64. Buckingham

A.HICK.

W. H. Bartlett.

Quebec, from the opposite shore of the

J. Cousen.

Opposite shore of the St. Lawrence.

CANADA,

NOVA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK,

AND THE OTHER

BRITISH PROVINCES IN NORTH AMERICA,

WITH A PLAN OF

NATIONAL COLONIZATION.

BY JAMES S. BUCKINGHAM.

FISHER, SON, & CO.
NEWGATE STREET, LONDON; RUE ST. HONORÉ, PARIS.

DEDICATION.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR CHARLES T. METCALFE, BART.,

Governor-General of Canada,

as a

SINCERE TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM FOR HIS MANY PRIVATE VIRTUES,

and of admiration for the

LIBERALITY OF SENTIMENT—INFLEXIBLE INTEGRITY—
AND HIGH MORAL COURAGE,

Which has marked his successive Administrations in the

EASTERN AND WESTERN WORLDS,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

(*with his kind permission,*)

BY ONE, WHO, HAVING ENJOYED THE ADVANTAGE

OF HIS EARLY FRIENDSHIP IN HINDOOSTAN, A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO,

Has seen with unalloyed satisfaction

HIS HIGH AND HONOURABLE APPOINTMENTS AS A GOVERNOR
IN BENGAL, JAMAICA, AND CANADA;

And who gladly avails himself of this opportunity

TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO THOSE SENTIMENTS OF PRIVATE REGARD AND
ESTEEM, AND PUBLIC RESPECT AND HOMAGE,

which a uniform career of

FIRMNESS OF PURPOSE, UNITED WITH MILDNESS OF MANNERS,
JUSTNESS OF OBJECT, PURSUED WITH MODERATION OF MEANS,
AND TRUE DIGNITY OF OFFICE, BLENDED WITH
ACCESSIBILITY, FRANKNESS, AND COURTESY TO ALL,

Are so well calculated to inspire.

MAY HIS ADMINISTRATION BE AS HONOURABLE
TO HIS WELL-EARNED RENOWN,
AS ACCEPTABLE TO HIS BELOVED SOVEREIGN;
and, above all,
AS FAVOURABLE TO THE PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS
OF THE COLONISTS UNDER HIS RULE,
AS THE MOST FERVENT PATRIOT OR PHILANTHROPIST
COULD DESIRE!

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

London, May 1, 1843.

SIR CHARLES METCALFE TO MR. BUCKINGHAM.

Liverpool, 3d of March, 1843, 2 A.M.

MY DEAR SIR,

I write a hurried line, at this unusual hour, to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter of the 28th ultimo, to say that I rejoice to see that you propose to publish on Canada, and that I accept, with pride and pleasure, the honour of the Dedication of your forthcoming Work.

I could not rely on any opportunity of writing during the present day, and early to-morrow I shall be on the sea, away from the means of communication with you.

With many thanks for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter,

I remain, my dear Sir, your's very truly,

C. T. METCALFE.

To J. S. Buckingham, Esq.

PREFACE.

In committing to the press the last volume of my Travels on the Continent of America, I have only to ask for it the same careful and patient examination, and the same candid and impartial criticism, by which those who may read its pages would like any work of their own to be judged, were they about to appear before the tribunal of the public.

Of the narrative and descriptive portions, there will not probably be much difference of opinion, as the pictures possess at least fidelity and truth, from their being drawn on the spot. On the historical and statistic sections, all practicable care has been bestowed, and the best accessible authorities, ancient and modern, diligently consulted and compared. And of the illustrations, it is sufficient perhaps to say that they are from the pencil of Mr. Bartlett, to ensure for them that confidence in their accuracy, to which, all who have seen the cities and scenes delineated, will bear their willing testimony.

The portion of this work that will no doubt excite some opinions in accordance, and others at variance with the Author's views, is that which embraces the Chapter on National Colonization. But, as it is the fate of all new projects or propositions—from the Expedition of Columbus, down to the introduction of

Gas Lights, Steam Navigation, a Civic Police, Slave-Emancipation, Cheap Postage, or Free Trade—to meet with opposition, from the classes who are most slow to perceive the advantages of improvement, and from those who are interested in maintaining things as they are; so it would be vain to expect that a proposition so bold and comprehensive as that of introducing an entire new system of planting Colonies abroad, should be received even with general favour. It must pass through its ordeal of abuse, ridicule, scorn, and contempt, like all other projects; and Time alone will decide whether it has within it the elements of truth, justice, and practicability, to sustain it through the conflict.

I beg the favour, therefore, of those to whom this proposition seems at first uninviting, to remember well, that it is the common trick of those who will not give themselves the trouble to *examine* what is new, to excuse their indolence, and flatter their self-love at the same time, by affecting a degree of wisdom so superior to that of ordinary mortals, as to be able to pronounce judgment without weighing the evidence, and oracularly to condemn everything which they will not give themselves the pains to understand, as "visionary and impracticable." This has been the sentence of shallow-minded men, in every age, on every subject that was in advance of their own understanding or their own industry to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with; and this is the cuckoo-note of shallow-minded persons still.

If the "army of martyrs" who have been thought "visionaries" in their day and generation,—from Anaxagoras, who was condemned for impiety towards

the gods, because he taught some new astronomical truths, and contended that there was only one Supreme Intelligence ruling the Universe, down to Galileo, who was imprisoned by the Inquisition for broaching new "impieties" of the same description; and so onward to Columbus, who was treated as a "visionary" by the Courts and Colleges of Europe; or Fulton, who was an object of scorn and ridicule to the multitude when he made his first attempt to propel a vessel by steam on the Hudson river; or, in moral changes, to Wilberforce and Clarkson, who were regarded as "monomaniacs" —or Father Mathew, who was at first considered a mere "dreamer"—and the advocates of substituting a Congress of Nations to maintain Universal Peace, and settle all national disputes by arbitration instead of having recourse to war, all of whom are regarded by the great majority of mankind as "imbeciles" or "fanatics;"—if such an "army of martyrs" could be raised from the dead some fifty years hence, when their "visionary and impracticable schemes" have all received the stamp of Time to mark them as the works of men who had effected the greatest and most beneficial revolutions in human affairs;—and if such a "host of visionaries" could at the same time be confronted with the weak and shallow men who derided their efforts, scoffed at their projects, and either persecuted or denounced them as madmen or fools—how would the glory of the one and the shame of the other stand out in bold relief, and each make the other more conspicuous!

But, let the planners and projectors of the world, visionary though they may be deemed, console them-

selves with this reflection, that it is to the very enthusiasts who are so contemptuously scorned, that the world owes all the pioneering efforts which have resulted in the discovery and promulgation of almost every great physical, moral, or political change that has yet improved the condition of mankind ;—that their zeal, which is so much ridiculed, furnishes the only power which could sustain them in their frowned-upon and discouraged career;—and that their indifference and superiority to the scoffs of the ignorant, their single-mindedness of purpose, and their unconquerable perseverance in what they believe to be just and true, can alone achieve the triumphs they so ardently desire.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

8, *Regent's Villas,*
Avenue Road,
Regent's Park.

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CANADA
AND
THE OTHER BRITISH PROVINCES
IN
NORTH AMERICA.
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LOWER CANADA
NEW BRUNSWICK
NOVA SCOTIA
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Eastmain Ft.
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JAMES BAY
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Moose R.
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Brunswick
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Temiscouata Ho.
Pinetubbi L.
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Mingan Is
C. Whittle
M. Joli
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ANTICOSTI
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Fort Edmonton
Fort Carlton
Fort Pitt
Fort Cumberland
Fort Chipewyan
Fort Resolution
Fort Providence

CANADA.

CHAP. I.

Departure from the United States for Canada—Embark at Queenstown in an English steamer—Pass between Fort Niagara and Fort George—Historical Incidents connected with these Forts—Voyage across Lake Ontario—Agreeable contrast of an English steamer with an American—Arrival at Toronto.

HAVING now concluded our Survey of the United States of America, after a tour of three years, during which we had visited nearly every part of that extensive country, we were anxious to follow it up by as careful and impartial an examination of the British Possessions on the same Continent, including Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The diversity of opinion as to the value of these Possessions and the condition of their inhabitants, which prevailed in England, as well as the opposite views taken by different parties as to the merits or demerits of the recent rebellion, rendered it highly

desirable that a calm and unbiassed investigation should be made by some one who had neither prepossessions nor prejudices to sustain, and who would therefore examine with patience, and record with fidelity, all that passed within his observation during his travels through these Provinces. In this spirit, I can truly say, that I entered on the task; and I had the fullest confidence that, in the same spirit, I should continue to pursue it to the end. The following narrative of our journey, and the reflections to which the incidents of it gave rise, will best determine how far that resolution has been strictly adhered to.

On Monday, the 24th of August, 1839, we left the United States of America for Canada—embarking at Queenstown, in the Straits of Niagara, on board the English steamer Transit, Capt. Richardson. We left the wharf at Queenstown at 2 P. M., and running down the five or six miles of the narrow stream which divides the British from the American territory, we entered the Lake Ontario. On the right hand of our track we had Fort Niagara, with the American flag flying—and on the left hand, Fort George, and Fort Missassauga, or the Rattlesnake, in the British town of Niagara. On these last, no colours were displayed, though there were two flag-staffs—one on each Fort—and a number of English troops in garrison: the British flag was nowhere seen, though a British vessel was passing, while the American stripes and stars were floating in the breeze. This was a neglect which we could not but regret; as the sight of the national banner, wherever it may of right be honourably displayed, is

always welcome to the eye, and cheering to the heart, of those who regard it as their own.

The two British Forts were the scene of a deadly struggle for supremacy between the Americans and the English, in May, 1813; the former making the attack, from their opposite Fort, and from batteries along the river; while Commodore Chauncey, with a fleet of American vessels, and 200 boats laden with men, opened a bombardment from the ships, and landed their men. They were seconded in their efforts by a discharge, from the cross-fire of the batteries, of red-hot shot and shells, and succeeded in driving the British from their entrenchments, and setting fire to their forts. But the English rallied after their retreat—re-organized—returned to the charge—and, in a desperate struggle, succeeded in driving their enemies back into the Lake, and obtaining and keeping safe possession of their original posts: such are the vicissitudes of war!

The American Fort, Niagara, is of much older date than the British Fort, St. George. As early as 1769, the spot on which Fort Niagara now stands, was enclosed by a stockade, and used as a fortress against the native Indians, by the celebrated French commander, La Salle. The present fort was built as early as 1725, by the French: but in 1759, it was taken by Sir William Johnson, on the part of the British, by whom it was, in 1796, ceded to the Americans. In 1813 it was again taken by the English; and, in 1815, again yielded to the United States, with whom it has ever since continued, being on the territory of the State of New York, the north-west angle of which is the point of junction between

the Straits of Niagara and Lake Ontario, the spot on which this fortress stands.

In a sketch of the history of this Fort, it is said, that, during its early occupation by the French, there were close and impregnable dungeons afterwards discovered, with instruments of torture in them for inflicting pain or death upon the victims incarcerated there. It is added, that during the American revolution, all kinds of atrocities were perpetrated here, by an abandoned set of miscreants, who lived by plunder and murder on this then remote frontier. Here, it is said by an American writer, "civilized Europe revelled with savage America; and ladies of education and refinement mingled in the society of those, whose only distinction was to wield the bloody tomahawk and scalping knife. There the squaws of the forest were raised to eminence, and the most unholy unions between them and officers of the highest rank, were smiled upon and countenanced. There, in their strongholds, like a nest of vultures, they dwelt securely for seven years, sallying forth from time to time, and preying upon the distant settlements of the Mohawks and Susquehannahs. It was the depôt of their plunder, and the place in which they planned all their forays, and to which they returned to feast and riot, till the hour of plunder and murder returned again. The dungeon of the mess-house, called the Black-Hole, was a strong, dark, and dismal place; and in one corner of the room was fixed the apparatus for strangling the unhappy wretches who fell under the displeasure of the despots that held rule here in early days. A merchant residing at this Fort, in

1812, when an attack upon it was every hour expected from the British, deposited some of his most valuable articles in one of these dungeons for security; and having to go down into it with a light, he found to his surprise, that the walls from top to bottom were covered with the names of French persons who had been there confined—some of them accompanied by sentences in their native language—but of which he was then too hurried to take notes. Among the countless mementoes thus left in this dark abode of misery, he found to his great astonishment the name of one of his own family, perhaps an ancestor, distinctly engraved in large letters, well preserved! In 1805, when some excavations were made to clean out an old drain, the skeleton of a female, supposed to have been murdered here, was found concealed. It was in this same Fort, whose past history, perhaps, suggested the choice of such a spot for such a deed, that a few years since, a person named William Morgan, who had disclosed all he knew of the secrets of Free-Masonry, was kidnapped from the jail of Canandaigua, where he was confined for debt, by some over-zealous Masons; carried away by them in a private carriage for upwards of a hundred miles—locked by them in the powder magazine at this place—kept there for three or four days without discovery or detection, and never heard of more! Such is the black and fearful history of this crime-stained fortress, which at one time was of immense strength, and covered an area of eight acres in space; a spot worthy to be called by the expressive name originally bestowed on Kentucky—"the dark and bloody ground."

Our passage across Lake Ontario was most agreeable. The weather was very fine, the water smooth, the society intelligent; and everything connected with the management of the steamboat admirably conducted. We dined at three o'clock, and never since we left England, had we been seated at a table more perfectly English in all its service, arrangements, fare, and attendance. Instead of the long and narrow table of American steamboats and hotels, with a multiplicity of dishes so crowded as often to lap over each other, we had a table of ample width, and comparatively few dishes; but these were all excellent. Instead of the common white earthenware, without covers, coarse glass, and still coarser cutlery and metal spoons, so constantly seen at the public tables of America, we had here a service of richly coloured and gilded china, with plated covers for the dishes, fine crystal cut glass, cutlery of the best quality, and massive silver spoons and forks. The quiet ease and gentlemanly leisure in which the meal was served and partaken was the very opposite of the hurry and bustle of an American dinner; and the dishes themselves were without exception all of the best kind; while on an American steamboat table half of those placed there contain mere scraps, which few persons touch, and which indeed do not seem to be intended for any other purpose than to fill up the space, and crowd the table with an appearance of excessive abundance. The servants too had been trained in a good school, and were all remarkably clean, well dressed, and attentive, without the running and scrambling which is characteristic of American attendants. For this, however-

they can scarcely be blamed, because where the guests are all eager to finish their meals in ten or fifteen minutes of time, and are each too busy on their own account to spare any time to help their neighbours, the dishes that require carving must be taken from the table to the sideboard, and as each servant has to go there for whatever is wanted in a room of 100 or a cabin of 50 feet in length, it is only by running at the swiftest speed that they can get through their labours within the specified time. A relief from all this noise and bustle was peculiarly agreeable to us; and as we sat for half an hour after dinner at the table, in light and cheerful conversation according to the English fashion, the whole scene furnished a stronger contrast to what we had recently witnessed, in everything except language, than is experienced in crossing the channel from France to England.

After a most agreeable voyage across the Lake, we reached Toronto at 6 P. M. and procured apartments at the North American hotel.

We remained at Toronto for three weeks; and found our stay so agreeable that we should willingly have prolonged it to three months, had the season not been too far advanced to admit of our doing this. We had the good fortune to possess letters of introduction to some of the principal families of the city, and these obtained for us the most hospitable attentions on their parts, and favourable introductions to others. Added to this, I met an unusual number of old friends and acquaintances assembled here from different parts of the world, one from Bombay, one from Madras, two from Calcutta, one

from Malta, one from Trinidad in the West Indies, and a great number from different parts of England and the United States. All this brought around us a most delightful circle of friends, so that we felt ourselves more at home here than we had done since leaving London.

During our stay at Toronto, we took several pleasant drives through the country surrounding the town ; and had all our inquiries respecting the past history and present condition of the province freely answered. We mingled too with all ranks of society, from that of the Lieut.-Governor, the Judges, and the heads of departments, to the farmers from the neighbouring districts, and persons engaged in trade, whom we met on various occasions. The means of acquiring correct information were therefore placed within our reach ; and from these, added to personal investigation, the following sketch of Toronto was compiled.

CHAP. II.

Sketch of the history of York or Toronto—Position of the town—Size, plan, streets—Wooden side-walks—Long plank turnpike road—Superiority in pleasure and economy to macadamized roads—Public edifices—Parliament House and offices—Hall of Representatives—Legislative council-chamber —College buildings and grounds—Funds for endowment—Course and cost of education—Government House—Churches, —Episcopal service—Differences in English and American Churches—Newspapers—Judicial establishment—Professions of law and medicine—Hospital and asylum—Emigrant office —Banks and currency—Municipal government.

It is now about thirty years since the town of York was first founded here. For many years it continued to be a mere village of wooden houses, the settlement being so insignificant that it was generally called "Little York;" and as the streets were unpaved, and often impassable in the rainy season, it was occasionally called "Dirty Little York." As this was an undignified combination of epithets for the metropolis of Upper Canada, an act of the Legislature was passed about eight years since, by which its name was changed to Toronto. It is now, indeed, neither "little" nor "dirty;" but, both in size and cleanliness, may rank with many of the provincial capitals of the United States. It is about six years since, that it took its first start towards a more rapid

increase in size and numbers. At that period the population was estimated at 4,000; and there were but two brick edifices in the town. At present it numbers about 13,000 inhabitants, and it has more than two hundred brick buildings. Besides these, there are a great number of pretty villas, and genteel cottage residences, with gardens and lawns, within the distance of a mile from the city, which add greatly to its beauty, and give proof of the taste, comfort, and even opulence, of the higher classes of the community, by whom these detached dwellings are chiefly occupied.

The position of Toronto is highly advantageous. It lies on the northern shore of a bay, formed by a long low strip of sand and alluvium, cast up by the river Don, a little to the eastward of the town, and stretching itself along westerly, in a line almost parallel to the inner shore. This forms a bay of about six miles in depth, and ten in breadth. It is sufficiently protected from the winds and seas of the Lake Ontario, by the strip of low land described; and as well protected from the entrance of an enemy's force, by the extreme narrowness of the only channel by which vessels can enter, this being guarded by a strong fort, now constructing to supersede an older one placed nearer to the town.

Along the northern shore of this bay, approaching close to the water's edge, stands the City of Toronto. On its northern, eastern, and western border, it has level and gently undulated tracts of country, well cleared and cultivated. On the south it has before it the bay and the long strip of land, with a narrow belt of trees rising apparently almost

out of the Lake, and terminating in the western point. On this point is a lighthouse, just opposite to the Fort, with the narrows or channel of entrance between them. This strip of land, for it is nothing more, bears the singularly inappropriate name of "Gibraltar," to which it is in every respect as dissimilar as can possibly be imagined. A little to the westward of the entrance is a small stream called the Humber, but neither it nor the Don are navigable at any distance from the Lake.

The plan of Toronto is as regular and symmetrical as that of any American city, and its streets are as broad as those of Rochester or Buffalo. The principal streets run parallel to the Lake, and these are intersected by others running at right angles to them. Along the edge of the bay there has been judiciously left a sufficient space to form a fine drive or promenade; and there being here a number of excellent mansions with gardens, fronting the Lake, as well as the public buildings of the Parliament House and Government offices, the town looks remarkably well in approaching it by water. It suffers under the same disadvantage, however, that all towns having a perfectly level site must do, in the entire absence of the picturesque. But although no good drawing or striking view could be taken of Toronto from any point on the same level, the bird's-eye and panoramic view to be had of it from the roof of the Parliament House, is really beautiful, and well worth the traveller's attention.

The Fish-market at Toronto—in a little bay, just within the projecting wharf, at which the landing is

principally effected—is often a scene of great interest and variety, from the number of Indians who are seen there, mixed with the Canadians. From this point, just opposite the City Hotel, the accompanying view is taken; and will give an accurate idea of the close approach of the houses to the steep bank rising from the water, and the general character of the ordinary buildings of the town.*

The principal street of business is King Street. This extends for nearly two miles in length—is about eighty feet in breadth—and has on each side a number of large and handsome brick edifices, as stores and shops. They are intermingled, it is true, with many smaller ones of wood; but these are every year giving place to more substantial buildings. The range of this street is agreeably diversified by its embracing in its line the City Hall, the Market, and the Episcopal Church, near the centre of its length, with a fine vista into the country, amidst trees and gardens at either extremity. The centres of all the streets are either paved or macadamized; and the side-walks are chiefly, though not entirely, of wooden plank, placed longitudinally, as on a ship's deck, and forming a far more clean, dry, elastic, and comfortable material for walking on, than any pavement of stone or brick. In the few instances, indeed, in which flat stone-pavement is used, instead of wood, it is extremely disagreeable to pass from the latter to the former: the difference being quite as great as that experienced in passing from the rough stone-pavement of the centre of Broadway, at New York,

* See Plate I.

W. H. Bartlett.

Fish - Market, Toronto

J. C. Bentley.

Market, Toronto.

to the smooth and noiseless wooden pavement opposite the City Hall and Park, where this transition takes place.

Not only are these wooden side-walks in general use here, but, in one instance, planks of fir have been used for making an extensive road into the country, leading eastward from Toronto to Kingston. We drove about six miles out on this road beyond the river Don, and I never remember to have travelled so smoothly. The planks composing the road are about fifteen feet in length, a foot in breadth, and an inch in thickness ; they are sawn smoothly, but are not planed. The road is first levelled, and on the bed thus formed, these planks are laid across transversely, and not lengthwise as in the side-walks A small portion of soil and dust is strewed over the whole, to prevent unnecessary friction on the wooden surface ; so that unless the attention of the traveller was called to the fact, he would not perceive the planks over which he was driving, though he would recognize the unusual smoothness of the road by the motion. But while to the casual observer it presents the same earthy and dusty appearance as any other road, there are no ruts or pits in it—scarcely indeed a mark of the horses' feet or carriage-wheels that pass over it. On close examination, however, he will see the separate planks, and trace their lines of junction, and he will also hear the peculiar dull smooth sound, given out by the low rumbling of his vehicle over this wooden platform. In addition to the great comfort of driving on such a road as this, I was glad to learn that it is so much less expensive here, where pine wood is abundant, than the mac-

adamized roads, that it is likely to be extensively used over all the country in future. A road of the former description, costs at least £1000 per mile, and requires reparation in this climate almost every year. A road of the latter kind can be well made for £500 a mile, in the first instance, and would not require to be repaired more than once in ten years. The present road has been laid down for six years, without a single plank having been required to be removed; and the general impression here is, that it would last six years longer if left untouched, before it would require any reparation whatever.

Of the public edifices of Toronto, the Parliament House and Public Offices are the principal: these are three plain structures of brick—a centre and two wings—the former intended to be adorned with a portico and entablature, and the latter intended to be connected with the centre by open arcades; but this is not yet accomplished. The Hall of Representatives, or House of Commons, is a plain but sufficiently spacious apartment, on the ground-floor. A sofa, elevated about a foot above the general level, serves for the Speaker's chair; while the members sit around on chairs, all on the same level, each having a small desk, with drawers, and pens and ink, as in the Legislative Halls in the United States. Below the bar is a space, under the gallery, to which admittance can be obtained only through the introduction of a member; but to the gallery above this, and fronting the Speaker, the public are freely admitted at their pleasure. The Hall of the Legislative Council, corresponding to the House of Lords, is on the same level, on the other side of the main

entrance. This is richly carpeted—while in the Lower House the floor was bare; it is also adorned with rich draperies of curtains, gilded cornices, carved ceiling, and other corresponding ornaments. At one end is the Throne, from which the Representative of the Majesty of England, in the person of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province for the time being, reads or delivers his Speech at the opening or closing of the Session, just as is done by the Sovereign in the Mother-Country. This Throne is of fine dark polished wood, with an overhanging canopy, lined with deep crimson velvet, surmounted by the crown. The chair of state—the ascent to which is by three or four projecting semicircular steps, carpeted with crimson cloth—is elaborately carved with suitable devices, for the support of a representative of royalty—though the work was executed, I learnt, by a republican carver, in the democratic city of New York!

The Parliament was not in being at the time of our visit, so that we saw nothing of its proceedings; and as, if the union between the two Provinces should take place, Toronto would no longer be the metropolis of Upper Canada, which would cease to have a separate and independent existence, it is extremely probable, that no further Parliament will ever be convened in this city, and that the Parliament House will be converted to some other purpose.*

The College of Toronto embraces a number of excellent brick buildings, surrounded with lawn and gardens, and is well adapted for the education of

* This has since taken place—the Act of Union for the two Canadas having abolished the Legislature here.

youth. It was built about twelve years since, out of funds arising from a grant of the reserved Crown Lands, 250,000 acres being appropriated to this purpose; the money produced by its sale from time to time being invested under the direction of a Board of Trustees. When the country shall be filled up with population, these lands will be of immense value, and the endowment of the college will be munificent. The number of students is at present about 120, of whom two-thirds at least are from the families residing in Toronto. The education being collegiate and classical, is not so well adapted to boys from the country who intend to follow the occupation of their fathers as farmers, as it is to young gentlemen destined for professional and official pursuits; and therefore, it is not so much frequented by the former class as by the latter. The annual cost of the students does not exceed £30 a year for tuition and board. Under the direction of its able president and competent assistants, the education of the boys is well conducted, and their health and morals carefully protected.

The Government House, which is nearly opposite to the College Buildings, is the least ostentatious residence of a Colonial Governor to be found any where perhaps in the British dominions. The presence of the sentries on guard at the entrance is the only circumstance that would lead a passer-by to imagine that here resides the Representative of the Majesty of England. The interior is fitted up with sufficient neatness and good taste, to show that it is the residence of a gentleman; and the parties given in it by Sir George and Lady Arthur were charac-

terized by great elegance: but the exterior of the edifice would never lead one to suspect this.

There are eight churches in Toronto. The largest and handsomest is that of the Established church of England. This was partly destroyed by fire a few years since, and has been recently rebuilt from the subscriptions of the inhabitants, nearly all the more wealthy families here belonging to the Establishment. It is built of stone, has a spacious and comfortable interior, a lofty tower of good architecture, but crowned by an abridgment of a spire above this, which is mean in its proportions, and this meanness not at all redeemed by its glittering coat of white tin-plate, with which the spire alone is covered. The Kirk of Scotland, also an Established church in the colonies, stands near it, and though smaller, is a fine building. The Roman Catholic church, in size, and rank of architecture, comes next to the two named. The other churches, comprising the Wesleyan and the Primitive Methodists, the Secession church of Scotland, the Congregational, and the Baptist, for coloured persons only,* are smaller and less imposing in their appearance, but sufficiently large and commodious for their respective congregations.

We attended the public service in the Established church on the three Sundays of our stay here, and heard some excellent sermons from the Rev. Mr. Grassett, the officiating clergyman, the Bishop of Toronto being absent on a confirmation tour. There were several points of contrast between the congre-

* This distinction ought not to exist on British ground; but the proximity of the United States accounts for it.

gration of this, the first English church we had seen for nearly three years, and the congregations of America, with which we had for some time been so familiar, as well as minor ones, which pressed themselves on our attention. The most striking difference was in the aspect of the congregation. In the United States, scarcely any distinction is seen, either in the size of the pews, their furniture and decoration, or in the apparel of the persons who occupy them; all the seats are equally large, and equally well fitted, and all the congregation are so well dressed, that it would be difficult to determine, by any external appearance, the relative rank, wealth, or condition, of any of the individuals or families present. Here, on the contrary, the distinction was very marked: some of the pews were large and elegantly furnished, others were small, without any furniture at all in them; some of the persons were elegantly dressed, others were in very homely, though always decent apparel. Then the military attending the church in large numbers, there was the tramp of some 300 or 400 men, preceded by the band of the regiment, playing a gay march, the officers on horseback, and on foot a detachment of provincial dragoons, with their steel scabbards clanging against the pavement as they alighted and walked; the officers of the infantry entering in bright scarlet and gold, those of the royal artillery in blue and red, the lieutenant-governor, with cocked hat and plumes, and his aides-de-camp and staff similarly attired, accompanying the ladies and children of the family to the governor's pew, and causing all eyes to be directed to their

movements. Nothing like this is ever seen in the American churches. When at Washington, we attended the Episcopal church of Dr. Hawley, and there saw Mr. Van Buren, the President of the United States, enter in plain clothes, not distinguishable from any other individual, walking from the Government House alone, and without a single attendant, taking his seat in a pew with other gentlemen, and coming in and going out with no more of recognition than any other of the individuals by whom he was surrounded. The contrast was therefore very striking.

Here, too, for the first time since leaving home, we recognized the parish clerk, occupying his desk beneath the minister, reading the responses, and giving out the psalms in the same nasal tone, and with the same defective and uneducated manner, which characterizes that race in England. In the American churches no clerk is ever seen; this perhaps is a defect, because the responses are very faintly uttered by the congregation. In the English churches, the clerks are almost invariably illiterate and vulgar men, who spoil the effect of the responses by their drawling pronunciation. This also is a defect; indeed, both are bad, but the last is certainly worse than the first. The remedy for both would be to have a second clergyman as an assistant minister—a student of divinity not yet ordained, but well educated, and capable of reading with dignity and propriety, though he might not have finished his studies. This would be an excellent preparation for the pulpit, and would add to the solemnity and pleasure of the service in a very high degree. In

short, the very best readers that the colleges or schools could furnish, ought only to be employed in this duty, though at present no attention seems to be paid to this indispensable qualification.*

The elevated pulpit of the church here, like those in England, was fitted to receive only one person, and had a box-like and confined appearance, after the ample space and more moderate elevation of the platform pulpits of America, where five or six ministers may sit beside each other on the same sofa, when occasion renders this desirable. Here, too, besides the great elevation and narrow space of the pulpit, its decorations of velvet were adorned with gold lace, an ornament that I never remember to have seen in the churches of the United States. The college cap and black silk gloves of the clergyman, his stately step as he trod the aisle or ascended the pulpit, the attendance of the beadle to open and close the pulpit or desk door, and to follow close upon his person, all these were parts of the "pomp and circumstance" of worship which we had not witnessed before, during all our journeying on this continent, and it seemed to us more than ever inconsistent with the purity and simplicity of the gospel.

The organ of the church had been destroyed by fire, and had not since been replaced, so that the music and singing was heard to great disadvantage. Such as it was, however, it was very inferior to the mere vocal music of the choirs of the smallest American churches, even when there are no organs; but

* I remember hearing an ordained clergyman read the service so badly at Beverley, in England, that it required the utmost attention to understand him.

where there are always sure to be a number of well-trained singers, selected with great care, and paid for their services as part of the church establishment, while the members of the congregation join with more hearty co-operation in this part of public worship. Considering how important and how impressive this portion of divine service might be made when well conducted, and how feeble and inefficient it is when otherwise, I cannot but think that as much pains ought to be bestowed upon it, as upon any other branch of the establishment. It is a sound maxim—that whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well; and if sound learning, purity of life, Christian doctrine, and accurate and impressive delivery, ought to be the qualifications of the preacher, the reading or responding clerk ought not to be inferior in the last particular to his pastor; while, for the chanting and singing of the beautiful psalmody which the Church now possesses, accomplished vocalists ought to be furnished, at the expense of the same fund as that by which the other two are supported, their services being equally necessary to the completeness of the whole.

There was one American feature in this English church, however, which I was very glad to see; and it is so good that it ought to become general: namely, the addition of this beautiful comment on the Law of Moses, which is appended to the Ten Commandments—

"Hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like unto it; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

I saw this sentence inscribed in letters of gold, on the tablets above the communion table, following immediately after the Table of the Ten Commandments; and it was pleasing to observe it there, where I never remember to have seen it before in any church of England. I should have been still more pleased, however, had the American example been followed out completely, by the public reading of this sentence, as a regular part of the service, after the recital of the Commandments at the Communion Table; because there is nothing that can be more advantageously presented, again and again, to the mind than this great truth: that the duty of loving our neighbour as ourselves, is as imperative as that of loving our Creator; and that no religion is worthy the name, if it does not embrace a belief in this fundamental doctrine, and enforce the practice as well as the profession of this sublime duty.

There are nine newspapers in Toronto, chiefly weekly, some twice and some three times a week, but none daily. By these, all shades of political and religious opinions are represented: the Patriot, published twice a week, is high Tory, or ultra-Conservative;—the Herald, twice a week, moderate Whig and anti-Catholic;—the Star, three times a week, neutral or independent;—the Examiner, once a week, Reformer;—the Globe, also weekly, extreme Radical;—the Church, Episcopalian;—the Colonist, Presbyterian;—the Guardian, Methodist; and the Mirror, Roman Catholic. These are all conducted with more moderation, and in a more subdued tone, than party papers in the United States; but their influence on public opinion did not appear to me to

be great; few persons ever adverting to their articles or opinions in general conversation; and none of them being so extensively read as newspapers are even in England.

Among the public officers may be named those of the Receiver-General, of the Inspector-General, and of the Surveyor-General of Crown Lands and Clergy Reserves, who has upwards of 120 deputy-surveyors employed under him, in different parts of the Province, in the survey of lands in their respective districts.

The Courts of Law held in Toronto consist of the Court of Queen's Bench, with a Chief Justice, four Puisné Judges, and an Attorney and Solicitor-General; a Clerk of the Crown and Pleas, and Deputies in each District. There is also a High Court of Chancery, of which the Lieutenant-Governor is the Chancellor, assisted by a legal gentleman as Vice-Chancellor, and a Registrar. From this last, causes may be sent up to the Court of Appeal, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench.

There are nearly a hundred Barristers in the Upper Province, all of whom are also Attorneys, according to the usage of the United States, and contrary to that of England; and there are nearly 200 Notaries regularly licensed to practise. The talents of the bar and the bench are quite equal to the usual standard of Colonial qualification. Chief Justice Robinson is a man of very superior abilities and attainments, whose popularity is almost universal

in the Province, and whose influence is greater perhaps than that of any other individual in it.

The Medical Profession is unusually numerous. There is a Medical Board, constituted under an act of the Imperial Parliament, 59th of Geo. the 3rd, consisting of 15 members, which sit at Toronto. Under the license of this Board there are now about 300 practitioners of medicine and surgery in the Province. There is a General Hospital in the city, which is on a liberal foundation, and is very admirably conducted. There is also a Benevolent Institution for the relief of widows and orphans, as well as a House of Refuge for giving subsistence and employment to those who are found in a state of destitution in the streets.

An Emigrant Office, for Upper Canada, exists at Toronto, and is presided over by an able and experienced Superintendent, Mr. Hawk, whose duty it is to receive such emigrants as arrive, forward them to their respective destinations, assist them with advice, and sometimes with means of transport, so as to get them as speedily as possible into the way of obtaining employment for their labour, or of purchasing lands if they desire it. The sums expended in this service are considerable; but the office is one that well deserves the liberal support of the government; for here, population is wealth—all that is wanting, indeed, to the full developement of the vast resources of Canada, is a supply of healthy, vigorous, sober, and industrious emigrants; who, if they come with nothing but the labour of their own hands, serve to augment the national wealth from the first

day they begin to clear and till the soil; but who, if they bring with them capital, also tend of course still more to advance the prosperity of their new home.

There are several banks in Toronto, and all in good credit. There has been a suspension of specie payments, for a limited period, authorized by law as in the United States; but they have long since resumed, and the currency, therefore, is not here in the same decayed condition, as it is on the opposite side of the Lake. The bank-notes issued here resemble the American ones, being for dollars and not pounds sterling; and being also elaborately ornamented in the engraving, and circulated till they become so ragged and dirty, that it is sometimes difficult to make out their amount or place of issue.

The municipal government of the city consists of a mayor and aldermen, elected by the suffrages of the householders. To these belong the power of licensing places for the sale of ardent spirits; and it is said that with a view to strengthen themselves in their position, the Tory party, who are now in the ascendant in the municipal body, have issued more licenses than were ever known before—every person so licensed being one of their own voters! Certain it is, that the number is excessive; for in a short walk of little more than a hundred yards, in passing from our hotel to the cathedral of the Established Church, we counted no less than fourteen spirit or dram-shops, in Church Street, within a few steps of the sacred edifice itself; just as around St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, and Westminster Abbey in

London, there are to be found more of these dens of infamy than in any similar extent of space in either of these populous cities! Surely the bishops, deans, and chapters should look to this.

There is a Temperance Society here, on the principle of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate; but their numbers are few, the higher classes of society, and the Episcopal clergy, withholding their patronage and support. During one of the evenings of my stay here, I delivered a public address on the subject of Temperance in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, but though it was very numerously attended, there were very few of the leading families among the auditory; and the only members of the clergy present were a Congregational minister and a Roman Catholic priest. The absence of all the heads of the community on this occasion could not be attributed to any other cause than their indifference or unwillingness to countenance or uphold the Temperance cause; for when my lectures on Egypt and Palestine were given in the same building, one course before and one after the Temperance address, the church was crowded to excess, and there was scarcely a family of any note or influence absent. The Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice, and the other official dignitaries of the province and city, attended with their families regularly for three nights in succession at each course, and in several instances put aside other engagements, to enable them to be present; but the Temperance Reformation was to them evidently an unpopular and unattractive subject; although the time will perhaps come, when their attention being enlisted in its examination, they will

discover, as all have done who have yet examined it thoroughly, that there is no single subject that can be named, in which the interests of humanity are more involved than this; and that it is impossible to assist in a more benevolent work than that of endeavouring, by precept and example, to elevate the lower classes from the misery and degradation into which intemperance plunges so many of its unhappy victims, and rescue them from their own follies and crimes.

* The late splendid meeting of rank, wealth, and piety, in Dublin, to present a Testimonial to Father Mathew, is a happy omen of future good.

CHAP. III.

Resemblances and differences between Canada and the United States—State of Society in Toronto—Strong dislike of the Americans—American enterprise with Irish labour and English capital.—Progress made by Toronto in twenty-five years—Advance in population and public works—Yearly increase of population—General loyalty and attachment to British rule—Superaddition of hatred and contempt for America—Great meeting of Upper Canadians on Queenstown Heights—Proposed restoration of the monument to General Brock—Meeting of Free Negroes to celebrate British emancipation—Regatta of sailing and rowing boats in the Bay.

In walking through the streets of Toronto, one cannot fail to be struck, especially when coming over as we did immediately from the United States, with certain points of resemblance, and others of dissimilarity, between the objects seen and manners witnessed in both; a few of these perhaps may therefore be worth remarking.

Among the resemblances you perceive the symmetrical plan of the town, the straight and broad streets, the large brick stores intermingled with wooden houses, the posts or stanchions at the side of the foot-pavement for spreading out the awnings; and the practice of heaping up boxes and cases opposite the shop-doors, to give an impression of a large and thriving business. You observe also that the stage-coaches of Canada resemble those of the United States and not those of England, being open at the sides, and in exterior and interior exactly like

those seen at Rochester and Buffalo. The American practice of attaching Bar-rooms to the principal hotels, and of large numbers of persons meeting there to drink, as well as the custom of sitting around the outer doors of the hotels, on the steps, and in the balcony, or the streets prevails here; and smoking segars in the streets is as prevalent in Toronto as it is in the cities of America, though rarely seen in England.

Of the points of dissimilarity there are, however, many more than points of resemblance; some of them to the advantage, but others to the reproach of the Canadians. One of the first of these points that struck us, was the solicitation of beggars. We had been nearly three years in the United States without seeing an American beggar in the streets, but we had not been landed five minutes in Toronto before we were accosted by several, between the wharf and our hotel. In the States we had never seen women employed in manual labour; here we witnessed several instances of it; and of ragged, swearing, and profligate boys, we saw a greater number in Toronto, than in the largest cities of the Union. On the other hand, we saw no persons here who chewed tobacco; there was less of hurrying and driving to and fro in the streets; the shopkeepers were all more civil and obliging, the servants more respectful and attentive, and all classes more polite. Even at the hotel, when the ladies rose to retire from the table, the gentlemen all rose, and stood till they had withdrawn, a custom we had never once seen observed at the public tables in America; though there, the respect and deference to the sex is shown in another way, by

no gentleman being permitted to take his place until the ladies are first seated.

The state of society in Toronto appeared to us peculiarly agreeable. We had the advantage, it is true, of mingling with the best; but I may say, with the strictest truth, that these appeared to me to combine all the requisites of the most perfect social intercourse — elegance without ostentation, competency without extravagance, learning without pedantry, politeness without frivolity, hospitality without intemperance, and a manly frankness and candour without undue familiarity. We dined out more frequently at Toronto, in the course of the three weeks we passed here, than in the United States in the space of three years; and there was a heartiness and cordiality, which seemed to indicate the most perfect confidence in the good sense and honour of all present: the very opposite of the cold and cautious look and manner, so frequently observable in the intercourse of Americans with their English visitors in the United States. The evening parties were animated without being overcrowded; and the air of gaiety thrown over them by the presence of many of the military officers of the garrison, and the superior carriage and great elegance in the manners of the ladies, whether they were grouped in conversation, or mingled in the dance, were very striking, when contrasted with many of our recollections of American circles.

Among the frequent topics of conversation here, is the comparative progress made by the Americans and the Canadians in their respective territories. Almost all English travellers who have passed from the one

country into the other, have given it as their opinion that Canada is far behind the United States in enterprise and progress ; and they attribute this difference to the superiority of republican over monarchical institutions. The British residents here, appeared to me to be as sensitive to these remarks, as the Americans are to any observations of English travellers which in any way disparages their country or its institutions. Great pains are accordingly taken by the Canadians, to show that in some instances, this superiority of America to Canada is imaginary and not real ; and in others, where it may be regarded as real, it is not so much owing to American enterprize, as it is to English liberality in lending them a large amount of capital to carry forward their great public works, which capital, if it had been invested in Canada instead of the United States, would have produced results equally advantageous to this country. Upon this subject, Chief Justice Robinson in his able work "On Canada and the Canada Bill" says : "Upon sober reflection and comparison, it appears that a plain statement of facts will amount very nearly to this : that Irishmen have dug in America an astonishing number of canals, and made a prodigious extent of rail-roads, which Englishmen have paid for ; and when these material ingredients in a public work are allowed for, namely, the labour of constructing them, and the charge for that labour, the balance of merit that remains seems pretty much confined to the ingenuity of the contrivance, and to a vast energy in borrowing, which I apprehend it may be the secret wish of some persons in this country, had not been so industriously exerted."

Another writer, in one of the numbers of the Patriot, endeavours to show the advance which Toronto has made within a given period; and has succeeded in proving it to be considerable, as will be seen by the following extracts:

"The Government Gazette, and another small newspaper at Kingston, were the only newspapers published in the whole province, about twenty-five years ago; there are now nine printed in Toronto alone. Within that period, the mail was conveyed by land from Montreal to York once in two weeks; and thence westward once every month; and the communication by water was so tedious and uncertain, that the recollections of the older inhabitants seem now to border on the marvellous. Eight or nine post-offices then sufficed for the few insignificant towns or villages scattered along the frontier. At this time there are 238 post-offices in the Upper Province alone, and at Toronto 20 mails are made up every week, a similar number being received.

"From the duties levied at Quebec in 1816, Upper Canada received £21,584 17s. 6d., the proportion being determined by the amount of goods passed at the Coteau du Lac. Since 1817, the proportion has been based upon the comparative population of the two Provinces; in that year it was stated to be one-fifth; at later periods it was increased to one-fourth, one-third, and under the last agreement, which expires this year, 38½ per cent., upon which calculation this Province received for 1839, £61,678 16s. 3d., which, at an *ad valorem* duty of 2½ per cent., would show the value of *British* goods imported into *Upper* Canada alone to be, TWO AND A HALF MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING!

"The only duties upon goods at this port, are upon those brought from the United States In 1816, the year after the war, they were £550 6s. 5d., in 1839, £5,726 11s. 3d. The amount received, affords very little information in regard to the real extent of this trade, the quantity illegally introduced or very much undervalued, being vastly greater than the entries on the Custom House books. Of tea alone, it is supposed that not less

than 3,000 chests were clandestinely landed in this port during the last year. All kinds of grain are admitted duty free.

"In the belief that a very great change had taken place in our mercantile transactions within a few years, and that we are becoming less dependent on the importers of the Lower Province, application was made to 49 distinct wholesale or retail traders residing in Toronto, respecting the amount of goods imported by them, *direct from* Great Britain, in 1839; when the whole was ascertained to be considerably over £306,000 sterling, without including duties in Lower Canada, inland transportation, and other charges in the country. The duties are uniform, but the other expenses vary materially, according to the nature of the goods, circulating very large sums of money, and affording employment to many hundreds, perhaps thousands of individuals.

"A fact connected with this subject, is worthy of immediate consideration by mercantile men. The Canada Marine Assurance Company lately declared a dividend of 50 per cent. on their capital paid in; and the Ottawa and Rideau Forwarding Company are said to have divided last year a profit of 40 per cent.!

"From this statement, confined to a single branch, some approximation to the great amount of business now transacted at Toronto, might be made; with a great probability that it is yet only in its infancy; founded on the extraordinary increase of a superior class of houses now building in all directions, and the high premiums given for leases of the corporation water-lots, over and above the heavy expenditure, required by the conditions, to be incurred upon them.

"These energetic improvements are based upon a conviction of the superior local advantages of this place, for becoming the commercial metropolis of the whole of Upper Canada above Prince Edward District.

"There is a broad and indefinite extent of country north of Toronto, capable of supporting a population equal to that of the whole Province at this time, which cannot, with advantage, receive merchandise by any other channel.

"The Home District (including Simcoe) contains 51 townships, besides the city of Toronto; Markham is the most popu-

lous, and had not, by the last census, 6,000 inhabitants; 18 other townships did not average 430 each; and there are 15 more, which being almost uninhabited, have never furnished any returns. All these townships are becoming gradually more accessible by the extension of good roads. But how vast would be the acceleration of that progress, and the corresponding increased consumption of merchandise, by the construction of a railroad through or near such an extent of valuable land, connecting Lakes Ontario and Huron. Without dwelling upon the importance of its being the most direct line from Oswego to Michigan, the undertaking would be of such very great advantage to this city, that, far beyond any other project, it deserves instant and vigorous exertion to effect it without further delay. A scientific survey by an able and experienced geologist, of the height of land between the two lakes, would make known the existence and location of valuable mineral substances usually occurring in such regions. It is certain that the northern shores of Lake Superior abound in such productions, which the distance and difficulty of transport have hitherto prevented being worked with profit.

"When the Welland Canal is enlarged, and the improvements of the Grand River completed, the whole of the immense fertile region above Niagara, cannot have access to any considerable depôt of British manufactures, nearer than this port."

To these may be appended two remarkable passages from Chief Justice Robinson's work, before adverted to, which will still more strikingly exhibit the progress made by Upper Canada, at least in population and improvement. The passages are these—

"There are people in Upper Canada still living who saw it when it contained not a cultivated farm, nor any white inhabitants, but a few fur-traders and soldiers, and perhaps ten or a dozen French families, on the south side of the Detroit river. I can myself remember when its population was estimated at less than 30,000; in 1812 it was supposed to be about 70,000; in

1822, 130,000; and in 1837, the census showed a population of 396,000; but all the townships were not then returned. The number I suppose to amount now to something between 450,000 and 500,000. These are all living in the enjoyment of the English law, both civil and criminal, administered in the same manner as in England. The English language is universally spoken; and recent events have shown that there is among the people generally a sound feeling of attachment to their constitution and government, a strong sense of duty to their Sovereign, and a determination to resist any danger that seems to threaten their connection with the British Crown." p. 32.

"Fifty years ago the province was one vast wilderness. If in the time that has passed, the inhabitants, beside clearing their farms, had done nothing more than make the highways, which have enabled them to take their grain to market, and to pass from one district to another, throughout this extensive territory, they could hardly have seemed to deserve much reproach. But besides doing this, they have within the period built numerous lighthouses; constructed expensive artificial harbours; made many miles of macadamized roads, at an expense probably little short of 200,000*l.*; completed the Welland canal, at a cost of 400,000*l.*; expended 300,000*l.* on the St. Lawrence canal; constructed the Burlington Bay canal, the Des Jardins canal, and the Grand River navigation; and there are other works in progress. They have also made expensive surveys with the view of ascertaining the practicability of further improvements. In addition to these, several important works of a similar description have been successfully carried through by private enterprise; such as the Niagara docks, the Tay navigation, &c." p. 57.

The population of Toronto has gone on all this while progressively increasing. The official returns do not go further back than 1833, but in 1830—persons resident here at that time think there were not then more than 1,200 persons, while now, only

ten years after, there are upwards of 13,000. The following is the official return:

1833	9,254	1837	12,571
1834	9,765	1838	12,153
1835	9,654	1839	12,883
1836	10,871	1840	13,764

Of the feeling of this population towards the British Government, no one that associated with the people could doubt for a moment, that it was one of strong attachment, mingled with a sentiment of pride, at being the subjects of so great a nation. It is true that the disaffected having been recently driven out, and the leaders of the late rebellion being exiled or transported, there is little encouragement for the expression of disloyalty now, so that a feeling of hostility may exist in some who have the prudence to suppress its display. This is just possible: but if the feeling exists at all in any who remain, they must be very few. I should say, indeed, that all the past history, as well as the present aspect, of this Province, and its population, goes to prove that they are as loyal in their attachment to England, as any class of their fellow-subjects at home. Unfortunately, there are some among them who seem to think, that loyalty does not consist merely in loving their own monarch, and preferring their own institutions to every other; but that it embraces also contempt for other countries, and hatred towards other institutions and other people. Among these—and they embrace a very large portion of all ranks of society—every opportunity is seized of disparaging America and the Americans, and speaking of them with unmeasured

contempt. Indeed I heard more of this feeling expressed in Toronto, towards the institutions and people of the United States, in our short stay of three weeks, than I had heard of censure or condemnation of English institutions and English people, during all the three years that we had passed among the Americans; and when I was appealed to, as having so recently travelled through that country, great disappointment was usually expressed at my not concurring in their unfavourable views.

During the first week of our stay at Toronto, a most interesting meeting took place, on Queenstown Heights, in the Niagara District, on the opposite side of the Lake Ontario, at which it was my intention to have been present: but on the morning on which it took place, I was seized with an attack of cholera, which confined me to my bed. From the accounts given me of the meeting by those present, it was one of the largest and most animated that had ever taken place in Upper Canada. The occasion of its being held was this: A lofty column had been erected on Queenstown Heights over the remains of the late gallant Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, who fell near the spot, while cheering on his men, at the battle of Queenstown, against the Americans, in 1814. The universal popularity of the General, as a civil governor as well as a military commander, had caused this monument to be regarded with more affectionate veneration than any other structure in the Province. A miscreant, named Lett, one of the most abandoned of the Canadian rebel party, who had escaped into the United States territory, knowing this feeling of attachment to the name and memory of General

Brock, as pervading all classes of Canadians, sought to gratify his own malicious and vindictive spirit, and at the same time to wound and insult the people of Upper Canada, by attempting to destroy this monument. This was done by the introduction into it of a considerable quantity of powder, which was fired by a train; and the explosion, though it did not overthrow the column, shattered it so extensively from top to bottom, as to render it unsafe to let it remain in its present condition. The object of the meeting on Queenstown Heights was, therefore, to call forth the expression of public opinion in execration of the deed, and to resolve upon the best mode of replacing the shattered monument by another.

The notice of the meeting having been widely circulated, and its object universally approved, the gathering was immense: from eight to ten thousand persons, according to the estimate of some, and from six to eight thousand, according to the estimate of others, being assembled on the ground. Steam vessels, engaged for the purpose, left their respective ports of Kingston and Coburg, of Hamilton and Toronto, in time to arrive at the entrance of the Niagara river about 10 o'clock in the forenoon. The whole of these, ten in number, then formed in line, and ascended the river abreast, with the government steamer, containing the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Sir George Arthur, and his Staff, leading the way. The British shore was lined with thousands, and the fleet of steamers filled with hundreds, each shouting and responding to the cheers of welcome from ship to shore, and from shore to ship again. The landing being effected, the march to the

ground was accompanied by military guards, and a fine military band. The public meeting was then held in the open air, near the foot of the monument on Queenstown Heights. Sir George Arthur was in the chair. The resolutions were moved and speeches made by some of the most eminent and most eloquent men, holding high official stations in the Province; and considering that amidst this grand and imposing assemblage, there were a great number of veteran officers of the Canada militia, who had fought and bled with the lamented chief, whose memory they were assembled to honour, and whose monument they had come to re-establish over his remains, the enthusiasm with which the whole mass was animated, may readily be conceived; while the grand and picturesque combination of natural objects of scenery, beheld from the Heights on which they were met, and the brightness of the day (the 30th of July,) added greatly to the effect of the whole.

After the public proceedings had closed, every resolution being unanimously carried by acclamation, an Address of Congratulation to the Queen, for her happy escape from the hand of an assassin, was proposed and carried with equally hearty unanimity; the loyalty of the Canadians being as fervent as language can express. The business of the day was closed by a public dinner under a pavilion erected for the accommodation of a thousand persons, Chief Justice Robinson presiding; and at this, as at the morning meeting, great eloquence was displayed in the speeches, great loyalty evinced in the feelings, and great enthusiasm prevailed among all ranks and classes of the people.

From some of the more unguarded of the speakers, occasional expressions of vindictiveness towards the Americans escaped; but these were exceptions to the general rule, and in this instance they were certainly out of place; first, because the Americans, who must have witnessed the whole proceedings from their own side of the river, offered no display of even a wish to prevent the fullest honour being done to a General who had often been successful against them on the field; and next, because the Americans had no share whatever in the act of attempting to destroy the monument of Brock—the wretch who did the deed being by birth an Irishman, and by settlement a Canadian. Upon the whole, however, the meeting presented a proud display of high and noble feelings, honourable to the memory of the dead, and equally so to the character of the living. It was conducted with great dignity and judgment, and no accident occurred to interrupt the pleasures of the day; the steam-vessels re-embarking their passengers soon after sunset, and conveying back the individuals composing this congregated multitude to their respective homes in safety.

Among the other meetings occurring here during our stay, was one on the 1st of August, held by the coloured inhabitants of Toronto, to celebrate the Anniversary of the emancipation of their brother Africans in the West Indies. They went in procession in the forenoon to the Episcopal church, where an appropriate sermon was addressed to them by the Rev. Mr. Grassett; they dined together in the afternoon, when they expressed their gratification at the emancipation of their coloured brethren in the British

colonies in suitable speeches ; and the whole was as well conducted as the greatest lover of order and decorum could have desired.

There was a regatta on the morning of the same day, in which several sailing and rowing boats were engaged. The bay of Toronto is admirably adapted for such aquatic exhibitions ; but the taste or fondness for such sports does not appear to be sufficiently general to furnish the requisite number of boats and competitors to make a very gay or extensive regatta here, as yet at least ; though it was evidently much enjoyed by those who joined in it.

CHAP. IV.

Facts connected with the recent Rebellion in Upper Canada—Visit from an Indian Missionary—Kah-ke-wa-quon-a-bee—Indian Settlement at "The river where credit is given"—State and condition of the Canadian Indians generally—Difficulty of converting the pagan tribes of India—Remarkable speech and dream of an Indian Chief—Proposal to remove the Indians to the Manitoulin Island—Indian preference of French and English to Americans—Soil of Upper Canada, equal to that of New York or Ohio—Recent decline in the price of land—Climate of Toronto—Intemperate Magistrates—Causes of this, the reward of political partisans—News of the Union of the Canadas—Parting visits to friends.

We heard much, of course, of the late rebellion in Upper Canada, of which Toronto was the chief seat; and we were taken out to Gallows-hill, and the ruins of Montgomery's Tavern, the principal rendezvous, which, by order of the Governor, Sir Francis Head, had been burnt to the ground. From all that I could learn, and I mixed freely with both parties, my conviction was, first, that there had not been a sufficient amount of grievance or oppression to warrant the taking up arms against the Government at all; and next, that the persons who did so were few in number, insignificant in influence, and some of them disreputable in character. The conduct of Sir Francis Head, in turning a deaf ear to all the warnings of those who foresaw the coming storm, is blamed by his warmest partisans here; as the entirely

unprepared state in which he kept the town, was such as almost to tempt the rebels to attack it. Indeed nothing but the gross mismanagement and cowardice of their leaders could have saved the city from being sacked and destroyed, as it might have been with any tolerable management. In this case, 7,000 stand of arms, and a large quantity of ammunition, with 300,000 dollars in specie, would have fallen into the hands of the captors, and their success would no doubt have drawn around them some addition to their forces from the idle and profligate, as well as the injured and dissatisfied of the province; while much greater numbers of reckless adventurers from the opposite shores of the States of New York, Ohio, and Michigan, would have poured in in such numbers, as to make their dislodgment difficult, if not impossible, except at the cost of more blood and treasure than it took to make the original conquest of the whole country. For running this risk, Sir Francis Head may well be blamed. But on the other hand it cannot be denied that the gathering storm having then expended all its fury, the political atmosphere has since been perfectly tranquil; the disaffected have fled, or are silent; and everywhere the most exuberant loyalty and professions of attachment to the British crown and British rule are seen. All ideas of independence, or of separation from British connection, are repudiated; and as to annexation to the United States, my own conviction is, that nothing could be more obnoxious to the great mass of the Upper Canadians than this; they would, I think, spurn the proposition with disdain, and the whole Province, to a man, would seem to be ready to take

up arms against any power, friendly or hostile, that should endeavour either to persuade or coerce them into such an alliance.

During our stay at Toronto, I received a visit from the celebrated Indian Kah-ke-wa-quon-a-bee, or "the rapidly flying feather," who had embraced Christianity, and become himself a missionary to the Indian tribes, under the name of Peter Jones. He was dressed in the European costume, as a Methodist minister, and spoke English perfectly well. He had visited England some years since, and there married an English lady, whom we also saw, and recognized in her a former acquaintance in London. She had returned home once since her marriage, in company with her husband, but had come back again to Canada with him, and professed herself to be perfectly happy in her present position. She had with her a fine little boy, whom the tribe had named "Wa-weya-kuh-megoo," or, the "Round World." The body of Indians over whom Mr. Jones presides are a portion of the great tribe of the Chippewas, settled on the banks of the river Credit, seventeen miles to the westward of Toronto, and numbering about 250 souls. These are all Christians, and the elder portion of them are said to be truly devout. They have portions of the Scriptures and hymns in the Chippewa tongue, and speak both it and the English well; though the sermons and prayers are most acceptable to them in their native language. The chief had attended my lectures on Egypt, and expressed himself so pleased with them, that he sent up to the settlement to request as many of the Indians as could be spared from their labours to come down and attend

with him the lectures on Palestine; this being the first occasion at which any Indians had ever been assembled for such a purpose in Canada.

To our inquiries respecting the progress of Christianity among the Indians, and the influence of the new faith on their lives and actions, he replied, that the work of conversion from the pagan superstitions of the adults was very difficult, and its progress accordingly extremely slow; and that their chief hope lay in the education of the children. The Credit settlement was supported entirely by agriculture, at which all the Indians laboured with industry; though in the winter they indulged themselves with the pleasures of the chase, and supplied themselves with venison from the deer of the woods, for the remainder of the year. The men adopt the European dress, but the women retain the Indian robe or blanket. The stream along the banks of which they live, is called by the Chippewa name of "Muhzenuhega-zeebe," which means "The river where credit is given," commemorating this feature of its history: in the early days of the province, when the only white men that ever visited it were the fur traders, this was the place of their meeting with the red men; and as articles were sometimes supplied to them above the value of the furs they had in hand, and payment for these was deferred till their meeting in the same place in the following year, the stream was called by the name mentioned, which it is always likely to retain.

Among the pagan Indians that inhabit the northern and western borders of Upper Canada, Peter Jones had sometimes gone for the purpose of per-

suading them to embrace Christianity, but hitherto he had met with no success; nor did he think it likely that any of the men who had passed the middle period of life would ever be prevailed upon to change their religion. On the last occasion of his preaching to such a tribe, he was listened to with silence and respect—this being an attention which Indians always pay to any discourse, however opposite to their own views those of the speaker may be—a courtesy well worthy the imitation of their more civilized white brethren in Europe. At the close of the sermon, however, one of the chiefs rose, and addressed the missionary to the following effect. He said that he had no doubt the religion of Christ was a good religion, but it was made for the white man—though he did not seem to regulate his conduct very much by its precepts. But, he added, God has made another religion for the red man, which is much better for him to follow. In proof of this, he related the fact of one of the Indians of another tribe, who had embraced Christianity, dying, and remaining dead for three days. When they were about to bury him, however, he recovered, and awoke again to life; after which he related that during the last three days he had been in the heaven of the Christians, where he was very happy; but God at length observing him among the white men, asked him how he came there? to which he replied, that having embraced Christianity, and died in that faith, he came naturally to the Christian's heaven. God then told him he was entirely mistaken, as the Christian religion and the Christian heaven were for white men only. He bade him, therefore, instantly to

leave the place—go back to earth again—and follow the religion of his fathers; when, at his death, he would be admitted into the heaven of the red men, and there enjoy with them the pleasures of the hunting-ground and the wigwam, with plenty of game. The Indian accordingly renounced the new religion, and went back to the old, lived a long while afterwards, and died happily in a good old age. "After this," said the chief, "I cannot think of leaving the religion of the red man for the religion of the white; for, like the Indian whose history I have recounted to you, I might be turned out of the white man's heaven by the Almighty, as having no right to be there; and the opportunity might not be afforded *me* of returning again to the earth, to win the red man's heaven by a return to my own proper religion, and thus I might risk the loss of both." This speech, said Mr. Jones, made such an impression on the pagan hearers, of the tribe, that it was in vain to address them further on the subject.

The Indians in Upper Canada are not numerous, their whole number not exceeding 8,000. Many portions of them are civilized sufficiently to have forsaken the hunter-state, and embraced the agricultural. A number of these appear to conform cheerfully to the change, and to be good subjects and good Christians; but some among the number continue indolent, dissolute, and drunken. Sir Francis Head, during his recent government here, conceived the plan of transferring all the Indian tribes now on the continent of Upper Canada, to the great Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron, for the

purpose of keeping them from all communication with the whites, and thus saving them from degradation. But the Indians themselves are averse to this separation. They do not like to quit their present lands, and they evince the same attachment to their ancient camping places as the Indians of the United States. It is, therefore, not probable that they will all consent to remove there, though they have no objection to join the annual assemblage of their red brethren at this island, when the presents of the British government, in blankets, knives, fish-hooks, cotton cloths, and other articles, are distributed among them.

The Indians generally are said to have a greater respect for the English than for the Americans; first, from their being the nation originally settling on their continent, and therefore of more ancient standing; and next, because they have been treated by the English with more justice, good faith, and generosity, than by the Americans. But they prefer the French to both; the French, in Canada at least, being to them the most ancient of the whites, and having not only treated them with fairness, but with kindness, mingling with them in their social parties, and flattering them by a more ready conformity to their manners than either of the other nations have ever done. It is said, that several of the American Indians are coming over from Michigan to settle in Upper Canada; and the Oneidas of the State of New York, have signified their intention to do the same. A portion of the Six Nations, to which the Oneidas belong, are already settled on the banks of the Grand River, to the westward of this; the

Mohawks being the principal tribe among them; and the Chippewas are so scattered, that when, during the last year, a general meeting of the chiefs of the tribe were assembled on the Grand River, to meet the chiefs of the Mohawks in friendly council, to bury the tomahawk, and smoke the calumet or pipe of peace, in token of their renewal of the ancient treaties of peace existing between their separate nations, their scattered bands were gathered in from seventeen different stations.

From the testimony of all parties who have had an opportunity of comparing the land on the opposite sides of the lakes, the soil of Upper Canada is in no respect whatever inferior to that of the States of New York or Ohio, and the finest parts of the Province are those lying west of this. Many portions of the country are agreeably undulated, though there are no mountains; while the abundance of water in the lakes, rivers, and springs, with which the country is supplied, is highly favourable to its fertility. Wheat is everywhere produced in great quantities, and of excellent quality, and the harvest of the present year is said to be unusually abundant. The markets of Toronto bear evidence of the excellence and cheapness of everything required for the table; the fish of the lake is of the finest kind, particularly the white fish and salmon; the beef, mutton, and lamb are quite equal to those of the best provincial markets in England; and everything in the way of provisions is cheap and good. The value of land, however, instead of having progressively increased with time, as in the United States, has of late greatly declined; and we met with gentlemen

who were large holders of land, which they had purchased from 15 to 20 years ago at 10s. an acre, for which they could not now get 2s. 6d. There has never been, indeed, a period in the history of the Province, in which farms could be purchased by settlers at so cheap a rate as now; and yet some of the emigrants who had left England with the intention to settle in Canada, and who had come up from Quebec at the government expense, preferred going over into the United States, and settling themselves there.

The climate, during our stay at Toronto, was more variable than we had found it in any part of America, there being scarcely any two days in succession that were alike. Though the days were often close and sultry, there was several times a sharp frost at night. The rain, too, was very considerable, and the alternation of violent thunder-storms on one day, and chilling mists and vapours on the other, was far from being acceptable. All agreed, however, that this was a very unusual kind of August, this month being generally hot, dry, and steady. The summer is very short, for autumn commences early in August, and the leaves were beginning to change colour from decay as early as the 8th of that month. From the suddenness of the transition from winter to summer, the spring is the least agreeable portion of the year. Some think the autumn the pleasantest time, and speak in raptures of the months of September and October, as well as of the hazy Indian summer which follows in November; but the greater portion of the inhabitants seem to prefer the winter, which, though long, and extremely cold, is to many,

both healthy and agreeable, from the dryness of the atmosphere, the steadiness of the temperature, and the exhilarating exercise of skating and sleighing.

From the opportunities I had of judging, by what passed under my own observation, I should be disposed to think that the people of Upper Canada were much less temperate than the people of the United States. Absolute drunkenness is happily in both countries now become rare; and where it exists at all, it is amongst the lowest of the people. But even among these it abounds to a greater extent in Toronto than in any town of the same size in America; and we saw more drunken persons, and heard more profane and blasphemous oaths and imprecations, in our short stay here, than a traveller would meet with in a year in the States, unless he went purposely in search of it, which we certainly did not in either country. At the table of our hotel, almost every one drank wine, beer, or brandy-and-water. At the public tables in America it is now rare to see anything drank but water. In private circles, wine is more freely used in Canada, and more urgently pressed on those who do not use it, than is the case in the United States; and with the heads of office, political, military, civil, judicial, and even ecclesiastical, the Temperance cause is not at all in favour, since none of all these powerful and influential classes come forward publicly to give this cause the benefit of their sanction and example. The most melancholy picture, however, of the interior of the Province, in this respect, is presented by a writer in the Canada Temperance Advocate, a work wholly unconnected with party politics, under

the date of July 25th, only a few weeks from the period of my writing this, August 12th, and signed by his own proper name, as a guarantee for its accuracy. As an essential part of the evidence on which a correct judgment may be formed on this question, it is desirable that the statements of this writer should be extensively published, that the evil may become so notorious as to demand immediate attention. The letter is headed "Upper Canada," and is signed "John Dougal," and these are the melancholy facts it communicates—

"In my last letter respecting Upper Canada, I promised to make some general remarks in reference to a portion of the magistracy of that Province. Owing to various causes, the matter has been deferred; but I still feel called upon to take up the subject, from the conviction, that before the people of that beautiful Province can be, generally speaking, a sober, a moral, and a religious people, there must be a great change in its magistracy. I therefore earnestly solicit the attention of the Governor-General, and Lieutenant-Governor, to the following statements.

"Whilst many of the magistrates of Upper Canada are sober, moral, excellent men, who perform the duties of their important station in the most praiseworthy manner, many of them are of a very different character. This is showed by the fact, that licenses for the sale of liquor are issued with most unbounded liberality to persons even who possess none of the accommodations required by law. The issuing of these licenses is managed so that, if applications be refused at the Quarter Sessions, they are sure to be granted by some two of the magistrates afterwards; or if the applicant's character be very bad indeed, so that a tavern license is refused, he is still almost certain to get a license to keep a beer-shop, from some friend and patron amongst the magistracy, and I need not add, that beer-shops are almost invariably drunkeries of the worst character.

"Without mentioning all the facts respecting magistrates in Upper Canada which came to my knowledge, I will mention a

few which were communicated to me, upon such authority as I could not for a moment doubt.

"In one village of Upper Canada, two of the magistrates were in the habit of breaking the law, by playing at cards and drinking with the tavern-keeper and his customers, often for the greater part or whole of the night. Of course, they could not refuse a license to their pot-companion.

"In another village a majority of the magistrates are notoriously intemperate.

"In a back township, a magistrate, who kept a tavern, sold liquor to people till they got drunk and fought in his house. He then issued a warrant, apprehended them, and tried them on the spot; and besides fining them, made them treat each other to make up the quarrel.

"In a district town of Upper Canada, one of the leading magistrates is an extensive dealer in liquors, and all tavern-keepers who will take their supplies from him can get licenses without difficulty. Should any presume, however, to buy from other merchants, their licenses are refused.

"In a town of Upper Canada, several of the magistrates are intemperate, and some of them are on the limits for debt.

"I might multiply instances of intemperance amongst this important class of the community; but it is a painful subject, and I shall conclude by stating, that throughout Upper Canada a large proportion, if not a majority, of the magistrates are distillers or sellers of intoxicating drinks; and therefore, it may be presumed, directly interested in the increase of their traffic and the multiplication of grog-shops. The effect of this state of things on the morals of the people must be, and indeed evidently is, disastrous; and I again beg leave to call the attention, not only of the people at large, but of those in authority, to it, and to add, that much that is stated above applies with equal force to Lower Canada."

This is indeed a melancholy picture; and from the best information I could obtain, by occasional conversations with persons resident in the interior, I had too much reason to believe that it was as

faithful as it was melancholy. The only explanation given of this state of things, is, that the successive Governments have made the most active of their partisans, Justices of the Peace, with little reference to any other consideration; and hence a number of persons, the most unfit for the office, have been thrust into this important station. It is high time, indeed, that this state of things should be amended.

It was on the last day of our stay at Toronto, that the news reached there, of the Bill for the Union of the two Provinces of Canada, having passed both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent. The views taken of this measure vary, of course, according to the political bias of different parties and classes; but I shall pass them over for the present, as it is my intention, after seeing both the Provinces, and mingling with the society of each, to devote a separate and supplementary chapter, to a general view of the whole subject, connected with their past, present, and probable future condition, under the changes proposed in the Union Bill, as far as these can be clearly and safely predicted.

Our last day was passed in a round of farewell visits to the many families from whom we had received such cordial and hospitable attentions during our short stay here, as to make us leave it with greater regret than we had felt at quitting any place for a long time.

CHAP. V

Departure from Toronto—English steamboats — Passage along the coast—Character of the country—Touch at Port Hope, and at Coburg—Arrival at Kingston, and stay there—History of the rise and progress of that town—Beautiful and advantageous situation of Kingston—Visit to the Fort on the opposite Peninsula—Description of its interior and subterranean passage—Plan of the town—Materials and style of building—Public Edifices—Court House—Churches—Country around Kingston—Bay of Quinté.

On Friday, the 14th of August, we left Toronto, and were accompanied to the steam-boat, the William the Fourth, by several of our friends. The day was beautifully fine, and the breeze bland and favourable for our voyage. We left the wharf at 9 A. M., took a last look at Toronto as we steered down the bay, rounded the Light-House at Gibraltar Point, and passed the new Fort constructing to guard the entrance of the harbour; when we bore up our course down Lake Ontario, for Port Hope, Coburg, and Kingston, to which we were bound.

Our boat, though one of the largest of the British steamers on the Lake, was neither so light, airy, or commodious, as most of the American steamers. Instead of state-rooms, into which the passengers can retire, and dress and undress in privacy, as in all the American boats on Lakes Michigan, Huron, and Erie, there are in the English boats only open sleeping berths. Owing to this arrangement, the gentlemen are entirely excluded from the ladies'

cabin; and the ladies dare hardly venture, except at the period of meals, into the gentlemen's; so that the parties can only be together on deck, whatever may be the state of the weather. The English steamers are all painted black, with a white, or red, or yellow narrow stripe along the sides, which gives them a dark and heavy appearance. The American steamers have always white bottoms, and light and tastefully painted upper works; and on the whole they appear to be better furnished, and kept in cleaner and nicer order, than the English ones. The latter, however, have the superiority in the table, which is much better provided, and everything better cooked; while time is allowed to enjoy as well as to eat the meal, and the attendants go through their duties without the hurry and bustle of an American breakfast or dinner. In safety, it is certain that the British vessels have also the superiority, partly from the greater strength of all the machinery and workmanship, but still more from the greater degree of vigilance and care with which every department of duty is superintended, and the greater subordination and more implicit obedience, of the crew; but in speed, the American boats generally excel the English.

Our passage down Lake Ontario was extremely agreeable. We coasted along the northern shore at a distance of from three to five miles from the land; and the appearance of this, though not sufficiently broken and mountainous to be picturesque, was nevertheless often beautiful and always pleasing. Ridges of progressively increasing elevation appeared to rise behind and above each other on receding northward from the coast, so that the country must

be agreeably undulated in the interior. Wood is everywhere abundant; and on the interior hills the primitive forest appears never to have been disturbed; but on the sloping land nearer the shore, the cleared patches and tilled fields are frequent, many of them beautifully green, as if laid out in grass, others of a bright yellow, with waving fields of wheat ready for the harvest; while, scattered over the surface, and peeping through the woods, many substantial and comfortable farm-houses and country residences diversify and enliven the scene.

At 4 o'clock, P. M., we touched at Port Hope, a promising little town on the Lake, with about 200 houses, two churches with spires, and a fine open tract of cleared land behind the settlement, which is said to be a thriving one. We remained here but a few minutes at the wharf, and then stood on for Coburg, a distance of seven miles below it, where we reached before 5 o'clock. The boat stopping here half an hour, we landed and walked up from the pier to the town. It is laid out with great symmetry, has fine broad streets, substantial houses of stone, brick, and wood; and all the external symptoms of advancing prosperity. It contains a population of from 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants; and has a fine agricultural country behind it, reaching for thirty miles north to the river Trent, and the Bay of Quinté. This tract is said to be quite equal to any part of England for beauty and fertility; requiring only population and capital to make it as rich in all other respects. In the immediate vicinity of the town, is a large and handsome edifice built of stone, erected by the Wesleyan Methodists as an academy and college for the

education of youths belonging to their body. It has the reputation of being well conducted and well sustained by their voluntary contributions; and has at present upwards of a hundred students within its walls.

On leaving Coburg, we continued our course down Lake Ontario, leaving behind us the isolated lighthouse built on a sunken rock, at the entrance of the bay, resembling the Eddystone in miniature. After witnessing a glowing and exquisitely beautiful sunset, the night soon closed in, and the rest of our way presented nothing of interest till we reached Kingston, which we did at 3, A. M., having gone the whole distance of 180 miles in 18 hours, including stoppages; our actual rate, therefore, exceeding 10 miles an hour; and the fare for the whole distance being six dollars each. After sunrise we landed and repaired to the British-North-American Hotel, where we found good apartments, and took up our abode.

The town of Kingston is older than Toronto, dating back to about the year 1672, when Mons. de Courcelles, the French governor of Canada, (the whole country then belonging to France,) built here a fort at the outlet of Lake Ontario into the river St. Lawrence, where Kingston now stands, partly as a barrier against the Iroquois Indians, who occupied the opposite side of the lake and river, and partly as a protection to the fur-traders who resorted here. The fort was enlarged and strengthened at a subsequent period by his successor, the Count Frontenac, and his name was accordingly bestowed on the position. A small town gradually arose around this

spot, and at the surrender of Canada to the British arms, in 1759, it fell into the hands of the English, after which it was called Kingston. There are some few of the oldest inhabitants here, who remember when there was but one stone building and not more than twenty wooden ones in the place; and even at the period of the last American war, in 1813, it was a very small village. Since the peace of 1816, it has progressively advanced till it has reached the dignity of a city, governed by a mayor and aldermen, and has a population of nearly 7,000 persons. The chief source of its wealth is agriculture, and its principal commerce is in the exportation of agricultural produce, and the importation of manufactures and other goods for domestic consumption. Large quantities of grain from the United States are accumulated at Kingston, and when ground into flour it is exported as Canadian produce, in British vessels, by which it obtains admission into England, at a low duty, though the same articles going direct from the ports of the Union, would pay a much higher rate.

The situation of Kingston unites strength, beauty, and convenience, in an unusual degree. In all these respects, it is superior to Toronto. The town lies along the northern shore of the Lake Ontario, just where the western extremity of that lake narrows into the strait or channel of the river St. Lawrence; having a large island opposite to it, within the British lines; the main channel of the river lying beyond and between this island, and the American shore in the State of New York. The town stands on an ascending slope from the water's edge,

which gives it a more elevated appearance than Toronto; and just in front of it, is a peninsula projecting out between two bays, which is still higher than the town, and commands a beautiful and extensive view from its summit. On the topmost ridge of this elevated peninsula, stands the fort of Kingston, which commands the passage by the river and lake, overlooks the whole town, and could bring its guns to bear upon almost every part of the surrounding country. Between the fort and the town, is a smaller peninsula, on which is the Naval Yard, at which, during the last war with America, a ship of 120 guns was built for the lake service, but was never used, and has since been taken to pieces.*

We visited the Fort in company with the commanding officer, Major Deedes of Her Majesty's 34th, and were struck with its admirable position, and great strength, the masonry being of the most solid and massive kind, executed in the fine blue limestone of the peninsula on which it stands, the ditches broad and deep, the walls thick, and the ramparts and batteries elevated, strong, and spacious. The quarters for officers and men are roomy and substantial; and every provision seems to have been made for their comfort. Extensive tanks or reservoirs of water are kept within the fort always filled, in case of a siege; a large supply of provisions is also constantly on hand. The number of men at present in the garrison is about 250, including a detachment of provincial artillery, the number of guns mounted about 50,—and a magazine, with ammunition of all kinds, a large supply of small

* See plate II

W. H. Bartlett.

Kingston, Lake Ont

H. Griffiths.

ston, Lake Ontario.

arms, and several bombs and mortars, with shot and shells, are always kept ready for use. In going the rounds of the Fort, we were taken down to a subterraneous vaulted passage or covered way, intended for a retreat in case of need, and leading to vaulted chambers, with port-holes for cannon, and openings for musketry, commanding the ditches, so that if an enemy penetrated thus far, they could be "mowed down like grass," as our guide expressed himself. It was through this subterranean passage that two of the Canadian insurgents, who were confined in this Fort, made their escape, and succeeded in getting across to the United States. The very strength of the place in which they were confined, led to a relaxation of vigilance on the part of the sentries, and they had opportunities of making their preparations unobserved for some days before, having been informed by one of the masons who had worked in this subterranean passage, of all the particulars respecting it. It was remarked to us that the same relaxation of vigilance, arising from undue reliance on the strength of the place of confinement, had led to the escape of two other Canadian prisoners from the castle of Quebec; while at Amherstburgh and some other British garrison forts, where the rebel prisoners were confined only in an ordinary guard-house, they were so well looked after, because of the insecurity of their prison, that not one of all the number effected an escape.

The town of Kingston is laid out with sufficient regularity; but it has no street to compare with King Street, in Toronto; and few of those delightful

little villas and garden dwellings, which abound in the neighbourhood of the latter, and make its environs so agreeable. The town is about a mile and half in length, three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and contains a population of from 7,000 to 8,000 persons. The whole town lies on a bed of blue limestone rock, so near the surface, that in digging the necessary depth for the foundations of a house, there is usually enough stone obtained by the excavation to build the edifice with. Stone-houses are, therefore, more numerous than any other; very few being built with brick, and only the smaller houses of wood. The dark blue tint of the stone gives the town a heavy and peculiar appearance; but at the same time it leaves an impression of substantiality and durability. Shrubs and flowers are cultivated in the gardens appended to many of the better order of dwellings, which gives them a gay and cheerful appearance.

Among the public buildings, the Court House is the most prominent. It stands near the centre of the town, opposite to the principal hotel, and within a few yards of the English church. The Court House has a front of about 100 feet, a depth of 200 feet, and is about 60 feet in height. The front has a pediment, above and behind which rises an octagonal tower, with lantern and cupola, to a height of from 60 to 70 feet above the roof, making the whole elevation, with the terminating spire, about 150 feet. The interior is spacious and well arranged; and on the upper floor is one of the best fitted Court-rooms in the province. The Town Jail is in the rear of

this Court House,; but there is a large Penitentiary, conducted on the Silent System, or Auburn plan, remote from this, beyond the town.

There are six churches in Kingston—one English, or Established Church, the largest and best; one Kirk of Scotland; one Roman Catholic; one Presbyterian; one Methodist; and one Baptist. We attended the service of the Established Church during our stay here, and found a small congregation, not more than two hundred. At Toronto there were more than a thousand; but we hardly wondered at the paucity of numbers here, as we had to undergo the penance of hearing the beautiful composition of the Liturgy drawled out by one of the very worst readers I ever remember to have heard, with one exception only, and that was a reader in the Minster of Beverley, in Yorkshire. They might be matched, I think, against the world, for the absence of every requisite qualification for their duty as readers, though both might perhaps have been good and pious men; but it is a sad and unpardonable misappropriation of time and money, and highly detrimental to the efficiency of the public service, and the interests of religion, to permit persons so utterly incompetent to occupy the places which might be so much more advantageously filled by their superiors.

The country around Kingston is not so fertile as it is in the neighbourhood of Toronto; the garden-land of Upper Canada lying between the Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron; but there are still some fine spots for cultivation even here. The price of land is rather higher than farther west; though

inferior in quality and productiveness; the price ranging from 20s. to 30s. per acre; while in the western districts much better tracts may be had for from 15s. to 20s. per acre, and large tracts of wooded land at 10s.

There is a beautifully winding and picturesque sheet of water called the Bay of Quinté, which forms an inlet from the general course of Lake Ontario, and up which excursions are often made from Kingston, as steamboats go daily up to Bath, 40 miles, and Belleville, 80 miles, and return again on the following day. We were prevented from taking this excursion by other engagements; but heard the scenery so much spoken of, that our inability to enjoy it was matter of regret to us.

CHAP. VI.

Visit to the Kingston Penitentiary—Chaplain's and Inspector's Reports — Difficulty of providing for prisoners when released—Intemperance the principal cause of crime—Defective education—Religion of the convicts—Registry of facts connected with the prisoners—Cost of the Penitentiary—Salaries—Expenses — Proceeds of labour — Objections of honest labourers—Visit to the Rideau Canal—Fine works—Line of the canal—Progress, cost, and value—Great fire at Kingston—Rebuilding of the town—Newspapers—Mechanics' Institute—Temperance Society—Old Indian Regiments met with at Kingston and Toronto—General state of society here—Sultry weather—Visit of the Governor-General of Canada on his tour—Reception at Kingston—Causes for its coldness.

DURING our stay at Kingston, we visited the Penitentiary, and were shown over the building by one of the deputy-wardens, who answered all our inquiries readily. The edifice occupies a beautiful situation near the edge of the Lake, at a distance of about two miles from the town in a westerly direction; the road to it being one of the best in the country, diversified by many agreeable dwellings on each side, and having the General Hospital about midway between the town and the Penitentiary. The building for the latter is intended to form a cross, with four wings proceeding from a common centre; the front wing being for the offices and dwelling of the warden and his deputies; and the other three for the cells, workshops, kitchen, eating-

rooms, chapel, and other apartments for the prisoners. Two of these wings are completed, and the other two are in progress. The work is paid for by grants of the Provincial Legislature of Upper Canada; and their funds being limited, they have not proceeded with the rapidity that could be desired. It is about nine years since the building was first commenced, and five since it was opened to receive the convicts; but it will take another five years probably before the whole work will be complete. The blue limestone of which it is built, is procured from the rocky bed on which the edifice stands; and the quarries all around it afford an inexhaustible supply, not only for their own building, but for as many public edifices as the town may require.

The system of discipline pursued here, is that which is known as the Silent System, or Auburn plan, where the prisoners work in companies, but under the superintendence of inspectors, to prevent their communicating with each other, either by sounds or signs, as far as it is found practicable to enforce it. The construction of the cells, in five separate stories rising above each other, and each entered from a balcony or veranda running along their whole front, is after the plan of Auburn and other similar Penitentiaries in the United States; the cells are narrower, but they are lighter, and better ventilated, than many that we remember. The convicts have a prison dress, made of coarse cotton cloth, white on one side, and brown on the other, for summer; and a dress of coarse woollen cloth, brown on the one side, and yellow on the other, for winter; each garment being stamped with the letters

P.P., Provincial Penitentiary, in a large size, so that they could not fail to be recognized so long as these garments were worn by them, after an escape. The prisoners are sufficiently well fed, having a pound of meat and a pound of bread each day, with coffee for breakfast and mush, or a preparation of Indian meal, for supper. Their hours of labour do not exceed twelve in the longest, and ten in the shortest days; and it is never excessive in its nature. The workshops are spacious and airy, and the occupations various, but all are healthy. There is a large and well-ventilated hospital for the sick, and every attention is paid to their cleanliness and recovery. Except, indeed, for the restraint of silence, and the want of liberty to go abroad, the condition of these convicts is better than that of many of the poorer mechanics and labourers at home, as they have always an abundant supply of food and clothing, good shelter, and medical attendance when ill; but so heavy is the burden of forced silence, and forced confinement, though within an enlarged space, that all are anxious to throw it off, and the utmost vigilance is requisite to prevent escapes.

According to the last Report presented to the Legislature, there were 148 convicts in the Penitentiary, of whom 12 only were females, and about 30 of the males were black or coloured persons. Of this number there were the following—

Born in the Canadas . .	46	Born in England . . .	12
— United States	39	— Scotland . . .	5
— Ireland . .	38	— Other countries .	8

Their ages ranged from 10 to 72; the greatest number being between the ages of 20 and 30. The

convictions for larceny were 72, for horse-stealing 20, for forgery 6, for burglary only 3, and for murder only 1. Among the persons confined for horse-stealing, was a young and handsome female, about twenty years of age, whose history was remarkable. She had taken part with the rebels in the late insurrection, and, habited as a boy, had been employed as a messenger, to convey intelligence from one part of the country to the other. Her journeys were made on horseback, and the letters or despatches which she bore were concealed beneath her saddle, so that she passed without detection, or even suspicion. When the rebellion was put down, and her services were no longer required, the desire to possess a horse for her own riding was so irresistible, that not having the means to purchase one, she stole it, and being detected, was tried, convicted, and sent to the Penitentiary, after which the fact of her connection with the rebels, as their messenger, became first known. The females are under the charge of a matron, and are treated with more kindness than the males; they have their sleeping cabins divided only by a thin partition of wood, so that they can and do converse with each other in the night-time; in the day they are employed in needle-work, for the Institution only.

The term of confinement varies from one to fourteen years; the average term appears to be about three years. The former term is found by experience to be much too short to effect any reformation in the character of the convicts; and is, therefore, recommended to be lengthened, in all cases in which they are sent to the Penitentiary at all. The fol-

lowing are the remarks on this subject contained in the Chaplain's Report for the past year 1839.

"Two reasons may be assigned for the apparent inefficiency of the present system of prison discipline to prevent the recurrence of crime, especially when the convict has been but a short period before discharged. In the first place there is the shortness of the sentence: it cannot in reason be expected that a confinement of one year, can in the least weaken a habit which has "grown with the convict's growth, and strengthened with his strength." The prospect of a *speedy liberation* naturally checks the rise of serious *reflection*, and engenders contentedness, indifference, or apathy.

"The case of a convict punished for the first act of guilt forms an exception. His mind is still susceptible of serious impressions; conscience still exercises her office; on such a subject a short sentence may produce the desired effect, but generally speaking the reverse is the case; and experience has proved it so. In the second place, a spirit of *revenge* actuates many of those who are recommitted; a desire to remunerate themselves for the labour performed while in prison, and for which they have received no recompense, impels many to attempt to enrich themselves by plundering others. Some have even so far acknowledged, that had they received anything at all resembling an *equivalent*, or had been assured that a moiety of *their earnings* would be paid them, after a stated period of probation; they would have had some *inducement* to continue in the path of honesty; but having once incurred *the suspicions of the public*, and feeling that some great encouragement was necessary to support them under so severe a trial; not possessing this, they yielded to the suggestions of an evil heart; unwilling to endure the struggles or rebukes of conscience, they then threw aside all restraint, and sought for consolation in the society of companions, who were like themselves indisposed to oppose a suspicious world."

The Board of Inspectors, in their Report, concur with the Chaplain in his views, and urge some further reasonings in the following passages:

"The Inspectors coincide with the Chaplain in his opinion of short sentences, that they generally serve rather to harden and irritate, than soften and subdue the criminal; and with regard to second convictions, whatever may have given rise to that 'spirit of revenge,' referred to in the Chaplain's Report, as inducing those unhappy persons of whom he speaks, to return to their former evil courses, it affords a melancholy proof how little they had profited by the salutary restraints to which they had been subjected, and the moral lessons inculcated upon them during their imprisonment.

"With regard to the suggestion hinted at in the Chaplain's Report of appropriating 'a moiety' of the convict's earnings to be paid to him 'after a stated period of probation,' something of the kind has often occurred to the Inspectors; but the difficulties which present themselves to their minds in carrying this plan into effect, so as to promote the true and substantial benefit of the convict, without prejudice to the public interest, appear so great, that it is with diffidence they venture to bring the matter under Your Excellency's consideration.

"On this subject, however, they would beg leave to observe, that under the existing Penitentiary regulations, and in conformity to the present law, the convict, when discharged, only receives a few shillings to aid him in returning to his friends;—to whom, if they are honest and respectable, and if he entertains any sense of the disgrace which his misconduct has brought upon them as well as himself, he feels reluctant to return in that destitute condition in which he is placed when enlarged, and sent out again into the world; and in this wavering and undecided state of mind, while yet lingering in the vicinity of the prison, he probably meets with some of his former inmates; it may be some of those who had been associated with him in iniquity, and fellow-prisoners in the same common jail before conviction. With them he renews an acquaintance, and involved as they are in the same common fate, they are led to look upon each other with a feeling of mutual sympathy as the outcasts of society; to form a sort of community among themselves, and instead of following up their original intention of returning to their friends to earn a subsistence by honest industry, they are but too apt to engage in some

new criminal enterprise, by which, according to their system of morals, they may remunerate themselves for their past loss of time and labour.

"Under the evil influence of temptation from these associations, all their virtuous resolutions vanish—they again put forth their hands to steal; are detected, convicted, and sentenced a second time, for another series of years, to resume their former routine of labour in silence, and to be placed once more under those restraints, they had already found so irksome and so opposite to their licentious and vagrant habits of life.

"While the Inspectors feel the necessity and importance of some plan being adopted to place convicts on their discharge from prison in a state of probation, they scarcely feel themselves authorized to recommend any definite plan for effecting this object, however desirable. With great deference they would submit, that if one-third of the convict's earnings could be paid to him in annual instalments, on his producing to the treasurer of the District in which he resides, satisfactory certificates of good conduct, signed by any two magistrates of that District, together with a certificate of some resident minister of religion; that he, the convict, had been a regular attendant on his ministry during the year, and that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, his character among his neighbours for honesty, sobriety, and industry, had been irreproachable, it might hold out such an inducement to the discharged convict to commence a new and honest course of life, and to persevere in his efforts of amendment, as to be productive of the best effects. The Inspectors, however, in offering this suggestion with all the objections that may be raised to its practical operation, and they are not without the apprehension that there may be many, again revert to their already expressed opinion of the inefficacy of short sentences to produce reformation."

This is undoubtedly an object of the highest consideration, how to prevent the unhappy convict, when released from confinement, from falling too speedily into temptation again. And here, I must observe, that the decided superiority of the Solitary

System of the Philadelphia prisons is at once apparent. No one having ever seen the prisoner in his confinement, except the officers of the Penitentiary, he cannot be recognized by any one as a previous convict, nor can he recognize any who, like himself, had been an inmate of the Penitentiary, and is afterwards released, so that one great cause of subsequent evil association and connection is thus swept away. Coming out anew into the world in this condition, and provided with the means of subsistence for a short period, till they can obtain employment, the chances of a new career of honest labour for the convicts, are much greater than when coming, as they do from the prisons on the Auburn system, personally known by sight to each other; when meeting, after their release, destitute of means, they unite to drink, and interchange their sympathies and congratulations, and the concoction of some new project of crime is the usual result of such associations. A more benevolent society could not be formed than one which should have for its object, the providing immediate and profitable labour for those who were discharged from Penitentiaries, so as to enable them at once to enter on a useful and honest career. The Chaplain's report opens with the following instructive paragraph—

"During the past year I have directed my attention to an investigation of the causes which led to the commission of crime, in order that I might suggest to the convict some considerations calculated to counteract the evil, and to operate as a safeguard against the repetition of it. I have found that *Intemperance* is the prevailing cause to which *crime*, in a majority of instances, may be referred. Out of 90 admitted since last report, 71 were certainly the victims of this ruinous propensity. The subjoined

schedule will furnish a variety of particulars relating to the convict, as collected by personal inquiry."

This schedule shows that no less than 50 were under the actual influence of liquor when they committed the crime of which they were guilty, and 36 had intemperate parents, as well as being intemperate themselves. Of the whole number of 148 convicts, 30 could read only, 40 could read and write, and 78 were unable to do either. Their several religions were thus reported—

Church of England	24	Church of Scotland	7
Church of Rome	23	Baptists	4
Methodists	13	Presbyterians	3

Showing just half the whole number, or 74, who professed no religion; and out of these, there are 15 who have come back to the prison on a second conviction, 2 on a third, and 1 on a fourth conviction, the last being a hoary-headed offender of the age of 71.

For breaches of the rules of discipline, such as talking, or acts of insubordination, the punishment is flogging, of two kinds; for the lighter offences, a few stripes with the cow-skin over the clothes; for more serious offences, flogging with the cat on the bare back; but the instances are rare in which either are resorted to, and with females neither is used.

The chaplain visits the prison daily, to confer with the prisoners; and on Sunday, he performs public worship, which they all attend. This appears to be a relief to them, as a change of occupation and a holiday; but as they are shut up in their cells at all other times of the day, except when

they are out at meals and in chapel, they usually complain of Sunday as the most irksome day of all the week, and would willingly work in preference if they could be allowed.

A full and complete registry is kept of all particulars connected with each prisoner; and every individual that is discharged, has a long series of questions proposed to him, his answers to which are recorded in the Register Book. By this means, a pretty accurate view may be obtained of the impressions of the prisoners themselves as to the several parts of the discipline and treatment they undergo, which is of great value to the Inspectors of the establishment.

The whole cost of the Penitentiary up to the present time has been about 40,000*l.*, of which 30,000*l.* has been expended on the building, and 10,000*l.* in salaries of the officers and subsistence of the convicts, above the means resulting from their labours. It will take perhaps 30,000*l.* more to complete the whole building and its enclosures; but after that, the labours of the convicts will no doubt more than defray the annual expenditure.

The salaries are all very moderate; the Warden having only 300*l.* a year; the Deputy-Warden, Clerk, Chaplain, and Surgeon, from 100*l.* to 150*l.* each; and the rest of the salaries, to keepers, watchmen, messengers, matrons, &c., varying from 50*l.* to 80*l.* per annum; the aggregate being 2,800*l.* The provisions, fuel, and lights, cost 2,500*l.*; and the clothing about 500*l.* per annum; which, with the other items of furniture, medicine, tools, &c., make up a total annual cost of about 6,300*l.* The

rations of food do not exceed in cost, however, 7½d. per head per day; and the clothing of each person 20s. for the summer suit, and 37s. 6d. for the winter suit, per annum.

The proceeds of the labour of the convicts for the past year did not exceed 1,500*l.*; and of these, the shoemakers produced about 400*l.*; the stone-cutters, 350*l.*; the blacksmiths, 300*l.*; and the carpenters, 150*l.* To these have now been added a rope-making establishment, by which a greater profit will be made than from any other source; already large quantities of very excellent cordage have been produced, and sold to great advantage within the present year. Here, however, as in the United States, the mechanics of the town of Kingston have remonstrated against the manufacture and sale of the articles produced in the Penitentiary, as coming in competition with their own labour, and driving them out of the market by cheapness. This remonstrance has been effectual; and the utmost pains are now taking to direct the labour of the convicts to the production of articles not made in Kingston; and even these are sent principally to distant markets for sale.

The Episcopal church here being under repair, and having a new spire making for it, the persons to whom this work was entrusted, contracted with the Penitentiary, to quarry and dress the stone required for the purpose, which they furnished according to order; but the working-masons employed in the reparation of the church refused to use the stone, because it was quarried and dressed by the convicts, to the detriment of the free and honest labourer; and

accordingly it was all rejected, to the loss of course of one or both of the contracting parties.

During our stay at Kingston, we made an excursion to visit the works on the Rideau Canal. For this purpose we drove to the head of the small bay lying between the town of Kingston and the peninsula on which the Fort is placed; and extending its inlet for about six miles to a spot called Kingston Mills. Our journey there was over a rugged road, and through a stony and sterile tract, greatly inferior to the land around Toronto, and thickly overspread with weeds, including the Scotch and Canada thistle. In the few patches cultivated, we saw Indian corn, rye, wheat, and potatoes, but very scanty crops of either; though the crops in Upper Canada generally are said to be this year unusually good, both in quantity and quality. There were the ordinary rail and snake fences seen in the United States, with girdled trees, stumps in the ground, and long trunks lying rotting on the surface; with log-huts, and other accompaniments of new settlements in America; and as bad roads as anywhere in the Union.

At the head of this bay, the works of the Rideau Canal commence, the object being to provide a communication by water, from the Lake Ontario to Montreal, without going over the rapids, which in several places obstruct the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The line of the Canal goes therefore from hence to the Ottawa, or Grand River, through a series of small lakes, and cuts, terminating at Bytown, a distance of 100 miles from this, and 70 above Montreal. The works here commence with

four locks, that communicate with a small lake, elevated 50 feet above the level of the bay. These are admirably constructed—the masonry excellent—the fine blue limestone of the country massive in size, and well united; and everything connected with the machinery is in the most perfect order. From this point of view, the scenery is pleasing, and it is said to continue so all the way through. The navigation of this canal is by small steamboats, which pass easily through the locks and cuts, so that it is more expeditious and more comfortable than canal travelling generally. The first four locks being ascended, the boat crosses a lake ten miles before it enters another cut, and proceeds thus, by artificial channel, and natural sheets of water, all the way to Bytown; making the distance of 110 miles in 30 hours, including the stoppages requisite to pass through 47 locks on the way. From Bytown, the Ottawa boats descend to Montreal in seven hours, but as these boats are not always ready on the arrival of the steamers from the canal, 48 hours is usually employed in the whole trip of 180 miles.

This great work, which is of the highest importance to Upper Canada, in the transport of her produce to the great mart of shipment, Montreal, was begun in the year 1826, and opened for navigation in 1830. It has been constructed chiefly by grants from the Imperial Parliament out of the funds of the English Treasury, and has cost, on the whole, upwards of 1,000,000*l.* But the money is well spent; and a time will arrive, when the produce conveyed on this canal downward, and the manufactured goods transported on it upwards, will yield a hand-

some return for the original outlay, at a less impost than the present rate of 7s. 6d. per ton for tolls.

A great fire occurred in Kingston, in the spring of the present year, occasioned, as some assert, by the accidental ignition of some wooden shingle-roofs, by the sparks emitted from a steamboat lying alongside the wharf; and, as others allege, by some incendiary connected with the late rebellion,—but of this there is no proof. The fire was very destructive: as the blue limestone, of which most of the houses are built, split into fragments by the heat, and soon fell to pieces. The buildings now erecting to replace them, are of a better and more substantial kind; and the town will be ultimately much improved in appearance by this change, though its progress is not very rapid.

There are three Newspapers in Kingston, two of which are published weekly, and one twice a week; this last, the Chronicle, is Conservative; the British Whig is a supporter of the present Administration, and the Herald is Radical; so that each class of opinions is fairly represented. They are conducted with great moderation and some ability; but their influence on public opinion does not appear to be much felt or acknowledged. There is a Mechanics' Institute in the town, which contains nearly 300 members, at a subscription of 10s. per annum. It was founded by an Englishman settled here as a mechanic, who was a member of the Mechanics' Institution of London, and having experienced the benefits of this in his own case, he was desirous of introducing the same advantage at least to his countrymen here. They have a good library, and the

Institution is patronized and assisted by the gentry of the town. There is also a Temperance Society here, but, as at Toronto, it is not countenanced, as it deserves to be, by the higher classes; and yet, every day must furnish to those who walk the streets of the town, abundant proof of the utility of such Societies, and the evils that spring from the want of them; as drunken men and drunken women were seen by us almost every day during our short stay here; and places licensed for the sale of ardent spirits, are almost as abundant as they are at Toronto.

My Lectures were delivered here in the Union Chapel, and were very fully attended; among the audience were many military officers, the Bishop of Toronto, who was here on a Confirmation Tour, and nearly all the leading families of the city. They were attended also by the members of the Mechanics' Institute, and the pupils of the Sunday Schools, facilities being afforded to the last two classes for that purpose.

While at Toronto I found there the 32nd regiment of infantry, which were stationed at Madras at the period of my being there in 1818, some of the officers of which I knew; and here at Kingston I found stationed the 24th regiment, which was stationed in Bengal in 1820, and with many of the officers of which I was acquainted. A few only of each remained attached to these regiments now—death, exchanges, and retirements, having made many changes among them; but it was agreeable, at this distance of time and place, to meet even these few, and talk over old times and Indian affairs.

The society of Kingston is less extensive, less varied, and less elegant than that of Toronto; which may be readily accounted for, as the population is not so great, the military not so numerous, and the metropolitan establishment of a Governor and Council, a Legislature, Courts of Judicature, are all wanting to make the parallel complete.* Our reception here, however, was respectful and kind, though the cordiality and hospitality of Toronto was too fresh in our recollection not to make us sensible of the contrast.

The weather was intensely hot, during the whole of our stay here, the wind faint from the south-west, the air sultry, and the thermometer from 90° to 95° in the shade; most of the residents, however, said that this was an unusual degree of heat for Kingston, though in Montreal and Quebec it was common at this season of the year.

It was on the last day but one of our stay at Kingston, that the Governor-General of Canada, Mr. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, arrived here from Montreal, on his way to the Upper Lakes, on a tour of inspection. He landed under a salute from the steamer, and rode to the hotel, accompanied by his staff and suite on horseback. No demonstration of enthusiasm marked his arrival. On the following day, he attended at the Court House, to receive the address intended to be presented to him, and was there met by the mayor and aldermen, and about two hundred of the inhabitants,

* Since this was written, the seat of Government has been fixed at Kingston, so that now the public officers are numerous there.

among whom were forty or fifty ladies. His reception was respectful, but nothing more; there was not the slightest demonstration of any opposite feeling, but in England it would be called cold, though here it was not meant to be so. On his presenting himself to the audience, an Address was read by the mayor, expressing the sentiments of respect entertained towards the Governor by the inhabitants of Kingston, and declaring their readiness to co-operate with him in every measure which should have for its object the improvement of the country, the calming public agitation, and the maintenance of British connection. The Reply to the Address, which had been previously written, was then handed to the Governor-General by his secretary, and was read by His Excellency to the mayor and the inhabitants present. A similar course was followed with an Address read on behalf of the Mechanics' Institution of Kingston, and the Reply to it; after which, the Governor-General descended from the judge's seat on the bench, and standing at the foot of the steps leading to it, received the several individuals who were presented to him by the mayor. There was no speech made by any one; and the reading of the Addresses and Replies, not occupying more than fifteen minutes, the whole proceeding was one of the coldest kind that I had ever witnessed, where congratulation and respect was really intended to be expressed, and where nothing like insult or disrespect was meant to be conveyed, or even insinuated by any of the parties present.

On the subject of the Bill for uniting the Provinces of Canada, great differences of opinion pre-

vailed, some hoping all good, some fearing all evil, from what they regarded as a hazardous experiment; but amidst all this diversity of opinion, none failed to acknowledge the great ability of the Governor-General as a statesman, and his great industry and aptitude as a practical man of business. Some, however, doubted the soundness of his judgment—some questioned his sincerity; many considered him to be cunning in the arts of winning assent by personal influence and tact in the management of indiduals; and still more regarded him as lax in his morality: some facts that had transpired with respect to his domestic associates, giving great dissatisfaction to those who regarded purity of life in any governor, whether single or married, as of great importance to the society of a colony, where evil example set by those in high places, is sure to find imitators in those who are subordinate in station. These considerations, mingled with great doubt and distrust as to the beneficial issue of his political measures, were assigned as the causes of the coldness which characterized his reception; and from all I could learn in conversation with the inhabitants of Kingston, I believe this to be correct.

His Excellency left the town in the afternoon, proceeding from the hotel on foot to the steamboat, accompanied by the mayor of the city, and his suite, in number about a dozen, and embarked at five o'clock in the steamboat attending him. They then proceeded on a visit to Niagara, and from thence to the Lakes Erie and Huron, from whence the Governor-General proposed to return by way of Upper Canada to Montreal.

CHAP. VII.

Departure from Kingston for Montreal—Passage through The Thousand Islands—Brockville—Prescott—Osnaburgh—Tube Ferry—Route by land and water towards Montreal—Passage through Lake St. Francis—Rapids of the St. Lawrence—Boats and rafts—French Canadians—Dwellings—Farms—Neatness, cleanliness, love of flowers, and of dress—Fort—Highlanders of Glengarry—Village of the Cedars—Village population—French Parish Church—Junction of the Ottawa River with the St. Lawrence—Embarkation on the Ottawa at the Cascades—Visit to Mr. Ellice's Seigneury of Beauharnois—Indian village of Caughnawagha—Journey from Lachine to Montreal—Stay at this city, and occupations there.

HAVING concluded my labours in Kingston, we left that city on the morning of Saturday, August 22d, in the steamer Dolphin, quitting the wharf at half-past nine. The weather was very beautiful; and as we soon got among The Thousand Isles, which here stretch themselves along the centre of the St. Lawrence for a distance of forty miles, we had abundant exercise for all our faculties. The main stream of the St. Lawrence, as it flows from the western termination of the Lake Ontario, is about twelve miles wide; but it is so thickly studded with islands, that it is like passing through a vast archipelago rather than navigating a river. Though this extensive range bears the name of The Thousand Isles; it is said that there are more than 1,600 of them, which

I can readily believe. The largest of them are from 8 to 10 miles in length, and 4 to 5 in breadth; and the smallest of them cover perhaps an acre of space. They are for the most part rocky, sometimes rising in abrupt cliffs from the water, and so bold and steep that you may run the boat near enough almost to touch the cliffs from the vessel; a few only are low and flat, but being nearly all wooded, they form a perpetual succession of the most romantically beautiful and picturesque groups that can be conceived. The water of the St. Lawrence is of a bright green tinge, and beautifully clear, much clearer than the clearest parts of the Upper Mississippi, almost indeed as transparent as Lake Huron itself; and from its majestic breadth, its rich and varied scenery, and the settled population seen along its banks, the St. Lawrence has a grandeur, as well as a variety and beauty, about it, which no other river that we had yet seen on this continent possessed in an equal degree.

After clearing The Thousand Islands, we continued down the St. Lawrence, whose stream was here contracted to about two miles in breadth, till we reached Brockville, a small town on the left bank, in Canada; and still proceeding onwards, we reached Prescott, on the same side, and also in Canada, about 4, P. M. having been seven hours performing a distance of seventy miles.

We were detained here four hours in waiting for the arrival of an American steamer from Lewiston, which did not come as expected, after all. Prescott, which contains about 2,000 inhabitants, was the scene of a battle during the late insurrection in

Canada; a large party of Canadian insurgents, aided and joined by several Americans, having come over from the opposite town of Osnaburgh, in the State of New York, to attack Prescott; but they were signally defeated, and a great number of their body were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Osnaburgh is somewhat larger than Prescott, and presents a good appearance from the Canadian side, across the stream, which is here about two miles in breadth. A ferry-boat, which is constructed on a very simple, but excellent plan, plies between the two towns. Two long hollow tubes, of about a foot in diameter, and painted at each end, are placed parallel to each other on the water, at a distance of from ten to twelve feet apart. On these tubes a platform is laid across, surrounded by a railing; and in the centre of the whole is a water-wheel or paddle, between the tubes, worked by a small engine. The tubes having much less hold of the water than a boat's hull would have, the whole fabric is propelled with great speed by small power, because of the little resistance or friction; I should conceive it highly advantageous to introduce this principle more extensively in steam-rafts on rivers, as combining economy, speed, and capacity for burden, in a greater degree than almost any other form of construction.*

* Since my return to England, and while these sheets are going through the press, I have had the pleasure to see, at the Marquis of Northampton's Soirée, as President of the Royal Society, on Saturday, the 25th of Feb. an ingenious application of the same principle to a new Life-Buoy, which was composed of a single metallic tube, or cylinder, of about three feet in diameter, and twelve feet in length;—having in the centre a

We left Prescott at 9 P. M., and, hurried on by a current going at the rate of about four miles an hour, we reached a place called Dickenson's Landing, some miles below Prescott, at two in the morning. Here we had to leave the boat, and go twelve miles by a stage-coach, to avoid the Longue Sault, one of the many turbulent Rapids, by which the navigation of the St. Lawrence is occasionally interrupted between Kingston and Montreal. It rained torrents, and was so dark that it was difficult to see ten yards ahead, so that our removal and transfer of baggage was most uncomfortable. There were three stage-coaches in waiting, and by these we were conveyed over as rough a road as we ever found in the United States. The whole distance of our land-journey was twelve miles, but about midway, from the rough roads and careless driving, one of the three coaches was upset, and the passengers much bruised by the fall. We remained to assist, in the dark and rainy night, in getting the coach up again, the baggage reloaded, and the passengers reseated; and proceeding on our journey, we reached the place of embarkation below the Rapid at 4 A. M. Here we embarked in the Highlander, a larger and better steamboat than the Dolphin; but both of them were greatly inferior to American boats even of the same class.

In this vessel we started at 6 A. M. from Cornwall, opposite to which the American border begins

hollow well, like that of the Esquimaux' and other Indians' fishing-canoes, into which half-a-dozen men might get, and with the paddles attached to the sides of the buoy, propel themselves speedily alongside a ship, or to the shore: while from its lightness it would ride easily over the highest surf.

to recede from the river, the line of 45° of latitude constituting the boundary line; passed down the lake St. Francis, an expansion of the St. Lawrence, through some fine scenery, with a number of large and small islands scattered over the stream; and after a short trip of forty miles, with the British shore now on both sides, we reached another landing, called the Couteau du Lac, about 10 A. M. Here we again disembarked, dividing ourselves among three coaches, and proceeded along the left bank of the river, the road winding with the stream, and keeping within a few yards of its edge. The distance of this land-journey was sixteen miles, which we performed in two hours. Nearly the whole of the way we observed small villages, and single dwellings of the Canadian peasantry lining the road on the left, while the Rapids of the St. Lawrence, which this land-journey was taken to avoid, as no steamboats can pass over them, varied the picture agreeably on our right. Over these Rapids we had an opportunity of seeing the deeply-laden cargo-boats of the country, and large rafts of timber, carried with the velocity of twenty miles an hour, in a turbulent and agitated mass of foaming white waves and breakers.

The dwellings of the Canadians, though humble, appeared to us to be all characterized by great neatness and cleanliness in their interiors; the farms were well fenced, and in better order than we had expected to find them, after the representations we had heard of their slovenly mode of cultivation. The peasants themselves were French in their physiognomy, as well as language, and French in their habits and manners; so enduring are national peculiarities

even after long subjection to another power. Their love of flowers was seen in the adornment of their windows, and the walls and doors of their cottages, with the geranium, the rose, and the jasmin; and their love of dress was evinced in the gay colours and neat ornaments of the women and children. We passed, in the course of this ride, a small fort, at which were stationed a corps of volunteers doing duty; these were from the district of Glengarry, a short distance from this, in the interior, originally settled with Highlanders, and remarkable for their loyalty amidst the general disaffection of the French Canadians, by whom they were surrounded.

About midway of the distance between the Couteau du Lac and the Cascades, to which our land-journey extended, we passed through the village of Les Cedres, where a large number of the *habitans*, as the country-people are called, were assembled in the village-green. The whole picture was more like the gathering for a rural fête in some town of Switzerland or France, than anything we had expected to meet on the continent of America. The Church being open, we went to see it, while the stage-coach carried the mail to the post-office; and were struck with its large size, tasteful arrangement, and costly decorations. Though an ordinary parish church of the village, it was larger than most of the new churches of London: and being very lofty, with an arched roof, and without side-galleries or pillars, it had an air of vastness and lightness combined, which was peculiarly impressive. The altar was richly carved and gilded, the ceiling was gorgeously ornamented; the pulpit was exquisitely carved, yet beautifully

chaste in its snowy whiteness; and the principal, as well as the side-altars, were dressed in excellent taste. There were pews for the congregation, as in the English and American churches, though this is not usual in the Catholic churches of France; a large organ and choir occupied the greater portion of the end-gallery opposite to the altar; the pictures were neither too numerous nor too gaudy, though not of first-rate execution; and about the whole there was a harmony and keeping which was at once rich, without being tawdry, and gay and brilliant, without being deficient in sobriety or solemnity.

At noon, we reached the next place of embarkation, which is called the Cascades, it being the westernmost point of junction, at which the Ottawa, or Grand River, falls into the St. Lawrence; two other branches of the Ottawa going north-eastward, and dividing the Isle of Jesus from the Island of Montreal, and both from the continent of the opposite shores. The Ottawa, though a tributary of the St. Lawrence, is a large river, rising in the latitude of 48° north, and running in a south-east direction at least 500 miles, receiving several smaller streams on both sides in its way. It is on the banks of this river that the principal part of the timber shipped from Montreal and Quebec, is hewn, and collected into rafts to be floated down the stream; and here the old race of boatmen, or *voyageurs*, still linger. The waters of the Ottawa have a tinge of reddish-brown, which is strikingly contrasted with the light green colour of the waters of the St. Lawrence. At this point of their junction, the distinction between the two streams is as well defined as between the waters

of the Missouri and Mississippi, and it is said that this distinction continues visible for more than a hundred miles below Montreal.

Embarking at the Cascades on another steamer, we proceeded onward by the St. Lawrence towards Beauharnois, where we landed to take in wood. The boat remaining here for some time, we took the opportunity of going up to the village, walking around it, and conversing with its inhabitants. This spot was the scene of a terrible conflagration during the late rebellion, and we saw several of the houses remaining just in the state in which they were left after the fire, without any steps having been since taken to remove even the rubbish and ashes occasioned by the burning. The estate of Beauharnois, of which this is the principal village, extends for a great distance from this spot, covering, it is said, a space of about eighteen miles square. The Seigneury, or ownership, of this large property, was vested in Mr. Edward Ellice, M.P. for Coventry, and his son happened to be here at the time of the rising of the rebels. He was taken prisoner, with several others, and held for some days in close confinement, but supplied with every necessary, and ultimately released. It is said here that the whole of this fine property was sold to Mr. Ellice some years since for less than 10,000*l.*; that the improvements made on it by him, have cost about an equal sum, making the whole outlay 20,000*l.*; and that during the whole of the period it has been in his possession, he has derived an income of at least 5,000*l.* a year from it. The whole has been recently sold by him to a Company of Proprietors in

England for about 120,000*l.*, and these even are thought to have made a cheap purchase;—so valuable is this fine estate, comprising upwards of 200,000 acres of good land, a large portion under cultivation, with many buildings, and within a few miles of the city of Montreal. In twenty years hence, with the infusion of a good class of settlers, and the judicious application of capital, the value of this estate may be easily raised to 500,000*l.*; and in half a century it can hardly fail to be worth a million. Mr. Ellice has the reputation here of having been a very liberal Seigneur, facilitating every improvement, consulting the interests of his tenants, building for their use both a Catholic and a Protestant place of worship; looking to the ultimate rather than immediate profits to be raised from his property, his efforts have been eminently successful, while the country cannot fail to be benefited by the increase of settlers which the Company of Proprietors, to whom this estate is now sold, will no doubt speedily attract to it.

Leaving Beauharnois, we descended the St. Lawrence about twenty miles to Lachine, where we were again obliged to disembark, and take a land-journey by stage of nine miles, to Montreal, to avoid the Rapids of the river between this place and the city, which are impassable by steamboats, and only navigated by cargo-craft and timber-rafts, in which, of course, there is no accommodation for passengers. Nearly opposite to Lachine, is the Indian settlement of Caughnawagha, where about 500 Iroquois Indians in a semi-civilized state, reside under the government of a chief, who is paid a certain annuity for himself

and the tribe, by the British government, in return for the cession of their lands, and who acts under instructions from the Governor of the Province, to whom he is held responsible for the good conduct of the settlement. These Indians are all Roman Catholics, and the priest has control over the chief as well as his people. There is large church, which looks imposing at a distance, but the dwellings of the Indians are poor and mean, and the settlement is miserable and dirty. The same reluctance to labour, which characterizes the whole race, is observed among the males at Caughnawagha, the chief burden being thrown upon the females; and such is the fondness, in both sexes, for ardent spirits, that intoxication is freely indulged in, without the slightest punishment or even sense of shame, so that there is little or no hope of their physical or moral improvement.

From Lachine we came by a good road, nine miles to Montreal, the aspect of everything we observed on the way being perfectly French — the dwellings, signs, names of streets, physiognomy, dress, language—all resembling what would be met with at the entrance to any provincial town in France, until we got into the heart of the city, where some admixture of English persons and English sounds began to be seen and heard. We arrived at Rasco's hotel about 5 P.M.; having been, therefore, 32 hours from Kingston to Montreal, performing a distance of about 200 miles, and the fare being 10 dollars each. The house was extremely full, this being the season of the year in which travellers from the United States extend their excursions into

Canada; but we were so fortunate as to obtain apartments, and were glad enough to repose after one of the most fatiguing journeys we had for a long time experienced, arising chiefly from the frequent shiftings from steamboat to stage-coach, to avoid the many Rapids of the St. Lawrence, and the want of sleep on the way.

We remained at Montreal for a fortnight, which we passed very agreeably, in visiting all the institutions of the city, Catholic and Protestant, in excursions to the Mountain, and other parts of the neighbourhood, and in the interchange of visits with those to whom we brought letters of introduction. We met here, too, as usual, a great number of persons whom I had known in other countries; and among them, one of the members for Coventry, on a pleasure-excursion from England to visit the Canadas, and pass by the Lakes on to the Valley of the Mississippi. Indeed, almost every day brought some old acquaintance to pay me a visit. I found among the resident merchants and gentlemen in official station, the greatest readiness to answer every inquiry, and facilitate every investigation; and the result of my labours during our stay at Montreal will be found embodied in the following history and description of the city.

CHAP. VIII.

Early history of Montreal—Indian village of Hochelaga—Tribe of the Hurons—Cession of Montreal to the Jesuit Missionaries—Consecration of the spot selected for the town—Transfer of the Island to the St. Sulpicians—First intercourse and traffic with the Indians—Foundation of the Seminary of St. Sulpice—Horrible massacre of the whites by the Indians—Surrender of Montreal to the British—Terrible fire—Depreciation of Paper Money—Capture of Montreal by Americans—Recapture—Visit of Prince William Henry, late King of England—Awful and alarming atmospherical phenomenon—Destructive ravages of the Asiatic cholera—First overt act of rebellion in Montreal—Probable future seat of the United Government.

MONTREAL is one of the oldest settlements on the North American continent, taking precedence, in point of date, both over the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the Rock of Plymouth, and the founding of Jamestown in Virginia by Captain Smith. As early as the year 1535, it was visited by Cartier, a French navigator from St. Malo, who had been engaged in the cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. He sailed from France on the 20th of April, 1534, with two small vessels of sixty tons each, and reached Newfoundland in the short space of twenty days. Passing through the Straits of Belleisle, he entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, traversed the Bay of Chaleurs, to which he gave this name, because of the great heat experienced in it,

took possession of Gaspé, by erecting a cross there with the *fleur-de-lis*, in the name of the King of France, and prevailed on two native Indians to return with him to his country. The success of this first voyage led to a second, in which he sailed from France with three vessels, on the 19th of May in the following year, 1535, and entering the great river of Canada—to which he was the first to give the name of the St. Lawrence, because it was first entered on the day dedicated to that saint in the Roman calendar, namely, the 10th of August—he passed up as high as where Quebec now stands, and leaving his vessels there, came up the river in boats, and on the 3rd of October reached the Indian settlement of Hochelaga, on the spot where the city of Montreal now stands.

The Indians then occupying this village, were of the tribe of Hurons; their settlement, however, was very small, not containing more than fifty wigwams, which are described as being shaped like tunnels, fifty feet in length by fifteen in breadth, divided into several chambers, and having a gallery running round the upper part of each. The whole of the settlement was encompassed by a circular enclosure, and guarded by three separate rows of pickets or wooden stakes, as fences, there being but one entrance into the village, and this being guarded with great care against the attacks of enemies. These Indians were acquainted with husbandry and fishing, and lived a stationary life. They received their white visitors with great courtesy and hospitality; but never having before seen men of a different colour from themselves, everything about their per-

sons, dresses, and arms, excited intense curiosity. Cartier examined the mountain which rises behind the present city, and which then overlooked the Indian village of Hochelaga, and was so pleased with the magnificent prospect from its summit, that he called it, in honour of the King of France, Mount Royal, which name it continued to bear for at least seventy years afterwards, as it is so called in documents of the year 1690 to 1700; but it was afterwards changed to Montreal, though by whom, and under what circumstances, does not appear.

Though Cartier had formed the idea of establishing a French settlement here, at the period of his visit, his speedy return to France prevented its execution at that time, and it was not until more than a century afterwards, in 1640, that it actually took place. In the mean while, Canada, from being originally a French possession, had for a short time become English, and then reverted to its original occupants again. It was in 1629, in the reign of Charles the First of England, that the whole of New France, as it was then called, fell into the hands of the English, by capture; but in 1632, it was restored to the French, by the peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, the treaty of which was signed on the 29th of March, in that year.

In 1640, the King of France ceded the whole of the Island of Montreal to a Company, consisting of thirty-five individuals, who had associated themselves for the purpose of colonizing the settlement as Missionaries, and propagating the Christian religion among the Indians. Several French families were induced to come out as settlers also, under the aus-

pices of Mons. de Maisonneuve, who was appointed Governor of the Colony, then confined to the Island, and thus the germ of a new community was formed.

In 1642, the spot selected for building the new French town, which was close to the Indian village of Hochelaga, was consecrated by the Superior of the Jesuits. This ceremony took place on the 29th of May, on the Island of Montreal; but it had been preceded by a similar ceremony in Paris, about three months before, when the thirty-five Associates went together to the Church of Notre Dame, and supplicated the Virgin Mary to take the Island of Montreal under her protection. A further ceremony was observed, by the same persons, on the Island itself, on the 15th of August, in the same year, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin; and all the pomp and pageantry of the Catholic worship was put forth in its most imposing form, to impress the Indians with an exalted idea of the new religion which they were called upon to embrace.

In 1644, the whole of the property of the Island of Montreal, was transferred by the Associates, to whom it had been granted by the King of France, to the Society of the St. Sulpicians at Paris; and by them it was conveyed to the Seminary of the St. Sulpicians, a branch of their own order, then at Montreal. In their hands it has continued ever since, not having been disturbed by the English conquest of the Province, or by any legislative enactment; and to remove all doubt respecting their legal right and title to the property, which had begun to be questioned or disputed, there has been recently issued, by the Governor-General in Council, an Ordinance

of Incorporation, granting to the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the whole of the Seigneury of the Island of Montreal, with all the rights and privileges thereunto appertaining.

As the European inhabitants of Montreal began to increase, they attracted the attention of the Indians of the neighbouring tribes to their settlement, and the Iroquois being tempted to attack them, they soon found the necessity of fortifying their position, which they did at first simply with stockades, but afterwards with a stone wall, fifteen feet high, with battlements and gates, affording abundant security. Montreal then became the chief mart for the fur-trade with the Indians of the Ottawa river and its tributaries; and a large fair was held here from June till August: but though large profits were made by the French traders through these fairs, great injury occurred to the health and morals of the Indians, who were here first made acquainted with the use of ardent spirits; and here, as they have done everywhere, wherever this poison has been introduced, they have committed such excesses, as to be intoxicated as long as the supply of the destructive poison lasted; and to have contracted a fondness for it, which no time or subsequent experience seems to have the power to destroy,

In 1657, the Abbé Quetus arrived from France with authority from the Order of St. Sulpicians, in Paris, to effect such improvements as might be deemed desirable; and it was by him that the Seminary of St. Sulpice was first built here, avowedly for the education and conversion of the Indians, but also for educating young men to the priesthood, and

supplying clergy to the parishes, as well as founding a hospital for the diseased of all classes; in which benevolent labours they were greatly assisted by large donations from pious individuals in France.

In 1689, Montreal was the scene of a horrible massacre of its inhabitants by the Iroquois Indians, a body of whom, to the extent of 1,200, invaded the island on the 26th of July, in that year, and attacking the town, put to death by the tomahawk and the war-club upwards of a thousand of the French, including men, women, and children, and carried off twenty-six prisoners, whom they reserved for a more horrible death, and burnt alive at the stake! Charlevoix, the French historian of the times, adds also, that these monsters actually ripped open the wombs of pregnant women, and tore from thence their unborn infants, whom they roasted alive in the presence of their expiring mothers, and compelled those who had strength enough left to move, to turn their own offspring round before the fire!!

In 1720, Montreal contained 3,000 inhabitants, and in 1757, these had increased to 5,000. In 1760, about a year after the surrender of Quebec to the British, after the battle in which General Wolfe was killed, Montreal was invested by three detachments, coming from opposite directions, and all under brave and skilful officers. General Murray, with a force from Quebec; General Amherst, with a force from Oswego, then a British post; and Colonel Haviland, from the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence. The French commandant, Governor Vaudreuil, proposed a capitulation, and the terms being mutually agreed on, the city was given up to

the British, without a battle, on the 8th of September, 1760; Quebec having surrendered on the 18th of September, 1759.

In 1765, a terrible fire broke out in Montreal, on the 16th of May, by which, in a very few hours, no less than 108 houses were destroyed, and 215 families reduced to great distress. A subscription for their relief was opened in England; and His Majesty, George the Third, contributed 500*l.* to the list. The loss by the fire exceeded 100,000*l.* In less than three years after this, another extensive fire occurred, breaking out on the 11th of April, 1768; by which ninety houses were consumed, two churches, and a large charity-school; and the distress occasioned by this second conflagration was even greater than by the first. In addition to this, immense losses were sustained by the inhabitants, who were holders of the Government paper-money of that day, called "card-money." This had been used for thirty years before the conquest of Canada, for the payment of all the civil and military expenses of the colony, in the nature of drafts made by the French Intendant on the Royal Treasury at Paris; which circulated as freely, and with as much confidence in their validity, as if they were gold or silver. But a fraudulent issue of these having been made for his own private purposes, beyond the necessary expense of the colony, by the Intendant, named Bigot, to whom the entire management of its finances had been entrusted, they were refused payment, by order of the King at the French Treasury; and the unfortunate holders never realized more than 4 per cent. of the original value of their notes, so that many

persons accustomed to affluence were by this calamity reduced to bankruptcy and want, without the slightest hope of redress.

In 1775, the revolution of the United States against Great Britain being then in progress, Montreal was attacked by the American General, Montgomery, and there being but few troops in the town, it was surrendered to him on the 13th of November. It remained in possession of the revolutionary force until the month of May in the following year, when reinforcements arriving from England, it was retaken. Soon after this, the peace of 1783 gave general tranquillity to all the remaining possessions of the British in this quarter. From this period, the trade and population of Montreal gradually increased; and the French inhabitants appeared to be perfectly reconciled to the authority of their new rulers.

In 1787, the late King William the Fourth, then Prince William Henry, visited Quebec in the Pegasus, of 28 guns, of which he was then commander; and proceeding up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, he entered it on the 8th of September, and was received with great honour as a member of the Royal Family of England.

During the war with the United States from 1812 to 1814, Montreal was several times threatened, and twice in great danger from hostile attacks; but happily the city escaped them all, and at the peace a new impetus was given to the increase of her trade and population.

In 1819, a most remarkable phenomenon occurred at Montreal, which infused terror into all classes.

According to the account given of it by the Journals of the day, it must have been most alarming. It was on the morning of Sunday, the 8th of November, that the sun rose of a pink colour, seen through a hazy atmosphere, and with a greenish tinge on all the clouds that were visible; this was succeeded by a dense mass of black clouds, from whence descended heavy rains, depositing on the earth large quantities of a substance that had the appearance and smell of common soot. On Tuesday the 9th, the same phenomenon was repeated, but with more intensity. The rising-sun was of a deep orange colour; the clouds in the heavens were some green and others of a pitchy blackness; the sun then alternated between a blood red and a deep brown colour; and at noon it was so dark, that candles were obliged to be lighted in all the houses. All the brute animals appeared to be struck with terror; and uttered their fears in mournful cries, as they hurried to such places of shelter as were within their reach. At three o'clock it was as dark as night; and out of the pitchy clouds proceeded lightnings more vivid, and thunders more loud, than had ever before been heard, causing the floors of the houses to tremble to such a degree, as to throw those who were seated or standing off their feet. After this, torrents of rain fell, bringing masses of the same sooty substance noticed before; a short period of light followed, and after this, at 4 o'clock it was as dark as ever. The ball at the top of the steeple of the Roman Catholic church was next seen enveloped in flames; the fire-alarm was given by all the bells in the city, and the cry of "fire" was repeated in every street. The populace rushed to the open

square, near the Church, called the "Place d'Armes;" and every one seemed impressed with a belief, that some great convulsion of nature was about to take place, or that the last day was at hand. The iron cross, which was sustained by the ball on fire, soon fell on the pavement with a loud crash, broken into many pieces; the rain again descended in torrents, blacker even than before; and as the water flowed like ink through the streets and gutters, it carried along on its surface a foam like that produced by the violent action of the sea. The night was darker than ever; and the fate of the buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii seemed to be awaiting the town of Montreal! Fortunately, however, the following day was light and serene; though it required some time to tranquillize the fears, which these singular, and hitherto unexplained appearances, had very naturally engendered. It is said that many of the towns east and west of this, as far indeed as Kingston on the one hand, and Quebec on the other, had witnessed something of these appearances; but they were nowhere exhibited with so much intensity as at Montreal.

In 1832, this city was visited by the Asiatic cholera, and about 2,000 persons were carried off by it between June and September in that year; the burials on the 19th of June, amounting to 149, out of a population of 28,000. Indeed it is asserted, that of the inhabitants in Lower Canada, then amounting to about half a million, a greater number had been swept away by this disease, in the short space of three months, than had fallen by the same scourge among the population of England, embracing up-

wards of fifteen millions, in double that space of time.

In 1837, the first overt acts of the rebellion of Lower Canada, were committed in Montreal. On Monday, the 6th of November in that year, a party of about 300 persons, calling themselves "The Sons of Liberty," issued forth from a building in St. James's Street, in which they had assembled; and being armed with pistols, sabres, and other weapons, they attacked whoever fell in their way, and literally swept the streets clear for a time. The loyal inhabitants, however, soon rallied, and the military coming to their aid, the insurgents were speedily dispersed. Some of the more zealous of the Government party proceeded to the office of The Vindicator, a journal that had assisted in the propagation of seditious sentiments; and destroying its presses and types by violence, they thus rendered it powerless for the future. At night, peace was restored; and the city itself, after that, was not again the scene of actual warfare, the insurgents confining their operations to the smaller towns.

Since the suppression of the rebellion, Montreal has been perfectly tranquil; and as, by the Union of the Provinces, it is likely to become the seat of the general government, instead of Quebec or Toronto, at which the respective Legislatures of Lower and Upper Canada previously held their sittings, it is probable that it will increase in population, wealth, and importance, in a much greater ratio than heretofore.

CHAP. IX.

Situation of Montreal—Junction of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence —Siege of the Island—Height of Mount Royal—Plan and subdivisions of the city—Streets, houses, style, and materials of building—Public edifices—Great Catholic Cathedral—Description of its architecture and interior—Roman Catholic and Protestant churches—Number and proportions of religious sects—Visit to the ancient nunnery of the Hotel Dieu—Habits and appearance of the cloistered nuns—Visit to the Black Nunnery, or Convent of Notre Dame—Seminary for female education attached to this—Dress and appearance of the Black Nuns—Number of pupils—Style and cost of education —Visit to the Grey Nunnery—History of its foundation—Dress and appearance of the Grey Nuns—Discipline and mode of life within the walls—Sources of revenue and its appropriation—Seminary of the St. Sulpicians—Property of this body —Seigneury of Montreal—British and Canadian School—Protestant National School—McGill's College for the higher branches of education.

The City of Montreal is seated on the south-east side of the island of the same name, with the river St. Lawrence flowing before it, from south-west to north-east, from a mile and half to two miles in breadth. The junction of the Ottawa or Grand River with the St. Lawrence, encompasses two large islands, and several of a smaller size. The two large ones are the Isle of Jesus, which is nearest to the northern, and the Isle of Mount Royal, which is nearest to the southern and eastern shore, with navigable channels for small vessels between each. The hill called Mount Royal rises behind the town

to the north-west, and forms a prominent object in the picture from every point of view. It is about 550 feet in elevation above the stream, is well wooded over the greatest part of its extent, and its side towards the St. Lawrence is dotted with many beautiful villas and gardens, which add much to the charm of the landscape, while the view from its summit is extensive and picturesque in the extreme. The island is about twenty-eight miles in length, ten miles in its greatest breadth, and seventy miles in circumference; and its fertility is such as to give it the name of the Garden of Canada. The island is divided into ten parishes, each having its parish church, vicar, and curés, according to the original apportionment of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Catholics. The Seigneury, or feudal lordship of the manor, belongs chiefly to the Seminary of the St. Sulpicians; and yields a large revenue toward the support of their order and the Catholic church.

The town extends along the border of the river for about three miles, including the suburbs and inward from the water a breadth of about a mile and quarter, covering an area of about a thousand acres of land. The principal streets run nearly north-east and south-west, almost parallel to the stream of the St. Lawrence, which runs a little more northerly. The principal street is called Notre Dame Street, and this goes along a ridge elevated about fifty feet above the river's bank; while below it, nearer the water, and almost parallel to it, but with greater irregularities in its line, runs St. Paul's Street. The former is the principal promenade of fashion, in which are the best shops, the principal churches,

and the public edifices. The latter is the chief street of the merchants, in which the Custom-house, and the largest stores and warehouses, are placed. From this ridge, along the summit of which Notre Dame Street leads, you look down to the south-east over a gradual declivity to the river; and on the other side, or north-west, you also look down over a gradual declivity to the plain or valley of the land; the lateral streets from St. Paul's sloping upwards to Notre Dame, and downwards from Notre Dame to the plain on the land-side, crossing the longitudinal streets at right angles. There are six suburbs, though these are all included within the City boundary, and, like the fauxbourgs of Paris, they form continuous parts of the same town. These are the Quebec Suburb, on the north-east; the St. Lawrence Suburb, on the north-west; and the Suburbs of St. Antoine, St. Joseph, St. Ann, and Recollet, on the south-east and south-west.

All the older parts of the town are as irregular, and the streets as narrow, as in the oldest towns of France; but in the more modern parts of the City, the streets are much broader and more regular in their lines of direction. The Rue Notre Dame, which is nearly a mile long, and is by far the finest avenue in the whole, is only thirty feet broad; and St. Paul's, which is the next in importance, is still narrower. Some of the lanes and alleys leading from this down to the river, are barely sufficient for a horse and cart to go through, obliging the passenger who meets it to shrink back against the wall to avoid coming in contact with the wheels, reminding him of some of the narrowest lanes leading out of Cheap-

side and the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London. Craig Street and McGill Street, are however, from sixty to eighty feet broad; and with these examples, no doubt all future additions to the City will be on a similar scale. The streets are in general wretchedly paved, full of deep holes and inequalities; so that a drive over them in one of the calechés of the town, might be imposed as a penance, from the violent shaking it gives the whole frame. In some parts of the City the streets are macadamized, and these are sufficiently smooth and agreeable; but the material used being limestone and not granite, is too easily pulverized, and is, therefore, subject to the double inconvenience of being very muddy in wet weather, and very dusty in dry. The side-walks are necessarily very narrow, and most of them broken and irregular also; so that neither driving nor walking can be much enjoyed in the streets of Montreal.

The houses are chiefly built of the grey lime-stone, with which the adjoining mountain abounds; the older buildings, of irregularly shaped blocks, united with cement, and the interstices filled up with smaller stones; but the more recent build-ings are of squared and hewn blocks, well dressed or smoothed, and united in the best style of masonry. The roofs are mostly covered with tin-plate, in the shape of slate-tiles, or wooden shingles; and as the dryness of the climate and remoteness from the sea, occasions it to preserve its brightness for many years without rust, the roofs and spires give out a dazzling whiteness in the bright sunshine, which is at once novel and agreeable. The modern shops, or stores

as they are called here, where the American phraseology is strangely mingled with the French, are many of them as large and as handsome as in New York or Philadelphia; and the greatest number of them are lighted with gas, though that improvement has not yet been introduced into the lighting of the streets. In most of the older warehouses, iron shutters and doors are used, as preventives to the spread of fire; and the tin roofs are partly adopted because of their saving houses from the risk of conflagration by the falling of sparks, which so often spread the ravages of fire in cities, where wooden roofs are common, though economy and durability are its chief recommendations.

Of the public edifices of Montreal, the churches form the most prominent; and of these, the new Catholic cathedral is the largest and most important. The order of the architecture is Norman Gothic, and the whole of the exterior is remarkably plain. The front presents itself to the west near the centre of Notre Dame Street, and opposite the open square called the Place d'Armes, by which means its façade is shown to great advantage. The loftiness of the arcades at the entrance, which are about fifty feet in height, give it an imposing air; but at present it wants the finish of its towers, to give it all the effect which these, when completed, will produce. The size of the building is large, being 255 feet in length, 135 feet in breadth, and 72 feet in height; the two front towers on the west being intended to be 220 feet high. The interior is arranged and decorated in extremely bad taste. The body of the ground-floor, which slopes by a gradual descent from the

door to the altar, the whole length of the building, is filled with pews; and a double row of side galleries rising one over the other, as in a theatre, contains other pews, there being 504 on the ground-floor, and 370 in each of the galleries, making in the whole 1,244, capable of seating comfortably 8,000 persons; and with the occupation of the aisles and passages, which are very broad, affording space enough for 10,000 persons under the same roof.

The galleries are sustained by large clustered pillars, which are painted in the worst taste, to resemble blue and white clouded marble; the pews are of a dark yellow colour, and the ornaments of deep brown, producing a most tawdry effect. Even the great east window, the size of which is 64 feet in height by 32 in breadth, is rendered mean and vulgar in its appearance, by the paintings of its 36 compartments executed as transparencies instead of the rich-coloured glass of the ancient cathedrals of Europe.

The roof is groined, and is 80 feet in height, but it wants the rich carving and gilding of the older edifices to cover its nakedness. The space enclosed for the high altar is large, and within it are ranges of semicircular seats for the inferior clergy and assistants, of whom there are sometimes a hundred present, in surplices and caps; but the principal altar and all the smaller ones, of which there are seven in different parts of the church, are greatly inferior to what the scale of the building would lead one to expect. The organ also is small and without strength or beauty of tone, while the chanting was inferior

to that of the smallest Catholic churches in Europe. The pulpit is attached to one of the side-pillars on the north, about the middle of the cathedral, and having no stairs to ascend up from below, access to it can only be had through the northern lower gallery, on a level with which it is placed. The preacher has no portion of the congregation facing him as he stands, except those in the opposite gallery; all those in the gallery from the front of which he speaks, being behind him, and all those in the lower part of the church having their faces to the altar at the east, while he is looking south, or at right angles across their heads. While the exterior of the building is imposing from its size, and chaste in its simplicity, the interior is more awkwardly arranged than any similar edifice I remember. The cathedral was commenced in 1824, and was opened for worship in 1829, when high mass was performed, and an oration delivered, in presence of nearly the whole of the Canadian Catholic clergy. The then British Governor of Lower Canada, Sir James Kempt, and his official staff of civil and military officers, with upwards of 8,000 inhabitants of the city, also attended.

Besides the cathedral, there are three other Roman Catholic churches: that of St. James's, called the Bishop's church, as Montreal was erected into a bishopric in 1836, in which church the bishop performs divine worship;—the Recollet church, in which the Irish Catholics chiefly assemble;—and the church of Notre Dame de Bon Secours, principally frequented by the French; while all classes of Catholics attend the cathedral.

The Protestant Episcopal church, called Christ

church, forms one of the ornaments of Notre Dame Street, on the opposite side to that on which the large cathedral stands, and a little north of it. It was commenced in 1805, but suspended for want of funds till 1812, when a parliamentary grant of 4,000*l.* enabled the builders to proceed, and in 1814 it was first opened for public worship. In 1818, it was erected by letters patent from the Great Seal in England, into a parish church and rectory, making the rector, churchwardens, and members for the time being, a body corporate, to manage all its pecuniary affairs. The church is 120 feet in length by 80 in breadth, and the tower and spire rises to a height of 204 feet. The front is a simple Doric in the exterior, with pilasters and pediment, as there was not depth enough for a portico, the building receding only a few feet within the line of the street. The interior is Corinthian; and the pews, galleries, pulpit, and altar, are all remarkable for their chasteness of design and good taste in decoration, while the organ, procured from London at an expense of 1,500*l.*, is one of the best in the country.

There are three Scotch churches belonging to the Established Kirk of Scotland. The oldest of these was opened in 1792, and from its steeple, it is said the first Protestant bell was sounded in Canada. The second, called St. Andrew's, was opened in 1807; and the third, called St. Paul's, the handsomest of the whole, was opened in 1835. They will each contain about 750 persons, and their united congregations are much larger than that of the Episcopal church.

The Wesleyan Methodists, who are also in con-

nection with the present body in England, and under the direction of the Conference at home, have three churches. The principal one of these is nearly in the centre of the city, in St. James's Street. It is a very handsome building, with Doric portico, and good exterior, while the interior is extremely elegant and commodious. It cost about 5,000*l.*, and will seat a thousand persons. The other two churches of the Wesleyans are, one in the northern section of the City, the Quebec Suburbs; and another in the southern quarter, or St. Ann's Suburbs, and all of them have large congregations.

There is an American Presbyterian church, which was first opened in 1826, a Baptist church, opened in 1831, and a Congregational or Independent church, opened in 1835, besides a Scotch Secession church, opened in 1836, all well sustained and well attended. There is also a small synagogue for the Jews.

It will be seen, therefore, from the dates attached to these several churches, that of late years, increasing provision has been made for Protestant worshippers; and that while the Catholic population is thought to amount to 20,000, and the Protestant population to not more than 10,000, there is more ample accommodation for the latter than for the former, in the various buildings that are scattered over the City and its suburbs; so that no Protestant inhabitant can be distant more than a quarter of a mile from a Protestant place of worship.

The Roman Catholic establishments of a benevolent nature, are among the most ancient of the City; they are numerous, large, richly endowed, and well

conducted. They consist of the Seminary, the College, the Petite Seminaire, and three Nunneries—the Hotel Dieu, the Black Nunnery, and the Grey Nunnery. By the courtesy of the Superior of the St. Sulpicians, and the attention of one of the brotherhood, who accompanied us on our visits, we had the privilege of seeing each of these establishments, and examining into all their details.

The most ancient is the Nunnery of the Hotel Dieu, which was founded in 1644, by Madame de Bouillon, for the reception and care of the sick and diseased poor, of all nations, and of both sexes. It is situated nearly in the centre of the city, and covers a large area of 468 feet by 324. The funds by which it is sustained are derived from rents of lands and houses, belonging to the Hotel from original endowments, assisted occasionally by grants from the Provincial Legislature. Nothing could exceed the cleanliness, neatness, and comfort of the several wards in which the sick and aged are accommodated here; and the Dispensary of Medicines was the most perfect in its arrangement that I ever remember to have seen. The Sisters, as they are called, by whom the establishment is conducted, are in number thirty-seven, one of whom is the Superior. They are what are called Cloistered Nuns, never leaving the building and the garden attached to it, but devoting themselves entirely to religious worship, and the care of the sick and infirm. They dress in a black habit, with a broad collar, plain, but of snowy whiteness, extending over the bosom and neck, a white frontlet covering the brow close down to the eye-brows, and a black gauze veil thrown back over

the head. The ages of those we saw, varied between thirty and fifty. Their duties are severe, and their diet scanty and simple. In the chapel attached to the convent, which is richly ornamented, they have mass celebrated every day, and offices of devotion at three separate periods besides. From each of the sick wards there are large windows leading into galleries of the chapel, from whence the altar can be seen, and the music and prayers heard, by those who are too sick or too infirm to go to the chapel itself. The admissions to the Hospital are limited only by the extent of their accommodations, which will receive about a hundred persons. Those who enter it are supported gratuitously, and supplied with food and medicine for as long as they may require it; and as soon as those who are cured leave the Hospital, there are always others to fill their places.

The candidates for the Sisterhood are chiefly Canadians; but sometimes French and Irish. They must be well recommended for piety and morals, and undergo a probation of five years, after which, if their conduct is approved, they are received into the Sisterhood, and take the black veil, making, at the same time, three vows, one of chastity, one of poverty, and one of seclusion and devotion to the care of the sick and infirm. Two of the Sisters are at all times together, in each ward, day and night, relieving each other in watches of four hours; and none are exempt from this duty except the Lady Superior, whose constant superintendence during the day furnishes her with abundant occupation. They appear to be very happy, and are under no physical restraint, as the gate of the Nunnery is

always open in the daytime, and there is nothing to prevent the escape of any Sister who desired it, but no such attempt has ever been made.

The Black Nunnery, or Convent of Notre Dame, is the next in order of date, having been founded in 1653, by Madame Marguerite Burgeois, accompanied by some young ladies whom she brought with her from France, to form a seminary for female education. This Nunnery is also in the centre of the City, fronting the street of Notre Dame, and covering an area of 433 feet by 234. These are not cloistered nuns; though living in community, and making vows of chastity and poverty, they are not secluded, but go out as occasion requires, and attend worship publicly at the cathedral. There is a Superior and eighty Sisters in the whole; but not more than forty are usually resident at the Nunnery; the remainder being sent to the surrounding villages as missionaries, to superintend the education of female children there, and usually going in pairs. At the time of our visit (September 2nd), the pupils had just begun to return to school from the summer vacation; and about half the number only, or eighty, were present. These varied between ten and eighteen years of age; and though chiefly Canadians, included some from New York and other parts of the United States. They were in general good-looking, healthy, clean, dressed in a neat uniform of blue striped gingham, with black silk aprons, and appeared cheerful and happy. Their course of education embraces all the usual branches of useful and ornamental instruction; and from the specimens of music, writing, embroidery, and other productions, that we witnessed,

we were disposed to infer that they were well instructed. There are about one hundred and sixty boarders, and forty day-scholars; and the expense of board and tuition does not exceed 20*l.* sterling per annum. The receipts from education are not quite sufficient to sustain the establishment, as in the villages, the Sisters teach the children of the poor gratuitously; but the deficiency is made up from the funds of the St. Sulpicians; as this Convent has no endowments besides the building and its accessaries. The Sisters dress in a black habit, with a white handkerchief surrounding the face, an apron with dark blue and white stripes, and a black hood and veil. In this dress they are often seen in the streets, and at the cathedral, and hence the name of the Black Nuns is given to them by the inhabitants, from the black habit and veil of the order.

The Grey Nunnery is a larger establishment than either of the preceding, though more recent in point of date. It lies farther removed from the centre of the town, towards the south, and occupies a most agreeable situation, near the banks of the river. The history of its foundation is thus detailed. A Canadian lady, Madame Jourville, being left a widow at the age of 28, though possessed of a large patrimonial fortune, formed the determination to retire from the world, and devote herself entirely to the duties of religion and benevolence. She is said to have been handsome, dignified, and accomplished; and to have possessed such influence among her sex, as soon to be able to prevail on several others of her own age, and similarly circumstanced as to fortune, to unite their property into one common fund, to

devote this to purposes of charity, to bind themselves by vows to the fulfilment of their respective duties, as superintendant and assistants of a Charitable Asylum, and to support themselves by their own industry. This being determined on, in 1737 they took a large house in the City, where they all resided, and commenced their labours, with six old and destitute individuals, whom they took under their care. About ten years after this, the zeal of these benevolent ladies having increased rather than diminished, they undertook to incorporate with their own infant institution, a much older and larger one that had fallen into debt and disorder, though conducted by some French ecclesiastics under the title of the Freres Charrons; and by the liberality, zeal, and prudent management of Madame Jourville and her exemplary Sisters, the debt was redeemed, funds were accumulated, patients were increased, and in a short time, accommodation, food, and medicine was furnished to upwards of a hundred sick and infirm persons.

In addition to a hospital for the diseased, it was subsequently made both a Foundling and an Orphan Asylum, and the circumstance which led to this extension of its charities is said to have been this. Madame Jourville was one day in the winter going from the Hospital into the city, on a visit; and saw in her way, an infant abandoned by its unfeeling parents, stuck fast in the ice, with its little hands raised up in an imploring attitude, and a poniard passing through its throat. It was quite dead, but was brought by Madame Jourville to the hospital, to show to the Sisters, and to be decently interred.

Seeing the new field thus opened for their benevolent labours, these devoted Sisters determined to make their house a home for orphans and destitute children wherever found. An inscription on the gateway of the outer court, embodies a quotation which expresses this addition to its objects—

"Hôpital General des Sœurs Grises
Fondée en 1755.
"Mon Père, et ma Mère m'ont abandonné ; mais le Seigneur m'a recueilli."—Ps. xxvi. 10.

It is worthy of remark that the funds of this establishment were assisted by an annual allowance made by the French Government, which was continued to be paid with the same punctuality after the conquest of Canada by the English, as before ; and ceased only with the first revolution of France, in 1794. It had been given up as hopeless, until the restoration of the Bourbons, in 1816; soon after which, the memorials that were sent from hence to the French court were successful in obtaining from the Bourbon family, not only a resumption of the annual payment so long enjoyed, but also the payment of all the arrears due, with interest upon the same; so that very large sums were thus placed at their disposal. These sums the Sisters have judiciously expended in the erection of a new and spacious building in the situation near the river before described, capable of accommodating two hundred sick and insane persons, and of sustaining and educating three hundred children.

We were received by the nuns with great courtesy and kindness. The Lady Superior, who is Treasurer

and Manager of the Estates of the Institution, as well as Directress of all the internal economy of the establishment, was at her desk in the library, making up her accounts, when we arrived; and after a short conversation on the object of our visit, she introduced us to the Sisters, about a dozen of whom were occupying a spacious and agreeable apartment looking out on the St. Lawrence, with a large garden before it, and a pleasant balcony for a promenade, communicating with the room. These were all engaged in needlework of various kinds; but all entered cheerfully into conversation; and we thought we had seldom seen a more ruddy or healthy set of middle-aged ladies between forty and sixty than these. All the emblems of their faith were thickly placed around the room; crucifixes, pictures of saints, representations of miracles and Scriptural scenes; but there was nothing gloomy in their appearance or deportment; on the contrary, they were not merely serene, but cheerful.

We were shown over every part of this establishment, with as little reserve as in either of the others, a privilege which we owed no doubt to the authority of the Superior of the St. Sulpicians, under whose auspices our visit was made, as well as to the influence of the reverend Brother who accompanied us. Here the wards for the sick, the insane, the aged, and the infirm, were all more spacious, more airy, and better fitted with every requisite, than either of those we had visited before; and the neatness and cleanliness of everything we saw excited our admiration. The number of the Sisters is about sixty; their ages vary between thirty and seventy years;

their dress is a grey habit, with a neat white cap, white apron, and silver crucifix. They are subject to the same probation or noviciate as the Black Nuns, and make vows of chastity, poverty, and devotion to their duties, when they are adopted into the order; but not vows of solitude or separation from the world. They observe nearly the same discipline as the Sisters of the Hotel Dieu, watching in turns with the sick, the aged, and the insane; of whom they have about a hundred and fifty under their care at present; and training, exercising, and instructing the foundlings and orphans, of whom they have nearly two hundred, from two to twelve years of age. After this period, they find occupation both for the boys and girls, and generally sustain or assist them till they are able to get their own living. They have a pretty island, called the Nun's Island, in the St. Lawrence, a little above the town, which they have had cultivated with grain, vegetables, and fruits; and this, with other lands and houses, yields them a handsome revenue, which they judiciously and benevolently expend in works of the most disinterested charity, to which indeed they devote all their labour and care. The Sisters here, as well as in the other Nunneries, occupy very small bedrooms, with the simplest furniture, and their diet and apparel is all of the plainest kind. They are not stimulated by the admiration of the world, nor rewarded by the praises of mankind; but appear to be solely actuated by sincerely devotional, or religious and benevolent feelings, to the performance of their duties, for which their only reward is an approving conscience.

The Seminary of St. Sulpice is under the direc-

tion of the Brothers of the St. Sulpicians, who are not ecclesiastics, but what are called secular clergy, not being priests nor yet recluses, but under vows of celibacy and poverty, and living therefore in community of goods. Of the origin of this body, an account has been already given in the preceding chapter, in the sketch of the history of Montreal. The Brothers are at present only sixteen in number, besides the Superior, and they have some difficulty in getting candidates for admission to their body. They are mostly Canadians and French, with two Irish only, and they are from thirty to sixty years of age. They are very careful in requiring the strongest proofs of respectability and piety in candidates for admission, and a long probation must be undergone, after which, if approved, they are received; but they must give up all claim to property, as individuals, at the time they enter, and can never after resume it, though they are at any time at liberty to quit the "House," as they call it, and join the world; but none have yet done so.

The property of this body is very considerable, in their corporate capacity. They are Seigneurs, or Lords of the Manor, of the whole island of Montreal, and as such, are entitled to all the feudal rights and privileges of this extensive Seigneury. By the old feudal law of France, the King was Lord or Seigneur of all the landed property of the crown in his dominions, and had the power to grant or transfer to others, for military, ecclesiastical, or other purposes, such portions of these Seignorial rights as he thought proper, on condition of his receiving the *quint* or one-fifth of the purchase-money, whenever

such lands were transferred to others by gift or sale; but if the purchaser paid immediately, he was entitled to the *rabat*, or a reduction of two-thirds of the *quint*, by way of discount, making it therefore one-fifteenth instead of one-fifth of the amount. When individuals, however, or corporate bodies hold these fiefs of the original feudal lord, the King, (as is the case with the Seminary of St. Sulpice, to whom the Seigneury was granted by the King of France, before the conquest of Canada by the British, and their rights were then confirmed, by the treaty of capitulation,) the holders in fief are lawfully entitled to one-twelfth of the purchase-money of every estate sold or transferred by those living within their Seigneury, under the name of *lods et ventes*. This privilege, though it brings in a considerable revenue to the Seminary, is undoubtedly a great obstacle to the sale, transfer, or improvement of property; and all the English inhabitants and proprietors of land and houses here, are most anxious to have this feudal tenure abolished, and some more reasonable principle and practice substituted in its stead. If a person, for instance, purchases an estate worth 12,000*l*., the large amount of 1,000*l*. must be paid to the Seigneur, as *lods et ventes*. But should such an estate be so improved by the sole expense of the first purchaser, as to be worth 60,000*l*., if he desires to sell it again, and obtains that sum for it, 5,000*l*. must be paid to the Seigneur on the second sale, and so on at every subsequent transfer; so that this tax operates as a direct hindrance to expenditure and improvement, as well as to the sale or transfer of all landed property.

It is thought by the ablest lawyers here, that the St. Sulpicians have not the means of establishing a strictly legal title to their Seignorial rights, as successors of the first holders, to whom the King of France granted them, from defects in their line of succession; and, it is added, that on all occasions, the Brothers of the Order have shrunk from having the question raised in a court of law. But the Governor-General, Lord Sydenham, has, in the exercise of the almost supreme power with which he is clothed, issued an Ordinance, giving them this legal right, and confirming them in the full possession of all that they claim, which has given great dissatisfaction to those who had hoped to have seen this tenure abolished, or modified, or compromised, in some way or other, for the future. The Ordinance will require, it is thought, the confirmation of an act of the Imperial Legislature to make it binding, or it may be referred to the Local Legislature in the new Parliament of the United Provinces of the Canadas to do this; but in the mean while the rights continue to be exercised freely and fully as heretofore.

The *use* made of the funds thus obtained, appears to be unobjectionable. They are chiefly devoted to the education of youth, to the care of the sick, to the assistance of the Nunneries when needed, and to the support of religious worship in the city, and in the country parishes. The Seminary is a large, ancient, and plain building, near the centre of the city, covering, with its spacious gardens and grounds, an area of 444 feet by 342, the edifice itself forming three sides of a square 132 feet in length for the

central pile, and 90 feet in depth for each of its wings. It has attached to it, a School for pupils of the younger class, of which there are upwards of 300 under tuition; and several branch Schools of the same establishment, are conducted by them in other parts of the city and parish. The College for the education of the higher class of pupils, is near the Grey Nunnery, in the Recollet Suburbs. It has been recently erected at a cost of upwards of 10,000*l.* It is a substantial and well-arranged building, forming three sides of a square, the centre pile being 210 feet by 45, and the two side wings 186 feet by 45 each. There are spacious play-grounds for the students, and ample and comfortable accommodation for 160 boarders in the building, and class-rooms for the education of that number, and 140 non-resident or day scholars, or 300 in all. The students enter at ten years of age, and continue till eighteen. The St. Sulpician Brothers are the principal, though not the only instructors, as they have professors from among the ecclesiastics also, so that altogether there are about twenty head-teachers, and several subordinates. The number of pupils at present exceeds 200; and the cost of board and education, in all its branches, does not exceed 30*l.* a year. I found it difficult to ascertain the exact revenue of the Seminary, from its Seignorial rights, having heard it estimated by some at 10,000*l.*, by others at 20,000*l.*, and by others at intermediate sums, per annum. All that is known with certainty is this: that they have refused to accept a fixed annual income of 6,000*l.* a year, which was offered to be guaranteed to them for the abandonment of the

feudal tenure as far as their own body is concerned, and if the Government Ordinance should be confirmed by legal authority, it is thought they would not accept 20,000*l.* a year for their revenue.

In addition to the objection made to this system, as retarding the improvement of property, the Protestant part of the population feel aggrieved at seeing the wealth thus produced, appropriated to the support and propagation of the Catholic religion; but as the Clergy Reserves, (from unappropriated waste lands, of which there are millions of acres in Canada,) appropriated by law to the support of the English and Scotch churches, and likely to be participated in also by Protestant Dissenting bodies, is a much more ample fund than the Seigneury of Montreal, it may naturally be expected that the Catholics, seeing this, will think their Protestant brethren a little unreasonable to complain of the appropriation of the smaller resources to the propagation of the more ancient faith of the conquered race, while the larger fund is entirely in their hands to uphold the more modern faith of the conquerors.

There is a School for the education of children, without distinction of religious faith, called The British and Canadian School. It was first established in 1822, and meant for the education of the children of the labouring classes gratuitously, as well as to train teachers for country schools. This was first conducted in a hired building; but the success attending it led to the contribution of sufficient funds, by voluntary subscription, to build a good school-house, sufficient to accommodate about 400 boys, and 250 girls, with a residence for the

head-master. The building was purchased in 1836, and at the present time it contains about 200 boys, and 100 girls, taught in separate apartments, and all gratuitously; and among them the proportions are 150 Catholics, 75 Presbyterians, 40 Episcopalians, and 35 Methodists. The building cost about 1,500*l.*; and this, and the sum required to cover the annual expenditure, has been raised by voluntary contributions from all classes. If such schools as these can be multiplied throughout the country, and well sustained, they will have the most beneficial effect, in destroying those prejudices of race and religion which now unhappily keep each aloof from the other, and make the rising generation much more liberal towards each other, when they come to act together in future life, than their parents are at present. On this ground alone, therefore, independently of their general benefit as promoting education, they deserve especial encouragement.

There is a Protestant National School, conducted under the patronage of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which was founded in 1816, and gives free education to about 150 boys and 100 girls; of whom nearly one-fourth are of French families and three-fourths of English; all who subscribe ten shillings a year to the funds of this school, are entitled to exercise the right of visitors.

For the higher branches of education there is now an institution, called the University of McGill College, after an eminent merchant of Montreal, who, in 1814, left by will, the estate of Burnside, on the Mountain near the city; and the sum of 10,000*l.*

in money, to establish it. The will being contested, it was not until 1821 that the decision was made in favour of its validity, and then the College was incorporated; the Governors, Judges, and Bishops of Canada for the time being, being appointed ex-officio the Directors of the Institution. In 1823, the Professors were appointed; one of Divinity, from Cambridge; one of Moral Philosophy and the Classics, from Oxford; one of History and Civil Law, from Aberdeen; one of Mathematics and Natural History, from Oxford; and one of Medicine and Surgery, from Edinburgh. Though all the first Professors have been thus taken from the British Universities, it is intended to give the preference in future appointments to those who may have graduated at the College itself. There is no religious test, either for the professors or the students; and the course of instruction is intended to embrace all the studies usually pursued in the Universities at home.

There are now, therefore, ample means at the command of the community of Montreal, for the education of the Catholic and Protestant youth of the City; and if these means are rightly administered and applied, no portion of the children of either class need be deprived of the benefits of instruction.

CHAP. X.

Municipal government — Municipal edifices — Court House — Barracks—Government House—Custom House—Commerce of Montreal—Tonnage of Shipping—Imports and Exports of the City—Increase of population — Hotels —Theatre— Newspapers of Montreal—Instance of illiberality towards Catholics—Injustice towards America and the Americans— Example of unjustifiable imputations — Books — American reprints of English works—Ship-building and rope-making establishments.

The Municipal Government of Montreal is in the hands of a mayor and aldermen, which, before the suspension of the constitution, at the time of the late rebellion, was an elective body, and is intended to be so again, when the new act for uniting the two Provinces of Canada into one shall come into operation; but at present the mayor and aldermen are appointed by the Governor-General for a certain period.

Of the civic and municipal buildings the Court House is the principal. It occupies a favourable position in Notre Dame Street, is built of the grey limestone of the country, and was erected in 1800, at a cost of 5,000*l*. It has an open space of lawn and trees before it; and is one of the best ornaments of the town.

Near it is a large building, formerly occupied as the old Jail, but now used as a barrack for the sol-

diers doing duty in the city. A new Jail has since been erected in the Quebec Suburbs near the river, at a cost of about 30,000*l.* The building extends over a frontage of 255 feet, and a depth of 85, and with the courts and grounds covers about five acres of space. In it, debtors as well as criminals are confined, though in separate apartments; and there are 35 rooms for debtors and 150 cells for criminals, in the whole. No occupation is furnished to either, and no system of prison discipline, beyond ensuring safe custody, is observed; so that the moral improvement of the prisoners is in no way provided for, nor is there even a school, or a chaplain attached to the establishment. It seems appropriately placed between two large distilleries, the manufactories of that liquid poison, which makes the greatest number of debtors and criminals too, and is overlooked by the barracks of the soldiers, whose services are often rendered more necessary to suppress riots and insurrections from the drinking that demoralizes men, and makes them dishonest, disorderly, and disloyal, in turns.

The Government House, which was formerly an establishment of the North-west Fur Traders in the city, is small and ill adapted for its purpose; it is, therefore, not used as the residence of the Governor, who occupies temporarily, a private house fitted up for his use; but should the seat of government for the United Province be fixed here, appropriate buildings will no doubt be erected, superior to any that are now existing.

The new Court House may be numbered among the best of the public buildings of the City, for the good taste of the design, and the neatness of the

execution. It stands near the river, and in front of it is now constructing an admirable range of road or quay, supported by a solid wall of masonry towards the water, extending already nearly a mile, and intended to go the whole length of the port; there is nothing finer than this, of its kind, in the Colony. The harbour or dock for the reception of vessels alongside the wharfs, though not spacious, is commodious, and sufficient for the number of ships that require to make use of it.

The commerce of Montreal is not so extensive, as its admirable position would lead one to expect, or as it must in time become, though it has been steadily productive to those engaged in it. It stands at the head of the ship-navigation of the St. Lawrence: for beyond this, upwards, the various Rapids of the stream render it impossible for ships or even steamboats to proceed; and hence land-journeys over the space rendered unnavigable by these Rapids are obliged to be performed by passengers who ascend or descend in the varied steamboats that run in the intervals of smooth water between them. All the exportations from Upper Canada are therefore first shipped at Montreal; and all importations for the consumption of Upper Canada are also first landed here. Montreal enjoys also the most favourable position for intercourse with the United States, as well as for foreign trade; for, by a steamboat from her wharfs, the traveller is taken in an hour to La Prairie, on the opposite side of the river, from whence a railroad of fourteen miles conveys him to St. John's, near the head of Lake Champlain, on the borders of the United States, in another hour; and

from thence he has steamboat and railroad conveyance all the way through Lake Champlain and Lake George to Saratoga and Albany, and thence by the Hudson to New York, which city he may reach from Montreal in two days. Add to this, that the canal of La Chine cuts off the Rapids of the St. Lawrence, enabling large cargo boats to ascend to the Ottawa; that from thence the Rideau canal opens a passage into the St. Lawrence at Kingston, from whence navigation is open and easy to Lake Ontario, and thence by the Welland Canal into Lakes Erie, Hudson, and Michigan; and it must appear, to the least sanguine observer, that an inexhaustible field of commercial enterprise is thus accessible from this City.

Some conception may be formed of the actual commerce of Montreal, by a statement of its tonnage and imports, which is thus collected from the Custom House books. The entries of vessels inwards was—

In 1832 . .	27,713 tons	In 1836 . .	22,133 tons
1833 . .	30,864	1837 . .	22,668
1834 . .	20,105	1838 . .	15,750
1835 . .	22,729	1839 . .	16,829

The cause of the dimunition in the last two years, was the late rebellion, which, destroying confidence, and indisposing merchants to risk their property, naturally led to their abstaining from trade with the Colony to the same extent as before. But already the progress of revival has begun.

The amount of the imports annually have varied between a million and half and two millions sterling, according to the Custom House returns; but in

addition to this, a large amount of smuggled trade is carried on between Canada and the United States, of which, of course, no returns can be had. Of exports, the quantities only are given, and the following are among the principal articles and quantities of each, for an average of the years from 1835 to 1839, both inclusive—

Pine timber	1,836 tons	Wheat	52,876 minots
Elm do.	875 tons	Flour	25,607 barrels
Oak do.	764 tons	Pork	1,231 barrels
Deals	35,422	Potashes	16,543 barrels
Handspikes	6,748	Pearlashes	6,487 barrels
Staves	468,935	Oilcake	1,293 pieces

The fur-trade, which was formerly carried on so extensively by the North-West Company, up the Ottawa river and its tributaries, by the Canadian voyagers, is now in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, with which the interests of the former have been merged, and they have their principal depôts elsewhere. The large rafts of timber that come down the Ottawa, float by the island of Montreal, by the back channel behind the island, in large numbers every day; and during our stay here, we saw from thirty to forty large rafts from the St. Lawrence go by in front of the island daily to Quebec. Some of these are so large as to be worth 5,000*l.*, and it is deemed a small one which is not worth 1,000*l.* They float down chiefly by the force of the current, and go over all the Rapids with safety; but they are also assisted occasionally by several small square sails, spread on low masts at

different parts of the raft; and the only shelter or accommodation for the men, are two or three little huts which they erect on the timbers themselves.

Opposite to the City are two pretty islands, one called the Nun's Island, low, fertile, and woody, belonging to the Grey Nuns, and cultivated with wheat, for their benefit; another, the Island of St. Helen's, high and well-wooded, but used only for the fort and barracks which it contains, to defend the entrance to the harbour.

The importation of wheat from the United States into Canada, has much increased of late years, as the growers in the former country send their wheat over here, where it is ground in Canadian mills; and then, being of the *manufacture* of the Colony, it may be sent to England as Canadian flour, and imported at a duty of fourpence only per barrel, while the same article could not be sent direct from New York to England, owing to the existing restrictions of the British corn-laws.*

The population of the City is undoubtedly on the increase; but from some neglect or omission, no

* Since this was written, a change has taken place, somewhat for the better, as Canadian wheat and flour is to be henceforward imported duty-free into England, while American wheat may be imported into Canada at a duty of 3s. per quarter, so that all the wheat *grown* in Canada will be sent to England, and all the wheat *eaten* in Canada will come from the United States. This is, no doubt, a step in advance towards free-trade, and so far valuable; but how much better would it be to permit a direct importation from the United States to England, as well as from Canada, instead of this circuitous and round-about trade!

very late census has been taken. The statement deemed most authentic, makes its numbers in the years mentioned, as follows—

In 1800	it was 9,000	In 1831	it was 28,000
1825	22,000	1840	40,000

There are two good markets in Montreal, and several hotels. Rasco's, at which we lived, was by most persons considered the best; and having the reputation of being the most fashionable, it was the most frequented; but though it had good rooms, they were but ill furnished with the requisites for comfortable dormitories; and the table was the worst supplied, and the servants the most inattentive of any we had yet met with in Canada. It was inferior, indeed, in both these important features, to most of the hotels of similar scale and pretensions in the United States.

There is a large theatre in Montreal, which is well supported in the season in which it is open; and of late it has been made unusually attractive by the performance of operas, in which Mr. and Mrs. Seguin from England have performed the principal parts. Mr. Seguin himself has been recently adopted as a Chief of the Huron tribe of Indians, at the village of Lorette, near Quebec, with all the ceremonies usual on the election of a native chief; he being dressed in the Indian costume, his body and face painted, and the war-dance performed around him by the Indians of the tribe. The reason assigned for this adoption of Mr. Seguin into their nation, was that his father had rendered some services and shown some kindness to members of the

tribe in England; and gratitude for these favours induced them thus to honour his son.

Of newspapers, there are two daily morning papers, the Herald and the Courier; two published thrice a week, the Gazette, and the Transcript; besides a French paper, called L'Aurore de Canada; a religious newspaper, published once a fortnight, called the Wesleyan; and the Canadian Temperance Advocate, published monthly. These are all conducted with as much talent as provincial papers in England; and with the courtesy of gentlemen towards each other. During the late troubles there were wider differences of opinion amongst them than at present; as all seem now disposed to exercise reciprocal forgiveness and conciliation, and urge upon their readers the duty of giving the Union a fair trial, by recommending all parties to unite in upholding the authority of the laws. There is still, however, a strong feeling manifested by some of them against the Catholics, and this expressed in language which cannot fail to wound the feelings of this large and influential class of their fellow-subjects, without effecting the object which the writers seem to have in view. An ordinance having been recently issued by the Governor-General and Council, confirming the St. Sulpicians in the possession of the Seigneury of Montreal, which their Order had held from the first foundation of the City to its conquest by the British, and which was then guaranteed to them by the articles of capitulation,—the following article on the subject appeared in the Montreal Herald, of Sept. 3d, 1840—

"On the ground of education, we do not see any reason why the Seminary should be invested with such extravagant wealth, but many why it should not.

"In the first place, it is an unjust preference of a foreign priesthood, to men of British birth or descent. What possible claim can be urged in favour of them, that cannot be urged in favour of our own people? Are they more learned, more zealous, more pious, than Roman Catholics and Protestants from the British Isles? Have they shown themselves, by their conduct for the last fifty years, the supporters of education, even with the very means which they profess to have received for purposes of education? Have they ever come before the public, openly and honestly, as most men with their pretences would have done, and shown what has become of the revenues, which they actually have collected, from their first coming into the country, for the express purpose of spreading education? Have they ever attempted to show the amount of education bestowed by their means, or a schedule of the proposed increase of their schools? No! never!

"And yet these are the persons, aliens in fact to our country, and aliens by their vows to all the common feelings of humanity, to whom this atrocious act makes a yearly present of such vast wealth. Let the darkened state of this Province be considered, and we hesitate not to assert, that, supposing their title to the property they claim, to be good and valid, an inquiry ought to be made, to ascertain how far they have fulfilled the conditions expressed in it. For these men to be picked out by the government as recipients of the enormous income, of not less than £30,000, is an outrage upon the common sense of the country; and that too without accountability to the power that grants it.

"If, with the income they already enjoy, they have been able, as has been affirmed again and again, to send thousands of pounds into foreign countries, will the disposition or the opportunity be less to do so systematically, when they are literally wallowing in riches? We suspect not, else all human nature is a falsehood.

"If a junto of foreigners are of more importance to us, socially and politically, than the State itself, then the State, if it has the power, does well to yield up its rights and interests, in the train-

ing of the young generation, to that junto. But, according to the principles of our government, no such abdication can take place, without the consent of the people, and that consent will never be given.

"The Ordinance, in truth, creates a dominant church of the worst description, because it is not open to public opinion, and is concentrated in the persons of a few natural-born aliens. Were its numbers more extensive, its members British subjects, and its acts open to public view and public investigation, as all other churches are, we should have some hope for the liberties of the country. But as the case stands, we confess our fears, and warn the public accordingly.

"It is the only dominant church in the English portion of America, and will receive, unless the Ordinance is abrogated, equal to one-third part of all the public revenue raised in the country, in which it has been established.

"These are hints worthy of being thought over by Electors in making a choice of Representatives; and to the Electors in Upper Canada, where the battle against only a semblance of a dominant church has been fought and won, we are convinced they will prove of value."

There is one point on which nearly all the British Canadians appear to agree, and that is, in abuse of the Americans, towards whom, the feeling of hatred and contempt seems to be universal, and to be expressed on all available occasions. On this subject, I found myself almost every day engaged in a contention with some one or other, and never of my own seeking; but the harsh and undeserved manner in which the British Canadians utter their sweeping censures on the American nation generally, for acts committed only by a few desperate and reckless individuals on the frontier, was such as I could never permit to pass in silence. I was often indeed accused of want of patriotism or national attachment, for not joining in

these contemptuous censures; and incurred the risk of losing all my personal popularity by taking this course. But though we had seen, during our three-years' sojourn in the United States, many things to condemn, and I have made no scruple to express that condemnation wherever felt; yet we saw also many things to admire, and these I have not failed to praise. But the Canadians will see no virtue or excellence in the whole nation, and hurl their anathemas against all those who do; so that, as I often told those whom I heard thus engaged, we had heard more abuse of America and the Americans from the mouths of British Canadians in a few weeks, than we had heard of England or the English in the United States during as many years. Scarcely a day passed in which there were not articles in the Montreal papers, attributing the incendiary fires upon the frontiers to the "miscreant Americans," as they called them. I ventured to suggest, that in their ignorance of the real perpetrators of these crimes, they ought not, without evidence, to fix the stigma of them on the people of another nation, when they might be committed by persons of our own. But my observations were usually resented with indignation, and I was more than once told that it was unworthy of me, as an Englishman, to admit the existence of any good qualities among such a people as the Americans!—the extent of my dissent from the Canadian censures being this only—that where the perpetrators of an act or acts are unknown, and where, in contiguous nations there are found reckless and desperate characters in each, we ought not to impute the commission of such acts to the

people of one nation rather than another, but wait till evidence should fix the guilty and absolve the innocent. At length, after several weeks of abuse and vituperation poured out on the Americans, as being the incendiaries, and as aiding and abetting all such nefarious practices, the following article appeared in the leading paper of Montreal, the Courier, of September 3rd, 1840—

"The Late Fires.—Through the active exertions and vigilance of the police, under the direction of the chief commissioner, the most searching investigations have been prosecuted into the origin and circumstances of the late fires. The fires at Chambly, it has been ascertained, were clearly incendiary, but it has been satisfactorily proved that the perpetrators did *not* come from the American side. They consisted of two or three loose women, and a male companion of their's, whom Messrs. Mignault and De Salaberry, in the discharge of their magisterial duties, had committed to prison upon more than one occasion. These miscreants revenged themselves for the punishment which the law rewarded to their offences, by destroying the property of the committing magistrates. The women are in custody, and the participation of the whole in the crimes alleged against them, stands upon the confession of one, amply corroborated by facts and circumstantial testimony. The police, we understand, are close upon the track of the man, with very little doubt of being able to secure him before long.

"There need but few remarks upon these facts. The duty of the community is clear, viz., to uphold the laws and all who administer them to the utmost of their power, and to testify unequivocally their approbation of prompt and well-directed exertions for the apprehension of offenders. In all communities, there is a depraved tendency to crime, which can only be arrested by the fear of punishment, and that fear is always commensurate with the probabilities of detection. A vigorous execution of the laws is the only means of checking the growth of crime. The magistrates whose private property has suffered from the dis-

charge of their public duties, must not be allowed to remain the sufferers. The loss must be made up to them, either by a levy on the district, or by funds at the disposal of the government. No men will undertake the responsible and troublesome office of magistrates, if they are not to be protected from the vengeance of the criminals whom they may be compelled to punish."

But though the newspapers of the City had, for weeks before, teemed with the most unjust accusations of the Americans, as the authors, "the undoubted authors," as they said, of all these incendiary fires, I did not observe a single expression of regret in any of them, at having been mistaken or misinformed, nor the slightest offer of reparation for the unfounded imputations previously made. No wonder, therefore, that such ungenerous conduct as this should lead to retaliation on the other side, as far as the expression of sentiments in newspapers is concerned, and thus a war of words leads often to a war of deeds; a little spark of ill-will gets fanned by alternate blasts from either side, while new supplies of fuel from both, causes the whole to burst out into a flame, which it is more easy to kindle than it is to extinguish.

The books chiefly met with in the book-stores of Montreal, are American reprints of English works, which, though imported at a duty of 30 per cent., when passed through the Custom House here, can be sold at about half the price of the English editions; and when smuggled across, as is often the case, and the duty of 30 per cent. evaded, they can of course be sold at so much less. The consequence is, that few English editions are sold of any work, of which the Americans make a reprint; as these,

having nothing to pay the authors for copyright, can furnish them so much cheaper than an English publisher could do.* A very few books are published originally in Canada, such as school-books, local

* Here is another instance in which the British have no scruple in doing themselves what they condemn the Americans for doing. For years past, the press of England has contained articles condemning the Americans for pirating English works, and reprinting them, without any regard to the interests of the English author or publisher. Yet, in England, American books, when thought likely to pay as a speculation, are continually reprinted in the same manner, and sold at a cheap rate, of which there is a striking example while these sheets are going through the press. Mrs. Sigourney's "Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands," originally published at 6s., is reprinted and sold by an English bookseller at 1s. 6d.; and every Canadian bookseller, as opportunity serves, will purchase American reprints of English books, in preference to the genuine English copies, because they are cheaper, without the least regard to the interests of the English author or publisher. The true remedy for this is undoubtedly an international law of copy-right; but while English booksellers pirate from the Americans whenever it suits their purpose, it is hardly fair to heap odium on American booksellers for doing the same thing with English works: and as to the use of smuggled goods instead of lawful duty-paid articles, while the East India Company is sanctioned by the British government in deriving two millions a year from the growth of opium, to smuggle into China, while the Parliament of England sanctions a war to avenge the seizure of the smuggled article, and make the Chinese pay millions of dollars for compensation to the smugglers, and the ransom of their towns from plunder and destruction—the Chinese sycee silver just going into the Royal Mint of England while this note is penned—it is idle for us to condemn other nations for pirating and smuggling our books. We literally "strain at a gnat and swallow a camel," and should set about "putting our own house in order," before we say any more on the sins of other people.

histories, and works for which the demand is likely to be large in the Province; and these are quite as well executed as they would be in any part of the United States.

There is a large Shipbuilding Yard at Montreal, which was commenced in 1806, and the business of shipbuilding here went on increasing till 1825, when the number launched from it was 61. From that time onward till 1828, the numbers diminished gradually to 30; and in 1831, there were only 9 finished. Since then, the establishment has been in other hands, and steamboats have been the principal vessels built here; but these are all greatly inferior in beauty of form, as well as internal accommodation, to the American steamers.

A large Rope Walk was established in 1825, and is now in full operation. The walk is 1,200 feet long, and two and three stories in height. A steam-engine has lately been erected, to propel the wheels of a new set of patent machinery for making blocks as well as ropes; and all kinds of cordage is now made here in perfection. The hemp used is entirely Russian, though the soil and climate of Canada is well adapted to the growth of this article; and with due encouragement from the government, through the first few years of the experiment, it is thought that all the hemp required for the Province, and for all the British shipping frequenting it, might be easily raised in Canada itself.

CHAP. XI.

Monument to Lord Nelson—The Champ de Mars Hospital—Orphan Asylum—Ladies' Benevolent Society—Sunday Schools—Bible and Tract Associations—Home Missionaries for converting the Canadian habitans—Natural History Society—Museum and Library—Gas Works and Water Works—City Police Force—Indian Females in the Streets—General Society of Montreal—Licentiousness of the Military—Temperance Excursion on the River St. Lawrence—Visit to Canadian Villages—Force of the current in the Pass of St. Mary—Landing of the Temperance Party at the Wharf—Contrast between this and Pleasure Excursions in general—Visit to the summit of Mount Royal—Splendour and beauty of the View.

THE only remarkable public monument in Montreal, is a Doric column at the head of the New Market, erected in honour of Lord Nelson, whose statue is placed on its summit, being a colossal figure of eight feet high. The shaft of the column is five feet in diameter, and the height of the whole monument, including the pedestal and colossal figure at the top, is about seventy feet; and as it stands on nearly the highest ground of the City, it is one of the principal ornaments of the town. It was erected in 1809 by private subscription among the British inhabitants of Montreal, at a cost of about 1,300*l.* On each side of the pedestal, is a pictorial representation, in alto-relievo, of one of the principal events of Lord Nelson's life: that on the north, represents the Battle of the Nile in 1798; that on the east, the

interview between Lord Nelson and the Prince Regent of Denmark, after the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801; and that on the south, represents the Battle of Trafalgar, in which the hero received his death-wound; while on the west, which is the front of the monument, is an emblematical composition, in which, a crocodile of the Nile, and naval trophies, are the most prominent objects; and within a circular frame of laurel wreath is contained the inscription.

The Champ de Mars is a very limited field for so imposing a name, its dimensions being 681 feet by 342. It is lined with a formal row of Lombardy poplars on each side, is nearly in the middle of the town, and serves the double purpose of a parade ground for the exercise and drill of troops, and a promenade for the inhabitants.

Among the Benevolent Institutions established by the Protestants in this City, there are several that do them great honour. One of the principal of these is the General Hospital. The increase of emigration bringing a large number of poor and destitute persons into Canada from England, and the Catholic hospitals in the Nunneries being inadequate to accommodate the increased number of sick persons, a Ladies' Benevolent Society was formed by the Protestant families of the City, for the purpose of affording relief to such individuals. By their benevolent efforts, which equalled those of the Catholic ladies who had preceded them in this "labour of love," they obtained, by private subscription, a sufficient sum to hire a house, which was devoted to the purposes of a hospital, and called the

House of Recovery. This was accomplished in 1818, but the success of their labours required a much larger house in 1819; and in 1821, they had made such progress in the acquisition of funds, by public and private appeals to the benevolent in every way, that they were enabled to lay the foundation of a much larger building, the present General Hopital of Montreal, which was completed and opened for patients in 1822. A still further addition was made to it, by the munificent donation of a wealthy merchant of Montreal, Mr. John Richardson, so that it is now amply supplied with every requisite. In the first year of its operations, 1822 to 1823, it admitted 421 in-door patients, and gave medical attendance and relief to 397 out-door patients; and in 1824, there had been received 470 in-door patients, while 364 of the former had been relieved; and of both of these there were about an equal number of Catholics and Protestants. The Institution is supported partly by donations, a certain amount of which, *25l.*, constitutes a Governor; partly by annual subscriptions of *3l.* and under; and partly by grants from the Provincial Legislature. There are eight medical officers who visit the hospital once a day, and give their services gratuitously; besides the house-surgeon, physician, apothecary, clerks, nurses, and attendants, all of whom are paid by salaries; and everything connected with the management and condition of the Institution appears to be in excellent order.

There is a Protestant Orphan Asylum, which was established in 1822, and is conducted entirely by Ladies, each Subscriber of *25s.* annually, being eligible to serve on the Committee. The children

taken in here are educated in the doctrines of the Church of England, and attend school till they are nine years of age, when the boys are apprenticed to some trade, and the girls provided with situations in shops or houses. The average income of the Institution from donations and subscriptions is about 300*l.* a year; and since its first establishment up to the present time more than 300 orphans have been provided for, most of whom are now comfortably and respectably situated.

Another valuable Institution of a similar nature, but extending its provision to widows as well as orphans, was established here in 1832, under the title of the Ladies' Benevolent Society. It is supported like the former, by donations and voluntary subscriptions, and its annual income exceeds 600*l.* a year. In the eight years of its existence it has received only one grant of 500*l.* in aid of its funds from the Provincial Legislature, while relief has been extended within that period to about 800 persons within its walls, and to 500 persons without them; about 100 children have been placed in advantageous situations, and more than 300 have been restored to their friends.

The Sunday Schools of the Protestant Churches, include upwards of a thousand pupils, and many of the most respectable inhabitants give their gratuitous services as superintendants or teachers. There is a Bible Society, and a Young Men's Tract Society, for the circulation of religious books. There is a Baptist Missionary Society for propagating the gospel in the more remote sections of Canada, and a French Canadian Society for spreading the Protestant reli-

gion by Missionaries through the Catholic villages of the French peasantry, or *habitans* as they are called, so that no pains are spared to promote Christian piety; while the Temperance Society of Montreal, formed on the principles of total abstinence from the use of all intoxicating drinks, is an admirable auxiliary to all these benevolent and religious associations, by promoting the public health and morals. This Society has upwards of 1,200 pledged members in its ranks; and through the zeal and liberality of some of the wealthiest merchants of the City, who furnish the funds for such purpose, frequent meetings are held, tracts circulated, and families visited for the purpose of reclaiming the intemperate, and spreading the principles, precepts, and examples of temperance wherever they can obtain access.

A Mechanics' Institute was established in 1828, and was for some time well sustained, until the late rebellion, which disturbed everything, caused a great falling off in its members. Since the restoration of tranquillity, it has again revived, and is now in full course of operation, with its regular meetings, lectures, and library, and increasing numbers of associates and visitors.

For the higher classes, there is an Institution called the Natural History Society of Montreal, which was founded about the same time; and having directed its attention chiefly to the collection of specimens in natural history, for their Museum, and to the formation of a Library of scientific works, they have already accumulated a very valuable store of both. In 1832, the Society was incorporated by an act of the Provincial Legislature, and they have

now a good building of their own, with suitable rooms for all their purposes, a collection of native and foreign birds, reptiles, and insects, the first of which is deemed the finest in the country, some few quadrupeds, a number of shells and plants, and about 2,000 specimens of minerals; so that in a few years hence, with donations to its collection increasing as they do every year, this Museum will take a high rank for its extent and utility.

Though the streets of Montreal are not yet lighted with gas, the principal shops are supplied with all the light they require, from the Gas Works established in 1837, at a place called the Cross, about a mile from the City. The expense of these Works was about 20,000*l.*, and they have now the means of furnishing the whole town; but want of funds is the only reason alleged for the delay in applying gas instead of oil to the lighting of the streets.

The supply of the City with water is ample and cheap. It is effected by means of a steam-engine, by which the water is raised from the river St. Lawrence, and propelled up into two large reservoirs, within a spacious building in Notre Dame Street, the highest central ground of the town. From these reservoirs, which contain 250,000 gallons, the water is conveyed by iron pipes to all the houses paying for it, the conduits now extending altogether over 15 miles, and the Works having cost about 80,000*l.* The water of the St. Lawrence affects most strangers disagreeably, operating as a powerful aperient; but its effects are neutralized by boiling the water before using it; and if care be taken to use it chiefly in tea, coffee, or soup, and not to drink it alone, for

some time, the system becomes ultimately accustomed to it, and its former effects are no longer felt, so that the old resident inhabitants drink it without inconvenience. To emigrants it is often recommended to use brandy or whisky in it, and they are in general but too glad to avail themselves of such an excuse. But this is wholly unnecessary, and is only resorting to a greater evil in order to avoid a less. The precaution of having it boiled before use, and taking it in the way I have mentioned, in tea, coffee, or soup, and but very sparingly at first in the unmixed state, will be a much cheaper, and much safer preventive, and lead to no ulterior evil, which cannot be predicated of the other mode of using spirits as a corrective.

During the recent government of the late Lord Durham (whose death appears to be universally regretted here,) a Police Force was organized, on the plan of that first instituted by Sir Robert Peel in London. It consists of one hundred privates, six mounted patroles, six sergeants, and six corporals. The corps is formed into two divisions A and B, with two captains to each, and the whole is placed under a General Superintendant. The expense, which is about 6,000*l.* a year, is paid by the Home Government, and the benefits of it are worth the purchase.

In the streets of Montreal are to be seen every day, groups of female Indians, wearing mocassins of their own manufacture on their feet, English men's-hats on their heads, and large blue English blankets thrown over their shoulders. They come down to the city daily, from the Indian village of Caghnawaga,

to sell the articles made by themselves and their female children, in basket-work and other trifles; but it was a pleasing feature in their character to observe that they were always sober, a rare occurrence with Indians of either sex, who frequent the towns in the United States. This difference is occasioned by the influence of Christianity, as the Caghnawaga Indians are Catholics, and under a most rigid discipline, and solemn vows of abstinence from the use of spirits, which it is said they faithfully observe, and their appearance and conduct, as far as they fell under my own observation, induce me to believe that this is really the case.

The general society of Montreal did not appear to us to be as elegant and refined as that of Toronto. There is as large a body of official personages and professional men, and a still larger admixture of the military; but the former did not seem to us to bring the same degree of excellence, in attainments or manners, into society, as we had observed at Toronto; while the military have the character, and many of them had the appearance, of being intemperate and dissipated. The manner in which many of these had comported themselves towards ladies, both married and single, was spoken of in terms of severe reprobation; and it was said that many serious and painful dissensions had been occasioned in hitherto happy families, in consequence of the improper correspondence and intercourse between the officers and members of several of the most respectable houses. By many, this laxity of domestic morals was attributed to the influence of evil example in high places; and it was thought that while those who occupied

the highest stations, and who ought, therefore, to be examples of private as well as public purity to their inferiors, lived in utter disregard of the domestic proprieties, it was not to be wondered at that persons of inferior station and authority should indulge their evil propensities, and hope to pass uncensured with impunity.

During our stay at Montreal, we joined a large party of the Friends of Temperance in a pleasant excursion on the St. Lawrence. A steamboat was engaged for the occasion; refreshments were provided, among which, however, there was no other beverage than pure water, with abundance of ice; the band of the 85th regiment had been permitted by its officers to accompany the party, and every practicable arrangement was made for the comfort of all. The passage money for the day's trip, refreshments included, was only one dollar; and the surplus of receipts above expenditure, if any, were to be given to the funds of the Temperance Society. The number of persons embarked exceeded 300; more than half of whom were ladies and their children. The day was peculiarly auspicious, when we left the wharf at 9 o'clock in the morning, and continued so to the close. We proceeded down the St. Lawrence, stopping at several of the villages near the river on our way; particularly at Longueil, Boucherville, and Varennes, at each of which the party landed, and visited the parish churches. These were all open; and the priests were most attentive to our wishes. We found all these edifices spacious, richly yet tastefully decorated; in beautiful order, as to cleanliness and repair; their steeples light, airy,

and lofty; and one of them, with two steeples, one on each side of the entrance, a favourite fashion with the Canadians of this quarter, and one that adds very much to the picturesque appearance of their villages along the borders of their noble river.

At St. Sulpice, the lowermost point of our excursion, the boat was anchored, the steam let off, and during an interval of about an hour, an address was delivered to the assembly on board, on the utility of forming Temperance Societies, and the importance of making a public profession by signing the pledge; on the importance as well as duty of the rich and influential setting an example to their inferiors in station, by abstaining altogether from the use of intoxicating drinks; and answering most of the objections commonly raised by opponents of such unions, pledges, and privations. The address was listened to with profound attention, both by those on board, and by a large company assembled at St. Sulpice, on the shore, as our boat was anchored only a few yards from the wharf. Curiosity thus excited, brought a number of persons on board, who had heretofore been utterly indifferent to the question of Temperance, and had hardly ever spoken of it without ridicule. But they confessed themselves to have been brought to see the subject in a new light, through the medium of this address; and in proof of the sincerity of their convictions, gave in their adhesion to the Society, and promised to exert themselves to prevail on others to follow their example.

After our stay here, we weighed anchor, and proceeded upward on our return to Montreal, enjoying the beautiful scenery of the river, and the fine ap-

proach to the town, at our leisure; our progress being much less rapid than on the downward trip, especially in the narrow pass called St. Mary's, between the lower part of the City, and the island of St. Helen's in the middle of the stream. The current runs here at the rate of from six to seven miles an hour, in its ordinary course; but on some occasions this rate of speed is augmented to nine and ten miles; hence it is very difficult even for steam-vessels to resist its power. Previous to the introduction of steam-navigation, sailing-ships, which could never surmount this Rapid but by the force of a very strong, as well as favourable wind, have been known to be detained for months below, without being able to reach Montreal, though a distance of less than three miles; and even now they are sometimes detained for several days, when the current is peculiarly strong, as they cannot be even towed through it then by the most powerful steamers. By many this is felt to be a great disadvantage to the merchants and shipowners; and the only counterbalancing good that can be taken into the account is, that the strength of the current would present a formidable hindrance to the advance of any naval force against Montreal; as the batteries of St. Helen's, the guns of which are pointed right across this channel, would commit as much havoc on the vessels slowly ascending it, as the castles of Sestos and Abydos, in the narrow channel of the Dardanelles, where the strength of the current opposes, in the same manner, the rapid passage of ships.

We reached Montreal on our return at sunset, and every individual out of the 300 on board—crew,

passengers, and all—landed as clean, fresh, and sober, as when they embarked, a circumstance which had never before been witnessed, on any former pleasure excursion from this city; as on all such occasions it invariably happens, that some return drunk, many partially intoxicated, and the largest number more or less affected by even the moderate quantities of drink which they have taken. In this, however, the first Temperance Excursion ever made from the wharfs of Montreal, no such disgusting sights were seen, no such offensive sounds heard, as those which too often mark the return of a large party from a pleasure trip on the water. For the sake, therefore, of the example thus exhibited, and the proof thus given, of the capacity of men to enjoy considerable pleasure without the slightest admixture of intemperance, it is desirable that such Excursions should be frequently made by the Friends of Temperance, as by so doing the community will be induced to contrast their sober, orderly, and happy returns, with the inebriate, disorderly, and often contentious and riotous conduct of those who take intoxicating drinks on such occasions, while such contrasts often contemplated can hardly fail to make converts to the purer and better system. Of the necessity of this, and every other mode of operating upon the public mind of Montreal especially, in favour of the Temperance cause, as well as to counteract the powerful influences arrayed against it among the public authorities of the City, the following paragraph, from the last number of the Temperance Advocate, furnishes a melancholy proof.

"The Corporation of Montreal.—Upon the list of Civil Magistrates appointed under the Corporation Ordinance for the

city of Montreal, we perceive the names of two of the largest distillers, and three of the largest importers of intoxicating drinks in Canada; men whose business is, we believe, productive of more misery and crime than the business of any other five men in the country. Besides these five, there are five more directly interested in this most pernicious of traffics, making ten out of nineteen, or a clear majority of the whole on the rum interest.

"We may add farther, that, as far as we know, not one of the nineteen abstains from intoxicating drinks; consequently, the drinking usages of society which are continually bringing forward such a plentiful harvest of drunkards for the scythe of death, will receive all the countenance and support that the civil magistrate can lend; and if members of the corporation act consistently with the business in which so many of themselves are engaged, they will not only not refuse applications for licenses, but, by every means in their power, encourage and extend a traffic in which they are so deeply interested."

That the higher classes of society generally are indifferent to the cause of Temperance in this City, is beyond a doubt; and a remarkable proof was furnished to me of this, in the following contrast. The courses of Lectures which I delivered during my stay here, on Egypt and Palestine, were attended by audiences of 600 persons at a time, in the Wesleyan Church of St. James's Street, including the most influential and distinguished families of the City. But when an evening was specially set apart for the delivery of an address in favour of Mechanics' Institutes, and Temperance Societies, with a view to encourage both, for the improvement of the public morals, and the promotion of rational and intellectual enjoyment, not more than half the audience attending the previous Lectures were present; and the absentees were almost wholly from among the clergy, the members of the learned professions, and the civil

and municipal authorities. On the renewal of the regular course, on the evening after this address was delivered, all these absentees returned, and continued their attendance to the end—expressing themselves delighted with the accounts of the countries described, but confessing themselves at the same time unwilling to give up even a single evening, to hear anything on the subject of Temperance or Education! though more than half the crime and misery in this and every other country, is clearly attributable to the want of these preservatives.

On one of the finest days of our stay at Montreal, we were taken by a party of friends to visit the Mountain that rises behind the City, and gave its name, Mount Royal, to the town. This was originally called Ville Marie, from being dedicated to the special protection of the Virgin Mary, but was ultimately called Montreal, from the hill that formed the most distinguishing feature of its locality. The gentle ascent, leading from the outskirts of the town to the foot of the hill, was very pleasing; and the view from the terrace and garden of the house, at which we stopped to enjoy the hospitality of our friends, in the refreshments they had provided for us, was picturesque and beautiful. But it was not until we had ascended to the brow of the hill, about 300 feet above this house, and nearly 500 feet above the level of the St. Lawrence, that we saw the full beauty of the picture in all its extent and splendour, and certainly nothing could surpass it. The hill or mountain itself, is pleasingly varied in its surface, by gentle undulations, rocky masses, and fine old forest trees, with here and there a perpendicular

cliff or precipice, from the brink of one of which, looking towards the east, our view was taken. Immediately at the foot of the mountain, commences a gently descending slope, which soon terminates in a plain, that reaches to the river's edge, and the fertility of which is seen in the rich corn fields, thriving orchards, and well-stocked gardens that cover nearly its whole area.

Along the edge of this, near the foot of the hill, are ranged several pleasant villa-residences of some of the wealthiest inhabitants; one of these, on a grand scale, was left unfinished, by its projector, an opulent "north-wester," as the old fur-traders to the north-west territories were called, Mr. McTavish, and is now fast going to ruin, his heirs residing in the United States, and feeling no interest in its preservation. In the grounds close by, a monument has been erected by his surviving nephews, to the memory of Mr. Mc Tavish, whose remains were deposited here after death. The tomb is just in the rear of the house; the column or monument rises from a small rocky eminence behind it, and being thickly embowered in shrubbery, gives a romantic interest to the picture. Near this spot is also the building erecting for the McGill College; so that the opposite conditions of progress and decay may here be contrasted in the edifices named. In the same neighbourhood is an establishment belonging to the Seminary of the St. Sulpicians, which was originally called the Chateau des Seigneurs, as the Sulpicians then were, and still are, of Montreal; but it is now more generally known by the name of The Priests' Farm. It consists of an old but substantial pile

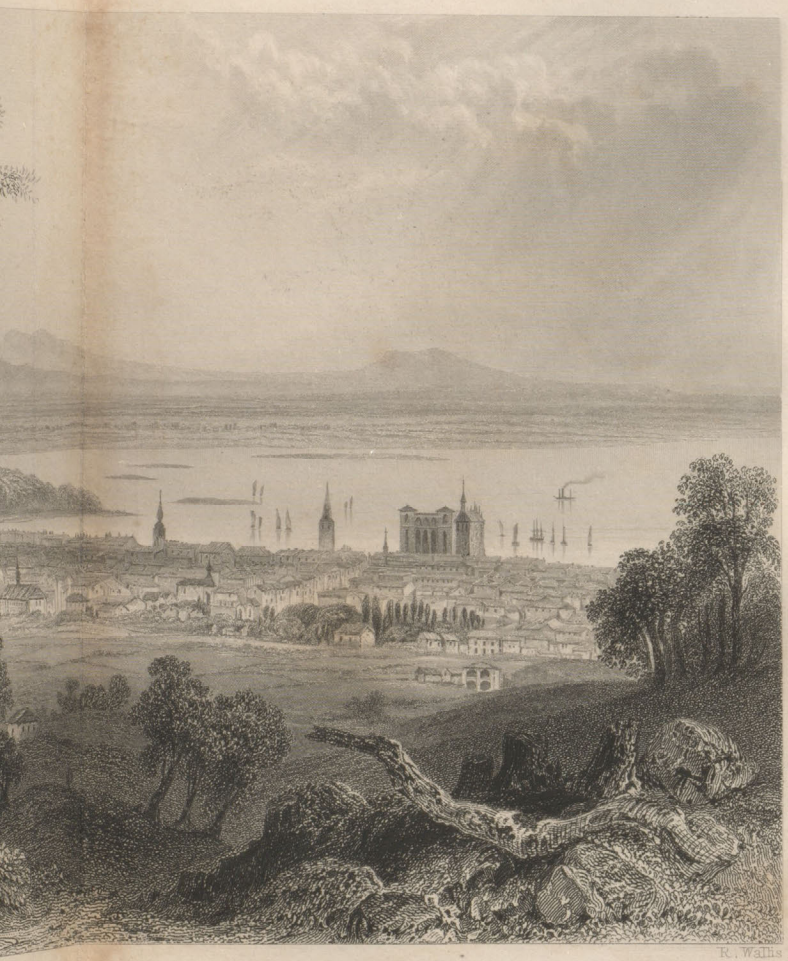
of buildings, with extensive gardens and orchards, and commands a delightful view of the City, the river, and the surrounding country. In the summer the Professors of the College bring their pupils here once a week for exercise and recreation; and they usually march to and from the place in military order, preceded by a band of music, formed by amateurs of their own body, all parties greatly enjoying the holiday.

The view of the City of Montreal from the brow of the mountain, is one of the finest that this or any other country could produce, and is worth a long voyage or journey to enjoy. The noble stream of the St. Lawrence, over which the eye ranges for a distance of twenty or thirty miles at least, forms a magnificent feature in the scene; while the richly cultivated plains beyond the river, dotted thickly over their whole extent with white villages and closely clustered hamlets and cottages, contrasting vividly with the rich green of the full-foliaged woods and the golden yellow of their now ripened corn-fields—the blue masses of the Belleisle mountains in the nearer back-ground, and the lighter tints of the still loftier chains in the farthest distance, rising beyond the British and American frontier within the States of New York and Vermont—the lovely little spots of St. Helen's and the Nun's Island in the centre of the stream, and the sparkling radiance of the metallic-roofed spires of the numerous parish churches, beaming like scattered points of light, placed purposely to show the number of the sacred edifices spread over the surface of the land—with the reflected rays of the declining sun, given out by the

white tin roofs of the colossal cathedral, towering high above all the other buildings of the town—the church steeples, and the terraces of the public and private buildings in the City of Montreal—contributed to make up a picture, which, for extent of view, richness of colouring, and variety of feature, has few or no superiors perhaps on the surface of the globe. It is impossible to convey, in an engraving, the enchanting effect of such a scene; because the immensity of space over which the eye ranges, and the size and grandeur of the objects, cannot be reduced to paper; but the accompanying View of Montreal from the Mountain, will convey as accurate an idea of the whole as can be produced on so limited a scale.

W.H. Bartlett.

Montreal, from the M



R. Wallis

d, from the Mountain.

CHAP. XII.

Departure from Montreal for Quebec—Passage down the River St. Lawrence—Villages—Boats—Rafts—Canadian boat-songs—Splendid sunset—Improving scenery of the river's banks—First view of Quebec—Magnificent picture—Wolfe's Cove—Plains of Abraham—Land at Quebec—Hotel on the Ramparts.

THE period having at length arrived for our leaving Montreal, we were occupied during all the former part of the day in taking leave of our numerous friends, receiving their visits and benedictions, with a fervent hope that we should return at some future time to see them again; and on the afternoon of Saturday, the 5th of September, we embarked in the steamer, the Canadian Eagle, for Quebec. The weather was delightfully fine; the thermometer about 72°; and our passage down the splendid St. Lawrence was full of interest and pleasure. On both sides the banks are covered with a continued succession of villages, in each of which a parish church is seen lifting its spire to heaven, and between village and village, the cottages are so abundant as to form almost a continuous and thickly-peopled neighbourhood. The large timber rafts descending with the force of the current alone, or aided occasionally by numerous small sails hoisted at different points, the smaller ones propelled by huge oars, the heavy

splash of which is regulated by the song of the Canadian boatmen, reminding one of Moore's delightful Air—

> "Row, brothers, row, the stream runs fast,
> The Rapids are near, and the daylight's past."

The singular river craft, with long low hulls, and single masts, carrying two or three square sails, which, like those of the polaccas in the Mediterranean, suffer no diminution of breadth in proportion to their height—and the numbers of small fishing canoes, some anchored and others floating with the stream—all added considerably to the interest and novelty of the scene, and give to the descent of the St. Lawrence much more of variety and interest than is seen or experienced in the descent of the Mississippi. The river preserves all the way below Montreal a breadth of nearly two miles, here and there prettily studded with woody and rocky islets, until about sixty miles from the City, it expands into the Lake St. Peter's. There its volume is augmented by the waters of several streams flowing into it on both sides, but without much disturbing the beautifully clear green which distinguishes the current of the St. Lawrence; and from thence onward it contracts and expands its surface from one to five miles in breadth, the banks growing more and more elevated, and more and more populous, as you advance downward towards the sea.

The sunset upon the river was one of the richest and most beautiful that we had for a long time witnessed, and would be thought an exaggeration if faithfully depicted on the canvass; I remember

nothing in the Mediterranean or the Indian Ocean equal to it; and only one sunset superior, which was that seen amid the forests of Tennessee, in the autumn of the last year, and described on that occasion. In this sunset on the St. Lawrence, the heavens in the east, were of a singular dappled grey, rising above a base of thickly-piled-up clouds, which seemed to indicate the gathering of a storm; while in the west, the whole of the heavens were suffused with a glowing red, in every gradation of shade, from the deepest crimson, to the lightest roseate hue. Gradually, the clouds resolved themselves into beds of horizontal strata, in which the variety of colours surpassed anything that I remember; but so beautifully blended, and so harmoniously placed in juxtaposition and succession, that each tint seemed to set off or enrich the beauty of its adjoining ones. Among these, purple, crimson, amber, yellow, turquoise blue, and aquamarine green, seemed most predominant; and no mosaic of varied marbles that was ever made by the most skilful artist could present a richer, more varied, or more glowing surface, than did the eastern dome of the heavens in this enchanting sunset; which I longed to have the power of transfixing on some permanent memorial before its rapidly changing aspects caused its splendours to fade away.

After a fine run during the night, we arose early on the following morning, to enjoy the still improving scenery of the approach to Quebec, and we were not disappointed. We had passed the small settlement of Les Trois Rivières in the night, and were down at the mouth of the river St. Anne at sunrise

The ledges of rocks that in many places line the shores of the river at a considerable distance from the land, thus narrowing the navigable channel of the centre, are very remarkable; on some of them are placed lights at night, to warn the boatmen of their danger, but the great depth of water near them lessens the risk of injury, and they may be often approached within a few yards in perfect safety. We passed the entrance also to the river of Jacques Cartier, so called after the early French navigator, who was the first to penetrate the St. Lawrence as high as Montreal; and soon after this, the first view of Quebec opened upon us, the City being then distant seven or eight miles.

I had expected to behold a beautiful picture, and I was not disappointed. On the left was seen Cape Diamond, with its steep pyramidal line, rising from the river's edge to a height of 350 feet, surmounted by a flagstaff and telegraph. Leading inward to the Citadel, of which this was the site, were the celebrated Plains of Abraham, on which Wolfe received his death-wound, in the battle fought there with Montcalm, by which Quebec was captured. On the right was point Levi, and the rising ground behind it covered with villages. Between these opposite capes was the harbour of Quebec, in which a squadron of ships of war were seen at anchor, with about twenty sail of merchant vessels under weigh, steering up the river with a flood tide, and a light easterly breeze, and at least a hundred other ships moored in the stream. Beyond all this, in the middle-distance, and forming the remote back ground to the harbour, was the lofty mountain of Cap Tour-

ment, of a light blue tint; while the glassy surface of the river—the whiteness of the ships under sail—the freshness of the verdure on the opposite shores —the glittering of the bright tin-roofed domes and spires in Quebec—and the life and animation that seemed to pervade the whole scene—formed altogether a finer picture than anything that we had yet seen upon this splendid river, and worthy of a Claude or a Stanfield for its delineator; it would require indeed all the varied powers and peculiar excellencies of each to do it justice.

As we drew nearer to the City, the details increased in interest. On both sides of the river the banks were occupied by large timber yards, or coves, as they are called here, though there is little or no indentation in the lines of the shore, in which thousands of large logs lay floating as they came from the rafts ready for shipment to England. Ship-building establishments were also seen mingled with these, and every foot of the space seemed to be occupied for some industrial purpose. On the left, below Cap Rouge—so called from a singular mass of reddish rock which terminates in an overhanging bluff towards the river—the settlement of New London was pointed out to us, and immediately opposite to it on the right, the equally insignificant settlement of New Liverpool, the names of which reminded us of the United States, and seemed more after the manner of naming places on the Hudson or the Ohio, than on the St. Lawrence. Among the coves on the left, that which bears the name of Wolf's Cove will attract the attention of the English traveller most strongly; and when he sees the steep accli-

vities, almost perpendicular and always precipitous, up which the soldiers of Wolfe's army made their ascent to the battle-plain, and over which the sailors of the fleet hoisted or hauled up the cannon for the fight, he will wonder at their intrepidity, and be surprised at their success.

We stood in for the wharf of the Lower Town, passing immediately under the towering Citadel; and landing amidst a crowd of claimants for the honour of conveying us to our hotel, we selected a vehicle, and with French drivers, whose vociferations were as loud and angry towards their horses as their politeness was excessive towards their passengers, we wound our way up the steep and tortuous ascent from the Lower to the Upper Town;—passing the Sault aux Matelots, formerly no doubt the principal resort of the boatmen and sailors,—entering the fortified portion of the City, through the Prescott Gate,—winding past the Parliament House, with its fine front and lofty dome,—passing the English Church,—the French Cathedral, the Court House, Nunneries, Gardens, Markets, and narrow streets of indescribable irregularity,—till we at length reached the object of our search, Payne's Hotel, near the ramparts; and finding comfortable apartments, we took up our quarters there.

CHAP. XIII.

Earliest intercourse with Canada—Cabot, Cortereal, and Verazzano — First intercourse with Indians—Voyages of Jacques Cartier—Roberval, Viceroy of Canada—Champlain's voyage—Founding of Quebec—First capture of the City by the English in 1629—Other attacks at different periods—Expedition of General Wolfe—Plan of operations—Wolfe's recital of Grey's Elegy, the night before the battle—Scaling the Heights of the Plains of Abraham—Battle on the Plains—Death of General Wolfe—Last hours of the French General, Montcalm—Siege of Quebec by the Americans.

To some travellers, the principal charm of Quebec lies in the boldness of its position, as a military post; to others, in the beauty of its surrounding landscape; and to others again, in the richness and variety of its historical associations. For myself, I can say truly, that I experienced great interest in them all; and believing that each will be found, to those who have leisure and inclination to enjoy them, a source of considerable pleasure, I will endeavour to place before the reader, so much of the materials of all, as to enable him to participate with me in the gratification I enjoyed, in first studying its history, then inspecting its actual condition, and then following up these by several interesting excursions in the neighbourhood.

The history of Quebec carries us back to the earliest voyages made upon this coast, anterior even

to the settlement of Virginia, or the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, by nearly a hundred years. So thickly clustered were the grand maritime discoveries of these early days, that in 1492, Columbus first landed in the West India Islands; in 1497, Vasco de Gama first passed round the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1498, John and Sebastian Cabot discovered the continent of North America, sailing under the auspices of Henry VII. of England, from Bristol, touching at the coasts of Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and passing the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The father, John Cabot, was knighted on his return, for his discoveries, and had, what would now be thought a contemptible sum, a reward of 10*l.* sterling from the King's privy purse, for his finding the new countries; while the son, Sebastian, who made several voyages afterwards, and brought home three "wild men," as they were called, from Newfoundland, to the King, was ultimately honoured with the appointment of Grand Pilot of all England, on a salary or fee of 166*l.* 13d. 4d. per annum, with which he built a fine house, called Poplar, at Blackwall, near London, and there ended his days.

In the year 1500, the Portuguese sent out an expedition to the coast of North America under Gaspar Cortereal, and visiting the shores north of the St. Lawrence, as far as the entrance of Hudson's Bay, they brought away with them fifty-seven of the more robust of the native Indians, to be used as labourers, and sold as slaves. Their supposed excellent qualities, and the large supply which the country was thought likely to furnish of these

labourers, caused it at length to be called Terra Laborador, or the Land of Labourers, from whence its present name, Labrador; although in the oldest maps of 1508, it is called Terra Corterealis, from the name of its first discoverer, Gaspard Cortereal.

In 1504, the French first directed their attention to this coast, and some fishermen from the Basque Provinces, of Normandy and Breton, ventured thus far in search of fish, on the banks and coast of Newfoundland, and were amply rewarded. They gave the name to Cape Breton; and in 1508, Aubert, a pilot of Dieppè, took from hence some American Indians, and conveyed them to France, where they excited great curiosity, as the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World.

Verazzano, the Florentine navigator, was the next who followed from Europe to this part of America, and he came in the service of Francis I., King of France, in 1524. His voyage was a most enterprising and comprehensive one; he sailed from Madeira, 900 leagues westward, and first discovered the land about Savannah in Georgia, in latitude 32° north, from whence he sailed up along the whole line of coast reaching from thence to latitude 50° north, embracing, therefore, the whole of what constitutes the United States, and the British North American Provinces of the present day, a far more extensive survey of the new continent than had been ever before accomplished by any navigator. To all this region he was the first to give the name of "La Nouvelle France," claiming it for his patron and employer; but that name was soon displaced in the south, by other claimants, and was ultimately re-

stricted to the territories actually possessed by the French.

An interesting incident is mentioned in the history of Verazzano's voyage, which shows that the first intercourse of the aborigines with their white visitors, was of a most friendly nature. It is said, that at the desire of Verazzano himself, a young seaman of his crew swam to the shore, for the purpose of making some presents to the natives, and opening an intercourse with them by signs. On his reaching the beach, he found so many of them assembled, with weapons of various kinds, that he began to be alarmed, and in his terror endeavoured to turn back and regain his ship; but he was seized by the natives, and taken by them, in a state of insensibility from fear, up to their encampment. When he recovered his senses, and saw himself completely in their power, his fears returned, and he stretched out his hands towards the ship, and by piercing cries intimated his wish to rejoin her. To this, the Indians replied with loud yells, meant, as he subsequently learnt, as friendly assurances of safety, but which he then took to be preparatory to his death; and as, soon after this, they took him to the foot of a hill, stripped off all his garments, turned his face towards the sun, and made a large fire near him, he concluded that he was about to be offered up as a burnt-offering to their divinity. Great, however, was his joy, on finding that his clothes had been taken off to dry them, and that the fire was kindled to warm him. They then patted his white skin and kissed it, as something which they admired, and taking him to the beach where he landed, they

retired back from him, and intimated by signs that he was free to embark, which, being perceived by his shipmates on board, and his cries being heard by them, they came to his relief, and conveyed him safely to the ship, deeply impressed with the humanity of the savages.

After Verazzano, came Jacques Cartier, the navigator of St. Malo, in France, who under the same King Francis the First, sailed from St. Malo, in April, 1534, with two ships of only 60 tons each, and a crew of 61 men. In May of the same year, he arrived at Newfoundland, naming the Cape Bonavista, as it is still called, entered the Bay of Chaleurs, (which they so named because of the great heat felt there in July), advanced from thence to Gaspé, where he erected a cross, and took possession of the land in the name of the King of France; entered the mouth of the great river, then unnamed, towards the end of August, and returning through the Straits of Belleisle, reached France on the 5th of September, 1534.

It was on his second voyage that the most important results took place. The project of establishing a French Colony on these shores, finding favour with the King and with the Church, Cartier was invested with a new commission; and three vessels were placed under his command, the Great Hermina, of 120 tons, the Little Hermina, of 60, and the Hermerillon, of 40 tons burden. After a solemn benediction by the Lord Bishop on the Expedition, pronounced in the Cathedral church of St. Malo, on the 16th of May, 1535, they sailed on the 19th, with a fair wind; but parted company, and ulti-

mately reunited on the coast of Newfoundland, on the 26th of July. It was on the 10th of August, the festival of St. Lawrence, that they first made a sufficient entry into the great river of Canada, to see that it was filled with islands, and led for a considerable depth into the land. In honour of this Saint, therefore, on whose festival it was thus far entered for the first time, the name of St. Lawrence was given to the Gulf or inlet, and subsequently extended to the river, of which this was the outlet into the sea; its embouchure being here about 120 miles across, a scale of magnitude which is worthy of the noble stream itself. From hence they proceeded upwards by the Island of Anticosti, (so called by the English at a subsequent period, being a corruption of its Indian name, Natiscotec), but named by Cartier, Assumption, because first seen on the day of that festival. They then advanced as far as the river Saguenay, which they entered on the 1st of September, and reached on the 6th the Isle aux Coudres, or Isle of Filberts, so called from the abundance and large size of the nuts found by them there. Beyond this, they came to the present Isle of Orleans, named, however, by Cartier, the Isle of Bacchus, from the number of vines with which it abounded, (a feature, it will be remembered, which caused the Northmen in their still earlier voyages to call the whole country Vinland); and on the 7th of September, 1535, they first saw the promontory to the north of this island, which forms the present site of Quebec.

There was then, on this spot, an Indian town, named Stadacona, and the Chief of the Tribe then

occupying it, called Donnacona, came, accompanied by twelve canoes, with eight Indians in each, to pay their visit to Cartier's squadron. As they approached the Great Hermina, however, the chief ordered all the canoes to keep back, except his own and another, to avoid the appearance of hostility and force; and these two approaching, hailed the ship in their own tongue. It fortunately happened that Cartier had, on board, the Indians who had been previously taken from the coast and carried to France; and these, understanding the language of their red brethren, spoke to them in their own tongue, described the wonderful country they had seen in their absence, and spoke with gratitude of the kind treatment they had received from the French. This was sufficient to induce Donnacona and his friends to approach still nearer, till they came on board, when the Chief took the arm of Cartier, kissed it, laid it on his neck, and did everything he could to show his gladness and affection. These advances were met in a kindred spirit by Cartier, who went into the canoe of the Indians, partook of bread and wine with them, and made every one pleased with themselves and with each other. Here, therefore, Cartier determined to winter; and finding, in the small river St. Charles, which joins the St. Lawrence a little to the north of the promontory of Quebec, a safe and good place for that purpose, he moored his vessels here, on the 16th of September. This being the festival of the Holy Cross, he named the place, the Port of St. Croix accordingly; and thus describes its position—

"There is a goodly, fair, and delectable bay, or creek, convenient and fit to harbour ships. Hard by, there is, in that river, one place very narrow, deep, and swift running, but it is not the third part of a league; over against which, there is a goodly high piece of land, with a town therein. That is the place and abode of Donnacona; it is called Stadacona; under which town, towards the north, the river and port of the Holy Cross is, where we staid from the 15th of September, 1535, until the 6th of May, 1536; and there our ships remained dry."

The spot occupied by the Indian settlement of Stadacona, now the Suburbs of St. Roch, just without the ramparts of Quebec, he thus describes—

"It is as goodly a plot of ground as possible may be seen; and therewithal very fruitful, full of goodly trees, even as in France; such as oaks, elms, ashes, walnut trees, maple trees, and white thorns, that bring forth fruit as big as any damsons, and many other sorts of trees, under which groweth as fine tall hemp as any in France, without any seed, or any man's work or labour at all."

The further progress of Cartier from hence up the river St. Lawrence as far as Hochelaga, is described in a previous chapter on the history of Montreal; it remains only to be added, that after losing 25 persons of the expedition, from scurvy and cold, and the health of all the rest, save three, being greatly affected by the severity of the climate, they returned to France in July, 1536, carrying with them, the chief Donnacona, and two other Indians of rank, as well as the interpreters whom they first brought out with them, all of whom were well received by the King of France, and treated with so much kindness as to become entirely reconciled to their fate.

As every successive voyage made from Europe to this quarter of the globe seemed to increase the general interest felt in its future settlement, so on the termination of this second expedition of Cartier, a third was set on foot, of which Jean François de la Roque, the Lord of Roberval in Picardy, was to have the civil and military command, under the title of Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, there to represent the King with full powers; and of which Cartier was to have the maritime command, under the title of Captain-General and Leader of the squadron. The fleet consisted of five ships, and the whole cost of their outfit was provided for by the king. They sailed from St. Malo on the 23rd of May, 1541, and did not reach the port of St. Croix in the river St. Charles, till the 23rd of August, Roberval not joining them at all. On their arrival at Stadacona, the Indians came in great numbers to see them, though they were somewhat disconcerted at hearing that their former chief, Donnacona, had died in France; and that the rest had married there, and were so well off that they had no wish to return. Cartier now ascended the St. Lawrence in boats a second time, and fixed his new winter-quarters at the mouth of the river which empties itself into the St. Lawrence at Cape Rouge, about nine miles above St. Croix. Here he built two forts, one on a level with the water, and another on the top of the hill, with steps cut out of the rock to communicate from the one to the other, calling the port, Charlesbourg Royal. He then proceeded up as high as Montreal, examining the river and the rapids in his way, and descended to Charlesbourg Royal for his winter-

quarters; from whence, when the spring came, he set out to return to France. In the mean while, the Lord of Roberval, who had failed in his engagement to accompany Cartier, had left France in April, 1542, with three large ships, and two hundred persons, as settlers for the first French colony to be founded here; and in the roadstead of St. John's, in Newfoundland, Cartier, on his return voyage, met Roberval on his outward enterprise. The latter did his utmost to prevail on Cartier to return with him, but this, for reasons not recorded, he declined to do, and pursued his voyage to France, where he soon afterwards died; while Roberval proceeded to Canada, and established himself at the position last left by Cartier at Cape Rouge. He remained here for one winter, without effecting much towards the settlement of the country—returned to France in 1543—engaged in the wars of the times between his sovereign Francis the First and the Emperor Charles the Fifth — and six years afterwards, having got together a large number of settlers willing to try their fortunes in the New World, he, with his brother Achille, left France for Canada, but the fleet in which they sailed was never heard of more!

From this time, up to 1603, a period of more than half a century, there were several voyages of minor interest and importance that took place, one of La Roche, another of Pontgrave, and another of Chauvin; but no important results were produced by them. In 1603, however, the celebrated Champlain, a captain in the French navy, who had served in the West Indies with great honour, was appointed to command a new expedition to Canada; and in his

voyage up the St. Lawrence, it is said that he expressed himself deeply impressed with the excellence of the position now occupied by Quebec, and formed his intention to make it the site of a town or settlement of the French. This was not effected, however, until five years afterwards, when, on due examination of the promontory called Cape Diamond, the river St. Charles, and the fine deep and spacious harbour formed here by the opposing shores, and the Isle of Orleans, he determined to fix on this spot the capital of the new empire of the West, to be called New France; and on the third of July, 1608, he here laid the foundations of the present City of Quebec.

Champlain continued to reside in this settlement, making occasional excursions in the summer, on one of which he discovered the beautiful lake that still bears his name, dividing the State of Vermont from the State of New York. He brought out his family from France and induced others to follow his example for the purpose of advancing the prospects of the settlement. In 1620—the year of the English Pilgrim Fathers landing at Plymouth—he built a fort at Quebec on the site of the castle of St. Lewis, which he rebuilt of stone in 1624, and fortified strongly. Such was the infancy of the colony then, that it numbered in that year only fifty souls; and the first French child born in Quebec, was baptized in the year 1621, and entered in the parish register, under the name of Eustache, son of Abraham Martin, and Margaret L'Anglois. This entry is dated October 24th, 1621.

Not long after this, Quebec was taken by the

English; a small armament, under Louis Kertk, a Huguenot refugee, having sailed against it. Finding the garrison wholly unprovided for defence, he caused it to surrender upon a summons; and the British flag was thus planted on the walls of Quebec, on the 22nd of July, 1629; about 130 years before its second capture by General Wolfe, in 1759. On the occasion of its first capture, Champlain was sent to England as a prisoner of war; from whence he was soon liberated, and returned first to France, and ultimately to Canada, where he arrived in 1633; just one year after he had lived to see Quebec and all Canada restored again to the French, by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, which was signed on the 29th of March, 1632. The founder of Quebec did not long survive the restoration of the City, however; for he died in Dec., 1635, in the settlement he had first formed, and where he had lived for upwards of thirty years. He was followed to the grave by all the community, by every class of whom he was greatly respected; and a funeral oration was pronounced by one of the Fathers of the Church over his remains, which were interred with all the honours that the means of the Colony would enable the inhabitants to bestow, his loss being universally regretted.

From that period to this, Quebec has been slowly but progressively on the increase; though it has had some trying times to pass through, and been the scene of many a hard struggle. In 1653, it was attacked by a body of 700 Indian warriors, who massacred most of the inhabitants without the town, but were successfully repulsed by those within the walls. In 1690, it was again attacked by a British

Colonial force from Massachusetts, under Sir William Phipps; but after an unsuccessful attempt to make it surrender, the forces were withdrawn. Another failure took place in the attempt to reduce Quebec, which was made in 1711, when the naval force under Admiral Walker, and the military under General Nicholson, were so unfortunate that no less than eight ships, containing 884 seamen, officers, and troops, were wrecked amid the fogs of the coast; while the military were obliged to abandon their position, and give up the expedition in despair.

The great struggle for the possession of Quebec, was reserved, however, for a later period, 1759. The war of 1755, between the English and the French, led to extensive military operations on the American continent, where the French had established a line of military posts, from the entrance of the St. Lawrence to the outlet of the Mississippi, from Quebec to New Orleans, so as to hem in the British possessions on the west, and threaten at some future day, the conquest of all her settlements. At the head of this growing military power of the French in America, stood Quebec—its age, its size, its strength, and its position, all combining to give it precedence as the seat of empire in the west. Its reduction became, therefore, an object of intense desire on the part of the British; and accordingly, a plan of combined operations, the first idea of which was suggested by Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, to Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was determined on, by which several points should be attacked at once. In pursuance of this plan, General Amherst was to attack Fort Ticonderago and Crown Point, on Lake

Champlain, from New York; Sir William Johnson, with a large body of Iroquois Indians, from the Valley of the Mohawk, was to attack Niagara, and if successful descend to Montreal; and General Wolfe, supported by a naval as well as military force, was to conduct the attack on Quebec.

In pursuance of this plan, General Wolfe sailed from Spithead in England, with a portion of the troops to be placed under his command, joined by the ships of war under Admiral Saunders, on the 17th of February, 1759. They rendezvoused at Halifax, where they were joined by other regiments, making the whole land-force 8,000 men. It was not till the 6th of June that they sailed for the St. Lawrence, nor until the 26th of the same month that they anchored off the Isle of Orleans, near to Quebec. It may be interesting to state that among the officers of the naval expedition, was the celebrated Captain Cook, the circumnavigator of the globe, who was then serving in the capacity of sailing-master on board the Mercury, one of the fleet. He had served a short apprenticeship of three years, in a collier between Newcastle and London, between 1747 and 1750, had quitted the merchant service, and entered on board a man-of-war, the Eagle, of 28 guns, in 1752; he was at the siege of Louisburg in the Pembroke, in 1758, and was appointed sailing-master of the Mercury, under orders for Canada, on the 10th of May, 1759. His skill and capacity recommended him so strongly to the notice of the Admiral commanding the fleet, Sir Charles Saunders, that he committed to his care the execution of some of the most difficult duties connected with the

attack upon Quebec, all of which he discharged most ably. He was afterwards appointed to make a nautical survey of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the coasts of Newfoundland, and discharged this duty so well, that he received a commission as Lieutenant in April, 1760, and in May, 1768, was made a Captain in the navy, in which capacity his celebrated voyages of discovery were subsequently performed.

At Quebec, the French force consisted of 13,000 men, of which six battalions were regular troops of the line, and the remainder were formed of a well-trained Canadian militia, with cavalry and Indian auxiliaries, the whole under the command of a brave and distinguished General, the Marquis de Montcalm. The French naval force consisted of two large frigates, and six smaller vessels of 24 guns each. The British force consisted of 8,000 men, all regular and well-disciplined troops, under the command of General Wolfe, and the naval force consisted of 20 ships of the line, 8 frigates, 9 sloops, 3 fire-ships, and 7 smaller vessels.

The first attempts of the British were unsuccessful, and the grenadiers, with Wolfe at their head, were signally defeated, near the Falls of Montmorenci. At a council of war held soon after this, Wolfe urged a repetition of the attack upon the French lines here; but General Townsend, the third in command, suggested the plan of ascending the river some distance above Quebec, reaching the Plains of Abraham behind the town, and attacking the works in their weakest part from thence. Wolfe, seeing at once the excellence of the plan, surrendered

his own opinion, adopted the advice of his inferior in rank, and determined to carry it into execution.

Accordingly, on the night of the 12th of September, the ships and boats of the fleet co-operating with the army, the main body of the troops were conveyed with the flood-tide up the river St. Lawrence, past the batteries of Quebec, as if they were going to attack some point beyond the City; but when the ebb-tide turned, they all dropped silently down till they came to the small cove appointed for the landing, called from thence Wolfe's Cove, not more than two miles beyond Cape Diamond, where the strongest part of the French was seated. The following touching anecdote is recorded of Wolfe, which shows how strongly his love of literature, and ambition of intellectual glory, beamed through all his military feelings, even at a moment when it might have been expected that everything would have been absorbed in the thoughts of the coming conflict on which he was about to enter. Among the midshipmen who attended General Wolfe in his duty of visiting the various posts on the night before the battle, was young Mr. Robinson, subsequently the distinguished Professor of that name of Edinburgh, who states, that as they rowed along in the boats, the night being peculiarly fine, and the stars beaming with unusual brilliance, General Wolfe repeated to his companions in arms, with great feeling and pathos, the beautiful poem of Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard, which had only just then been published, and after uttering the exquisite line—

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"

he remarked to the officer who sat next to him in the stern of the boat, that he would prefer the distinction of being the author of that poem, even to the honour of beating the French on the morrow.

At daylight on the 13th, the troops landed at the foot of the steep acclivities leading up to the heights of Abraham; and as the spot was wholly undefended, from the belief that it presented natural difficulties which no troops could overcome, the British met with no resistance in their way. The ascent was in many places nearly perpendicular, the height about 300 feet above the river, and everywhere so steep, that it was only by pulling themselves up from time to time by the roots and branches of the bushes, that the troops could surmount the obstacles of their way. They nevertheless achieved their undertaking without the loss of a man, and soon formed in good order on the Plains of Abraham, at the summit; while the sailors of the fleet surpassed even the soldiers, in the boldness of their enterprise, as they succeeded in dragging up these precipitous cliffs, a brass six-pounder, the only piece of artillery used on the British side in the action.

The French general, Montcalm, who was then at Beauport, a little below Quebec, would not credit the intelligence first brought to him of the English having obtained access to the Plains of Abraham, as he thought such an achievement impossible; but, being satisfied of the fact, he hastened to the spot, determined to give the enemy battle. The two commanders met at the head of their respective forces; Wolfe commanding the right of the English line, while Montcalm commanded the left of the

French; and wherever the battle raged most furiously, these gallant leaders were found. Wolfe was soon wounded by a musket-ball in the wrist, which he hastily bound up and concealed; when placing himself at the head of the grenadiers, he led them to the charge with the bayonet, and succeeded in driving the enemy before him. In this onset he received a second ball in the groin; notwithstanding which he still held on his way, until a third ball inflicted a mortal wound in the breast, and he fell to rise no more. From the first moment, his greatest anxiety was to prevent his death from being known to his soldiers. He intreated the officer who supported him, not to let the troops see him drop; but when, as he was quenching his burning thirst, with some water brought from a neighbouring well, he was told that the enemy were giving way in every direction, he exclaimed, "Now, God be praised, I die happy!" and these were the last words he breathed; expiring on the battle-field at the early age of thirty-two.

Montcalm was also soon wounded by a musket-shot at the head of his troops, but still continued in action; until a more severe wound, received from the only piece of cannon which the English had on the field, gave him his death-blow, though he survived some hours after receiving it. On being told, in answer to his earnest inquiries, that his wound was mortal, and that ten or twelve hours would probably be the limited term of his life, he replied, "I am glad of it, as I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec." His dying moments were marked by great generosity towards his conquerors; and

at 5 o'clock the following morning he also breathed his last.

The body of Wolfe was taken to England, and buried with military honours in the family vault at Greenwich, a monument being afterwards erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey; and the body of Montcalm was interred in the Ursuline Convent of Quebec, in a hollow grave made by the bursting of a shell that fell within the Convent walls, where a monument also marks his resting-place, and records his lamented death.

The slight loss of the assailants, and the severe loss of the defenders of this important Citadel of Quebec, furnish a remarkable contrast. On the part of the British, the loss was only 45 killed, and 506 wounded. On the part of the French, the loss amounted to 1,500 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; the commanders on both sides were slain, and several of the general officers of each of the armies were mortally and severely wounded.

Quebec thus falling into the hands of the British, was filled with a garrison of 5,000 men under General Murray; articles of capitulation were interchanged, and signed by the respective generals commanding the forces; and from that day to this, Quebec has remained in our possession.

Soon after its surrender to the English, however, the scattered portions of the French army were collected at Montreal, where they were reinforced by volunteers; and a strong attack was made on Quebec by their united forces, amounting according to the French account to 10,750 effective men, and accord-

ing to the English account to 15,000 men. There were at that time only 3,000 British in the garrison, and no ships of war; while the French had six frigates of from 26 to 44 guns each, which gave them the complete command of the river, and induced them to place the City under siege. Before this could be put into execution, however, General Murray, the English commander, determined on giving the French battle. Accordingly he marched out to the Plains of Abraham where they were encamped, for that purpose, under all the disadvantage of opposing a force of 10,000, with one of 3,000 men only. As might have been anticipated, though his men fought bravely, they were overpowered by superior numbers, and compelled to retreat into the Citadel, where they remained from the 28th of April, the day of the battle on the Plains, till the 11th of May, on which the French Commander, the Marquis de Levi, commenced the siege. The preparations in the Citadel had enabled them to mount no less than 132 pieces of cannon on the ramparts; the batteries of the besiegers were, therefore, soon silenced by their fire. On the 15th, a large fleet of English ships of war arrived in the river, which speedily destroyed the French flotilla, and compelled the Marquis de Levi to raise the siege and retreat to Montreal, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil was determined to hold out to the last. General Amherst however, approaching from Lake Champlain, and the British forces joining them from Quebec on the one side, and Lake Ontario on the other, there was no hope for the French, who seeing themselves thus

surrounded on all hands, signed a capitulation on the 8th of September, by which the whole Province of Canada was secured to the British power.

At the period of the American revolution, it is well known, that Canada did not join the revolted Colonies, but continued firm in her allegiance to the Crown; and hence it became the land of refuge to the many loyalists who were driven from the United States by the success of their War of Independence. As it was believed, however, by the Americans of that day, that an attack upon Quebec would be successful, and if so, would induce all Canada to join their cause, such an attack was planned, and its execution committed to two American Generals, Montgomery and Arnold. The British troops usually retained in Canada for its defence had been sent on to Boston, so that the Province was almost destitute of military force, there being scattered throughout all Canada only about 800 men. In this state of things, General Montgomery advanced from Lake Champlain on St. John's, and after a short resistance took it; he then marched on against Montreal, which being perfectly defenceless, surrendered to the American arms, on the 12th of November, 1775. At the same time, General Arnold was known to Montgomery to be advancing towards Quebec, from the New England States, by way of the Kennebec river through Maine, which at this late period of the year was a most daring undertaking. After passing thirty-two days in the wild forests and swamps, and suffering almost incredible hardships and privations in this hitherto untrodden wilderness, Arnold and his followers reached the

banks of the St. Lawrence by the Chaudière river, on the 4th of November, in the same year. From thence they descended to Point Levi, opposite to Quebec, where they arrived on the 9th, crossed over on the night of the 13th, and landed 500 men at Wolfe's Cove, without being perceived either by the sentries or from the ships of war.

On the 1st of December, this foree was joined by a much larger one under General Montgomery from Montreal. By these two, the City was invested, and several bombardments of it made with shot and shells, but without producing much effect. A night-attack was at length determined on by Montgomery, on the southern, and Arnold on the northern side of the Lower Tower. Both attacks were made with great courage and impetuosity, but both failed. In the former, General Montgomery and nearly all his personal staff were killed; in the latter, General Arnold was wounded, and with most of his followers taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans in these attacks was upwards of 100 killed and wounded, and of the British only 1 naval officer killed, and 17 men killed and wounded. The Americans did not, however, give up the attempt to reduce Quebec; as, during all the winter following, they continued to receive re-inforcements, and to invest the town; and in the spring of the ensuing year, May 1776, they renewed their attack on the Citadel. General Carleton, the English commander of the garrison, having received an important accession to his force, by the arrival of a small squadron under the command of Sir Charles Douglas, bringing to his aid provisions, ammunition, and men, was enabled to baffle every attempt made

on the City, and ultimately to make a sally on the enemy, when they retreated, and abandoned their post.

This was the last hostile attack on Quebec by any foreign foe, and as since that period the Citadel has been gradually strengthened and improved, under every successive Governor of the Province, it is now in a condition to resist ten times the force ever yet brought against it, and could not, so long as it contained supplies of provisions, and an adequate number of brave and faithful men, be conquered by any force likely to be brought against it from this continent.

Thus far, the history of Quebec has been briefly sketched, from its first founding by Champlain, in 1608, up to its last defence by General Carleton in 1776, since which, no military operations of importance have been conducted here. All else belongs to its civil history and condition, and this will be best exhibited, by a description of Quebec as it is at the present moment, with such notices of the rise and progress of its principal establishments, as may be necessary to render that description complete.

CHAP. XIV.

Description of the City in its present state—Situation of the town—Excellence of its harbour—Commanding position of the Citadel—Plan and arrangement of the streets and alleys—Lower Town and Upper Town—Suburb of St. Roch—Streets—Private Dwellings — Shops — Public Buildings — Ancient Castle of St. Lewis — Ceremony of swearing fealty by the Seigneurs—Destruction of the ancient Castle by fire—Beautiful Platform and Promenade on its site—Parliament House—Exterior of the building—Hall of the Legislative Assembly—Library — Valuable collection of old books — Legislative Council Chamber—Bishop's Palace—Lower Town—Custom House — Exchange — Trinity House — Sault-aux-Matelot—Origin of the name—Upper Town—Court House and Jail—Government Offices—Museum of Natural History—Literary Society—Mechanics' Institute.

The situation of Quebec is highly advantageous, in a commercial as well as a military point of view, and its appearance is very imposing, from whatever quarter it is first approached. Though at a distance of 350 miles up from the sea, the magnificent river, on which it is seated, is three miles in breadth a little below the town, and narrows in to about a mile in breadth immediately abreast of the citadel; having, in both these parts, sufficient depth of water for the largest ships in the world—a rise and fall of 20 feet in its tides—and space enough in its capacious basin, between Cape Diamond on the one hand, and the Isle of Orleans on the other, to afford room and

anchorage for a thousand sail of vessels at a time, sheltered from all winds, and perfectly secure! A small river, the St. Charles, has its junction with the St. Lawrence, a little to the north of the promontory of Cape Diamond,and affords a favourable spot for ship-building and repairs, as well as an excellent winter-harbour for ships lying up dismantled.

The Citadel of Quebec occupies the highest point of Cape Diamond, being elevated 350 feet above the river, and presenting almost perpendicular cliffs towards the water. The City is built from the water's edge, along the foot of these cliffs, round the point of the promontory, and ascending upward from thence to the very borders of the Citadel itself. It is divided into the Lower and Upper Town, the former including all that is below the ramparts, or fortified lines, the latter comprehending all that is above and within that barrier. Besides these, there is a large suburb, separated from Quebec proper, by the ramparts, and some open lawn beyond these on the west, called the Suburb of St. Roch, on the right bank of the river St. Charles, the only portion of the whole that is built on level ground.

On landing at Quebec, therefore, the traveller has to wind his way up through steep, narrow, and tortuous streets, with still narrower alleys on his right and left, till he reaches the fortified line or barrier. Here he enters by Prescott Gate, on the right of which, after passing through it, he sees the imposing structure of the New Parliament House, with its lofty cupola and fine architectural front; and on the left, a double flight of mean and straggling wooden steps, leading to one of the oldest streets, as

an avenue to the Place d'Armes. Going across this last, he passes the English and French Cathedrals, the Government Offices, and Palace of Justice, on his right; and has the site of the old Castle of St. Lewis, and the platform overlooking the harbour, on his left. Passing by these, and continually ascending for about half a mile beyond, he reaches the ramparts and gates on the upper side of the City; and going through these, he comes to the open lawn in front of the glacis, beyond which is the Suburb of St. Roch, on the level ground along the southern bank of the St. Charles river.

The plan of the City is as irregular as the greatest enemy of symmetry could desire. The steepness of the ascent from the river to the plain above, is no doubt one cause of this, because it was only by making the ascending streets winding and tortuous, that they could be got over at all; but besides this, the inequalities in the surface even of the Upper Town, led to other irregularities in the form and direction of the streets; while the large space occupied by the old religious establishments, still further curtailing the lines in different directions, so cut up the area, that there is not a single street in all Quebec, which can compare, in length, breadth, or general good appearance, to the King Street of Toronto, or the Notre Dame of Montreal. The streets of Quebec are, therefore, in general, short, narrow, crooked, steep, wretchedly paved in the centre, still worse provided with side-walks, and not lighted with lamps at night. The private dwellings are in general destitute of architectural beauty, and small and incommodious; some few are of wood, none of brick, but the

greatest number are of rough-hewn stone, with high steep roofs, containing a double row of projecting garret windows, very lofty chimneys, and the roofs principally covered with sheets of bright tin. The shops are also small and mean, and greatly inferior, in the extent and variety of their contents, to those of Montreal and Toronto; though the prices charged are, as we thought, higher here than in either of these.

The public buildings are scattered over the City with so much irregularity, that their position seems to be as much the effect of accident as design. Several of them, however, are so prominently placed, and advantageously seen, that they relieve, in some degree, the general monotony of the mass of ordinary houses, and are thus far ornamental to the town; while the spires of the churches, the dome of the Parliament House, and other elevated points rising from the general surface, with their tinned roofs glittering in the sun, give a liveliness and variety to the picture presented by the City, from every point of view, which no other place in Canada, and indeed few places on the globe present.

The earliest of the public buildings erected in Quebec, was undoubtedly the Castle of St. Lewis, of which Champlain laid the foundation, on the 6th of May, 1624. The position chosen for it was a most commanding one; on the very edge of an almost perpendicular precipice of rock, 200 feet above the river, yet close to its edge; as, between the cliff and the stream, there is only just room enough for one narrow avenue, called Champlain Street. The Castle erected here, was regarded as the Palace of

the French Governors, who received in it the fealty and homage of the several Seigneurs holding their lands according to the feudal tenure of the times. Nor is this practice discontinued; for, according to Mr. Hawkins, in his Picture of Quebec, the Sovereignty of England having succeeded to that of France, with all its ancient rights and privileges, the King's Representative, in the person of the English Governor, receives the same homage at the present day, as was paid by the Seigneurs of former times; this being one of the conditions on which the feudal tenure is sustained. His words are these—

"Fealty and homage is rendered at this day (1834) by the Seigneurs to the Governor, as the representative of the Sovereign, in the following form:—His Excellency being in full dress, and seated in a state-chair, surrounded by his staff, and attended by the Attorney-General, the Seigneur in an evening dress, and wearing a sword, is introduced into his presence by the Inspector-General of the Royal Domain and Clerk of the Land Roll. Having delivered up his sword, he kneels on one knee before the Governor, and placing his right hand between those of the Governor, he repeats aloud the ancient oath of fidelity; after which a solemn act is drawn up in a register kept for that purpose, which is signed by the Governor and Seigneur, and countersigned by the proper officers."

In this Castle the French and English Governors resided till 1809, when it was found necessary to erect a temporary new building for their use, while the old one underwent repair; and 10,000*l.* were expended for this purpose under the administration of Sir James Craig. After this it continued to be the seat of government as before; and all the proclamations and ordinances issued, and all the messages sent to the legislative assemblies by the Governor in

the King's name, were dated from the Castle of Quebec. It was also the scene of all the public levées and private entertainments of the Governors and their families; and was therefore the constant resort of all the gay and fashionable society of the Province. In 1834, however, this ancient edifice was entirely destroyed by a fire, which broke out on the 23rd of January, in the depth of winter, when Lord Aylmer occupied it as his official residence; and notwithstanding every exertion made to save it, the thermometer being at 22° below zero, and the fire-engines only capable of being worked by a constant supply of warm water, the castle was soon reduced to ashes. It has never since been rebuilt; but Lord Durham, during his short stay here, had the site cleared of the ruined heaps that still covered it, and the whole area of the former edifice levelled, floored with wood, and converted into a beautiful platform, with a fine iron railing at the edge of the precipice, making it one of the most beautiful promenades imaginable—commanding an extensive view of the St. Lawrence down as far as the Island of Orleans—the harbour filled with ships immediately before it, and the opposite bank of the river, with Point Levi, the village of D'Aubigny, and the road leading up through one continuous line of cottages to the Falls of the Chaudière. Nothing could exceed the beauty of this, as a marine picture, during the period of our stay here; as at that moment there were no less than six ships of war assembled for the purpose of holding a court-martial on Captain Drew, R.N., known as the cutter-out of the Caroline Steamer from the American shore, at the time of the late Canadian rebellion.

These ships were the Winchester, Admiral Sir Thomas Harvey, the Vestal, Cleopatra, and Crocodile frigates, and the Pilot brig. In addition to these, there were not less than 300 sail of merchant ships anchored in the stream, 163 of which arrived in two successive days, September 14th and 15th, and at least 100 more lay alongside the quays and wharfs. As the weather was beautifully fine, and the country still verdant all around, the sight of so many ships seen from a height of 200 feet above the river, with the fine extent of country opposite, thickly dotted with villages and hamlets of the purest white, and the grandeur of the mountains in the distance fading away into a lighter and lighter blue, till scarcely distinguishable from the azure sky of the far horizon, was beautiful and magnificent beyond expression.

The Parliament House comes next, in the order of its importance among the public buildings of Quebec. The site on which this stands is of even earlier date than that of the Castle of St. Lewis; there being good reason to believe that it occupies the first spot of ground which was cleared by Champlain, for his fort, on founding the City, in 1608. Here, too, as at the Castle, the site stands on a mass of rock made level by art, and extending to the brink of a perpendicular precipice, of about 100 feet above the river, the narrowest part of which is commanded by its guns. Along the edge of this precipice, beyond the area occupied by the Parliament House, still runs the Grand Battery of Quebec, the promenade on which, and the view from its platform, is scarcely inferior to that already described on the

site of the old Castle of St. Lewis. On this spot, originally cleared for a fort, the palace of the Bishop was subsequently erected; and a portion of the old episcopal residence still continues there; but the greater portion of it is occupied by the New Parliament House, begun about ten years ago, and not yet completed, though promising, when finished, to form one of the most perfect of the public buildings of the City.

In general appearance it resembles the Royal Mint, on Tower Hill. There is a centre of about 200 feet in length, and two wings coming out at right angles from the extremity of the centre, so as to form three sides of an oblong, the fourth side being open towards the street, with a level space in front, elevated about six feet above the street, and railed in. The architecture is of the Ionic order, with a good portico and pediment, containing the royal arms in front; the centre is surmounted by an octagonal tower, dome, and lantern, well proportioned in all its parts. The whole edifice is built of a brownish sandstone, well hewn, and excellently put together, and it is three stories in height. In the centre, what was formerly the chapel of the Bishop's Palace, has been converted into the Commons House of Assembly, as St. Stephen's Chapel was for the House of Commons in England.

The dimensions of this Hall are 65 feet in length by 36 in breadth, and the height is about 30. The arrangement of the interior resembles that of the House of Commons at home—the Speaker's Chair being at the head of the Hall, raised 18 inches above the floor; the scarlet-cloth covered table for the

clerks, and the mace, being before him. The seats for the members are ranged down the sides, rising in gentle stages of elevation one behind and over the other; leaving the centre of the floor open for the egress and ingress of members. The parties of the administration and the opposition sit, therefore, here as in England, face to face, with the Speaker at the head of the Hall, looking down the centre—a much better mode of arrangement for a deliberative assembly than the semicircular or theatrical form, universal throughout the United States of America. Here, however, as in the States, each member has his desk and drawers, with pen and ink before him. This, though convenient no doubt to the members themselves, is found to be productive of long speeches, and long readings of documents, which, in the absence of such desks, drawers, and conveniences, would not be so practicable. The number of members was about ninety when the Assembly was sitting, and for this small number there is ample accommodation. Below the bar, where the sergeant-at-arms sat to preserve order, the public were admitted to hear the debates, and a hundred persons might be accommodated there; while in a gallery above, overhanging that space, and confined to the end of the Hall, another hundred might be easily accommodated. In the hours of meeting, from three o'clock in the afternoon till midnight, and often beyond, as well as in all the forms of the House, the custom of England was followed. The whole aspect of the interior is much better, however, than that of the present English House of Commons; the Speaker's Chair especially is far more elegant, and the royal arms

embossed, coloured, and gilded, on the panelling of the Chair, behind the Speaker's head, with the portraits of George the Third, by Sir Joshua Reynolds; George the Fourth, by Sir Thomas Lawrence; and the portraits of their several Speakers, from the earliest who enjoyed that honour, down to Mr. Papineau, give a richness and brilliancy to the whole, in which our House of Commons in England is peculiarly deficient.

Above the Hall of Assembly is the Library, which is spacious, admirably fitted up, and furnished with a collection of more than 10,000 volumes. The Library is still more valuable for the quality of its books than for their numbers; and it is thought, that there does not exist anywhere on this continent, a collection so rich in old, rare, and valuable works as this. On looking over it, which I was permitted to do at leisure, on my visit there, I was surprised to see so many of this description, both in English and in French, as well as in other languages, ancient and modern, and this not confined to any one branch of literature, science, or art, but embracing the writings of the most eminent men, on almost all the subjects that can interest the public mind. As it is matter of great uncertainty where the future seat of government for the United Province of Canada will be fixed, the Library will remain here till that is settled; but if it should not be at Quebec, (which is more than probable,) this valuable collection will no doubt be transferred to the seat of Legislation wherever that may be.

The Legislative Council Chamber is in the old wing of the Bishop's Palace, still remaining, and

overlooking the river St. Lawrence from its windows. It is fitted up with a throne, decorated with crimson velvet and gold, from which, at the opening and close of every Session, the Governor of the Province delivers his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, as the Sovereign's representative. This room also is ornamented with several portraits. Leading from it, are other rooms and offices connected with this branch of the Provincial Legislature. In the vaulted rooms below, which formed the Refectory of the ancient Bishops, where they exercised hospitality to the inferior members of the Church, visiting them on ecclesiastical affairs from all parts of the country, the Secretary of the Province had his offices and rooms, so that every portion of this fine pile was occupied during the sittings of the Legislature for parliamentary purposes.

Among the public buildings in the Lower Town, there is a Custom House, a Mercantile Exchange, and a Public News Room, neither of which, however, present any remarkable features. Indeed, all the lower part of the town is destitute of architectural beauty, though there is something romantic in the overhanging cliffs of the Citadel, the Castle, and the Sault-aux-Matelot, with the batteries of cannon, projecting over all these, from 100 to 350 feet above the heads of the spectators, as they look upward towards these several points.

The Sault-aux-Matelot was the name given to the cliff on whose brow the Grand Battery is now placed. The alleged origin of the name is this: that it was meant to commemorate the extraordinary leap of a dog called Matelot, who made a "sault" from hence

to the river below, and escaped without hurt. It is probable that in early days, the river came up to the very foot of the rock, but in process of time, a considerable space has been gained from the stream outward from the rock, and on this has been built the street called Sault-aux-Matelot, (from the back windows of the houses of which you can put out your hand and touch the perpendicular cliff behind them,) as well as the street of St. Paul, and the wharfs now used for loading and landing. There is also a Trinity House in the Lower Town, managed by the Masters and Wardens of the Holy Trinity, and performing nearly the same duties as are discharged by the Trinity Houses of Deptford, London, and Kingston-upon-Hull, for the regulation of pilots and the navigation of the river.

In the Upper Town, there is a Court House, or Palais de Justice, as it is called by the French, which is well built of stone, occupying a most favourable position in the open space of the Place d'Armes, and well provided, in its interior, with every accommodation, in Courts, Jury Rooms, and other offices, for the due administration of Justice, civil and criminal, according to the laws of England. The building is 136 feet long by 44 feet broad. It was finished in 1804, and its cost was defrayed by the Provincial Legislature to the amount of 30,000*l.*

The Jail of Quebec is very nearly in the centre of the Upper Town, among the houses of the gentry. It is large, strong, and commodious; but as no system of prison-discipline has yet been adopted here, beyond that of enforcing subordination, and securing safe custody—the condition of the inmates is not

such as to fit them to return with improved characters to society. The building was erected in 1814, at a cost of 15,000*l.*, and is 160 feet in length by 60 in breadth. It has a separate House of Correction for females attached to it, and an open Court Yard, in which the male prisoners are allowed to take exercise at certain hours of the day. There is a private Benevolent Society, called "The Quebec Jail Association," which takes some interest in the moral improvement of the prisoners, and their expenditure is defrayed by voluntary contributions. It is admitted that their exertions are productive of some good; but the want of a better system of prison-discipline, under legislative authority, such as prevails everywhere in the United States, is much to be regretted.

In a large edifice at the corner of the Place d'Armes, are concentrated nearly all the minor Public Offices. In this building is the Museum of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, founded by Lord Dalhousie in 1824, and incorporated by the Legislature in 1830. It contains a number of interesting and valuable specimens in geology, mineralogy, and natural history, particularly in the department of birds. But the whole establishment is suffering much from neglect; and nothing that I saw at Quebec seemed to be so much in disorder as this Museum. There is a Mechanics' Institute also in the City, and these have rooms and a Library; but their numbers are few, their means limited, and their establishment apparently as much neglected as that of their older and wealthier brethren.

CHAP. XV.

Religious Establishments of the French Catholics—First Convent of the Recollets—Arrival of the Jesuits—Dissolution of their Order—Foundation of the Hotel Dieu—Description of the building—Convent of Ursuline Nuns—Female Education —Seminary for the education of boys—Course of instruction—Numbers and classes—Bishop's residence—Chapel and Library —General Hospital of the Congregational Nuns—Catholic Cathedral—Bishop of Nancy—Extraordinary Religious Service of the Retraite—English Protestant Cathedral and Chapels—Sunday Schools—School of the Royal Institution—Scandalous Sinecure of the Master of this School—Benevolent Institutions—Marine Hospital.

THE religious establishments of Quebec are sufficiently ancient, numerous, and interesting, to deserve a separate chapter, and may be taken in their chronological order. It is worthy of being mentioned to the honour of the French nation, that in all their early Colonial settlements, greater attention appears to have been paid to the important duty of promoting education and religion, than by any other nation that can be named. It will be remembered that the first efforts towards a permanent settlement of the French in Canada, was made at the expense of a Company of Merchants, under the royal protection, and nearly about the same period that the first East India Company of the English was chartered by Queen Elizabeth. The stock-holders and directors of this last named body, never gave education or religion a

thought in their earliest enterprises; and when they had attained to sovereign power in the East, the use they made of it, as it respects education and religion, was to prohibit both the one and the other for a long period, excluding even the voluntary missionaries sent out by Christian societies to preach the Gospel at their own cost, and discouraging, by every means in their power, the conversion of the Indian population, until public opinion, and the power of the press, forced them to adopt a more liberal and Christian policy. The French Company for trading to Canada, were, on the contrary, so impressed with the duty of providing instruction and religion for the Indians among whom they were going to place settlers, that they undertook, by the articles of their first charter, in 1614, to send out, and defray the expense of four ecclesiastics, who were to be the teachers and preachers of the Gospel to the new community, and who were to extend their especial regards to the aborigines with whom they should be placed.

These venerable Fathers, of the order of Recollets, embarked from France with Champlain in 1615, and passed their first few years in visiting the sick, instructing the ignorant, and learning the language of the Huron Indians. They were joined in 1620 by three others of their order from France, and they then built their first Seminary, on the banks of the St. Charles river, where they remained, with some interruptions, till 1690, when they gave up their grounds there, at the instance of the Bishop, to make room for a General Hospital on the spot, and took in lieu of it a smaller space within the precincts

of the town of Quebec. Here they built a Church and Convent, which they continued to occupy until 1796, when both were entirely destroyed by fire. Soon after this, the Order becoming extinct, the ground was prepared for other buildings, and the English Cathedral was afterwards erected on the same spot, being consecrated in 1804.

The Jesuits first visited Quebec in 1625, having also been brought out by Champlain, in a subsequent voyage to that in which he was accompanied by the Fathers of the Recollet. The number of the Jesuits who came first was three, of one of whom, Father Brebœuf, it is said that he had such a peculiar talent for acquiring languages, that he had learnt more of the Indian tongues in three years, than many other persons had done in twenty. In 1626, three other Jesuits joined these, making, in the whole, eleven ecclesiastics sent out from France, for a community which then consisted of only fifty-five souls. But their religious labours were not confined to the Christian settlement; they went as missionaries among the Indians, and from their ready adoption of many of their peculiarities, became soon so familiar and friendly with the various tribes, as to produce the best effects.

In 1635, the foundation of the Jesuits' College were laid in Quebec, a member of their Order, who had abandoned the world to belong to their Society, the eldest son of the Marquis de Gamache, whose name was Rene Rohault, having given 6,000 crowns of gold from his private fortune for this purpose. In 1640, the Church and the College of the Jesuits, built from this pious donation, were entirely destroyed

by fire. Both, however, were subsequently rebuilt, and for a long series of years, up to the dissolution of the Order in 1764, the Jesuits continued to promote the spread of education and religion, both in the College of Quebec, and in the villages of the surrounding country. The last of the Jesuits, Father Casot, died here in 1800, when the whole property of the Order in this City fell into the possession of the Crown; and their spacious College, forming a quadrangle, enclosing an open square, in the very heart of the City, is now occupied as a barrack for the soldiers of the Coldstream regiment of guards! On visiting this spot, it was impossible not to be struck with the contrast. The interior open square formed the garden of the College, and in it, during the Jesuits' occupation, there were several large trees of the primeval forest, which had been enclosed when the building was first constructed, while lawn and shrubbery filled up the intermediate parts. On the conversion of this seat of learning and piety to a barrack for troops, these noble trees were cut down, the lawn and shrubbery rooted up, and the area converted into a hard and bare drill-ground, or parade, for the soldiers, about 800 of whom we saw assembled at beat of drum, within the enclosure of this pile, originally erected for the purposes of education, religion, and peace!

Within a year after the first foundation of the Jesuits' College at Quebec, another religious establishment was founded, for the cure of the sick, and the aid of the aged and infirm. This was the Hotel Dieu. It appears that, in 1636, representations having reached France, from the Jesuits here, of the

necessity of such an establishment as this, a pious and wealthy lady, the Duchesse D'Aiguillon, niece to the celebrated Cardinal Richelieu, undertook at her own private expense to found a Hotel Dieu in Quebec, and devoted the sum of 20,000 livres to this purpose, which donation, by the assistance of relatives and friends, was afterwards doubled. In addition to this, the Duchesse obtained from the Company of Merchants, to whose charge Canada had been assigned by royal charter, a large tract of waste lands, the sale or rental of which would provide annual funds for the institution, and a space amounting to about twelve acres, in the heart of the City of Quebec, on which the Hotel Dieu was to be erected, on which space, this ancient building and its spacious gardens still stand.

The Duchesse D'Aiguillon offered the charge and superintendence of this institution to the Nuns Hospitalières of Dieppe; and three of their body immediately consented to undertake it. The eldest of these ladies, who was chosen as the Superior, was only 29, and the youngest 22 years of age; but they were willing to brave all the dangers of the voyage, the rigours of the climate, and the perils of Indian warfare, for the sake of religion.

On the 4th of May, 1639, they left France for Quebec; the fleet in which they sailed, bringing with them also, a Superior and three Ursuline Nuns, for a new Convent, and several Jesuits and Priests for the collegiate and ecclesiastical establishments already begun there. They landed on the 1st of August following, and their arrival was hailed with all the ceremonies of a grand religious fête, in which

the whole community assisted. They entered immediately on their pious labours, applied themselves to the study of the Indian languages, received the sick, the aged, and the infirm, and encountered incredible sufferings and privations in the performance of their benevolent duties. A few years afterwards they were joined by other Nuns of their Order from France; their Hotel was completed, their Chapel consecrated, and the sphere of their operations greatly extended among the Indians as well as the French; and from that time to the present they have steadily pursued their original objects of benevolence and piety, many thousands of patients having obtained, through their Institution, the comforts of sustenance and medical care, which it would otherwise have been wholly beyond their power to procure.

The building of the Hotel Dieu, which we were permitted to visit freely, is seated in the lowest part of the Upper Town, within the ramparts, between Hope Gate and Palace Gate, and nearest to the latter. This Gate was so called because it opened on the Palace of the Intendant—the Civil Governor under the French system—but the Palace itself was destroyed during the American siege of Quebec, in 1776, and was never restored. The Hotel Dieu is a substantial old structure, built of stone, with wings and corridors, having three stories in height, appropriated to the separate wards for the male and female sick, and to the necessary accommodation for the Nuns and their assistants. In passing through it, we could not but admire the neatness, cleanliness, freshness, and order, of everything we saw; and rejoiced to see the comfort in which the sick, the

aged, and the infirm, seemed to live in this welcome asylum for the destitute. The Nuns are at present about 40 in number, between the ages of 25 and 70. Their dress is wholly white, except the veil, which is black. Like the Sisters in charge of the Hotel Dieu at Montreal, these are cloistered Nuns, who never go beyond the walls of their building. They appeared to be animated by the strongest sense of religious duty; and though the gates are always open during the day, and no impediment would be offered to any one choosing to go out, no instance has occurred, we were told, of any of these Nuns having attempted to leave the establishment, or even expressed their desire so to do. Except the Lady Superior, whose constant superintendence engages all her time, all the Nuns take their turns in watching by night, and attending the sick by day, relieving each other every two hours; and it is thought that the uniform kindness, gentleness, and good will, which they manifest toward the sick, has as great a share in effecting their recovery, as the medicine they administer.

There is a beautiful Chapel attached to the Hotel Dieu, in which mass is celebrated every morning, and vespers said every evening; besides the regular service on Sundays and Festivals. A splendid altar-piece, representing the taking down the body of Christ from the Cross, painted by a native artist of Quebec, had been just finished and placed in the Chapel; and several smaller pictures of the old masters adorned its walls. The same arrangement that we had witnessed at Montreal prevailed here, by which openings from the sick-wards into the gal-

leries of the Chapel, enabled even those who were confined to their beds, to hear and join in the service.

About the same period of the foundation of the Hotel Dieu, 1639, the idea was suggested, of establishing a Convent here for the education of female youths among the Catholic population, and for the conversion and education of the female children of the Indians. A young widow of rank and fortune in France, Madame de la Peltrie, was the first to carry it into execution. Devoting her whole wealth to this object, she obtained the co-operation of two Ursuline Nuns from Tours, and one from Dieppe, and accompanying them in person to Quebec, they arrived here on the 1st of August, 1639, with the Hospitalières and the Jesuits already mentioned. The details of their early struggles are full of the most romantic interest, and show to what an extent religious zeal and a strong sense of duty will enable the highest-born and the most delicately-bred, to encounter sufferings and privations which would destroy the most robust when not sustained by the lofty and animating principles that bore these pious and benevolent ladies so triumphantly through their career.

The building occupied by the Ursuline Nuns at present, occupies the site of their original Convent, though that was destroyed by fire in 1650, and a second perished by the same element in 1686, everything within the walls being on each occasion consumed; so that this is the third edifice constructed by them. It stands nearly in the middle of the Upper Town of Quebec, not far from the English and French Cathedrals, the Court House, and the

Place D'Armes; and with its surrounding gardens, covers a space of seven acres of ground. The building consists of four separate wings, forming a quadrangle around an open court; its length is about 120, and its depth 40 feet; the Chapel is 95 feet by 45; in this there are several excellent paintings by old French masters. Within the walls of this Convent, was deposited the body of the French general, Montcalm, his corpse being laid in a hollow pit, caused by the bursting of a shell there, during the siege of Quebec. During the recent administration of Lord Aylmer, as Governor in Chief of the Province, he caused a marble slab to be placed over the grave, with this inscription—

"Honneur à Montcalm! Le Destin, en lui derobant la Victoire, l'a recompensé par un Mort glorieuse!"

The number of the Ursuline Nuns at present in the Convent is about forty, besides the Lady Superior, and some few Noviciates. Here, however, as in most of these establishments, both at Quebec and Montreal, they find a difficulty in keeping up their numbers. Now and then a candidate for admission comes out from some of the religious orders of France; but they do not find among the Canadian females, persons willing to undergo the labour and submit to the discipline of the Convent, though these labours are chiefly directed to the education of female youths belonging to the families of Quebec and its neighbourhood. So highly is the tuition given here prized by all classes, that Protestant families send their daughters just as freely to the Ursuline Convent for education, as Catholics; and it is thought that

more than three-fourths of the young ladies of Quebec have received their instruction here.

There is also a Seminary for the education of male youths, which was founded by the first Catholic Bishop of Quebec, Mons. De Laval de Montmorency, as early as 1663. It was at first intended to educate young men for the priesthood only; but when the Order of the Jesuits, who had taken charge of the general education of the children of the community, was dissolved by a decree of the French king in 1764, the Directors of the Seminary opened their Institution for the reception of all the pupils who chose to resort to it. Since that period, a good system of general education has been pursued here, in which the children of all classes participate. Like almost all the early buildings of this country, the first Seminary was entirely destroyed by fire in 1701; burnt down a second time in 1705; a third time almost completely demolished during the siege of 1759; and a fourth time consumed by fire in 1772.

The present buildings of the Seminary are more extensive than any of earlier days; these having been enlarged and completed in 1820, from funds received from France, consisting of the donations of pious individuals made to the Seminary before the French Revolution. These funds were not recovered or made available for appropriation, till the restoration of the Bourbons, by whom, both principal and arrears of interest were obtained, and sent out to this country accordingly. The building comprises four wings, each of four stories in height; the length of these wings in the aggregate is nearly 400 feet, and the

depth of each wing about 40 feet. Attached to the Institution is a large garden, containing seven acres of ground, well furnished with fruits, flowers, and old forest-trees, originally occupying this site when the spot was first enclosed; and from the terrace of this garden—which approaches near the cliff, called the Sault-aux-Matelot, on the edge of which is the Grand Battery—the view of the river, the anchorage of the shipping, and the Island of Orleans, is peculiarly fine.

The Institution is conducted by a Board, consisting of seven Directors, one of whom is the Superior, and is elected by the others triennially. These are assisted by three Professors of Theology, the chief of whom is called Le Grand Seminaire; and twelve Professors of different branches of literature and science, the chief of whom is called Le Préfét des Etudes. These are all lay-brothers, and, therefore, under no vows which would prevent their leaving the Institution whenever they think proper; and their services are so far gratuitous, that they receive no salary or perquisites of any kind, having no claim to anything beyond food and clothing while they remain in the Institution, and discharge the duties allotted to them there. As the education received here is, therefore, conducted gratuitously, so no charge is made for instruction to the day-pupils, who exceed 150; their whole payment being 20s. yearly, 10s. in the spring and 10s. in the fall, for lights and fuel; while the boarders, who amount to about 150 also, pay 17*l.* 10*s.* annually for their board, with a proportionate reduction for all periods of absence in the year, exceeding eight days.

The course of education pursued here embraces nine classes, and the usual time allowed for passing through each class is a year; but while some remain the whole of this period, the average time which the pupils pass at the College varies between five and seven years. The Greek and Latin languages and literature are taught by competent Professors. Mathematics in all its branches, History and the Belles Lettres, and the Sciences of Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Natural Philosophy, all receive their due share; and it is said by those who have often witnessed the annual exhibitions, which take place on the 15th of August, and are usually attended by the Governor and heads of office in the City, that there are few Colleges in Europe, which could produce a greater number of well-educated youths than are presented every year to the world by the Quebec Seminary. I regretted exceedingly that our visit to the Institution was during the vacation, as it adjourns on the 15th of August, and meets again on the 1st of October; but we saw enough for ourselves, and heard enough from others, to satisfy us that the Institution fully deserves the high reputation it enjoys.

The Catholic Bishop of Quebec, whose ancient Palace is appropriated to the Legislative Council Chamber, and whose ancient Chapel is occupied by the Hall of the Legislative Assembly, now resides in the Seminary; and in his apartment there, are preserved the portraits of the twelve venerable prelates who preceded him in the episcopal office. The Chapel of the Seminary is larger and handsomer than any of those previously described; and contains

a great number of fine pictures by ancient French masters. The Congregation Hall, or Interior Chapel of the Students, possesses a Library of more than 8,000 volumes, with a valuable Philosophical Apparatus, and an interesting cabinet of Indian antiquities, minerals, fossils, and curiosities. The whole establishment appeared to be admirably arranged, the accommodations ample, the ventilation and neatness of the apartments perfect, and everything connected with their system of tuition and scholastic discipline worthy of praise.

Another noble Institution of the Catholic founders of Quebec is the General Hospital, which is seated on the site of the first Convent of the Récollets, on the banks of the river St. Charles, or Port of St. Croix, where Cartier laid up his ships during the first winter that he passed in Canada. This Hospital was founded by the second Bishop of Quebec, Mons. de Saint Vallière, who devoted 100,000 crowns to the erection of the buildings; and by his influence obtained the application of a fund, raised for the support of the indigent poor, to which every person in the Colony had to contribute towards the maintenance of its annual expenses. Its management, when completed, was placed in the hands of a body of Nuns, who were called Les Sœurs de la Congregation; but subsequently their numbers were augmented by a Superior and twelve Nuns of the Hospitalières, from the Hotel Dieu, which received chiefly the indigent and sick of the City. These united Sisters were subsequently incorporated as an independent community, and they now embrace forty-five professed Nuns, with a few noviciates.

Here, as in the Hotel Dieu, every applicant for medical aid and relief is received until all their wards are full; while the sick and the infirm, the aged and the insane, are all treated with a degree of care and tenderness that is the subject of universal praise. The Nuns sit, two at a time, in each ward, without intermission, day and night, being relieved every two hours; and they appear to be cheerful and happy in the discharge of their duties. The building is very large, having a front of 228 feet, and the several wings are from 30 to 50 feet in depth. The Chapel attached to the Hospital is accessible to all the sick wards through the gallery; and religious services are performed in it twice every day. The Nuns wear a silver cross on the breast, and are said to be more skilful than any of the Sisterhood of the other Institutions in the manufacture of embroidery for pontifical vestments, and adornments of altars. The works produced by them in this way, as well as in the manufacture of various articles of needle-work, which are purchased by visitors, add considerably to the replenishing their funds; though these sometimes fall short of their annual expenditure in the maintenance of the Hospital, in which cases, aid is sometimes granted by the Provincial Legislature, but this is only occasional.

The Catholic Cathedral was founded here by the first Bishop of Quebec, Mons. François de Laval, in 1660, and still forms one of the ornaments of the City. It is situated close to the Seminary, and occupies the south side of the market square, in the heart of the town. Its exterior is plain, but its tower is lofty, and well proportioned to the edifice.

The length of the building is 216 feet, and its breadth 108, and it will contain upwards of 4,000 persons. Its interior, though peculiar, is very much superior to that of the Cathedral at Montreal. The nave is very lofty, going up to the full height of the roof; but the side-aisles are low, and a gallery or corridor runs along within the arches that separate the two. The high altar is superbly ornamented; and over it is a frame-work of wood, resembling a colossal crown, which is richly carved and gilded, and gives a gorgeous appearance to the whole; while the smaller altars in the side-chapels, and some well-executed pictures, add to the general effect.

During our stay here, the Bishop of Nancy, from France, whom we heard at Montreal, was constantly engaged at the Cathedral. There was held a religious week, called Retraite Generale, in which he preached every morning at 9 o'clock, to females only, and every evening at 7 o'clock to males only; while in the intermediate hours, mass was said, and private confessions, prayers, and penances were performed. It resembled a Religious Revival, as it is called in the United States, though not accompanied by those vociferations which so often attend the protracted meetings of these. I was told that in the Catholic Church, the practice is not uncommon, of setting aside a particular period, like this week of the Retraite, for the express purpose of devoting it entirely to religious exercises, in which persons making a retreat from the world and its affairs, give themselves up wholly to confessions, penances, fastings, and prayer, by which they obtain absolution for the past, and indulgence for the future. It was

very striking to see the crowds that attended at the morning and the evening hours of the sermon, and indeed during the whole of the day, for there was not an interval of five minutes in which there were not persons entering and departing. The greatest number came from the suburbs, and from the surrounding villages, and their appearance was just that of the French peasantry on a fête day, in any of the provinces of the north of France, with somewhat less of hilarity, and a more subdued tone of dress and manners.

There are four other Catholic Churches besides the Cathedral; the oldest is that in the Lower Town, called Notre Dame des Victoires, which was built in 1690; another called the Church of the Congregation, near the ramparts; a third called the Church of St. Roch, in the Suburb of that name, without the fortifications; and a fourth, the Church of St. Patrick, recently erected, for the use of the Irish emigrants. All of these are spacious, well fitted and furnished, and fully attended. The general opinion of the Protestants here is, that there is no diminution of zeal for the spread of the Catholic religion in Quebec and the Provinces; on the contrary, of late years, this zeal seems to have been strengthened, and greater efforts, it is thought, are making now, than at any former period, to confirm the wavering in their faith, and bring new converts into the fold, in which, it is added, they are more than usually successful.

Since the conquest of Canada by the British, though the Catholics have been allowed, by the terms of their capitulation, the fullest enjoyment of the

exercise of their religion, and the undisturbed possession of all their ancient property and revenues connected therewith, there has been a natural desire on the part of the conquerors to make adequate provision for the propagation and support of the Protestant religion. Accordingly, a Bishop's See of the Church of England was established at Quebec; and in 1804, the present Protestant Cathedral was consecrated for divine worship in 1804, by the first Protestant Bishop of the Colony, the Right Rev. Dr. Jacob Mountain, who filled this office for 33 years, died in Quebec in 1825, at the age of 75, and was buried within the altar of the Cathedral that he founded and built, where a very chaste and beautiful monument is erected to his memory. The length of this Church is 135 feet, its breadth 73, and its height within 41 feet. The height of the spire is 152 feet, and the whole building being surrounded with a fine open space, part of the original Place d'Armes, is a conspicuous ornament of the City. In a portion of this space, is still to be seen, one of the aboriginal trees of the forest, which occupied its present position when Cartier first visited the spot, now 300 years ago; and when Champlain, nearly a century afterwards, first pitched his tent under its branches, before Quebec was founded in 1608. It is a noble elm, of great size, and cannot be looked upon without veneration.

During our stay at Quebec, we attended the Episcopal Church, but remarked nothing peculiar in the service, except that we received the impression of its inferiority, in the talents of the clergy, to the general standard of the English church, and thought

there was rather more than the usual portion of formality in the ministers, and coldness in the congregations, as compared with the earnestness, zeal, and sympathy, which we had witnessed elsewhere.

There are besides the Cathedral, four Chapels of the Church of England, within the parish of Quebec; the Holy Trinity, adjoining the Theatre Royal, in the Upper Town; St. Paul's, or the Mariner's Chapel, in the Lower Town; St. Matthew's, or the Free Chapel, in the Suburb of St. John; and the French Protestant Chapel, called St. Peter's, in the Suburb of St. Roch—all of which are well endowed and well frequented. There is also a Church of St. Andrews, connected with the Kirk of Scotland, which was first opened in 1810, and has since been so enlarged, that it will contain 1,500 persons. though its regular congregation does not exceed half that number; but it is sometimes filled on special occasions. There is a second Scotch Church of a smaller size, called St. John's; and two Wesleyan Chapels, one in the Upper Town and one in the Lower; so that the Protestant places of worship are quite as numerous, compared with the population, as those of the Catholics.

Attached to all these churches, there are Sunday Schools, which are numerously attended by the children of the respective congregations. There are also some few Infant Schools, of recent introduction; a National School, a British and Canadian School, and a School of the Quebec Education Society—in all of which the children of the poor, of both sexes, are taught gratuitously. There is an Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, sustained by the contributions

of the benevolent. Of higher Protestant Schools, there are several small private establishments for young ladies; the Classical School of the Rev. Dr. Wilkie, for young gentlemen; and all these are well conducted and well supported. There is one Institution, however, which exists only in name, though utterly useless in reality. It is called the Grammar School of the Royal Institution, and was meant to be a Free School, on an endowment or foundation, to be sustained by the Provincial Government; but the following paragraph, which appeared in the Colonist Newspaper, of Quebec, for the 7th of September, 1840, during our stay there, and which, upon inquiry, I found to be correct, will show that Colonial Masters of Grammar Schools are disposed, when they can, to follow the bad examples of some of their class in the mother-country; in reading the Reports of Commissioners on Education and Charity presented to both Houses of Parliament at home, they seem to have "taken a leaf out of their book." Here is the statement of the Quebec Editor—

"The public accounts, printed by order of the Special Council, exhibit a charge for the salary of the Master of the Royal Grammar School at Quebec, and another charge for rent of a school-room. We believe that the school in question has been discontinued for the last six or seven years, if not longer, but not so the salary and the house-rent of the master. We believe also that this school is under the superintendence of that worse than useless body, the Royal Institution. It is somewhat surprising that in a city like this, where the charges for instruction, in private schools, are a heavy burden upon parents, a public school should be permitted to go to decay. We are inclined to think, that the public is not aware of the existence of this foundation, or there would be no lack of scholars,—and it appears that the

master is anything but anxious to attract public attention, as he has not put up a sign or any exterior mark upon the house for which the public pays, in order to indicate the purpose to which it is devoted. It is to be hoped that the superintendence of this school will be taken from the Royal Institution, and that it will be made effective for the purposes of education ; the whole history of this Institution, from first to last, is a very fair specimen of the jobbing and incapacity of Canadian officials. Contrast the supineness and neglect, in the management of the Grammar School and the Royal Institution, with the activity and energy of the Seminary and other French Canadian institutions of learning, and then join in the cry that the French Canadians are indifferent to education !"

The most important of the benevolent institutions originating with the Protestants is the Marine Hospital, commenced in 1832, under the auspices of Lord Aylmer, then Governor-in-Chief of the Province, and completed sufficiently to be opened for the reception of patients in 1834 ; at a cost of about 30,000*l*. The situation chosen for this establishment is on the banks of the River St. Charles, just opposite to the spot where Cartier wintered on his first voyage ; and the space laid out for the building, gardens, and grounds, cover upwards of six acres. The Hospital is on a large scale, having a front of 206 feet, with two wings of 100 feet each in depth. The building is of stone, with a fine Ionic portico, the proportions of which are said to be taken from the Temple of the Muses, on the river Ilissus, in Greece ; and everything connected with its exterior and interior is finished in the best style. As the Institution makes no distinction of creeds in its admission of patients, in which respect it follows the liberal example of its

Catholic predecessors, the ground-floor contains a Protestant and a Catholic Chapel, with accommodations for the ministers of each; wards for 60 patients, with a most complete range of kitchens, store-rooms, and nurses' apartments. The principal story, or first floor above this, to which the elevated portico leads by a double flight of steps, contains a fine hall of entrance, apartments for the medical officers, rooms for surgical operations, wards for 68 patients, and a Medical Museum. The third story contains the apartments for the principal nurses, with wards for 140 patients; and the fourth contains wards for 94 more, making in the whole, room for 362 persons. In every story there are hot and cold baths for those who require them; with gardens and ornamented grounds around the Hospital, for the recreation and exercise of those who are recovering. Altogether this Institution does great honour to the City of Quebec, and its humane and liberal inhabitants. Long may it subsist, to give comfort and relief to the weather-beaten Mariner who may be thrown sick and indigent upon its charity; and may increasing honours be shown to such Institutions and their Founders, till the public sentiment in this respect shall be so improved, as to lead men to honour more the Philanthropist who cures a wound, than the Warrior who inflicts it; and to erect monuments to those whose chief delight it is to save lives, rather than to those whose principal distinction it is, to have destroyed them; when a Howard and a Fry, a Wilberforce and a Clarkson, shall be more honoured and more imitated, than a Napoleon, or a Catherine, a Cæsar or an Alexander.

CHAP. XVI.

Visit to the Citadel with the Chief Engineer—General description of the Fortifications—Lines and Ramparts enclosing the City of Quebec—Visit to the Plains of Abraham—Death of Wolfe—Meeting with the British Admiral at Wolfe's Monument—Descent from the Plains to Wolfe's Cove—Inspection of the Heights ascended by the troops—Return to Quebec by the bank of the river—Scenes of poverty, filth, and intemperance, by the way—Visit to the Joint Monument to Wolfe and Montcalm—Earlier French Tribute to the memory of Montcalm—Correspondence of Bougainville and Pitt on this subject—Curious Antiquity of Quebec—Le Chien d'Or.

Devoting a day to the examination of the Citadel and Fortifications of Quebec, we had the advantage of being accompanied over the whole by the Chief Engineer, whose knowledge of all the points of interest, and the courtesy with which he conducted us everywhere that we desired to go, added much to the gratification of our visit.

The Citadel occupies the crown of the hill, called Cape Diamond, the almost perpendicular face of which is presented towards the river St. Lawrence, in the narrowest part of the stream, and, therefore, opposes a formidable barrier to the passage of any vessels up or down, should it be desired to prevent them. The hill, which is a mass of dark-coloured slate, abounds with quartz crystals found in veins,

of great brilliancy, and hence its name, Cape Diamond. It is 350 feet in height above the river, steep on all sides towards the stream, which washes its base, on the north, the east, and the south, and level only towards the west, where the Plains of Abraham form a high table-land, even with the topmost height of the Citadel, and extending for several miles in a westerly direction. The Citadel is about 200 feet above the level of the Upper Town of Quebec, and more than 300 above the Lower Town, so that the commanding view from its telegraphs, extending for many miles up and down the river, and covering a space of many leagues in every direction of the land, is magnificent indeed.

In going to the Citadel from Quebec, you wind up a hill from the ramparts to the glacis, passing, on the way, batteries and sentries thickly placed; and reaching the top of the hill, you enter first the outer ditch of the ravelin, commanded on all sides by guns and musketry, then into the principal ditch of the works, which extends all round the Citadel, and which is also commanded on all sides by cannon, and covered-ways for small arms. From this, you enter the Citadel itself, by a noble gateway of Doric architecture, called the Dalhousie Gate. In passing through this, the visitor is enabled to form a competent idea of the amazing strength of the works, in which he sees walls of solid masonry thirty feet in height, and five feet in thickness, with casemated chambers for the garrison, vaulted and rendered bomb-proof. In the interior are spacious magazines, storehouses, and every other necessary provision for an extensive force; the whole area of the Citadel

covering about forty acres. All around the lines which encompass it, are formidable batteries pointed in every direction, with numerous sally-ports, covered-ways for protecting the ditches, and for passing from one part of the Fort to another, and all executed in the best and strongest manner.

Along the brink of the precipice overhanging the river, is a fine range of buildings, forming the officers' quarters, and commanding one of the most varied and beautiful views that can be conceived. From the windows of their mess-room, we could see not less than 200 vessels all lying at anchor, 350 feet below us, in the St. Lawrence, and among them, the squadron of Admiral Sir Thomas Harvey, consisting of six ships of war; while the distant hills of Maine and New Hampshire, in the United States, could be distinctly seen in the southern horizon, with a beautifully undulated country between, speckled over with villages and cottages innumerable. From the flag-staff near by, at which the telegraph is worked, the eye extends in the opposite direction of north, to the extremest verge of civilization; as the last range of hills seen in that quarter, form the present boundary of the white settlers, there being nothing between that and the north-pole, but the wandering tribes of Indians, and the few stations of the Hudson's Bay Company for collecting their furs. In the centre of the Citadel is the open ground for parading the troops, but this, instead of being level, has a slight convexity, in the gently rounded surface of the rock. It has been thought that this would be a disadvantage, in the case of shells being thrown into the Fort, as, alighting anywhere on this convexity, they

would roll towards the quarters of the officers and men, or to the batteries on the lines, and there explode, causing great destruction of life. To avoid this, it is intended to level this protuberance, and give it rather a gentle concavity, so that all shot or shells falling here, would roll towards the centre, instead of the edges, and there become comparatively harmless. It may give some idea of the cost of such works in general, to state, that the lowest estimate of the amount for which this surface of the parade-ground could be thus levelled or rendered slightly concave, is 20,000*l.* sterling.

Besides the Citadel, which is deemed impregnable, so long as provisions and ammunition should hold out, and no treachery exist in the camp, the whole of the Upper Town of Quebec is surrounded by fortified lines, the circuit of which extends about three miles. These works consist of elevated ramparts, on which are formidable batteries, at different points, connected by bastions and curtains. These go towards the river, right through the heart of the City, dividing the Upper Town, which is within the lines, from the Lower Town, which is without them; while on the land-side, they pass between the City and the Suburbs of St. John and St. Roch, with an open grassy space beyond the ramparts, on which no houses are permitted to be built. In these fortified lines, there are five gates of communication, open from sunrise to midnight, namely, St. Lewis, St. John's, Hope, Palace, and Prescott Gates. Over the whole of the lines, is a beautiful promenade along the ramparts, with tall poplar trees planted between the guns, seats or benches for the public use, and

the enjoyment of pure air, and as extensive and varied a prospect as the most ardent lover of the picturesque could desire. The number of guns mounted on the lines, and in the various batteries within the town, are about 100, and those in the Citadel about 80. There are two battalions of the Guards here, in garrison, the Grenadiers and the Coldstream, about 900 of each, with some artillery, engineers, sappers, and miners, and everything is kept in a state of perfect readiness for defence.

After inspecting the Lines and the Citadel, we were taken by one of the sally-ports from the latter, out on the narrow path which leads along the brow of the hill without the walls, looking down to the St. Lawrence. After a dizzy walk of half a mile along this edge of the cliff, where the slightest false step would have sent us down a height of 300 feet, we came to the remains of the old French lines, within which the army of Montcalm was entrenched, previous to their coming out to give battle to Wolfe and his troops in the Plains of Abraham, in 1759. From hence we extended our walk out to these Plains, and went first to the spot were Wolfe is said to have received his death-wound. It is a piece of rock, now in the centre of an enclosed field, and not far from the well, from which water was brought to him in his dying moments to cool his burning thirst. The spot has been recently enclosed, Lord Aylmer having been the first to show it this mark of respect; and over it he caused to be erected a small plain column of dark stone, without even a capital, having engraved on it simply these words—

"Here died Wolfe victorious."

We met, at this monument, the gallant Admiral Sir Thomas Harvey, commanding the Winchester, and now here with the naval squadron in the St. Lawrence, accompanied by his flag-captain ; and enjoyed an agreeable ramble with them over the Plains.

The space beyond the spot where Wolfe fell, and on which he formed his troops for the attack, is now laid out as a Race Course. On the inner border of this, a line is formed of four large martello towers, with circular walls of immense thickness towards the outer quarter, from which they might be attacked, but so thin and weak towards the Citadel, that if they were to be taken by an enemy, they might be battered down with the greatest ease by the guns there. They have each ports for guns in the central story, and a large sweeping gun on the top, so placed as to be capable of being turned to any point of the horizon, so that this line of towers presents a formidable outwork of protection to the Citadel on the land-side. If such works had existed in Montcalm's day, he might have defied ten times the force that Wolfe brought against him; but Quebec was not then in anything like the perfect state of defence in which it has since been placed.

From the Plains of Abraham we advanced towards the steep and almost precipitous cliffs, which rise upward from the water to the edge of this level platform, and were shown the places where the soldiers scrambled, or rather climbed and dragged themselves up by the roots and branches of shrubs and trees, with their muskets and knapsacks ready for the field; and also the spot where the intrepid

sailors of the fleet dragged up the only piece of cannon, a six-pound fieldpiece, that was used on the part of the British in the action ; and we could not but admire the dauntless energy and patient perseverance, which must have been necessary to accomplish such an undertaking.

From hence we descended by an exceedingly steep and winding road to the spot called Wolfe's Cove, from its being the place of the General's landing with his gallant band, before ascending the heights. Looking up from thence along the steep acclivities leading to the Plains—for this winding road, down which we came, did not then exist—we could not wonder that Wolfe should say, as it is recorded of him, to Capt. Donald M'Donald of Frazer's Highlanders, the officer who commanded the advanced guard of the Light Infantry, "I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up, but you must do your endeavour." At the Cove there is at present a large timber-yard, where rafts from the river are collected, and at which ships take in their lading, similar establishments lining the shores of the St. Lawrence on both sides for several miles above Quebec. On the steep hill descending to it, we met a great number of little carts, filled with chips for firewood, drawn sometimes by one, and sometimes by two dogs in harness, attended by boys as drivers. The cruelty inflicted on these poor brutes, by the heavy loads they were compelled to draw, and the severe use of the whip to urge them on, was most painful to witness ; though the boys, when remonstrated with on the subject, appeared to evince so much surprise, as to lead us to believe that such complaints were quite new to them.

From Wolfe's Cove we returned to the town, by the lower road as it is called, coming through a long, narrow, and straggling suburb, called Champlain Street, which extends itself for two or three miles, at the foot of the Heights of Abraham, the breadth between the cliffs and the river being rarely more than fifty feet. As this quarter is the resort of sailors, lumber-men, and newly-arrived emigrants, it presents a fearful scene of disorder, filth, and intemperance; and we thought that in this comparatively short drive of less than an hour, we saw more of poverty, raggedness, dirty and disorderly dwellings, and taverns and spirit shops with drunken inmates, than we had witnessed in all our three years' journey through the United States. There could not have been less than a hundred openly licensed houses of this description in this single street. We were assured that the number of places at which spirits are sold illicitly, exceed even the licensed houses; and these, as might be expected, are the most mischievous and disorderly of the two, being kept by the most reckless characters, and without the slightest check or responsibility. Everyone here complains of this, but no one sets about its reform, who has the power to effect it. The Temperance Societies, of which there are two in Quebec, call the public attention to the subject from time to time, but the Government are indifferent to the matter; and the municipal authorities seem to think the paltry revenue afforded by the sale of spirits and licenses, of more importance than the misery which it brings in its train; accordingly, no one who desires a license and will pay for it, is refused. There are thus, at

the present time, about 200 licensed taverns, and nearly the same number of licensed groceries, at which spirits are sold, within the city and suburbs of Quebec; add to this one-half the number of unlicensed spirit-shops, which is deemed much below the truth, there will be about 600 places at which this destroying poison is sold, in a population of 30,000 at the utmost, including all the seamen and boatmen in the port. Supposing families to consist generally of five persons, this would make one spirit-shop to every *ten* families in the place; while of the butchers, bakers, clothiers, and furnishers of the town, there is not probably one to every *hundred* families! so that the poisoners of the health and morals of the community—two-thirds of whom are openly licensed by the public authorities, and the other third tolerated and permitted by the same power—are *ten times* more numerous in proportion to the whole population, than they who supply wholesome food, raiment, and furniture; and *fifty times* more numerous than those who administer education or religion!! No wonder, therefore, that a community should remain poor, ignorant, and demoralized, the great mass of whom are so powerfully affected by the evil influences, and so slightly brought within the sphere of the good.

We terminated our day's excursion by returning through the Upper Town, and visiting, in our way, the Monument erected in a portion of the Government Garden, to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. This is a chaste and well-proportioned obelisk, of the Egyptian shape, built of grey stone, standing within the garden mentioned, and on the slope that

is open towards the river, so that it is distinctly visible from thence. Its pedestal is 13 feet square, and on this reposes a sarcophagus of the Roman style, 7 feet in height. On this is placed the obelisk, which is 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 45 feet in height, making the whole elevation 65 feet from the ground. On the north front of the sarcophagus, looking towards the land-side, is the word MONTCALM, pointing in the direction from which he advanced to meet the enemy; and on the south front, looking towards the river, is the word WOLFE, equally indicating the quarter by which this General advanced to the attack. A Latin Inscription records their equal bravery, and similar death, and dedicates this Monument of their common fame, to history and to posterity.

The monument was designed by Captain Young, of the 79th Highlanders; and its erection was completed by Lord Dalhousie, on the morning of the day on which he quitted the Province for England, at the close of his administration, accompanied by his successor, Sir James Kempt, on the 8th of September, 1828. It should be added, that the idea of erecting this joint monument to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, was first suggested by Lord Dalhousie, who headed a subscription-list to raise the funds; which was speedily followed up by the subscriptions of all ranks and classes of persons in Quebec, those of French, as well as those of British origin, and Catholics as well as Protestants. The foundation-stone of the monument was laid by His Lordship, on the 15th of November, 1827, with masonic and military ceremonies; and the occasion was honoured

with the presence of a veteran of 95 years old, Mr. James Thompson, who had fought in the army of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, and who witnessed the death of his General, being probably the last remaining survivor of that eventful day.

Long, however, before any English person had thought of raising a monument to the memory of General Wolfe, at Quebec, the French troops, who served in Canada with Montcalm, subscribed their means to provide a monument for their General in the country in which he fell. This occurred within less than two years after the battle in which he was killed; as in March, 1761, Mons. de Bougainville, then a member of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, wrote an interesting letter to Mr. Pitt, (afterwards Lord Chatham,) enclosing to him the copy of an Epitaph, written by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, for Montcalm's tomb, and asking the permission of the British government to have a marble tablet, with this epitaph, placed in the Ursuline Convent at Quebec, where the remains of Montcalm were deposited in the grave opened for him by the bursting of a shell; apologizing, at the same time, for taking off the minister's attention for a moment from more important concerns, but justifying it by the elegant compliment, that "to endeavour to immortalize great men and illustrious citizens, was, in effect, to do honour to himself." The reply of Mr. Pitt to this application, in which he "communicates with pleasure, the King's consent to have this honour done to the illustrious warrior," contains this beautiful passage—"The noble sentiments expressed in the desire to pay this tribute to the memory of their

General, by the French troops who served in Canada, and who saw him fall at their head, in a manner worthy of him, and worthy of them, cannot be too much applauded. I shall take a pleasure in facilitating a design so full of respect to the deceased; and as soon as I am informed of the measures taken for embarking the marble, I shall immediately grant the passport you desire, and send orders to the Government of Canada for its reception." The marble was immediately executed, and shipped for Canada, under the auspices of the British government, and in an English vessel; but unfortunately, she never reached her destination, nor was ever more heard of after leaving her port, so that this generous design was never completed, until the Earl of Dalhousie, moved, it is said, to the undertaking, by a perusal of this correspondence, conceived the idea of uniting the names of Wolfe and Montcalm, in a monument that should do equal honour to the memory of both; and which will, no doubt, be preserved and venerated as long as Quebec shall continue to exist.

The only other public monument, or rather monuments, to public men, existing in Quebec, except that to the first Protestant Bishop, as mentioned in the description of the English Cathedral Church, is one, in the same edifice, to Lieutenant-General Hunter, Governor of Upper Canada, and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in both Provinces, who died in Quebec in 1805; and another to the memory of Mr. Thomas Dunn, one of the oldest settlers in the Colony, who for many years had filled the important offices of executive and legislative councillor,

and twice administered the government of the Province in intervals between succeeding Governors, and who died here on the 15th of April, 1818, in the 88th year of his age. The remains of the Duke of Richmond, then Governor of Canada, who died of hydrophobia, the torments of which he bore with surprising fortitude for a long period before his death, which occurred on the 28th of August, 1819, are buried beneath the altar of the Cathedral Church; but though his public and private character made him an object of universal esteem while living, and his death was lamented by all classes, no monument has yet been placed over his grave, either by the people, the government, or his wealthy and powerful relatives and friends in England.

Before we returned to our hotel, we went to see one of the antiquities or curiosities of Quebec, called Le Chien d'Or. It is in front of what was once the Freemasons' Hall, but is now the office of the Quebec Mercury. Over the door of this edifice, is inserted a large stone slab, with a dog gnawing a bone, sculptured in relief, and gilded. Around this figure is a square frame cut out of the stone, on the top of which frame, or border, is the first line, and at the bottom, underneath the figure of the dog, the other three lines of the following verse, engraved in the old style of inscriptions, in Roman capitals, with the *v* for *u*, and other marks of antique orthography and execution—

"Je suis un Chien, qui ronge l'os :
En le rongeant Je prends mon repos.
Un tems viendra, qui n'est pas venu.
Que Je mordray qui m'aura mordu."

The history of this inscription is characteristic of the times in which it occurred. Mons. Philibert, a rich merchant of France, resided here in 1712, when Mons. Begon was the Intendant. The former having received some injuries from the latter, which his power and influence made it dangerous for him to resent, placed this gilded dog and inscription over his door. The allusion in the last two lines, being supposed to point to Mons. Begon, one of the French officers of the garrison took it upon him to avenge the insult, by stabbing Mons. Philibert through the body with his sword, in the open street, of which wound he died. The assassin made his escape, and left the Province, no doubt abundantly provided for by the Intendant; but he did not escape retribution, for the brother of the murdered merchant, coming out from France to settle his affairs, and learning that his murderer had gone to the East Indies, he undertook a voyage there in search of him, and meeting him in the streets of Pondicherry, he challenged him on the spot, where they fought with swords, till the assassin of the merchant was killed by the hand of his brother. This act was universally applauded, by the chivalric but anti-christian spirit of the age, in which, forgiveness of injuries, instead of being regarded as a virtue, was stigmatized as a crime; and, unhappily for mankind, we are not much wiser or better, in that respect, at present, in the age in which we live, than the generations that lived before Christianity was preached or known.

CHAP. XVII.

Commerce of Quebec—Ships, Tonnage, and Cargoes—Large proportion of Wines and Spirits imported—Articles of Export, nature and quantities—Great increase of Immigration during the present year — Municipal Government — Population—French and English society in Quebec—Newspapers—Political parties—Public amusements — Picture Gallery—Painting of Indians—Tribe of Hurons—Castes and names—Spread of the Catholic religion in America—Recent arrival of several companies of Nuns — Crowded Temperance Meeting in the Parliament House—Statistics of Intemperance in the City of Quebec—Expenses of Jails, Hospitals, Asylums, and Paupers —Coroner's Inquests—Proportion of criminals from drinking—Execution of a British seaman for murdering a marine—Efforts of the Catholic Bishop and Clergy in favour of Temperance—Climate of Quebec—Health of the Canadian peasantry.

The military importance of Quebec has hitherto occasioned it to be most generally thought of, and spoken of, as a fortress of great strength, and the principal citadel of our North American possessions. But it will henceforth be regarded in another and a more interesting point of view; namely, as a port of entry for the Commerce of Europe. Of the present trade of Quebec, the following facts, compiled from the Official Returns of the Exports and Imports for the last year, 1839, will furnish a tolerably accurate outline. The ships that arrived at Quebec in that year, with their tonnage and men, were as follows—

Country.	*Ships.*	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*Value of Cargoes.*
Great Britain . .	751	270,894	10,750	£1,806,920
Ireland	179	57,845	5,425	18,507
British N. America	125	14,352	655	25,588
Uuited States . .	38	17,542	620	18,940
France	17	4,702	173	3,053
Hamburgh . . .	9	2,294	80	19,663
British West Indies	8	1,376	78	206
Foreign West Indies	7	1,632	67	354
Portugal . . .	4	579	29	766
Gibraltar . . .	3	421	23	4,412
Russia	2	722	28	2,500
South America .	2	746	29	5,082
Amsterdam . .	1	490	20	000
Sicily	1	74	8	784
Totals .	1,147	373,669	17,985	£1,904,775

It is remarkable, and at the same time painful to observe, that by far the largest imports into this country are wines and spirits, which come pouring in from all quarters, and amount to the following quantities for the same year, 1839—

Countries.	*Wines.*	*Spirits.*
Great Britain	258,597 galls.	599,728 galls.
British West Indies . .		106,715 „
France	67,087 „	21,254 „
Ireland	23,939 „	2,494 „
Foreign West Indies . .		30,196 „
Portugal	26,114 „	219 „
British North America .	1,816 „	4,339 „
Hamburgh		3,880 „
United States	633 „	61 „
Totals . .	378,186	766,886

which, as the population of the two Canadas does

not exceed a million in number, is more than a gallon of wine or spirits to each living being in the Provinces, man, woman, and child!

Of the vessels that cleared out from Quebec in 1839, with their different destinations, the following is the statement compiled from the same Official Report of Exports and Imports for the year 1839—

Countries.	*Ships.*	*Tons.*	*Men.*
Great Britain . . .	868	315,944	12,424
Ireland	200	66,387	2,676
British North America	107	6,166	414
British West Indies .	7	7,763	45
Cuba	1	181	13
Azores	1	103	7
Totals .	1,184	389,544	15,579

By this it will be perceived that there were 37 ships more cleared out than were entered in, with a difference of 15,579 tons. These extra ships were all built in the St. Lawrence within that year, and sailed from hence on their first voyages, making that additional number and tonnage; but, as will be also observed, the seamen forming the crews of the ships leaving the port were less, by 2,406, than those which entered into it—this diminution being occasioned by desertions, deaths, and disabilities, all greatly accelerated by the immoderate use of the ardent spirits which they assist to bring into the port.

The value of the exports is not given, but merely the articles and the quantities of each. These are very varied; but the following are the most important articles—

Deals	3,031,194	pieces	Hoops . . .	31,100	pieces
Puncheon Staves	3,083,395	„	Oars . . .	18,064	„
Standard Staves	1,495,837	„	Handspikes .	11,333	„
Barrel Staves .	982,176	„	Spars . . .	3,906	„
Pipe Staves .	482,238	„	Masts . . .	1,700	„
Battens . .	48,681	„	Tree Nails . .	5,370	„
White Pine .	197,377	tons	Pot Ashes . .	17,335	barrels
Red Pine . .	163,933	„	Pearl Ashes .	8,045	„
Oak Timber .	53,923	„	Flour . . .	48,593	„
Elm	29,571	„	Beef . . .	2,167	„
Birch Timber	1,872	„	Pork . . .	9,248	„

The commerce of the country suffered a great stagnation by the late rebellion; but it is fast reviving, now that confidence in the stability of the Government is restored. Accordingly, up to the present time, (September 19th, 1840), there have arrived upwards of 1,000 vessels since the commencement of the year. There being at least 300 more expected in the Fall fleet, there will be more than 200 ships this year above the number of the last. The number of emigrants arrived from the mother-country this year is much greater than the last, according to the following report up to the same period, as obtained from the Emigrant Office of Quebec—

Number of Emigrants arrived during the week ending Sept 18th, 1840—697; of whom there were—

From England .	167	From Scotland .	56
From Ireland .	465	Lower Ports . .	9

The whole number of emigrants reported up to this period in the last year, was 7,149; but the number up to this period in the present year is 21,914; showing an increase of 14,765, or more than 300 per cent.; and it is quite within probability that the ratio may so increase as to make the present

year's immigration greater than the last by 400 per cent!

Quebec was incorporated as a City by an act of the Provincial Parliament, in 1833. It was divided into ten wards, and appointed to be governed by a Mayor and Common Council of twenty members, chosen by popular election. But under the late suspension of the constitution, the Corporation has had its functions placed in abeyance till restored by the Governor-General under the new Union Bill; and the first organization of that body will be by the nomination of the Governor-General and his Special Council.

The population of Quebec is estimated to be under 30,000; of whom it is thought that about two-thirds are of French descent, and one-third only of English. What is exceedingly to be lamented for the sake of both, is, that the families of each do not mingle nearly so much as the English and French in Paris, or the English and Italians at Naples. The French, as the conquered people, might naturally be supposed unwilling to press themselves on the society of their new masters; and being little inclined to learn any language but their own, the overture toward social intercourse would never be likely to come from them. Add to this, their inferiority in wealth, and the prejudices likely to be imbibed by them on the score of religion; and there seems abundant reasons why the French should not be disposed to court the English. But I cannot perceive the same excuses on the other side. The English, as being the more powerful, more wealthy, and more free on the score of religious prejudice, ought to have done everything in their

power to make the yoke sit lightly on the necks of those who are obliged to wear it; and that not merely by preserving to them as many of their civil and political privileges as possible, but also by inviting them to their societies, learning their language, and interchanging hospitalities. But no attempt at this appears ever to have been made, on such a scale, and with such constancy, as to ensure its success; and, therefore, the French have remained as much separated from the English up to the present time, as they were within the first ten years after the conquest. In entering the shops, or walking the streets, French is almost the only language heard; and by far the greater number of the inhabitants below the middle class neither understand nor desire to learn English. They have their separate newspapers, published in French—their separate fauxbourgs—their separate cafés—and their separate churches; so that any amalgamation or intermarriage between the races is very rare, and interchange of visits between them almost as unusual.

Of the French society here, therefore, I know much less than of the English; but in the casual intercourse I had with those of both sexes, during my stay in Quebec, I should say that I received the impression of the men being less elegant and less informed, and the women less beautiful and less accomplished, than their ancestors appear to have been. It is recorded that in 1763, four years after the capture of Quebec, by the English under General Wolfe, the first presentation of any Canadian subjects of His Majesty, took place at the court of George the Third. He had come to the throne a

few days only after the news of the conquest, and was then both young and gallant; and on the presentation to him of the Chevalier Chaussegros de Lery and his lady, who was very beautiful, the King understanding that they were from Quebec, said, addressing the lady—"Madame, If all the ladies of Canada are as handsome as yourself, I have indeed made a conquest." The beauty of the present race of Canadians, as far as I could judge, from the crowds of ladies assembled at the church and elsewhere, is much more rare than the same quality in the United States; where, in an hour's walk on a fine day in the streets of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, one may see more female beauty than we have yet observed in all Canada, during our three months' sojourn in it. The Canadians are generally admitted here, however, to be extremely amiable, virtuous, attached to their parents and children, faithful in all their domestic relations, and happy in the enjoyment of their homes; and these are qualities of much higher value than mere beauty.

We enjoyed the hospitality of some very agreeable and amiable English families, where a combination of intelligence, courtesy, and accomplishments, contributed much to our pleasure, and made us regret that we could not prolong our stay with them; and I passed a very cheerful evening also at the mess of the officers of the Coldstream Guards. We received and repaid some morning visits, and during our three weeks' stay had frequent occasional intercourse with the higher classes of the community. So far as these opportunities enabled me to form an accurate opinion, I was led to think that the style and tone of

society here was higher than among the same classes at Montreal, and equal to that of Toronto. In both, the same line of distinction is drawn between the officials, the wealthy merchants, and the professional men—who constitute the gentry; and persons engaged in trade; but this does not appear to interrupt the good feeling between them.

There are six newspapers in Quebec, three in English and three in French; four of them published three times a week, one twice, and one only once. Of the three English newspapers, the Mercury is the advocate of the Administration, the Gazette is its opponent, and the Colonist is a Reformer, but independent of any particular party. The three French newspapers are all opposed to the Union, and to English predominance; one of them, La Gazette de Quebec, is conducted by a Scotch editor; another, Le Canadien, by a French editor; and a third, Le Fantasque, which is a witty and satirical sheet, like the Figaro or Chiravari of Paris, by a Canadian. Of all these, the Gazette, conducted by the Scotch editor, Mr. M'Donald, is the most violent in its censures of the Union Bill, and of the government both of England and Canada; and as it is published by one of the principal English booksellers at Quebec, Mr. Neilson, it may give the English reader an example of the style of writing and reasoning on political topics in this journal, which exercises considerable influence among the French population of Lower Canada, to present the following extract from its sheet, dated the 15th of September, 1840.

"UNE BAGATELLE."—M. Thomson, pour engager le parlement britannique à charger le Bas-Canada, solvable, d'une dette con-

tractée sans son consentement, par le Haut-Canada, qui est en banqueroute, lui a dit que ce n'était " qu'une bagatelle." Cette "bagatelle," cependant, équivalent à une taxe à-peu-près de *six millions de piastres,* ce qui fait au moins *trente piastres par famille,* riche ou pauvre, que les habitants du Bas-Canada seront forcés de payer à MM. Baring, banquiers de Londres, créanciers du Haut-Canada, parents et amis de M. Thomson, à qui les habitants du Bas-Canada ne devaient rien. *Trente piastres* seraient sans doute "une bagatelle" pour M. Thomson ou MM. Baring; mais combien de pauvres familles dans le Bas-Canada qui seront obligées de vendre jusqu'à leur dernière guenille pour fournir cette somme à des gens qui n'y ont pas plus de droit que le vouleur de grand-chemin qui vous demande *la bourse ou la vie!*

Là où la tête du serpent a pu passer, son corps et sa queue peuvent passer sans peine. Lorsqu'ayant la main dans la bourse d'autrui, on en a tiré six millions de piastres pour les distribuer à ses amis et parents, pourrait-on se faire un scrupule d'y puiser encore quelques milliers de piastres pour en garnir ses propres poches?

À la fin du bill d'union, par lequel le parlement britannique, où le Bas-Canada n'est pas représenté, s'avise d'hypothéquer toutes les propriétés du Bas-Canada qui ne lui appartiennent pas plus que ne lui appartiennent celles des anciennes colonies anglaises qui composent maintenant les Etats-Unis, au paiement d'une dette de *six millions de piastres* que le Bas-Canada n'a jamais contractée, et dont il n'a jamais retiré et ne retirera peut-être jamais aucun bénéfice, M. Thomson a fait ajouter une petite "bagatelle" de liste civile de 83,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* ou 333,333 piastres $\frac{1}{3}$, qu'il a voulu soustraire au contrôle des représentants de ceux qui la paieraient, et à la tête de laquelle il figure lui-même pour 7,777*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* $\frac{2}{3}$, (31,111 piastres, 11 centièmes).

Tous les gouverneurs-generaux du Canada jusqu'à M. Thomson, parmi lesquels il y a eu plusieurs pairs du royaume, des ducs, des comtes et autres personnes distinguées par leur rang ou par des services rendus à la patrie, se sont contentés d'un traitement annuel de 20,000 piastres, qu'ils reconnaissaient devoir à la bienveillance du peuple, quoique la plupart d'entr'eux

fussent, de plus, chargés de famille. Mais M. Thomson, sorti de derrière un comptoir et n'ayant pas même de famille à soutenir, ne peut pas se contenter de ce qui a suffi aux Richmond, aux Dalhousie, etc. ; il faut qu'on y ajoute en sa faveur une petite " bagatelle " supplémentaire de 11,111 piastres par an, qui après la " bagatelle " de six millions n'est vraiment pas sensible.

Le président des Etats-Unis, qui gouverne un peuple de seize millions d'âmes, ou de quinze à seize fois la population des deux Canadas, et qui est obligé de tenir une cour comme les têtes couronnées, et de recevoir les ambassadeurs de toutes les puissances du monde, se contente aussi de 25,000 piastres par an, ou 6,111 piastres de moins que M. Thomson ; mais qu'est-ce qu'un président des Etats-Unis, qui ne peut recevoir comme tel que ce que le peuple des Etats-Unis lui accorde volontairement sur ses propres biens, à côté d'un M. Thomson, qui à l'aide des représentants des propriétaires de la Grande Bretagne, dispose en maître absolu de toutes les propriétés du Canada ? Car s'il peut, sans le consentement de ceux qui se sont crus jusqu'ici les propriétaires, en prendre pour six millions de piastres, puis pour 333,333 piastres, pourquoi ne pourrait-il pas aussi bien prendre toute le reste ? Celui qui peut vous ôter un sou de votre bien sans votre consentement peut tout vous l'ôter, s'il le juge à propos. Donc, si le bill d'union de M. Thomson, adopté par le parlement britannique, a force de loi, il n'y a pas en Canada un seul homme qui soit réellement propriétaire ; les vrais propriétaires sont les représentants de la Grande-Bretagne, qui disposent à leur gré des propriétés du Canada, qui en donnent six millions de piastres à MM. Baring, 31,111 piastres par an à M. Thomson, etc. Donc, si cet acte du parlement britannique a force de loi, tous les habitants du Canada sont des *esclaves* dans toute la force du terme, autant que les nègres de la Louisiane ou de la Virginie.

The editors of the Canada journals are in general above the standard of those who fill this office in the provincial papers of the United States, both in the extent of their information, and in the gentlemanly tone of their writings, and there is

therefore less of personality, or party violence, exhibited towards each other, in their columns. They differ as to principles, and debate these fairly, with considerable talent on each side; though for good taste in the selection of subjects, and extracts, as well as for elegance of style and acuteness of reasoning, we thought the French papers here superior to the English.

Of public diversions, there are not many, and these few are neither well conducted nor well sustained. There is an excellent and capacious Theatre Royal, but it has been closed for more than a year; and the smaller Theatre of St. Paul has so few attractions, in the mediocrity of its performances, that it is scarcely at all attended by the gentry of either race. Concerts are occasionally given by visitors from England and the United States, and Mr. and Mrs. Seguin, who were recently here, were well attended. The great attraction for Canadian tastes, is said, however, to be the Circus, and they are therefore visited every year by several companies of Equestrians from New York and elsewhere, who are attended by large numbers. Races are also held in the summer, on the Plains of Abraham; but these are not productive of less evils than the same sport in England, and the following paragraph from the Canadian Colonist of September 7th, the races having terminated the week after our arrival here, may be taken as evidence of the grounds on which the writer condemns them—

"The races terminated on Friday; the sport we learn was very poor, but on the other hand, there was the average number of casualties both in men and in horses; and the broken heads and

blackened eyes at the police-office, gave abundant employment to the magistrates, varied by charges of swindling, gambling, and pocket-picking. It is calculated that more than two thousand working-men were kept idle during the two days of the races, and the pecuniary loss to the community consequent upon this must be heavy. The state of society in Canada does not seem to us to warrant horse-racing, which is a luxury only suited to older and more wealthy countries than ours. The sport was introduced many years since by the military, who in general have not much occupation; it is but little encouraged by the better class among the civilians, and we are not without the hope of seeing it abandoned altogether, as the good sense of the officers of the distinguished corps in garrison must convince them that the practice is not suited to a country where support for the whole year is to be earned in the few fleeting months of summer and autumn."

Besides the pictures in the various Catholic places of worship in Quebec, we saw some excellent ones in the gallery of a native artist, who was self-taught, but having copied from good models, chiefly scriptural pieces from the old masters, he had acquired great power, and a remarkably chaste style. At another gallery, we saw a picture recently painted in Quebec, representing the Presentation of a newly created Chief of the Council of the Huron tribe, resident at the Indian village of Lorette, in their aboriginal costume. There was a singular mixture of French and Indian in the physiognomies, as well as dresses, of the chiefs represented on the canvass, all of which were portraits taken from the life. Indeed, so mixed is the blood of these Indians at present, that among all the figures introduced into this picture, there was but one of pure Huron descent, and he is said to be the only one of the unmixed race now remaining in the tribe. We saw

this Indian, (whose French name is Zacharie Vincent, but his Indian name is Te-la-ri-ho-lin, or, "one who is divided,") and had a long conversation with him, as he spoke French with great ease. His portrait was very faithfully executed, and presented a marked difference—in the rounded face, expanded nostrils, and high cheek-bones, as well as in his deep-brown complexion—from the sharper features and fairer skins of the half-breed, who had descended as much from a French as an Indian stock. The tribe, it appears, is divided into four sections, or companies, namely, the Stags, the Wolves, the Bears, and the Turtles. The Chief Warrior is of this last company, and his name is A-non-cha-wanck-ratte, or, "one who passes over the tops of houses." The Grand Chief belongs to the company of Stags, and his name is Tza-wan-ho-hi, or, "one who plunges things into the water." And the second Warrior belongs to the company of Wolves, his name being Ta-hour-hau-chi, or, "the dawn of the morning." The medicine-man of the tribe, who is both doctor and necromancer, is of the company of the Bears, and his name is Ah-rat-hin-ha, or, "one who quickly mounts an eminence." Among the rest of the figures are Indians having the following names—Oh-da-wan-hort, or, "he that has the river in his mouth;" A-te-jaih-ta, or, "the complete warrior." Among the females, the accoucheuse of the tribe is called A-tir-taoux-i-ack, or, "one who agitates the water," while another, the Grand Chief's daughter, is called A-ti-a-an-onk, or, "one who takes care of the water-spring." Though her father belongs to the company of the Stags, the daughter is numbered

among the company of the Wolves, that being her mother's division, and the offspring invariably follow the caste of the mother, for, as the Indians say, "It is the woman who nourishes the earth." The Indians named here are among the principal personages of the Huron tribe, and all are introduced, by their portraits, into the picture described. They are faithful Catholics, and are said to fulfil their religious duties in the most exemplary manner, being much more improved by their commerce with the whites, than the Indian tribes who have first come into contact with Protestants usually are.

The pains taken by the early French visitors to Canada, to propagate their religion, was, indeed, much greater than to extend their trade; and the zeal and devotion manifested by many of the first Catholic Missionaries is above all praise. That the same spirit of proselytism is reviving among the Catholics of the present day, is certain from all that we see around us in every part of Canada, as well as in the United States. In both, indeed, such efforts are making to spread the Catholic faith, as to lead to the belief that the Papal power, seeing its gradual decay in the Old World, is anxious to secure for itself a home and an asylum in the New. The following is only one of many similar notices which we have seen in the public prints of this continent within the last three years. It is taken from the Gazette de Quebec, of the 21st of September, published during our stay in the City—

"ARRIVEE DE RELIGIEUSES DE FRANCE AUX ETATS-UNIS.—Nous trouvons ce qui suit dans le *New York Catholic Register* du 10 septembre :

"*Dames du Sacré-Cœur.*—Madame de Gallitzen, de l'ordre des Dames du Sacré-Cœur, est arrivée dans ce port l'autre jour, sur le navire *Iowa*, avec sept autres dames de son ordre. Après avoir passé quelques jours en cette ville, elles sont parties pour l'ouest, où plusieurs communautés de leur ordre sont déjà établies. Nous félicitons les Catholiques de New-York sur la perspective de voir une communauté de ces dames excellentes et accomplies établie dans cette ville le printemps prochain.

"*Sœurs de la Providence de Ruille-sur-Loir.*—C'est avec des sentiments de satisfaction sincère que nous avons le plaisir d'annoncer l'arrivée du *Cincinnati*, capitaine N. Barstow, le vendredi 4 du courant, après un trajet de quarante jours, avec les dames suivantes de l'ordre de la Providence, de Ruille-sur-Loir, diocèse de Mons, en France; sœur Théodore, supérieure; sœurs Vincent, Basilide, Olympie, Marie-Xavier, et A. de Liguori.

"Leur destination est Vincennes (Indiana), où elles se proposent de prendre la direction d'une école et de visiter les malades. Elles sont parties ce matin pour Philadelphie."

Missionaries are also sent from Quebec and Montreal up the Ottawa river to the Indian tribes of the north-west; and the reports of their proceedings, published occasionally in the French papers, show that these are not inferior in zeal and devotion to the first founders and propagators of the faith on this continent.

During our stay in Quebec, I delivered three Courses of Lectures in succession—one on Egypt, another on Palestine, and one on Mesopotamia and the countries east of the Jordan; and they were all attended by large and constantly increasing audiences. The first was delivered in the Methodist Church; but a singular condition was annexed to the grant of this building; namely, that no meeting in favour of Temperance should be held in the same edifice. This condition was exacted, as I afterwards learnt,

by some of the Trustees of the Chapel, who were distillers and dealers in ardent spirits; and who did not wish to have their craft put in danger. This was the only instance in which any such condition had been proposed by any religious body in Canada within my knowledge; as the chapels of the same sect had been freely offered for the delivery of my Lectures, in Toronto, Kingston, and Montreal, and Temperance meetings held in them at the close of the Course. It is due, however, to the Minister and some of the Trustees of the Methodist Church, at Quebec, to state that they did their utmost to remove this obstacle, but they were overruled by the majority. Not desiring to submit to such a condition as this, the remainder of the first Course was given in the Court House, which the Judges politely offered for that purpose. Increasing numbers, making it impossible to find accommodation for all in this building, the second Course was delivered in the Theatre Royal, which had been shut up for more than a year, and was now specially prepared for this occasion. The Governor-General, however, having, on application to him for that purpose, directed the Hall of the Legislative Assembly in the Parliament House of Quebec to be placed at my disposal, the third Course was given there, and was more numerously attended than either of the preceding, the auditors occupying the seats of the members of the Legislature, and the gallery; and the Lectures being delivered from the Speaker's chair—the last occupant of which was Mr. Papineau.

On the last evening of our stay in Quebec, this Hall was filled by upwards of a thousand auditors,

every foot of all the avenues and vacant spaces being covered by persons standing, while every seat below was occupied with others who had come to hear a parting address from me, on leaving Canada most probably for ever, "On the evils inflicted on our Colonies, as well as the Mother-Country, by Intemperance, and the duty of all classes of society to assist in lessening them." What added greatly to the interest of this meeting was the fact, that the Commander of the troops in the garrison of Quebec, deeply impressed with the great evil of Intemperance, as the most destructive foe of discipline and order in the Army, had a large body of the Coldstream guards marched down to the Parliament House, and seats were reserved for them in the strangers' gallery; so that there were persons of all ranks and classes in the community present. At Montreal and Toronto it had been found difficult to secure the attendance of the more wealthy and influential classes of society to listen to this subject; but here, by making the admission, though gratuitous, a privilege or favour, granting it to those only who held tickets, and distributing these chiefly among the higher classes, they came at length to be in such request, that they were eagerly sought after by others, and bought at a price; and twice the number were asked for that the room would contain. The effect of this arrangement was to bring together a larger number of persons than had ever been assembled at any Temperance meeting before held in Quebec; and to bring to it especially the classes who had hitherto kept aloof from even hearing and considering the question. To them, therefore, the address delivered on this

occasion was chiefly directed, with a view to impress them if possible with the duty of their joining the Friends of Temperance, in the advocacy and promotion of all such measures as might be likely, both by precept and example, to lessen the amount of the crime, disease, and poverty, which Intemperance was everywhere producing, and in no place more extensively than in Quebec.

Among the statistical facts connected with this subject, which had been furnished to me by gentlemen holding official stations in the City, there are some which may be usefully recorded here, as showing how uniformly the increase of places where intoxicating drinks are to be had, leads to accumulated evils in the community that sanctions or permits this traffic; and how much more is lost, even in a pecuniary sense, by the expenses involved in its train, than is gained by the revenue from licenses or duties on consumption.

The number of tavern-licenses already granted for the year 1840, in the District of Quebec, was 301; grocers' licenses in the City to sell under 20 gallons, 154; and the same in the country to sell under 3 gallons, 77; making 532 licensed retailers of spirits in the whole. In the City, however, the number of unlicensed retailers are reported by the police to be rather more numerous than the licensed; but supposing them to be only equal, the number would stand thus: licensed taverns, 170, licensed grocers, 154, making 324 licensed spirit-sellers for the City alone; and adding an equal number of unlicensed places, there would be 648 houses in which spirits are retailed, for a population of less than 30,000

persons. There are, besides these, a number of distilleries and breweries in active operation, as well as importers and wholesale dealers bringing into the port of Quebec every year 1,145,072 gallons of wine and spirits, in the proportion of about two-thirds of the latter to one-third of the former, the exact amounts being, of wine 378,186, and of spirits 766,886 gals.

It has been estimated, on the most moderate data, that the sum expended annually in Quebec in intoxicating drinks, exceeds 50,000*l.*; and that the expenditure arising out of this, for Jails, Hospitals, Asylums, and Police, amount to 10,000*l.* a year more; while the losses occasioned by intoxication, in idleness, riots, gambling, fires, wrecks, and other consequences of drinking to excess, would more than make up the balance of 100,000*l.* a year, as a total expenditure or waste of the property of the community!

The Coroner of the City had held inquests over 39 persons, who had come to a premature death by drunkenness, in the short space between March and September; adding his opinion, that this did not represent a third of the number who had actually died of drunkenness in the same space of time! His inquests were held only over the bodies of those who came to their death under circumstances of suddenness or violence, which demanded this investigation; while every day there were occurring instances of persons dying from this cause, in the public hospitals, and in their own dwellings, as well as in public-houses. In such cases, a previous sickness of a few days would be sufficient to give a colouring to the belief that they came to their death by the ordinary

operation of disease, but the disease itself arose from excessive drinking, by which they were really killed, though they would not come under the list of cases in which it might be thought necessary to call for an inquest by the Coroner.

The Jailer of the City had furnished his Report also, from January to September, 1840, after having investigated the case of every individual committed to his charge; and in this, he noticed those who confessed to him that they had been first led to commit the crimes with which they were charged, by indulging in Intemperance, putting down all the others as unknown; and the following is the Table sent by him—

Month of commitment.	Number committed.	Caused by Intemperance.	Cause not known.
January	57	33	24
February	75	47	28
March	54	30	24
April	57	47	10
May	179	159	20
June	280	237	43
July	221	165	56
August	212	194	18
September	265	236	29
Totals	1,400	1,148	252

These were facts, of which the greatest number of the auditors present were entirely ignorant, merely because their investigations had never been directed into the channels through which alone such information could be obtained, and because their attention had never been drawn to the subject. It is due to

their humanity and proper feeling, however, to state, that they appeared to be as much pained as they were surprised to find themselves surrounded with such numerous places for the sale of intoxicating drinks, and to see so clearly how much of the crime, misery, and death, which occurred in their City, was to be traced to this cause. In consequence of this conviction, a determination was expressed by many of the most influential members of the community, who had never heard the question presented in this shape before, to unite their efforts with those of the Temperance Societies already established, to stop the further progress of the evil, and, if possible, apply a remedy or cure to so much of it as already exists. Liberal contributions were cheerfully made to a fund for printing and circulating information on this subject; and the meeting, which lasted nearly three hours, dispersed with strong feelings in favour of the cause.

One of the most pleasing proofs that could be given of the impression produced by this meeting, and of the great utility of holding such assemblies as frequently as opportunity will admit, was this—that a gentleman of fortune, living on the income of his seigneuries in the neighbourhood of Quebec, retired home from the meeting with a resolution to destroy all the stock of spirits and wine in his cellars; and having carried this resolution into execution, he then joined the Temperance Society of Quebec, and contributed liberally to its funds. Of the sincerity of such a convert there could be no doubt.

On the following morning, we had the pleasure to

see, by the French paper of the City, that the powerful influence of the French Bishop of Nancy had been exerted to advance the same object, so that we ventured to hope that a friendly rivalry and emulation might exist between the Catholic and Protestant population of Quebec, to see which would make the greatest number of converts to Temperance, and which could reclaim the greatest number of the unfortunate inebriates of the City from the error of their ways. One melancholy spectacle, which occurred on the morning of the same day on which these meetings were held, (Sept. 28th) was well calculated to impress the public mind in favour of our views. This was the public execution of an English seaman on board the Cleopatra frigate, who was tried by a court-martial for having first struck his superior officer on duty, and then stabbed to death the sergeant of marines who was ordered to take him into custody; the violence of this man's passions having been greatly strengthened and inflamed by his habitual indulgence in drink, whenever the opportunity offered. He was found guilty, and sentenced to be hung at the yard-arm of the ship in which he had committed the murder; and as it was the first instance of the kind that had ever occurred in Quebec, it excited universal attention, and made a deep impression on the public mind.

I subjoin the article from the French paper, the Canadian, of Quebec, to show the proceedings of the Catholic Clergy on the subject of Temperance, which, when contrasted with the condition exacted by the Methodist Trustees, that no Temperance Meeting should be held in their Chapel, places their

conduct in no favourable light. It is from the paper, of Sept. 28th, as follows—

"Hier s'est terminé la Retraite, commencée il y avait deux semaines, à la cathédrale de cette ville, sous la direction de Monseigneur de Nancy. Cette retraite ne devait durer qu'une semaine, mais l'affluence des fidèles auprès des directeurs de leurs consciences a été telle, tant de monde a voulu profiter des avantages spirituels qu'offrait cette retraite, qu'on a dû doubler le temps qu'on lui avait d'abord destiné. Tel est l'effet du cours de prédications de ce prélat distingué ; il en dit plus que tout ce que nous pourrions rapporter, dans le cas où un pareil sujet tomberait dans les attributions du journalisme. Monseigneur de Nancy a préché deux fois par jour la première semaine, et une fois la seconde, et chacune de ses improvisations durait une heure et demie à peu-près. On avait réuni dans cette retraite les fidèles des deux paroisses de Quebec et de St. Roch, la matinée pour les femmes, le soir pour les hommes, et chaque fois la cathédrale était encombrée de monde. On a calculé qu'il ne pouvait pas y avoir moins de 5 à 6,000 personnes à chaque instruction.

"Monseigneur de Nancy a su profiter de l'impulsion qu'il a imprimée à la population catholique de cette ville, pour encourager la formation d'une Société de Tempérance, sous les auspices des autorités ecclésiastiques, et avec des avantages et exercices spirituels, sur le modèle des sociétés recommandées par les évêques catholiques d'Irlande et des États-Unis. Ainsi le passage de ce prélat serait marqué par l'accomplissement d'une œuvre qui ne peut manquer d'influer beaucoup et d'une manière permanente sur le bien-être social de notre population.

"On trouvera dans cette feuille les procédés d'une assemblee qui eut lieu hier à la chapelle St. Joseph, au sujet de la formation d'une Société de Tempérance en cette paroisse.

"Cette après-midi il a dû être présenté à Monseigneur de Nancy une adresse, signée par un grand nombre de notabilités catholiques de cette ville, le remerciant des efforts qu'il a bien voulu faire en faveur des fidèles des deux paroisses.

TEMPÉRANCE.

"À une assemblée nombreuse de citoyens tenue hier à l'issue

des vêpres, à la chapelle St. Joseph, les résolutions suivantes furent unanimement adoptées :

" L'Hon. Juge Panet, Président, Thos. Amiot, Ecr. Secrétaire.

" Résolu, Qu'une société soit immédiatement établie dans la paroisse de Québec, sous le nom de 'Société de Tempérance de la paroisse de Quebec.'

" Résolu, Qu'un comité de douze membres soit nommé pour dresser les règles et réglement de la dite Société, lequel comité devra faire rapport Dimanche prochain à une assemblée convoquée á cet effet, et qu'il leur soit permis de s'adjoindre tels citoyens qu'ils jugeront à propos.

" Résolu, Que les Messrs. suivants composent le dit comité :

" Mr. le Curé de Québec, Messrs. Petticlair, Massue, Dr. Nault, Dr. Parent, Ed. Gingras, Tanswell, DeFoy, père, J. Paquet, R. Malouin, Buteau, Gauvin.

" Résolu, Que les remerciments de cette assemblée, soient offerts à Mr. le Curé et à Mr. le Président pour la part qu'ils ont bien voulu y prendre.

" Résolu, Que les procédés de cette assemblée soient publiés dans le *Canadien* et la *Gazette* française de Québec.

" THOS. AMIOT.

Québec, 27 Septembre 1840. Secrétaire.

From the united efforts of the Protestants and Catholics in this good work, much benefit may be expected; though it is not so much among the population of French descent, as among the English, and especially the Irish emigrants, that the evil of Intemperance abounds. Even among these, however, there is said to be a manifest improvement since the labours of the excellent Father Mathew have wrought such changes in Ireland; many of the emigrants taking the pledge of total abstinence at his hands before their embarkation; and in such cases, there have not yet been known any certain instances of relapse. Still, by far the larger number of that

race of emigrants who come to Quebec are addicted to the use of whisky to excess. Finding it much cheaper here than at home, they indulge in it more freely, often expending their little all before they get away from the city, and contracting diseases by which they are carried off, they leave their wives and children in a state of complete destitution.

The climate of Quebec embraces the two extremes of heat and cold, and must be very trying to the constitution of strangers. The winters are long and dreary, the snow commencing usually in October, and sometimes covering the ground all the time till May. During this period of seven months, the weather is as cold as it is in December and January in England; and in the depth of their winter, the thermometer is more frequently below zero than above it, sometimes descending to 35° and 40°. Furs are then worn by all who can afford them, as in Russia; and hats for the head are rarely or ever seen. The guards on the ramparts are obliged to be changed every hour, so that there is a constant marching and relieving of the men at their posts. Instances have been known, in which a soldier having dropt or mislaid his mittens, has had his hands frostbitten by holding his musket; and officers, we were assured, take with them little pocket mirrors, by which they are enabled to see, from time to time, whether any part of their faces has changed colour, it being thus easy to see a frostbitten part without being able to feel it. The speedy application of friction and snow, will restore the dormant action, and prevent the putrefaction which would otherwise ensue. Yet, at this season of severe cold, Quebec

is said to be full of gaiety. All business is at a stand, from the river being frozen over and rendered inaccessible to ships, so that the merchants have little or nothing to do; and the military and official personages being also less occupied than at other times, parties are formed for sleighing in the day-time, and dinners, balls, and evening parties take place at some house or another almost every night.

In May the snows begin to melt, the frosts to break up, and in June the summer bursts into full maturity, almost without the interval of spring. Its shortness, however, renders it necessary that the heat should be great, or otherwise the grains and fruits of the earth would not ripen. Accordingly, Nature provides this intensity of heat while the short summer lasts. In consequence of this, maize, or Indian corn, for which there is not heat enough in England, is here ripened easily, and grapes are grown in the open air. The heat is excessive, even in the Citadel, and on the elevated parts of the country round about; but in the lower streets of the City, and in the Coves under the Heights of Cape Diamond, the heat is said to be suffocating, and far more oppressive to the feelings than is ever experienced either in the East or the West Indies. It is at this season that the emigrants chiefly arrive, and that spirit-drinking is carried to the greatest excess, and it is then also that disease commits its most dreadful ravages. When the cholera prevailed here a few years ago, the wealthy and temperate portion of the community, who lived in the upper and more airy parts of the town, and who did not indulge in excesses, were but very slightly affected by the

scourge; while from Champlain Street, in the lower part of the town, where filth and intemperance abounded, we were assured, by a medical gentleman, that no less than eighty carts with dead bodies had come in a single day to the common burying-ground appropriated to their reception!

Notwithstanding the extreme and sudden changes of temperature experienced at Quebec, and throughout Lower Canada generally, the French peasantry or *habitans*, appear to be as healthy as any persons of the same class in England. Enjoying the advantages of competency in food and raiment, having clean and well-ventilated villages and dwellings, and being moreover generally temperate both in their food and drink, they live to a good old age, and are ruddy, active, and cheerful in an unusual degree; the women and children are always well dressed and remarkably clean, and everything we saw of the French Canadians induced us to believe that they are among the happiest peasantry in the world.

CHAP. XVIII.

Visit to the Falls of Montmorenci—Contrast between the French Canadians and the Americans—Description of the Falls at Montmorenci—Beautiful view of Quebec from the road—Ride on the Cape Rouge road—Spencer Wood—St. Foix road—Drive from Point Levi to the river Chaudière—Canadian peasantry, character and condition—Visit to the Falls of the Chaudière—Catholic crosses—Militia stations—Fine views of Quebec from the Heights of Point Levi—Excursion to Lake St. Charles and Lorette—History and Description of the Huron Indians—Amalgamation with the French traders—Visit to the Indian Church—"Our Lady of Loretta"—Visit to the dwelling of the Indian Chief.

Besides the varied and magnificent views presented from the Citadel, the ramparts, and many parts of the Upper Town of Quebec, which may be enjoyed with increased pleasure every day, in a walk of half an hour, or little more, the surrounding country presents a number of interesting objects, and affords many agreeable excursions. The principal of these which we visited, were the Falls of Montmorenci, to the north-east about nine miles; the Falls of the Chaudière, to the south-west about twelve miles; the Lake St. Charles, to the north-west about sixteen miles; and the Indian village of Lorette, in the road to the Lake, about eight miles. As we took a separate day for each, it may be well to describe them in the order in which they were visited.

In going to the Falls of Montmorenci, we passed out of St. John's Gate, and through the Suburbs of St. John and St. Roch. These are wholly inhabited by French Canadians, none but French signs are seen, and nothing but the French language heard. Crossing the river St. Charles, near its mouth, by a wooden bridge, we passed several pretty villa residences, chiefly occupied by wealthy official men and their families, and came on the road to Beauport. Leading off from this on the left, is a road which passes through the forest, to the ruins of an ancient French chateau, said to have been the scene of licentiousness and murder, from jealousy; and thought the more of, by the peasantry around, from the general belief of the spot being haunted, by the unappeased ghost of the unhappy victim who there met her untimely death. The story runs, that the celebrated and profligate Intendant, Bigot, the contemporary of Montcalm, built this chateau for the accommodation of a mistress whom he placed in this secluded spot, to escape the observation of his wife; but the usual sagacity which jealousy never fails to exert, led to the discovery of this retreat by the injured and insulted lady of the Intendant, who sought her opportunity for revenge, and indulged it by poisoning the rival who had robbed her of her domestic peace. From that hour, the chateau, which is now called the Hermitage, has never been inhabited but once, when it was used as a place of refuge by the ladies of Quebec during the siege of the City; but being after that entirely abandoned, it is now in ruins.

The village of Beauport, which is a little more

than half-way between Quebec and Montmorenci, is remarkable for a church, with three spires, two rising from square towers on each side the entrance, and one rising from a square tower above the pediment. The appendage of two towers and spires to the parish churches of the Canadians is not uncommon, but this is the only instance I remember to have seen in which there were three. As the churches are large, the spires light and lofty, and the roofs and domes generally covered with bright tiling of tin, these edifices add very much to the beauty of the rural picture. Though Beauport is the only actual village on the way from Quebec to Montmorenci, the whole road is one continuous street of cottages, with few and small intervals of space between the several groups; and as our drive along it was on a Saturday, we had an opportunity of seeing all the population preparing for the Sabbath. In every instance in which we had yet had an opportunity of seeing the Canadian peasantry, we had been struck with their peculiar neatness and cleanliness, both in their persons and dwellings; and all we witnessed in our journey to-day, strengthened our first impressions. Though the glass windows of the cottages were cleaner than any we remember to have seen in the country dwellings of the agricultural settlers in the United States, yet they were all undergoing the usual renovation to which they are subjected every Saturday afternoon—the sashes being taken out, and the glass washed with water, while the frames are scrubbed with brushes and soap, and the whole wiped perfectly dry before the sashes are replaced. Fresh flowers are usually placed in the

windows after this; and every part of the interior is thoroughly cleaned. It is the universal custom of the habitans to whitewash their dwellings every spring; and as the roofs as well as the sides are of wood—the former being covered with wooden shingles overlapping each other, exactly in shape like the slate-tiles of roofs in England—every part of the edifice is equally subjected to the white-washing process, which gives the distant view of the landscape over which they are scattered, a lively and even brilliant appearance; and inspires all who see them nearer at hand with great respect for the cleanliness and order of their occupants.

The contrast between the clean, well-dressed, respectful, and courteous French peasantry of Canada, with the dirty, ill-clad, rude, and disorderly appearance and conduct of most of the Irish and other emigrant settlers in the United States,—and the equally striking contrast between the neatness, cleanliness, and order of their dwellings, with the utter neglect of all attention to these qualities in the log-cabins and shanties of the western cultivators among the Americans—is greatly in favour of this country and its inhabitants.

There are many causes, no doubt, which contribute to produce this difference, and these may be numbered among them:—In the first place, the Canadian peasant lives in the home of his fathers, and intends that it shall be the home of his children; he accordingly takes the same kind of pride, in improving, adorning, and preserving his patrimonial dwelling, that an English landowner does in preserving the family mansion, the condition of which reflects

praise or blame on the character of its occupant. The American, on the contrary, lives in a house which has no patrimonial charm or association connected with it, and he continues to occupy it only until he can move further on, or build a better house near the same spot, so that he cares but little about its condition, if it answers the temporary purpose for which it was erected. In the second place, the Canadian is without the ambition to become rich, and neither his time nor his thoughts are much engrossed, either about speculations in buying and selling, or disputations in matters of religion, or controversies and contention amid the strife of politics. He has, therefore, abundant time to enjoy his home, surrounded by his contented domestic circle; he accordingly makes that home as agreeable as he can, because all his thoughts and feelings centre in its happiness. The American, on the contrary, is so busy in devising schemes for the accumulation of money, so engaged in looking out for new lots of land to buy, and for purchasers to take off his old ones, as well as so frequently involved in the disputes of politics and religion, that he has neither time nor inclination to bestow much pains or much expense in clearing, or improving, or adorning, a house, which is his to-day, but may be another's to-morrow. Both of these parties would perhaps be benefited by copying a little from each other, and avoiding their respective extremes. It may be said, indeed, that if the principal object of life ought to be the enjoyment of those blessings which the Deity has placed within our reach, the Canadian peasant seems to be the wisest, as he is undoubtedly the happiest

man of the two. But if, on the other hand, the principal object of life ought to be to sacrifice the certain enjoyment of the present for the uncertain wealth and influence of the future, then the life of the American is most in conformity with that view. I cannot but think, however, that if an amalgamation or interchange could be made between these two races, and the Canadian could receive an inoculation of the American's enterprise, in exchange for a portion of his contentment with things as they are, and disposition to enjoy rather than to improve, that both would be materially benefited thereby. At present, I think the Canadian the more sober, more virtuous, and more happy; and the American, the more instructed, more energetic, and more persevering, but neither so clean, so healthy, so domestic, or so amiable as the Canadians of French descent, as we see them in the Province of Lower Canada, after a lapse of more than two centuries from the first settlement of their ancestors.

In about three hours after leaving Quebec, we reached the Falls of Montmorenci, and were all disappointed. We had heard so much of their height, grandeur, and beauty, from those who had spoken to us of them, that it is probable our expectations were unreasonably high; and the quantity of water in the Falls, is no doubt less in the month of September, when we visited it, than after the melting of the snows in May; but after making every allowance for this, we still thought they had been overrated. The river Montmorenci comes from the north in a stream of about a hundred yards wide, and it is not until it reaches the very edge of the

St. Lawrence, which it enters almost at right angles with its course, that the water descends over a cliff, the cataract literally falling into the St. Lawrence below. The perpendicular height of the Falls is said to be 250 feet, but I feel confident that this is overrated, though when I remember that the early French traveller, Father Hennepin, believed the Falls of Niagara to be 600 feet high, while their actual admeasurement gives only 180 feet, and comparatively recent English travellers have spoken of the Citadel on Cape Diamond as being 1,000 feet high, whereas it is only 350, I do not wonder that an over-estimate should be made of the Falls of Montmorenci. The breadth of the sheet of water as it descended in one mass, appeared to me to be from 60 to 80 feet; but there were some smaller streams disconnected with the great mass, which fell at the same time, and when the river is very full, these probably are all connected in one wide sheet, which must greatly increase the effect. The accessories of romantic landscape, of rich woods, and broken masses of projecting rock, are also wanting here, so that there is a nakedness and tameness in the picture, that makes it greatly inferior even to the secondary Falls of the Mohawk, or Trenton, or the Genessee, in the United States; and to place it in comparison with the overwhelming grandeur of Niagara, would be to do violence to all the rules of taste and judgment.

Near the Falls is a house, which was at one time the residence of the late Duke of Kent, the father of Her present Majesty, when he commanded the forces at Quebec; his brother, the late King William IV.,

having been here many years before him, as captain of a ship of war. It was near these Falls that General Wolfe met his first repulse, when he attacked the position of the French General Montcalm, and was driven back, and compelled to re-embark, with the loss of 700 of the Hessian troops engaged in the assault. There are extensive saw-mills here, worked by the stream of the Montmorenci; and as there are upwards of a hundred saws in motion at a time, an entire cargo of planks is said to be completed by these mills in the space of a single day! These mills are fed by a large wooden chute, or trough, about six feet broad and six feet deep, extending for nearly half a mile in length, and having a declivity of perhaps twenty degrees, so that the torrent rushes through it with an amazing velocity, estimated by some at fifty, and by others at a hundred miles an hour! In the winter, when the river St. Lawrence is frozen over below Quebec, the Falls of the Montmorenci send out a spray, which, lodging on the ice of the river below, just beyond the point of its actual descent, freezes, and, by accumulation, causes a mound, which increases every hour, by fresh spray from the Fall freezing almost as fast as it descends. As this process goes on all through the winter, the conical mass of ice formed by the spray alone, rises up to a considerable height; in the winter of 1829, it attained to an elevation of 126 feet, but does not often reach so high.

On returning from Montmorenci, we enjoyed a splendid view of Quebec; the whole of the northern side of the promontory of Cape Diamond, on which the City and Suburbs is chiefly built, being spread

out before us, while the beautiful Island of Orleans, opposite the Falls, the southern shores of the St. Lawrence, the towering Citadel, and the crowded fleet of ships, some under sail, and others at anchor, under the frowning battlements of the Cape, made up a picture of surpassing beauty, and abundantly compensated for any disappointment we might have felt at the Falls not coming up to the high standard of our expectations.

Our second excursion was by the road to Cape Rouge, along the high level of the Plains of Abraham, returning by the St. Foix road; the former overlooking the broad St. Lawrence, and the latter commanding the beautiful valley and winding stream of the St. Charles. It is difficult to say which of these roads presents the finest variety of views; but it will be perfectly safe to assert, that there is no spot that we have yet visited on the continent of America, which unfolds so many grand and enchanting landscapes, combining every element of the picturesque, as this delightful ride of a few hours; and no traveller who visits Quebec should omit to enjoy it. In our way out, we visited the beautiful spot called Spencer Wood, where one of the wealthy merchants of Quebec has formed, at a distance of less than an hour's ride from the City, a country seat, which unites the charms of an English mansion and an Italian villa. The house is built of wood, but with such thickness and solidity, as to afford equally good protection against the summer heat and winter cold. The centre is upwards of a century old, but the wings are of recent addition, and are prettily ornamented with Ionic colonnades in the best taste.

Within the house is a fine collection of pictures, and articles of vertû, collected with much labour, and at great expense, by the intelligent and tasteful proprietor, who has travelled much in Italy and Germany, and availed himself of every opportunity to bring with him from thence, some of the treasures of ancient and modern art. The gardens, of which there are two, are spacious, and laid out with a happy admixture of symmetry and the wild freedom of nature; and fruits and flowers in great variety, including exotics as well as native productions, are here raised in great perfection. The grounds in front of the house, sloping towards the river, are well disposed, and contain some fine clumps of forest-trees of great size, here and there interspersed over the lawn; while the walks along the edge of the cliffs, and the steep banks that overhang the St. Lawrence, present a continued variety of striking and beautiful views of that magnificent river. The projecting promontory of rock which overlooks Wolfe's Cove, at the foot of which the hero made his first landing, presents a view of Cape Diamond, Point Levi, and the crowded harbour of Quebec between them, which is not to be surpassed perhaps by any marine picture on the globe; while the sight of the shores on each side, with thousands of large logs of timber ready for shipment, the numerous vessels engaged in completing their lading from these, the new rafts every day arriving from the upper province and the Ottawa, the number of new vessels building on the stocks, and the mingled sounds of the shipwrights' hammers, the lumbermen's axes, and the chorus-songs of the raftsmen and steevadores working

alongside, and on board the loading ships, make up altogether a scene of grandeur, beauty, bustle, and animation, to which no other port in the world perhaps can present a parallel.

We were most courteously received by the wealthy proprietor of this beautiful spot, and accompanied by him through the grounds; after seeing which, and passing through some agreeable scenes in crossing the country, we returned home by the St. Foix road. This, like the road to Cape Rouge, is thickly studded with pretty villa residences, belonging to the more opulent inhabitants of Quebec; and all along its extent, the view of the country to the left or north-west is extensive and beautiful. In the fore-ground it embraces the graceful windings of the small river St. Charles, with the General and Marine Hospitals, and the suburbs of St. Roch on its right bank. Beyond the river, the surface of the country gradually ascends, and exhibits, as prominent points, the villages of Lorette, of Charlesbourg, and of Beauport, with the lofty mountains in the back-ground, which form the limit of civilization northward; while a portion of the river St. Lawrence, the glen of the Falls of Montmorenci, and the Isle of Orleans beyond, add much to the beauty of the landscape.

Our third excursion was to the Falls of the Chaudière, on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, and about twelve miles distant from the city to the south-west. Leaving Quebec at ten in the morning, we crossed the river in one of the large ferry-boats, propelled by wheels, worked with a large capstan in the centre of the boat. To each of the four capstan-bars, a horse was attached by means of a strong iron-arched

hoop, and kept in constant motion round the capstan, by the perpetual alternation of the whip and the voice, both zealously applied by two Canadian drivers. The current of the St. Lawrence appeared to be running at the rate of at least five miles an hour, accelerated by a strong ebb tide; for though Quebec is distant 350 miles from the sea, the oceanic tide is felt here in great strength, and extends about 50 miles above the City; the rise and fall at spring-tides being about 22 feet, and at neap-tides about 18. The navigation of the river, to sailing vessels especially, is greatly assisted by this alternation of ebb and flow; as, with a contrary wind, ships can beat up or down the stream with great speed, when the tide is in their favour; and with a fair wind, even a contrary tide offers no serious impediment.

Landing at Point Levi, opposite to Quebec, we had an exceedingly steep hill to ascend; but on reaching the summit of this, we had a tolerably level and pleasant road all the remainder of our way. From the village of D'Aubigny, and the landing at Point Levi, after an agreeable ride of five miles, we reached the river Etchemin, which empties itself into the St. Lawrence, and over which we crossed by a good wooden bridge. A little before reaching this, is the beautiful villa of Lauzon, belonging to Sir John Caldwell; beyond the bridge, are extensive saw-mills, erected by this gentleman, and in constant and profitable occupation. From hence the road along the shore of the St. Lawrence leads through the small town of New Liverpool, where a large number of ships were loading timber; and a few miles further on brought us to the river Chau-

dière, which we also crossed by a bridge. Proceeding up the left bank of the stream for about three miles, we arrived at the cottage of one of the *habitans*, where it was necessary to leave our carriage, at a distance of about half a mile from the Falls, the remainder of the way being impracticable except for very narrow vehicles, or on horseback, or on foot. We remained a little while at the cottage, while the occupant of it prepared to accompany us as a guide; and were as much struck here, as we had been everywhere else in Lower Canada, with the great cleanliness of the peasantry, both in their persons and dwellings. Nothing could surpass the neatness and order of everything we saw here; while the family, consisting of a mother and five children, presented all the appearance of competency and comfort according to their sphere of life. Like the peasants of the country generally, they spoke only French; and like them too, they exhibited as much of habitual gaiety and cheerfulness of disposition, and as much kindness and courtesy of manners, as in the best parts of France. From their answers to our inquiries, we learnt that the greatest number of the farmers around them were proprietors of the lands they tilled; and from the law and practice of subdividing the property of persons at their death in equal portions among their children, the estates were often cut up into very small parcels. But this did not appear, as yet at least, to be attended with any practical evil; for, small as some of the portions were, they were so carefully cultivated and managed as to support a family comfortably out of five arpents of land, the arpent being about little more than half an

English acre. In the long winters which cover the ground with snow for six months in succession, from November to April, the peasants employ themselves in cutting wood to supply the City with fuel, and store up the surplus for the consumption of the steamboats in the summer. In such intervals of this as they can command from their agricultural labours, they work on the river, assisting to load the ships; but this of course applies only to the poorer classes of the peasantry, the smallness of whose farms, and the extent of whose families, require this addition to their other means of support.

The Falls of the Chaudière, to which we found an easy access in the company of our guide, surprised and delighted us by their beauty; and the more so, perhaps, from our having been told by more than one person that they were not worth the trouble of coming to see! Long experience had taught us however, the difficulty of obtaining accurate information from others on objects of this nature; so that we were determined to see for ourselves, and form our own opinions. Thus, the Falls of Montmorenci, that had been vaunted to us so highly, did not at all come up to our expectations; while the Falls of the Chaudière, which had been spoken of so contemptuously, as greatly exceeded our anticipations. The perpendicular height of the Cascade is little more than a hundred feet, but the mass of waters is so romantically broken by projecting rocks, as to produce a turbulence and fury in its descent which is wild and picturesque in the highest degree. The breadth of the Fall is about a quarter of a mile; and the roar of the waters as they roll over the

broken masses that intercept their descent to the basin below, is grand and impressive; while the up-turned strata of slaty rock, lying at an angle of about 50° with the horizon, and presenting the edges of innumerable laminæ to the feet of the visitor who advances over them to the edge of the cataract, adds much to the interest and beauty of the scene. The accessories of wood and verdure on the adjoining banks improve the whole; and the rainbows produced by the action of the sun on the clouds of mist and spray that here, as at Niagara, ascend from the foot of the precipice, were more brilliant and gorgeous in their colouring than any we remembered.

We lingered among the rocks as long as our time would admit, being unwilling to quit a scene of so much romantic beauty, but were at length compelled to retire with our guide, at whose cottage we resumed our carriage, and returned to Quebec. From many points of the road, the views of the St. Lawrence were very fine, and from the heights approaching Point Levi, the view of the Citadel, the City, and the harbour of Quebec, is perhaps the most imposing that the neighbourhood commands.*

In this, as in every other picture embracing an extensive range of view, the difficulty lies in transferring to paper the proper impression of space. In the accompanying View of Quebec, this difficulty is lessened by the number and contrast of the surrounding objects. The middle ground of the picture represents the broad St. Lawrence, its current running from left to right, the stream opening to a breadth of five miles just below or to the right of

* See the accompanying Engraving.

Quebec, and gradually increasing its width to sixty miles across, from Gaspé to Labrador, where it empties itself into the Gulf. The lofty cliffs on the distant left of the picture are those of Cape Diamond, 350 feet in perpendicular elevation, at the foot of which, on a narrow ledge of debris, from the heights above, runs the long line of Champlain Street, chiefly inhabited by emigrants, and persons engaged as labourers in the timber-yards and shipping, while the heights themselves are crowned by the long line of fortifications and barracks, which constitute the Citadel of Quebec. To the extreme left of this are the Plains of Abraham, where the victory of Wolfe over Montcalm was achieved, and up the almost perpendicular cliffs of which the soldiers and sailors climbed, and drew up their arms and ammunition with them. To the immediate right of the Citadel, and a little lower in elevation, lies the City of Quebec, sloping down to the river, and extending inward for a mile towards the small river of St. Charles. The long white row of dwellings that extends from this to the right a little up from the stream, are those which line the road from Quebec to the Falls of Montmorenci, as described in our visit to that spot, and the lofty mountains rearing their peaks behind them, are part of the chain that bound the present settlements of the whites from those of the Indians, which lie beyond them to the north.

In our way along the road, from whence this View is taken, we saw many of the Catholic crosses set up by the wayside, some of them grotesquely ornamented, and nearly all of them having displayed on

the horizontal bar of the cross, representations of the implements and things used at the time of the crucifixion of the Saviour: such as a hammer, pincers, and nails, a ladder, a spear with a sponge for vinegar at the end of it, and another for piercing the side. Upon some were hung shreds and relics of votive offerings, placed there by persons who had recovered from sickness, or escaped some misfortune, and took this mode of testifying their gratitude to Heaven. We passed also some of the stations of the militia captains, indicated by a tall mast and topmast, rigged with shrouds and backstays as in a cutter, with halyards for a flag, the whole enclosed within a square platform railed around below. On a small board fastened to the shrouds, and presented towards the road, so as to be easily read by every one passing by, was the name of the captain, whose station it was; and these being mostly substantial farmers, his dwelling-house was very near. The militia of Lower Canada embraces a body of 80,000 men, comprehending all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty; but during the late rebellion, it was thought unsafe to call them out, as there was little confidence in their fidelity, both officers and men being nearly all French Canadians. In Upper Canada, the militia comprises a body of about 50,000, but these being nearly all of English descent, formed the chief reliance of the Province in the late troubles; and as a proof of their loyalty and zeal, it was stated at the Brockville meeting recently held in Upper Canada, on the Heights of Queenstown, that within a few days after the issue of the Proclamation calling for their services, there were upwards of 17,000 men

reported to the Lieutenant-Governor as being under arms.

We reached the brow of the hill over which we were to descend to the Ferry, about sunset, while the tinned roofs and towers of Quebec were brightly reflecting the horizontal beams of the declining orb of day, and the broken outline of the City, with its ever-varying levels, the softened light behind the Citadel, showing all its works in sharp relief, and the placid harbour, in a perfect calm, with about 300 ships at anchor, all in sight from this elevated point of view, made up a picture of unsurpassed magnificence and beauty.

Our last excursion was to Lake St. Charles, a distance of about 16 miles north-west of Quebec, and the Indian village of Lorette, which lies about midway on the road. In this visit we had the pleasure to be accompanied by a most agreeable party of ladies and gentlemen, whose acquaintance we had the good fortune to form in Quebec, and whose intelligence and lively spirits added much to the delight of our journey. Some went on horseback, and others in carriages, for which the road is very good all the way, and we were fortunate in having a bright sunny day after eleven o'clock, though up to that hour it was cold and misty.

Leaving Quebec at nine, we proceeded along the right bank of the river St. Charles for a mile or two, and then crossing it by the Scotch bridge, followed pretty nearly the windings of the stream, which presented many deep, woody, and romantic ravines in the way. We halted at the village of Lorette at noon for an hour, and then proceeded to the Lake

St. Charles. The road to this, passes over a hill called Bellevue, from whence the prospect is extensive and beautiful on all sides. On the right, or the east, the mountain of Des Ormes rises, at a distance of five or six miles, to an elevation of more than 1,000 feet; and on the left, or the west, the mountain of Bonhomme, is about the same distance, and of somewhat less elevation; while to the north-west, the mountain of Tsounonthuan, rises to a greater elevation than either. Between these mountains flows the river of Jacques Cartier, so called after the earliest French navigator that visited these parts; and the valleys are interspersed with several small but pretty lakes, of which Lake Charles is the principal, and this is distinctly seen from the heights of Bellevue. Beyond the most distant range of hills seen towards the north from this point, there are no inhabitants but Indians, excepting only the few hunters and agents of the fur-traders.

The Lake St. Charles is about five miles long, and not more than a mile broad, and is divided into two portions, the Upper and the Lower lake. The river Huron flows into it from the north, and the river St. Charles flows out of it on the south; while several smaller streams originating, in small lakes, on both sides, pour their waters into the general reservoir, which carries them all into the St. Lawrence. The shores of the lake are thickly wooded with a great variety of trees, among which, however, the pine and fir predominate. The western bank of the lake is nearly level, but the eastern rises up in a steep slope, so as to show the foliage to the greatest advantage; and as the first snow fell upon the moun-

tains about three days before our excursion, (Sept. 26,) and there had been sharp frosts every night since, the autumnal tints, for which the American forests are so remarkable, were displayed in all their gorgeousness and glory. The bright scarlet of the maple was like the most brilliant silk or satin; the light and sparkling yellows of the ash and aspen were like the purest amber; and every shade of crimson, purple, and brown, were intermingled with these; while the rich dark green of the pines and firs deepened the tone of the whole, and produced an *ensemble* which the forest scenery of no other country can perhaps equal.

We found, on the borders of the lake, the house of a Canadian peasant, as delightfully clean as all the others that we had entered. We obtained here the use of some canoes and paddles for a launch upon the water. Some of the party went in single canoes, which are more easily propelled, but are more liable to upset than the double ones; others, more cautious, took the double canoe, lashed side by side, which cannot be capsized; but all appeared to enjoy the exhilarating exercise. The lake is said to abound with fish, especially excellent trout, and it is therefore a favourite resort of the angler. At the head of the waters we were shown a pretty little rustic cottage that was recently built here by Sir Charles Grey, formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court in India, and now a member of the House of Commons.* He was one of the Commissioners sent out with Lord Gosford, to inquire into and report upon the state of the Province; and being enchanted with

* At present Governor of Barbadoes, 1843.

the romantic retirement of this spot, he bought a tract of about a hundred acres of uncleared forest land on the upper margin of the lake, and built this rustic lodge for occasional pleasure parties, though his stay in the Province was so short, that he did not visit it more than two or three times.

In returning to the village of Lorette, and passing over the high ground of Bellevue, we had a fine prospect to the south of us, extending from the river of Montmorenci to the river Chaudière, with the Citadel and town of Quebec nearly midway between the two, distant about ten miles; while all the beautiful plain between these objects in the distance, and the hill on which we stood, were studded with villages and cottages, as white as snow, giving an impression of great comfort, virtue, and happiness among their numerous occupants.

At Lorette we now remained for two or three hours, to examine the village, and see the Indian tribe residing there. The settlement was originally made for such of the Huron Indians as had embraced Christianity, and were willing to adopt the habits of an agricultural and settled life, under the superintendence and direction of a priest appointed to preside over them. To this course they were the more readily inclined, as, in their wars with the Iroquois, one of the Six Nations from the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, the tribe of the Hurons had been almost annihilated; and their seeking the protection of the French, and placing themselves entirely under their guidance, seemed to offer the only hope of their miserable remnant being saved. They are at first said to have numbered about 3,000 individuals,

but in the early period of their settlement, a disease before unknown to them, the small-pox, and habits to which they were not previously addicted, especially drinking intoxicating liquors, speedily reduced them to less than half. Although they were ultimately prevailed upon to abandon entirely the use of the "fire-water," as spirits are appropriately called among them, their numbers have still diminished; while their repeated marriages and intermarriages with the French peasantry and the Canadian hunters and voyageurs, have almost obliterated all trace of pure Indian blood among them. Indeed, there is but one, Zechariah Vincent, of whom I have spoken before, that remains, who can boast of being "a Huron, the son of a Huron," without the least admixture of white blood; and the greater darkness of his complexion, the glossy jet of his long ringlets of hair, the breadth of his nostrils, and fulness of his lips, mark him out to the most casual observer, as standing alone in the settlement—the last of the Hurons—for with him, the pure blood of his tribe will end, there being no Huron wife that he can take, all the females of the tribe being more French than Indian. I spoke to some of these, who were as fair as the peasantry of France; and who, from their features, hair, eyes, and manner, might be taken for Bretons or Normans. We asked them, how they could call themselves Indians, when they replied—"C'est vrai que nous sommes Françaises, ou plutot Canadiennes; mais un peu sauvagées." Very few of these even speak the Huron tongue, which is now almost entirely confined to the old men of the tribe; but French only is spoken by the women and

children, so that "la langue sauvage," as they term it, will soon disappear. The Hurons were said by early travellers to be more voluptuous and effeminate than any other of the Indian tribes; which may account for the French mingling more freely with them; they are said also to have had the custom of recognizing the hereditary descent of the office and title of Chief through the female line, as well as in the male, which made them an object of dislike and contempt among the other Indian tribes, by whom this custom was held in scorn. This may account for the bitterness and unrelenting severity with which the Hurons were pursued and extirpated, wherever they could be found, by their enemies.

At present there are not more than 180 persons belonging to the Indian settlement, of whom there are about 70 men, 60 women, and 50 children. They have a small tract of land under cultivation, which they hold, not in common as the Indians usually do, but in separate portions allotted to each, the whole extent not exceeding 100 acres. The men employ themselves in tillage and fishing during the summer, and in cutting wood and hunting during the winter. The women occupy themselves in gardening, attending the cattle, and manufacturing various articles of Indian dress, and ornaments in leather, worked with porcupine's quills and the hair of the moose deer, richly coloured; and in birch and basket-work, of fanciful forms and devices. These they sell to visitors, generally at a handsome price, while some are sent to the shops at Quebec, where they find a ready sale among strangers visiting

the City, and where they may be seen in great variety. The children appear to be under very little restraint, and are not much occupied either in learning or in working. During the first half-hour of our visit, they assembled in groups around us, with their rude bows and arrows; and exhibited their skill in the use of this weapon of their fathers, by shooting at a copper coin stuck into the soil, and beaten down so that its upper edge was but barely visible; when at a distance of twelve paces, they would soon hit it with such violence as to knock it out of the ground, and receive the coin as their reward. Both the men and women of the tribe wear a peculiar costume, which is neither Indian nor Canadian, but a grotesque mixture of the two. Bright and gaudy colours are in great request among the women, and feathers and arms are the chief delight of the men. Even the boys sometimes wear a large bunch of feathers stuck in the top of the cap, or hanging from its side, to denote their Indian origin, of which they present no other sign, but of which they appear to be proud. All wear the blanket, like a shawl, a garment well suited to the indolent habits in which they indulge, wrapping themselves around, and sitting for hours together basking in the sun, or smoking their pipes over the embers of a fire, which they are often too lazy to replenish.

There are two divisions in the village of Lorette, separated by the stream of the St. Charles. That on the right bank of the river, is called the Canadian Lorette, and in this none reside but persons of pure French descent, their number is perhaps about 500.

As this contains the parish church, it is frequented on Sundays and fête days by as many as 1,500 persons, for whose accommodation the church has been recently enlarged. On the left bank of the river, the division is called the Indian Lorette, and here the 180 members of that mixed-blooded race alone inhabit. Instead of a neat street or road, bordered with pretty houses on both sides, as in the Canadian village, the visitor sees here only a collection of rude square buildings, of one story only, and neither so clean, so well furnished, or in such neat order, as the dwellings of the *habitans*. Their huts are separate and detached, though with a small space only between each, just in the same manner as an encampment of wigwams would be placed, and presenting a very unfavourable appearance.

The Church of the Indians is very small, not capable of accommodating more than the Indians themselves, and none others visit it, except out of curiosity. The curate is one of the Catholic priesthood belonging to the missionaries specially set apart for the work of preaching to the Indians, and the service is conducted exactly as in any other Catholic place of worship, the mass being in Latin, and the sermons in French. As the curate was absent, we were taken to the Church by one of the oldest of the Indians, whose father was a pure-blooded Huron, but his mother a half-breed Frenchwoman, he himself being then 94 years of age, and in good health and vigour! The Church was very poorly adorned; but that upon which the Indians prided themselves above all other things, was a representation in alto relievo, over the principal altar, of the celebrated

Santa Casa, or Holy House of Loretta, conveying through the air by angels, not to Loretta in Italy, as the Catholics of Europe believe, but to Lorette in Canada, as the Indians here are taught. The tablet over the altar, in which this is contained, is not more than six feet by four, and the elevation of the relief about an inch or two above the surface; yet the old Indian who showed it to us, reproved us when we called it a *representation* of the Santa Casa of "Our Lady of Loretta;" he insisted upon it, that it was "la veritable maison de la Sainte Vierge, dans laquelle elle demeurait à Nazaret, et où notre Seigneur Jesus Christ etait elevé dans son enfance." He could not perceive the least difficulty in this being the identical house in which Joseph and Mary resided, and where they brought up the child Jesus as their son. We thought this was strange enough, but he assured us that what was more wonderful than all was this: that some Indians having behaved ill, and brought a curse upon their heads, the devil was permitted to come with his angels and carry away this "House of the Virgin," as too precious for their tribe to possess. This was effected in the night; but when they had carried it some hundreds of miles in the air, the Holy House itself, by its own strength and power, tore itself away from the grasp of Satan and his imps, and hastened back to the Church of Lorette, from whence it was so sacrilegiously taken, and there it has remained ever since! This was the old man's firm belief; and he even named the period at which it was asserted to have taken place, namely, about 160 years ago. It is difficult to suppose that the priest

is not aware of this opinion, and that he is not unwilling to have it entertained. If he believes it himself, one may judge of the character of his mind; if he does not believe it himself, but permits it to be believed by the Indians, one may see something of the nature of the discipline, by which he holds dominion over the minds of his flock; and in either case, it cannot increase one's respect for his judgment or his sincerity. If the curate had been at home, I should have ascertained his own views from his own confessions; but no one else could tell us more than our old Indian guide had done already.

We visited the house of the chief of the tribe, the only well-built residence in the village, but this was particularly neat and clean; and here we procured some mocassins and other articles of Indian work, for presents to friends at home. We descended also to the foot of the Falls of Lorette, which are extremely romantic and pretty; the descent being not perpendicular, but at a very steep angle, and there being an oblique turn in the course of the descending torrent, which increases the foam and the noise, and greatly improves the effect of the picture.

Our labours were closed by a hearty repast, (the party having brought their supplies of provender with them from Quebec,) in the neat and clean dwelling of one of the inhabitants of the Canadian village; and leaving Lorette about six o'clock, we reached Quebec at nine, after a most agreeable excursion.

CHAP. XIX.

General Sketch of the History of Canada—First voyage of John and Sebastian Cabot—Enterprises of the French navigators, Aubert, Cartier, and Robervalle—First capture of Quebec by the English—Religious Establishments of the Jesuits—Expedition of General Wolfe—Settlement of Canada under the British—Distinctions between Upper and Lower Canada—English and French races—Rebellion of 1837—Visit of Lord Durham—Union effected under Lord Sydenham—Area, climate, productions, and present condition of the Province.

Our journeys, from Toronto to Kingston, Montreal, and Quebec, and our stay at each of these places, having given me an opportunity of seeing the principal towns of Upper and Lower Canada, and mixing much with the inhabitants of each, I could hardly fail to hear, as well as to see, much of the state of the country, and its capacities for improvement, as well as something of the people of all ranks, their temper, feelings, and condition. During this period I used all practicable diligence in reading every public document or report within my reach on these subjects, and comparing these with the impressions communicated by others, and those formed in my own mind from evidence passing under my own observation; so that this may be the most appropriate time to give the result of my researches and observations combined, on the Canadas.

The history of its discovery and conquest has been detailed at considerable length in the separate accounts of the two chief cities, Montreal and Quebec; but it may be well to recall the principal dates and events in a more condensed and continuous form, as a brief chronicle of the past, before we enter on a survey of its present condition.

In 1497, while the Seventh Henry filled the throne of England, the two Venetian navigators, John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing from Bristol in England, saw the coasts of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and brought accounts of them to Europe.

In 1508, Aubert, a mariner of Dieppe, first sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and brought to France some of the native Indians then inhabiting the tract of country called Canada.

In 1535, Cartier, the celebrated French navigator, went much higher up the St. Lawrence, to which he first gave that name, from entering it on the festival of that Saint. He wintered in the small stream of the St. Charles, close to the present Quebec, sailed up as high as the Indian town of Hochelaga, 300 leagues from the sea, on the island now called Montreal, from the name of Mount Royal, first given by Cartier to the lofty eminence in its centre.

In 1549, the Lord Robervalle, a French count, sailed up to the island called Bacchus, by Cartier, from the abundance of its grapes, and since named Orleans, from the royal family of France, which name it still retains.

In 1591, a fleet was sent from France to hunt the walrus in the St. Lawrence; and old Hackluyt,

the eminent compiler of the first English collection of Voyages and Travels in the reign of Elizabeth, says that the amazing number of 15,000 of these animals were killed in a single season, by the crew of one small bark employed.

In 1608, more than a century after the voyage of the Cabots, the French navigator, Champlain, visited Canada, and founded the present city of Quebec on the promontory of Cape Diamond; and Cardinal Richelieu, then prime minister of France, lent all his powerful aid to the establishment of the new possession.

In 1630, Charles the First of England commissioned David Kerkt, a Dutchman, and his companions, to fit out an expedition for the conquest of "La Nouvelle France," as the territory was then called; and the inhabitants of Quebec, being wholly unprepared for this sudden and unexpected visit, surrendered their city to the English, 130 years before it was conquered a second time by Wolfe.

Two years after its present capture, however, it was ceded back to the French, by the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632.

In 1635, the first College of Jesuits was founded in Quebec; and in 1639, this was followed by a convent of Ursuline Nuns; both of these establishments being supported by large endowments and grants from the French sovereign and the heads of the Catholic Church.

In 1665, the first large bodies of emigrants went from France to Canada, taking with them farming implements, seeds, cattle, and horses. These last had never been seen by the Indians of this part

of the continent, though introduced long before by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru. The astonishmen and terror of the natives at the sight of these powerful and warlike animals was great in both cases; and from these two stocks, introduced by the Spaniards and the French, the whole continent became subsequently covered; and large tribes of Indians have every man mounted, while thousands of wild horses now roam the prairies of the west.

In 1667, the Sieur Perrot set out from Quebec, on a mission to convert the Indians to Christianity; and after travelling the long distance of twelve hundred miles on foot, he succeeded in prevailing on many of the chiefs and their followers to embrace the Catholic faith.

In 1680, another Jesuit, Father Hennepin, went from Quebec up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, visited the Falls of Niagara, of which he was the first to give an account. He then ascended by Lakes Erie and Huron, to Michigan, traversed the plains of Illinois, reached the giant Mississippi, and travelled up its banks as high as the Falls of St. Anthony, this being the most remarkable discovery of the age.

In 1682, La Salle, the patron of Father Hennepin, following in his footsteps as far as the upper portion of the river Mississippi, was the first who descended that great stream to the sea in the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of three thousand miles; and he was the first to take possession of the whole country in the name of his sovereign the King of France, in honour of whom, he called the whole region comprehended in the valley of the Mississippi, by the name of Louisiana.

From this period on to 1756, very few striking events are recorded in the history of Canada. But in that year, the French General Montcalm was sent out to take the command of Quebec, and to rule as Governor-General over all Canada, the entire territory of which did not then contain more than 20,000 inhabitants, of whom nearly the whole were French.

In 1759, the expedition under General Wolfe attacked Quebec, and the battle of the Plains of Abraham gave victory to the English forces. The details of this are given in the history of that City, and need not be repeated here.

In 1763, by the treaty of Fontainbleau, France ceded to England the entire sovereignty and undisputed possession of all Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and all the Islands in the St. Lawrence; while the English guaranteed to the inhabitants of all these Provinces the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of all their estates, personal property, and civil privileges.

The French Canadians never joined the North American Colonies in their revolt against the mother-country, but remained always loyal to Great Britain. The reason most frequently assigned for this, and most probably the true one, is, that the ecclesiastical authorities, being satisfied with the large possessions and power remaining in their hands, and fearing the possibility of its being wrested from them if they joined the American Colonies in their rebellion, used their influence with the people to remain content with what they had, and rather to "bear their

present ills, than fly to others which they knew not of."

In 1791, the Province of Canada, originally only one, was divided into two, under the names of Upper and Lower Canada. This took place in the ministry of Mr. Pitt, who assigned this as his reason for the measure, in addressing the House of Commons on the subject. He said, "there was no probability of reuniting the jarring interests and opposite views of the inhabitants, but by giving them two separate legislatures." It should be observed, in explanation of this, that while all the country below Montreal and Quebec towards the sea, had been in the continued occupation of the French inhabitants, the tract of country above Montreal, along the borders of the Lakes, had been settled subsequently to the British conquest, by British officers, and discharged soldiers, to whom large grants of land had been made by the Government, under the name of military bounties: as 5,000 acres to a field-officer, 3,000 to a captain, 2,000 to a subaltern, and 50 acres to a private. There had also been a number of British subjects in the North American Colonies, who were unwilling to join the rebellion of that country, and who fled to Canada, where they found a welcome reception among the military and other settlers in the parts described. These constituted a purely British and Protestant population, while the lower parts of Canada contained a French and Catholic population; and hence the difficulty of suiting the measures of the Local Legislatures so as to please both parties. To remedy this difficulty, the experiment of Mr. Pitt was tried, and for many years it

seemed to have accomplished the object he had in view.

In 1837, however, the last great event in the history of Canada occurred, which was the rebellion under Papineau in Lower Canada, and Mackenzie in Upper Canada. The details of this are so familiar to every one, from their recent publication in the public journals, and the debates in Parliament, that it would be tiresome to repeat them here. I have elsewhere expressed my opinion, that, as far as I could judge, there never was an insurrection undertaken with less reason, or with fewer grievances to justify it; and that there were never placed at the head of so important a movement, two persons less qualified to lead, than the two individuals named. In saying this, however, I do not wish to be understood as meaning that there were no grievances to be redressed. There were undoubtedly many, but the remedies for them were all within the reach of a firm but patient exercise of the power of public opinion through the press, and through the legislature. The government of England, under the administration of the Whigs, were faithless to their own professed principles of attachment to constitutional liberty, in acting as they did towards the Canadians, by taking from them that legitimate control over their own legislature, which they have themselves now and then threatened to exercise, when in opposition at home; namely, the power of stopping the supplies, to force an unjust government into remedying grievances, which otherwise they would not remove. What the Canadians desired, and what ought to have been instantly conceded to

them, was not separation from the dominion of England, but the enjoyment of a responsible government in the Colony itself; and that they were right in this demand, is proved by the fact, that after crushing the rebellion by force, hanging some, and exiling others, who took a part in it, the Tory government, which succeeded the Whigs in England, have not only granted this responsible government, but admitted into favour and power, some of the very leaders of the rebellion, as a concession to the popular will.

After a suspension of the Canadian constitution, and the dissolution of their two Legislatures, placing the whole country under a military despotism, Lord Durham was sent out, vested with large powers, to assume the reins of government, and if possible heal the wounds that had been made. His known character for liberality and justice caused him to be hailed by all the liberal party in Canada as a Pacificator; and during his short stay in the country he appears to have won the respect and esteem even of those most opposed to his views. With the assistance of several able men, whom he took out with him for the purpose, voluminous Reports were drawn up on almost every branch of inquiry that could be instituted; and these were laid on the tables of both Houses of Parliament, and freely commented on by the British and Colonial press, till the state of Canada might be said to have been laid bare to all who chose to examine these numerous documents. The chief remedy that Lord Durham recommended was a re-union of the Provinces into one, as they

were before their division by Mr. Pitt, as he believed that by assembling the French and English races in one Parliament, and mingling them together in other bodies for the transaction of public business, with the exercise of a strict impartiality on the part of the home and the local government, in the appointments to office from each race, both would be ultimately reconciled to each other. The French party, no doubt, felt aggrieved at the loss of their nationality, and as the conquered race, would have been delighted to emancipate themselves from the bondage of a foreign yoke. The English party had been too much accustomed to indulge the feelings of conquerors and superiors, and thus to arrogate to themselves something more of domination than was agreeable or just, and thus the gulf between the races was growing wider and wider every year. It was wise, therefore, to attempt at least to close this breach; and the project of a re-union of the Provinces into one seemed best calculated to effect that object.

The principal objection urged by the opponents of the Union, in Upper Canada, was, that it would give the French party predominance, and the reform or radical party, as they preferred to call it, a political victory. The more substantial objection of the Lower Canadians was, that as Lower Canada had a surplus revenue and was clear of debt, while Upper Canada had a deficient revenue and heavy obligations, the amalgamation of the two would have the effect of making the resources of the one division go to pay the debts of the other. Both objections, however, were too slight to be permitted to stand in

the way of consolidating and reconciling the discordant elements of the country, and they were, therefore, wisely overruled.

Lord Durham's hasty return from Canada, before he had accomplished his object, in consequence of the manner in which the Whig government at home had abandoned him, as he conceived, in the hour of need, led to the appointment of Mr. Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, as his successor; and the Parliament of Great Britain having passed the Act of Union, and fixed a period for its being carried into execution, Lord Sydenham lived to accomplish it in a manner that reflects great honour on his talents, judgment, firmness, and discretion; but soon after he had completed the organization of the new Legislature and Government, in Canada, he died. Lord Durham's death, in England, had previously occurred. The memory of both, as public men, is held in deserved estimation in the country to whose interests they both sedulously devoted themselves with great zeal, disinterestedness, and ability.

Since then, Sir Charles Bagot has held the office of Governor-General for a short period, his shattered health rendering his return to England necessary; and the last appointment made has been that of Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the most able, as well as one of the most honourable, liberal, and successful men of the present day, whose long and brilliant career in the East Indies, in various offices of the Civil Service, up to that of acting Governor-General, and whose shorter but equally successful administration of the government of Jamaica, pointed him out

as the fittest man of the class to which he belongs to assume the administration of Canada. As a Whig, "and something more," Sir Charles Metcalfe's consistency and principle have been tried by the severest tests, and never found wanting; while his inflexible integrity, and impartial justice, have won the admiration and homage of all parties over whom his rule had been exercised. It does great honour to the discrimination of Sir Robert Peel to have selected such a man for the office, for Sir Charles Metcalfe was solicited, and urgently too, to take upon himself this responsibility; and was, in no sense of the word, a candidate for public employment, having been summoned from his retirement in Devonshire, which he quitted with reluctance, and only from that sense of duty by which his whole career seems to have been uniformly dictated.

This sketch of the history of Canada for nearly three hundred and fifty years, from the voyage of Cabot in 1497, to the present year 1842, is necessarily brief, but it is faithful, and sufficiently detailed perhaps for a section of a work like this. It will now be desirable to pass on to some account of the extent, area, capacity, productions, and resources of the Province itself, as from these we shall be enabled to form some idea of its value.

The whole of the British possessions on the continent of North America, including the shores of the Polar Sea, and the territory of Oregon, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the shores of the Pacific, include an area of no less than 4,000,000 of square miles; while the island of Great Britain itself contains only 84,000 square miles, of which

England alone covers about 58,000 only. Canada, however, which forms but a small portion of the vast area described above, reaches from the mouth of the St. Lawrence in longitude 58° west to the head of Lake Superior in longitude 90° west. It is therefore 1,300 miles in length from east to west, while its breadth from latitude 42° north to latitude 52° north, is about 700 miles; giving it therefore an area of about 350,000 square miles, or nearly seven times as large as England alone!

This vast area is greatly diversified in surface, character, and quality of soil. The northern portions are mountainous, rocky, and sterile; the southern, are of less elevation and more fertile. All along the borders of the great lakes, and on the banks of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence, as well as of the Thames and the Severn, the soil is rich and well adapted to every description of agriculture. The largest and finest tracts of land are in Upper Canada, as it was formerly called, on the eastern shore of Lake Huron, and the northern shore of Lake Erie, including the Western, the London, the Home, the Gore, and the Newcastle districts. In all these, farms quite equal to any in the best parts of England may be carved out by the skilful and enterprising agriculturist; while the abundance of rivers and lakes, large and small, in every portion of this territory, give him the greatest facilities for bringing his produce to market. In these tracts, the prices of land range from 10*s.* to 10*l.* an acre, according to its state, position, and other circumstances attending it. On the northern shores of Lake Ontario, from Toronto to Lake Simcoe, and from Kingston and the

Bay of Quinté to the banks of the Ottawa, receding inland for 200 miles, are also excellent tracts of land and immense forests of timber. In Lower Canada, from Kingston to Montreal, in the Bathurst and Ottawa districts, are fine estates ; while all the region around Montreal itself is a perfect garden. And onward from thence to Quebec, especially on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, in what are called the Eastern Townships, are tracts of land of all degrees of extent, and of every variety of fertility, still open for purchasers.

As you proceed down the river towards the sea, and approach the coasts of Gaspé on the southern, and Labrador on the northern shore, the tracts get more mountainous and more rocky; but the bays and streams are equally prolific in yielding the treasures of the deep, in fish of every kind, in immense quantities, richly rewarding the enterprise of those who seek them.

The climate of Canada is everywhere in greater extremes of heat and cold than in England. Throughout the winter, which lasts nearly seven months, the cold is excessive in Lower Canada, sometimes as much as 36° below zero; and even in Upper Canada 20° below zero is not unfrequent in the month of February. But as the atmosphere is remarkably dry, the air calm, and the sky cloudless, with a glowing sun, people of health who are able to take exercise feel less inconvenience and discomfort from a Canadian winter, than they would from an English one; and the recreations of hunting, shooting, and sleighing on the firm and compact snow which then covers the hedges and fences of the country in many

parts, and leaves a boundless plain, are highly relished by all parties.

In the summer, which is correspondingly short, the thermometer occasionally rises to 105°, and is almost constantly above 90° in the daytime in June and July. But the breezes from the lakes and streams, and the general freshness of the atmosphere, prevent this heat from being oppressive; while the advantages it affords, in bringing rapidly the harvests and fruits to a state of ripeness and perfection, counterbalances every other consideration, and evinces the wisdom and benevolence of the great Creator, in so adapting the elements and the seasons as to produce, in the most rigorous climates, a summer whose intensity shall accomplish, in a brief period, what in other countries it requires a much longer period to achieve.

Among the productions of Canada, animal and vegetable, there is abundance and variety. Of the former, the wild animals include the moose and fallow-deer, the bear, the wolf, the fox, the racoon, the wild cat, the otter, and the beaver; in the western parts the buffalo and the roebuck are occasionally seen; while squirrels, hares, partridges, and grouse are numerous. Fish of various kinds, and most of them excellent, abound in the lakes and streams, and waterfowl in great profusion. Of vegetable productions, wheat, barley, and oats, may be raised in almost every part of the Province; hemp and flax also thrive; while all the fruits of England and France are grown in great perfection, especially in the warm region about Montreal.

The population of Lower Canada is estimated at

700,000, and that of Upper Canada at 500,000. But as the continued influx of emigrants add greatly to the latter, and but little to the former, the time is not remote, when Upper Canada, or the country west of Montreal, and around the Lakes, will be the more densely peopled of the two.

The great Lakes of Upper Canada are indeed inland seas, for the navigator sailing on them is often out of sight of land on either side, and encounters storms hardly less terrible than those that are met with on the Atlantic. A brief notice of their respective areas may be acceptable.

Lake Superior is the largest body of fresh water in the world, being 366 miles long, and 140 miles broad. It is 1,200 feet in depth, and is 627 feet higher than the level of the ocean.

Lake Huron is 240 miles long, and 220 broad. It has 1,000 feet of depth in the centre, and its waters are as clear as crystal. In the Georgian Bay, leading out of this Lake, are upwards of three thousand islands! many of them small but beautifully picturesque, and one of them, the Great Manitoulin, 75 miles long.

Lake Erie is 265 miles long, and 63 miles broad. It has a depth of 250 feet only, and is 565 feet above the level of the ocean, being 62 feet lower than Lake Superior, and 30 feet lower than Lake Huron.

Lake Ontario receives all the waters of the upper Lakes, by the Falls of Niagara. This Lake is 172 miles long, and 52 miles broad. Though the smallest of the Lakes in area, it has a greater depth than Lake Erie, having 1,000 feet of soundings in its centre.

The magnificent St. Lawrence, of which these Lakes are but the expansions in its course, rises in the Lake of the Woods, to the north-west of Lake Superior, and in the distance from this last to the sea, it traverses a course of more than two thousand miles. Taking into account its beauty, as well as its length—the romantic passage among the Thousand Isles, between Kingston and Montreal—the size of its Lakes—the magnificence of its Cataracts and Rapids, from Niagara to the Chaudière, Montmorenci, and St. Ann's—and the gigantic scale of its opening into the sea—it is beyond all question the most magnificent river in the world. Neither the Amazons, the Plata, nor the Orinoco of South America, the Missouri or Mississippi of North America, the Niger or the Nile of Africa, the Ganges, the Indus, the Tigris, or the Euphrates in Asia, or the Danube, the Rhine, or the Vistula in Europe, can either of them present so remarkable a combination of objects of beauty and grandeur as the St. Lawrence.

Of the Cities of Canada, separate descriptions have already been given; while the Commerce of the respective ports before dwelt on furnishes the best index to the general traffic of the country.

All that remains to complete this sketch, is an account of the new form of Government since the Union; and as that cannot be more faithfully exhibited than in the Act of Union itself, it has been thought best to give it entire in the Appendix.

CHAP. XX.

Departure from Quebec—Fine view of the City and surrounding objects—Falls of Montmorenci — Isle of Orleans — Isle of Filberts—River Saguenay—Scenery of its cliffy banks—Grandeur of the St. Lawrence at its entrance—Anticosti—Gaspé—Bay of Chaleurs—Magdalen Islands—Prince Edward Island—History, description, statistics, and commerce of the Colony—Government, population, and religious sects of the Island—Entrance to Pictou—Town of Scotch settlers—Coal beds and railroad—Passage through the Gut of Canseau—Shores of Nova Scotia and of Cape Breton—Geological theory of the formation of their Bays—Entrance to the harbour of Halifax—Embarkation of the late Governor for England—Specimen of Colonial nationality.

HAVING secured a passage from Quebec to Halifax, by the mail-steamer Unicorn, we embarked on Tuesday the 29th of September, and left the Queen's Wharf at 3 P.M. The weather was delightful, and the splendid view of the City was even more picturesque and imposing as we receded from it, than at the period of our first approaching it. Though the naval squadron had sailed in the morning, there still remained more than a hundred merchant ships at anchor in the open stream, while from 200 to 300 others were within sight along the edge of the river at the coves and wharfs, taking in or discharging their cargoes. From one point of view—where the Heights of Abraham, and the Citadel on Cape

Diamond, formed the back-ground, while the town and its suburbs was spread out from the point of that Cape to the entrance of the river St. Charles before us, and the crowded shipping occupied the centre of the whole—the picture was at once splendid and beautiful in the extreme.

Soon after leaving Quebec, we approached the south-western extremity of the Isle of Orleans, and took the passage to the south of it, as the northern has less width and less depth of water. Before we reached the Island, we opened a fine view of the Falls of Montmorenci on our left, the whole front of which could be distinctly seen, presenting a sheet of white foam descending, perpendicularly from the cliff into the waters of the St. Lawrence, and looking much better at this distance, about three miles off, than when nearer to it.

The passage down the river was full of interest, from the continued succession of agreeable landscapes presented on either side, the farms being all brought under cultivation, and the whole way for many miles on the southern shore being covered with small villages, long lines of white cottages like a continuous street, and many parish churches with neat towers and spires; the whole of the population settled here being French Canadians, the cleanliness and neatness of whose habitations we had before so often remarked. The Isle of Orleans was equally well cultivated, and as thickly settled; and both banks of the mighty river wore the aspect of abundance and prosperity.

After passing the north-eastern extremity of this Island of Orleans, the St. Lawrence expands its

breadth to several miles across, though it is still studded with islands. Among those which we passed about sun-set, were the Isle Madame, and Grosse Isle, the latter being the Quarantine station of the port of Quebec. Beyond these was the high land of Cape Tourment, about 1,500 feet above the level of the stream, and thirty miles below Quebec—the scenery here possessing features of vastness and grandeur, which increase as you approach the sea. Near this, we passed by the ships of war which had sailed from Quebec this morning, all now at anchor in the stream, the flood-tide setting up strongly, and rendering them unable to proceed; while the steamer in which we were embarked continued her course without interruption.

In the course of the night we passed through a Rapid called the Traverse, where a floating light is stationed for the guidance of navigators, the current running here at the rate of from six to seven miles in the hour. We passed also the Isle aux Coudres, or Isle of Filberts, where the old French discoverer, Jacques Cartier, anchored on his first voyage up the St. Lawrence, and gave the name to the Island from the great quantities of filberts then found growing there. Two spots in the little bay opposite to it on the northern shore, he called at the same time, St. Peter's and St. Paul's.

Early on the morning of September the 30th, we were abreast of Green Island, and the small village of Trois Pistolles, on the southern shore; while on the northern, inmediately opposite to us, was the entrance to the river Saguenay, which here pours its tributary waters into the St. Lawrence. Of this

stream we heard many details from Captain Douglas, who commanded the Unicorn, he having been employed on its first survey, and his ship being the first that had ever penetrated it to any distance above its mouth, which is about 170 miles below Quebec. This river rises in the mountains, about 500 miles west-north-west of its embouchure, and in the meridian of Montreal, about 74° west. It flows first into a Lake, called the Lake of St. John, from whence it again issues at its eastern end, and thence flows onward to the St. Lawrence. In breadth, it is scarcely ever less than a mile; its depth, where sounded, has been found to be in many places a hundred fathoms! its current is always full and rapid; and along its banks, about forty or fifty miles from its mouth, there are perpendicular cliffs of rock, 800 feet at least, and, according to some, 1000 feet in altitude above the level of the stream! The solitude which reigns along its shores adds much to its wildness and grandeur, there being only one station of the fur-traders here, called Chicoutimi, at a distance of more than a hundred miles above the St. Lawrence, to which the Indians bring their peltries for sale. Several pleasure-excursions have been made up this river, by the Unicorn steamer, during the last summer, and many of those who had been on those trips expressed themselves to us as delighted with the grandeur of the scenery they had witnessed in this noble and romantic stream.

From this point, where the Saguenay joins the St. Lawrence, the distance from shore to shore across the latter stream exceeds twenty miles, and the width goes on increasing till it expands to forty miles from

Cape Chat to Cape des Monts Pellés. From thence it goes on still further expanding till it reaches the breadth of about 120 miles from shore to shore, in a line drawn from the extreme point of Gaspé due north across the western edge of the Island of Anticosti, and so on to the coast of Labrador. Through this magnificent mouth of the river, we passed into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, having thus traced the noble stream, from the island of Mackinaw, in the Straits of Michillimackinac, at the head of Lake Huron, down to the Island of Anticosti, a distance of at least 2,000 miles, through a chain of the most splendid Lakes in the world, and with almost every variety of scenery along its majestic course.

From Gaspé round into the Bay of Chaleurs—so named by Cartier, because of the excessive heats felt there by himself and his companions, on his first visiting that Bay in the month of August—the whole coast is said to abound with fish, and during the fishing season a large number of boats and men are engaged in this occupation. It is thought that there are often 2,000 persons thus employed, chiefly in open boats. As many as 60,000 quintals of cod-fish have been taken on the coast of Gaspé alone, in a single season, of which about 10,000 were sold in a fresh state, and 50,000 dried and salted for exportation, while 30,000 gallons of oil were obtained chiefly from the livers of these fish. Besides these, about 4,000 barrels of herrings, and 2,000 barrels of salmon, are taken and cured in the same period. Seven or eight sailing-vesssels, chiefly schooners, with about 250 men, are employed in the whale-fishery within the Gulf, and make from 20,000 to 25,000

gallons of oil in the season. Not less than 70 vessels are also employed from Gaspé in the timber-trade, exporting from thence about 100,000 feet of pine in the year. The population of the District, which comprehends 350 miles of coast, including the Bay of Chaleurs, is estimated to be about 15,000, chiefly of French descent; and along the edge of the shore large portions of the territory have been brought under cultivation, and yield good harvests of grain. Gaspé is visited every spring, by large numbers of traders, from Jersey, who come here to select and purchase dried fish, chiefly cod, which they ship off in small vessels of their own. The greater part of these goes to the ports of the Mediterranean, where the Catholic population form the great body of the consumers; the inferior qualities they send to Halifax, from whence they are shipped to the West Indies, for the food of the negro population.

The large island of Anticosti, which stands at the entrance into the river St. Lawrence, though more than 300 miles in circumference, is as yet very little cultivated or settled. A lighthouse has recently been erected here, and some provision-stations established for shipwrecked fishermen. Many small vessels also frequent its coasts during the fishing season, and small parties of wreckers come to collect the materials of such ships as may be cast upon its iron-bound coast, of which unfortunately there are often a great many; though the fogs, that prevail in the spring and summer on the eastern coast of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, do not extend thus far into the Gulf, and the Bay of Chaleurs is entirely clear of them.

In the course of the day we saw the spoutings of several whales in the Gulf. At 4, P. M., the group called the Magdalen Islands were in sight. As we approached these, several seals were from time to time seen to lift their heads out of the water, look round a little, and then suddenly disappear. It is said that the walrus is often found on the shores of these islands, but we did not pass sufficiently near them to observe any. The whole group, comprising about half a dozen small islets, belonged to the late Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, who, though so distinguished an officer in the British naval service, was a native of the island of Nantucket, off the coast of Massachusetts, and always retained a great affection for the place of his nativity, where a great number of his relatives bearing the family name still remain. One of these islands is called Coffin Island, and the others are named Bird, Brian, Saunders, Wolfe, Deadman, Entry, and Amherst; but they are all very small, and have but few inhabitants.

By sunset we came within sight of Prince Edward Island, and steered for its eastern extremity, round which it was intended to pass, so as to haul up for the harbour of Pictou. There is an inner passage from Gaspé through the Northumberland Straits to this harbour, but as our passage through it would have been by night, and the navigation is not thought so safe as the outer passage, this last was preferred.

Prince Edward Island is so called in honour of the late Duke of Kent, the father of Her present Majesty, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in these Provinces, in 1799, when its present name

was substituted for that of St. John, which it originally bore. Though forming a separate government, as a Colony, it is comparatively small, being in its greatest length 135 miles, and in its greatest breadth 34 only. In one place it is not more than a mile wide; and its coasts on both sides present so many bays that there are few parts of the island in which it is more than ten miles across from the head of one bay to the head of some other. The whole area of the island exceeds 1,000,000 of acres, and as there are no very lofty mountains, while there is an abundance of wood, and many little lakes and streams, it is fertile and inhabitable throughout. The climate is milder and softer than that of Canada, without the fogs of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; and the health and longevity of its inhabitants is remarkable. It will be described more at length in a subsequent chapter.

At sunrise, on the morning of Friday, the 2nd of October, we passed close under the small island of Pictou, which lies to the south of Prince Edward Island, and at 7, A.M. we entered the port of Pictou, on the peninsula of Nova Scotia. There is a small lighthouse on the eastern point of the habour as you enter—one of the few with which all the coasts and islands within the Gulf of St. Lawrence is too scantily supplied, and for the want of which many ships are wrecked every year; though the expense of maintaining these safeguards to navigation would be amply repaid by a very slight impost on the numerous ships and vessels frequenting these waters.

The harbour of Pictou is small, but very pretty. The course into it is nearly west by compass, or a

true course of west-south-west; and the depth of water over the bar three fathoms and half at low water. The town is about two miles in beyond the entrance of the harbour, and the shores on each side are well cultivated, though the land appears to be stony, and not very fertile. On the left hand, as we advanced up the harbour, we saw a small settlement of the Micmack Indians, the remnant of their tribe, being encamped here in wigwams on the slope of the hill near the sea. The town of Pictou is small, containing perhaps 300 houses, almost entirely built of wood; but the spires of three churches rising from among them, show that sufficient provision exists for so small a community as to places of worship at least; the principal settlers here being emigrants from the west coast of Scotland.

After landing the Quebec mail for Halifax at Pictou, the steamer went up for a few miles into an inner harbour to take in her supply of coals, and we remained on board during the time. At this place, we found several large vessels, English and American, loading with coals for different ports. The coal mines are distant from hence about seven miles; but the coals are brought in by a railroad from thence in small waggons, which are carried by projecting stages of wood, erected for the purpose, right over the holds of the ships prepared to receive them, when the bottom of the waggon is let down, and the whole of its contents falls perpendicularly into the hold below. By this expeditious process, about eighty tons of coal were taken on board in less than two hours, the price of the article at the wharf being 18s. per chaldron. As the quality of the coal is excel-

lent, the demand for it increases every year, both in the British Provinces and in the New England States; and the supply is inexhaustible, as the area over which the known beds of this material are spread exceeds ten miles square.

Returning to the town of Pictou to take on board some additional passengers for Halifax, we left the harbour again about noon, passed Pictou Island at one o'clock, and saw Prince Edward Island beyond it; but keeping nearer to the coast of Nova Scotia, we passed the small village of Arisaig, and a long line of well-cultivated coast for forty miles; till we rounded Cape George within half a mile of the shore, about four o'clock, stood across the opening of George's Bay till six, and then entered the narrow strait, called the Gut of Canseau. This remarkable channel, which is about twenty-five miles long through the narrowest parts of it, divides Cape Breton on the north-east, from Nova Scotia on the south-west, the course through the strait being about south-south-east by compass, or a true south-east course. Its average breadth is not more than two miles, and in some places it is not more than a mile across, presenting therefore the aspect of a river. There is excellent anchoring ground in any depth of water from three to ten fathoms, near the shore, and an entire absence of sunken rocks and shoals, so that the passage is navigable with safety by night or by day, except in the season of fogs, when even steamers are liable to be detained here several days at once. The current is rapid through the straits, but depends more on the state of the winds than of the tides, often going with the wind, at the rate of

four or five miles an hour. Both sides of the strait appeared to be well settled and fully cultivated, and the inhabitants, who are chiefly of Scotch descent, with a few Acadians, have the reputation of being remarkably industrious, moral, and prosperous.

After clearing this Strait, our passage through which was interesting and agreeable, being accompanied by a brilliant moonlight, we crossed the Bay of Chedabucto, at the head of which is a noble harbour, called Milford Haven, from its resemblance to that celebrated port in Wales. About midnight we rounded the promontory of Cape Canseau, and then altered our course to west-south-west along the coast.

As the daylight opened on the following morning, we found ourselves running down the coast of Nova Scotia, about eight or nine miles off shore; but though there was a fresh breeze from the southward, and the coast is exposed to the full sweep of the sea from the Atlantic, we had remarkably smooth water, and a deliciously balmy atmosphere after the harsher and colder air to which we had been subject in Lower Canada. Everywhere along this coast, English names prevail, though in some there is not the least resemblance to be seen between the copy and the original. Whitehaven, for instance, on the coast of Nova Scotia, has no resemblance in position to Whitehaven on the coast of Cumberland in England. On the other hand, Torbay and Berry Head, as seen here, resemble very strongly the places so called on the coast of Devonshire in England, both in their conformation and in their relative positions. Sandwich Bay is very fine, though nothing like Sandwich

on the Kentish coast at home. The whole of this south-eastern line of Nova Scotia, is full of the finest bays and harbours imaginable, resembling, in that respect, the south-west coast of Ireland. It is usual with geologists to attribute this, in both cases, to the action of the Atlantic waters, beating in from century to century, and thus corroding away, or scooping out, those extensive hollows or inlets. But though this theory may be suggested by the appearance of such bays as we see there on the map, the difficulty in adopting it is very great, when we consider the fact, that as far as history and the earliest maps of these coasts, whether of Nova Scotia or of Ireland, will enable us to judge, no visible operation of the Atlantic waves has taken place for the last 300 years; and that unless the rocks were originally much softer than they are at present, or unless the oceanic waters once possessed some powers of abrasion or corrosion which they do not exhibit at present, it would require millions of years to have produced the indentations which we see, some of them extending for many miles up within the capes and promontories that enclose them, leaving many scattered islands as so many breakwaters behind them to protect the projecting line of the coast.

By noon we were down abreast of the harbour of Halifax, and hauled up on a course of about north by compass, or a true north-north-west (the variation here being about two points westerly) to enter it, passing up on the west side of Macnab's Island, where the deepest channel is, through the buoys and beacons by which it is clearly defined. The entrance to Halifax is striking. The harbour is one of the

finest that could be desired for though open to the south-south-east, ships passing up beyond St. George's Island, and anchoring abreast of the town, are well sheltered from every wind, and the harbour is accessible at all seasons of the year. The town of Halifax, which is on the left of the harbour as you enter, rises from the sea, over a steep ascent, while the summit of the hill, at a height of about 200 feet, is crowned by a citadel, with fortifications and signal-posts, which produces an imposing effect. If the houses were large and built of stone, the position occupied by the town could not fail to make its appearance beautiful. But when you approach near, the greater number of the edifices are seen to be of wood, many of them are mean, as well as small, and none of them are painted in the white dress, which gives such freshness and brightness to the wooden buildings of the towns and villages in Lower Canada and the United States; so that a stranger's first impressions of Halifax, derived from the exterior of the great mass of the houses, are likely to be, as ours were, decidedly unfavourable. Indeed, after landing at the wharf, and passing up through one of the principal streets of the town, to the only tolerable hotel in the place, the Masonic Hall, and observing in our way the dusty streets, unpainted houses, broken and neglected side-walks, and numbers of dirty and ill-clad negroes, our impression was, that ever since leaving England, we had never seen, either in the United States, or in the Canadas, any town with so few good private dwellings, or even public buildings, in proportion to its antiquity and population, as Halifax appeared to present. We

were unable to obtain apartments at the Masonic Hall, but found accommodation at a Public Boarding House, called the Acadian Hotel, just opposite the west front of the Province Building, the only fine public edifice in the town, and here we took up our abode during the period of our stay.

Soon after our landing the town was full of bustle and animation, in consequence of the preparations making to accompany the embarkation of the late governor, Sir Colin Campbell, with some public demonstration of respect. It appears that the Reform party in the Provincial Legislature, had carried an Address to the Queen, praying for the removal of Sir Colin from the government; but instead of sending it home through the Governor himself, which is the prescribed channel in such cases, the Address was forwarded by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly directly to the Colonial Secretary in London. By him it was returned, as not coming through the proper channel; but, strange to say, though thus scrupulous as to the form, the substance of the Address was acted upon; for Sir Colin soon received an offer, from the Home Authorities, of the government of Ceylon, which is considered of higher rank, and is much more lucrative than that of Halifax. So rapid were the movements in the Colonial office, that before Sir Colin could send home an answer, signifying his acceptance or refusal of the proffered advancement, his successor, Lord Falkland, arrived in one of the large steam-packets to occupy his place. He was immediately sworn into the government, and Sir Colin Campbell became a private individual; but even before Sir Colin's departure, the new Gover-

nor had signified the Queen's pleasure that five of the Conservative members of the Executive Council —among whom was Mr. Cunard, the great ship-owner and projector of the new steam-packet line— should resign their seats; and these vacancies were filled with five Reformers, among whom was Mr. Howe, the editor and proprietor of the principal Reform Journal of the Province, a weekly paper called the Nova Scotian, the constant advocate o "Responsible Government," the test and watch-word of the Reform party here as well as in the Canadas. The appointment of Lord Falkland, as a Whig, to succeed Sir Colin Campbell, as a Tory, and the recognition of the principle of "Responsible Government," by choosing the new members of the Executive Council from the leading men of the Reform party, was regarded, of course, as a great triumph to the Reform cause; and to neutralize or counteract this as much as possible, the Conservatives were determined to get up a demonstration, so as to show that they viewed the departure of Sir Colin with regret, and were determined to show him all the honours in their power on his leaving their shores.

In the town there were two Societies, the St. George's and St. Andrew's, composed of English and Scotch, or descendants of these races respectively; and such of the members of these as belonged to the Conservative party, moved chiefly by political motives, had little difficulty in obtaining the addition to their ranks of others who were neutral, and of some even who were hostile to Sir Colin's political administration, but yet respected him as a Scotchman, or esteemed him for his private character; while others

again joined them from love of display and fondness of the excitement of a public demonstration. These two bodies, with the badges of their respective Societies, accompanied by banners and music, repaired to the Government House about three o'clock, and escorted Sir Colin and his daughter, who were accompanied in other carriages by Lord and Lady Falkland and their suite, from thence to the wharf. The St. Andrew's Society had a gigantic thistle borne before them in the procession, and the members unharnessed Sir Colin's carriage, and drew it by ropes previously prepared for the purpose to the wharf, their band playing first the well-known air "The Campbells are coming," and then the more pathetic one of "Auld lang syne." In the mean while, the three regiments of infantry in the garrison here were turned out to line the street through which the procession passed, and the whole scene, though not enthusiastic, was a very gay and animating one. Several appropriate Addresses had been presented and replied to by Sir Colin during the day; and at the wharf where he embarked on board the Britannia steamer for England, he thanked those by whom he was surrounded, in brief but feeling terms, and was evidently much affected by this manifestation of respect from those by whom he had been thus escorted.

About the same time, the Unicorn steamer, in which we had arrived at noon from Quebec, was taking in about 300 men belonging to the 23d regiment or Royal Welsh Fusileers, with their baggage, to go up the St. Lawrence; and as the Britannia, for England, with Sir Colin Campbell on board, started from the same wharf, there was a large concourse of

persons, including the soldiers, the procession, and the crowd assembled there. While the salute on Sir Colin's departure was firing from the fort, the Unicorn started; and between the 300 troops on board, and the people on shore, there were exchanges of recognition and adieus, in the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and responsive cheers, which so moved one of the Halifax editors, as to induce him to record his feelings in the following little morceau of national vanity—

"The splendid steamer Unicorn passed down the harbour at a rapid rate, and in splendid style, at about six o'clock on Saturday evening, for Quebec, with the right wing of the 23d regiment, who left this, bearing with them the high esteem of this community, and its deep regret at their departure from a garrison in which they have won the regard of its inhabitants. The sight was indeed an exciting and exhilarating one; and, amid the roar of cannon, the shouts of enthusiastic thousands, the sound of soul-stirring music, and the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, we felt carried away by the tumult of our feelings, with an admiration of, and a pride in belonging to, the Greatest Nation in the Universe!"

This would be laughed at by us, if uttered by Brother Jonathan, in the United States, but it is tolerated if said by the descendants of John Bull, in the Colonies.

CHAP. XXI.

First settlement of Nova Scotia by the French—Town of Halifax founded by the Earl of Halifax—Cruel treatment of the Acadians by the British—First House of Assembly formed in Halifax—Visits of the Duke of Clarence and Duke of Kent—Situation of the town—Fine harbour and basin—Town of Dartmouth—Shubenecadie Canal—Plan of Halifax—Dock Yard and Ordnance Depôt—Province Building—Government House—Catholic Seminary—Protestant College—Museum and Mechanics' Institute—Churches of Halifax—Numbers and sects—Newspapers—Commerce of the Port—Population—British, Negroes, and Indians—General society—Loyalty of feeling—Ladies of Halifax—Hospitality—Parties—Country Residences—Agriculture—Roads.

The town of Halifax, as an English settlement, and under its present name, may be said to have been first founded in 1749; when the Earl of Halifax, then President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, conceived the project of collecting a number of soldiers and sailors, who were discharged in consequence of the peace, for whom it was thought it would be an excellent provision to send them here as settlers. Previous to this, the place had been occupied, first by Indians of the Mickmack tribe, then powerful in this territory, and subsequently by the Acadians, descendants of the original French colonists; the town was then called Chebucto. It was the wish and intention of the British govern-

ment, however, since the cession to it by France of all Acadia, to fill up the Province as speedily as possible with a British population. The Earl of Halifax being at the head of the department with which the execution of this project lay, and entering into it with great zeal, the name of the settlement was changed from Chebucto to Halifax, in honour of this nobleman as its patron.

The numbers that are stated to have embarked in the first expedition to this spot, were 3,760; consisting of sailors, soldiers, and their families; and the sum of 40,000*l.* was appropriated by the government at home for their conveyance. They first landed in June, 1749; and procuring sawed timber and plank from the neighbouring colony of Massachusetts, then also under the British flag, they were enabled to construct a small town, composed entirely of wooden dwellings, but laid out with great regularity, with straight and broad streets. They next formed a Government, which consisted of a council of six persons, named by the Governor, the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, who exercised at the same time legislative, judicial, and executive authority, subject to the Governor's control; and during the first six years of their administration, from 1749 to 1755, they received no less a sum than 415,584*l.*, in annual grants from the British Parliament, to support their infant Colony.

For the first few years, the settlers of Halifax were kept in perpetual apprehension from the attacks of the Indians, who, though friendly to the Acadians, were extremely hostile to the English, and scalped and murdered them whenever they had an opportu-

nity. Sometimes they took them into the interior by long and perilous journeys, under an infliction of cruelties far worse than death itself. The English, however, are not free from the reproach of having behaved with quite as much cruelty to the large body of French peasantry then scattered over the territory of Nova Scotia, under the general name of Acadians, from the French name of the province, Acadia. About the year 1755, when the great Lord Chatham was at the head of the ministry in England, the French, having strengthened and reinforced Louisbourg, in Cape Breton, and excited apprehensions that they intended to invade Nova Scotia,—and the British, fearing that the Acadians, their ancient subjects, would join the French in such a case, a plan was formed by Governor Lawrence, Admiral Mostyn, and Admiral Boscawen, who held a council for this purpose, to root out the Acadians from the territory, and scatter them as widely as they could be spread. They were then thought to be about 20,000 in number; and though they were no doubt strongly attached to their native country, France, and had on all occasions refused to bear arms against it, yet, like their countrymen in Lower Canada, they lived in the peaceable pursuit of their agricultural and pastoral operations. As it was thought dangerous, however, to carry this wicked project openly and avowedly into execution at once, it was deemed most prudent to betray the unsuspecting victims into the snare laid for them. They were invited in a body to repair to a certain place in each district, to receive some communication of an important nature to themselves, but which could not

be divulged till they met; and in the full confidence of hearing some good tidings, the greater number of them assembled in their respective districts confidingly. Here, the fatal secret was divulged to them by their oppressors, that their extirpation had been resolved upon, as the enemies of the State; that their lands, houses, and cattle, were all forfeited; that they were to be sent to the other American colonies farther south and west; and that all they would be allowed to take with them, would be a small sum of money each, and such moveables of furniture as could be readily transported. Their numbers being greatly divided, no resistance was made to this cruel and unjust decree, though many wept bitterly, and all remonstrated against so great an act of tyranny, but without avail. The day of embarkation arrived, and the troops and English settlers under arms, had literally to force most of them at the point of the bayonet, into the vessels and boats engaged for this odious service. They were thus driven by force from their homes, without the slightest reparation for the robbery inflicted on them, and were landed as so many vagrants on different parts of the coast of New York, Pennsylvania, and even Georgia, where they suffered great hardships, and many died of fatigue and want!

Out of the whole number of from 18,000 to 20,000 of the Acadians, whom it was intended by this barbarous process to root out of the country, it is thought that not more than 10,000 were actually exiled; the rest having fled from the reach of their ruthless destroyers, into the depths of the wilderness for refuge, and suffered more than those that had

been banished; while their perescutors, with a fiendish malignity which no Indians of the most barbarous or ferocious tribes could surpass, absolutely ravaged their lands, and destroyed their dwellings, to prevent their finding any shelter in them if they should return! In one district, according to the statement of Judge Haliburton, no less than 263 houses of the Acadian peasantry were at one time seen in a blaze; yet, the innocent sufferers from this loss, many of whom witnessed the conflagration from the depths of the forests into which they had retreated, were able to restrain their indignation while they saw their own dwellings consuming before their eyes, till the destroyers set fire to their places of worship, as well as their houses, when their religious feelings being outraged by this act of desecration, they made a sally on their enemies, killed about thirty of them in their rage and desperation, and then fled to the depths of the woods, again to hide themselves from their sight!

A second case of the exile of the unhappy Acadians took place in 1761, when, owing to a panic occasioned by the landing of some French troops on the Island of Newfoundland, the Government ordered the few Acadians that still remained in Nova Scotia to be seized and shipped for the Colony of Massachusetts; where, however, the New Englanders positively refused to let them land, as they had suffered so grievously from the burden of the exiles previously cast upon their shores; they were therefore brought back again, in the same ships that took them, to Halifax.

During the first period of the history of Halifax,

the government was administered by the Council of Six, already described; but in 1758, this was followed by the formation of a representative assembly of 22 members, elected for the several townships settled in Nova Scotia, with power to admit representatives from other townships that might afterwards be formed; the members being elected by the suffrages of all who held a freehold of the value of forty shillings annual rent, this being the specified qualification. The first House of Assembly, thus constituted, met in Halifax, on the 2nd of October, 1758.

The first line of post-office packets from Falmouth in England, to Halifax, was established in 1785, and His late Majesty, William IV., visited it, in one of the king's ships, as an officer of the navy, in 1787, two circumstances which gave some eclat to the town and port at the time. This was still further increased by the subsequent residence here, of the late Duke of Kent, as military commander.

The value of Halifax, as a naval station, became fully known, however, in the war with France, which broke out in 1793; as the squadron destined to occupy the sea from hence to the West Indies, made this port their rendezvous, and sent all the prizes taken by them in this quarter, into it, for condemnation and sale. This, of course, brought merchants and speculators here with capital; and many valuable settlers were afterwards induced to remain as permanent residents, who opened channels of commerce with the West Indies and South America, as well as with Europe, and thus contributed to enrich the town. In the last war between Great Britain and

the United States also, Halifax was the port into which all the American prizes taken in the western waters of the Atlantic were carried for adjudication; and the sale of the ships and cargoes here, brought monied men from various parts, as purchasers, and caused much wealth to circulate among the inhabitants, as well as the visitors. The peace of 1814 put a stop to this, and some comparative depression followed; but the attention of capitalists and merchants became, from that period, devoted to more steady sources of gain from commerce, and this they have since pursued, with a fair return of profit on their undertakings.

The situation of the town of Halifax has been already described, as lying on the western side of a fine harbour, about three or four miles in from the sea. It is protected from the winds of the S.S.E., the bearing of its only entrance, by the island of St. George, which occupies the centre of the harbour, and defends it, by its elevated batteries, from the approach of an enemy, as well as covering it from the swell of the Atlantic by its bulk.

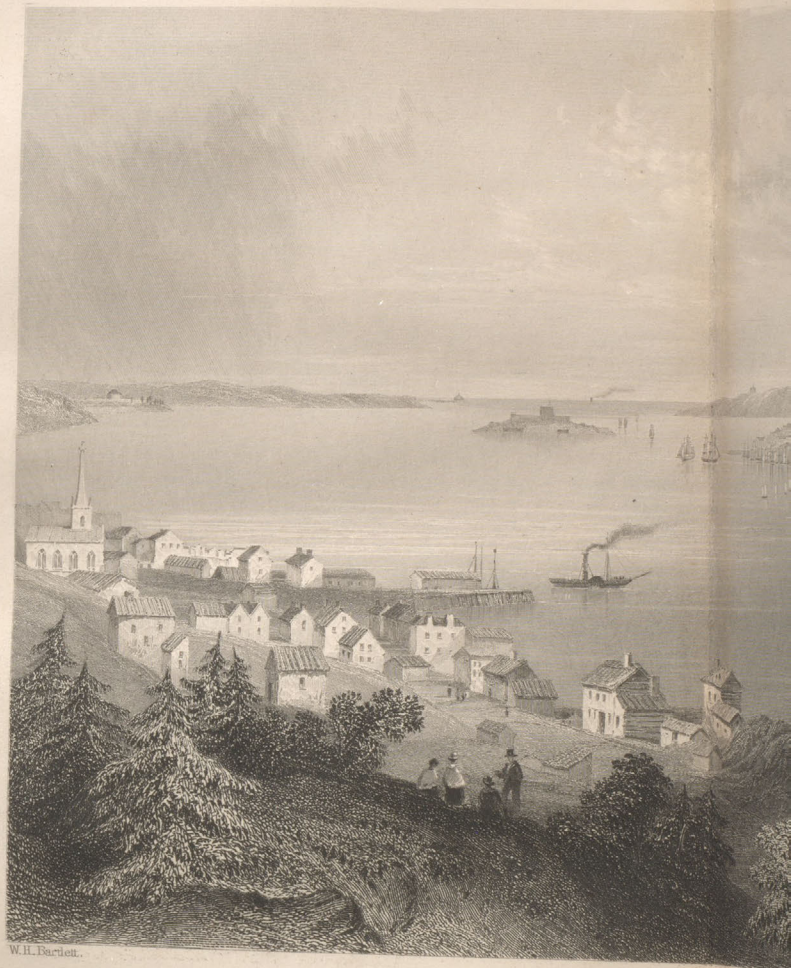
Opposite to Halifax, on the eastern shore of its harbour, is the small town of Dartmouth, the soil around which is more fertile than on the west, and is advantageously cultivated chiefly by German settlers. The breadth of the harbour here is about a mile and half, and a steam ferry-boat goes across every half hour. It is of nearly as early a date as Halifax, having been founded in 1750; but about six years after its foundation it was destroyed by the Indians, and the greater number of its inhabitants massacred. It was revived in 1784 by some families

from Nantucket, among whom were some of the Quebec family of the Roches, related to the wealthy merchants of that name in New Bedford. They carried on the whale-fishery here with great success till 1792, when a branch of them removed to Milford Haven in Wales. The town has now a population of 1,500 only; but if the projected canal, called the Shubenacadie — intended to pass through a chain of small lakes behind the town towards the river Shubenacadie, which falls into the Bay of Fundy—should ever be completed, it would no doubt greatly advance the prosperity of Dartmouth.

It is from this point of view that the town of Halifax, with its crowning hill and fortifications, its busy wharves lined with shipping below, the spires of its churches and the general mass of dwellings, is seen to the greatest advantage.* The small but elevated island of St. George, which shelters the town from the S. E. winds and the swell of the Atlantic, is in the middle of the picture; while the opening of the harbour's mouth to seaward, and the distant line of the ocean, is seen beyond, as indicated by a steamer just appearing in the distant horizon.

Above and beyond the towns of Halifax and Dartmouth, or farther in from the sea, the opposite shores of the harbour approach each other within less than half a mile, and constitute the passage called The Narrows. Through this, however, there is ample depth of water for the largest ships that float, and within these Narrows, there is one of the most magnificent sheets of water that can be conceived, spreading out like an inland lake, covering an area

* See the accompanying Engraving.



W. H. Bartlett.

Halifax, from Dartm

R. Wallis.

lax, from Dartmouth.

of ten miles square, in which all the navies of the world might ride at anchor secure from every wind that blows. This is called the Bedford Basin. It is surrounded with lands of moderate height, well cultivated, and in some future century will no doubt contain towns and villages on its borders; though at present, the outer harbour of Halifax so effectually answers all the purposes of shelter and accommodation to the ships frequenting it, that no use is made of the splendid inner harbour or lake described, into which the tide flows freely up to its extreme boundary, the rise and fall here being about eight feet.

The plan of Halifax is much more symmetrical than that of Quebec or Montreal, and approaches, in this respect, the regularity of the Cities of the United States. The length of the town along the water's edge is about two miles, and its breadth upward from the shore to the Citadel, about half a mile. The principal streets run through the length of the town, or parallel to the water, there being eight of this kind; and these are crossed by sixteen others, at right angles, ascending from the wharfs up toward the Citadel, being very steep, as there is a rise of about 200 feet in half a mile. These streets are from 50 to 60 feet broad, are mostly unpaved, and therefore very dusty in dry weather, but the steep declivity of the hill prevents their being long wet or muddy after rain. The side-walks, as at Toronto and Quebec, are mostly of wood; but many of these are in a most dilapidated and neglected state, which must make it dangerous for a stranger to walk over them at night, as the town is not lighted, either by lamps of oil or gas; and therefore, as at Quebec

and Montreal, which are in the same state of darkness, lanterns are indispensable to those who would walk the streets in safety at night, when the moon is not visible.

Above the town, and commanding both the harbour and the surrounding country, is the Citadel or Fort, which does not cover a very extensive space, but on which, large sums of money have been expended. It has great strength, and is considered excellent as a military work. There is a deep ditch, and covered-ways on both sides, with loop-holes for musketry through the solid granite masonry; about fifty pieces of cannon are now mounted on the batteries within, with space for more if needed. The signal-post and telegraph here, are conspicuous objects from afar; and on a clear day, ships can be descried through the powerful telescopes mounted under shelter, at a distance of thirty miles.

Of the naval establishments for the equipment of ships of war, there are two, the Dock Yard, and the Ordnance Depôt. The Dock Yard, as it is called, according to the English usage, (though Navy Yard, which is the term used in the United States, would be here more appropriate,) has no dock in it; the rise and fall of the tide, which is only eight feet, being insufficient to form a natural dock, and no artificial or dry dock having ever been made; so that ships of war requiring to have any repairs on their bottoms, must be hove out for the purpose. This yard covers fourteen acres of ground, has good wharves, with deep water alongside them, and is well furnished with anchors, cables, masts, and the usual supply of naval stores, with ample and agreeable

accommodations for the commandant and officers of the establishment, who are now, however, fewer in number than in time of war. There is a house for the Admiral of the station, overlooking the harbour, and a frigate, the Pyramus, is anchored there as a receiving ship; but the Admiral of the North American squadron, now divides his time between Halifax, Bermuda, and Barbadoes, visiting each at fixed and appropriate seasons, so that the separate ships cruising, on their respective stations, may know where to find the Admiral's ship in any case requiring his aid or directions. The Ordnance establishment is also very extensive; and in both this and the Dock Yard are to be found at all times a supply of everything necessary for the reparation or equipment of a naval fleet, for any operations likely to be required in this quarter.

The public buildings of Halifax are few in number, but one of them, called the Province Building, is large, handsome, and commodious. Standing nearly in the centre of the town, and having an open space all around it, so that all its proportions can be seen to advantage, it is one of the principal ornaments of the City. It is built of a rich brown close-grained sandstone, sufficiently hard and smooth to admit of being worked with as much exactness as marble; and no where in any country do I remember to have seen more perfectly executed masonry than in this building. It is of the Ionic order of architure, with a double front, each facing one of the lateral streets. The east front is the principal one; and at this, the edifice has a centre and two wings, each surmounted by a pediment, the centre having a

fine Ionic colonnade of six columns, rising from the second story to the pediment, which contains the royal arms of England in relief. It has here three stories above the basement. The whole edifice is 140 feet long, 70 feet broad, 70 feet high in the east front, and 60 in the west, the difference being occasioned by the slope of the hill, and the difference of elevation between the two streets to which these fronts are respectively presented. The eastern or principal front has an open space planted with trees, and enclosed with an iron railing, which adds much to its beauty; and the western front approaches close to the side-pavement of the street. The interior of the building is quite as handsome as the exterior, and as commodious as it is handsome. In the basement story are capacious cellars and store-rooms for various purposes. In the first floor above this, or the ground-floor as it would be called, are nearly all the public offices of the general government and of the town. In the principal floor above this, on a level with the street to which the west front is presented, are the Hall of Representatives, for the Speaker and forty members, constituting the House of Delegates, and the Legislative Council Chamber, with a throne for the Governor and seats for the members of his Council. In these apartments is an excellent full-length picture of His late Majesty William IV., in his robes over a naval uniform, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and sent out by the late king as a present to the House; and portraits of George II. and III., and their respective Queens, are also placed in different parts of the same building. The Courts of Law are held

under the same roof; and on the upper story is a good Library belonging to the Legislature; so that the edifice unites public convenience with elegance, by its concentrating in one spot all the public records and public offices of the town and province. It was built about twenty years ago, and cost 60,000*l.*, which was paid out of the provincial revenues.

The Government House is a handsome edifice of the same brown free-stone as the Province Building. Though nearly in the centre of the town, it has a good lawn and garden before its principal front, and an enclosed court with shrubbery at the private entrance, forming a much larger and more agreeable residence for the governor than exists at Quebec, Montreal, or Toronto.

Dalhousie College is another of the well-built public edifices of Halifax. It is higher up on the side of the hill, and is well placed on the northern side of a large open space, used as a parade for the troops in garrison here. It is built of the same fine stone as the Province Building and Government House, with a centre and two wings; it is about 100 feet by 50, and consists of three stories. It was founded by the Earl of Dalhousie, whose name it bears, in the year 1818, when that nobleman was governor here; but as the older College of Windsor, about fifty miles off, on the north-western part of Nova Scotia, which was founded and endowed in 1787, is much more efficient, the College at Halifax has never risen to any eminence. It has a Board of Directors, a few professors, and a very few pupils; but all the accommodations and materials for a large

number of students being there provided, time will no doubt increase them.

There is a large Catholic seminary, called St. Mary's, conducted by an Irish gentleman of great reputation, from the College of Maynooth; a Classical academy kept by a Protestant Divine, who is Chaplain of the garrison; and a National and an Acadian school; and several private seminaries.

In the College building is a Museum, containing specimens of natural history, minerals, models of machinery, and philosophical apparatus. Under the same roof is a lecture-room, fitted up for the use of the Mechanics' Institute, capable of accommodating 300 auditors, where lectures are given by gentlemen of the town, and well attended.

There are several barracks for the troops scattered throughout the town in different quarters, and open spaces used by them as parade grounds; but here, as at Quebec and Montreal, the military officers mix but little with the general society, on whom they look down as their inferiors in rank. This is, perhaps, no real loss to the community, as the dissipation which unfortunately characterizes military life in most quarters of the world, (with some exceptions, of course,) exercises no favourable influence on the manners or morals of society; though the military themselves might benefit by mixing more with civilians than they usually do.

Of churches, there are nine in Halifax; St. Paul's and St. George's, of the Church of England; St. Andrew's and St. Matthew's, of the Church of Scotland; St. Mary's, of the Roman Catholic Church; with two Methodist, and one Baptist Chapel. There

is also a very small old Dutch Church, of almost as great antiquity as any building here, as it bears on its front the inscription and date of 1763. The largest of the English churches is St. Paul's; it was built in 1750, a year only after the first settlement of Halifax by the English. It is constructed of wood, is most commodiously and comfortably arranged within, and will hold at least 1,500 persons. St. George's is perhaps next in size; this is also built of wood. It is circular in shape, which gives it the appearance, on the outside, of a building intended for a circus or panorama. St. Mary's is built of stone, with a square Gothic tower, and is perhaps the handsomest of all the churches; the only other stone edifice of worship is the Baptist Chapel; all the rest are of wood, and possess nothing remarkable in their architecture. All these churches are well filled; and the clergy and ministers of religion here, are characterized by more than a usual share of ability and piety; added to which, great liberality and toleration seem to prevail between the different denominations of Christians. In St. Paul's Church there are three full services on the sabbath, and two in the course of the week. On the evenings of Sunday, the Church is thrown open to all classes, the pews being relinquished by their proprietors, and some of almost every other congregation in town attend here on these occasions.

Newspapers appear to be as numerous here, as in any town of a similar size in America. None of them are published daily; but there are large weekly papers—the Times, Conservative; the Nova Scotian, Reformer; the Royal Gazette, official; the

Journal and the Acadian Reporter, neutral. These are all conducted with great care, and respectable talent. There is also a religious paper in the Baptist interest, called the Christian Messenger; and another in the Methodist interest, called the Guardian. Besides these, there are three penny papers published twice and thrice a week—the Herald, the Morning Post, and the Hailgonian, which furnish only the heads of news, without exercising much influence on public opinion.

There is a Theatre in Halifax; but, like most of these establishments in the Colonies, it is so little frequented by the higher and even middle classes, that its support is left to strangers, and the lowest class of the population, so that it is constantly in debt and embarrassment, and will ultimately, no doubt, be abandoned.

The Commerce of Halifax is confined chiefly to the United States, the West Indies, and the Brazils, in America; and to Great Britain and the Mediterranean, in Europe. It consists chiefly of the export of timber, dried fish, wheat, flour, oats, salted pork, butter, and fish-oil; and in the import of manufactured goods from England, wines from the Mediterranean, and sugar, molasses, logwood, mahogany, coffee, cigars, and rum, from the West Indies. The aggregate amount of exports and imports on an average of several years past, is about 750,000*l.* annually for each; though for the whole Province of Nova Scotia, including the few other ports, it is about 1,000,000*l.*

The population of Halifax is estimated at 16,000 persons, including at least 1,000 negroes, and a few

Indians of the Micmac tribe. These last are rather occasional visitors than permanent residents; but, like the negroes, being seen frequently in the streets, and attracting attention from their fantastic dress and colours, they give an impression to the stranger of their being more numerous than they really are. The negroes settled here are chiefly from the United States and the West Indies. During the American war, the British squadron, under Sir Alexander Cochrane, after ravaging the shores of the Chesapeake, and going up to Washington to burn the Capitol, and destroy the public records there, brought away a great many negroes from Maryland and Virginia, as prisoners of war; and these becoming free as soon as they were landed here, had no disposition to return. Ships arriving from the West Indies also brought, from time to time, runaway slaves, who sometimes secreted themselves in the ships' holds, till they got to sea, and sometimes entered on board vessels as cooks or stewards, and finding many of their own colour here, joined them as residents. The greater number of them appear to have made little or no improvement in their condition, being poor, ignorant, dirty, and indolent; while no pains seems to be taken, either by the Government or by any Benevolent Society, to elevate them, by education and training, above their present state.

The general society of Halifax, of which we saw a great deal during our stay here—having been invited out to parties almost every day—appeared to be more like that of an English seaport town, than any we had met with since leaving home. The official, professional, and mercantile classes, all mingle on a footing

of friendly equality; and the members of each are so closely connected by family ties of relationship or intermarriages, that there is more of cordiality and affection witnessed in their intercourse with each other, than is usually seen either in England or in America. The men are in general intelligent, frank, and gentlemanly in their deportment, and have the ruddy glow of health which is more frequently seen on the European than on the American side of the Atlantic. They are entirely British in their feelings, and loyal to a degree that reminds one of the reign of George the Third, and the threatened invasion of England by Napoleon, when it was not enough to be loyal, but every one was expected to make constant profession of his being so, to prevent his being classed among the disaffected. Here, as in Canada, there is a large class of Reformers, who contend for the necessity of Responsible Government;—by which is simply meant, that while the Sovereign at home shall have the appointment of the Governor, and the nomination of the Legislative Council—the members of the Executive Council, corresponding to our Cabinet Ministers in England, shall be selected from that party which has the majority in the House of Representatives, so that the acts of the Executive shall be somewhat in harmony with the public opinion, as expressed by the choice of their delegates.

The ladies of Halifax, without being so aristocratic as the ladies of England, or so handsome as those of the United States, form a happy medium between both, and are in many respects more agreeable than either. In person, they appear to resemble

the American women, in being usually slender in figure, regular in features, and pale in complexion, with dark eyes and dark hair. But in their voices they are entirely English, having that rich fulness of tone, and distinctness and decision of utterance, which is so superior to the thin voices and drawling twang of the Americans. Without pretending to be literary or scientific, they are almost all well-read and well-informed; and there is a pleasing frankness and agreeable vivacity in their manners, which is peculiarly charming. For cordial, friendly, and lasting intercourse, their manners, habits, and feelings, seem to be well adapted; and from all we saw and experienced in the many agreeable families, whom we had the privilege and pleasure to know, our impression was, that we had never mingled in a society in which more of unostentatious, but substantial hospitality, and sincere kindness, was manifested, either towards strangers, or among each other, than in Halifax.

In the neighbourhood of the town are some agreeable residences, at distances of two or three miles out; and these, like the town-houses, are all much better furnished than their exteriors would lead one to expect. Fortunately for the people of Halifax, the love of show, and the display of ostentation in their houses, equipages, and dress, has not spread among them as it has done among their neighbours of the United States; so that though they do not live in such fine houses, and cannot boast such rich carpets, mirrors, and other decorative furniture for their dwellings, or such costly and extravagant wardrobes for their persons, as are to be seen in even the

second and third rate cities and towns in America, they enjoy quite as many substantial comforts, entertain their friends in a social interchange of hospitalities much more frequently; and above all, are free from those fearful anxieties which are inseparable from extensive speculation and mercantile embarrassment, there having been no stoppage of any bank in Halifax since its foundation, and only one bankruptcy has taken place among the merchants here, in the long period of eight years!

The agricultural operations carried on near the town, and the state of the farms within a few miles of it, are greatly superior to anything that we saw in Canada. This is attributed to the exertions and example of a single individnal, the late Mr. John Young, who came here from Glasgow about thirty years ago, and introduced the Scotch system of farming on his own estate, which afterwards became imitated throughout other parts of Nova Scotia. He published a series of letters on the subject of agriculture and the breeding of cattle, under the signature of Agricola, which still enjoy great and deserved celebrity, and which led to the formation of an Agricultural Society, under the patronage of Lord Dalhousie. The fields of his farm, though deprived of the benefit of his own superintendence, are more like English fields than any we had seen since leaving home; and the produce of the estate is still more highly valued than that of any other in the Province. His sons have distinguished themselves as writers on Colonial subjects, the fisheries, commerce, and currency, and latterly on the subject of Responsible Government, one of them being a leader of the

Reform party in the House of Representatives, and both being eminent in their profession as lawyers.*

There are some beautiful carriage-drives in the neighbourhood of Halifax, one which goes out to the south, near the entrance to the harbour, round a point called Point Pleasant, and thence up into one of the prettiest little bays that can be imagined; the road all the way being macadamized, the scenery pleasing, and the breeze from the water refreshing. Another delightful drive goes out at the north side of the town, passes the Narrows, and brings you upon the shores of the Bedford Basin, along which the drive continues, presenting an uninterrupted view of its ample expanse of water, bordered by the surrounding hills. Both these roads were executed under the direction of Sir Colin Campbell, and added much to his popularity.

My lectures were given in the Church of St. Andrew's, and were attended by audiences exceeding a thousand in number; the clergy of the Established Church, and the ministers of other denominations, vying with each other in their endeavours to secure the attendance of the members of their respective congregations; and a parting address on Temperance, delivered in the Masonic Hall, on the evening before our leaving Halifax, was productive of the best effects, in adding largely to the members of the Society, and also to the increase of its funds.

* The Reform member has since been elected Speaker of the House.

CHAP. XXII.

General Description of the Province of Nova Scotia—Area, extent, and position—History of its discovery and first settlement—Repeated captures and transfers between England and France—Shameful expulsion of the Acadians—Topography—Climate and productions—Value of Exports and Imports—Estimated value of moveable and immoveable property—Towns of the Coast—Interior Administration of Justice.

The Colony of Nova Scotia, of which Halifax is the capital, is very nearly an island; being connected to the continent of North America by a narrow isthmus of only ten miles across, from the head of the Bay of Fundy to the Straits of Northumberland, near Prince Edward Island. It lies between latitude 43° to 46° north, and is therefore about 5° further south than the southern coast of England; and its longitude is from 61° to 67° west. It is estimated to be nearly 300 miles in length from north-east to south-west, and of varied breadth from 50 to 100 miles in different parts. It has an area of about 15,620 miles, or nearly 10,000,000 of acres, of which 5,000,000 perhaps may be deducted for rivers, lakes, and rocky surface, leaving therefore about 5,000,000 of acres of cultivable soil. It has, on the north-east, the island of Cape Breton, separated from it by the narrow strait called the Gut of Canseau; on the north, Prince Edward Island; on the west,

the Bay of Fundy and New Brunswick; and on the south and east, the Atlantic Ocean.

The sea-coast is everywhere bold and rocky, with deep water for the navigator, and a continued succession of creeks and bays for shelter. The interior is undulated, but not mountainous; there being no elevation greater than 7 or 800 feet above the level of the sea, over all its surface. The bed of the whole territory appears to be granite, with trap and slate; there are also beds of sandstone for building, gypsum and lime for manure, and immense beds of coal for fuel; with indications of iron, lead, and copper, in many parts; promising a rich reward to the future toil of those who may be enterprising enough to bring them from the bowels of the earth, when the territory shall be more fully peopled.

The history of Nova Scotia may be briefly told. It was first discovered by the Cabots in 1497; was visited by the Marquis de la Roche in 1598; and was first colonized by the French, under De Monts, in 1604, when it was called Acadia. In 1613, however, the English sent a small expedition to expel the French, and take possession of Acadia, on the ground of their navigators having been the first to discover the territory. This practice of claiming a property in every land discovered, as if there were no higher title, is happily ridiculed by one of the writers of the day, in this quaint couplet—

> "For these were the days—to all men be it known,
> That all a man sailed by, or saw, was his own."

But even this was not literally true, for it was rather the monarchs of the hardy navigators, than the

adventurous mariners themselves, who claimed the territories because their subjects had discovered them. Accordingly in 1621, King James the First granted the whole of this country of Acadia to Sir William Alexander, and changed its name to Nova Scotia. The boundary line then fixed for the territory was one drawn from the river St. Croix to the St. Lawrence, so that it included all the present colony of New Brunswick, as well as a part of Lower Canada from Bic Island to Gaspé. In conformity with the usage of the times, this grant was made on the royal word "for ever;" but in treaties, grants, and diplomatic documents, the words "eternal peace and amity," and "perpetual and undisturbed possession," have a very limited meaning; their true signification being only just as long as may suit the convenience or interest of the parties to let this "eternity" continue, which may be twenty years, or ten, or only one, as circumstances may render expedient.*

* I remember an anecdote so strictly in point to illustrate this, that I cannot refrain from mentioning it. When I was at Shiraz, in Persia, in 1816, I lived in the house of an exiled Indian prince, named Jaffier Ali Khan, who was very much attached to the English, and who had, before this, kindly entertained the estimable Henry Martyn, the lamented Church of England Missionary, under the same roof, and was delighted to hear that we were both natives of the same county, Cornwall. The father of Jaffier Ali Khan had ceded some territory among the Northern Circars, under the Presidency of Madras, to the East India Company; in consideration of which, the Company, through the Madras government, undertook to pay, to himself and the dependent members of his family, certain fixed annuities, which were to be guaranteed to them "in perpetuity for ever." After a few years had elapsed, however, the Prince found his annuity considerably reduced in

Charles the First, therefore, soon put an end to the "for ever" of his predecessor James; and shortly after his accession, this monarch *sold* what his royal parent had previously *given away*. This was done by the institution of a new order of Nova Scotia baronets, which were limited to 150 in number. To each of these baronetcies, a grant of land in the province was attached, and the titles and territory were sold to such persons as would undertake to make certain payments to the crown, in aid of settlement, as it was called, but in reality to replenish the King's privy purse.

Many of the original French settlers, however, remained in Acadia; when Cromwell, in 1654, sent a force to dislodge them, and was successful. In the reign of Charles the Second, it was again ceded to France, by the treaty of Breda, in 1667,

amount; and no reason being assigned for this, he wrote, first to India, and then to England, but could get no satisfactory explanation on the subject. He then thought it possible that the words "perpetuity" and "for ever" might have a different meaning in English, from their equivalents in Persian, or that some change had taken place in the general acceptation of the terms; as words sometimes grow obsolete and change their meaning. He therefore sent to England for one of the latest and best editions of the most generally approved dictionary of the English language, which he spoke imperfectly, but which he could read pretty well; and on turning, with great eagerness and anxiety, to the words in question, he found that "perpetuity" meant exactly as he had supposed, "without change or cessation;" and that "for ever" was only another and stronger mode of expressing the same "continual duration." But he found that at the India House, as in the courts of other monarchs, "perpetual and everlasting" meant only "as long as might be expedient, and no longer."

and remained in her possession till 1689, when it was taken by the English, with an expedition from Massachusetts, then a British Colony, under the command of Sir William Phipps. The leader of this expedition was one of the most remarkable men of his day. He was the son of a very humble blacksmith, and was brought up as a shepherd's boy. At the age of eighteen, he was first apprenticed to a shipwright; and before he was twenty-one, he built a small vessel, with which he offered to raise some treasure, sunk in a Spanish ship, that was wrecked some years before at the Bahamas. His offer was made to the English court, and was accepted; and with the assistance he received from thence, he succeeded in recovering 300,000*l.* from the wreck. Of this he retained a portion sufficient to enrich himself, and the rest was given to his patron, the Duke of Albermale, who had assisted him in the equipment of the ship in which he performed this expedition. He was afterwards made a knight by King James the Second; and subsequently Governor of Massachusetts, in 1691, by the authority of William the Third.

Another change took place in the possession of Nova Scotia, when it was ceded a second time, by the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1696, to France, who held it till 1710, when it was again captured by the English, with an expedition from Boston; it was finally ceded to the British in the reign of Queen Anne, in 1713, since which it has remained in our undisturbed possession.

The first large accession of British settlers that went to Nova Scotia, embarked in the year 1749.

They consisted of about 4,000 adventurers, retired officers, and others, who were encouraged by a Parliamentary grant of 4,000*l.* to assist them in their settlement. They landed at Chebucto, where they founded Halifax, and then gradually planted themselves in the interior. As there were many French settlers still remaining in the inland parts of Nova Scotia, these were expelled by the British, and driven across the Bay of Fundy, to what now constitutes New Brunswick. This forcible expulsion of the French was attended with atrocities of which Englishmen may well be ashamed—such as the burning down the towns and villages of the peaceable and unoffending inhabitants, the ejection from their property and homes of the rightful possessors, and the barbarous massacre of even women and children.

In 1758, under George the Second, the first constitution for the government of the Colony was given. It embraced the three bodies of the House of Assembly, the Legislative Council, of 12 members, appointed by the Crown, and the House of Assembly, of 41 members, elected by 40-shilling freeholders, for 7 years, as in England. But the powers of the two branches appointed by the Crown, were too powerful to admit of much influence on the part of the Assembly elected by the people. The friends of reform and improvement were, therefore, continually struggling against the united powers of the Governor and his Council, until of late, when their labours have been crowned with success, in obtaining the object of their desire, a responsible government, meaning by that, an Executive taken from the party

that possesses a majority in the House of Assembly; just as in England, the ministers are always taken from the party that commands a majority in the House of Commons. Since this, which is of comparatively recent date, a life and spirit has been infused into the public feeling of the Nova Scotians, which is likely to be productive of the best effects on the future prosperity of the Colony.

The form of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, is a narrow and irregular oblong, running from north-east to south-west, for about 300 miles. On the south-east coast, which faces the Atlantic, the shores are so broken and indented into bays, that there are no less than 26 good harbours, within the line occupied by this side; and of these, 12 are large enough for the shelter and accommodation of the largest ships of war, while the other 14 are spacious and deep enough for the largest merchant-ships now in use. The harbour of Halifax, with its magnificent internal basin, has no superior in the world.

In the undulating surface of the interior, there are many pretty valleys, and some soft and picturesque scenery, while the soil is generally fertile, and the country well wooded. Many small rivers and streams, issuing from the numerous internal lakes, irrigate the land in their course; and the pursuits of agriculture and pasturage may be almost everywhere carried on with pleasure and profit.

The climate of Nova Scotia has a general resemblance to that of Canada, except that it is more humid, from being surrounded by the sea. The winter is long, seven months at least, but the severest months of January and February never exhibit so

low a state of the thermometer as in Canada. There, it often goes down to 20° below zero: here, 10° above zero is the general limit. The heat in summer, during the months of June, July, and August, ranges from 90° to 95°. The spring is very trying, from the damp easterly winds, occasioned by the breaking up of the polar ice, and the floating by of vast masses of icebergs; at this season, the vicissitudes of temperature are so great, that a change of 50° in 24 hours has been known. The autumn is regarded as the most agreeable period of the year, the months of September and October being equal to the finest weather in these months in England. The climate is undoubtedly very healthy; rheumatic affections are the most frequent, and sometimes consumption; but intermittent fevers and agues, so frequent on the American continent, are here almost unknown; and the inhabitants generally live much beyond the ordinary term of European life—70, 80, and 90, being ages frequently met with, and sometimes above 100.

The products of Nova Scotia are varied and abundant, though its resources are scarcely begun to be developed. Grain, of every kind in use by its inhabitants, may be produced in almost every part of the island, the yield varying from 25 to 40 bushels per acre of wheat, 40 to 50 bushels of oats, 200 to 300 bushels of potatoes, and 2 to 3 tons of hay per acre. Salt marshes are sometimes enclosed from the borders of the sea, and these yield, on their first harvest, 60 bushels of wheat to the acre. Barley, buckwheat, peas, and beans, are also cultivated;

and every kind of English vegetables and fruits may be raised in all parts of Nova Scotia in perfection.

It has been stated that there are about 5,000,000 of acres of cultivable surface in Nova Scotia, and the largest portion of this has been granted at different times to favoured individuals, or land companies, on conditions which most of them have failed to fulfil; but it is thought that not more than 500,000 acres, or one-tenth only of the whole, are yet under cultivation. There remains, therefore, an immense field yet open in this Colony for settlers, and uncleared or unimproved land may be had as cheap as in any part of America, varying from 2s. 6d. to 5s. per acre, and from that upward, according to its locality and advantages. Though some parts of the country has only a scanty soil, in others it is rich and deep; and in the neighbourhood of Pictou, on the north-west of the coast, within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there have been seven successive crops of wheat, raised, without rotation, or without manure.

There are still fine forests of excellent timber in the interior, including oak, beech, birch, ash, maple, and other trees, which are felled from year to year for exportation, to the value of about 150,000*l.* per annum. In these forests there are still some wild animals, but they are every year diminishing in numbers. The moose deer, the bear, the fox, the otter, the squirrel, the martin, and the mink, still furnish furs to the hunters who pursue them; and these have yielded an export of about 5,000*l.* value per annum. The great staple of the export trade, however, is fish, which abounds around the

coasts, in the bays, lakes, and rivers. A full fourth of the inhabitants are thought to be engaged in the catching and curing of cod, herrings, mackerel, halibut, and other sea fish, as well as in the capture of whales and seal for their oils, and the latter for their skins. The value of the fish and oil exported yearly amounts to at least 200,000*l.* Add to this, the produce of the mines of coal and iron, in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, extending, it is said, to 50,000*l.* a year more, and we shall see that though Nova Scotia is not one-fifth peopled, it is yet rich and productive, from its own natural resources, and these are capable of much fuller development, when capital and population shall be attracted to her shores.

The shipping amount to 150 vessels, measuring at least 15,000 tons, and employing nearly 1,000 men. They sail principally to the West Indies and the United States, and the amount of the exports given for the year 1839, had these among their largest items—

Timber of various kinds	£ 75,000
Flour from the wheat of the Colony	180,000
Salted beef and pork	25,000
Produce of the coal and iron mines	120,000
Fisheries of various kinds . . .	150,000

The immoveable property of the Colony in lands, buildings, &c., has been estimated to be worth 16 millions; the moveable property, in ships, furniture, implements, stocks of various commodities, and monied capital, at 20 millions; and the property annually created within the Colony has been stated at 8 millions and 10 millions, according to different authorities, but these estimates are necessarily some-

what uncertain, though they are no doubt not very far from the truth. That which is more certain is, that while the revenue is not more than 50,000*l.*, the expenditure is nearer 100,000*l.*, the difference having to be borne, as that of all our Colonies must be, by the mother-country.

Of the principal City and Port of Halifax, a description has already been given. The only other place worthy of note is Annapolis, which is on the western coast, looking towards New Brunswick, and is the oldest settlement on the continent of North America, having been founded in 1604. It was originally called Port Royal, but its name was changed to Annapolis, when it was ceded to the British in the reign of Queen Anne, in compliment to that monarch. It has a good river, and a noble harbour; but from the rapid growth of Halifax, on the outer coast towards the Atlantic, Annapolis never thrived, and is still only a small town of less than a hundred houses. There are also the towns of Windsor, Falmouth, Truro, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Yarmouth, Cornwallis, Dartmouth, Amherst, and Londonderry; but they are all small and unimportant.

The Supreme Court of Judicature sits at Halifax, but there are District Judges for the Country. The common and statute law of England are here in force, as well as the acts of the local Legislature, and on the whole it is believed that justice is fairly administered in a manner satisfactory to all classes of the people.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cape Breton—Position—Area—Originally part of the French Colony of Acadia—Subsequent history—Religious wars—Lax morality of the Puritans—Destruction of Louisbourgh—Value of its mines of iron and coal—Singular phenemenon of gas and boiling water—Population—Classes—Occupations—Shipping and trade—Prince Edward Island—Attempt to restore feudal government—Lands disposed of by State Lottery—Area, produce, and population of the Island—Chief town—Legislature—Commerce—Present condition.

Cape Breton, once a separate Colony, but now united to Nova Scotia,—and Newfoundland, once united to Nova Scotia, but now a separate Colony,—have each so natural a connection with the other, that a brief account is required of both, to make this section of the work complete.

Cape Breton lies at the north-east end of Nova Scotia, separated from it only by the narrow channel of the Gut of Canseau, through which we passed on our way from Pictou to Halifax. It is about 100 miles long by 80 broad, and covers an area of nearly 2,000,000 of acres. It was first settled by the French, when they founded Acadia, and was by them called L'Isle Royal. It was on the south-east side of this island that the French founded the town of Louisbourgh, in 1720, where they employed an im-

mense number of men for 25 years, in erecting strong fortifications, the whole cost of which was estimated at 30,000,000 of livres. This was invaded in the reign of George the Second, by English Colonists from Massachusetts, in 1745; and after a most obstinate siege and defence, in which there were five unsuccessful attacks, the whole contest lasting forty-five days, it was ultimately taken by the British, but with a loss of more than 4,000 men on each side.

The most remarkable feature of this contest was, that it was not so much a national as a religious war—a struggle of Puritan against Papist—in which it was the desire and design of the bigoted Protestants of the American Colony to dislodge and scatter the Catholic settlers who were too near them; and it is a curious fact, that the celebrated George Whitefield, the contemporary and colleague of John Wesley, being then in Boston, actually consecrated and blessed the standard of the Puritan warriors before they embarked in their holy war against those whom they alleged to be little better than infidels! As a proof, however, that the standard of morality was not at all higher among the Puritan assailants than it was among the Catholic defenders, this fact will furnish sufficient evidence. A few days after they had destroyed the town and fort of the French, and the British flag had been flying on the ramparts, two large vessels were seen in the offing as if approaching the harbour. As two French East Indiamen were about that time expected to touch at Louisbourgh, on their homeward voyage to France, it was presumed that these were the vessels in question. The cunning

Puritan conquerors, therefore, substituted the French for the English flag on the ramparts; and the ships drawing near enough to observe it, entered the port in the full confidence of its being still in the hands of their fellow-countrymen. They had no sooner cast anchor, than they were boarded and taken possession of by the traitorous English, who had thus decoyed them, under false colours, into port! The laws and usages of war, perhaps, allow of such deceptions, and the Puritans were not slow to adopt this lax standard of morality. But war itself is so anti-christian, and so immoral, that it is perhaps ureasonable to expect any of its operations to be otherwise.

At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, Cape Breton was restored to France, in exchange for Madras, in the East Indies, which had been taken by the celebrated French Admiral Labourdonnais, and it continued in the possession of the French till the war of 1756. It was then attacked by an expedition, consisting of a fleet and army, the former under the Admirals Holborn and Boscawen, the latter under the Generals Lord Loudon, Lord Howe, and the celebrated Wolfe. Louisbourgh again fell before its assailants, but the loss of the British was 400 men. There were captured from the French, on this occasion, eleven stands of colours, and these were sent as trophies to England. They were first lodged in the king's palace at St. James's, and then conveyed, under an escort of horse and foot soldiers, with a very numerous procession, accompanied by trumpets and kettle-drums, with all their noisy clangour, to St. Paul's Cathedral. There they were

hung out as banners, beneath the dome of a Temple dedicated to the religion of mercy, forgiveness of injuries, and peace; and there, very probably, some of their tattered remnants may still be seen, in most inharmonious contrast with the dove, the olive branch, the cross, and the other emblems of the religion of Him who said "Love your enemies, return good for evil, and do violence to no man."

On this occasion, Louisbourgh was entirely dismantled, and its fortresses destroyed; and many vestiges of the wrecks of large ships of war are still seen in its waters. It was not till 1820, however, that Cape Breton was made a county of Nova Scotia, since which it has so continued, and sends two members to the legislature at Halifax.

The whole area of the island is estimated to cover 4,687 square miles, but considerable deduction must be made from this for the many lakes and bays with which it is covered and indented. One part of the island is divided from another by a noble inlet called Le Bras d'Or, or the Arm of Gold. This is 50 miles long by 20 broad, and has various depths of water in it, from 12 to 60 fathoms. The town of Sydney, the capital of Cape Breton, is just within the straits of entrance to this inlet; and at the head of the bay is a narrow isthmus only 3,000 feet across, which will one day, no doubt, be traversed by a canal connecting the Bras d'Or with the Atlantic.

The chief value of Cape Breton is in its coal and iron mines, the first of which are almost inexhaustible. There are reckoned to be 120 square miles of workable veins of coal on this island alone. When the first vein of coal was struck at a depth of 180

feet, a large jet of water flew out with great violence, and a violent hissing noise, as it was at boiling heat. It appears that the water, here confined and pent up with the coal, is so charged with bituminous gas, that when it is even in tranquil pools, it will burn at the surface, like spirits. In consequence of its being known to possess this property, the washerwomen of Cape Breton are accustomed to dig pits, of a few feet in depth, till the water begins to ooze out; they then put pebbles into the pit so as to cause the water to rise to the surface, when they light the gas vapour rising from it, as they would the vapour of brandy or any other spirit, and on this they boil their water for washing, the flame continuing for weeks and even months, by the continual supply of the bituminous gas from the earth, if not put out. In an examination of persons familiar with this phenomenon, it was stated, that on the miners striking a new vein of coal, the gas would sometimes escape with such violence and rapidity, as to cause a report like that of a gun; while the boiling water would issue out with such force, as to make a sound like the hissing of thousands of snakes. These mines are claimed by the Crown, and are at present leased out to a mining company for 3,000*l.* a year, with great benefit, it is said, to the adventurers. The mines were first opened about fifty years ago, and have increased in value ever since. The produce of coal is about 80,000 tons per annum, selling at 15*s.* per ton, exported chiefly from Sydney to the United States and to the British Provinces. The town of Sydney is very small, containing not more than a thousand inhabitants. It was only first settled in 1823, but

its position is sufficient to ensure it future eminence. The whole population of Cape Breton is reckoned to be 40,000, of whom not more than 600 are employed in the mines; the remainder are engaged in the fisheries and in agriculture, and all classes are removed from want; while most of the whole number are in a comfortable condition.

The population includes some of the aboriginal Indians, to the extent, it is said, of about 300, who have a reservation of land for their use; but here, as elsewhere, they are gradually dwindling away. Those engaged in the fisheries are mostly Acadians of French descent, with an admixture of Scotch from the western coast of Scotland, and the agricultural families are principally Irish emigrants; while the more skilful among the miners are almost wholly from Scotland, and the number employed is from 5 to 600.

Some ships are built at Sydney for the fishing and coasting trade, and the whole number of vessels employed, includes about 500, ranging from 20 to 250 tons. There are nearly 100,000 acres of land in cultivation, and the products are similar to those of Nova Scotia, but a large portion of the surface of the island still remains unoccupied and untilled.

To the north-west of Cape Breton, are the Magdalen Islands, before spoken of, as seen in our approach to Pictou. These have about 200 families settled on the whole group. And to the south-east of Cape Breton, lies Sable Island, a small low sandy bank, very dangerous to navigators, on which there is a British superintendant, with a few men to render assistance to ships in distress, and to give aid and

comfort to shipwrecked mariners thrown upon its coast.

Prince Edward Island, which lies to the west of Cape Breton, is a separate Colony, under a separate government, lying between the latitude of 46° and 47°, and is one of the smallest possessions of the Crown under a Legislature of its own. Its history may be briefly told, and it is sufficiently curious to be given. It was first seen by Cabot, but first settled by the French, and formed part of the territory of Acadia, along with New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton. It followed the fate of the Province to which it belongs, in the change of its masters, and in 1758, after the reduction of Louisbourgh, St. John's—or Prince Edward Island, as it is now called—was transferred to the English, and its permanent possession confirmed to them by the peace of 1763. Its population was then thought to be about 5,000, wholly of French descent. About this time, a plan was proposed by Lord Egremont, then First Lord of the Admiralty, for appropriating and settling the Island, after this remarkable manner. It was to be divided into twelve districts, each to be assigned to an English baron, as his domain, on condition that he should build on it a baronial castle, dwell in it with his family and dependants, and there exercise jurisdiction as lord paramount, thus restoring the rude independence of the feudal age in this remote island! This plan, as may be readily supposed, was never sanctioned or carried into effect.

The manner in which its lands were afterwards disposed of was not much better. It was by means of a Government Lottery, which was drawn in

August, 1767. The plan was this. The area of the whole Island was estimated to contain 1,360,000 acres; its length from east to west being about 140 miles, and its breadth varying from 15 to 35 miles. These acres were divided off into lots of different extents and different qualities. The tickets or shares for drawing were distributed by the Government at home, chiefly to men of rank, court favourites, and persons who had ministerial influence, and the whole of the lots were drawn in one day. The only conditions annexed to the holders of prizes were, that they were to pay small quit-rents of 2s. to 6s. annually to the Government, for every 100 acres drawn, to send out one settler for every 200 acres held, and to do this within ten years, or forfeit their title to the land. But though a separate Council was then formed for the Island, the holders of the estates thus won by lottery, being chiefly men of rank and influence, paid so little of their quit-rents, that there was scarcely any revenue from that source, and the Government were too tender towards their interests to enforce a forfeiture. Indeed, instead of suffering this just penalty, the parties were powerful enough to obtain parliamentary grants in aid, to make up the deficiency of their own neglect; and at length it ended in the Government consenting to commute the long accumulated arrears due, for very small sums, leaving, however, the landed property still in the hands of the original drawers in this State Lottery, or their descendants. Thus, according to Lord Durham's Report, the absentee proprietors so entirely neglect their lands, that they leave a large portion in a state of wilderness, hoping, no doubt,

for an increased value in course of time, by increased population, but contributing nothing in the meantime towards its improvement; so that out of these 1,360,000 acres contained in the Island, not more than 100,000 are cultivated, and this in an inferior manner to that of the other neighbouring Provinces.

In 1770, the number of resident families on the Island was reduced to 150, in consequence of a most cruel and barbarous expulsion of the Acadians by the English. Soon after this, a settlement was formed by 300 Highlanders, with Capt. Macdonald at their head; when others following from various parts of Britain, a constitution was given to the Colony in 1773; and its first House of Assembly was then called together for the business of legislation. Population now began to increase by immigration, from Europe and from the surrounding provinces, and a great impulse was given to this by the Earl of Selkirk, who, in 1803, took over from Scotland a large body of 800 Highlanders. These, from the prudence of their leader, and their own industry, became so prosperous, that others readily joined them; and at the present time, by the united effects of natural increase, and immigration, the population of the Island is believed to be upwards of 40,000. The chief occupation of the people is agriculture, the pasturing of cattle, and the fisheries.

The island is well adapted for agriculture and pasture, it being estimated that there are not more than 10,000 acres out of 1,360,000 that are unfit for the plough. It is divided into three counties, King's, Queen's, and Prince's. The interior is

undulated, but not mountainous, and everywhere fertile. There are many excellent bays and harbours round the coast, and three rivers, the Hillsborough, the York, and the Elliot, each of which is navigable for several miles up. At the confluence of these three streams, on the southern side of the Island, is placed the chief port, Charlotte Town, which is the capital of the island. The harbour is narrow at its entrance, but broad within, and is well fortified. The town itself is neat and pretty, and the view from the higher part of it, as it rises up from the water, is very fine. To the south are seen the blue mountains of Nova Scotia, across the channel, called Northumberland Straits, which separates Prince Edward Island from the continent, varying from 10 to 20 miles in breadth. On the east and west are seen the interior of the Island itself, with its fine fields, woods, lakes, and streams, good farms near the capital, and fine herds and flocks; while the town and the shipping below complete a varied and interesting picture.

In the last year, the inhabitants, are said to have raised about 300,000 bushels of oats, 150,000 bushels of wheat, and 50,000 bushels of barley, with about 1,500,000 bushels of potatoes; they had at the same time on the Island, about 7,000 horses, 30,000 oxen and cows, 50,000 sheep, and 20,000 goats.

The fisheries have not been prosecuted with much vigour from Prince Edward Island, the largest amount exported in any year being about 3,000 quintals of dried cod; but shell-fish, especially lobsters and oysters, are obtained on its coasts, and in its bays, in great abundance, and of the finest quali-

ties; and about 2,000 barrels of the latter have been exported in a single season.

Ship-building is carried on also to a small extent here, the builders usually completing about 60 ships in each year, from 20 to 400 tons, but not averaging more than 100 tons each; the largest tonnage in any one year did not exceed 10,000.

The government of the Island is vested in a Governor appointed by the crown, Sir Charles A. Fitzroy being the present Governor, a council of nine, nominated by the same authority, and a snug little House of Assembly, consisting of only 18 members, 4 for each county, and 2 for each of the 3 towns, Charlotte, George, and Prince Town, elected by the freeholders of the island. The whole revenue of the Colony, chiefly from light duties on imported goods, does not exceed 10,000*l* a year, and its local expenditure is kept within the bounds of its income, but the civil and military establishment is paid out of the imperial revenues at home.

The population being now chiefly of Scotch descent, the Presbyterians are the most numerous of the religious sects. The Church of England is, however, regarded as the State Church, though here, no other denomination of Christians contribute to its support. The Methodists are next in order of numbers to the Presbyterians; the Baptists have a few places of worship for their followers; and the descendants of the French Acadians and of the Catholic Highlanders, have Catholic places of worship for their uses also; and all these are well attended.

The climate is milder than that of Canada or

Nova Scotia, from the absence of high mountains, and the close proximity of the sea. It is also deemed very healthy, intermittent fever and consumption being almost unknown. Deaths between the ages of 20 and 50 are very rare, and instances of 90 and 100 years of age are very frequent.

The last assessment of property of all kinds amounted to about 4,000,000*l.* The revenue was only 10,000*l.*, and the expenditure was 15,000*l.*, the difference, as in all our Colonies, being paid by the Government at home. It is clearly impolitic to permit the continuance of such insignificant Colonies as these under a separate legislature. It would be much better to let all the several Provinces be united under one general government, that of Canada, for instance, with a Lieutenant-Governor or Viceroy in each of the separate Provinces ; and let each send representatives in proportion to their population and wealth, to the Representative Body of the General Legislature; reserving to each of the Provinces, municipal institutions for their several cities and towns, so as to unite local legislation for local purposes, with general legislation for general objects; and then to bend the whole force, both of the Colonial and the Home Government, to the encouragement of Emigration, as being the only thing needful to develope the resources and increase the wealth of the whole. But this is too large a subject to be treated incidentally, and will be gone into more fully before this Tour is concluded.

CHAP. XXIV.

Island of Newfoundland—Size—Position—Features of resemblance to Ireland—History—Voyages of the Scandinavians and Welsh—Visit of English and French navigators—British Admirals and Naval Captains appointed as Governors—First constitution and Legislature given to the island— Area—Climate and productions—Rivers—Lakes—Soil—Bays—Harbours—Animals—Birds—Fisheries—Ships and men employed—Seal-fisheries—Perilous enterprises—Exports of fish and oil—Population—Religious bodies—Future prospects.

THE Island of Newfoundland, which lies to the north-east of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and stands right in the centre of the channel of entrance to the great Gulf of St. Lawrence, is one of the oldest of our western colonies; and, though hitherto much neglected, is likely, in time, to become of great importance. In shape it is not unlike England, being a triangle, of which the base is towards the south, and the apex towards the north. In size, it is larger than Ireland, and has some striking points of resemblance to it; in the numerous indentations of its rocky coasts, forming excellent inlets, harbours, and bays — in the presence of many rivers and lakes in the interior, as well as extensive tracts of peat or bog, with buried forests of wood beneath them—in the absence of all serpents, vipers, or venomous reptiles—in the moisture of its climate,

and in the excellence of its soil for the growth of the potato. It is the nearest part of America to Europe, being only 1656 miles distant from Ireland, little more than half the distance of New York from Liverpool. Its longitude is 55° west of Greenwich; the latitude of Cape Race, its southern extremity, is 46° 40′ north, and of its northernmost termination, Cape Bauld, 51° 40′. It is separated from the coast of Labrador, by the Straits of Belle Isle, which have a varying breadth of from 10 to 15 miles.

There is now good reason to believe that Newfoundland was visited by the Northmen as early as the year 1001, when Bruin, one of the sea-kings or pirates, of Iceland was here. When at Boston, during our tour through the United States, I attended a lecture on the Voyages of the Northmen, delivered by the Hon. Edward Everett, then Governor of Massachusetts, in which the evidence of these Voyages of the Northmen, recently published by the Antiquarian Society of Denmark, was analyzed and criticized with great skill and judgment; and the result was a perfect conviction on my own mind of the authenticity of their expeditions.* From Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages and Travels, completed and published in the reign of Elizabeth, we learn that in the year 1170, Madoc, a Prince of Wales, went with ships and followers, to a country west of

* Mr. Everett is now Minister from the Court at Washington in London, and well sustains the dignity of his mission. The greatest men in America, including Presidents, Judges, and Senators, frequently assist, by public lectures, to instruct their fellow-countrymen, and are honoured and applauded for their labours.

Ireland, many days' sail distant, where he settled and remained; and the evidence on this subject, though slight, is neither contradictory nor improbable. Of both of these early voyages, however, all recollection seemed to have been lost when Cabot made his discovery of Newfoundland in June, 1497. The first land seen by him was called Prima Vista, or First Sight,—Cabot, being an Italian, though sailing from Bristol under a patent from King Henry the Seventh. It turned out to be a small island, around which were seen innumerable multitudes of the cod-fish called Baccalao, so this name was given to the island, which it still retains. A cape to the north of this, a little westward, is still called Bonavista, which gives its name also to an extensive bay. The larger island called Newfoundland, was thought, by this navigator, to be a continent; and it was not till some years after its first discovery, that its insular position was established.

Cabot brought home with him from hence, some of the native Indians, who spoke a language which no one but themselves understood, and they were naturally objects of great curiosity at the time in England.

The report of the countless shoals of fish seen on the coast, tempted several nations to send out ships and men, so that before many years had elapsed, there were seen English, French, and Portuguese vessels fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, as well as around its coasts.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, appears to have been the first who had a patent to colonize the country. This was granted

by Queen Elizabeth in 1579, and gave him the privilege to colonize 200 leagues of this newly-found coast—so extensive were the grants of these early days. After a disastrous expedition, and a delay of several years, during which the patent expired, Sir Walter Raleigh himself obtained another; and building a strong ship, which he called after himself, he sailed, with his relative, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as his admiral, but was compelled to put back to Plymouth, from the breaking out of a contagious disorder on board his vessel, and never resumed his voyage. The rest of the little fleet went on and reached Newfoundland in safety, the squadron consisting of three small vessels, and a mere boat, the Delight of 120 tons, the Swallow of 50, the Golden Hind of 50, and the Squirrel of only 10 tons! Only one of these reached England on the return voyage,—the little Squirrel, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert on board, having foundered in a heavy gale off the Azores, his last expression being, "We are as near to heaven by sea as we are by land."

In 1610, King James I. granted a royal patent to the Lords Bacon, Verulam, Northampton, Baron Tanfield, and others, including the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and many peers, as "Adventurers of the Cities of London and Bristol," to occupy certain of the coasts and fisheries. But these great personages not being competent to manage such affairs, and trusting to agents and deputies, not well chosen, honest, or discreet, the speculation failed, and their scheme was abandoned.

The first permanent settlement made here was in 1623, when Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord

Baltimore, who planted Maryland in America, sought here an asylum for the free exercise of his religion as a Roman Catholic, a body of Christians then much persecuted and oppressed in England and Ireland, from whence Lord Baltimore came. He made his son Governor of the Colony, which he called Avalton, after the ancient name of Glastonbury in Somersetshire, where it was believed that Christianity was first preached in England; the reason of this choice being, that this was the first place in which, as he considered, Christianity was first preached in this newly discovered country. Lord Baltimore, however, subsequently left this, and went to Maryland in America, where he founded the city still bearing his name, and Avalton is still retained as the name of the principal district of Newfoundland, in which the chief city and port of St. John's is situated.

In 1633, Charles I. gave a patent to Lord Falkland, to found a settlement here, and a large number of Catholics were sent out from Ireland. Long previous to this, the French had formed settlements on various parts of the coast, but chiefly the west; and at this period many contests occurred between them and the English, for the exclusive right of fishing in particular localities.

Soon after the accession of William III. in 1692, the question was taken up warmly, and a force sent out to protect the English fisheries. And in 1706, Queen Anne was addressed by the Parliament on the subject. But the war in the Low Countries then engaging all the force and means of England, nothing was done. The French accordingly held

possession and supremacy till 1715, when, by the treaty of Utrecht, Newfoundland was ceded to England, reserving only certain rights of fisheries on the eastern, northern, and western coasts.

The first British Governor that was appointed over the whole Island, was in 1728. This was Lord Beauclerk. Previously to this, Newfoundland had formed part of the government of Nova Scotia. Lord Beauclerk, however, being a member of the House of Commons, did not like to vacate his seat; so, while he accepted and retained the office of Governor, and its emoluments, he sent out Captain Osborne, of the navy, as his deputy. From that period onward, it was the custom to appoint naval men as Governors, because the chief business of the Island was fishing, and its chief visitors seafaring men. Among the Governors are the names of Admirals Rodney, Byng, Hardy, Sir Hugh Palliser, Captain Byron, Admiral Gambier, Sir John Duckworth, Sir Richard Keats, Sir Thomas Cochrane, and others, who, afterwards rose to distinction in the naval service. The celebrated Captain Cook, the circumnavigator, was also here, engaged in a survey of the southern coast, where many of the marks set up by him still remain.

In 1832, under the administration of Sir Thomas Cochrane, a constitution was given to Newfoundland, his commission authorizing him to form a legislative body, to consist of himself as Governor, a Legislative and Executive Council of seven members, of his own choice, and fifteen Representatives to be chosen by the inhabitants of nine districts, into which the Island was to be divided, to form a House of Assem-

bly. In 1833, the first Local Parliament was opened; and in 1834, Sir Thomas Cochrane was relieved by a successor, Captain Prescott, the last of the naval Governors of the Island, whose administration ceased in the summer of 1840.*

The Island of Newfoundland is about 300 miles in length, from north to south; and of the mean breadth of 200 miles from east to west. Its circuit is about 1,000 miles, and its area 36,000 square miles. It has a surface of upwards of 23,000,000 of acres, or 3,000,000 of acres more than Ireland; but deducting the area of the large lakes of the interior, it may be said, perhaps, to be about equal to that of Ireland, or 20,000,000 of acres. Its shape is a broken and irregular triangle, of which the base is to the south, running east and west, and the Island gradually grows narrower till it reaches its apex on the north. The western coast is the most regular and continuous, though that is much broken; the eastern coast is most irregular, being full of deep bays and inlets of great extent. Indeed the whole margin of the Island is full of estuaries, indentations, and creeks. Coming from Cape Race on the southern coast, and going northward up the eastern shore, there are the fine Bays of Conception, Trinity, and Bonavista. Passing on to the west, there are the Bays of Exploits, Notre Dame, and White Bay;

* Subsequently to this, Major-General Sir John Harvey, the Governor of New Brunswick, has been appointed to Newfoundland; and from so much of his administration as is yet known, the greatest good may be expected from the enlightened and liberal measures, and the statesman-like views and sentiments, which have marked the early period of his career.

and from thence on to the north, are Orange, Hare, and Pistolet Bays. On the south there are Placentia and Fortune Bays; and on the west, St. George's and the Bay of Islands, with many smaller ones. In the interior are six or seven large lakes, from twenty to fifty miles long, and forty or fifty smaller ones, from which issue rivers and streams descending to the sea. The substratum of the island is granite, but there is also slate, lime, and gypsum. Large forests of wood exist in the interior, and valleys of good soil. But the centre of Newfoundland is hardly as well known as the centre of Africa; there having been only one traveller, as far as I have heard, Mr. Cornach, who had ever gone across it, and this was done with some Indians, the families living on the game they shot by the way. Towards the south there are said to be indications of iron. Some of the hills are from 1,000 to 1,500 feet high; but no survey has ever been made of the interior, though enough is known to render it certain that there is abundant room and sufficient soil there to support a large population.

The chief town and best harbour of the Island is St. John's, on the southern portion of the east coast, lying between Torbay on the north, and the Bay of Bulls on the south. The harbour is formed by a hollow between two lofty hills. The entrance to it through the Narrows is so confined that only one large vessel can well go in at a time. Precipices of 300 feet high hang over the ship on the one side, and a lofty hill 600 feet high on the other. The harbour, when attained, is not large, being about a mile long, but it has deep water, and is perfectly shel-

tered from all winds. The entrance is so well fortified as to make it quite safe from any but a very large naval force. In time of war, a large iron chain is stretched across the narrowest part of the entrance, so as to render it impossible for a ship of any size to pass it.

The town of St. John's is built across the inner shore of the harbour, on its northern edge, rising gradually from the sea ; and having been constructed by fishermen and traders, has no pretensions to either symmetry or beauty. The dwellings are chiefly of wood, the streets very narrow and irregular, and the whole place is disfigured by stages jutting out from the sides of the hills and the edge of the beach, for the purpose of drying fish, in which occupation more than half the entire population are engaged in the fishing season. There is a large Government House, without the slightest claim to admiration for its architecture, though built of stone, and costing a large sum of money. But the conviction of these defects is said to be now pretty general, and some recent efforts to improve the town, and introduce a higher style of building, seems to promise better things for the future.

The western portion of the island, along which the French have their fishing stations, is accounted the most fertile ; and the climate there is softer, and the atmosphere clearer, than in the east, as the fogs of the Atlantic do not extend far into the Gulf. On the eastern portion, however, there is sufficiency of good soil to grow grain, pasture cattle, and raise fruits suited to the climate. The winters, as in Canada are long and sevère, high winds more prevalent, as well

as fogs; but the climate is nevertheless deemed to be healthy, and instances have been not unfrequent, of fishermen of 90 and 100 years of age still continuing their occupation. The reason of the fogs that so frequently occur on the eastern shore is this—In the summer, the icebergs that are disrupted from the great polar mass of frozen sea, float down past this island, carried southward by the currents which are known to flow in this season from the polar circles to the equator; and the temperature of the water is then so much warmer than that of the air, that it gives out the vapour constituting the fog. This, however, does not ascend far above the surface; for it has frequently happened, that while the fog was so dense below, that vessels, near enough for the crews to hear each other's voices from ship to ship, could not be seen by each other from their decks, they were nevertheless each visible from their respective mast-heads, where the atmosphere was quite clear. Some of these icebergs which float by the island are of immense size, several miles long, and others smaller; and when the rays of the sun are opposite to the direction in which they appear, they present the most sparkling and brilliant appearances.

Of wild animals there are still found, in the interior of the island, deer, beavers, wolves, bears, foxes, hares, and otters, which are shot and caught for their flesh and furs. The celebrated dog of Newfoundland is getting scarce; the genuine species is said to be quite black, and not so large as the fine creatures we usually see in England under that name. Of land-birds, and water-fowls, there are a great variety; the sea-eagle, the fish-hawk, the raven, the

crow, the strike, the blackbird, the night-hawk, the owl, the snow-bird, the redpole, the robin, besides grouse, ptarmigan, wild-geese, ducks, teal, widgeon, and sea-birds in great numbers. The domesticated animals include horned-cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and a rough and hardy race of horses. All these feed on fish as readily as on grain; a fact which did not surprise me, as I remember to have observed the same thing in the Persian Gulf, where at Muscat, Ras-el-Khymar, and other towns on that coast, the cattle feed on fish, and thrive under the diet; and I believe it is sometimes the case on the Scilly Isles, off the south-west coast of England.

The finny tribes of the Ocean are, however, the great source of the wealth, and the great objects of the enterprise of the Newfoundlanders, though they do not neglect the produce of their rivers and lakes. In these are found salmon, trout, and eels; and all are caught in great numbers. The Indians love to pursue the sport by torch-light; and are very dexterous in spearing the trout, and bringing them up in great numbers. The lights at the bow of the boat attract the fish to the surface; and the Indians, stationed there, throw their darts into the bodies of the fish as they turn their side upward, and dexterously flinging their prize into the bottom of the boat, proceed to take up others. In the Missionary Journal of the Island, a statement is made by one of the missionaries who accompanied an Indian fishing-party in a canoe, that in the boat in which he was, 400 trout were speared in the course of two hours; and in the five boats of the group, 1,000 were killed in the same space of time. This is a method of fish-

ing in which the Chinese are very expert, as I remember on a voyage down the Red Sea, in 1816, that the carpenter of the ship, who was a Chinese, having prepared himself with a basket, and a dozen sharp wooden darts, was lowered over the stern of the vessel, to take his stand on that part of the rudder which just rises above the surface; and a shoal of small fish then following in the ship's wake, he speared them almost as fast as we could count them, and had half a dozen buckets filled and drawn up on deck in less than half an hour.

Among the smaller fish of the coast, there are cod, mackerel, and herring, in immense quantities, the latter coming in spring and autumn, and changing the colour of the sea by their number. There are also sole, plaice, and halibut; and lobsters in such abundance, that they are sold from twopence upwards, the finest cod at threepence, and other fish equally cheap; muscles also are found, but no oysters, though supplies of these come from Prince Edward Island. Among the greatest delicacies of the sea, however, is reckoned the capelin, a small fish like a smelt, about six inches long, of a green and brown tinge, with white silvery sides. They come in immense shoals about the middle of June, and remain on the coast for six weeks. They cover the sea for miles in extent, and are pursued by myriads of the cod-fish, which feeds on them. They are accounted a great delicacy while they last, and some few are carefully barrelled and sent to England as presents, while a large portion is preserved as the best bait for the cod.

The seal and cod fisheries are, on the whole, the

most important, and these are carried on with great vigour and enterprise. Of sealing vessels there are nearly 300 employed, varying from 60 to 160 tons, and carrying from 15 to 30 men each, or 8,000 in the whole. The men are armed with muskets, poles, and cudgels, all used in killing the seals. They usually start on their voyage in March, and the harbours being then often frozen up, they have to cut a way for their vessels through the ice to the sea. On reaching the offing, they beat to the northward amidst broken ice, with which the sea is then thickly covered, till they reach the more compact masses, which are called Sea Meadows. There they find at this season large herds of seals, the old ones having come here to give birth to their young, who are now only a few weeks old; and their skins being more valuable than those of the older animals, the greater pains are taken to secure these. The men land on these ice-fields, and proceed to the work of destruction; the smaller seals are soon despatched by a blow on the nose with the cudgel, and they are left bleeding to die, till the collectors come round; the larger require the lance or the musket, but this is used as rarely as possible, to avoid perforations in the skin. When as many are killed as may be found practicable, the men go round, strip off the skin and the fat from the animals, and leave their carcases on the ice; these are taken to the ships, and conveyed to land on their return, which is not till the vessels are full, or the season draws to a close; and such is the havoc among these creatures, that it is said as many as 500,000 have been killed in a single season! The fat of the skins is taken off on

shore, and converted into seal-oil, and the skins being dried and prepared, form the seal-skin of commerce.

There are abundance of whales, grampuses, porpoises, white and black, and other large fish, in the seas around Newfoundland, but these are not much attended to; and even the cod-fishery on the Banks is said to be diminishing, though, on the whole, the general shipping and commerce of Newfoundland is decidedly on the increase. From the latest returns it appears that about 1,000 sail of vessels entered and departed from the different ports of Newfoundland in the last year, besides those employed in the coasting and fisheries. The whole number of vessels employed in the trade with Newfoundland are at least 1,500, of 150,000 tons burden, and employing 30,000 men and boys; so that it is a fine nursery for seamen, as in no service in the world could habits of endurance, vigilance, and readiness of mind, be better formed than in this. The dark nights, broken ice, violent gales, and fierce snow-storms, to which they are exposed, make their occupations more perilous perhaps than that of any other that can be named. The number of boats employed during the fishing season is reckoned at upwards of 4,000; and the number of men at least 20,000, besides 10,000 curers of fish, who occasionally go to sea. The quantity of cod-fish taken and cured amounts in general to 1,000,000 of quintals per annum, and 12, 000 tons of seal-oil alone has been exported in one year. There are not nearly so many ships belonging to the English fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland, however, as formerly; they now

prefer to keep nearer the shore. During the times of war, when other vessels could not come to the Banks, there were often as many as 700 English vessels seen fishing there in a season; but now there are not more than 100, if so many—their places being supplied by French, Spanish, and American barques, schooners, and sloops. Of these, the French employ in all these waters about 600 vessels, of 60,000 tons, and 13,000 seamen, having a right of fishing on 450 leagues of coast; and the Americans have at least 1,000 vessels, and 30,000 men and boys, in schooners of from 60 to 120 tons each.

Vast as are the numbers of fish taken on the shores of this island, it would not appear that there is any diminution in their numbers; on the contrary, it may be safely alleged, that thousands of tons more of cod, herring, mackerel, and capelin, might be taken, and yet sufficient remain to breed, so that the food of mankind from this source might be almost indefinitely multiplied, if hands sufficient were employed for that purpose. There is no reason indeed why the whole coast of Newfoundland should not be surrounded by settlers, who might combine the labours of agriculture and fishing, as is done by the New Englanders in the United States of America, at Salem, Marblehead, Plymouth, and elsewhere. Lewenhoek, the celebrated naturalist, is said to have counted no less than 9,344,000 eggs in the roe of a single cod! and without supposing their multiplying powers to be equal to this immense number, we know that it is much greater than that of land animals and birds; and yet these multiply in vast

numbers, like the sheep on the plains of Australia, and the pigeons on the banks of the Nile, and in the forests of Kentucky, almost surpassing the bounds of credibility.

The whole population of Newfoundland is estimated at about 100,000, of which nearly one-half are of Acadian and French descent, these being chiefly on the western coast, and one-half are of British descent. There are more than half the population Catholic, as the British include a large number of Irish emigrants. The Church of England, the Church of Scotland, and the Methodist body, have, however, each numerous places of worship, able ministers, and zealous congregations; and Sunday schools are attached to each, and well supported. Newfoundland is, therefore, fast improving; and all that is wanting is population, capital, roads, and agricultural settlers, to make it richer, and more competent to self-government, every year.

CHAP. XXV.

Leave Halifax for journey to Windsor—Stage-coach—Intemperate passengers—Road—Scenery—Lakes—Autumnal foliage—Town of Windsor—River Avon—College—Fertile land—Neat fields—Excellent farming—Embark in the Maid of the Mist steamer—Scenery of the river—Bay of Mines—Gathering storm—Anchor under Cape Blow-me-down—Narrow strait—Cape Split—Bay of Fundy—Highest and strongest tides in the world—Narrow neck or isthmus of Nova Scotia—Heavy sea in crossing the Bay of Fundy—Town of Cuaco on the New Brunswick shore—Teignmouth—Shipbuilding and farming—Highland rocky coasts—Capes and headlands—Arrival at the City of St. John—Greetings by old Indian and Egyptian friends.

On Tuesday the 13th of October, we left Halifax at 7 A. M., in the stage-coach for Windsor, intending to embark from thence for St. John and Fredericton in New Brunswick, the adjoining British Province, and then go by land across the frontier into the United States, on our way to New York.

The coach in which we rode was of the American and not the English kind, and was made, we understood, in the United States, from whence most of their carriages are imported. Our fellow-passengers were inferior in appearance and manners to any that we had for a long time travelled with. Three or four of the party took drams of spirits before we left the coach-office, the habit of drinking spirits

being more generally, and more openly practised here, than we had observed it in any of the towns of Canada.

The road from Halifax to Windsor did not present much of interest. The country through which it passes is very rocky, with only a few small patches of cultivation, and the trees are generally small; but the roads are excellent, the inns neat and clean, and the perpetual recurrence of small lakes, forming a complete chain across the country, with the rich tints of the autumnal foliage, now seen in its most gorgeous dress, gave great beauty to the scenery.

The distance from Halifax to Windsor is 45 miles, and we reached it in 7 hours, including stoppages, the fare being 3 dollars each. The entrance to Windsor is pretty; the College-buildings forming a prominent object on the left hand of the road, on an eminence; and the residence of Judge Haliburton, the celebrated "Sam Slick," as he has chosen to designate himself as an author, is also another pretty object, in the same direction; while the cottage dwellings of the inhabitants had such an air of propriety and comfort, and were all so neatly ornamented with flowers and shrubs, that we could not but suppose ourselves among an industrious and thrifty population. We alighted at a good inn, and, as the steamer would not be ready to leave for St. John's till the following day, we had to remain here till then.

Windsor is pleasingly situated on a river called the Avon, which rises about thirty miles to the westward of the town, but is not navigable for ships beyond this point, nor for boats more than ten miles

up. The town is seated on the right or southern bank of the river, which is here about a mile across. Above the town is a closed wooden bridge, built after the American fashion, which crosses to the other side of the stream. The town contains a population of about 1,500 persons, among whom there are a great number of individuals in easy circumstances, who live here on fixed incomes, because the place is retired and everything very cheap, and because the united attractions of health, pleasing scenery, good shooting and fishing, and agreeable society, make it an eligible residence for persons not in mercantile business, and for those engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The College here was one of the earliest founded in Nova Scotia; but, as most parents who can afford their children a collegiate education, prefer sending them to England or Scotland for this purpose, the Institution has never been well sustained. The cost of board and tuition is very moderate here, the former being about 25*l.*, and the latter 7*l.* a year; yet there are not more than about twenty students in the college, and thirty younger pupils in the preparatory academy attached to it. There are three Churches, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist; a Court House, and five inns; but there is neither a newspaper, bookseller, nor even a printer, in the place, nor any nearer than Halifax.

Even here, however, I was solicited to deliver two of my Lectures during my short stay; and the Court House being offered to me for the purpose, and some written announcements being put into circulation by the postmaster, an audience of great respectability was soon collected, to whom, on the evening of Tues-

day, and on the morning of Wednesday, the Lectures were delivered accordingly, and led to urgent requests that I should remain to continue them; but this was impracticable.

The principal occupation of the neighbourhood is farming; and both banks of the river, as seen from hence, give evidence of great attention to agricultural operations. We saw no fields, in all our journeys through the United States, more perfectly ploughed, or tilled, or cleaner, or more neatly fenced, than those along the margin of the Avon. The land is of high fertility, and we were assured that the whole of the tract of country west of this, towards Annapolis, was much more fertile and beautiful than this.

Ship-building is carried on here to a considerable extent, and the vessels which we saw on the stocks, those just launched, and others fitting for sea, were of as good models as any seen on the Thames in England. They are built chiefly of fir, will last from ten to twelve years as good ships, and cost about 8*l.* a ton to build, and fit with lower masts and spars, ready to be rigged for sea.

At 2 P.M. on Wednesday, we embarked at Windsor, on board the steamer, Maid of the Mist, for St. John. The spring-tide was so high that it overflowed all the wharves, and the steamer could not therefore approach them, so as to enable us to embark dry. She was accordingly obliged to anchor out in the stream, and as the current ran at the rate of five miles an hour, and it blew hard from the westward, we had some trouble in getting off to her. All her shipments were required to be made very hastily, for the tide retires so rapidly, that vessels soon take

the ground; and so great is the rise and fall, about 40 feet at this port, that the bed of the river is left nearly dry at low water.

We started at half-past two o'clock, and proceeded down the river Avon, both banks of which were lined with beautiful farms, and the scenery was extremely pleasing. Many quarries of gypsum, or plaster-of-paris, were seen on the way, this being found here in great abundance, and many cargoes of it are sent from hence to the ports of the United States. As we descended the river, which expanded considerably below Windsor, our course lying first easterly, and then bending northerly, we opened the entrance to the Bay of Mines, and saw the high projecting promontory of Cape Blow-me-down, stretching out from the left, with all the symptoms of a gathering storm collecting around its lofty head. As the steamer was old and weak, and of very inferior machinery, her size being 200 tons, and her engines of only 50-horse power; and as a strong west wind, and a flood-tide of seven or eight knots an hour, was more than we could hope to stem, the captain thought it prudent to run in under the Cape at sunset, and anchor there until the tide should turn, and the symptoms of the gale disperse.

We according steered in, at sunset, for the land, and anchored close under the high cliffs of the Cape in seven fathoms water, about a mile and half from the shore. The sunset was wild and fiery, the clouds gathered up thick and black in the north-west, and though the moon was up, (for it was about the full,) the darkness was pitchy; and all the superstitious dread which the seamen of these waters

have of Cape Blow-me-down, and Cape Split, both on this coast, and both as much dreaded as Cape Hatteras in the Carolinas, seemed to be participated in by the captain and passengers. The popular notion is, that you can never round it without "a blow;" and hence, say the sailors, it derives its name; though there are others, who say that this is a maritime corruption of the French name, Blomidon, which appears in some early charts. On the other hand, this itself may be a French navigator's best orthography of Blow-me-down, if written by the ear. Be this as it may, strong gusts of wind are likely to be suddenly felt, and to lay many vessels down on their beam-ends; as the contrary currents of wind meeting at the outlet of three or four different channels, and encountering this lofty promontory, would of itself occasion eddies and gusts that most probably gave rise to its present name. The Cape itself is about 500 feet high, or 150 feet higher than Cape Diamond at Quebec. Its lower part is composed of cliffs of red sandstone, and its upper part is covered with small pine trees; but about a mile or two within the point of the Cape, there are some few patches of cleared land, and dwellings of settlers.

To the eastward of the Cape, the Bay of Mines extends up as high as Truro, the midway town between Pictou and Halifax; and there are several smaller creeks and streams, which occupy indentations of the land, and agreeably diversify the line of coast.

We remained here at anchor under Cape Blow-me-down till past midnight, in anxious suspense as to whether the gale would increase or abate at the

turning of the tide; and although one would have thought that the very jeopardy in which we were placed, would have secured sobriety in all on board, there were some so utterly regardless of the peril of their situation, that they became intoxicated by the large draughts of brandy in which they indulged. Long before midnight we had scenes of drunkenness, blasphemy, and riot in the cabin, among some of our stage-passengers from Halifax, such as we had never witnessed in all the three years we had passed in the United States. The general travelling body of Americans are, indeed, greatly superior to those of the same rank in life that we have met with in the British Provinces, in dress, cleanliness of person, civility of manners, and general intelligence, but especially in sobriety; and though we had been often disgusted with the tobacco-chewing passengers we had encountered in the steamboats and stage-coaches of America, we would willingly have taken the worst of them in exchange for the drunken, profane, and still more disgusting brandy-drinkers, with whose oaths and imprecations, idiot stare, and unmeaning laughter, we were shocked beyond measure. The whole scene made us feel the force and truth of some beautiful lines, which we had read but the day before, in an extract from a poem, entitled "The Tree of Death," from the pen of Eliza Cook, in the London Metropolitan Magazine, and transferred to one of the provincial papers of Halifax—

"Oh, the glossy vine has a serpent charm,
It bears an unblest fruit,
There's a taint about each tendrill'd arm,
And a curse upon its root.

Its juice may flow to warm the brow,
And wildly lighten the eye:
But the frenzied mirth of a revelling crew,
Will make a wise man sigh;

For the maniac laugh, the trembling frame,
The idiot speech, and pestilent breath,
The shattered mind, and blasted fame,
Are wrought by the vine, the Tree of Death."

These men had been wine-drinkers originally, when in more respectable stations of life; but experience has established the fact, that without constant vigilance and great care, the wine-appetite will become so vitiated, as to require stronger and stronger stimulants to produce the degree of excitement sought, so that spirits are at length resorted to, and then the fruit of this Tree of Death soon ripens and destroys its virtues.

About an hour after midnight, on Thursday morning, Oct. 16th, the gale began to moderate as the ebb-tide made, and we accordingly weighed anchor, passed round Cape Blow-me-down, and came into the Straits which lead out into the Bay of Fundy. The passage through these Straits is about ten miles in length, and the breadth from shore to shore is from five to six miles. The land on both sides is high, with rocky cliffs towards the sea, particularly on the left or southern side, from Cape Blow-me-down to Cape Split. This last forms the western extremity of the Strait, and is so called because several masses of rock are separated from the Cape itself by the action of the waves, like the masses of chalk which are disjointed from the western end of the Isle of Wight, and from their isolated and pointed form are called The Needles. The ebb-tide was here running

like a mill-stream, and in the opinion of the captain, its speed was not less than ten miles an hour! The rise and fall in this upper part of the Bay of Fundy being, in spring-tides with a westerly gale, sometimes 70 feet perpendicular—the greatest height of tide known, it is believed, on the surface of the globe; and nearly four times the average height of the tides in the British Channel! We were not more than half an hour going through the Narrows, though it was ten miles in length, swept onward by the rapid torrent of the tide, and the full force of the engines combined; and as the sky was now clear, and the moon bright, the transit through this passage was most agreeable.

On clearing these Straits, we entered into the Bay of Fundy, the easternmost fork of which assumes the name of the Cumberland, and sometimes Chignecto Bay, from the promontory of Cape Chignecto, which divides this fork from the other of the Bay of Mines. The Cumberland fork runs up to the narrow neck or isthmus, which connects Nova Scotia with New Brunswick, and makes the former a peninsula. This neck is only eleven miles broad. from the head of the Bay of Fundy to the bottom of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; so that a ship-canal of that length across it would enable ships to sail from Quebec to St. John, in New Brunswick, and so on to the United States, without passing round Cape Breton or Nova Scotia, a saving of nearly 300 miles in the whole distance.

As soon as we had got fairly out into the Bay of Fundy, we encountered a heavy sea from the westward, as the result of the late gale; and stood

across to the northern or New Brunswick shore, the southern being that of Nova Scotia, to get into smoother water—the breadth of the Bay here being about 25 miles. We reached first a small place where the Indians had a settlement, called Cuaco, but where there is now a little town called St. Martin. Four years since there were not a hundred persons there, but now there are more than a thousand. The occupation of the male inhabitants is ship-building, the beach being favourable for launching, timber abundant, and labour comparatively cheap; from the fact that many of the workmen have little farms to which they give some portion of their time, while their families assist; and other portions, when their immediate labours are not required on their farms, they can give to ship-building, and thus unite the profits of both. We saw at least a dozen ships in different stages of progress as we passed along the coast, and learnt from the captain that not less than thirty had been launched from this little town during the last year.

Just opposite to the town is a small rocky island, on which is a lighthouse, and at the town itself there is a breakwater and pier-harbour for ships. The coast is bold and steep, and the land is high and rocky, though there are several patches of cleared fields in the interior. Some of the cliffs present diagonal strata, dipping from 20° to 40° downward to the east. There is a dangerous ledge of rocks off this town, distant nine miles from the lighthouse, bearing south-east by compass, which is completely covered at high water, though it is fifteen feet above the surface at low water; but being more frequently

covered than bare, this ledge has been the cause of many shipwrecks. In passing round the point of the Island, we encountered the full force of the flood-tide, sweeping upward in a boiling foam, occasioned by the whirlpools, eddies, and counter-currents round the rock, so that our feeble boat staggered and rocked to and fro without making any visible progress; and we were an hour at least, with all the force of steam that could be applied, in compassing about a mile of distance by the shore. When we got in under the cliffs, and out of the range of this powerful current, we proceeded at a better rate, but it was still very slow. The lighthouse is a low octagonal tower, painted with broad alternate rings of bright red and white, reminding me of a style of decoration which I remember to have seen at the caravanserai of Adjerood, in the Desert of Suez, and some other Arabian buildings, baths and caravanserais, in Egypt and elsewhere, but quite new to me on this continent, at least.

Two miles beyond the town of Cuaco, or St. Martin, we passed round a lofty but rounded cape, called Cuaco Head, which rises abruptly from the sea to a height of about 350 feet, the height of Cape Diamond at Quebec, with perpendicular cliffs of red sand-stone overhanging the sea, at least 250 feet in height, the parts above this being covered with small pine-trees and brushwood. The strata of the rocks seemed here to be thrown into the greatest confusion, as if the effect of some great convulsion; and as we passed round the pitch of the Cape, we saw a natural arch in one of the disjointed masses of rock, through which

the view was complete when we got on the other side of it.

Three miles beyond this, steering westward, along the New Brunswick shore all the time, we passed the small town of Teignmouth, where, though there were not more than twenty houses visible from the sea, there was a fine large ship on the stocks close to the beach. Beyond this, about a mile, we passed round a more rugged and broken promontory than any we had yet seen, where several small islets were detached from the cape, in masses of red sandstone, with verdure and stunted shrubs on the top, within which there was deep water and a good passage. This place is called The Horse Shoe when the tide is in, and the little curve in the coast is filled with the sea; but it is called the The Boot, when the tide is out, and the beach is left dry. Near this also were many clearings of land under cultivation.

Beyond this, about three miles further, we passed round a cape called M'Cay's Head, and four miles further on we rounded Cape Mispeck, about 2 P.M., the whole coast being high and rocky, and with very few good landing-places along its edge. This being the eastern cape of St. John's Bay, we shaped our course from west to north-west, and hauled up for the town of St. John. As the ebb-tide had began to make from the river, we saw several ships coming out to sea, and soon descried the steamer, British America, for Boston, which, on a given signal, ran down to meet us, and take out such of our passengers as were bound to that port. These being transhipped, we pursued our way, and soon obtained sight of the City

of St. John, which, standing on high round, and spreading upwards from the sea, presented a fine appearance, as we drew near it. We entered the harbour about four P.M., having been therefore twenty-six hours on our passage, though the usual time is about fourteen. The fare was very little, being only five dollars each; but it was the dearest passage we had ever made, as there was not a single comfort of any kind obtained in return for the money paid. The boat was one of the worst in condition, most dirty and ill provided in every respect, both in acommodations, furniture, food, and attendants, that we had anywhere seen on the American waters; and the passengers the most vulgar, drunken, and disorderly, —with two or three exceptions only—that we had ever met with in all our late tour of three years' duration. We regretted, indeed, that such a vessel as the Maid of the Mist, and such persons as formed her crew and passengers, should have the British flag waving over them. But the disgrace belongs only of course to the individuals who thus dishonoured it, and not to the nation or the province to which they belonged.

I had no sooner landed on the wharf, than I was accosted by two individuals, who had known me in other parts of the world; one was a naval officer who had met me at Bombay in 1816, when I wore the Arab costume and a long beard, after my journey from Egypt, through Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia; and another was an officer of the army who had known me in Egypt the year before I set out on the journey named. As these gentlemen had both resided here for some years, their influence, and the

letters of introduction with which we were abundantly supplied, soon brought around us a number of the residents of the City, who had been for some days expecting my arrival, and by these we were escorted to the St. John Hotel, where we found excellent accommodations prepared for us. The attentive proprietors of this establishment keep their house in the manner of an English, and not an American hotel, and are therefore not above their station, but take great personal pains to see that everything is done which can contribute to the comfort of their visitors. We had here, as at Halifax, the luxury of private sitting-rooms, and a private table, so rarely to be obtained in the hotels of the United States; and we enjoyed it the more highly, no doubt, from our long privation of the domestic quiet, and entire freedom from restraint, which this retirement within the bosom of one's family can alone ensure; so that we felt ourselves to be nearer home, in a manner, by this return to the habits of our native land.

CHAP. XXVI.

History of New Brunswick and St. John—Situation of the City and its suburbs—River St. John—Entrance and Rapids—Public Buildings—Court House—Custom House—Market House—Square—Banks—Churches—Hotels—Mechanics' Institute—Schools—Benevolent and Patriotic Societies—Municipal Government—Destructive fires—Ship-building—Number and cost of vessels—Commerce—Exports and Imports—Fisheries—Saw-mills—American speculators—Projected suspension bridge—Population of St. John—Characteristics—Newspapers—Literary productions.

THE City of St. John exhibits more of the American rapidity of growth, than any of the settlements of the British provinces. Fifty years ago, the spot on which it stands was a wilderness, without a single habitation, save the wigwam of the native Indian. Now it is an incorporated City, containing a population of at least 30,000 souls, with a number of large ships belonging to the port, and merchants of considerable opulence, most of whom commenced with no other capital than industry and credit, and many of them began business but a few years since.

Previous to the year 1763, the whole of the territory now called New Brunswick, was considered by the French to be comprehended within the domain of New France; and, with what is now called Nova Scotia, was by them named Acadia. They had then a fort at the mouth of the St. John River, and some

fur-trading ports in the interior. At the cession of the Canadas, by the peace with France of 1763, this territory was still claimed by the French, as Acadia, and counterclaimed by the British, as part of Nova Scotia. About this period a little colony from New England settled at a place called Maugerville, about fifty miles above the mouth of the St. John, where they continued to increase till the peace with the United States in 1783, when they numbered nearly a thousand souls; but still there was only a small fur-trading post of the English at the entrance to the river itself.

The cessation of the war with the United States occasioning a great number of sailors and soldiers to be discharged from the public service, in this quarter, large bodies of each were sent here, and settled at Fredericton, higher up the river, about ninety miles from its mouth. It was not until 1786, however, that any town was begun at the entrance of the river; but from that period to this, the city of St. John, and the suburbs of Carleton and Portland, have been gradually attaining to their present size and number of inhabitants.

The situation of St. John is on a rocky promontory and hill on the left of the river, as you look out toward the sea, and on the right of the harbour as you enter. It is so steep in many places, that notwithstanding the cutting down of the rock to ease the ascent, it is still a toilsome labour to perambulate it for any length of time. The plan of the town, however, is regular, and the streets are laid out at right angles; the breadth of the principal one, King Street, being 100 feet, and few of the others less

than 50 or 60. There is a large open square on the top of the hill, around which are terraces of houses, and no part of the City seems to want space for ventilation.

On the opposite bank of the river, at its entrance, is the little town of Carleton ; and on the same side as St. John, are the suburbs of Portland and Indian-Town, the houses of these being almost continuous. Between Carleton and St. John is the inner harbour, and farther out is the anchoring ground for ships ready for sea. The rise and fall of tide here being from 18 to 24 feet, much of the ground is left dry at low water, and it is only at high water that ships of large size can enter or depart. At the entrance of the harbour is a small island, called Partridge Island, on which there is a signal-post, a lighthouse, and a large bell which is rung to warn ships entering in time of fog. The harbour being comparatively open to the sea, is not rendered inaccessible by ice at any time of the year, so that its commerce is uninterrupted.

The river St. John cannot be entered by ships at all, nor even by boats, except at the top of high water ; as, just at its mouth, there is such a sudden declivity in its bed, that the stream rushes with immense rapidity over it ; there are therefore strong rapids rather than falls, rushing outward with the ebb, and inward with the flood, and the entrance is smooth only at the top of high water. To voyage on the river, therefore, it is necessary to go about a mile from the town above these rapids by land, and there embark in the steamer or other boats to ascend the stream.

The public buildings of St. John include an excellent Court House, facing King Square on the hill, which has a fine architectural front, and an admirably disposed interior, with a Council Chamber, and other necessary offices. At the foot of King Street, is a new Market-house, just finished, with lofty and spacious Halls above, for public meetings. A new Custom House is constructing, with a front of 200 feet, intended, it is said by some, to resemble the façade of the late Carlton House in London, though others give it a front of less pretensions. There are two new Banks also in the street nearest the harbour, which present fine specimens of architectural taste, and are among the principal ornaments of the City.

Of Churches there are fourteen, including two Episcopalian in St. John, and two others in Portland and Carleton; three Presbyterian, three Methodist, two Roman Catholic, one Baptist, and one Independent. As buildings, the Roman Catholic and the Episcopalian are the largest and best; of congregations, the Methodist and the Roman Catholic are the most numerous, and the Episcopalians the most wealthy; but all the churches are well attended, and the different denominations of Christians are said to agree remarkably well with each other.

There are two good hotels, and several smaller ones; the principal of these is the St. John Hotel, at which we lived during our stay here, and nothing could exceed the civility and attention of the proprietors, so that we found ourselves most agreeably situated in this respect. There is a public Theatre,

small in size, and but poorly sustained; for here, as elsewhere, theatrical entertainments are on the decline. A fine large Mechanics' Institute is building, but not yet completed, and the Society for which it is erecting, receives the cordial support of the principal inhabitants of the town.

Nearly all the new buildings are constructed of brick or stone, instead of wood, and the handsomest of the public edifices are built of a fine grey granite, found in abundance on the banks of the river St. John.

At the extremity of the promontory on which the City stands, extensive ranges of barracks have been recently erected for the military here, and these form a very prominent object in the picture, as you enter the harbour from the sea.

There are two Public Schools, one called the Grammar School, for the higher branches of education; and the other, called the Madras Central School, where the Lancasterian mode of teaching is adopted, for the instruction of children in the elements of knowledge only. Each of the congregations has also a Sunday School attached to it, for the gratuitous teaching of the children of the poor.

Among the associations, there are several for the promotion of literature, humanity, and religion; including a Literary Society, a Bible, a Missionary, and a Tract Society, an Orphan and a Female Benevolent Association, a Temperance Society, and several Patriotic and Mutual Relief Associations, under the names of St. George's, St. Patrick's, St. Andrew's, the Albion, the Sons of Erin, and the British American Societies; a Vaccine Establish-

ment, a Marine Hospital, and a Board for the assistance of Emigrants.

The municipal government of the City consists of a mayor, recorder, and six aldermen, with an equal number of assistant aldermen, under the title of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of St. John. The mayor is a member of the Legislative Council of the Province, and repairs to the seat of government at Fredericton when the Legislature is in session. He is nominated to his office by the Governor, but the aldermen and their assistants are elected annually by the six wards into which the City and Suburbs are divided, and of which, therefore, they are the representatives. There are besides these, a Sheriff, a Coroner, a Common Clerk, a Chamberlain, a High Constable, six inferior Constables, and two Marshals. All these are paid out of the City revenues, which do not at present exceed 5,000*l.* a year, so that there is, as yet at least, no large surplus fund for public improvements; but as the City possesses property which must greatly increase in value with the augmentation of population and commerce, its revenue will, no doubt, before long, be such as to enable it to accomplish many important public objects.

This City, like most others in America, has suffered, at different times, severely by fires. One of these, which occurred in 1837, destroyed about 120 houses and stores, in the business-part of the City, and occasioned a loss of 250,000*l.* A yet more recent fire, in the last year, 1839, occurring in another part of the City, destroyed property to even a still greater amount. The burnt districts, however,

are fast losing all traces of this calamity, by the erection of new and more substantial edifices, in the place of those destroyed; but the loss to the inhabitants, by these two quickly succeeding conflagrations, has been such as it will take them some time to recover.

The principal business of St. John is shipbuilding, which is carried on to a great extent. The timber used for the purpose is chiefly pine or fir, with the occasional use of hackmatack and cedar, all of which are abundantly and cheaply procured from the forests of the surrounding country; but the size of the trees is not sufficient to admit of the building of ships of large scantling. The average burden of vessels constructed here ranges between 300 and 500 tons; though within the last year, two fine ships, of 1,000 tons burden each, have been launched, and are now fitting for sea. In the year 1836, there were built here 81 ships, measuring about 25,000 tons, being more than one-fifth of the number of vessels and tonnage built in the whole of the United States during the same year. There were then belonging to the port of St. John 410 vessels, measuring 69,766 tons, navigated by 2,879 men; while the total number of vessels entered at this port and its outbays, in 1836, amounted to 2,549 vessels, measuring 289,127 tons, and navigated by 13,685 men. The ships built here, do not cost more than 8*l.* per ton, including masts and rigging; while at Quebec, the rate varies from 10*l.* to 12*l.*, and in London from 15*l.* to 20*l.* In appearance, the New Brunswick ships are of fine models, and all the workmanship on them appears to be well executed; they maintain

their rank as first-class vessels, from five to seven years, and with occasional repairs will last from twelve to fifteen years. Taking, therefore, cheapness, strength, and durability combined, they appear to be peculiarly eligible for general trading purposes; and in the competition which the English mercantile marine must necessarily encounter from other nations, it is likely that the cheaper vessels of New Brunswick will be in increasing demand.

The commerce of St. John embraces transactions with Europe, Africa, and America; and as its harbour is never closed by ice, there is no interruption to its trade throughout the year. The export of timber, in the various forms of squared logs, sawed plank, and lumber, forms the chief article; and next to this, the fisheries yield their supply. In this must be included the produce of the Southern Whale Fishery, in which several of the larger ships of St. John are engaged. In the last three years, an average of about 150,000 gallons of sperm and whale oil have been exported; while the home-fisheries of the Bay of Fundy furnish cod, hake, pollock, haddock, in large quantities, and seals are also taken on the shores and islands, for their skins and oil. The imports embrace all the varied articles required for the consumption of the Province, or for re-exportation where no other articles can be obtained in exchange for the cargoes sent out. The amount of imports for the year 1837, was 1,185,000*l.*; and of exports, 555,709*l.* sterling. The rapid progress of the Colony may be judged of, by the fact, that in 1786, the largest vessel built at St. John, was only 100 tons; the trade from hence to Bermuda and the

West Indies being carried on in vessels of from 30 to 50 tons burden.

A singular custom prevails here, with respect to the privilege of fishing in certain localities. The coast within the jurisdiction of the City is parcelled out into lots, of varying degrees of eligibility, commencing with No. 1, and declining in value to No. 100 and upwards. A sort of lottery is formed of these numbers every year, and in the month of January, the freemen and widows of freemen of the City are entitled to draw in this lottery for the fishing berths thus numbered. The person who draws No. 1, makes his first choice, and so on in succession; and as the numbers are often drawn by persons not actually engaged in the fisheries, the privilege is sold to fishermen, at various prices, from 50*l.*, the usual value of the first choice, downward to 1*l.*, the value of the last, within 100; but above this number the lots have no saleable value.

Of the suburbs of St. John, Portland appears to be the largest. This is indeed contiguous to St. John itself, and is the principal quarter of the timber-sawing and ship-building operations. We visited one of the steam saw-mills here, and were surprised at the rapidity with which large square logs were reduced into planks, and these again planed and trimmed, all by machinery, rendering very little human labour necessary. Some of the largest fortunes made in St. John have been acquired by these saw-mills, and several persons were named to us, who had come to the Colony but a few years since, without capital, but who, by credit, industry, and continually extending operations, had acquired

sufficient to retire in opulence from business. Some idea may be formed of the cheapness of timber here, when it is stated that the gentleman who accompanied us in our visit, one of the oldest inhabitants of St. John, assured us he had provided from this saw-mill, a complete supply of all the necessary timber for a frame-house, in upright beams, rafters, flooring planks, door and window frames, and every other kind required, for about 6*l.* sterling!

Several of the owners of these saw-mills are natives of the United States; and they are observed, here as elsewhere, to be generally more enterprising, and more speculative, than the native Colonists or the British; sometimes to their own enrichment, but sometimes also, it must be admitted, to the impoverishment of others. A memorable example of the last description occurred but a short time since, of which the monument still remains. A speculator from the New England States, having visited St. John, conceived the project of constructing a large wooden suspension-bridge to cross over from Portland to Carleton, at the entrance to the river, and readily prevailed on the inhabitants to form a Company of Shareholders to subscribe the requisite capital for the purpose, while he undertook the contract for its construction. The bridge was intended to be 1,400 feet in extreme length, with a single span, resting on towers, distant from each other 435 feet, and the height of the bridge above the water was to be 80 feet. The capital subscribed was 20,000*l.*, and the work proceeded with great rapidity; but when the structure was sufficiently advanced to admit of foot-passengers crossing it,

W. H. Bartlett.

St. John and Portland, New

R. Wallis.

nd Portland, New Brunswick.

though before the suspension-chains were securely fastened, the whole of the centre fell in with a terrible crash, while some of the workmen were employed on it; and it has been since ascertained, that the whole pile is so loosely and insecurely put together, as not to be worth completing.

It is from the suburb of Portland that the best view of the City and Harbour of St. John is obtained.* On the extreme right of the picture, is just seen a small portion of Partridge Island, on which the telegraph signals are made, to announce the approach of ships in the offing. Between it and the low point of the town is a passage for ships; and beyond this, in the distance, appears the high land of the Bay of St. John, along the coast of which we had come in the steamer from Windsor. The City, rising street after street, slopes upward from the water on all sides, and the principal churches and public buildings are on the most elevated ground. At the foot of the town, near the middle of the picture, is the inner harbour, where the greatest number of ships lie at anchor and at the wharves. On the left is the suburb of Portland, with several ships in frame on the stocks, and a raft of timber approaching its wharf. An Episcopal church, a Dissenting chapel, and a Catholic place of worship, already adorn this suburb, and the high mass of rock near its centre, furnishes quarries of excellent stone for building.

The population of St. John and its suburbs exceeds 30,000, and of these by far the greater number are of British birth and origin. There are no remnants of the old French Acadians, like the *habitans* of Quebec, nor any negroes or coloured people as at

* See the accompanying Engraving.

Halifax; though there are a very few Indians still lingering about the streets, but these are so poor and feeble, that in a very few years it is probable they will all be extinct. The Irish appear to be most numerous, the Scotch next, and the English least of all. The number of Irish names on the signboards of the groceries and whisky-shops, show that Irish habits have been imported also; and the number of women with coarse woollen cloaks, and large frilled caps without bonnets, that one meets in the city and suburbs, with the strong Irish accent in which they converse, show that they are of very recent immigration.

Among the classes of society that account themselves of the higher orders, there is much less of elegance and refinement than at Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, or Halifax; though the town of St. John is better built than the latter, and the houses and stores are very superior. There is an American air of equality in the conditions and manners of all classes here, with the eager bustle and earnest pursuit of business, which is so characteristic of American towns. Something of the boasting spirit of the New Englanders is also manifest in the conversations one hears, and in the comparisons made between the enterprise and prosperity of St. John and other places. This exhibits itself in the public papers occasionally, by such paragraphs as the following, which is taken from a St. John journal during our stay there.

"BEAT THIS WHO CAN!—The following vessels, all owned by the Hon. Alexander Campbell, have been launched at Tatamagouche during the last three weeks:—Barque Acadia, built by Mr. James Chambers, burthen about 360 tons: Ship Frances Lawson, built by Mr. John Hewet, burthen about 500 tons:

Barque Columbia, built by Mr. John Wallace, burthen about 360 tons: Brig Caledonia, built by Mr. John Pride, burthen about 230 tons."

There are six newspapers at St. John, published weekly, and two thrice a week; all political, except one, which is devoted to the promotion of Temperance and Religion. They are superior to the average of the American papers, in the talent with which they are conducted, and free from that fierce acrimony of party-spirit, by which the journals of the United States are too often characterized. The disaffection of the Canadians finds no sympathy in their columns; as whatever differences of opinion prevail among them on local affairs, and even these are very slight, an ardent attachment to England, and a strong desire to maintain the connection with her unimpaired, is constantly manifested in all their writings.

An extensive literary taste can hardly be expected to prevail in so young and busy a community, where there are scarcely any persons of independent fortune or leisure, and no public institution of a collegiate or literary character; yet several works of merit have been published at St. John—one entitled "Notitiæ of New Brunswick," in 8vo., by an inhabitant; with a poem of considerable talent, entitled "Mars Hill," from the pen of Mr. Lasky; and an historical novel, far above the average standard of such productions, from the same pen. My Lectures were attended for six successive evenings, by audiences of 500 persons, though the weather was sometimes most inclement; and the interest felt in them, appeared to be quite as great as at Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, or Toronto.

CHAP. XXVII.

Departure for Fredericton—Indian-Town—Mouth of the River St. John—Great chasm in the rocks—Rapids and Cataract—Beautiful scenery of the river—Expanding Lake or Bay—Auxiliary streams of the Kennebecacis and Oromocto—Settlements along the banks—Arrival at Fredericton—Description of the town—Its plan, public buildings, and population.

On the morning of Thursday the 22nd of October, we left the City of St. John at seven o'clock, during a most violent tempest of wind and rain; and driving through the suburb of Portland to Indian-Town, above the rapid, at the entrance to the river, we there embarked in a steamer for Fredericton. This spot was called Indian-Town, because it was at first wholly occupied by Indians, and the first house built here for them was erected by the father of the present Sheriff of St. John. The first party that came here to form the settlement had whisky given them by the whites, and nearly all of them became intoxicated, one of them stabbing his companion, so that drunkenness and murder were the accompaniments of their first assembly!

We embarked in the steamer New Brunswick, a fine boat, at half-past seven. The tempest of wind and rain rendered it difficult to remain on deck; but the shores of the river were sufficiently attractive to

keep us there. The entrance to this river from the sea, can only be made at the top of high water. The obstruction is occasioned by a mass or ledge of rock remaining in the channel between the lofty cliffs on either side, over which ledge, soon after high water, the stream presents a rapid, gradually increasing to a cataract or fall, outwards into the harbour; and when the flood-tide begins to set, the rapid or fall runs inward from the harbour to the river with the same velocity, till near the top of high water, when the general level between the harbour and the river is restored; and at slack water, as the pilots term it, boats can pass inward and outward with safety, but only for a short period, about a quarter of an hour, at each full tide. The rupture made by the river through the mass of rock that impeded its passage to the sea, has left a great chasm, which is very striking, the cliffs on each side being lofty and perpendicular, and the breadth of the stream between them not more than a quarter of a mile across.

As we advanced up the river St. John, the stream appeared broader, and the scenery was very interesting, and in some parts beautiful. On the right hand of our course we passed a promontory called the Boar's Head, from some fancied resemblance which suggested the name; and near this, saw the entrance of the river Kennebecacis, flowing from the north-east. Here the river St. John expands its width to four or five miles, this width continuing for five or six miles in length, so as to form a sort of lake or bay. The hills on each side are undulated and wooded; and great neatness and care seemed to

be manifested on the farms we saw enclosed. There were many small islands in the centre of the stream, which were well wooded also, and on some of these, neat white cottages were seen. On either bank there were occasional villages, with the spire of a small church piercing above the trees, and everything connected with rural life seemed more carefully neat and orderly, than we had been accustomed to see in the United States; though it must be admitted that in the build, equipment, and appearance of their boats and river-craft, the New Brunswickers seemed to us much behind the Americans. Along the banks we observed several long level tracts of land, nearly even with the water's edge. These are always overflowed in the great freshets of spring, when the melting of the ice and snows swell the river above its bounds. But they produce rich harvests of hay; and we saw on one of those low slips of land not less than a hundred haystacks well and compactly made. This was about thirty miles above the mouth of the St. John.

The prettily undulated and wooded hills on each side the river, looked the more beautiful from their being clothed in their autumnal dress, with tints as vivid as any seen in the American forests. On some of the low marshes we observed herds of cattle grazing, and protected from the overflow of the stream by dykes. The cultivation improved as we advanced, and we saw many of the haystacks fenced around to protect them from the cattle, and roofed over to defend them from rain.

About forty miles above St. John we passed Long Island, with a church and tavern adjoining it, both

close to the river, for the accommodation of farmers, who come to it from many miles round. Ten miles above this, we passed the small neat village of Gagetown on our left. Beyond this, the banks of the river become flatter and less picturesque, but the country is more fertile and productive. Maugerville on the left, and Sheffield on the right, are two small villages about sixty miles above St. John, and these are said to be the two oldest settlements on the river.

Fourteen miles above this, we passed the town of Oromocto on the left, where the river of that name enters from the west. This river is navigable for 25 miles above its junction with the St. John; and at its mouth there is a new wooden bridge, with a central opening to admit the passage of ships and vessels. We saw many large vessels on the stocks here, building for the trade of New Brunswick, foreign as well as coasting.

We had a young Colonist on board, a native of Woodstock, one of the frontier towns of this Province, who exhibited a specimen of the strong Colonial feeling which is unhappily too general among persons from whose age and experience one might have expected better things. The unpopularity of Mr. Poulett Thompson, as Governor-General of Canada, was very great, at his first appointment, throughout all the North American Provinces; and in more than one place he had been burnt in effigy. This conduct the young Colonist applauded, adding only one regret, which he had no scruple to express openly in the presence of all the passengers, which was, that the people had not burnt Mr. Thompson

himself, instead of his mere representative or effigy. I asked him what could justify such a step? He said, "Because he was known to have spoken and voted in the House of Commons for a reduction of the duty on Baltic timber, and this was *oppression* to the Colonies." Such are the feelings that are engendered by being brought up under the restrictive or protecting system.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we reached Fredericton, which had a pleasing appearance from the river, having performed the distance of eighty-five miles from St. John in eight hours and half, and for the very moderate fare of ten shillings each, exclusive of meals.

We were met by several gentlemen at the wharf, and escorted to Jackson's Hotel, where we found comfortable accommodations. We were afterwards introduced to the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Harvey, and his family and staff, as well as the Bishop of Nova Scotia, who was then on a tour through the Province; and we had the pleasure of dining with a most agreeable party at the Government House. Nothing could exceed the urbanity and hospitality of all the leading members of society, who did their utmost to make our short stay in the capital agreeable.

Our examination of Fredericton, which was made in company with some of the residents, who answered all our inquiries without reserve, gave us a favourable impression of the place and its inhabitants, and made us feel a well-grounded hope of its future prosperity. The town is seated on a plain, on the right bank of the river St. John, with hills rising behind

W. H. Bartlett.

Fredericton, – New

W. Mossman.

Fredericton - New Brunswick.

it to the south-west. The plain is about four miles long and one mile broad. The river curves round this plain in a convex shape, so as to give increased water-frontage to the town. This is laid out with great symmetry, in squares of eighteen different lots, each lot containing a quarter of an acre. The streets lie parallel to each other in one direction, and are crossed by others at right angles. The longest are those running nearly parallel to the river, these exceed a mile in length. The transverse streets are shorter. Near the landing-place is a fine open square, with grass lawn, and a row of very large willows and poplar trees. On one side of this square is the officers' barracks.

As the town recedes from the river, the level is more elevated, and some of the principal buildings are seen on the rising ground. The most conspicuous of these is King's College, which is deemed the finest building in the Province. It is 171 feet long, and 159 feet deep, and embraces a basement and two lofty stories, with a fine massive cornice and pediments. The edifice is constructed with a fine grey stone found near the site, and affords a very favourable specimen of architecture. In the building there is a chapel, two lecture-rooms, twenty-one rooms for students, and ample accommodation for the President, Vice-President, and servants. The position is commanding, healthy, and agreeable, and the course of tuition proposed is useful and ornamental. There is a Baptist Seminary in a lower part of the town, a handsome little building 60 feet by 35; a Grammar and Madras School, with several private academies, and a number of Sunday

schools, so that education appears to be amply provided for.

There are five Churches, the Episcopal, Scotch, Methodist, Baptist, and Roman Catholic, and all are said to have full congregations ; and there are several excellent Benevolent Institutions.

The Province Hall, in which the Legislature of New Brunswick holds its sittings, is nearly in the centre of the town. Attached to it are several public offices, but the whole structure is not remarkable for any architectural beauty.

The Governor's residence is in the northern quarter of the town, and is at once elegant and commodious, with a good lawn and gardens, and pleasant walks along the banks of the river.

Fredericton was first founded as the capital of New Brunswick, by Governor Carleton in 1784, when this province was first separated from Nova Scotia, and the position is well chosen. From it, as from a common centre, the public roads branch off to different quarters; and its central position between Halifax and Quebec, makes it an important military depôt.

The country around it is pleasing, and the river St. John extends for 400 miles above Fredericton, its banks exhibiting frequent settlements of cleared lands, farms, and pretty cottage dwellings; and for all this tract of country, Fredericton is almost certain to become the great central mart of trade. The present population is about 5,000, but these are every year rapidly increasing.

The last lectures that I delivered on the American continent were given at Fredericton, in a

new and handsome chapel of the Wesleyan Methodists; and they were crowded with large numbers. Here, however, as at Toronto, there was an appendage which might well have been spared, though the etiquette of Colonial rule seemed to require it. In the pews reserved for the Lieutenant-Governor and his staff, were orderly sergeants, keeping possession previous to his arrival, while military sentries with fixed bayonets were placed at each entrance of the chapel; and the concourse of the large retinue of officers, from the Government House and the Barracks, made the aisles ring with the clatter of heavy boots, steel scabbards, and the tramp of numbers, not quite in harmony with the grave decorum of a chapel or a lecture-room. But the entry once over, all afterwards was perfectly orderly and subdued.

CHAP. XXVIII.

General view of the Province of New Brunswick—History of its first separation from Nova Scotia—Progressive settlement—Area—Coasts, bays—Rivers, mountains, and lakes—The Boundary line—Extensive forests—Variety of trees—Minerals—Animals—Fisheries—Capacity for settlement of Emigrants—New Brunswick Land Company—Custom of Gavelkind—Government—Judiciary—Revenue—Shipping—Commerce—Great fire on the river Miramachi.

BEFORE quitting Fredericton, it will be well to present a general view of the Province of New Brunswick, of which it is the capital; as its importance is generally underrated; and a more favourable estimate of it may be formed, when the details of its statistics are more accurately understood.

The territory now occupied by this Province was originally included in that of Nova Scotia; its early history is therefore incorporated with that until 1784, when it was first separated and established as a new Colony under its present name.

Its first governor was Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton; and the first step of his government was the founding the settlement of Fredericton, where it now stands. The reason why this spot was chosen for the seat of government, is the same by which the Americans are usually guided in fixing their seats of local legislation for the States, namely, centrality of position;

as Fredericton is nearly equidistant from the towns of St. John, Miramichi, Bay Verte, St. Andrews, and Passamaquoddy. On the upper part of the river St. John, two military stations were fixed; one at Presque Isle, about 100 miles above Fredericton, and another at the Grand Falls, 80 miles further up. The French settlers who were then in this province, joined by others from Lower Canada, of the same race and religion, formed a small settlement still higher up, about midway between Fredericton and Quebec, which they called Madawaska, where they still remain.

The area of New Brunswick is included within the parallels of latitude 45° and 48° north, having the Bay of Fundy on its southern border, and Lower Canada on its northern; and between the meridians of 64° and 68° of longitude, having the Gulf of St. Lawrence on its eastern border, and the American State of Maine on its western. Its length from north to south is about 180 miles, and its mean breadth about 150, so that it contains 27,000 square miles, or 17,280,000 acres; being thus nearly as large as Ireland, which contains 20,000,000 of acres.

There are some fine bays, as those of Chaleurs on the north, Miramichi on the eastern coast, and St. Andrew's and St. John's on the southern coast; as well as Chignecto Bay on the south-east, running up from the great Bay of Fundy to the isthmus which connects Nova Scotia with New Brunswick.

Of rivers, the Miramichi, on the eastern coast, is the most easily accessible for shipping, and most navigable for some distance from the sea. Several large streams pour their waters into it from the north and the

south, and there are many small islands in its course; while the rising towns of Newcastle and Chatham near its mouth, bid fair to become great seaports. Already, in a single year, more than 200 ships, and 100 schooners and small craft, have been laden from the Miramichi, with the produce of the interior.

The Restigouche is another fine stream farther north, 220 miles long, three miles broad at its entrance, and one mile broad 100 miles up, and emptying itself into the Bay of Chaleurs at its head; while the Miramichi pours its waters into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The scenery of its banks is bold and romantic, with cliffs, glens, and slopes; it rises near the sources of Grand River, which goes into the St. John, near the Great Falls, and its general course is north-east, like that of the Miramichi. From the heads of both these streams, the distance to the St. John is very little; and "portages," as they are called by the French, make the communication between them very easy. In the Bay of Chaleurs, the towns of Bathurst about its centre, and Dalhousie near its head, are both largely engaged in the export of timber from the interior.

The river St. Croix, or the Schoodie, which is the westernmost of the rivers of New Brunswick, rises in a chain of small lakes, not more than 60 miles from the sea, and empties into the Bay of St. Andrews. This was the original boundary, westward between the British Provinces and the United States, as fixed by the treaty of 1783; the words of the treaty, when defining the border of the United States Territory, are—"East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the St. Croix, from its mouth in

the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid Highlands, (before described in the treaty) which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence." The truth is, that both parties to this treaty were ignorant of the true nature and topography of the region in question; and hence all the subsequent difficulties that have arisen in its adjustment.*

* Since this was written, the treaty negotiated by Lord Ashburton has settled the Boundary Line, on a different basis from that of the original treaty of 1783, and from that awarded by the King of the Netherlands in 1814. And since this treaty was signed, the publication of the pamphlet of Mr. Featherstonehaugh, has disclosed the fact that Mr. Sparks, the American historian, found, in the Geographical Department of the Archives of France, a Map of the original Boundary Line agreed to, with the red line drawn by the American minister, Benjamin Franklin, confirming the justice of the British claim. The concealment of that important fact, by the American Senate, and Secretary of State, reflects a disgrace on all the parties privy to this concealment, which no explanation can wipe away. Nevertheless, it is of great national importance to the peace of the two countries, that this long-debated question is at length settled. Lord Ashburton may have been overreached by the dishonest and unscrupulous negotiators of Washington, as the ablest man living might have been; but no honest man can deny to that nobleman the praise of having fulfilled the duty assigned to him, in a manner that reflects the greatest credit on his character. The Americans may well be ashamed of the share which their Secretary of State and Senate had in the transaction; but no Englishman need blush for Lord Ashburton's being ignorant of that which the wisest man living could not be expected to know while such concealment was practised by his adversaries. After all, however, the advantages to Great Britain in having this question settled, are far greater than any sacrifice of mere territory, of

The river St. John is the longest and most picturesquely beautiful of all the New Brunswick rivers. Its Indian name Loosh-took, means literally Long River. It rises near the Chaudière river in Lower Canada, not far from Quebec, and flows through a course of nearly 600 miles (the length of England and Scotland united), till it empties itself into the sea in the Bay of Fundy. The Grand Falls on this river are 200 miles up from its mouth, and the height of the cataract is 50 feet. The river winds through part of the United States' territory by a circuitous bend, then enters New Brunswick, and flows by the capital, Fredericton, on to the port of St. John.

The interior of the Territory of New Brunswick is still a wild, and for the most part an untrodden forest. It is known that there are several ridges of hills, and some of an elevation of 2,000 feet, this being the altitude of the celebrated Mars' Hill, on a line with the St. Croix river, and admitted by the Americans and the English as one of the fixed points agreed to on both sides, for the adjustment of the Boundary Line.

Within these extensive forests, the supply of timber may be said to be almost inexhaustible. The

which there is more than enough for all our wants in that which remains; while the benefits, in other points of view, are a full equivalent for what we may be supposed to have been literally defrauded of, by those who persisted in a claim after they had evidence in their own hands, furnished by their own historian, from a map authenticated by their own minister, of its palpable injustice. This is a stain on the national character of America, which it will require years to obliterate.

principal of these are the red or Norway pine, and the white pine, each of which grows to a large size, seventeen tons of timber being frequently obtained from one tree. The black, yellow, and white birch for building, as well as the curly birch for furniture, also abound. The spruce, the hemlock, the hackmatack, tamarack, or larch, are frequently in all parts of the country; and the rock, the bird's-eye, and the sugar-maple, are all well known. Besides these, there are the oak, the elm, the beech, the hornbeam, the ash, the poplar, and the locust, so that variety as well as abundance are thus secured in the supply of forest-trees. These are cut down, in their different localities, by bodies of men called lumberers, who go out in companies during the winter, under a leader, and share in the profits of the enterprise. They prepare the trees after they are cut down, by lopping off the branches, stripping the bark, rough-squaring the trunks: and then, launching them into the streams as the ice breaks up in spring, they form them into rafts on the large rivers, and thus float them by the current to the ports on the borders of the sea.

In the course of their explorations in the interior, these men have ascertained that the province contains an abundance of excellent stone for building, especially granite and sandstone. Quarries of the stone used for grinding-mills are opened at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and form an article of extensive import. Good marble has been found in some parts, and limestone and gypsum are abundant. At Grand Lake, on the left bank of the St. John, between Fredericton and the sea, coals have been found, and the

surface strata worked; and it is said, by those who have made inspection of this locality, that the supplies are likely to be as large as those of Nova Scotia. Salt springs are frequent within 50 miles of the sea, from which brine and salt may be procured; and at Mispeck, iron ore has been found, which yields 70 per cent of pure iron.

In its forests and mineral wealth, therefore, New Brunswick has an immense store of treasure for future developement; while for agriculture, pasturage, and fishing, she is not inferior to the sister province Nova Scotia; and in the furs of its wild animals, the food of its domestic cattle, and the wealth of its fisheries, it finds steady sources of increasing wealth.

We have seen that the whole area of New Brunswick contains upwards of 17,000,000 of acres. If from this 2,000,000 be deducted for lakes, rivers, and rocky surface, and the deduction is more than enough, there would remain 14,000,000 of acres, fitted for tillage and pasture, when the forests are cleared; or allowing 2,000,000 of acres more for these, as their entire removal is neither practicable nor desirable, there would be 12,000,000 of acres of available soil. Of this, not more than 4,000,000 have been alienated or sold:—of which 3,000,000 have been granted by the Crown under patents from the Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; 500,000 sold to the New Brunswick Land Company; and 500,000 in sales to individuals.

The climate and soil of all this territory are quite equal to those of Canada, and excellent crops of wheat, barley, oats, and maize may be everywhere raised, while potatoes and all the esculent vegetables

and garden-fruits of England may be reared and ripened in New Brunswick as well as in any parts of England, Scotland, or Ireland. Pasturage for cattle, along all the river-borders, and in the valleys of the interior, may also be commended; and here, as in the other Provinces, nothing is wanting, but population and capital, to make the Colony rich, prosperous, and powerful.

The prices of land vary, of course, according to quality and locality. They may be said to range from five shillings to five pounds per acre—the latter only where some clearing or improvement has been effected; and then in the neighbourhood of towns it will run up to twenty pounds or more. But for farming purposes, either in the tract purchased by the New Brunswick Land Company, which is a little to the north of Fredericton, stretching onward from the river St. John, or other parts under sale from the Government, from 5s. to 10s. per acre, for uncleared land may be named as the average price. By a late regulation of the Home Government, purchasers are now obliged to pay ten per cent. on the value of the purchase at the time of making it; and the remainder within fourteen days from the time of the sale, and possession is not given to the purchaser to enter on his land until the whole payment is completed.

It is remarkable that in the case of persons dying without making a will, their property in land is divided by the custom of gavelkind, as it prevails in Kent. The eldest son has two shares of the property, and all the rest of the children have one; and

if a widow be left, her right of dower takes precedence of these.

The whole population of New Brunswick is not more than 150,000 by the last returns. By this time there are probably 200,000, a number not so great as the inhabitants of Liverpool or Manchester in England, with a territory nearly equal to that of all Ireland for their support. Of these, a large number are of Irish immigration and descent, and these are Roman Catholics. Among the rest are Englishmen of the Episcopal Church, Scotchmen of the Presbyterian Church, and both of the Methodist and Baptist persuasion. As there are places of worship for all, and no one enjoys supremacy, they agree remarkably well, and religious dissensions are very rare.

The Government of the Province is in a Lieutenant-Governor, a Council of 16 members appointed by the Crown from the Upper House, and a representative body of 32 elected by the eleven counties into which the Province is divided, and two from the City of St. John. It meets at Fredericton in the winter, and generally sits for two months. Its proceedings are regulated by the model of the English Parliament, though its proceedings are generally very smooth and tranquil.

Abundant provision is made for the administration of justice, in Courts of Chancery and Common Law. The Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief is Chancellor, but he is assisted or advised by the Judges of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice has a salary of 950*l.*; and three Puisné Judges, of

650*l.* a year. Circuit Courts are held in each county in turn; and County and Parish business is transacted much as it is at home. The materials for litigation are not yet very abundant; and all parties seem satisfied with the equity with which justice is administered.

The Lieutenant-Governor has a salary of 3,500*l.* a year; the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1,750*l.*; the Provincial Secretary, 1,430*l.*; and the other officers of the Executive from 550*l.* down to 100*l.* The sum of 1000*l.* is granted annually to the King's College, at Fredericton; and the whole of the charges on the Civil List amount to only 14,000*l*, which is secured, by act of Parliament for this purpose, out of the Provincial Revenue.

The amount of the Provincial revenue for the last year was about 52,000*l.*, and of the Territorial Revenue about 54,000*l.*, while the appropriations did not exceed 100,000*l.*, so that there was the rare novelty of a surplus of revenue above expenditure in the Colony. The number of ships entered inward were 3,482, and outward, 3,527; while the number of registered vessels belonging to the Colony was 520, measuring 120,517 tons, and manned by 3,842 men. The exports from the whole Province, including timber, ships, fish, oil, and other articles, exceed 2,000,000*l.* sterling in value; and the number of emigrants entering from Great Britain had averaged for the last few years from 5,000 to 6,000 persons.

One of the calamities to which the first settlers in this Province has been subject, is the frequent occurrence of fires in the extensive forests of the interior,

though this has not happened so often of late as formerly. One of these instances, however, is too remarkable to be omitted. It occurred on the river Miramichi, in 1825. The season of the year (summer,) was more than usually hot and dry, the thermometer frequently at 100°, though in the winter it goes down to 30° below zero. In October, the trees of the forest were all so hot and dry as to be like touchwood or tinder; and on the 6th of that month, the forests high up on the river were discovered to be on fire, whether by spontaneous ignition or by some fires lit in the woods, has never been ascertained. This fire only increased the heat and dryness of all the trees within its influence, so that the conflagration spread with great rapidity. The atmosphere was reddened over many miles of space, and this was overhung by black clouds of smoke, in dense masses, giving a peculiar and almost terrific gloom to the picture. Ever and anon there were sudden flashes like lightning, accompanied by crackling of woods, and multiplied sounds of escaping gas, like the repeated discharges of cannon; while showers of ashes from the burning forest were scattered far and wide by the winds. The great heat, of course, drew the currents of the surrounding atmosphere more powerfully towards its edges and centre, which only served to increase the combustion; so that the flames swept their way downward in the course of the river, the heat being so great as to cause the water between the two approaching masses of fire on either bank, to boil, and hiss, and send up steam or vapour and this hissing and bubbling noise, added to that of the roar of the flames, and the crackling and explosions

of the woods, was enough to inspire terror in the boldest hearts.

The fire, in its progress, soon enwrapped the two towns of Douglas and Newcastle, covering an area of 6,000 square miles with flame; and as in these towns there were large deposits of rum, turpentine, tar, oil, and even gunpowder, these all added fresh fuel to the flame, and made it blaze with indescribable fury. The conflagration thus spread onward with still greater rapidity than before, sweeping away all the villages and single dwellings in its course, and extending, in the whole, for more than 100 miles along both banks of the river!

At least 500 human beings perished in the flames; while a much greater number of wild and domestic animals were at the same time destroyed. The putrescent and unburied bodies of both infected the atmosphere, while the effect of this was still heightened by the dead bodies of the numerous fishes which were thrown up on the river's banks. There were, at this awful moment, not less than 150 vessels in the Miramichi river; the crews of which were terror-struck at the approach of a conflagration which advanced with inconceivable rapidity, swept everything before it, and threatened to enwrap them in its destructive flames. Of the ships, some few escaped, others were burnt down to the water's edge and then sunk. Of the men, many were burnt to death; and others, who escaped by getting out to sea, were so mangled and blackened, as to carry the marks for life; while of those who succeeded in getting beyond the actual reach of the fire, hundreds perished for want of food, raiment, and shelter. Not less

than a million's worth of property, in timber, dwellings, ships, and goods, were destroyed; and the calamity was, upon the whole, greater than any that ever visited any British settlement before.

In England, a public subscription was raised, by which 40,000*l.* sterling was collected, and sent out for the relief of the sufferers; and the Americans of the United States, to their honour be it said, notwithstanding their border rivalries, were prompt to come forward with relief, in money, and in materials, to help their suffering fellow-creatures.

CHAP. XXIX.

Capacity of our Colonies to relieve the mother-country of her surplus population—Practicability of making them also assist to extend our commerce—Questions of Free Trade and Emigration—Want of employment among the labouring classes—Colonial Emigration offers a speedy and effective relief—Decline of great empires from neglect of Colonization, Commerce, and Education—Four great elements of national wealth—Superabundance of all these in England—Plan for transferring these to our North American Colonies, by free gifts of land, and free conveyance of Emigrants, at the national cost—Certainty of benefits, far more than equivalent to the outlay, which would amply reward the mother-country, as well as enrich the Colonies.

HAVING now examined and described the separate Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and added to these some notices of Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, this seems the most appropriate time and place in which to offer some observations as to the capacity of these Colonies for receiving and sustaining the surplus population of the mother-country, and as to their being made a source of wealth to their own inhabitants, as well as of large pecuniary benefit to Britain, from the extended commerce of which they may be made the seat.

These questions, though at all times interesting and important, have never been so urgent and press-

ing as at the present moment; when, from all the accounts that reach us here (Fredericton), the united evils of an increasing population, a decreasing trade, and a falling revenue, seem to be working together, and threatening more calamity to England than any combination of causes for a long period. If these evils were inflicted on the country by any natural calamity—such as the withering up of the fertility of her soil, the exhaustion of her mines, the hostility of other nations, earthquakes, pestilence, or any other causes beyond the control of her rulers to avert—the people might resign themselves patiently to their fate. But, as it appears to me that the evils in question have been brought about by impolitic legislation —especially by the continuance of restrictions on the importation of food from other countries, and by either a vicious system of management, or a total neglect of the immense resources which our own Colonies possess,—it becomes an imperative duty on all who love their country, to consider by what mode the evils under which she labours may be remedied, and her commerce and prosperity revived.

As the greatest evil, or that which is at the root of all others, is *want of employment for the labouring classes* — since this, of course, renders them unable to maintain themselves, and causes them to fall back on the classes above them for support—so the first step in the remedy required, is to procure them that employment, by which alone they can earn their own subsistence, and contribute to the general wealth of the kingdom, instead of becoming a drain upon its resources, and augmenting its poverty.

Such relief might be instantly given, if the Legis-

lature of England could but be prevailed on to remove those barriers to the extension of our foreign trade which they themselves have placed on it, in the shape of laws for prohibiting the importation of the produce of other countries, except on the payment of such high duties as place them beyond the reach of the labouring poor. The supplies of food, of every kind, which could be imported into England, from North and South America, Russia, Poland, France, Spain, Egypt, and other fertile lands,—in grain, cattle, and farming produce, as well as in coffee, cocoa, sugar, and other wholesome and nutritious articles of sustenance and enjoyment—would furnish to the people of England all that they could desire, if the heavy duties now imposed on them were reduced, or altogether removed. And there is not one of all these countries, that would not readily receive British manufactures, of various kinds, in payment for these supplies; so that the double good would be effected, of giving employment to the constantly-increasing population of Great Britain, and supplying them at the same time with those very articles of sustenance which it is utterly impossible that England can produce from her own soil in sufficient quantities to feed her people. The surface of the island is limited, and almost every acre that could be profitably cultivated, is already brought under the plough. The population, already in excess beyond the means of being well employed and adequately fed from her own soil, is increasing at the fearful rate, it is believed, of nearly a thousand a day; so that the disproportion of numbers to resources is every hour augmenting.

For such a state of things as this, there are but two remedies. Either employment and food must be brought from abroad; or the people themselves must be removed to other lands, to obtain that which is denied them at home. A Free Trade with all the nations of the earth would speedily effect the former—Emigration, on an extensive scale, would accomplish the latter. There is no good reason, indeed, why both should not be had recourse to, as this would make the remedy more speedy and more effectual; and both should be urged, without ceasing, till achieved. But, as the landed proprietors of England are all-powerful in the councils of the country, there will no doubt be much greater opposition on their parts to Free Trade than to Emigration; and as this last subject does not appear to have received the public attention of the press or people of England so extensively as the former, it may be well to embody here the opinions which an extensive personal survey of nearly all our Colonies, in both hemispheres, and a long and deep consideration of the questions of Emigration and Colonization, have induced me to form.

In doing this, it will not be necessary to advert to the manner in which our extensive possessions in Asia, Africa, and America were originally acquired, tempting as the theme may be; yet, to prevent misconception, it may be well to state, that on a review of all the circumstances attending the conquest or acquisition of each, there appears to be much more deserving of censure than of praise—more to be ashamed than to be proud of—as force, fraud, plunder, and oppression, have been the chief elements by

which our Colonies have been won and ruled; and this perhaps may be the reason why they have hitherto yielded us so little of national benefit. If the first cost of the acquisition of each separate Colony belonging to Great Britain could be estimated in sterling money, including, of course, the equipments of the fleets and armies used—the loans, subsidies, and grants made—and the amount of debt entailed; and if to these could be added the annual cost to the mother-country of the settlements that have never yielded a revenue sufficient to pay their own expenses, the sum would startle the boldest financier; and the most ingenious statesman would be unable to show that equivalent advantages had been derived from their possession.

That it is possible for nations to grow weaker by an extension of territory, and to be drained of wealth by multiplying their possessions and spreading their dominion, has been proved in the case of the Romans, the Arabs, the Spaniards and the Portuguese—each of whom, in turn, fell, rather by the destroying power of their own extension, than by any other cause. And, though it was the boast of the two last-named countries—as it may be that of England at the present day—that "the sun never set on their dominions," we see them both now reduced to the lowest degree in the scale of nations—their weakness and poverty causing them to be a by-word of reproach—their Colonial dominion almost extinct, and their internal peace perpetually disturbed by insurrection and civil war.

There is nothing that can insure the escape of England from a similar decline and fall, but a just

and wise use of the power she possesses, and pursuing a course the very opposite of that which brought Spain and Portugal to their present low estate.

With each of these nations, it was a prominent feature of their policy to prohibit and prevent Colonization, or the fixed and permanent settlement of the European race within their Colonial territories. Their governors, and subordinate officers, after amassing fortunes from the plunder of the natives, retired to Europe to spend them; while the aborigines, and the mixed races that succeeded them, were regarded only as creatures out of which profit or gain, in some shape or other, was to be made.

With each of these nations also, it was a prominent feature of their policy, to make almost every branch of commerce a Monopoly, for the benefit of some royal or distinguished personage, or for the special advantage of some peculiar class; and at the same time, so to burden all articles of export and import, not passing through these channels of monopoly, with heavy and grievous imposts, as to crush all freedom of trade.

A third feature of their Colonial policy, was to keep all their subjects in the most profound ignorance; to discourage Education, to fetter the press, to stifle all aspirations after knowledge, and to make the abject people bend their necks under the double yoke of priestly bigotry and intolerance, and civil and political despotism.

These were the destroying cancers which ate into the very heart and vitals of Spanish and Portuguese dominion, till both were gnawed away. And they were to the full as effective in completing the humi-

liation of the countries named, as were the thirst for military conquest, and the lust of religious power and subjugation, which caused the empire of Rome and the caliphate of Bagdad, under which the Arabs spread their dominion from the walls of China to the borders of the Atlantic Sea, both to crumble away into dust.

Let England take the opposite course, if she would avoid a similar fate! Let her encourage and assist the Colonization of all her distant possessions, and plant them with her surplus population of every rank and class. Let her remove all restrictions on Commerce, first between herself and her own Colonies, and then between herself and other nations—till she enjoys, as far as her power can secure it, a Free Trade with all the world.

And, lastly, let her so encourage Education in all her borders, as to raise up an intelligent, virtuous, and independent race of subjects, among whom neither ecclesiastical nor political tyranny can ever be introduced, since by such a race they would never be endured.

The materials which the Government of England possesses for the accomplishment of these great ends, are in her own hands; they are as abundant as they are efficient; and they want only the requisite degree of moral courage on the part of her rulers, to be brought into immediate operation. Every year that they are suffered to lie dormant, our national difficulties will increase; but the moment they are put into active combination, these difficulties will begin to diminish. Let us see, then, in what they consist.

The four great elements requisite for the production of wealth, are *land*, *labour*, *skill*, and *capital*: the first, to yield the raw materials, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral, of which almost all articles are composed; the second, to perform the necessary operations of obtaining these materials from the surface or the bowels of the earth; the third, to direct these operations in the most economical and most effective manner; and the fourth, to convey the requisite amount of population to the scene of their labours, and sustain them until the first realization of profit from their own industry shall enable them to support themselves.

Who can for a moment doubt that England possesses all these in greater abundance than any nation on the face of the globe? or that she has the power to use them all for the national welfare, by the mere will of her rulers, under the sanction of legislative enactment?

And first, of *land*.—To say nothing of the immense regions of untilled and untrodden soil, which belongs to England, in the Eastern world—millions of acres in Hindoostan and Ceylon—millions more in Australasia, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Southern Seas—where there is room enough for the whole population of Great Britain and Ireland ten-times told: to say nothing of these, but confining ourselves solely to those North American Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, through which the Tour recorded in this volume extends, we have the following area—

Canada	222,720,000 acres
Nova Scotia . . .	9,995,880
New Brunswick . . .	17,280,000
Newfoundland . . .	23,000,000
Cape Breton . . .	2,000,000
Prince Edward Island .	1,360,000
Total . .	276,355,880

In order to make the comparative size of these territories the more apparent, it may be well to append the following—

England and Wales . .	36,999,680 acres
Ireland . . .	20,399,360
Scotland	18,000,000
Total . .	75,399,040

It will be seen by this, that the area of the Canadas alone is about six times as large as that of all England and Wales; that Newfoundland alone is larger than Ireland; that New Brunswick is nearly as large as Scotland; and that Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island are fully as large as Wales. The whole area of our North American Provinces alone is more than twice as great as that of all France, which is 130,370,840 acres: but while France has a population of 35,000,000 of people, these Provinces have only an united population of 2,000,000, by the largest computation that can be made.

As we have seen that there is here *land* enough and to spare—for of the whole of this vast area there are not more than 30,000,000 of acres granted, and of these not more than 5,000,000 cultivated—let us next see whether we have *labour* to apply to

its cultivation. On this head, few proofs will be required, since the general notoriety of the fact renders these unnecessary. While Ireland pours forth her tens of thousands of emigrants every year to the United States and to these Provinces,—while Scotland sends her hardy sons to the remotest regions of the globe in search of the means of existence,—and while England has her union work-houses filled with unemployed labourers, agricultural as well as manufacturing, and her poor's-rates and population each increasing yearly at a fearful rate,—no one can doubt of there being an abundance of *labour* to be had, in almost any quantity in which it may be required.

Of *skill* to direct that labour advantageously, there has hitherto been a lamentable deficiency in most of our Colonies; because the business of Emigration not being undertaken or directed by the Government, but carried on by mercantile companies or private individuals on their own account,—few besides the poor and destitute, who could not obtain subsistence in their own country, have turned their thoughts to Emigration as a remedy for the ills under which they laboured. The poor, and persons of broken-down fortune and reckless character, have formed hitherto too large a proportion of the numbers going out as settlers to our Colonies: so that the "exile," as it is called, is looked upon with feelings of the greatest distaste and reluctance by most persons; and by some, indeed, is closely associated with either misfortune or crime. But if more powerful *inducements* were offered, sufficient to tempt a new and better class of emigrants to leave their native home, there would be no more difficulty in

obtaining the highest amount of *skill* in every department of agriculture, mining, and trade, to supply the Colonies, than in procuring the requisite amount of labour, to be directed by these, for the developement of our Colonial resources, and the enrichment of all engaged in the increase of the national wealth.

The last element in the catalogue of requisite materials for the great work of making the Colonies of England available to the mother-country, is the possession of the means of *conveying* the requisite amount of labour and skill to the spots where they would be required, and the *capital* to sustain such as might need that aid, until the first realization of the profits of their own industry should enable them to sustain themselves. With both of these, happily, England is as amply provided as any nation on the earth. The number of her ships of war now lying idle in the harbours and docks of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Deptford, Woolwich, and Sheerness, the Medway and the Thames,—are of themselves sufficient, if put into commission, to convey a million of emigrants every year to the shores of our North American provinces;—and the funds of the public treasury could be as easily applied to such pacific and useful expeditions, as to the equipment of hostile fleets for the war with China—the transport of troops from Bengal and Madras for Canton and Chusan—or those of Bombay for the Indus and the war in Affghanistan. All the materials are in the hands of the British Government; and the only thing that is wanting is the moral courage to use them aright.

No one will deny that the 100,000,000 of acres of ungranted, unappropriated, and untilled land in our North American Provinces, are perfectly worthless to both government and people, till brought under a state of tillage; while the maintenance of our Colonial forces and dominion, is a matter of heavy cost and burden to the mother-country; because there is not yet a resident population sufficiently numerous, or sufficiently wealthy, to be taxed for its support. To bring these acres into cultivation, therefore, and to fill the country with an industrious and productive population, would add to the wealth of the Colony, and enable it to *aid* the mother-country in relieving it of some of its heaviest burdens, besides giving it the power of paying its own expenses out of its own resources.

No one can deny that a redundant population,—beyond the means of profitable employment,—exists in England at the present moment, and is likely to become, every year, a source of greater expense to the mother-country, in the increased burden of poor-rates, and the exercise of public and private charity, amounting in the whole to 10,000,000*l.* sterling at least, which this necessarily involves,—as well as of great suffering, from hunger, nakedness, and disease, engendered by want—with great deterioration of morals, in the ignorance and crime unavoidably resulting from such destitution as this. And yet, such a population, with skill to direct its labours, put to work on the uncleared forests, unopened mines, and untilled lands of the Colonies, would produce wealth from these, sufficient to place them all in a state of almost immediate competency, and, ulti-

mately, of opulence. All that is wanted, indeed, is, that the governing power in England should exert its influence and authority *to bring these elements together*. The flint and the steel will never yield fire, while each is kept apart from the other. Bring them into contact, and the spark is elicited which produces a flame. The untilled acres, and the unemployed hands, will never produce wealth while they remain apart. Bring them into contact, and the production of riches will be the inevitable result.

This can never happen, however, while the Government demands a *price* for the land, which the poor can never pay; and while the passage across the ocean, and the expenses of reaching the territories in question, present an insuperable barrier to thousands of families who could never raise the means of defraying the cost. The painful associations hitherto connected with exile to the Colonies, owing to the poverty of the class generally going out, as their last forlorn-hope of sustaining existence—as well as from the privations to which these are subjected on their first settlement in the woods,—from the scarcity of good society, and the means of education and intellectual pleasures,—all these have prevented persons in the higher and middle ranks of life from entertaining the thought of emigration to the North American Colonies; and without some new and powerful *inducement*, this indisposition on their parts to leave their native home will still continue. And yet, painful as is the pressure of population on the means of subsistence among the labouring classes of England, it is quite as painful (though not so publicly proclaimed) among the mid-

dle ranks. There is scarcely a family with an income below a thousand a year, which does not feel the difficulty of providing for its younger members. The navy and army are almost closed, and the world may rejoice when they shall be entirely so,—the liberal professions are all overstocked,—and every branch of human pursuit in England is so crowded with new competitors, increasing too every year, that many pine in hopeless despair of even attaining to anything beyond a bare and monotonous existence.

For all these, our Colonies afford ample room; and it needs but the fostering hand of the British government so to change the position of millions, now without hope, as to convert their present suffering into immediate enjoyment, and their despair of the future into well-founded expectations of substantial happiness.

The following are the outlines of the principles on which such a relief might be founded; and the details by which it might be worked out.

1st. The whole of the unappropriated lands in the Colonies, called Crown lands, being the *property* of the British nation, the Legislature of the Mother Country has the undoubted right to regulate the disposal of them by the Colonial Governments, in any manner in which, by an act framed for that purpose, they may think fit to prescribe—regarding, as the basis of such act, the present exigencies of the British population, and the importance of their well-being to the general national welfare.

2d. An act might therefore be passed, authorizing the *free gift* of certain fixed and defined portions of such lands, to families, or individuals applying for

them, on certain conditions to be prescribed—not at the discretion of any governor, or other public authority—but by a law and regulation, bearing equally upon all, and free from the possibility of any favour or preference to any.

3rd. In order to ensure the best practicable guarantee for the due fulfilment of the conditions on which such free gifts should be made, the power of the Government to *resume possession* of all lands forfeited by non-performance of the requisite conditions, and the power of re-granting them to others, should form a part of such act.

4th. The *free conveyance* to the Colonies of all applicants for land, under certain fixed regulations also, should be provided for by the same law; and the Government be authorized to employ the requisite number of ships, as well as to make such grants of money, as might be voted in the estimates of the year, for that purpose.

As an example of the conditions that might accompany such grants of land, I will present my own idea of a Plan; though this, being matter of detail, might, of course, be modified in any way that might be thought necessary.

To every single or unmarried man, might be made a grant of 20 acres;—to a man and wife without children, 50 acres;—to a family with one or more children, 100 acres. The privilege of choice as to locality, to be allowed to the applicants in the order of their dates of application; the only restriction being, that the land must be previously unappropriated to any other individuals. The conditions to be annexed should be: 1st. that unless a certain portion of the

grants were brought into pasture or tillage within *three* years after they were appropriated, they might be resumed, and the parties deprived of all right or title to them for ever;—2nd. that if a dwelling-house and farming-establishment were not erected and completed within *five* years, the resumption might also take place;—and 3rd. that the full and irrevocable title to the actual possession in fee simple, with power to sell, devise, or alienate the land so granted, should not be completed until *seven years* of consecutive and continuous occupation and cultivation of the same should have taken place.

It may be urged that this would be *giving away* the national domain, and cutting off a future source of great gain. It would, indeed, be giving away that which is at present of *no use*; but by bringing it into productive cultivation, and enriching the families living on it, such an appropriation of the public lands would make them far more productive to the nation in twenty years of time, than they would be likely to become, in the present mode of sale, in a hundred; besides giving *immediate relief* to every parish in England, by a lightening of their poor's rates, and relieving also thousands, who, though not paupers, are straitened in their circumstances, and obliged to keep it secret, suffering upon the whole as much in mind as others do in body, and forming a very large class of the British population.

If, in the first year in which such an act should come into operation, a million of persons should be conveyed, at the public expense, across the Atlantic, the savings in the poor-rates and private charity alone throughout the kingdom, would more than pay

the cost; for the ships being the property of the nation, and the seamen and officers already in its pay, the expense would be trifling, compared with the object, certainly not 5,000,000*l.*: and thus, supposing 10,000,000*l.* to be saved to the country by this relief, (for this sum at least is expended at present, in sustaining, in one shape or another, the surplus unemployed population of the mother country, who are able and willing to get their own living, if employment could be provided for them, independently of the old and infirm, who would then be the only claimants of parish support,) a fund would remain, out of which might be provided all the necessary implements of husbandry, seed, and cattle, for the first settlement. These being collected in depôts in each province, might be supplied to individual settlers, at a year's credit, payable on the spot; with power to distrain if not punctually discharged, or to defer for another year, if special circumstances warranted such an indulgence; so that the actual outlay of the Government, in capital, might be fully saved to the country, in diminished poor-rates and charitable contributions; and all the supply of implements, cattle, and seed for first stocking farms, be reimbursed in two or three years at the farthest.

Should a million of emigrants go out on this plan —and the number might be limited to this for the first year, if thought desirable—they would require, on their reaching their place of destination, all the aids which are needed in this country, in the shape of carpenters, bricklayers, wheelwrights, smiths, painters, glaziers, plumbers, printers, teachers, ministers, medical men, and others, essential to every

numerous community :—and as such persons might either themselves occupy grants of land, and turn their knowledge of their several arts or professions to profitable account, in such intervals of time as agricultural labours allowed, or give themselves up wholly to their respective branches of trade, they would find ample reward, in payment by produce, which takes place in every new country, and at the same time relieve the pressure of all the respective trades and professions to which they belong at home, by their removal to another sphere of competition.

The very fact, however, of a Colony filling up like this—with all grades and classes of society, so mingled as to form a respectable and intelligent community at once, instead of, as at present, composed almost wholly of the helpless poor—would lead richer capitalists to turn their attention to the same region, as purchasers of land, as miners, or as merchants. To such persons, the Government might be empowered to sell tracts of not less than 500 nor more than 1,000 acres each, at the price which public competition might establish ; with a reservation of the power of resuming possession of all such lands of which a certain portion was not brought into pasture or cultivation within *seven years* from the first purchase, and of refusing any further addition to such sales, until the first purchase should be brought into a state of improvement: no such purchases to be rendered irrevocable until seven successive and continuous years of *actual residence and occupation* had elapsed, and then the title to be granted in fee simple, and registered in the provincial courts, with power to sell, devise, or alienate, as usual.

These restrictions, as to quantity and occupation, would be necessary to prevent the great abuse that has taken place in all our Colonies, in granting millions of acres to land-companies and adventurers, who have suffered their immense possessions to lie untilled and unpeopled, and yet made large sums by selling off portions of their vast grants at comparatively extravagant prices.

There is another point of view, however, in which this transfer of a million of people from England to our North American Colonies may be regarded, and it is this:—while they remain in England, they cannot be otherwise than a burden to themselves and to the commnnity, non-producing, and non-consuming, except at the expense of others, who, in one shape or another, have to bear the burden of their maintenance. But, on the soil of these provinces, this million of people would become at once producers of grain, cattle, and various other articles of food far beyond their own power to consume; and these they would most willingly exchange for every article of British manufactures, which habit had rendered necessary or agreeable to them; and for which they would now have the means of paying, in the very description of produce which the manufacturing population of England most require. There would not be a single individual out of all the million going out, who would not become a speedy customer to Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Rochdale, for woollens and flannels; to Manchester, Bolton, Oldham, and Stockport, for printed and plain calicoes and fustians; to Derby, Coventry, and Macclesfield, for silks and ribbons; to Nottingham and Leicester for

hats, hosiery, and lace; to Northampton for boots and shoes; to Norwich and Exeter for serges and stuffs; to Birmingham and Wolverhampton for ironmongery of every kind; to Sheffield for axes, edge-tools, and cutlery; to Staffordshire for china, earthenware, and glass; to Belfast and Dundee for linen; to Glasgow and Paisley for cotton and woollen goods; and to London for books, stationery, plate, jewelry, and a variety of other articles, which, as British settlers, they would not consent to do without, beyond the period in which they could pay for them; and that period would begin after their first or second crop of corn had been raised, and the first produce of their herds and flocks had been realized.

The multiplied blessings of such a state of things as this, to England and to the Colonies, as contrasted with the sufferings of the redundant population of the one country, and the dormant capacity for wealth lying wholly unimproved in the other, must strike the most unreflecting mind. And as we have incurred a debt of eight hundred millions sterling, in a continued series of unjust, extravagant, and wasteful wars, to adjust the *balance of power*, and keep the due proportions of strength—or ability to do mischief—between the several tigers of the human race, from Frederick to Napoleon,—it would now be wise to devote some of our time, attention, and wealth, to an attempt to adjust the *balance of population*,—by preserving the due proportion between mouths to be filled, and the means of supplying them with food,—by taking from the limited space of our own islands, the surplus number of people above our own

power to employ advantageously, and conveying them to those Provinces, where population will be at once power and wealth; while in England, the excess, so to be disposed of, is at present a source of feebleness and poverty.

It may be added, that this would be an easier task than pouring our destroying armies into China and Affghanistan. There, they were as unwelcome visitors as an army of Chinese or Affghans would be with us; and as all robbers and plunderers, of whatever nation composed, always are. Here, however, in the British Colonies, a fleet conveying an army of emigrant settlers, embracing persons of several grades, skilful directors as well as industrious labourers, would be received with open arms; illuminations of joy would evince the pleasure with which they would be hailed, and acclamations of welcome would accompany them on their route. And why?—Because an increase of population, more especially of the industrious, orderly, and productive classes, would give increased value to every description of property in the country; and all the owners of such property already settled in these Colonies would be benefited by a corresponding augmentation in the value of their estates and produce. Every resident in each Province would thus not only be better enabled, by this rise in the value of his property, to provide for himself and his family, and accumulate wealth for them all; but the revenues of the country would also be increased, whether they were raised by duties on articles of manufacture or consumption imported into the country, or by a property-tax assessed on the realized capital, in lands, houses, mines, funds, &c.

Instead of the Colonies being, as they now mostly are, a heavy charge on the mother-country, from the deficiency of their own revenues being made up by grants from the Imperial Parliament, each Colony would be enabled, not only to pay its own charges, but have a constantly accumulating surplus fund, to be expended in the making of roads, bridges, canals, and other public works, establishing schools, hospitals, and asylums, building Court-houses and places of worship, improving the navigation of the rivers, increasing the number of lighthouses on the coast, and introducing, year after year, the many improvements which every Colony must require, in the supply of its physical, moral, and intellectual wants, for the happiness of its increasing population.

The principal objection, perhaps, that could be urged to this plan of filling up our North American Colonies in the way proposed, would be its tendency to prepare the people too rapidly to assert their independence, and throw off their connection with England. To this it may be replied, 1st, That the *ultimate* independence of all our Colonies, of any extent in size and population, is an event which no human power can prevent; and which ought to be, therefore, always anticipated and prepared for. 2dly. That when this event takes place, it is desirable that it should be with the free will and consent of both parties, and in a *pacific* and not hostile manner. 3dly. That it is likely to be accelerated, in point of time, by any course of policy which the colonists themselves shall deem unjust, and be therefore disposed to *resist*,—as in the case of the United States of America; and that it may be retarded and delayed

by timely concessions to all reasonable wishes, and granting to the colonists a full participation in all the benefits enjoyed by the subjects of the mother-country. Lastly. That whenever it may take place, it can only be an evil to Great Britain, if effected by violence, and in a spirit of determined hostility to the parent race: but could not, if accomplished by mutual consent, and in a friendly spirit, be productive of any substantial disadvantage to either party.

At present, many thousands of the poorest class of the British population leave the shores of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the western world. Some of these go to Canada, and others to the United States. As the former presents no particular advantage over the latter in a pecuniary point of view, while the latter offers many temptations in the political importance with which every citizen of the republic is there invested, thousands go to the United States in preference. Many of these, never having enjoyed the franchise or suffrage in their own country, and attributing the poverty which compelled them to leave it, to the misgovernment under which they lived, they become more hostile in their feelings towards Great Britain and her political institutions than even the Americans themselves; and assist materially to foment and extend the worst spirit of hatred and contempt towards England, and her power and influence, which characterizes the great mass of the lower classes of the American population.

Every individual of this large body of emigrants, amounting to more than 100,000 yearly, might be drawn to our own Colonies, and fixed there, by the plan I have proposed; and, then, instead of adding to the

numbers of those who become hostile to England and English interests, they would swell the population most likely to be attached, as the great bulk of the Canadians of British descent at present are, to the name, honour, and welfare of the mother-country; because, in addition to the instinctive preference of the nation and stock from whence we have sprung, which is common to the people of all nations, there would, in this case, be the additional tie of gratitude for benefits conferred, and privileges enjoyed; while the continued communication with friends and relatives at home, and the constant intercourse with England, through the medium of books, newspapers, and private correspondence, would serve to strengthen and perpetuate the reciprocal feelings of pride, loyalty, and affection for the father-land.

There are still some persons, though happily their number is every year diminishing, who think a War would have at least this benefit, that it would rid the country of some of its surplus population by deaths; that it would give employment to others in the equipments of fleets and armies; and that it would revive many branches of trade, by causing a demand for the various articles required by the commissariat of large expeditions.

The plan of Colonization here proposed would have all these advantages of War, except the first, (if that indeed could ever be considered one at all;) and if it should be deemed necessary to keep up old names and old forms, for the sake of supporting what is called the "national dignity;" let this be considered to be a War—not against France, or Russia, or America—it is true, but a war against Poverty,

Disease, and Crime, three enemies more important to be subdued than any with which we have to contend, because they are always with us, and always draining our resources, and destroying our prosperity. Let there be a "Royal Proclamation," if it be necessary to "maintain the privileges of the Crown;" and let the Queen issue her "Declaration of War" against these three great enemies of her realm and subjects.

Let the Admiralty be all in motion, to put into commission every unemployed ship of war; let half-pay officers be summoned from their retirement to enter into active service; let men be recruited and enlisted at all the outports of the kingdom; and let the Government stores of materials and provisions, in all the dock-yards and arsenals of the coast, be collected and increased for the use of this Pacific Expedition.

In lieu of cannon, mortars, bombs, shells, and rockets, let the iron-foundries be employed in making plough-shares, hoes, spades, and other agricultural implements: instead of muskets, lances, and bayonets, let the workshops of England be employed in producing scythes, pruning knives, and reaping hooks. No war-horses for cavalry, gunpowder for artillery, or rum and brandy for sappers and miners, or infantry, would be required. In place of these, cattle for farm-stock, seed for sowing, and wholesome food and drink for all classes, might be laid in, at half the cost; and quite as much activity infused into the various channels of labour from which these supplies would be required, as any war with France, Russia, or America, could produce; with this great

advantage, that all the capital thus expended, instead of being lost and wasted, as it is in War, without an equivalent benefit, would be here productive of future wealth, more than sufficient to repay all the first outlay.

Thus, indeed, might we fulfil the first command of the Deity to his creatures, to "increase and multiply, and replenish the earth," and realize the prophecy, "that men should turn their swords into plough-shares, their spears into reaping hooks; that every man should sit under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, with none to make him afraid: and that nations should not learn war any more."

Such an Expedition as this, would be the most glorious that ever sailed from the shores of Europe,—undertaken with purer and more generous motives, and devoted to higher and nobler ends, than those of Da Gama or Columbus, of Drake or Anson, of Nelson or of Napier; and far more worthy than all these, of a nation professing to believe and follow that Gospel, which proclaims "Peace on earth, and good will towards men."

Let us hope, therefore, that it may be the fortunate lot of some individual, high in the councils of the nation, to suggest this mode of National Relief to our young and innocent Queen; and that the attribute of benevolence, which so becomes a female crown, may be brought into such active operation as to lead to the serious adoption and practical execution of a plan, by which millions may be saved from a premature death,—and the condition of millions that survive be changed from poverty and wretchedness to competence and ease; the national wealth

augmented, national industry employed, and national glory, of the truest and most enduring kind, be established on the firmest foundations on which earthly dominion can repose.

P. S.—Since this chapter was originally written, the circumstances of the country have grown so much more embarrassed, from want of employment, and from declining trade, that what seemed most urgent when I was in the heart of New Brunswick in 1840, appears to me still more imperative, now that I am in England in 1843. And that others are beginning to be of the same opinion may be inferred from the fact, that while these sheets are passing through the press, a memorial is preparing by the merchants and bankers of the City of London, praying the Government to consider some Plan of Colonization, to be undertaken at the national cost, for the relief of our surplus and suffering population; while a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Charles Buller, has given notice of his intention to move an Address to the Crown, praying her Majesty to take this subject into her gracious consideration. Free Trade and extensive Colonization can alone, indeed, save England from impending ruin. Both are important, and both ought to be adopted; but, as is the case with most remedies, the more speedily these are applied, the more effective will they be; while the longer they are delayed, the more difficult it will become to carry them into execution.

In my last work on the "Eastern and Western States of America," vol. ii. p. 8, published at the

close of the last year, this subject of extensive Emigration from Europe to America was adverted to; and a Plan was pointed out by which the nations of the Old World might relieve themselves of their surplus population, and at the same time hasten the developement of the resources of the New. To that proposition the objection raised, was, that it was not the interests of the monarchies of Europe to strengthen or enrich the republics of America; and that their co-operation could not be ensured to assist in such a work, even though it would procure an outlet for their own population, and give their respective countries considerable relief.

To the present Plan no such objections can apply. It must be the interest of Great Britain to people, plant, and enrich her own Colonies; and she needs not the sanction or assistance of any other nation to relieve the pressure on her own population by such a mode as this; so that no obstacle presents itself to its immediate accomplishment, beyond that of the difficulty of transferring to the Legislature and the Rulers of the country, the impress of the public feeling and the public will. The agency of the press, of petitions, memorials, addresses, and resolutions, will, however, soon effect this; while the exigencies of the times, increasing every day, nay, every hour, will greatly accelerate it.

I may add, that since the manuscript of this work was sent to the press, I have read, with great interest and delight, the two admirable volumes of Mr. Charles Fellows, descriptive of his Tours in Asia Minor, and his Discoveries in Lycia more particularly; and I could not help asking myself

repeatedly, while passing over their pages, why the Colonies of the British nation, should not be made to be as great and flourishing as those of the ancient Greeks? There, in a single Province, Lycia,—embracing little more than a degree in latitude and longitude, or not more than 2,000,000 of acres, smaller than the smallest of the British Provinces of North America, with a large portion of even this limited area occupied by rocky mountains and craggy and inaccessible cliffs, without a single large navigable river or lake, and with no greater fertility than many parts of Upper Canada present—were no less than thirty-six cities, in the time of Herodotus; while over the 200,000,000 of acres in our Western Provinces, we could not present, in the united public works and edifices, all put together, so much of architectural beauty, cost, and grandeur, as some single one of these cities of Asia Minor possesses, even now, in such of their remains as have come down to us after 2,000 years or more of time! What Colonies of ours—even the oldest and the richest—the East Indies, or the West Indies, each owning the sway of Britain for 200 years at least,—can show, in all their united works, such edifices as those of Xanthus, Aphrodisias, Mylasa, Stratoniceia, Calynda, Cadyanda, Tlos, Pinara, Sidyma, Patara, Phellus, Myra, Arycanda,—all within the little Province of Lycia only? while the other provinces of Asia Minor, spreading over an area of less than half that occupied by our Western Colonies, is filled with remains of ancient art and magnificence in every part.

And yet these were all Grecian Colonies, having

no other sources of wealth than their soil and its productions, and free commercial intercourse with their mother-country and surrounding nations. Out of that soil, and through this commerce, they raised all the wealth which enabled them to build the cities and erect the monuments, which we value so highly, that we fit out ships of war, and send costly expeditions to bring home their dilapidated inscriptions and rifled tombs.*

Even in the little region of the Decapolis, east of the river Jordan, beyond Palestine, through which I travelled in 1815—a small Roman Colony of much less extent than Lycia—the ten cities that gave name to the Province, contained more of architectural magnificence than all our Transatlantic possessions put together; while works of utility as well as of ornament abounded, in roads, bridges, aqueducts, and reservoirs, to promote intercourse and facilitate cultivation; and the temples, theatres,

* The French expended nearly £100,000 sterling to bring home the single Obelisk of Luxor from Egypt, and set it up in the public square at Paris; and the cost of the transport of the Elgin Marbles, and other monuments of antiquity, purchased or procured for the British Museum, would convey thousands of families to our Colonies. Not but that art deserves a portion of our attention and our wealth; but the necessities of the starving poor should now be our first consideration: and if we could people and enrich our own Colonies, by agriculture and commerce, as the Greeks did theirs, we might then try to rival them in building Temples, Palaces, and Tombs still more sumptuous than theirs: and fill our Museums with the perfect *chef-d'œuvres* of our own artists—instead of the imperfect wreck and broken fragments—interesting as they are—of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.

hippodromes, amphitheatres, and naumachia still existing, even in that remote and comparatively obscure province, might put to shame the directors of the Colonial policy of England.

But it is not too late to follow these ancient examples. Whatever Greek or Roman could accomplish in their Colonies or conquered Provinces, we can do as well in ours, if we but put forth our energies to effect it. Our soil and climate is as good, and our agricultural and mineral wealth as great as that of any of the dependencies of antiquity. We have a knowledge of mineralogy, chemistry, and steam-power, to which they were strangers. Our ships can traverse the Atlantic more speedily and safely than their frail barks and galleys could traverse the Mediterranean. Education is with us more easy than with them, from the treasures and faculties which the art of printing has accumulated for us. In architecture, sculpture, and painting, we have, like them, the means of adorning Colonies, as well as planting them ; and if, instead of filling up our distant settlements with criminals, and those nearer to our coasts with paupers, we would take the pains to form Colonies like those of the ancient Greeks,—each body of emigrants, headed by some esteemed and honoured leader, responsible for their safety and prosperity, and resting his fame as well as fortune on their success, accompanied by professors of every science and art, workmen of every trade required, and competent skill to teach and direct, as well as labour to learn and execute, so that all the elements of a perfect community might land on the same shores from the same expedition ;—if this were done, and it is quite as

practicable now as it was 2,000 years ago, there is no reason why they should not build at once, cities like Smyrna or Ephesus, like Telmessus or Olympus, as on the sea-coast of Asia Minor; or proceeding into the interior of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Canada, rear such cities as Sardis, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Thyatira, and Philadelphia, and others equally beautiful in the mountains and valleys of the same romantic region.

The surrounding country would afford them all abundant supplies of food; their herds and flocks would multiply; their forests yield timber, and their fields grain, for exportation as well as use; and while all the productive powers of agriculture, mining, and commerce might be set in motion in the surrounding country and coast, the cities might become the seat of every art and science known; and opulence, refinement, and enjoyment would crown the labours of all. It was so in these Greek Colonies of Asia Minor, and the Roman Colony of Decapolis; and unless it can be shown that the people of antiquity had at their command more land and more labour, greater skill and greater capital, than we—which we know not to have been the case—no reason can be assigned why we should not equal them at least, and surpass them if possible, in the successful issue and brilliant results of a well-considered and well-directed plan of NATIONAL COLONIZATION.

CHAP. XXX.

Departure from Fredericton—Arrival at Woodstock—Crossing the Boundary Line—Mars Hill—American Fort at Houlton—Note on Lord Ashburton's Treaty—Tariff—Corn Laws—Reform Bill—Arrival at Bangor in Maine—Voyage to Portland—Beautiful View of Boston—Journey to Worcester, Norwich, and New London—Arrival at New York.

On Saturday the 24th of October we left Fredericton at 8 A. M., accompanied by many friends to see us off, in the stage-coach running between this and Woodstock, the westernmost or frontier town towards the American boundary. The weather was bright and beautiful, and the appearance of the town gay and sparkling, with its lofty and tin-capped spires. The coach and its driver were more after the American than the English fashion, and the horses and harness were equally so. Warm and sunny as the weather was at present, we were assured there had been some years in which snow had fallen in every month, though, generally speaking, here, as in the United States, the summer begins in May, and is very hot till August, while September and October are the most agreeable months in the year.

Our road lay along the right bank of the river St. John, the scenery of which was pretty, rather than grand; the cultivation appeared everywhere neat and clean. On the borders of the stream were encamped some Indians, of the Meleseet tribe, who are fast diminishing, and in a few years hence will, no doubt, be extinct.

Twice in the course of our journey we crossed the river St. John in ferryboats, which took over the coach and horses without the necessity of the passengers alighting. The stream was in these parts narrow, and the water shallow, but in the spring of the year, on the breaking up of the ice, and melting of the snows, its channel is broad and deep.

We reached Woodstock at 7 A. M., having been eleven hours in performing 65 miles; and the fare for each person being three dollars. No public conveyances went beyond this, towards the United States, so that we were obliged to arrange for procuring a private one, and learnt, to our great disappointment, that no covered carriage of any description was kept in the place, either for private use or for hire, and that we must wait until the morning before even an open one could be got ready. The inn was so dirty, and the hostess so unaccommodating, that we preferred sitting up rather than going to bed; and the night being excessively cold, we had great difficulty in procuring sufficient fire-wood to keep us warm. We had met with nothing more disagreeable than this in any of the back settlements of America, and we hoped the time would soon come when more settlers, and of a higher and better class, would be poured into this region, to fill it with those who

would have means and taste to surround themselves with greater comforts, and be able and willing to furnish them to others.

On the morning of the 25th, we left Woodstock at the early hour of 4 A. M., in an open waggon, which was the only vehicle that could be obtained in all the town, to take us across the American Boundary line, into the first post of the United States Government at Houlton. The air was bitterly cold, with sleet and snow, and it was pitch dark. From the carelessness and indifference of the driver, our luggage was so loosely packed, that one of the trunks fell off on the road, and its loss was not perceived till some time afterwards, so that we had to retrace our steps a mile or more to recover it, in which we fortunately succeeded; though an hour or two later it would have been buried in the drift of the snow, already beginning to accumulate around it on the road.

At daylight we arrived at the Boundary line, which was here marked by a broad opening in the primitive forest,—a sufficient number of trees having been cut down to leave a road or track of 50 feet in breadth, running due north from the monument fixed by agreement of both parties at the head of the St. Croix river to Mars' Hill, a prominent and isolated mountain, the position of which was also fixed by mutual consent, as one of the points in the Boundary line to be settled. Besides the central opening occasioned by the removal of all the trees for a breadth of 50 feet, the outer rows of trees immediately fronting this space on either side, were blazed or burnt, till nearly all their bark was de-

stroyed, so as to make the Boundary more defined; and in the centre of the road, as we crossed this opening, was a lofty pole, erected on the stump of a large tree left for that purpose, to give still further certainty to the line of demarkation and division between the two territories.

The American fort and garrison of Houlton, is only one mile west of the line; while Woodstock is at least twelve miles distant from it. On approaching Houlton, on the ramparts of whose fort, the American flag was waving, we had a fine view of Mars Hill, distant probably from ten to twelve miles. Its elevation is about 2,000 feet; and being isolated and unconnected with any chain, it rises above all the surrounding country, and may be seen in a clear day at a distance of 60 or 70 miles. Its summit is rounded, and it has a slight depression near its centre, forming two protuberances from one base, resembling Mount Tabor, in Palestine, in the view of that eminence as you approach it from Nazareth.

The village of Houlton, which we entered at sunrise, is very small, containing not more than fifty dwellings, besides the barracks and storehouses connected with these. Some American troops are constantly stationed here; and those we saw, both officers and men, resembled other portions of the same body that we had seen at Detroit and elsewhere. Their personal appearance, dress, and carriage, is greatly inferior to that of English or any other European troops, at least of the great northern powers; but in bravery and discipline when under arms, it must be admitted, by all candid

minds, that they are quite equal to those of any nation in the world.

While crossing this Boundary line, and seeing the vast tract of untrodden forest that lay in the direction of where what is called "The Disputed Territory" lay, we could not but regret, that while each of the contending nations had already millions of acres more than they could people for a century perhaps to come, they should dispute and quarrel about what each party might readily cede to the other, and never feel the loss. It would be a cheap purchase of tranquillity and good feeling between the two nations to give up the whole territory in dispute; but if this be thought to involve a point of honour, surely the policy of mutual concession might be tried; and as it is plain that neither party are in a condition to show that their claims are free from all objections, or in perfect accordance with the language of the treaty of 1783, the wisest plan would be to appoint a special ambassador on either side, to meet together with full powers to arrange a compromise on the basis of mutual concession; for there is margin enough for both nations to give and take; and in this way alone can the question ever be satisfactorily settled. A war for such an object would be little short of insanity; and at its close would leave the question as unsettled as ever; besides wasting the lives and property of both countries, and entailing debts and obligations, and feelings of rancour and hatred, which it would take years to allay.*

* Since this was written, the question has been happily set at rest, by the mission of Lord Ashburton; and of this I feel assured,

We breakfasted at the hotel of Houlton, and remarked that the painted canvass or oil-cloth, which

that if he had been sent out by the Whig administration instead of the Tory, we should have seen the leaders and the press of that party eulogizing his wisdom and discretion, and congratulating both countries on his success. As it is, however, though he has succeeded in settling the Boundary line on as advantageous terms to England, as any Whig ambassador could have hoped to do, he is set-upon with a ferocity that is almost as ludicrous as it is disgraceful. His treaty is called a "capitulation," and it is urged against him, as a crime, by the liberal press and liberal orators of England, that he spoke of Boston as "the cradle of American liberty," as if *this* were a sentiment unbecoming a British peer to entertain. The shades of Chatham, Burke, Fox, and Barré, should rise from their graves to reproach these degenerate Whigs, who think an admiration of and sympathy with "the cradle of American liberty," unbecoming a British statesman! It were more worthy of a descendant of Lord North or Lord Mansfield to utter such a reproach; but, from a professedly liberal press, and liberal leaders in Parliament, it is, to say the least, discreditable. I remember nothing of party rancour or injustice in the conduct of public men or public writers in America more flagrant than this attempt to run down and decry the successful issue of Lord Ashburton's mission, in securing a settled Boundary and probable peace for England. It should be added, to the honour of the three Whig Governors of the North American Provinces—Lord Falkland, Sir William Colebrooke, and Sir John Harvey—that each of them, in their several speeches with which they opened their respective Parliaments, of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, in January of the present year, 1843, made this subject of the settlement of the Boundary line, matter of the highest congratulation, as calculated to consolidate the peace of the Provinces, and greatly to improve their commerce. Their speeches have reached us in the Provincial papers, while these sheets are going through the press; and it is gratifying to see the different tone and spirit with which the question has been treated by those who, being nearer to the scene than ourselves,

covered the table after the breakfast-cloth was removed, contained this device and motto. In the centre was the American Eagle, and around it were these words—"The firm friend of American industry, Henry Clay. — The tariff, the whole tariff, and nothing but the tariff." This was an evident parody on the recent watchword of the English reformers—"The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." The reflecting portion of the community, in both countries, will one day think these great national boasts equally worthless; and both, it is hoped, will before long be reformed. The Americans have this excuse for their mistake, that they use it as a retaliation on the English for their unjust Corn Laws. But the English reformers were either blind or hypocritical, in pretending that their measure could effect its avowed object, when they suffered so many obstacles and impediments to remain to the free and independent exercise of the franchise in those who before held it, as well as in those to whom it was newly extended. Time, the great rectifier, will, it is to be hoped, amend them both.

We succeeded in procuring at Houlton, though a

are most likely to be keenly alive to its importance for good or for ill; and their contentment with the settlement that has been made, may well assure us, that it is not the "reckless capitulation" which the Whig organs and Whig orators of England, in the blindness of party spirit, have endeavoured to make it appear.

While writing this note, it is some gratification to perceive, that notices of motion have been given by Mr. Hume and Lord Brougham, for a vote of thanks to Lord Ashburton for the manner in which he conducted the negotiations, and brought them to a successful close.

much smaller place than Woodstock, what we could not obtain there, an excellent covered stage-coach with four horses; and engaging with the driver to pay him 50 dollars, about 10*l.*, (his own price) for the journey to Bangor, 117 miles, we left Houlton at 9 A.M., and proceeded on our way. The road or track lay through a dense forest of pine, birch, and maple trees, now in bright and gorgeous colours from their decaying foliage. Log-huts of settlers were seen filling up the cleared spaces hewn out for them in the forest, and trees were in many places cut down and removed, with patches of wheat cultivated between. The road was unusually rough through the dark forest of pines, which extended from hence about 25 miles, till we reached the river Madawamkeag, one of the forks or feeders of the Penobscot. Here we found a clean and comfortable house, and most obliging hostess, the very opposite of our ill fortune at Woodstock; and here, therefore, we took refreshments, the driver taking his meal with us, as usual, but showing no disrespect or undue familiarity. We learnt that party politics ran so high here, that the husband of the landlady who had been the post-master of the village, was removed from his post, because he had voted for the candidate opposed to the administration. Here, as in most parts of New Brunswick, tea is taken after dinner, or rather at dinner, as well as the morning and the evening meal, almost all families using it three times, and some at supper, or four times a day.

Thirty miles beyond this station, we reached the point where the river Madawamkeag joins its waters with those of the Penobscot; and here also we

alighted, and had an excellent supper and a most agreeable and obliging landlord. The houses along this route appeared to us neater and cleaner than in many of the more settled parts of the United States; for here the primitive forests were still standing, and our road for the greater part of the way lay right through them.

We left this station at 6 P.M., the weather growing cloudy and dark, and at night the cold became intense, with a heavy fall of snow. In the midst of one of the violent gusts of wind which blew, our coach was overturned, the first occasion of an upset we had experienced in a journey of three years; but fortunately no one was seriously hurt, though the entire scattering of the baggage in the road, and the time and labour required to replace all, and raise the coach, before we could resume our journey, was a disagreeable interruption.

Soon after resuming our way, we passed the Falls of the Penobscot river, by a closed bridge which here traverses the stream, about 15 miles before entering Bangor, and near to the Indian village called Old Town, which is situated here.

It was five o'clock on the morning of October 26, when we reached Bangor; and we had just time to drive to the steamboat about to start for Portland, when we embarked under a heavy fall of snow. We soon found ourselves surrounded with all the usual characteristics of an American party. A red-hot stove stood in the centre of the gentlemen's cabin, around which were congregated 50 or 60 passengers, nearly all chewing tobacco, and soiling the deck in succession; and though it was nearly dark, the thin

wiry voices and drawling tones, so peculiar to the New Englanders, were enough to remove all doubt as to our associates.

We left Bangor at 6 A.M., and passed down the Penobscot river, which has bold rocky banks on either side, like the river Kennebec. At the mouth of the river, we saw the large port of Belfast, in which were anchored a great many ships. Below this, the Bay of Penobscot opens, and the town of Camden is seen, with an island, on which were now the remains of a wreck near it.

Farther down the Bay, and on the same side with Belfast and Camden, we passed Thomas-Town, which we reached at half-past one o'clock, this being accounted half way between Bangor and Portland. Here the wind shifted to the south, and brought us a heavy rolling sea from the Atlantic; but taking the inner passage between the islands and the coast, the effect of the swell was greatly abated. These islands are very numerous, and some of them are large, but few are inhabited. They are highly useful as forming a natural breakwater for the coast, and give good shelter for fishing-boats employed here in the season. The coast all along is full of fine bays, and fishing villages, and the lighthouses are numerous and excellent.

At sunset it gathered up dark and thick, portending a heavy south-west gale; and as we had some open sea to cross before we could reach Portland, many became alarmed for their safety. Indeed, there were some periods in which the sea ran so high, and the steamboat rolled so heavily, that the captain and officers betrayed great anxiety, not to say fear,

and all were most happy when we reached Portland harbour near midnight.

Finding the steamer just on the point of leaving for Boston, we were all speedily transferred to her, though the removal of nearly a hundred passengers, including many women and children, on a stormy night, the confusion in selecting and identifying baggage, and the horror of passing over narrow planks between rolling vessels in pitchy darkness, was a labour of some difficulty and little pleasure.

Soon after midnight, on the 27th of October, we left Portland, in the large and commodious steamer of the same name; and in a short period after quitting the harbour, the passengers, exceeding 150, were all in bed, 200 separate berths being the extent of accommodation furnished by this splendid vessel. The wind shifted to the north-west, which, blowing off the shore, gave us smooth water, but the air was intensely cold. Soon after sunrise, we passed round Cape Ann, which forms the eastern extremity of the Bay of Boston, and observed here two excellent lighthouses on a small rocky island off the promontory, near which are several other small islands also. Nothing is more striking than the contrast between the fewness of the lighthouses, from Quebec to Halifax, and all through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and their frequency and excellence here. Everything, indeed, that conduces to the safety of navigation and trade, is most liberally supplied by the American government, in which it might serve as a pattern worthy of imitation by much older countries than itself.

Within the bay, just beyond Cape Ann, appeared

the flourishing little town of Gloucester; and as the sun rose bright, and the sky was cloudless, while schooners and small-craft innumerable were entering into or departing from the Bay, and ships of large size were seen in the offing, the moving picture was animated and beautiful. The busy preparation of 150 passengers, who had all now left their beds for breakfast, the washing, brushing, and combing, in common—which is hardly to be avoided in so large a number, since separate rooms for each would require vessels of twice the present size—made the greater number, however, indifferent to the beauty of the scene, as the occupations of the breakfast-table absorbed all their time and thoughts. The morning meal was soon despatched, and by this time we were just passing the Half-way-Rock, as it is called, between Cape Ann and Boston, about 15 miles from each. It is steep, lofty, and rugged; and is crowned with an excellent lighthouse.

Beyond this we had a fine view of Salem and Marblehead, two of the sea-ports of New England; and the crowds of vessels coming out of their harbours, with the fair north-west wind, added to those from Boston, literally covered the sea. We next passed by the rocky promontory of Nahant, which is the favourite sea-bathing place and summer retreat of the Bostonians in the dog-days, and a most agreeable spot it is for such a purpose. Beyond it, the snowy-white town of Lynn, celebrated for the extent of its manufactures of ladies' shoes, with which it supplies almost every State in the Union, was spread out on the plain. And now the entrance into the harbour of Boston increased in interest and beauty every

mile as we advanced. The numerous islands that stud the Bay, some with forts, others with country mansions, some with hotels, and others with cottages and gardens, give great variety to the scene; while the noble City, rising from the water, street over street, and terrace over terrace, covering the sides of the steep peninsular hill on which it stands, and crowned by the majestic State House, with its beautiful façade and domes, make up a picture of such varied beauty, as few marine cities can surpass.

We passed by the fine line-of-battle ship, Columbus, of 80 guns, lying at anchor at the entrance of the harbour, in full trim for sea; and landed at Boston about eleven o'clock. This gave us a few hours to visit some of our most intimate friends in the City, and take leave of the principal families from whom we had received attentions during our former stay here; and after many affectionate greetings and warm adieus, we left Boston at 2 P.M., by the railroad for Worcester, a beautiful inland city of Massachusetts, described at length in my former volumes on America. We reached Worcester at half-past five; and from thence, passing through a thickly peopled manufacturing district, we reached Norwich, in Connecticut at 9. This is a large and beautiful town, seated on the river Thames, and is full of active and flourishing manufactories and trading establishments.

From hence we proceeded down the river Thames in a steamboat for New York. The banks of the river were pretty, but the stream was small. We made a short stay at New London, a smaller town than Norwich, at the mouth of the river, but containing several large, as well as smaller vessels in its

port; and launched from it at midnight out into Long Island Sound, the name of that branch of the Atlantic, which, lying between Long Island and the continent of America, makes the inner passage for most of its coasting vessels bound to New York.

By sunrise, on the morning of the 28th of October, we were up in the narrow part of this passage, leading through the rocky strait, called Hell Gate by the ancient mariners, from the whirlpools, eddies, rocks, and dangers with which it abounds, like the Scylla and Charybdis of the ancients, in the Straits of Messina; but now softened down into the less offensive, but at the same time less expressive name of Hurl Gate, which conveys no idea of its nature or character, though it conforms to the example of the polished preacher described, I think, by Cowper, who

"never mentioned Hell to ears polite."

After passsing a large steamship on the stocks, building for the Emperor of Russia, and again enjoying the gay and animating, as well as splendidly beautiful approach to New York, by this channel,—with the Navy Yard, Brooklyn, the Battery, Governor's Island, Jersey City, and the magnificent Hudson on the one side, and the East river on the other, fringing the long promontory on which stands the City, with its numerous church-spires, its public buildings, gigantic hotels, crowded thoroughfares, and forests of masts, with the flags of all nations waving from their summits,—we landed at the wharf at 9 A.M., and took up our old quarters at the American Hotel, in the most open and beautiful part of the Broadway.

CHAP. XXXI.

Intended Journey through Mexico, and Voyage by the Pacific to China—Reasons for the abandonment of this part of our Expedition—Liberal remuneration of literary labours in America—Unfortunate investments in American Stocks—Bankruptcy of them all—and consequent total loss—Return to England in the Steam-ship President—Considerations as to the probable cause of her subsequent wreck—Conclusion.

When we left England, in August, 1837, it was my intention to devote three years to our Travels through the United States of America and the British Provinces, one year to a Journey through Mexico, and one year to a Voyage from some port near the Isthmus of Darien, either Panama or San Blas, to the Sandwich Islands, and on to China, visiting as many portions of that country as might be accessible. From thence we proposed to proceed to Calcutta, and ascending the Ganges, to have gone up as high in the interior as Delhi, crossing from thence by land to Bombay, and returning to England, by the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, all of which might have been easily accomplished in the space of the five years which we had allotted to the undertaking.

We had been fortunately spared to accomplish the two first objects of our expedition, having visited

the Northern, the Southern, the Eastern, and the Western States of America, from the Bay of Fundy to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the borders of the Atlantic to beyond the Mississippi, as well as the British Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, from the Island of Mackinaw, near the entrance of Lake Superior, to the Boundary Line which separates New Brunswick from Maine. But all our hopes of visiting Mexico and China were crushed, by circumstances which had arisen since our departure from home, and which were not then anticipated. In Mexico, the war between the Mexicans and Texans, and the civil commotions between the different aspirants to power among the Mexicans themselves, made it impossible to travel through that country with any safety. Robberies and murders were events of almost every-day occurrence; and neither life nor property were respected. At the same time, China, which when we left England was beginning to be more accessible to Europeans than at any period within the last hundred years, was now entirely closed to the English, from the disgraceful war arising out of the seizure of contraband opium, brought in, in defiance of all laws and edicts, by English smugglers, encouraged by the East India Company, who grew and furnished the poisonous drug, and countenanced by the Queen's representative as a lawful and honest trade! As affairs in both these countries were likely to get more embroiled, before they would be tranquillized, we were compelled with great reluctance to forego our purposed visit to both, and think of returning to England.

Another circumstance which rendered this additionally necessary, was a misfortune that we had little expected. During our Tour through the United States of America, the delivery of my Lectures had been sufficiently rewarded, by the large audiences that attended them, to enable me to defray all our travelling and other expenses; and to put by, at the close of each year, a clear surplus of 1,000*l.* sterling; the public spirit and munificence with which literary labours of this description are remunerated in America being such, that I received, from the Young Men's Literary Society of Boston, an engagement on their own invitation and offer of 2,500 dollars, or 500*l.* sterling, for a single Course of Lectures on Egypt and Palestine, and their receipts more than covered the outlay;—while at New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, the returns were on a still higher scale. I had considered myself, therefore, most fortunate, in the pecuniary result of my visit to the United States, when the surplus sum of 3,000*l.* sterling, earned by my literary labours alone, were safely invested, as we supposed, in the stocks and funds of the country, there to remain only till our embarkation for Mexico, or our return to England, when we purposed withdrawing them for remittance home. For the sake of lessening the risk of loss, we had, prudently as we then thought, divided the amount into three portions of 1,000*l.* each; determined to invest them in three different descriptions of stock, and in three different cities. Accordingly, 1,000*l.* was invested in the Bonds of the Morris Canal Company in New York; 1,000*l.* in the Life and Trust Company of Baltimore; and 1,000*l.* in the United States' Bank of Phila-

delphia, all then paying interest regularly in England at the rates of 6, 7, and 8 per cent, and all in such reputation for stability, as to be at a high premium in the market. On our reaching New York we found that all three of these undertakings were bankrupt! and the stock of each not only paying no interest, but absolutely unsaleable, except at such a ruinous depression as induced the ready adoption of the advice of the best informed and most disinterested, to hold on a little longer in the hope of a revival. This hope, however, grew more and more faint, as time unfolded more and more of the recklessness and dishonesty, by which these concerns had become insolvent; and thus the laboriously acquired earnings of the three years, on which we had counted for a welcome little resource for the period when age and declining powers would make labour less agreeable as well as less productive, were all swept away at the same moment!

My losses in India, occasioned by the oppressive conduct of the East India Company's Government, and the wanton destruction of all my property in that country, as well as the disappointed hopes of redress, first raised by the Whig Administration of England, in the Resolutions passed by them in the House of Commons, declaring me to be entitled to Compensation, and their subsequently shrinking from the fulfilment of their pledges, when they had the power in their own hands to redeem them, were heavier blows than this: because the amount at stake was more than ten times as great. But I was then ten years younger, and more buoyant with health, strength, and energy; while there was yet

time before me, in which to *hope* at least for its recovery. But this loss, though so much smaller in amount, seemed the more depressing, because approaching age lessened the probability of a recurrence of any chances to redeem it; and because it rendered impracticable, that part of our expedition, for which a portion at least of these resources would have been so useful.

Having determined, therefore, on our return to England, we engaged our passage in the ill-fated steamship, President, Captain Keane; and left the harbour of New York in her, with about 90 other passengers, on the 3rd of November. Our voyage was unusually stormy, after the first day's run, with a heavy gale from the eastward; and the engines of the vessel were so deficient in power, as compared with her great size—her burden being 2,400 tons, and her power 850 horse only—(while the Cunard line of steamers, from Liverpool to Halifax, have engines of 650 horse-power, to 800 tons only,) that there were many periods of the day in which we did not make a progress of more than three miles in the hour. Indeed, having made about 150 miles in the first 24 hours, we were three other days in making the other 150 miles; being only 300 miles distant from New York on the 7th, when we had been four days out of port.

At this period, Captain Keane summoned a meeting of his passengers in the great saloon, and communicated to us all the unexpected and disagreeable intelligence that the chief engineer had just reported to him that there were not coals enough on board to take the President to England, even if the

gale should cease immediately, and the wind become fair. There were not indeed 14 days' ordinary supply of coal in the ship at present; while at the rate we had been proceeding (300 miles in 4 days) it would take us just 40 days to accomplish the distance of 3,000 miles between New York and Liverpool. He thought it his duty, therefore, to return immediately to New York, while the adverse gale lasted, and he wished the passengers to know the grounds of his proceeding, and to stamp the act with their approbation.

This was of course very readily given, as the common safety of all rendered it imperative; but in the document drawn up and signed by the passengers for this purpose, a paragraph was inserted, expressing the unqualified disapprobation of all the signers, of the reckless and unjustifiable conduct of those whose duty it was to have seen the requisite supply of fuel placed on board before the ship left her port, as well as of the fewness of the seamen constituting her crew.

We accordingly bore up before the gale, and reached New York on the morning of the 9th, to the astonishment of all who saw us return. So entirely satisfied, however, were all the passengers —and they included several experienced shipbuilders and nautical men—with the excellent qualities of the President, as a sea-boat, her strength, buoyancy, and easy motion, that not one of all the 90 passengers left her to embark in any other packet, though several were ready to sail about the same time, but all re-embarked in high spirits, as soon as they were assured of the full supply of coal being on board,

and at least 50 of the passengers now looked after this matter themselves.

Our passage home was as favourable, as its commencement had been unfortunate; we had fair winds and fine weather almost the whole of the way; but having been known to have left New York on the 3rd of November, and not arriving in England by the 18th, public anxiety began to be manifested for our safety; and no one even conjecturing the cause of the delay, all manner of false reports were spread, some invented purposely, no doubt, by interested parties, others magnified by fears of friends, till at length, day after day increasing the excitement, and the President not reaching Liverpool till the 28th of November,—ten days after the regular time at which she might have been fairly expected—the feeling of joy was intense and widely spread at the intelligence of her safety; and every newspaper in England assisted to communicate the tidings of her arrival.

On the following voyage, the unfortunate President was lost; having sailed from New York in her ordinary course, and never since been heard of. A variety of conjectures have been hazarded, as to the manner in which her loss was occasioned; and at this late period, when the subject may be adverted to without harrowing up the feelings of those who had friends on board, or prolonging their painful suspense, for all hopes of her ever re-appearing have now been long ago extinguished, it may not be unacceptable to have the opinion of one who knew her qualities well. I venture, therefore, to offer it as my belief, that under the skilful commander who was then in charge,

Captain Roberts, no gale which she could encounter on her passage, would be sufficient to occasion her to founder. Insufficient as her engines were to propel her with the requisite degree of speed, they would always have force enough to keep her head to windward in the heaviest gale that blew; and in this position, no pilot-boat that ever swam could lie-to more easily and steadily than the President. As a sea-boat she was unrivalled, and not the slightest manifestation was anywhere visible on our homeward voyage, in the severest period of the gale, of and weakness amid-ships, or anywhere else. An iceberg may have intercepted her course, or a ship may have run her down—as all who have been much at sea, know how frequent are the accidents resulting from a bad look-out; and fire is a calamity to which all ships are liable, especially those that carry a hundred passengers or more, where drunken revels among some,* not sufficiently discouraged, because profit is made by the sale of the wines and spirits, great carelessness with others, lights permitted improperly to be burning in the bed-cabins at a late hour, and their inmates going to sleep without extinguishing them, with the inflammability of all the materials of which a ship is composed, making fire much more rapidly destructive at sea than on land, and much more difficult to extinguish.

One or other of these calamities may have destroyed the unfortunate President; and either would

* We were obliged to have two passengers carried drunk from the dinner-table to their berths, on the first day after we left New York in the President; and every day some of them drank to excess.

account for the total destruction of every vestige of her hull, as well as of her spars, boats, and moveable furniture, but especially the last, for the devouring flames leave no vestige of anything unconsumed, and when all is burnt to the water's edge, the heavy and ponderous mass below soon sinks to the bottom. This, though the most terrible, is the most speedy death, and leaves at least the consolation that if the sufferings of the victims were severe, they were soon terminated.

A greatly improved system of discipline is no doubt gradually gaining ground in all ships carrying passengers ; but, considering how many lives may be sacrificed by the carelessness or helplessness of one individual, and how many dissipated and thoughtless young men there are who cross the Atlantic in these steamers, it would certainly be a wise regulation to limit the use of wine or spirits to each individual; better still to abolish their use at sea altogether, as even when no great danger happens, they produce a variety of minor evils, and the substitutes of tea, coffee, chocolate, and other wholesome and agreeable beverages, are now admitted by the most experienced naval commanders to be better for the health and comfort of passengers, officers, and crew, than wine and spirits in any quantities whatever. The greater safety of sailing without any supplies of these on board, is acknowledged by the fact, that in the sea-ports of America, the Marine Insurance Offices deduct five per cent. from the premium paid by ships sailing without them ; and at the same time make larger dividends from the decreased number of losses in ships of that class ; and it is to be hoped that before

long, similar Marine Temperance Insurance Offices will be established in England also.

In thus bringing to a conclusion the Narrative of my Journeys over the North American continent, which occupied us so agreeably to perform, and which it has been scarcely less pleasurable to review and record, I beg to thank all those who have travelled with me thus far to the end;—to assure them that the only reason why the details have been so minute and ample, was a desire to make my Descriptions as full and complete, as I wished them to be accurate and impartial;—to hope that the sentiments I have ventured to interweave with my Narrative on the subjects of Education, Temperance, Colonization, and Peace, will not be regarded as a presumptuous endeavour to intrude topics irrelevant to the subject, but as springing from a sincere and earnest conviction in my own mind, of their importance to the welfare of mankind;—and to indulge the pleasing anticipation that the day is not very remote when these topics will engage the minds of the highest and noblest in the land, and abundantly reward them in the triumphs which they will achieve for the national happiness.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

Since the preceding sheets were printed off, the anticipated discussion on the subject of National Colonization has taken place in the House of Commons; and I am unwilling to let this Volume go forth to the world, without availing myself of the opportunity to say a few words on this subject, especially as there have been misrepresentations made, which it is important to correct.

Mr. Charles Buller cannot be too highly praised for the able, luminous, and comprehensive speech, with which he introduced the question of National Colonization to the House. The only thing to be regretted in it was, that though maintaining the general principle, and showing its abstract justice and necessity, he did not propose some specific plan by which his views could be carried out into practice. But it appears to be the fashion of the day, to express implicit confidence in the Executive Government, and to yield up to them so entirely the uncontrolled regulation of the affairs of the kingdom, that the chief function of the House of Commons, as a controlling body, seems to be in abeyance; so that

motions of the greatest importance, after having been introduced by most elaborate and able speeches, are, one after another, successively either abandoned or withdrawn; of which Lord Palmerston's motion on the American Treaty, Lord Ashley's on the Traffic in Opium, and Mr. Buller's on National Colonization, are striking examples.

If Mr. Buller's masterly introduction of the subject deserves the highest commendation, it is difficult to find adequate terms, in which to express the narrowness of view, and pettiness of detail, with which it was met by Lord Stanley; and in reference to the proposed plan of National Colonization detailed in the preceding pages—a copy of which had been sent to him—his want of candour was as remarkable as his breach of courtesy and good taste.

Lord Stanley stated, in objection to this plan, that the Imperial Parliament had not the power to dispose of a single acre in the Colonies, as this was entirely under the control of the local government. But he omitted to state, that as all the unappropriated or waste land of the Colonies was still held to be the property of the Crown, and hence still called "Crown lands," or "Crown reserves,"—in other words, forming part of the great national domain; it is within the power of the Imperial Legislature to repeal, enact, alter, or amend, any regulations affecting the sale or grant of these lands, as much as it is to grant, sell, or lease, any portions of the Crown lands in England or elsewhere. In virtue of this power, it has, from time to time, made such changes as it saw fit, and might, if it so chose, make any other changes it might deem proper. On this subject, I quote one of

the most recent authorities, Lord Durham's Report, as thus abridged by Mr. Maculloch—

"Since the province of Canada came under the British government, the plans under which land has been granted and sold have differed very widely at different periods; but have very rarely indeed been established on sound principles. The township-lands have been granted in many modes, differing in character and object; at first they were granted to settlers in free and common soccage, with a reservation to *resume all*, or any part, if required for military purposes, but subject to no other conditions; the quantity so granted to each individual being limited to 100 acres for himself, and 50 acres additional for each member of his family; the governor having authority to increase this to 1,000 acres. These favourable terms were meant to attract settlers from the Colonies which now form the United States. This was in 1763.

"In 1775 this arrangement was superseded, and the Quebec Act of the preceding year having restored the French code and language, corresponding instructions were given, that *future grants* should again be made in fief and seigniory, and three seigniories were thus created.

"In 1791 the regulations of 1763 were revived, though with certain conditions annexed to them, which, in practice, were avoided; and this mode continued till 1826. But the constitutional Act of 1791 also enacted, that *a reserve for the support* of a *Protestant clergy* should be made, in respect of every grant, equal in value, as near as could be estimated, to one-seventh part of the land granted. The *Crown reserves*, to a like extent, originated in the view of supplying, first by sales, and ultimately by rents, an independent source of revenue; and obviating the necessity of taxes, and consequently of such disputes as had led to the independence of the United States. These reserves, however, have proved most serious obstacles to the welfare of the Colony, which the misconstruction or violation of the Act has aggravated, by increasing their extent beyond what appears to have been contemplated."—*Lord Durham's Report, App. B, pp.* 6, 7.

This will be considered sufficient proof that the property in the waste lands of the Colonies is entirely under the control of the Imperial Parliament, by which, the different changes here described, were ordered and made. But subsequently to that period, other Acts have been passed. From 1806 to 1814, grants were made in lots of 200 acres to actual settlers. From 1814, grants were made on "location tickets," requiring the erection of a house, and the clearing and cultivating four acres, before the title was perfected. In 1826, the mode of selling by auction at a minimum price was adopted, the purchase money being paid by four annual instalments. In 1831, the payment was ordered to be by half-yearly instalments; and in 1837, the purchase money was ordered to be paid at the time of sale. And, lastly, an Act of the *Imperial Legislature* authorized the sale of one-fourth of the Clergy reserves, at the rate of 100,000 acres annually.*

Again, in speaking of the tenures of land in Upper Canada, and adverting to the grants to individuals, among whom Colonel Talbot is mentioned, and to public companies, of which the Canada Company is named, as well as the Clergy reserves, Mr. Maculloch says—

"The profuse manner in which these grants have been made —many very extensive grants having been given to parties who had no intention of settling on them—coupled with the great extent of the clergy and state reserves, has had a most injurious influence over the Colony, and has materially retarded its pro-

* Maculloch's Geographical Dictionary—1841, vol. i. pp. 517—518.

gress. Lord Durham ascribes the backward state of Canada, as compared with the United States, mainly to the influence of the circumstance now glanced at."*

Lastly, so recently as the 23rd of July, 1840, the date of the last great Act for uniting the two Provinces of Canada into one, and constructing the new form of government for the United Province, the 42d clause of such Act expressly reserves to Her Majesty the prerogative of *disposing of the waste lands of the colony*, and forbids the introduction of any bill that shall touch or affect the same, in the Local Legislature, without previously ascertaining Her Majesty's assent, the provision of the clause being in substance this—

"That whenever any bill shall be passed by the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Canada that shall in any manner relate to or affect Her Majesty's prerogative, touching the *granting of waste lands of the Crown*, within the said Province, every such bill shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Her Majesty shall not give her assent to such bills, until thirty days from their being so laid before Parliament, nor even then in case either House of Parliament shall within that space of time address Her Majesty to withhold her assent. And no such bill shall be valid within the Province of Canada, unless such bill shall first be transmitted to England, for the purpose of being laid before Parliament previously to the signification of Her Majesty's assent thereto."

Surely nothing can be plainer or more authoritative than this, to prove that the property of the waste lands of the Colony is still in the Crown of England; that they form part of the National

* Maculloch's Geographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 520.

Domain; and that the Parliament of Great Britain has the sole power to control the disposal of these lands, in any way in which the two Houses of the Imperial Legislature and Her Majesty may see fit. If Lord Stanley did not *know* this, then he is fairly chargeable with *ignorance* of what it was his especial duty as Colonial Minister to know. If he *did* know this, and withheld the avowal of it from the House, when he asserted that the Parliament of this country could not dispose of a single acre of the waste lands of Canada, as this was solely under the control of the local Legislature, then he is chargeable with want of *candour* and *fairness*, and in either case, the use which he made of his influence and position in the House to impute ignorance to another was neither just nor gentlemanly. His Lordship might have recollected some recent instances of his own mistakes, in the matter of "Tamboff," and other cases, which should have made him lenient towards the errors of others, if he really supposed them such. But to attempt to cover another with ridicule, as being grossly ignorant of that which he especially pretended to know, when, as the preceding extracts show, the ignorance or want of candour was all his own, is only another proof, added to the many with which every session abounds, that provided a public speaker obtains an apparent triumph for the moment by any statement which may suit the purpose at the time, the justice or the fairness of such statement is matter of much less importance to him than the victory of himself or his party.

It is true, and no one at all acquainted with the history and condition of our Colonies, could possibly

be unacquainted with the fact, that the sale or disposal of the waste lands of the Crown, has been placed under stringent regulations and restraints; and that, at present, such sale or disposal is vested in the Local Legislatures or Governments of the respective Provinces, while the proceeds resulting from the same, form a portion of the Colonial revenue. But inasmuch as the whole of the National Domain, of which these lands are a part, as well as the entire affairs of the Colonies, are under the control of the Imperial Legislature, it is undeniable that the Parliament of England has the power to repeal any existing acts on this subject, to enact new ones, or to revive old ones, as it may deem best. And as it so recently exercised its power to suspend the whole functions of Government in Canada, to unite the two Provinces against the will of a large majority of the people, to put down the Colonial Legislature, and place the whole country under a Supreme Dictator, and subsequently to enact the construction of an entirely new form of government, it is absurd to the last degree to contend that it has not the power, if it chooses to exercise it, of altering the tenures of land, and taking the whole administration of its grants into its own hands.*

But there would be no need even of this. For,

* Mr. Charles Buller has given notice of a motion after Easter, to introduce some measure for altering the tenure and mode of granting Crown Lands in the Colonies. But the very fact of such a proposition being received in the British House of Commons, is sufficient proof that the real and ultimate control and authority over these lands is in the Imperial Parliament—whatever my Lord Stanley may say to the contrary.

if any system of free grants were determined on, nothing would be more easy than to induce the local governments to make them, or to prevail on the Local Legislature to pass acts for that purpose, if such a form were necessary; because it is even still more the interest of the Colonies to encourage such settlement of an industrious, skilful, and productive population, than it is of the mother-country to relieve herself of her surplus numbers. With us, Emigration affords a relief from burdens merely; with the Colonies, Immigration lays the foundation of future wealth, strength, and greatness. The interest of the Colonies is therefore even greater than that of the mother-country, in offering such inducements as free grants to settlers of the description named; and, therefore, whether the act or acts for this purpose be passed in the Imperial or Local Legislatures, the result will be the same. It is mere captiousness to object to what is matter of form, if the principle of Colonization be admitted to be a sound one; for in that case, matters of detail can easily be adjusted, and grants might be made, and sales effected by the Local Legislature, as well as by the Home Government; while the proceeds of all such sales might still be appropriated to the local revenue as at present, with the certainty of these sales realizing a much greater revenue when the free grants were made than afterwards; for as it is population that chiefly gives value to land, the very presence of a large population of free settlers, would make all the lands proximate to their farms of constantly increasing value.

So also, of the questions of previous surveying, and

the subsequent formation of roads, of the concentration of settlers, rather than their dispersion, and of the raising, by rateable assessments on the area or value of estates, when circumstances might require it for local improvements in the several districts in which they may be situated—all these are matters of detail, which may be safely left to the local governments, and which in no way whatever affect the soundness or unsoundness of the general principle of Colonization at the national expense.

As to the "visionary" and impracticable nature of that part of the Plan which proposes grants to individuals on certain specified conditions—for this also is alleged—we have seen that in 1814, such grants were actually made on "location tickets," to local settlers, to the extent of 200 acres to each settler, "requiring the erection of a house, and the clearing and cultivating four acres before the title was perfected," so that it is neither so visionary nor so impracticable, as is supposed. And Mr. Maculloch, who is not generally considered Utopian in his views, expressly says—

"The plan of *selling* land, in any Colony, and especially one in the situation of Canada, seems highly objectionable. The preferable plan would be to *make grants of land* to all settlers, on a uniform system, in proportion to their available capital, with a limitation of the maximum quantity to be assigned to any individual; and making it a condition of all grants, that they should be forfeited in a given time, unless certain specified improvements were effected upon them within that time."*

This is the very principle that I have ventured to propose, and I am glad to be sustained in its pro-

* Geographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 520.

position by so safe and cautious an authority, of which I was not before aware, till this imputation of "visionary and impracticable," which Lord Stanley has chosen to affix to my Plan, led me to look a little into other authorities, to see what were the opinions of other men as to the tenures of land in the Colonies, and the practicability as well as expediency of placing them on a more liberal footing.

The passage which his Lordship read in the House of Commons, and by which he succeeded, as much by his manner probably as by the matter itself, in exciting "much laughter," was that which relates to the supply of materials for stocking farms, in cattle, seed, implements, &c., recommended to be furnished or collected by the Government, placed in central depôts in each Province, and to be supplied to the settlers on terms of credit agreed on. It is no doubt a novel idea to have a Commissariat for an Army of Peace; and as men of weak or prejudiced intellects find it much easier to pronounce any new proposition to be "visionary and impracticable," than to undertake the trouble of inquiring into and understanding it—so in this instance, the laughter was probably excited by what they were unable to comprehend. But as the War Office has an organized system, by which depôts of ordnance, supplies of horses, arms, ammunition, stores, clothing, provisions, and implements of destruction, can be furnished to armies, however distant,—and the Admiralty can find ships and transports to convey similar supplies to the Cape of Good Hope and New South Wales,—as the Queen's Government can fit out ships for polar expeditions, and land-journeys for

geographical discovery, and, by aid of funds and agents, convey whatever is needful to any point at which it may be required,—surely a "Colonization Office" could effect just as perfect an organization for the supply of all that might be required for stocking and cultivating farms in the Colonies, as the "War Office" can do for its particular purposes.

The irrationality is on the part of those who consent to the lavish expenditure of millions for the destruction of their fellow-men, and who resist the more moderate expenditure asked, to lift up their suffering countrymen from the depths of suffering and misery, and place them in a condition of competency and comfort.

A day will come when our posterity will look back upon the follies we commit as a nation in this respect, with feelings of astonishment and pity; when the homage paid to warriors, and the sums lavished in war, contrasted with the resistance to all projects of benevolence and peace, will be regarded as proofs of an irrationality, not to say insanity, for which, when examining our boasted progress in civilization, they will be utterly unable to account.

Another objection urged is this: that the labour-market is overstocked; and Lord Stanley declares that he had had several communications, from New Brunswick especially, urging him to use his influence to restrain the current of emigration to that quarter. But this is the effect of one of the prominent errors of the existing system, which confines Emigration chiefly to *labourers* only. No doubt, if a large body of men were to go out in expectation of being em-

ployed by others when they arrived there, they would be disappointed. But, give to those who go out, grants of either 20, or 50, or 100 acres, and they will not need to seek employment anywhere but on their own lands. And in this way, occupation is as easily found for a million as for a hundred, if each has an assignment of land on which to labour; while purchasers of larger tracts, from 500 to 1,000 acres, might carry labourers with them, or engage them for limited periods in the country, if any surplus hands could then be found.

An example is, with many, more powerful than an argument; and for the satisfaction of those who entertain any doubt of the extent to which individuals might speedily improve their condition, the following case may be stated, from M'Gregor's British America, as cited by Butler, in his excellent little Work, entitled "The Emigrant's Hand Book of Facts;" It is this—

"On coming down the south-west branch of the Miramichi, in the autumn of 1828, I was astonished at the unexpected progress made during so short a period in the cultivation of the soil. Near where the road parts off for Fredericton, an American, possessing a full share of the adventurous activity of the citizens of the United States, has established himself. He told me that when he planted himself there, seven years before, he was not worth a shilling. He has now (1829) more than 300 acres of land under cultivation, an immense flock of sheep, horses, several yokes of oxen, milch cows, swine, and poultry. He has a large dwelling-house conveniently furnished, in which he lives with his family, and a numerous train of labourers; one or two other houses, a forge with a powerful trip-hammer, worked by water-power, fulling-mill, grist-mill, and two saw-mills, all turned by water. Near these, he showed me a building, which he had erected for the double purpose of a school and chapel, the floor of which was

laid, and on which benches were arranged, so as to resemble the pits of one of our theatres. He said that all preachers who came that way were welcome to the use of it, and should each get something to eat at his house, and have the use of the chapel, with equal satisfaction to him. He then shewed me his barn, and in one place a heap, containing about 90 bushels of Indian corn, that grew on a spot—scarcely an acre—which he pointed out to me. This man could do little more than read and write. He raised large crops, ground his own corn, manufactured the flax he cultivated, and the wool of his sheep into coarse cloths, and sold the provisions which his farm produced. He talked much in praise of the rich interior country, and how rapidly it would be settled and cultivated, if possessed by the Americans."—pp. 37, 38.

Why then should not this rich and fertile country be speedily filled up by the subjects of the nation to whom the Colony belongs? No other reason can be given for this not being already the case, except the fact, that those who are well off at home, are *unwilling* to emigrate as long as they can possibly remain in their native land; and those who are so embarrassed at home, as to look to emigration as a relief from their difficulties, are *unable* to emigrate, and equally unable to purchase lands, should they expend their little all on their passage out. It is for this reason that the aid of government is required, to present *inducements*, to tempt those who have a little capital, and to assist those who have none, by giving to both a free passage at the public expense, and granting to them certain portions of free lands, as a nucleus, from which they are to rise from competence to wealth.

The question of whether a million of persons could be induced to emigrate in any one year, or only

a hundred thousand, or whether the cost of their conveyance should be one million or five, is mere matter of detail or degree, and does not affect the general principle at all. This is certain, however, that if the mother-country contains at present a much larger amount of population than can be profitably employed, and adequately fed,—and Dr. Marsham, in his speech at the Buckinghamshire Agricultural Dinner, alleged that there were 5,000,000 of our people who were reduced to subsist on oatmeal, and 5,000,000 on potatoes, to say nothing of the substitution of sea-weed when these failed,—and if, in addition to our present surplus, the population increases at the rate of 300,000 a year, it is plain that nothing short of a million could afford any great relief; for 300,000 emigrating annually would barely take off the annual increase, and leave our 5,000,000 of oatmeal, and 5,000,000 of potato feeders, just where they are.

By some, who oppose any system of distant colonization, the cultivation of the waste lands at home is recommended as a substitute. But though there is no doubt large tracts of waste *surface* in England, Scotland, and Ireland, the real quantity of waste land covered with a *fertile soil* is very insignificant indeed. Were such tracts as we possess worth the cost of cultivation, who can doubt but that capitalists, who have large masses of money employed at low interest, would undertake their improvement? or if they were worth any rent at all, who can doubt the readiness of their owners to let them off to cultivators, or the readiness of tenants to take any lands, out of which sufficient profit might be made to pay a rental,

and provide subsistence besides? The bare fact of such lands lying waste and unoccupied, is sufficient proof of the general opinion of the unprofitableness of tilling them. But the lands in our Colonies, which it is in the power of our Government to grant, are fertile in the highest degree. Mr. Butler, in the Work already quoted, says—

"So great is the fertility of the soil in Canada, that 50 bushels of wheat per acre are frequently produced, on a farm where the stumps of trees, which probably occupy an eighth of the surface, have not been eradicated; some instances of 60 bushels an acre occur, and near York, in Upper Canada, 100 bushels of wheat have been obtained from a single acre.* In some districts wheat has been raised successively on the same ground for 20 years without manure."—p. 6.

To suffer, therefore, such mines of wealth, as our Colonies possess, to remain undeveloped for a single year, while we have a surplus population burdening the resources of our own country, and the whole community gradually sinking beneath the weight, is a crime against society, and a sin against the law of the Gospel in which we profess to believe. By that we are taught to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to release those that are in bonds. The most effectual way of doing this, is to place all who are in this helpless condition, in the way of feeding, clothing, and relieving themselves. Colonization, at the public expense, would effect this more completely, than

* This, no doubt, must be regarded as an extreme case. The average produce of the wheat-lands in the United States is about 40 bushels,—extreme cases 75,—and of England about 30 bushels per acre; but if that of Canada be 50, the average is higher than both.

any amount of parochial or charitable relief given at home, and at a much cheaper cost; with this essential difference, that the cost of home-support is every year increasing, and the millions receiving it are every year growing more miserable and more demoralized; while the cost of annual Colonization would be every year diminishing, from the growing perception of the benefits of removing to fertile lands, and the increasing tendency and disposition to persons in the middle and upper ranks, to go forth at their own expense, to establish their families and augment their fortunes in the Colonies of the Empire; thus spreading our language, literature, institutions, and religion, over countries now forming an untrodden wilderness, and spreading civilization and happiness, where barbarism or solitude now hold alternate sway.

On this subject, one of the most profound scholars of modern times, with an enlarged philosophy giving dignity to his learning, the celebrated Professor Heeren, in his Researches into the Commerce and Policy of the Nations of Antiquity, makes these beautiful and appropriate observations, in his chapter on the Phœnicians—

"One of the most interesting spectacles which history affords us, is the spread of nations by peaceable colonization—the civilization of the whole human race depends very much upon these peaceful means of advancement—in this way, indeed, every commercial state may be said to live again in the Colonies it has founded. And thus, amid the rise and fall of empires, the advances of men in civilization, in all its multitudinous forms, is perpetuated and secured."*

The next objection made to the Plan is the vast

* Heeren's Researches, vol. ii. p. 23, 24.

expense it would incur in the free conveyance of the settlers;—5,000,000*l.* sterling is thought to be a monstrous outlay for the transfer of a million of people;—and a million of people is thought an extravagant number to think of removing at once.

Men's notions of what is trifling or what is vast in national expenditure, vary very much, it is admitted. For instance, Lord Stanley thought the sum of 20 millions not an extravagant one to pay for the release of much less than one million of negroes from slavery. Surely five millions might as easily be spared to relieve a million of white people, some of them suffering far greater privations than many of these negroes did in the midst of their bondage. From the payment of the 20 millions for negro emancipation, the only pecuniary benefit which England has derived, is the liability to a yearly tax of nearly a million sterling for the interest of the sum in question, for ever. But with an equal degree of moral benefit which the transfer of a million of our population to circumstances of comfort in the Colonies would produce, we should have the additional benefit of a pecuniary relief, in our parochial burdens and charitable contributions at home, of at least ten millions sterling; while the masses of labourers left behind would be benefited by the removal of competitors in the price of their labour; and the million of settlers established in our Colonies would soon become valuable customers to England in every branch of trade. The expense, therefore, even of five millions, if it should cost so much, to effect this object, would be "trifling," when compared with the magnitude of the good to be obtained.

From the manner in which these propositions have been received, one would have thought that it was something unprecedented and unheard of, to propose an extensive scheme of Emigration, and, above all, to propose a grant of public money for the purpose of carrying it into effect. But in the years 1826 and 1827, two Select Committees of the House of Commons reported it as their opinion, that Emigration ought to be promoted and assisted by the Government; and that our North American Colonies were peculiarly eligible for the purpose of receiving such portions of our population as might be disposed to settle there.

In an article on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1826, on Emigration, contained in the Quarterly Review, No. 79, for 1828, said to have been written by the late lamented Dr. Southey, an extensive scheme of emigration, under the direction of a National Board, as recommended by that Committee, is strongly urged, as an indispensable measure of relief from a surplus population. And in an article of the Edinburgh Review, No. 89, about the same period, and on the same Report, a calculation is made of the probable cost, not merely of conveying, but also of *settling* and *establishing* a million of emigrants, from Ireland only, to our North American Colonies. The cost of conveyance is estimated to average from 3*l.* to 4*l.* per head, and of settling and establishing in their homesteads from 10*l.* to 12*l.* per head—the whole amount making in round numbers above 14*l.* for each individual, or 14,000,000*l.* sterling in the whole. But the Editor of the Review says—"Con-

siderable as this sum is, we have no hesitation in saying, that if it were *twice as great*, it would be well and advantageously laid out in securing the object in view."—p. 66. And further on, the same writer, (said to be the present Lord Jeffrey), repudiates, on just grounds, all propositions for having the expense defrayed by loans on the Colonial lands, by appropriation of poor's rates, or by any system of repayments from the emigrants themselves; and contends "that *public provision* should be made for discharging at once and for ever, the entire expense of the emigration."—p. 70.

Now, the deliberate Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, and the articles written on it in the two leading organs of public opinion named, were published 15 or 16 years ago, since which the population of the country has increased five millions at least; and if it were thought rational and practicable to expend fourteen, or if necessary twenty-eight millions, for the conveyance and settlement of a million of persons from Ireland only, at that time, the rationality and practicability of my own proposition, to expend five millions on the same object, and for the same number of individuals, now, must be apparent to all but those who will judge without examination, and who raise a laugh, or indulge a sneer, in order to cover their own ignorance.

In cases in which neither moral nor pecuniary benefit is to result from our expenditure, we think nothing of lavishing 20 millions on such a war as that of Affghanistan and China—the first to force an unwelcome monarch on an unoffending people, the second, to force a poisonous drug on an unoffending

nation. Here, all is loss as well as disgrace;—for the ransom, so shamefully exacted from the Chinese, in the spirit of the Buccaneers of old—and the trophies of the Somnauth gates, and the smoking ruins of burning villages and bazaars, in the spirit of the most vindictive ages—will but poorly repay the cost of our achievements. And yet, to make up the national loss incurred by this and other sources of wasteful expenditure, an Income tax of five millions annually has been levied, and borne with a spirit of meekness and patience that argues either inconceivable apathy or hopeless despair.

Surely an expenditure of five millions for Colonization, entailing no subsequent burden, would be trifling compared with twenty millions for bloodshed, slaughter, and disgrace, which entails an Income tax of five millions on our shoulders, at a time when we are least able to pay it, by reason of the general stagnation of trade, and almost universal distress.

Colonel Torrens, in a very able letter to Sir Robert Peel, "On the condition of England, and the means of removing the causes of the present distress," published within the present year — and Colonel Torrens, like Mr. Maculloch, is not generally regarded as visionary or Utopian in his views, for both belong to what is called the matter-of-fact class of men, namely, political economists—urges the same remedy of Systematic Colonization, and recommends the same use of the unemployed ships of war, to convey the settlers across the ocean at the public expense, that I have ventured to do. He proposes a loan of 20 millions on the security of the lands, to cover the expense of the undertaking. I recommend

the appropriation of five millions out of the public treasury, without a loan, for the same purpose—the difference is not material. But the passage in which Colonel Torrens sums up the general statement of the case is worth giving entire. It is as follows—

"A further observation appears necessary, in reference to the objection, that Systematic Colonization cannot be reproductive and self-supporting, and must be conducted at the expense of the capital of the mother-country. Our powers of production have outgrown the field of employment. Millions of capital are locked up, waiting for advantageous investment; other millions flow off into worthless foreign securities, and are lost; while one portion of our able-bodied population work at short time, and while another portion, unable to get work at all, are supported out of rates levied on the industry of others. Systematic Colonization removes the plethora, and imparts to the system renewed vitality. While it reproduces its own expenditure, with a large increase, it retains the accumulating wealth, which would otherwise flow off; it invests in secure production the capital which would otherwise be lost; it gives full and regular work to the partially employed; and it enables those whose subsistence was substracted from the earnings of others, to create for themselves independent support. While self-supporting, in the same sense in which agriculture is seif-supporting, Systematic Colonization, by giving full employment to capital and labour, by raising profits and wages, and by relieving industry from the charge of supporting able-bodied destitution, augments the disposable wealth applicable to the purchase of colonial wastes, and thus perennially creates the means of its own accelerating progress. While unappropriated wastes remain at the disposal of the crown, no limits to this progress can be assigned. If the advance which is employed in planting a thousand souls in a new country, can be replaced by means of the value thereby conferred upon the wastes, it can be re-employed in planting another thousand. If the reproductive principle be applicable to the planting of 1,000, it will be found equally applicable to the planting of 100,000—to the planting of 1,000,000. If self-supporting Colonization

can be carried on in one colony, it may be carried on throughout every foreign dependency of the crown containing unappropriated wastes, and possessing a climate to which European labour may be safely conveyed. The means of bridging the ocean, of giving virtual extension to England, and of thus creating the circumstances under which the causes of distress would disappear, are placed in our hands. Our colonial wastes are mines of gold—millions of treasure slumber in our unappropriated lands."—p. 91.

Yet, Mr. Maculloch's recommendation, of granting or giving the public lands in proportion to the available capital of actual settlers, instead of selling them as at present—Colonel Torrens' proposition of bridging the ocean with our ships of war, for the free conveyance of settlers at the public expense—and my own for doing both, as more effective than either separately or alone,—are all equally unwelcome to those who see in every innovation the germ of some great change, which they continually dread, and thus reject, not so much from the objection to the thing proposed, as the fear of the consequences to which it may lead, in abridging their own power, or privileges, or influence, and by making the humbler classes more elevated, as well as more happy, lessening the distinction between their present high position and that of others below them.

The only solution that can be offered, of this resistance on the part of the ruling powers of England to any system of extensive Colonization proposed is this—that they find the Colonies, under their present management, most convenient sources of patronage and power, in providing occupation and fortune for their relatives, kindred, and friends; which sources would grow less available as the Colonies became filled with an intelligent, wealthy, and free population

—and this they do not desire to hasten. On the other hand, the reason why they offer so little resistance to schemes of war and conquest, and why 20 millions are more easily granted for this than five millions for objects of benevolence and peace, is, that in the former also there is a wide field open for the exercise of power and patronage, with gifts of honour as well as profit to scatter among relatives, kindred, and friends, of the order to which they belong.

All these may be intelligible reasons why the higher orders of the country should patronize schemes of conquest and plunder, and oppose those of free trade and colonization ; and that portion of the press (unhappily a large one) which panders to their interests and prejudices, will support them in their views. But that the mass of the British public should see one proposition after another for the benefit of the country rejected, and remain mute, is a melancholy symptom either of the decay of public spirit, or the apathy of despair. Lord Ashley's bill to improve the condition of women and children in mines ; Mr. Villiers' motions for free trade ; Mr. Roebuck's for inquiry into the policy of the Affghan war; Mr. Hume's for the retrenchment of public expenditure ; Lord Ashley's for the suppression of the traffic in opium ; Lord Monteagle's for a committee of inquiry as to the effect of the corn-laws ; Mr. Ward's for ascertaining the burden on lands ; and Mr. Buller's for a System of National Colonization—all are rejected, or so opposed as to cause them to be withdrawn ; and yet the people remain as tranquil and unruffled, as if they were without feeling or without hope !

In the mean time, the trade of the country goes on declining, by the continual falling off in our foreign commerce, and the consequent stoppage of all the wheels of industry, which that commerce kept in motion in our manufacturing districts, and by the laying up to rot and perish of the ships formerly employed in conveying the products of our forges, mills, and looms to other lands. The profit on every branch of business is continually diminishing, by the increasing competition and narrowed limits within which this is exercised. The revenue on all articles of consumption is lessening, and the home trade, in agriculture and cattle, as well as manufactures, is also declining, from the restricted means of the labouring classes, and their inability to purchase. The only things that are increasing are population, at the rate of 300,000 a year; poor's-rates from 2s. to 10s. in the pound, and in some places 15s., in one 17s. 6d., the increase in the single town of Sheffield being from 9,000*l.* a year in 1837, to 52,000*l.* a year in 1843, with its trade nearly annihilated, and its active and intelligent population laid prostrate for want of employment; and an income tax of five millions a year to crown the whole!

If this be a state of things that can be looked on with indifference, or if this be a period in which propositions for national relief — conceived in an earnest desire to lessen human suffering, and put forward in terms of moderation, can be received in the senate of the country with laughter and derision —well, indeed, may we apprehend that some great change has come over the spirit of our population, and that England has seen the zenith of her great-

ness as a nation. Unless the people of England can be roused to a sense of the impending dangers which now hang over their heads, in the combined influences of decreasing trade, declining profits, and lessening consumption—with increasing population, increasing poor's-rates, and increasing taxation—their rulers will do nothing. They are all men of large fortunes, and will be the last to feel the weight of any public calamity that may befall the nation. But though, for the present, the pressure is chiefly on the poor, it will soon reach the middle classes, and from them as gradually ascend to those next in order above them. The Chinese—barbarians as we deem them—have a proverb, which displays some knowledge of human affairs, and by which we might profit. It is this—"He that is indifferent to an evil a hundred miles off, will soon find it under his own table."

POSTSCRIPT.

Proofs of Lord Stanley's ignorance of what it is his especial duty to know, and of his not being so true an oracle on Colonial matters, as his manner of giving his dicta on these subjects from the Treasury benches would seem to assume, flow in with such rapidity, that it is not easy to keep pace with them. But a single example will serve to show what is thought of his Lordship's profound and accurate knowledge on the relation between the demand and supply of labour in our Colonies, on which he spoke so confidently in a former debate on the same subject, as well as in the recent one on Mr. Buller's motion. The editor of the Colonial Gazette, published in London, since this last debate, has shown that Lord Stanley was either ignorant of, or purposely suppressed, the fact, that the plan of selling lands in the Australian Colonies, and applying the proceeds to the conveyance of labourers, had been suspended for two years past! and that a system which he described as now in sufficiently active operation to render any interference with its excellent working wholly unnecessary, had not been working at all for two years of time! And the Sydney Morning Herald of the 16th of August last, which adverts to a former debate on the same subject, and

which has been forwarded to me by a friend, has this remarkable article, which I give in the editor's own words—

"Lord Stanley's speech in the House of Commons, wherein he states that this Colony is at present over supplied with labour, is *another* of the very glaring instances of *ignorance* of our circumstances, which *so often* characterizes the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that we see his Lordship's statement placed in the strong light of contrast with Mr. Macarthur's practical information, and so clearly confuted in one of the last week's numbers of the Herald. From what source his Lordship received the intelligence with which he favoured and *astonished* the House it would be difficult to guess, as it will be remembered that just about the time that the despatches which he would have last received from hence were written, the outcry for labour to supply the deficiency occasioned by the cessation of convict assignment was at its very highest pitch, and the question of the eligibility of Coolie immigration as a *dernier ressort* was mooted in the Legislative Council, and ably discussed through the medium of the press. Lord Stanley's *blunder*, therefore, could hardly have been occasioned by any remarks in the despatches sent from hence. Perhaps the depression under which the great interests of the country were then labouring, may have originated an idea, which the natural *fertility* of his Lordship's brain fostered into *an excellent expedient for getting rid of a difficult question without trouble.*

"The difficulty of the question lies in its *novelty*; but we can scarcely conceive one more fraught with interest to the people, or honour to the government engaged in its successful developement. We almost shudder when we reflect upon the countless numbers of able individuals, who, in Britain, are engaged in a perpetual struggle for existence, and scarce know where to obtain from the result of their labours wherewithal to enlarge the accumulated sum of their misery, (for we can scarcely call that *living* when both mind and feeling have sunk under the influence of external circumstances). And then, when we turn to survey the vast field for enterprise which our Colonies present, we are

tempted to think that his Lordship's philanthropy might be as nobly if not as ostentatiously exercised, in affording relief to those *most pitiable* of all slaves, the victims of misfortune and want, who are suffering in his *own land*, as in releasing the negroes of the West Indies from their bondage."

The Sydney editor goes on to show, from the comparative prices of labour in the Colony, that the average remuneration there, to ploughmen, labourers, and mechanics, is about double that paid to the same class of persons in England; and that while in the mother-country, thousands cannot obtain employment at any wages at all, in the Colony labour of every kind is in constant demand.

It will be seen from this, that persons planted in the antipodes to each other on the surface of the globe, conceive very nearly the same ideas, and express them almost in the same words, when they come to the consideration of any subject, free from the arrogance of official power, and untrammelled by the foolish prejudice against novelty and innovation; when, in short, they bend their thoughts to the *examination* of a subject before they pronounce it to be "visionary and absurd," instead of having recourse to the miserable expedient of exciting a laugh in order to "get rid of a difficult question without trouble."

I trust, therefore, that in both hemispheres, the cry of Free Trade and National Colonization will be re-echoed and prolonged, until *both* are granted for the relief of our suffering fellow-countrymen; and that their advocates will never relax their efforts till the victory is won.

APPENDIX.

ABSTRACT OF THE ACT OF UNION FOR THE CANADAS,

PASSED JULY 23, 1840.

It was originally intended to have printed this Act entire; but as, like most other Acts of Parliament, the multiplicity of words in which its enactments are clothed, renders it far less intelligible to the general reader than when divested of the surplus phraseology in which the sense is often obscured, it has been thought best to present a faithful Abstract of the same: and if a precedent for this be wanting, it may be found in the case of the able and excellent Chief-Justice Robinson, who, in his work, entitled "Canada and the Canada Bill," gives, though a Judge, an Abstract of the Bill rather than its verbose enactments, professedly to render the substance of it clearer to his readers. This praiseworthy example, therefore, I may safely imitate. The several clauses of the Act, as hereinafter enumerated, enact, in substance, as follows:—

I. That the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada be united into one, under the name of the Province of Canada.

II. That certain previous Acts of Parliament recited be repealed.

III. That for the United Province there be one Legislative Council and one Assembly, to be called the Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada; and that all laws passed by the said Legislative Council and Assembly, and assented to by her Majesty, shall be binding within the Province.

IV. That her Majesty may authorize the Governor-General to summon to the Legislative Council such persons, not being fewer than twenty, as her Majesty shall see fit; and that every person so summoned shall be a member of the Council.

V. That every member of the Legislative Council shall hold his seat for life.

VI. That such members may resign their seats if they see fit.

VII. That if any member of the said Council fail to attend for two successive sessions, without leave of absence, or take an oath of allegiance to any foreign power, or become the subject of another state, or become a bankrupt, an insolvent, or a defaulter, or be attainted of treason, or guilty of felony, or any infamous crime, his seat shall become vacant.

VIII. That all questions arising out of the last clause shall be referred by the Governor to the Legislative Council, who shall decide, with power of appeal to her Majesty, whose decision shall be final.

IX. That the Governor shall have power to appoint a Speaker of the Legislative Council out of the body, and to remove him and substitute another in his room, at pleasure.

X. That ten, including the Speaker, shall be a quorum of the Legislative Council, and that all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes, exclusive of the Speaker, who shall only have a casting vote in cases of equality.

XI. That the Governor shall call together the Legislative Assembly.

XII. That, in the United Legislative Assembly, the Provinces before called Upper and Lower Canada, shall be represented by an equal number of members.

XIII. That the county of Halton shall be divided into two Ridings, East and West, each to be represented by one member.

XIV. That the county of Northumberland shall be divided into two Ridings, North and South, each to have one member.

XV. That the county of Lincoln shall be divided into two Ridings, North and South, each to have one member.

XVI. That every other county or riding in Upper Canada, entitled to representation at the passing of the Act, shall have one member.

XVII. That the city of Toronto shall have two members; and the towns of Kingston, Brockville, Hamilton, Cornwall, Niagara, London, and Bytown, each one member.

XVIII. That each county in Lower Canada, which, before the Act for Temporary Government, was entitled to be represented, shall have one member, except the counties of Montmorency, Orleans, L'Assumption, La Chesnaye, L'Acadie, Laprairie, Dorchester, and Beauce.

XIX. That the counties of Montmorency and Orleans shall be united into one, under the name of Montmorency; the counties of L'Assumption and La Chesnaye shall be united under the name of Leinster; the counties of Laprairie and L'Acadie shall be united under the name of Huntingdon; and the counties of Dorchester and Beauce shall be united under the name of Dorchester; and each of the counties thus formed shall have one member.

XX. That the cities of Quebec and Montreal shall have each two members; and the towns of Three Rivers and Sherbrooke each one member.

XXI. That the boundaries of the cities and towns for electoral purposes shall be determined by the Governor-General, within thirty days after the Union; and those parts of the cities and towns, which are not included in those boundaries, shall be taken to be part of the county or riding.

XXII. That the Governor shall nominate the returning officers, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained.

XXIII. That no person shall be compelled to act as returning officer for more than one year, or oftener than once, unless otherwise provided by the United Legislature.

XXIV. That writs, returnable within fifty days at farthest, unless otherwise provided by the United Legislature, shall be issued by the Governor to the returning officer; and that similar writs shall be issued, when from any cause a vacancy occurs, six days after notice of such vacancy shall have been left with the proper officer.

XXV. That the Governor shall, until otherwise provided for, fix the times and places of election, giving eight days' notice of his selection.

XXVI. That the Legislature may alter the divisions and extents of the ridings, counties, cities, and towns, and establish new and other divisions, and make a new apportionment of the number of representatives, and alter and regulate the appointment of

returning officers, and make provisions for the issuing and return of writs, and the times and places of holding elections. But no Bill, by which the number of representatives is altered, shall be presented to the Governor for Royal assent, unless the second and third reading in the Assembly and Legislative Council shall have been passed, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each. And the Royal assent shall not be given, unless addresses shall have been presented to the Governor by the Legislative Council and Assembly, respectively stating the Bill to have been so passed.

XXVII. That until further provisions are made by the United Legislature, the laws relating to the qualification of candidates and voters, (except those which relate to the property qualification of candidates), the oaths to be taken by voters, the powers and duties of the returning officers, the duration of and proceedings at elections, the trial of controverted elections, the vacating of the seats of members, and the issuing and executing new writs for vacancies other than by dissolution, which are in force in Upper Canada at this time, and were in force in Lower Canada at the passing of the Act for Temporary Government, shall respectively be applied to the election of members in those parts of the Province for which these laws were passed.

XXVIII. That no one shall be eligible for election as a member of the Assembly, who is not possessed of land to the value of five hundred pounds sterling money of Great Britain, over and above all charges or incumbrances; and that every candidate shall, if required by the returning officer, or any elector, make declaration that he is so, and has not collusively or colourably obtained the title for the purpose of qualifying himself for election.

XXIX. That if any person shall make a false declaration with regard to his qualification, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and subjected to the penalties of perjury.

XXX. That the Governor shall fix the time and place for holding the sessions of the Council and Assembly, and change the same as he shall see fit; and that he shall have power to prorogue and dissolve the same, as he shall deem expedient.

XXXI. That there shall be at least one session of the Council and Assembly in each year; the Legislative Assembly to endure for four years, from the day of the return of the writs, subject however to be sooner prorogued or dissolved by the Governor.

XXXII. That the first session of the Council and Assembly shall take place not more than six months after the Union.

XXXIII. That the Legislative Assembly shall at its first meeting elect a Speaker out of the body, and fill up his place whenever a vacancy occur; and that the Speaker shall preside at all the meetings of the Assembly.

XXXIV. That twenty, including the Speaker, shall be a quorum of the Legislative Assembly; and that all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes, exclusive of the Speaker, who shall have a casting vote in cases of equality.

XXXV. That no person shall sit or vote in the Council or Assembly, until he shall have taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance before the Governor, or some person empowered by him.

XXXVI. That all persons now authorized by law to do so, may make an affirmation in place of oath.

XXXVII. That when any Bill is presented to the Governor for Royal assent, he, subject to the provisions of this Act, and to the instructions he may receive from her Majesty, shall in her Majesty's name give or withhold her Assent, or declare that he receives the Bill for the signification of her Majesty's pleasure.

XXXVIII. That when any Bill has been assented to by the Governor in her Majesty's name, he shall transmit a copy of it to one of the Secretaries of State, and that within two years, her Majesty may declare her disallowance of it; and that the declaration of this fact by the Governor to the Council and Assembly shall annul the former assent.

XXXIX. That no Bill which has been received by the Governor shall have any force until he shall declare to the Council and Assembly, or make Proclamation, that her Majesty has assented to it; and that such assent shall have no force unless given within two years after the Bill has been presented to the Governor.

XL. That notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, or any other Act of the British or Provincial Parliament, her Majesty may authorize the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province to exercise any of the powers, judicial as well as other of the Governor, notwithstanding the presence of the Governor within the Province; and that her Majesty may authorize the Governor to depute any person or persons to be his deputies, and exercise all his functions, as well judicial as other, during his pleasure. Provided always that the power of the Governor shall not be abridged, altered, or affected by the appointment of these deputies, otherwise than as her Majesty shall direct.

XLI. That from and after the Union, all writs, reports, journals, and all public instruments whatever, connected with the Assembly

and Council, shall be in English only; and no translated copy shall be kept on record, or have the force of an original record in any case, though such shall not be forbidden to be made.

XLII. That whenever any Bill shall be passed by the Council and Assembly, affecting the rights of the Clergy of the Church of Rome, or the Established Church, or the exercise of religious worship, or her Majesty's prerogative of granting waste lands within the Province, such Bill shall be laid before the British Parliament; and her Majesty shall not assent to such Bill until it has lain thirty days before the British Parliament, nor then, if either House present an address to her Majesty, praying her to withhold her assent; and that no such Bill shall be valid in the Province, unless the Council and Assembly shall, in the Session in which the Bill was passed, have presented addresses to the Governor, specifying the nature of the Bill, and praying him to transmit it to England to be laid before the British Parliament.

XLIII. That nothing in this Act shall affect the execution of any law of the British Parliament with regard to Customs, or the regulation of Commerce. Provided always that the net produce of such duties as are imposed shall be applied for the use of the Province, and (except as hereafter provided) in such manner only as her Majesty, with the advice and consent of the Council and Assembly of the Province shall direct.

XLIV. That until otherwise provided by the Council and Assembly of the Province, the judicial and ministerial authority which was exercised by the Governor, Lieutunant-Governor, and any members of the Executive Council of either Province, shall be vested in the like officer of the United Provinces and the Court of Queen's Bench of Upper Canada shall be held at Toronto, or within a mile from its municipal boundary. Provided always that the Governor, with the consent of the Executive Council, may appoint by Proclamation any place within the late Province of Upper Canada for the holding the said Court of Queen's Bench.

XLV. That all powers which have been vested in the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Executive Council of either Province alone, or in conjunction, shall be, so far as they are not repugnant to the Act vested in the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Executive Council of the United Province alone, or in conjunction.

XLVI. That all the Laws in force in either Province at the time of the Union, shall continue in force in those parts of the Province to which they apply, except as far as they are altered by this Act, or shall be altered by any future Act of the Provincial Legislature.

XLVII. That all civil and criminal courts, all legal commissions, powers, and authorities, and all officers, judicial, administrative, or ministerial, except so far as they are altered or abolished by this Act, shall continue in their respective portions of the Province the same as before the Union.

XLVIII. That in all Acts of the Provincial Legislature, which Acts were to continue in force for a certain number of years, and from thence to the end of the then next ensuing session of the Legislature of the Province in which they were passed, these words shall be construed to apply to the session of the United Legislature in all unexpired Acts.

XLIX. That the provisions of a former Act of the British Parliament, which constitute certain arbitrators in matters of trade between the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, be repealed.

L. That after the Union, all duties and revenues over which the respective Legislatures have had control, shall form one consolidated revenue fund for the public service of the Province of Canada, in the manner and subject to the charges hereafter mentioned.

LI. That the consolidated fund shall be permanently charged with all the expenses incident to its collection, management, and receipt; such expenses to be audited in such manner as an Act of the United Legislature shall direct.

LII. That there shall be payable every year to her Majesty, her Heirs, and Successors, the sum of forty-five thousand pounds, out of the consolidated revenue fund, for defraying the expenses noted in Schedule A, annexed to this Act; and during the life and five years after the demise of her Majesty, the additional sum of thirty thousand pounds, for the purposes marked in Schedule B, annexed to this Act; these sums to be issued by the Receiver-General in discharge of the warrants of the Governor, and accounted for by him to her Majesty, in such manner and form as her Majesty shall be graciously pleased to direct.

LIII. That until altered by the Provincial Legislature, the salaries of the Governor and Judges shall be those set against them in Schedule A; but the Governor may abolish any of the offices in Schedule B, and vary the sums assigned to various branches in Schedule B; the sums thus saved being appropriated to the purpose of Government in the Province, as her Majesty shall direct. But that not more than 2,000*l.* out of the 45,000*l.* shall be payable as pensions to the Judges, and not more than 5,000*l.*

out of the 30,000*l.* shall be payable as pensions; and that the accounts of expenditure for the past year be laid shall before the Council and Assembly, thirty days after the beginning of the session, and a list of the pensions, and of the persons to whom granted, shall be also submitted to them.

LIV. That during the time for which the sums of 45,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* are respectively payable, they shall be accepted by her Majesty, as Civil List, in lieu of all territorial and other revenues; and that three-fifths of the territorial and other revenues in the Province shall be paid over to the consolidated revenue fund, and that during the life of her Majesty, and for five years after the demise of her Majesty, the remaining two-fifths of these revenues shall be also paid over to the consolidated revenue fund.

LV. That the consolidation of the duties and revenues of the United Province shall not affect the payments of sums heretofore charged on the revenue of the respective Provinces.

LVI. That the charges to be made upon the consolidated revenue fund, shall be made in this order.

1. The expenses of collection, management, and receipt.
2. The annual interest of the public debt of the Province.
3. The payments of the Clergy of different denominations.
4. The sum of £45,000 for the purposes in Schedule A.
5. The sum of £30,000, so long as it continues payable, for the purposes in Schedule B.
6. The other charges on the rates and duties levied in the Province, so long as they continue payable.

LVII. That, subject to these charges, the consolidated revenue fund shall be appropriated as the Legislature see fit. But that all Bills appropriating any portion of that fund, or for imposing a new tax, shall be originated in the Legislative Assembly. And that the Legislative Assembly shall not originate any Bill for appropriating the surplus of the consolidated fund, or of any other tax or impost, to any purpose not previously recommended by a message from the Governor during that session.

LVIII. That the Governor may, by an instrument under the Great Seal of the Province, constitute new townships in the Province, and fix the bounds thereof, and provide for the election and appointment of township officers; such instrument to be published by Proclamation, and to have the force of law from a day to be named in it.

LIX. That the powers and authorities assigned in this Act to the Governor of the Province, shall be exercised by him in con-

formity with, and subject to, such orders and instructions as her Majesty shall see fit to issue.

LX. That nothing in this or any other Act shall be construed to restrain her Majesty, if she shall be so pleased, from annexing the Magdalen Islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to her Majesty's Island of Prince Edward.

LXI. That in this Act, unless otherwise specified, the words "Act of the Legislature of the Province of Canada," shall be understood to mean, Act of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, enacted by her Majesty, or by the Governor on behalf of her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Canada; and the words "Governor of the Province of Canada" shall be understood to mean, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person authorized to execute the office and functions of Governor of the Province.

LXII. That this Act may be amended or repealed by any Act, to be passed in the present session of Parliament.

SCHEDULE A.

	£.
Governor	7,000
Lieutenant-Governor	1,000
UPPER CANADA.	
1 Chief Justice	1,500
4 Puisne Judges, £900 each	3,600
1 Vice-Chancellor	1,125
LOWER CANADA.	
1 Chief Justice, Quebec	1,500
3 Puisne Judges, Quebec, £900 each	2,700
1 Chief Justice, Montreal	1,100
3 Puisne Judges, Montreal, £900 each	2,700
1 Resident Judge, Three Rivers	900
1 Judge, Inferior District of St. Francis	500
1 Judge, Inferior District of Gaspé	500
Pensions to the Judges—Salaries of the Attornies and Solicitors General, and Contingent and Miscellaneous Expenses of Administration of Justice throughout the Province of Canada.	20,875
	£45,000

SCHEDULE B.

	£.
Civil Secretaries and their Offices	8,000
Provincial Secretaries and their Offices	3,000
Receiver-General and his Office	3,000
Inspector-General and his Office	2,000
Executive Council	3,000
Board of Works	2,000
Emigrant Agent	700
Pensions	5,000
Contingent Expences of Public Offices	3,300
	£30,000

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