 'Three Rivers' district, 44 priests; Gaspé district, 16. Thus in the whole there are one archbishop, 3 bishops, 13 vicars-general, and 379 priests.

In Western Canada the Roman Catholic Church consists of 2 bishops, one coadjutor bishop, one archdeacon, one rural dean, and 56 priests. This, to a population of one million inhabitants, will show an equal preponde-

rance of the Protestant faith in the Upper Province, counterbalancing the Roman Catholic majority in the Lower. The Roman Catholic priests in the Upper Province receive £1666 from the British Government, paid out of the military chest.

Lord Durham, in his Report, bears the following testimony to the tolerant spirit of the Catholic population of the Canadas:—"It is indeed an admirable feature of Canadian society, that it is entirely devoid of any religious dissensions: sectarian intolerance is not merely not avowed, but it hardly seems to influence men's feelings."

That the Legislative Union of all the Provinces will at once counteract any evil effect that might be apprehended from the unequal proportion of the Catholic population in Lower Canada, there can be no question. As it is, the union of Canada West with Canada East has placed the Protestant population on an equality in the census with the Roman Catholic. With regard to our suggestion relative to the bishops of both Churches having seats in an Upper House, let it be borne in mind that while the desires of the Catholic population will be gratified, the majority of prelates will be Protestants, as they would be returned in proportion to the population of the whole, and the Sees of the other Provinces, as now existing. To secure the adhesion of the Canadians is all-important in any measure having a tendency to permanently establish a dynasty of these realms in British North America. In the troubles of 1837-8, we were greatly

indebted to the important exertions of the Catholic prelates for the beneficial influence on the side of loyalty produced by the exhortations of those reverend gentlemen.

No portion of the Provincials would be found more enthusiastic in their adhesion to permanent monarchical institutions than the Catholic community of Lower Canada. Their tastes, their habits, and their religion, are antagonistic to a republican form of government. Under British rule their prejudices and peculiarities are respected, and they know full well that, once handed over to the tender mercies of the neighbouring commonwealth, their ancient privileges would be soon destroyed and swept away. Responsible government, to the greater portion of this people, was a boon not much coveted; nay, it was unsought by nine-tenths of the Canadians. Their habits all incline them to loyal submission, and consequently a Viceregal Court would prove most acceptable. We look upon the Canadian as the most loyal subject of the British Crown on the American continent.

By the concession of responsible government to the other Provinces, the principle of ruling themselves has extended to a greater degree than was originally anticipated by the propounders of that measure in England. It is not now being left to govern themselves that satisfies them; the Provincial frequently expresses an opinion that he should have a share in the Government of Great Britain also. Hence arises the oft-repeated suggestion that Provincial Members

should be returned to the Imperial Parliament. This result seems so obvious, that it is marvellous it was not foreseen. When Responsible Government was granted to the full extent now exercised, the Provincial in fact became no longer a Colonist.

His position is one of strange anomaly. Endowed with all the powers of a British elector, and returning whom he chooses to legislate for him in the local Houses of Assembly, he asks the plausible question, "Why cannot we—to use an Americanism—'go the whole hog,' and govern ourselves, without any connection with Great Britain at all? The benefit derived from the Mother-country is nominal: she sends us Governors, whom we might ourselves select; an army, which could be raised from the ranks of our hardy yeomen; a few men-of-war, who enjoy our bracing breezes when the tropic sun is too intense for an Admiral's comfort, and hasten away to more sunny climes, when the autumnal tint on our forests gives warning of approaching winter. We find revenue cruisers, manned and ably officered by Provincials; they fully meet our naval exigencies."

This line of argument, which really conveys no small share of the truth, is frequently to be heard, and must tend toward another suggestion, understood but not expressed,—the advisability of joining the neighbouring Republic.

As it is, the lower order of the Provincials begin to excel (if any people in the world can achieve that object) the insolence and vulgar assumption of the

same class in the United States. You will more frequently hear from the British Colonist the much-ridiculed expressions, 'I guess' and 'I calculate,' than you will from his American neighbour. Such is the effect, even in trifling instances, of a too close approximation of ideas between the same classes under two Governments.

The 'I am as good as you' doctrine finds peculiar favour in the Provincial mind; more especially since Responsible Government set these people beside themselves. Any statesman might have foreseen, that the sudden introduction amongst Colonists of this principle, would soon lead to a more important concession—the severance of the Colonies themselves. You might just as well ask an emancipated slave in the South, to work for nothing for his late master, as expect a Colonist to remain long as such, after the introduction of Responsible Government.

There can be no question that, on many occasions, the Colonists had just grounds of complaint against the Mother-country. The Provinces have been grossly neglected in very many instances; and not only neglected by late administrations, but efforts have been actually exerted by Government departments at home, to retard and injure the progress of British North America. This, at first, may appear an incredible assertion, and one rather hastily made; but it is a grave fact, which we can prove without the possibility of a denial being given to it.

There is a department, with a staff of highly-salaried



Government Commissioners, who exercise their functions in Park-street, Westminster, and are designated "Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners." This body, which exerts a most important influence over the labouring classes in England, has active superintendents in all the counties. Their duty is to impart information to the intending emigrant, and to insert and forward his name as a candidate for a Government passage to a British Colony. As many as a couple of hundred inquiries are made on market-days, and the information given by the Government Agents becomes by these means extensively circulated. In a conversation with one of those agents, he showed us his printed confidential instructions, issued from the Emigration Office in Park-street, and informed us that his positive instructions were, to dissuade, by all means in his power, intending emigrants from proceeding to *any of the British North American Provinces*.

We designate such an influence, thus exerted by Government officials, as a gross scandal and a glaring injury, which should undergo Parliamentary investigation. The evil is the more vexatious, from the fact, that to send an adult to the pet Colony of the Commissioners—Australia—costs about £18 per head; whereas, to forward the same class of emigrants to Canada, would not cost Government more than £3. Thus, six able-bodied emigrants could be forwarded to British North America, at the same cost as is expended in transporting *one* to Australia.

The absurdity of this mode of expending the pub-

lic money is the more apparent when we reflect that the pauper in England would be only too glad to emigrate to Canada, if he were recommended to do so. Instead of this, he is forwarded, at a cost of £18, to Australia, to procure an immediate prize at the gold-diggings,—an advantage to which assuredly a private self-expatriated emigrant has the better claim. In Canada and the Lower Provinces labour is required, and the able-bodied emigrant should be sent out to meet the demand.

This Government Emigration Commission never despatches a ship to British North America, while dozens leave the port of Southampton every quarter with a human freight, costing £18 a-head, bound to the antipodes. This is most unjust. We are aware that the Australian Colonies vote a certain sum towards the maintenance of this commission; but the English tax-payer, and through him the British American Colonist, also contributes to their support; consequently it is but just and equitable that the latter should be permitted to derive some benefit from the Government Emigration Commission. This is not only refused him, but as we have here shown, this Commission actually exerts an influence to *deter* settlers from proceeding to the British North American Colonies. It cannot be denied that the zealous advice of the paid agents of the Government must tend to prevent emigrants—even those who are willing and able to pay their own passages—from proceeding to the Canadas or Maritime Provinces.

If Australia, with her abundant wealth, wants a commission in England to forward settlers, let there be an Australian Emigration body to carry out this object; but no longer sanction or permit a *Government* Emigration Commission appointed by the Crown to serve one Colony and exert its energies to injure and destroy another.

British North America may yet prove the right arm of England's power, when Australia, with her hordes of convicts and "reformed" thieves, shall have released herself from her dominion.

Lord Grey, in his recent work, remarks, "The result of leaving emigration to *proceed spontaneously*, has thus been to effect a transfer of population from one side of the Atlantic to the other. But it has been objected that, under this system, the greater part of the emigrants from the United Kingdom, instead of increasing the population and wealth of the British Colonies, have gone to promote the progress of the United States." Lord Grey, however, does not appear to view this fact as an evil to be lamented, and which certainly could have been prevented, if Her Majesty's Land and Emigration Commissioners had not been so officious in *deterring* Emigration to British North America. His Lordship remarks, with evident satisfaction, "If the United States were to be regarded as a hostile power, the *force of this objection* could not be denied; but their interests are now so intimately bound up with our own, that the emigrants from our shores, in augmenting the wealth and *popu-*

lation of the *United States* are, in effect, contributing to promote *British trade* and *British prosperity*." If this is the case, and such a result is a matter of exultation, why retain, or desire to retain, the *British American Provinces* as *Colonies of Great Britain*?

## CHAPTER XVI.

LAWS OF THE LOWER PROVINCES.—OLD LAWS OF ENGLAND REPEALED IN GREAT BRITAIN STILL IN FORCE.—BACKWARD STATE OF JURISPRUDENCE.—THE LEGAL PROFESSION.—BAD LAWS TEND TO REPUBLICANIZE THE PROVINCIAL.—DEFINITION OF A COLONIST.—JUST LAWS IN FORCE IN THE UNITED STATES.—REPUBLICANISM ANTAGONISTIC TO THE ENJOYMENT OF WEALTH.—POLITICAL IMPURITY IN LOWER PROVINCES.—SPIRIT-INFLUENCE ON ELECTIONS.—BRIBERY AFTER THE ACT IN ROAD-COMPENSATION.—STATE OF THE ELECTORS' ROADS.—A FEW SOCIAL TRAITS OF A "SIMPLE PEOPLE."—INCENDIARISM.—"BEACHING."—THE "SONS OF TEMPERANCE."—AN AMERICAN TABLE D'HÔTE.—COMPOSITION OF HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY.—POOR COLLECTION OF SENATORS.—AN AMERICAN PERMANENT JUROR.—PAYMENT OF MEMBERS EXERCISES A MOST INJURIOUS EFFECT.—CONTRACTED VIEWS OF THE YEOMEN OF THE LOWER PROVINCES.—THE SAME EFFECTS IN MORE RESPECTABLE CLASSES.—THE "PRESS."—LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S ADMINISTRATION.—THE DERBY COLONIAL POLICY.—THE RESULT OF LORD ELGIN'S MEASURES.

THERE is one circumstance which is but imperfectly understood in England, and that is, the laws which exist in the Colonies. One would naturally imagine, when responsible government was granted, and the Colonists were left to govern themselves, that they started with all the benefits of the most recent im-

provements in the criminal and civil laws of the United Kingdom. Such however is not the case. At the present moment obsolete laws, which have been long since expunged from the English Statute-book as too barbarous for the present age, exist in all their deformity in the Colonies. The improvements which yearly take place in England never reach the Colonies, and the Colonist finds himself oppressed and crushed by the abominations of the law; and, comparing his condition to that of a citizen of the United States, he curses his hard fate, anathematizes Great Britain, and anxiously looks for a deliverance from such great evils in annexation, even while he does not know that the laws he groans under have been years ago repealed and abolished in England.

The old mesne process is in full operation, to the injury of commerce, but to the benefit of the countless crew of law sharks, whom the corruptions of old unrepealed laws feeds and fattens with congenial nourishment. They live, breathe, and derive existence from the rottenness of Colonial jurisprudence. Before responsible government was granted, it would have been well if a searching investigation had been instituted into the state of the laws in force in the British North American Provinces: new laws should have been based upon the enlightened system introduced in England, and all the Provinces should have been regulated in judicial matters upon a like system. In all they differ, but in none do they exhibit any marked superiority one to the other. There is no

difference of position or circumstances in British North America, which would render the introduction of the English laws inapplicable or inexpedient.

It will be seen that a Colonist is by no means so free as a subject in Great Britain. With all their boasted Responsible Government, the Provincials are in about the same position as that of a denizen of England twenty-five years ago. Now that they have the power of governing themselves, why they do not improve their laws, will be easily understood when we remind the reader that the population is scattered over a large extent of country, engaged in agricultural pursuits, and not the most enlightened as to what is taking place in the world. The members returned to the local Houses of Assembly, which are so many hotbeds of ignorance and corruption, are generally half-educated countrymen; and that class which is presumed to be the best informed are gentlemen of the legal profession, who are naturally adverse to any improvement in a system which adds greatly to their emoluments. A united legislature in Canada would remove the evil of the petty legislation of the Lower Provinces; and men of weight and respectability, who could alone afford to be returned to this *unpaid* senate, would soon place the laws on a basis of justice and equality with those of the Mother-country.

The inevitable result of such a glaring evil, as the difference of the laws which govern Great Britain and the British North American Provinces, is to invite a comparison between the Colonist and the citizen

of the United States, by no means favourable to the position of the former. To be a British subject—that is, a man partaking the blessings of law, order, and freedom, as they are enjoyed in Great Britain—is, we consider, one of the greatest privileges vouchsafed by Providence to civilized man; but to be a British Colonist, with the idea of being a British subject as we have just defined him, is the most wretched deception or hallucination that an excitable and over-sanguine individual can labour under. A Colonist is not ruled by the laws of England. Puffed up with Responsible Government, he is as far as ever from enjoying the real blessings of a British subject. He is neither a subject nor a Colonist; and yet neither a mixture nor a medium between the two: he may be called a hybrid animal.

While we abhor the republican principle, as the creator of a levelling system never intended by Providence for the government of man, we cannot deny that the citizens of the United States do enjoy the most perfect freedom, so far as their laws are concerned. Those laws, under a limited monarchy, would place the people of the Union in a far more enviable position than their trans-Atlantic brethren of the Mother-country, who must suffer for generations to come, from the unequal taxes imposed, which originated in those devastating wars in which our ancestors so thoughtlessly engaged, by meddling in continental affairs which in nowise concerned them.

But the principle of Republicanism, as we have be-



fore observed, is wholly antagonistic to the happiness of a people who have amassed wealth. We see the operation of the principle at its best in infant communities, where property is in common, where the crops are gathered in by a general "bee" meeting of neighbours, or the log-hut is erected by sympathizing backwoodsmen.

In the British Provinces that purity of government commonly attributed to a "simple and happy people," as surface travellers are prone to designate the Colonists, is not to be found. Political influence is exercised in a most corrupt manner. An election, to be successful, must have its drinking-bouts for the respective candidates.

On one occasion last winter, on proceeding from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to the frontiers of New Brunswick, we had booked a seat in the six-horse stage for Amherst. On taking our place inside, we found our companions to consist of two large kegs on the opposite seat, and one substantial barrel on the foot-rug. Behind the coach were lashed four barrels of like proportions, while the roof was heavily laden with casks. On making inquiry, we were informed that the barrels in question contained "liquor" for the Honourable Provincial Secretary who was candidate for the County of Cumberland, and whose election was to come off on the following day; the spirits, thus conveyed in the "Royal Mail," were destined by that "liberal" gentleman, to "elevate" his constituency, and to act as a powerful argument upon the senses of the electors, touching the

benefit to be derived from voting for so hospitable a candidate. Alcohol had its triumph, and the "free and independent" yeomen of Cumberland returned their favourite.

The electors are further rewarded by a species of after pecuniary compensation,—or, in other words, "bribery after the act,"—in the shape of "road compensation," which consists of an annual vote of money for the "repair" of the public roads. In a favourite district, inhabited by the constituents of a government candidate, a new road is projected, and into the electors' pockets flows money which they would otherwise not have received. As far as the roads themselves are concerned, they receive but little attention, and one-fourth of the sum annually voted would be sufficient amply to remunerate a contractor for keeping them in a perfect state of repair. That they are not now in a state so greatly to be wished, our shaken bones can attest.

In one trip of ours from Halifax to Windsor, the stage broke down three times, from plunging into fearful holes in the centre of the road. On the last break-down a couple of pine-logs about ten feet long were removed from a neighbouring fence, and placed under the coach on the axles, thus supporting the body; and in this manner we "rode on a rail" into Windsor. The only year the roads were in a creditable condition, was when the House neglected, owing to a quarrel respecting the Supplies, to vote any road-money: during that year travelling was excellent.

The "simple people," who are so extolled in the Lower Provinces for their unostentatious habits, are not by any means so simple as they appear. There is a vast amount of cunning and of the overreaching spirit in their transactions. A couple of instances, drawn from an Island alluded to in Chapter V., where responsible government has been so thoughtlessly conferred, will exhibit the sense of right and wrong, as it is understood and carried out by that "simple community." In one case, a farmer, who was short of funds, thought that the firing of his homestead—which was well insured in an English office, with an agency at Halifax—would be a desirable mode of raising the needful. He accordingly arranged a room in the lower story of his premises to commence operations, in which a fair supply of pine-bark, shavings, etc., was deposited; he ignited the mass, mounted his horse, and departed for the Capital, from whence he crossed over to Pictou and went to Halifax, to arrange business matters. He deemed it an advisable step to kill two birds with one stone; and he went therefore to the agent of the Insurance-office, duly reported the loss by fire of his farm-house, and demanded the payment of his insurance-money. The agent forwarded directions for the usual inquiries to be made on the spot, when, to the consternation of the simple farmer, and to the surprise of the agent and all concerned, it was found that the fire in the lower room, from some cause or another, had been accidentally extinguished, while the tenement, reported to have been burnt to the ground,

still stood unscathed. A hearty laugh followed this discovery, and there the matter ended.

Money was still required by the enterprising yeoman, and a fire was absolutely necessary to improve his fortunes. On the second occasion, therefore, he built up a glorious pyre, and, determining not to be baffled, he left a servant-girl with directions to see that the fire burnt freely : at length, the devoted farmhouse was consumed. The insurance-money was again applied for ; but, on inquiry, the facts of the case being too palpable, as a matter of course compensation was refused, and the simple man was warned to be more cautious in future. No prosecution ever took place.

We have known of houses, erected by "highly respectable people," on a moderate scale, being burnt down on the eve of completion, *accidentally, of course* ; the insurance-money has been received, and a more substantial and commodious edifice erected therewith. If a ship is launched, and turns out an unprofitable spec., the community will commiserate the "enterprising owner," and the common result of their sympathy and consideration is to hint that, to save himself, she must be "beached," which means, run on Sable Island or some other safe, snug spot for defrauding the Insurance-offices in this way.

In Prince Edward Island, we were paying a drover for superintending a flock of sheep. He gave his receipt in full, when, telling us a long story about his "starving children," he ended by requesting we would

let him have a barrel of flour, which lay in our agent's store, and was rather musty. We said he might have it. He then requested a written order on the store-keeper, for its delivery: this we gave him. Some days after, it turned out that the musty barrel had been disposed of before the receipt of our order. The man to whom, out of charity, we had given the order, then demanded the amount, in cash, lost by his non-receipt of the barrel of flour. This we resisted as a scandalous imposition: we had however, after some legal expense, to pay the demand of this simple Islander. I could enumerate dozens of cases of a like nature; and I have related these anecdotes, as they more forcibly exemplify the moral and social state of the lower classes of the Provinces, than any lengthened dissertation unsupported by facts.

We repeat, that the extension to these people of the franchise, as it is now exercised, was a great evil, which can only be remedied by a Legislative Union of all the Provinces—a measure which, of course, would abolish the local Houses of Assembly: then, a single vote will not be of so much consequence. Take the farming population, and they are generally a very ignorant race; their prejudices are excessive, and their minds are by no means disposed towards improvement and culture: the sight of a book or a newspaper in the house of a yeoman, is a rare and exceptional occurrence; the only literature to be seen consists of a few musty theological works of Dissenting divines, or some Temperance tracts.

There is a very considerable body in the Lower Provinces, classed as a Lodge, called the "Sons of Temperance." The heads of this fraternity number some highly respectable names; but the majority of the "Sons," under the cloak of temperance, are as hypocritical a set of knaves as it has ever been our misfortune to meet. They display the principle of Total Abstinence with ridiculous ostentation: the forms of their meetings resemble Masonic Lodges;—pass-words, badges, aprons, and emblems attack the ear and attract the eye with surprising frequency. We can confidently assert, we never encountered a "Son of Temperance," who was not one of the greatest drunkards in the community. Secret, or rather private tipping, is carried on to an awful extent: we have frequently seen a "Son" depart to a Lodge-meeting, in a state of elevation which might elicit the applause, or excite the envy, of the habitual drunkard. In the country districts liquor is imbibed to a fearful extent.

We believe that the "Sons" have carried out their principles so far as to induce the Legislature of New Brunswick to countenance an Act prohibiting the sale of ale, wine, or spirits, in the Province, under any pretext whatsoever. This is taking a leaf from the 'Maine Liquor Law,' one of the most arbitrary and unjust measures ever introduced amongst a community.

In the United States, where every one lives at a *table d'hôte*, it is a very rare occurrence to see any one taking wine or malt liquor. Indeed, if a stranger has

a decanter ordered, he becomes at once an object of peculiar observation to every one at the table; and take the opinion of the faces, and the result would be a general condemnation of such a propensity. He is a most unpopular "member of the family," as permanent boarders are designated. The feeling or expression of disgust is not peculiar to the fair sex: their hirsute neighbours equally join in the silent condemnation. The result would be an impression on a traveller's mind, that the American population, as seen at an hotel table, is the most temperate in the world. This favourable opinion only lasts until a visit has been made to the bar of the hotel after dinner. Then will the astonished tourist, in quest of the remarkable, be surprised to meet all the long-faced gentry, who so solemnly drank their ice-water a few moments before at the *table d'hôte*, surrounding the bar-keeper, imbibing through the reed, sherry-cobblers, brandy-smash, mint-julep, cocktail, gin-sling, and other intoxicating beverages, to a dangerous extent. The temperance principle is all outward show: it is even so with the "sons of temperance."

We are not surprised when we hear of any measure equally as absurd as the "Maine Liquor Law" passing the Houses of Assembly of the Lower Provinces; the constituent members, as we have before explained, by no means representing by a majority the educated or respectable classes. To these senators, their pay as members is the chief inducement to accept legislative honours.

The generality of these worthies remind us of a medical gentleman in difficulties at Philadelphia, who ingratiated himself with the Sheriff, and always got put on the paid special juries, until he became in time a 'juror' by profession. During a late session of the House of Assembly in Halifax, a fierce quarrel broke out on a vote on the supplies. The Legislative Council refused to vote the pay of the members of the House of Assembly; and the latter body reciprocated the compliment. The Houses were adjourned; and it was a pitiful sight, to see some of the members, from distant country districts, half out of their wits, to know where to get the needful to take them home: the wretchedly-elongated face of misery, carried about by one of them, I can never forget. These people should never have been returned at all; it is a positive cruelty, the making such men legislators.

In a Legislative Union, we again insist, to ensure men of intellect, wealth, and standing, becoming Members of the Parliament, the system of payment to members must be abolished; their travelling expenses alone should be allowed.

We do not refer to these few "social traits" in a spirit of unkindness; on the contrary, our object is to point out a moral, which may be easily deduced from the facts we present. The Lower Provinces are in a peculiar degree left to themselves. The bustle and commercial activity which prevail in Upper and Lower Canada are sadly deficient, and their absence



is missed in the Maritime Colonies. The three distinct legislative bodies, in full operation in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the small Colony of Prince Edward, are so many nuclei of selfish and obstructive local policy. Nothing great or noble in idea can emanate from such narrow sources. The minds of the Legislators, even when they happen to be educated men, become contracted by contiguous influence and example. This confined view of things extends throughout the Provinces; and the only conversation, when you are doomed to listen to it, is petty and exclusively local: you never hear events referred to which are passing in some adjoining Province.

The local newspapers have become, with the exception of those at Halifax and St. John's, where constant communication with the Mother-country keeps up a spirit of inquiry and general knowledge of the world's affairs, mere tools of selfish partisanship. Their diatribes are of no interest ten miles from the scene which causes such furious crimination and recrimination. Hence, the country-people remain in a painful state of ignorance, and their ideas are all fused into one mass of narrow cunning, and swinish obscurity.

We desire it to be distinctly understood, that where we have commented upon "responsible government," our remarks have not been called forth by any persuasion on our part, that that important measure conceded to the Provincials was not urgently demanded, and granted in good faith. Our opinion is, that the

principle of Responsible Government, which is most fully suited to, and happily exercised by, the people of Upper and Lower Canada, numbering a population of nearly two millions, was incautiously extended to some portions of the Lower Provinces, greatly to their injury and their retardation in social and commercial progress. In granting Responsible Government, certain checks should have been placed upon the elective and representative systems. Property should have been the basis of legislative qualification for Members of the Houses of Assembly; this would have acted as a certain disqualification, and prevented the uneducated horde, now to be found as the majority in the Maritime Houses of Assembly\*.

Responsible government was, we humbly think, unwisely granted to a Colony (Prince Edward) which has become the hotbed of anti-renters' views; a Colony only presenting seven thousand adult men capable of bearing arms, as shown by the Militia Returns; the remaining portion of the population consisting of boys, the female sex, and imbecile old age. Take the Militia Returns, as representing the bone and sinew of the Colony, and we find that nearly one per cent. are legislators of some kind or another. Surely this is quite a farce!

A great deal has been said and written against the policy of Earl Grey and Lord John Russell's Administration; but we must confess, after mature reflection

\* A £50 freehold, *not* of that annual value, is the only qualification required.

tion, and taking the enormous advance in commercial and agricultural wealth of the Canadas, that events have proved that the measures of that Ministry, as carried out by the present Governor-General of British North America, the Earl of Elgin, have been crowned, on the whole, by the happiest results: we greatly doubt whether any other Government would have done half so much in the right direction in the same period. Notwithstanding the outcry of the Opposition in the Houses of Lords and Commons against the Russell Administration, we find that, when that Opposition assumed the reins of power, and a Conservative Colonial Minister was appointed in the place of Earl Grey, in no one instance did Sir John Pakington disapprove of the previous Colonial policy of his predecessor. On the contrary, he retained as lieutenant-governors several ultra-liberal persons whose conduct had been justly remonstrated against; and when vacancies occurred in certain Colonies, the appointments to them showed an entire selection from the Whig ranks. This is enough to satisfy us that the Derby Administration, after all, whatever they might have professed before, could not themselves manage the difficult matter of Colonial Government. It is therefore perfectly ridiculous to abuse the policy of one Administration, when events have proved that none other were capable of propounding better measures.

On the other hand, we cannot deny that a large, loyal, and influential class in the Canadas disapproved of certain steps taken by the Governor-General on

the principle of "expediency." But we much mistake if the same class are not now ready to acknowledge that, however disagreeable such measures might have been, putting private feeling and outraged loyalty aside, the effect has been beneficial. It has tranquilized party acrimony and prepared the people of the Canadas to make a more united effort for the general weal.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROVINCES AS PLACES OF SETTLEMENT FOR GENTLEMEN WITH LIMITED INCOMES.—STRUGGLES OF SUCH TO KEEP UP APPEARANCES IN ENGLAND.—CONSIDERATION IN THE COLONIES.—THE CHIEF CITIES AS PLACES OF RESIDENCE.—COUNTRY ARISTOCRATS IN ENGLAND.—ATTEMPTS AT FASHIONABLE NOTORIETY.—CLIMATE OF PROVINCES.—INTEREST ON MONEY.—PRICE OF PROVISIONS.

HAVING reviewed the political condition of the British North-American Provinces, it may not be inappropriate to consider those Colonies with reference to the advantages they present, in a social aspect, for the settlement of gentlemen with limited incomes. As to the field for labour, even were there a far more extensive emigration, there can be no question upon that point; and this fact has been so often urged and insisted on, that to add any further arguments of inducement on that head would be quite superfluous and unnecessary in this place.

In considering these Provinces as a place of settlement, the first great question is as to the climate of British North America; the second, the expense of living and the price of desirable cleared locations

suited to a gentleman's family and not intended for farming. As to agricultural pursuits, other more competent authorities have so frequently expressed their views, that I do not intend to enter upon that debateable ground. All I desire to point out is, the comfortable position persons in limited but easy circumstances, with stated incomes, will be placed in by taking up their residence in the Canadas or Lower Provinces. By the phrase "persons in limited, but easy circumstances," I mean parties who in England would be denominated "independent," having funded or other settled securities to the amount of from £350 to £1000 per annum, taking the latter as the maximum, and who are consequently placed above the necessity of embarking in farming or commercial pursuits.

These constitute a class in England, who with large families have to study and practise the strictest economy to "keep up appearances" so as to make "both ends meet" when Christmas comes round. A married man in England with £1000 per annum, a family growing up, given to sociability and the exercise of moderate hospitality, keeping one horse and a brougham, with a coachman doing the combined duties of groom, footman, and butler, and four female domestics, — such a man's life is one continued struggle to appear independent, while he is, in fact, a poor man, the permanent provision for whose children remains a matter extremely problematical.

Take the general opinion of the middle classes of

society, and such a person would be called wealthy; he alone knows the contrary—if indeed we must except his tradesmen and his banker. In any portion of British North America a gentleman thus situated would be, in fact, a star of the first magnitude. He would be a leading member of the community, his daughters the recognized *ton*, his sons most eligible young gentlemen. To every ball, official and private, he would have the *entrée*: to be without his society would be to render the party incomplete. His pic-nics would be *the* event of “the season.” He could keep his carriage, four or five horses and servants, give entertainments, and take the lead in everything. The Governor’s Lady’s ‘At-homes’ would be left regularly at his door by an orderly serjeant, and a seat at the Governor’s table would be his privilege many times in the year,—his wife and his daughters always welcome, and in the ball-room would be duly patronized. If he mingled in politics, possessing only moderate talents, the “Honourable” would soon be attached to his name, and some snug colonial sinecure would fall to his lot, to add to his already competent income. In the Province in which he lived he would be known throughout its length and breadth; he would be referred to as “our wealthy townsman.” On passing along the streets, every well-dressed person would be too happy to claim his acquaintance; from every carriage ladies would bow their recognition. Welcome at the mess-table, the steward of every bazaar, race, and regatta, he would in fine be a

man of considerable importance. Mind, he would not be *the* wealthy man *par excellence* of the community, for in all the Colonies there are many such ; but, in common with them, he would take his position as one of the leading men.

All that precedes, however, has been stated on the supposition that he is a gentleman in his manners, a man of refinement and education, and not a mere *parvenu*, or retired London tradesman. There are some of these to be seen, but they never take the lead : the Colonists are very acute in finding out the distinction.

His position in life may be thus summed up :— he would live in an elegant house, surrounded with grounds,—from twenty to fifty acres,—in the environs of Montreal, Quebec, Kingston, Toronto, London, Canada West ; Frederickton, or St. John's, New Brunswick ; and last, though not least, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Those towns are *the* chief, and to a man in his position, one or other of them would be selected. He has his carriage, his handsome sleigh for winter service ; horses for himself, his lady, and daughters ; elegantly-furnished saloons, library, ball- and dining-rooms ; his choice wines, his stables, his gun and rod, his Indian canoe and retainers. He could afford to entertain his friends hospitably ; to provide a governess and masters for his daughters finishing their education ; to send his sons to college,—there is one to be found in every Province :—in a word, he could be an independent, happy man ; his income not only



sufficient for all these luxuries, but leaving a few hundreds to put by every year. And each night he would surely retire to bed in thankfulness for the comforts by which he is surrounded ; no cloud intervening, nor a thought of debts unpaid, or income gradually lessening ; no uncertainty as to the fate of his children, should he be suddenly summoned away. He knows he is independent ; the future of his children prosperous, as far as he is concerned. Misfortune could only be the result of *their* indiscretion.

Review the position of the same person in England, in any of the large towns, or London, where most do congregate, to avoid the tameness and tedium of a country life. If he remain in the country—where the Duke or Earl of ——, or that “good old family,” are *the* only people, the idols of the county, with their fifty or hundred thousand a year rent-roll—what is a man with a £1000 a year in that county? A nobody.

I do not wish—far from it—to speak in a depreciating tone of our aristocracy ; on the contrary, I consider them as the chivalry of the land, and in all that constitutes manliness and honour, they stand unrivalled in the world ; and long may they enjoy their justly-possessed hereditary riches and power in the nation, which they so well deserve, as the bulwark of our freedom in every crisis, from the noble stand of King John’s Barons, down to the passing of our modern Magna Charta—the Reform Bill. But their station and wealth naturally lead to a more or less exclusive association with persons of their own

position in life. It is therefore preposterous for a gentleman with £1000 a year to attempt to vie with them, and knowing this, he feels the more acutely the inconveniences incidental to his position.

Enormous fortunes are unknown in the New World, and consequently the nobody with a thousand a year in England is the somebody in British North America, and in fact a very great body.

This thousand a year, so despised in England, would, we repeat, bring with it, to the man of spirit settling in any of the cities in the British North American Provinces, consideration, position, and acknowledged respectability. Why more do not avail themselves of these opportunities, we are often sorely puzzled to imagine.

As to climate, that of British North America exceeds in salubrity any other portion of the globe. The Canadian winter, which some so dread in England from what they have heard of its rigour, is one of the most healthy and delightful seasons in the year. In Canada West it is about six weeks shorter in duration than at Montreal or Quebec; but then in the lowland situations in Upper Canada there is always a good deal of fever and ague. The summers are most delightful, and although the sun is hot at mid-day, no evil effects arise from it. Even the Lower Provinces, which are the least known in England, and are considered foggy, are most healthy; and Halifax, from its resident gentry, the general tone of its society, the delightful environs, exquisite drives, and proximity of

communication by the Royal Mail steamers with England and the United States, is one of the pleasantest places of residence in the Lower Provinces.

A highly genteel residence and suitable grounds—say from fifty to a hundred acres—could be purchased for from £1200 to £1500 sterling, such a place as in England could not be got for £8000. The only drawback which a residence in Halifax presents,—and that is a most important one for a family man,—is the present stagnation in commercial pursuits. There is really no opening for a young gentleman who wishes to obtain suitable occupation. As to the law, it is perfectly gorged with a plethora of practitioners, and a couple of leading firms almost monopolize the practice. From the long delay in completing the Halifax Railway, (caused by the insane course of policy pursued by those who oppose every scheme for that purpose, in which they cannot see their way to make,) a great many enterprising citizens of this place have become disgusted, and have left Nova Scotia, giving up all hope of the long promised “good time coming.” In Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Kingston, and other cities in the Canadas, there is every opportunity presented for the employment of time and talent,—such is the present enormous commercial prosperity of those places.

Another great inducement offered for people with settled incomes, particularly those who have money in the Funds in England, is the rate of legal interest obtainable for money in any portion of British North

America. Six or seven per cent. can be obtained on security—landed, mortgage, and household—as safe as in the Bank of England. Therefore, a gentleman with £500 a year in the Three per Cents. in England, has £1000 a year in those Provinces, if he invests in their securities. The “thousand a year” gentleman of the Old Country has two thousand a year in the Canadas; while one thousand a year in any portion of British North America will go as far as five thousand in England, and purchase the same amount of luxury and comfort, with a circle of refined and gentlemanly society, in no degree below that of the same class of gentry in England. While in the Old Country this income only places you on the outskirts of aristocratic society, in these Provinces you are yourself an aristocrat, in the strict sense of the word. Not one of the least happy results, as far as worldly goods are concerned, to those who are thus situated, in migrating to the healthful shores of the British North American Provinces, is derivable from the fact that they are removed from the debasing example of paying homage to greater personages than themselves, which so ridiculously prevails in the Old Country. That idol-worship of individuals must give place in our northern skies to the worship of Nature’s magnificent works, as displayed in the mountains, and valleys, and rivers which flow down to the mighty deep.

In the Lower Provinces a sheep can be purchased, skin and all, in good condition, weighing on an ave-

rage seventy pounds, for 10*s.*, which is a little more than 1½*d.* per pound; in joints the same can be bought at 2*d.* per pound; beef is 2*d.* per pound; a salmon, from sixteen to eighteen pounds' weight, 2*s.* the whole fish,—lobster for nothing, as sauce; halibut and cod, ½*d.* per pound; trout, twelve for 6*d.*; wild ducks, 6*d.* per pair; partridges, two pounds' weight each, 1*s.* per pair; moose-deer steak, 3*d.* per pound; a turkey, weighing ten pounds, 1*s.* 3*d.*; a goose, ten pounds' weight, 6*d.* to 8*d.*; a barrel of flour, best Canada superfine, \$4, or 16*s.*, for 196 pounds; fowls are 4*d.* to 6*d.* per pair; veal is 1½*d.* per pound; potatoes, best island, 1*s.* per bushel; oats 1*s.* per bushel; a horse at livery, 8*s.* a week.

Clothing is as cheap as in England. Any standard English work, published in London at 32*s.* (an American reprint), twenty-five cents—1*s.*

Wines:—best pale sherry, 18*s.* per dozen, *retail* (about 10*s.* in wood); port, 12*s.* per dozen, *retail*, the very best, direct from Portugal, brought out in exchange for cod-fish; cigars, best prime Havanna, 12*s.* per pound.

Board in Halifax, at the first establishments, is extremely moderate. I will instance a bill paid for myself and wife, three children, two maid-servants and a man-servant, amounting to five pounds sterling per week; no extras, except wines.

The above prices will apply, with very slight alteration, to most parts of British North America.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.—POSITION OF ENGLAND IN REFERENCE TO HER VAST COLONIAL POSSESSIONS IN HINDOSTAN, ETC.—PROXIMITY OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES RENDERS THEM ALL-IMPORTANT.—ANNEXATION WOULD LEAD TO EXTENSION OF SLAVERY.—THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—ITS EFFECTS ON NEGROES IN CANADA, IF ANNEXED.—BRITISH NORTH AMERICA TO REMAIN BRITISH, NECESSARY FOR FREEDOM ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.—DANGER OF A CONTINUED LUKEWARMNESS BY THE MOTHER-COUNTRY.—IT WILL RESULT IN A SEVERANCE OF THE COLONIES.—A MILITARY ASPIRANT MAY APPEAR.—THE LOYALISTS OF CANADA.—INDEPENDENCE BASED ON MONARCHICAL PRINCIPLES.—DIFFERENT VIEWS, AS EXPRESSED BY THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, SIR JOHN PAKINGTON, THE EARL OF DERBY, AND MR. ADDERLEY, M.P.

In bringing to a conclusion my observations upon the political and social condition of the British North American Colonies, I desire finally to impress upon the English reader the real importance of the question at issue. It is not the retention to the Mother-country of a noble territorial extent on the American continent, which, from its magnitude, must add in some degree to the dignity of the British Colonial Empire, which should be the only reason for desiring the continuance of our connection with Great Britain. While England

is mistress of the vast Hindostanee Empire, with her 100,000,000 of subjects ; of the Australian continent, larger in extent than all Europe, with its boundless auriferous riches, and of her numerous other distinct colonial dependencies ; the loss of the Canadas, it may be argued, would not detract much from her Colonial greatness. The proximity, however, of her North American possessions at once elevates those Colonies to a position of paramount importance, which none other, however magnificent their extent or resources, can equal. The Provinces from whence she draws a large number of sailors for her merchant-service and men-of-war are too valuable to be relinquished, and virtually handed over to a rival maritime power.

But it is not only as a question of national pride, that this subject should be viewed ; it involves one of vaster extent, namely, its operation on the freedom of millions born and to be born ;—not the mere freedom which rival partisans of Monarchism and Republicanism would point to, as exemplifying their favourite forms of government, in contradistinction to all others, but the actual freedom from chains, the scourge and the bondage of withering slavery. Once permit, by lukewarmness, British North America to be annexed to the United States, and then the last sanctuary of persecuted humanity on that continent is closed for ever. The system of slavery will become the more extended and riveted by the northern “ expansion ” of territory. Then the south, to maintain the balance, will move across the Rio Grande, and all

Mexico, to the Halls of Montezuma, must finally fall within the grasp of American dominion. Slavery will extend where, at present, the land is free from that accursed pollution. Then Cuba will submit, to add the star of the Caribbean Sea, to the Milky Way of the satellites of the Great Continental Union. Cuba—the hot-bed of slavery, the future nursery, to people the soil of still free Mexico—will also be the grand reservoir from whence the enslaved South will be re-animated with a fresh supply of human chattels. Saint Domingo will follow, and Porto Rico. Should British North America join the Union, what becomes of those poor wretches who have braved every peril, to seek a free home in Canada? *They must return to slavery.* Yes, Reader, mark this well. Ye philanthropists, whose hearts are overflowing with love for the human family, think of the woe yet in store for those miserable runaways, who are so eagerly watched by the slave-hunter across the frontiers. Let annexation take place—and it will, as sure as the sun shines in heaven, unless speedily prevented by permanent monarchical institutions being established in British North America—and the Fugitive Slave Law will come into full operation. There are, at this moment, in the Canadas, thousands of runaway slaves, now coloured subjects of Her Majesty; and we are pretty certain that, under the Fugitive Slave Law, the slave-claimant could not only recover his slave, but also the children of such, though born free in the Canadas: and that these could be claimed as the property of the owner



of the parent. What a lasting disgrace (which is not only a probability, but, in the event of annexation, a certainty) such a result would inflict on our vaunted country! What an amount of human misery will be caused by the English statesman, by whose supineness those noble Colonies are permitted to fall into the grasp of our exulting republican neighbours!

British North America, remaining British, is necessary for the cause of freedom on the American continent.

In the event of things being permitted to take their course, and England remaining lukewarm or indifferent as to the ultimate fate of her noble Canadian possessions, nothing can save those Provinces from annexation, unless, at a season of trouble, near or remote, some great patriotic spirit arise from the ranks of the people, who, dearly loving his country and the institutions under which he was born, may summon around him a loyal body, and, gathering strength from the hardy British yeomen, the men of Glengarry, and the loyalists of 1837-8-40, the M'Nabs, Gugys, Youngs, and other military leaders, sound the toscin, and an army of rough, though loyal-hearted riflemen from the backwoods and settlements, may hasten to the rescue—not of a monarch's sway, for the Ministers of the Sovereign will have declined to save the Provinces for their Royal Mistress—but the rescue of British North America from Republican dominion. Providence might then design those Provinces for a new dynasty; and, though lost to England

for ever, a powerful nation might spring forth, retaining, though free and independent of the Mother-country, on the American continent, British monarchical institutions.

The Duke of Newcastle, on the second reading of the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill, on the 22nd of April, remarked,—

“ The Canadas were enjoying a state of extraordinary prosperity, peace, and contentment. Your *Lordships now hear nothing of annexation* ; and this was very much in consequence of the wise course which had been pursued for several years, both by the Government at home, and by my noble friend Lord Elgin, in the Government of the Colony. *The Canadas did not require to be annexed to any other nation, and independence was as little thought of in that Colony as annexation.*”

If His Grace were to visit the British North American Provinces, he would find not a dissenting voice to the opinion, that, if events progress as they have done, *annexation* is inevitable. This sentiment may not be conveyed in official despatches, by which the Colonial Office is mainly informed and influenced in its opinions ; but it is the decided impression of the leading merchants and chief men in all these Provinces.

What is the view of the Duke of Newcastle's predecessor in the Colonial Office, on Canadian independence or annexation ? Sir John Pakington, on the debate in the House of Commons upon the third reading of the Clergy Reserves Bill, on the 11th of April, said :—

“ I had always believed that when the Union of the two Provinces was signed, from that moment, the *separation of Canada from England* became only a *question of time*. I should be sorry to see the time when Canada was lost to this country.”

The impression made upon these two Colonial authorities must have been widely different ; and yet both have had access to the same sources of information, both have perused the past and present official despatches from the Governor-General, and Lieutenant-Governors of the other Provinces. And yet one Colonial Minister says, “ independence was as little thought of as annexation ;” and in the same month, on a similar debate, the Colonial Minister who preceded the Duke of Newcastle gives it as his opinion, “ the separation of Canada from England became only a question of time ;” while, as if to account for this diversity of opinion, the Earl of Derby, the late Premier, admits, in his speech to the House of Lords on the Clergy debate, that the distance between the Canadas and England keeps their Lordships but “ imperfectly informed” upon Colonial subjects.

And it is this “ imperfect information” which will ultimately lead (and when it is least anticipated) to the entire loss of the Canadas to the English Crown, unless in time averted by judicious measures. As Responsible Government has been admitted as a *fact*, steps are now daily taken, by the measures which pass the Imperial Parliament, to remove the last obstacle, by virtually granting entire independence to the British North American Provinces.

That the Provincials are requested to consider themselves no longer Colonists, is quite apparent from the tone of the speeches which are every day uttered in the Houses of Lords and Commons. The following extract from Lord John Russell's speech on the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill exhibits the most enlightened and statesman-like view of the position and requirements of the Provincials, although at the same time the Colonists may be instigated to imagine that it reads equally as well, and is, in point of fact, as candid and elaborate an exponent of Canadian independence as the celebrated American Declaration of the 4th of July, 1776, which declared "all men free and equal:"—

"If we tell the people of Canada, that *we must have our own notions* adopted by them; that we must have *our own ideas prevail among them*; that *our own rules and our own regulations* must be their normal rules and regulations; then indeed the connection between this country and that great Province would be brief. I am quite sure the majority of the House will agree with me in the opinion, that to say to a great Province such as Canada,—with 2,000,000 of people, its population and its wealth daily, hourly increasing, distant 3000 miles from our own shores, its condition differing in many respects from that of the United Kingdom,—to say to such a Province, 'You must leave it to us to make all laws and regulations for you, and you must be content to have merely the minutiae of municipal administration left to your own discretion;'—to say this would be not simply unwise, but impossible. No, the connection between us and Canada must be founded on liberal and generous principles."

None can deny that these principles are excessively "liberal and generous" when England thus professes to hold a people as Colonists, and to govern them as such, and yet at the same time tells that people, "We do not require our own notions to be adopted by you; it is not necessary that our ideas should prevail amongst you; our own rules and our own regulations need not be your normal rules and regulations." Many persons might misinterpret Lord John Russell's meaning, which was doubtless intended only to convey a generous desire of concession into sentiments similar to these:—"We do not profess to be able to govern you; you are 2,000,000, and far too strong for us; your population and wealth are so daily and hourly increasing that we cannot see our way clearly any longer to guide you; you are far better able to manage your own affairs than we are; you are 3000 miles off, and too far away from home to keep the interest any longer alive in our breasts about you. You have now got a good start in life; we have educated you, and endeavoured to instil good principles into your hearts; you can afford to keep yourselves, without any further aid from us. Act like men; don't cry about it, or be melancholy at leaving the paternal roof; go forth about your business, and our blessing shall always be with you."

If ever a people were pretty well persuaded to become unsettled in their ideas, it is the Provincials of British North America. How they have so long withstood the cold shoulder being given to them in Parliament, and the gracious supercilious bowing out,

and anxiety to bring this question to an issue, is quite marvellous.

I cannot better draw to a conclusion my observations upon the apathy which exists with reference to the ultimate fate of the British North American Provinces, than by quoting the following very appropriate and pointed remarks, made by Mr. Adderley, M.P., upon the question of the Colonial Policy of Great Britain:—"At all events, I pray you to remember that the first symptom of Rome's decay was the *willing relinquishment* of her Danubian Provinces."

THE END.

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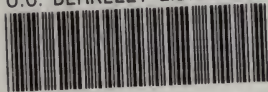
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