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I.

ANNALS OF AN OLD POST OFFICE ON YONGE STREET (RICHMOND HILL).

By the late Matthew Teefy

The Post Office at Richmond Hill was established on 6th January, 1836, the postmasters having been successively: 1st, James Sinclair; 2nd, John Wallington, and 3rd, Matthew Teefy. The appointment of Mr. Teefy, the writer, is dated 3rd December, 1850, and he may therefore claim to be the oldest postmaster in the Dominion of Canada.* At the time of appointment, the Post Office Department of Canada was under the control of Mr. T. A. Stayner, as the deputy of the Postmaster-General of England. The Canadian Government assumed the control of the Department on 6th April, 1851, when the Hon. James Morris was appointed the first Postmaster General of Canada.

At that time the rates of postage, reckoned in shillings and pence, were charged according to distance; for instance, **from Richmond Hill to**

	s.	d.
Toronto		4½
Port Hope		7
Kingston		9
Kemptville		11½
Montreal	1.	1½
Napierville	1.	4
Quebec	1.	6
Murray Bay	1.	8
Rimouski	1.	10½
Cross Point, Gaspe	2.	0½
Carleton, Gaspe	2.	3
Gaspe Basin	2.	5
St. Andrews, N. B.	2.	7½
Halifax, N. S.	2.	9½
Plaister Cove, N. S.	3.	0

Prepayment was optional. If prepaid the letter would be rated in **red** ink, if not prepaid it would be rated in **black.**

On the 6th April, 1851, a uniform rate of three **pence** was adopted by the Canadian Government together with postage **stamps.** The first issue of postage stamps were 1d, 3d, 6d, 7½d, 10d, 12d. If a letter exceeded half an ounce, the rate was doubled. Postage on letters for the

*This paper was dated August 20th, 1909

United Kingdom, one shilling and four pence; newspapers one penny. Provincial newspapers, half penny each; to and from the United States, one penny. Pamphlets, one penny per ounce.

The money order system was established in 1855.

The decimal mode of postage rates was adopted in 1859.

Neighbouring post offices with which I communicated direct were: Cashel, Gormley, Headford, Maple, Oak Ridges, Victoria Square, Thornhill. All letters for Quebec, Europe, or any place beyond Toronto, I forwarded to Toronto, which office despatched them.

The mail was conveyed from Toronto by Charles Thompson's stage line, running between the city and Holland Landing, arriving at Richmond Hill about noon. There was one mail from Toronto each day, and one from the north.

Thornhill P. O. was established in 1829, and was first named "**Purdy's Mills.**"

A Political Incident.—The Hon. William Allan was the first postmaster of the Town of York (now Toronto). He resigned in the year 1828, and was succeeded by his clerk, Mr. James Scott Howard, who was (in 1837) dismissed by Sir F. B. Head on the following charges: **First,** "that he associated too much with 'Reformers'". **Second,** "that he entertained opinions 'favourable to an elective legislative council.'" **Third,** "that his son read Mackenzie's and O'Grady's newspapers rather than others," and **Fourth,** "that he (Mr. Howard) entertained the "opinion that the Lieutenant-Governor was a mere 'citizen.'" He was succeeded by Mr. Charles Berczy.

In Vol. 37 of Canadian Pamphlets in the Ontario Legislative Library* may be found: "A Statement of Facts Relative to the Dismissal of James S. Howard, late Postmaster of Toronto." It is from that statement that the above charges are copied. The Home District Council afterwards appointed Mr. Howard County Treasurer, an office which he held until his death.

Affaire d'amour.—Written correspondence in newspapers, being contrary to the P. O. Department Regulations, postmasters are instructed to examine such as are suspected, and when found, to send them to the Dead Letter Department. It was a practice frequently indulged in by ladies—old and young. I remember an instance that came under my notice several years ago; a charming young lady posted a newspaper in this office, addressed to a young gentleman in a distant town; on examining it I found it contained written correspondence, winding up with the pressing question as follows: "**When are you going to ask Pa?**" Of course the gentleman did not receive the paper, and did **not pop the question.** She punished him for the apparent neglect, and was married to a gentleman nearer home. I danced at the wedding. I do not think that I could now repeat a similar performance—after my eighty-seventh birthday!

* This was written before the fire of 1909

In this old post office may be seen, framed, William Lyon Mackenzie's declaration of "Independence," 1837; an address to the free and independent electors of the Counties of Durham, Simcoe, and the East riding of the County of York; another, bearing the date: "York, 14th July, 1800. Signed Wm. Jarvis," and other mementoes of historic interest.

While Sir William Mulock was in charge of the Post Office Department of Canada, the annual deficit, of which there had been a series, became an annual surplus, and this notwithstanding a reduced postage rate and Imperial penny postage.

Churches at Richmond Hill.

The frame of the first Presbyterian church was raised in the month of July, 1819, when a large gathering of the inhabitants of the village and surrounding country were assisting at "**the raising.**" At noon, on the day of the gathering, the Duke of Richmond with his suite, stopped in the village, then known as "Mount Pleasant," to dine, as he was on his way to Penetanguishene. In honor of the Duke's visit, the inhabitants decided to change the name from Mount Pleasant to that of "Richmond Hill." The church was completed in 1821. The first pastor was the Rev. Mr. Jenkins. The present brick church was erected in 1880.

The first Methodist church was a frame building, erected in 1847; the first person to hold service in it was a Mr. Robert Campbell, a devout local preacher. That building was destroyed by fire on 21st December, 1879. In 1881, the present brick edifice was erected on the corner of Yonge and Centre street.

The first Roman Catholic church was a frame building, erected on Mill street, in 1858; pastor, the Rev. Father McNulty. This building was taken down, after thirty-six years, and the foundation of a brick church was laid on another site on Yonge street, on 17th June, 1894; it was completed and blessed by Archbishop Walsh on 25th November following as "St. Mary's."

The first Anglican congregation assembled for divine service in a public hall, fitted for the purpose; it was served by the Rev. D. Blake, of Thornhill. The building was damaged by fire, but subsequently was repaired and services resumed. In 1870 a brick church was erected on a new site on the west side of Yonge street; pastor, Rev. R. Shanklin.

Schools.—The first school house of which there is any record, is "the old log school house," which served its purpose as early as 1810. In 1847, a brick building was erected on the old school site; additions have been erected as circumstances required. A "grammar school" was established in 1852, Mr. W. Clark being the first master.

Postscript.—Richmond Hill became **dry** about three years ago (1906), having passed a By-law in favor of "local option." In earlier times, thirsty folk had a choice of four taverns within the village limits. From Toronto to Holland Landing, a distance of thirty-two miles, in the early fifties, there were over sixty-five such places of entertainment.

II.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM GENERAL BROCK.

Introductory Note.

The following letters from Brock have never been printed and seem to have escaped the notice of all his biographers. Those written from Fort George at Niagara were addressed to Major (afterwards Lieut. Colonel) James Green, Military Secretary to Lieut. General Peter Hunter, who was Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada from 17th of August, 1799, until his death, which took place at Quebec on the 21st of August, 1805. Their interest is mainly personal. Soon after his return from England in the summer of 1806, Brock succeeded to the command of the military forces in Canada, vacated by the departure of Colonel G. Foord Bowes. The letters addressed to the Hon. Thomas Dunn and Lieut. Governor Gore and the instructions to Lieut Colonel Pye were written while exercising this command under the apprehension of imminent hostilities with the United States arising out of the attack on the Chesapeake. They throw considerable light on the military situation at that time and his scheme of defence. The original or official copies of all these documents are preserved in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

Calgary, Alberta, 6th Sept., 1909.

From Lt. Col. Brock to Major Green.

Fort George, October 26th, 1803.

Sir:—

You will find enclosed the papers respecting the lots granted to Messrs. W. & J. Crooks and Mr. Forsyth, signed and corrected in the manner directed in your letter.

I found the garrison on my arrival in the same quiet state as when I left it.

The Camden has arrived at Fort Erie by which Lt. Colonel Vincent has announced the desertion of three men of his detachment. These are disagreeable events which in our present situation we must submit to with patience. They were three fine lads, had been six years in the Regiment, and one (Walsh) was Captain Harris's servant. It's really difficult to determine upon whom to place confidence .....

Since writing the above the desertion of two men is reported from Chippawa .....

(C. 513, Pp. 98-9.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Major Green.

Fort George, November 27th, 1803.

Dear Major:—

Mr. Burch sent me the packet of letters with which he was entrusted four or five days later than I was made to expect to get it, however, no opportunity offered for Amherstburg, it did not much signify. Enclosed I return agreeably to your desire the letters addressed to Lt. Colonel Vincent and Captain Clerk.

The Indian express only got here yesterday. I beg you will offer the General my grateful thanks in sanctioning my taking a rope from the store. The net has not been idle, though we cannot boast of much success, and it is so mierably rotten that every haul is sure to create considerable expense. Skinner will have charge of a few white fish but I am told the latter has not yet arrived to perfection.

The Adjutant has been directed to write to Captain Harris to wait on General Hunter with my best respects for his permission to send the drummers to Fort George.

I am sorry beyond expression to state that Captain Dennis was the day before yesterday so very ill as to leave very little chance of his recovery. Besides the great loss which the 49th unquestionably will sustain by his death, it will produce a certain dread on the minds of the ladies and make them particularly apprehensive when they engage in a matrimonial scheme with any individual of the Regiment when they learn that those who made the experiment were left to lament their fate. It seems to be decreed for some unknown sin that an officer of the corps seals his early death at the time he bestows his hand and heart on a female. As you esteem us you will keep this fatal secret locked up in the utmost recess of your heart. Hum!!!

You must see I have nothing official to say after reading this nonsensical digression. Believe me in which I include friend Carry.

(P.S.)—Since writing I have seen your note to Captain Claus to whom I have given the letters for Amherstburg and St. Joseph's to be forwarded by the first opportunity. I shall thank you to forward the enclosed to its address.

(C. 513, Pp. 111-3.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Major Green.

Fort George, December 22nd, 1803.

Sir:—

I have the honor to inform you that in consequence of receiving intelligence of the arrival at Newark of a young man who was suspected of being a Frenchman, I thought necessary to question him on the subject

and found that he was born at St. Domingo and had come into this country as clerk to Mr. Wilson. This gentleman, it appears, is an Englishman, but has for a long time been employed by the Americans as a commissary or in some such other office. Three of his clerks have come in here in charge of a large assortment of goods with which he proposes to establish a store at this place, Presqu'ile, and Detroit. Houmon, of whom I wish to speak, is one of these. His Excellency will naturally believe from what I have said that I entertain too great apprehensions in regard to any mischief this young man would commit, but, notwithstanding, I conceived it my duty to call on the magistrates to summon this foreigner before them in order that his real object for coming to this country might be formally investigated, in the hope some slight restraint might be put to his going at large until he obtained His Excellency's permission.

This was done on my part with a view of convincing all Frenchmen they were liable to interruption in case they presumed to enter the Province without a regular passport. I was, however, greatly disappointed by being told by Messrs. Hamilton, Kerr, and Edwards that no power rested with them to summon a stranger of whatever nation he might belong unless accused of a specific charge in breach of the law. This doctrine, which appears to me so very strange, I think it is my duty to lay before His Excellency that he may know the sentiments of the principal magistrates in regard to a point which I cannot avoid considering at this juncture of the utmost importance.

These gentlemen say that since the expiration of the Alien Bill there is no law which authorizes a magistrate to take cognizance, much less obstruct a Frenchman coming into this country.

I have inadvertently turned this sheet, but as time will not permit my copying it, have the goodness to excuse the accident.

(C. 14, Pp. 130-1.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Major Green.

Fort George, December 22nd, 1803.

Dear Major:—

The vessels which I informed you had arrived at Fort Erie with an intention of returning this season to Amherstburg have since given up the idea. What renders the disappointment particularly distressing is that the post which left this last Saturday for Amherstburg is gone without taking any of the letters which I had in charge for that post. This was owing to the neglect of the postmaster, Mr. Edwards, who gave no public notice of the day on which the mail would be made up, and who, I suppose, conceived it beneath his dignity to give me the least intimation on the subject. I am very happy in being able to say that the men of this garrison behave with uncommon propriety. I trust in

God they may long continue in the same disposition. The commander of the American vessel, Adams, a blunt, disgusting fellow who commands on Lake Erie, represented to me the other day that three or four soldiers of that nation who were doing duty on board his vessel, having deserted, were immediately received on board the Camden. He therefore wished to know whether it was our intention to countenance such a proceeding.

Without giving him any direct answer to his enquiries, I was so very attentive and polite that he left me seeming highly satisfied. I, however, think proper to mention the circumstance. He observed in the course of conversation that if we could find no method of procuring men for our vessels but by distressing his government, he would be under the necessity of retaliating. The Engineer is getting on pretty fast with the different works which he has to finish during the winter. My letters from England are of an old date; your kind communications were therefore very gratifying. Colonel Sheaffe observed that he had received a letter from the Duke of Northumberland, who was busily employed in training 1500 of his tenantry whom he had armed and clothed at his own expense and given the command of them to his son, the gallant Percy. It is pleasing to hear of the exertions of men of such amazing influence, as their energy must diffuse itself to all around. I now look upon England as placed beyond a possibility of danger.

The Major White, whom you mention in your letter, was, if I mistake not, adjutant of the 32nd. In that case he was an officer esteemed to possess great military merit.

We are at a loss what to allow the field officers who have been deprived of their companies. They are certainly entitled to more than the twenty pounds which the order mentions, as it states they are to be allowed the same as captains, but what that is, it is difficult to decide. I shall thank you, since the charge must be made in this month's pay list, to give me what insight you are able on the subject. Doctor Walsh, it should appear, has taken his abode for the winter at Montreal to the extreme inconvenience of poor Buchanan, who having lately lost his wife, would be happy to go to the assistance of three infant children. I shall try to prevail on the Indians to take charge of a few fish which are now coming in tolerably plentiful. With every sentiment of respect to the General and kind remembrances to Carry, I remain.

(C. 513, Pp. 114-6.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Major Green.

Fort George, December 31st, 1803.

Sir:—

In consequence of the directions contained in your letter of the 28th instant, the Frenchman, Simon Hamot, and not Houmon, as I first wrote it, has been ordered to quit the province. It now appears from his own

confession that he was born in France, which he denied the first time he was interrogated, but pretended to be a native of St. Domingo.

I beg leave here to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential letter of the same date. I have been prepared for some time to guard against any mischief which the arrival of the person to whom it alludes* might create, in consequence of being apprized by an American gentleman, that he heard him express a strong wish of viewing the falls of Niagara before he took his departure for Europe. I have adopted such measures as will ensure my receiving the earliest notice of his arrival on the opposite side. I, however, thought it unlikely that he could at this time undertake so long a journey, which made me less anxious to mention the information I had received to you.

(C. 14, P. 132.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Major Green.

Fort George, January 7th, 1804.

Sir:—

Having been applied to by Walsh, the person who keeps the ferry, respecting a house situated on the reserve to which he pretends to have a claim, I desired him to state his case in writing, which I beg leave to enclose for His Excellency's perusal and determination. Walsh bears the character of an industrious, sober man.

(C. 513, P. 118.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Fort George, April 25, 1804.

My Dear Colonel:—

By the very good management of Mr. Earl, we contrived to reach this place at twelve at night and was made happy in finding everything as it ought to be.

By this day's post I have received two London papers of the 22nd and 27th February. They are of course forwarded for the perusal of my friends at York. The melancholy picture which the Dutch government give of that ill fated country will attract much attention and commiseration. I have been busily employed the whole evening in reading other English papers of a date earlier than those which I send. They contain much interesting matter, but as they belong to a society of genlemen, I cannot, considering the conditions which were imposed on me, indulge

* Thomas Barclay, the British Consul at New York, had written to Sir R. S. Milnes and also to Lt.-General Hunter that Jerome Bonaparte was likely to visit Canada.

you with a sight. I, however, send a few extracts. General Meyers is nominated to command in the W. I. Major General Stewart, Governor of Grenada.

Sir James Craig appointed to the 86th Regt.

General John White gets 46th.

Lord Charles Somerset 1st W. I.

Lt. Colonel John Stewart (unattached) succeeds Vesey in the 52nd, who is removed to the Nova Scotia Fencibles vice Roberts deceased.....

.....

The volunteer business does not seem to get on in a very cordial manner. New arts have been introduced which plainly shew that the establishment is not on a proper footing and that people begin to tire.

In my paper, the Albany Gazette, there is an account from France, 29th Feby., which I do not see in any other paper. It states that Moreau, La Fayette, Pichegru, have been arrested when on the eve of dethroning B..... The vessel which brought the intelligence had arrived immediately from Bayonne. I mention the circumstance only because it is possible.

Mr. Crooks has a letter from his brother dated Glasgow, 7th Feby., which says: "The Canadian Fencibles are getting on very slowly. They have scarcely 100 recruits."

The Toronto takes three tables, six forms, thirty-one ash boxes. The remainder intended for York will be shipped by the Speedy which arrived yesterday with a cargo of peas, and as she reached the landing this day, I shall be able to despatch probably the day after to-morrow.

I enclose the necessary estimates for the erection of a house near the light house for the accommodation of the person who is to have charge of it.

I wish to have written more intelligibly but the lateness of the hour has obliged me to hurry. I shall try to send the papers which have occasioned this scrawl by Paxton. It is now past one, therefore adieu.

(C. 726, Pp. 147-9.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Fort George, May 3rd, 1804.

Dear Colonel:—

I have received the letters you entrusted to Captain Nicolls. Every attention will be paid to their contents. I have nothing of moment to report to you. Have the goodness just to mention to General Hunter that one of the men who was supposed to be implicated in the abominable

transaction that was laid by the magistrates before the Attorney General, has been fully freed after a strict investigation, from any knowledge of what was intended by the other wretch. He, therefore, has been released. The guilty will be sent to Kingston by the first opportunity and there discharged agreeably to the permission already given me. He would have been discharged the instant his guilt was established, but that having been requested by the garrison on the opposite side not to increase the number of scoundrels already inhabiting their neighborhood, I am fearful of giving umbrage. Policy demands this attention.

The public prints contain according to my estimation the most important information. I am apt to believe the Deal account of the counter revolution in France. It is but natural to believe men of such prudent characters as Moreau and Pichegru are acknowledged to be, would first collect at Paris as many partizans as could meet there without creating suspicion before the latter and others of the same sentiment would venture in France. The conspiracy being discovered, the blow must be struck, otherwise ruin is the inevitable fate of all concerned, and we know that one **stab** is sufficient to effect every purpose, besides how many instances are to be found in history of men such as Bonaparte falling by the very means they adopted to secure themselves. His guards in all likelihood did the deed. If it be ascertained that a French General actually landed at Deal so immediately after the apprehension of Moreau, the fact in my mind, is certain. A post or two will, however, clear the business. May it be such as will benefit the dear little island is the ardent prayer of.

(P.S.)—Claus and I still keep determined to cross to you by the next trip the Toronto takes. Sheep cannot be procured. I send a lamb and a piece of beef.

(C. 513, Pp. 138-40.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Fort George, Wednesday, 18th May, 1804.

Dear Colonel:—

We had the good fortune to be landed before three and found that no disagreeable occurrence had happened during my absence with the exception of a desertion from Fort Erie of which we were already acquainted.

I have letters from England as late as the 6th March. They contain nothing of a public nature but what the newspapers have already announced.

General Burton was dismissed from the service but reinstated immediately after.

The General's trees have not arrived. Mrs. Stewart informed my messenger that she had received a letter concerning them which gave

her reason to expect their arrival every moment. No attention will be wanting to preserve and to have them speedily forwarded to York, when once they get in my possession.

I am very sorry to say the number of sick have greatly increased. We have now twelve attacks of fever, not very alarming—three were brought from Chippawa. No intelligence of the Camden. The different packages entrusted to my care have been already forwarded agreeably to their respective address.

The General will permit me to say that the great civility and attention which I constantly receive from him in my frequent excursions to York can never be forgotten.

With every wish for your health and happiness in which Carry is sincerely included, allow me to subscribe myself.

(C. 513, Pp. 141-2.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Fort George, July 13th, 1804.

My dear Sir:—

That you have lost the sale of your majority by an unjustifiable representation of General Gordon, there can be no doubt. The Duke, we know, is too liberal and indeed too just to deprive you of a well earned stipend without means being employed to deceive him. I, therefore, trust that a memorial stating things as they actually are, may be productive of much good. General Gordon could not surely divulge the confidential communication you made him with regard to the negotiations you were carrying with Captain H..... and yet how could he accomplish his end without resorting to such a mean artifice.

Your last letter is dated 18th ulto. The different General Orders, Courts Martial, etc., I received by the same opportunity. The Duke of Kent arrived here last Sunday, a perfect wreck, having carried away both top-masts. The Commodore represents this accident to have happened rather in an extraordinary manner. The flaw of wind which caused such mischief was neither observed coming nor was its effect felt on deck. It subsided as suddenly as it came which enabled the Commodore to save nearly the whole of the rigging and all the sails. We are busily employed in getting her ready for sea. Proper masts have been procured with some difficulty with which she will be fitted, I trust, tomorrow. A very trifling expense will be incurred. The Duke of Kent brought the Indian presents and delivered them in very good order. Mr. Fleming, the surgeon, has arrived and proceeded to Fort Erie.

Captain Dennis has informed that he has apprehended a seaman, a deserter from the Camden. I have directed he might be detained until her arrival.

We get on here so smoothly that I have little more to do than to attend to my garden which comes on most luxuriantly. The last ten days have produced a great deal of rain which came seasonably and has done much good to the country.

We have very little intercourse with York since the General left it. There are three or four strange families arrived and are waiting for a vessel to cross.

You will perceive that I have intermixed in this letter some trifling official matter, a thing I scarcely intended. You can, however, easily cull what may be necessary.

We are anxiously waiting to hear of the arrival of the fleet which, if reports say true, will terminate your stay at Quebec.

I trust the General will return quite renovated in health and that you and Carry may bring along with you your usual portion. We have but one man in hospital and he was sent down from Amherstburg in a consumption to try the effect of change of air.

(C. 726, Pp. 157-9.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Fort George, July 28th, 1804.

Dear Sir:—

I have little else to notice than the receipt of your letters of the 21st and 22nd, and the arrival of the Camden at Fort Erie just in time to receive the Indian presents with which she will sail in a day or two for Amherstburg.

Everything remains quiet in the different quarters. The reports received from the officers commanding are very satisfactory, both as to the behaviour and health of the men.

A deal of rain has fallen of late, which, I fear, will prove very hurtful to the grain. The grass will, however, be benefitted, which must relieve the exorbitant price the farmer has set on his hay.

With every sentiment of esteem, believe me,

(C. 513, P. 158.)

From. Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Fort George, August 7th, 1804.

Sir:—

I have nothing more to notice than the receipt of your letter of the 20th ulto. I shall be ready to embark immediately on the arrival of the

Toronto. I have thought it necessary to detain the Speedy here as she may be required to remove the intended reinforcement of fifteen or twenty men to Kingston. The Camden has sailed some days. Having nothing more to add will convince His Excellency everything remains in profound quietness.

(C. 513, P. 159.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Quebec, September 10th, 1804.

Sir:—

We reached this place at daylight yesterday without any incident during the journey worthy of notice. The weather was particularly fine the whole way. Captain Ormsby who arrived on Tuesday was equally fortunate.

Lt. Col. Glasgow reports that everything in regard to the garrison has proceeded in the usual regularity since General Hunter's departure.

You can scarcely expect in the bustle in which I find myself that I should more than merely report my arrival, indeed the English papers of the 5th, 6th, and 7th of July do not afford a single article of the least importance. Matters seem to be carried on in the same dull routine as during the late Ministry.

I cannot, however, withhold saying for the General's information that some officer of the Canadian Fencibles has written to a friend that objections have been started in regard to the terms upon which the men of that corps have been raised and that it was supposed the greater part would be discharged though the writer was not very explicit, it seems evident that one of the family becoming a soldier was sufficient to entitle the rest to a passage to this country. This mode of withdrawing such numbers of persons from Scotland has alarmed gentlemen particularly interested who have represented the business as militating against the provisions of a recent act of Parliament to prevent emigration. General Hunter will be pleased to receive my grateful thanks for the confidence reposed in me.

(C. 513, Pp. 163-4.)

From Lt. Col. Brock to Lt. Col. Green.

Quebec, November 1st, 1804.

Dear Sir:—

....

.....The Lieut. Governor has communicated to me a letter which he received from Mr. Merry* some time back. The intelligence which it

*British Minister at Washington.

contains he considers a mere trick to obtain money. Finding that a similar despatch was forwarded to General Hunter by express, I forbear saying more on the subject making no doubt it carried the same information.

A vessel has arrived which sailed from Portsmouth either the 10th or 12th of September. She brought no letters or papers. The master says that he understood that a desperate attack had been made on the gunboats which had come out of Boulogne and ranged themselves close to the shore, in which position they were protected by the batteries. That we had suffered greatly in men but that we had succeeded in destroying a great number of the boats besides committing great havock among the enemy. I asked him myself whether the people in England were satisfied with what had been done and he assured me they were completely so. The affair may have the effect of inspiring the French soldiery with a dread of our navy when they find that even protected from the shore, they are worsted. This affair was intended to be assured as a trap or rather as a bait to draw us into a scrape. If it tends to breed dismay in the enemy we have attained a great point.

The fleet sailed hence on the 29th. The weather has been remarkably favourable since. The Orpheus got upwards of thirty added to her crew by pressing.

Sad reports are in circulation in regard to poor Paxton which I fear will prove too true.

(C. 513, Pp. 181-4.)

From Thomas Barclay* to Hon. Thomas Dunn.

Private. New York, 23 May, 1807.

Sir:—

A Mr. Cassino, who has been French Consul at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, has returned to France last fall, and soon after had an interview with the Emperor and Talleyrand, who ordered him out immediately to America. He had a short passage, has been to Washington and is now on his way to Canada. He will probably go first to New Hampshire and enter Canada from thence, but this is not certain. His pretence while here was that he was going to contract at Montreal for furs. His errand assuredly is to tamper with the Canadians for which purpose he has been sent out again. He will probably pass under another name, and either as an Englishman or American. He is from 30 to 40 years of age, near six feet, rather thin, fine teeth, fair complexion, hair, short, curly, and of a sandy colour and coarse. Is a sensible, well informed man, who can converse on any subject. I sincerely hope you may be able to apprehend him in your Province or in Upper Canada.

(C. 14, Pp. 157-8.)

*British Consul at New York

From Colonel Brock to President Dunn.

Quebec, 17th July, 1807.

Sir:—

It is impossible for a person in my situation to contemplate the intelligence received by the last post without immediately calculating upon the means of defence to which he can resort should a rupture between England and America be the ultimate consequence of the events officially announced to have taken place*.

It appears beyond a doubt that measures inimical to the interests of England have already been adopted by the American Government, and that certain points are left for discussion, the result of which is to determine the question of peace or war.

There is at least a possibility that these points may be rejected and that war may ensue. I, therefore, conceive I do not go beyond the sphere of my duty in respectfully submitting such observations to Your Honor as appears to me from the military position of this Province to call for serious consideration.

It is well known to Your Honor that the number of militia now armed and every way instructed does not exceed three hundred. As many thousands might easily and with perfect safety be selected and formed into corps.

This force joined with the efficient assistance, were the necessary arrangements instantly taken, upon which we could in that case safely depend from the adjoining Province, added to as many regular troops as could be spared from this garrison, would create a force, which if not competent effectually to stop, at any rate equal to harrass and considerably impede the approach of an enemy towards Quebec, and the gain of time in such a country as this, particularly, is everything, but without such an aid, it would be hazardous in the extreme for the military to quit Quebec, and the enemy in that case would move on unmolested.

Whilst every American newspaper teems with violent and hostile resolutions against England, and associations are forming in every town for the ostensible purpose of attacking these Provinces, I consider the time arrived when every loyal subject should be called upon to come forward and show his zeal for His Majesty's service. Such preparatory and cautionary measures can only be inconvenient to the individuals themselves, and they, I am confident, are ready to undergo every sacrifice in such a sacred cause.

What I have taken the liberty of suggesting is certainly at the present critical juncture deserving of serious deliberations, but I now beg leave to call your attention to a subject of still greater importance, and so far unlike the other that it will not admit of the least procrastination.

*For fuller particulars of these events see the next letter.

Quebec, the only military post in this country, is in no condition of making much defence against an active enemy. The walls by which it is enclosed on the western side are very old and much decayed, and could not possibly for any continuance sustain a heavy fire. The works along the whole of that front are so completely uncovered that the first shot might strike the wall at the short distance of six hundred yards at its very base. My object is to throw up such works as will remedy this glaring defect, but the garrison is totally inadequate to such a heavy undertaking. I therefore presume to state my wants with the full confidence of meeting that support and assistance from the civil government as the exigencies of the case evidently require.

Six hundred to a thousand men would be required every day for six weeks besides a vast number of carts, &c., &c.

Should war with America take place, probably no serious attempt will be made against this Province before spring. In that case there will be sufficient time to arm and form the inhabitants into some degree of order, but in regard to the additional works proposed to be constructed, unless they are completed before the middle of October, they must be postponed until some time in May. It will then be too late to enter upon such an undertaking. These facts in my humble conception are, considering the times, worthy Your Honor's most serious and early consideration.

It would ill become me to suggest the mode by which the means proposed are to be attained, but I am confident they are to be found in your superior judgment.

(C. 1214, Pp. 332-4.)

From Colonel Brock to President Dunn.

Quebec, 23rd July, 1807.

Sir:—

Colonel Brock has perused with due attention the proceedings of His Honor, the President in Council, communicated to him by Mr. Ryland, and begs leave to observe that in addressing His Honor on the 17th instant it was far from his intention to assume a political character.

His sole object was to state the assistance required by the military to remedy a glaring defect in the fortifications at Quebec, should His Honor conceive that preparatory measures were necessary to be adopted in consequence of the events which recently occurred between His Majesty's ship Leopard and the American Frigate Chesapeake, but more particularly the aggressive provisions contained in the Proclamation of the American Government.

In thus complying with the details of his duty, Colonel Brock was not prepared to hear that the population of the Province, instead of

affording him ready and effectual support, might probably add to the number of his enemies, and feels much disappointment in being informed by the first authority that the only law in any degree calculated to answer the end proposed, was likely, if attempted to be enforced, to meet with such general opposition as to require the aid of the military to give it even a momentary impulse.

Colonel Brock is therefore obliged to observe that the officer commanding would certainly not choose the time when the troops may every instant be called upon for the defence of Quebec, to disperse them over the country in aid of the Civil Government, coercively collecting a body of men which under such circumstances would be of more detriment than service to the regular army. Colonel Brock, therefore, cannot look for any assistance from that quarter, but should an emergency arise, he is confident voluntary offers of service will be made by a considerable number of brave and loyal subjects and feels himself justified in saying that even now several gentlemen are ready to come forward and enroll into companies men on whose fidelity they can safely rely.

It remains with His Honor to determine the degree of countenance which ought to be given to such sentiments.

Colonel Brock will be at all times proud to attend deliberations of His Honor in Council.

(C. 1214, Pp. 338-9.)

From Colonel Brock to Lieut. Governor Gore.

Quebec, 30th July, 1807.

Sir:—

Conceiving that the importance of the objects which it may be necessary to arrange under the present situation of our relations with the United States of America can be more satisfactorily settled by means of verbal communication, I have the honor to acquaint Your Excellency that I have despatched Lieut. Colonel Pye, the Deputy Quartermaster General, to York to consult and receive directions with regard to such measures as it may be expedient to adopt.

He is in full possession of my sentiments and I can safely recommend him to Your Excellency as an officer of intelligence and high merit.

(C. 1214, P. 345.)

Minutes for the guidance of Lt. Colonel Pye.

Quebec, 1st August, 1907.

To ascertain from Lt. Governor Gore the conduct he proposes to pursue on the present occasion.

To represent the utter impossibility of detaching a single man to his assistance.

To urge His Excellency to direct the militia east of Kingston to attend to my orders, they scarcely will be induced to march upwards.

To consult and arrange with the gentlemen of the greatest influence in that country the measures to be adopted at this juncture.

To ascertain the number of British subjects or their descendants in whom confidence can be placed, and whether they shew a disposition to march for the defence of the Lower Province.

If they have been accustomed to hunting or have become by any other means acquainted with firearms.

The military stores at Fort George very injudiciously placed, and ought if possible to be removed to York; those at Amherstburg in the same predicament.

Should hostile appearances continue, to recommend the distribution of arms to those best disposed, and to issue at the same time a large quantity of ammunition.

Powder and flints very scarce in the States. Essential consideration to prevent the Americans getting any supply from the immense quantity at present in the Upper Province. The route to Montreal from Kingston more easy and speedy than through their own country. Not required in the Lower Province consequently the overplus ought to be removed to a place of security and destroyed on the first danger of falling into the enemy's possession.

The same may be said of the heavy ordnance. To give positive and pointed directions for all long guns since reported unfit for service to be completely destroyed by causing the trunnions and cascables to be knocked off besides spiking them in a most effectual manner. No delay to be suffered in executing this order, officers commanding to report to headquarters having done so.

To be guided by circumstances in giving orders for the equipment of the King's vessels on both lakes for service.

Should it be thought impossible with the slender force in the Upper Province to attempt any active defence to order one hundred young men of the 41st to Kingston, to be in readiness to act in conjunction with the militia on the east of Kingston.

ISAAC BROCK, Colonel commanding.

(C. 1224, Pp. 347-8.)

From Colonel Brock to Lieut. Governor Gore.

Quebec, 21st September, 1807.

Sir:—

Having applied for a copy of the letter from Halifax, (the original of which I perused), which I was made to understand was enclosed in the despatch Mr. Shaw took lately to Your Excellency, I found the postscript omitted, and being apprehensive the same unnecessary caution may have been followed in regard to you, I enclose for Your Excellency's information, an extract from a Halifax paper which contains the substance of the intelligence referred to.

Policy would naturally make such a plan known everywhere except in this Province. I therefore think Your Excellency should be provided with the means of diffusing it among your people, as nothing in my opinion can forward your object more essentially.

ENCLOSURE.

The following information is derived from a very respectable source, and the reconciliation of Bonaparte with Moreau, together with the well known fact of the latter being now actually employed by the American Government, leave no room to doubt that the outline of the plan is correctly given, though the vigilance of the British Government may easily destroy it in the bud, or completely prevent its accomplishment.

PARTITION OF AMERICA.

"The correspondence of Talleyrand and General Moreau which caused such surmises at New York in February last, is at length developing, and we can scarcely be surprised at the events which have since followed. Bonaparte and Moreau are reconciled. If Moreau can persuade America to break with England, 10,000 French troops are, in conjunction with the Americans, to drive the English from the Continent. Canada and Nova Scotia are to be erected into a monarchy and Moreau to be crowned king of Acadie and both the Canadas. America is to have the Floridas as well as Louisiana, and the island of Porto Rico or some other valuable West India island is to be given up to them.

"The Government of America not having sufficient energy by the present Constitution, the President is to be supported in his endeavors to change it and a new form of Legislature adopted in which the Chair is to be assumed for Life.

The only difficulty is stated by the American Government to arise from the Northern States, who might be averse to such a neighbor as the kingdom of Acadie and Canada, governed by a Frenchman, but this may possibly be overcome if the war with England can be made a popular one.

"The authenticity of this intelligence cannot be doubted, and the Americans who are now loudly crying out for a war with England, may know how completely they have been made the Tools of France and its Pensioners."

(C. 1224, Pp. 384-5.)

III.

SOME MISTAKES IN HISTORY.

By Miss Janet Carnochan

How easy it is for a false statement to take wings; how difficult it is to have it corrected when once told incorrectly! How impossible to make people, who have told the same story time after time, acknowledge that there could be any error in it! When it is merely a question of date or something involving no principle, it is comparatively unimportant; but when the honor of an individual, of a regiment, or a country is involved, it is a far more serious matter.

I have met with many statements commonly received which are quite inaccurate, and yet from writer to writer they are told and retold with the most unvarying inaccuracy—some of these grave, some gay, some grotesque and sometimes gruesome, still worse, some malicious; some with a touch of humor, others with bias. A lie which is all a lie can easily be disposed of, but that which has truth mixed with falsehood —who can manage it successfully? One after another they pass before me, a procession of mistaken ideas, exaggerations, false statements, which will not "down," and unless the few able critics who have arisen of late years can effect an improvement, the false story will go on through the ages.

False statements are made, some merely from carelessness, others from partisan feelings. Perhaps some have arisen from a story told in joke, or again the historian can scarcely refrain from dressing up his tale to make it more effective, more thrilling and dramatic. Nearly all the mis-statements to which I will refer have some connection with Niagara or vicinity, and many of them came under my own notice.

Strange tales are told of cherished relics, the falsity of which is often shown on the face of the article, one instance of which occurs to me. In a large and valuable collection of relics (many of them family heirlooms) was a heavy weight, the owner claiming that it was brought from Fort Niagara at its capture in 1813. On inspecting it closely there were found the words stamped in "Geo. IV.," who reigned from 1820 to 1830, which effectually settled that story.

The old stone building at Queenston, the home of Wm. Lyon McKenzie when in 1824 he printed the Colonial Advocate, has given rise to many a false statement—one made to me I am sure at least fifty times: "That is where the first paper was printed in Upper Canada," quite

oblivious to the fact that the first paper was printed in Newark, now Niagara, in 1793, thirty years before.

A picture of an old tumble-down frame building was lately seen in a Buffalo paper labelled "The house where the body of Brock was carried." On investigating, it was found that the house referred to, then being taken down, was built long after the battle of Queenston Heights; but two places were claimed by different individuals, and each may be correct, as at first the body was carried into the old stone house still standing and then farther down to a more safe place as the battle progressed during the day. Many such tales are told to tourists who again retail them with additional embellishment.

It is sometimes very difficult to locate the scene of a remarkable event. Thus in taking the testimony of several old residents as to the spot where Brock was first buried, four agreed on the place where we have placed a marker near the gate of entrance to Fort George, while two others placed it near the old sycamore tree near the west corner, though in the entry in St. Mark's register of Rev. R. Addison the north-east bastion is mentioned.

A singular mistake made in an inscription in enduring brass was lately discovered at Brock's monument when copying for our No. 10, the two inscriptions—inside the monument and at the entrance. I found that while the one states this monument was erected to replace that destroyed 17th March, 1840 (which is the correct date), the other states it was to replace that destroyed in 1838. To the latter are appended the names of the Committee all given, with infinite particularity as to titles, as Colonels, Honorables, Esquires, etc., and this mistake has remained uncorrected for over fifty years. A little trouble taken to verify the date would have been better than the trouble taken over the titles.

For many years on the road to Queenston a tree called "Moore's Oak" has been pointed out as that where the poet Moore sat while composing "The Canadian Boat Song" during the time he was entertained by General Brock, in 1804 (then Col. Brock at Fort George), whereas that song was written near Ottawa—"We'll sing at St. Anne's our parting hymn." It is quite likely that in the shade of the oak the poet may have rested as fondly believed by a lady who lived in a house still standing and in view from Fort George—a house with peculiar church-like arched windows, the lines which he wrote, "And I knew by the smoke that so gracefully curled from the sweet little cottage"—referring to this particular house.

The Parliament-Oak is another myth—a nut hard to crack—yet like all myths it must have some substratum of truth. "That is where the first Parliament was held under that oak tree." "A man was hanged from one of its branches;" these are the stories floating about. It has always been a mystery to me why the early legislative fathers came so far as this from Navy Hall to sit under the shade of an oak tree. It is certain that, when Lt. Governor Simcoe came, one of the four buildings

called Navy Hall was fitted up for him as a residence, and that he in turn had fitted up one of these buildings for the Legislators, the cost of the material, quantity of timber, nails, shingles to repair and enlarge it, being given. It is also believed that a tent was used above the hill, and as we know how excessive the heat is in a tent on a hot day, it is probable the members did adjourn to the shade of a tree where they could enjoy the cool breeze from the lake or river. But why go so far as to cross the common where now so many trees are in sight much nearer? We must remember, however, that what we now call the oak grove is second growth. In a map of 1835 it is called "young oak," and the government reserve was the Niagara plains, an Indian camping ground, or sometimes their corn fields, so there may have been no nearer large trees than this. But, alas, the tree is now no more; long it stood in the grounds of Senator Plumb, formerly Judge Campbell's, whose father, Fort Major Campbell, was buried at Fort George in 1812. Dead bough after dead bough was lopped off till only two remained, and no wonder, for the corporation laborers had cut away the trunk on one side to fit the sidewalk, and the fence builders cut it away in another direction to keep the fence straight. Boys built a fire in its hollow trunk, and finally the tree was ruthlessly cut down. The following lines were addressed to its destroyers:

Woodman spare not that tree,
Lop off its every bough;
Though Parliament Oak it be
We'll not protect it now.

Fortunately we possess a picture of it, though during its decay.

St. Mark's Church is commonly said to have been built in 1792, as lately inserted in maps and register, and is often called the oldest church in Ontario, while that honor belongs to the Mohawk church near Brantford, built in 1786, and it is known that a Presbyterian church was built in Stamford in 1787. It has now been conclusively shown that though the Rev. R. Addison came as a missionary in 1792 to Niagara and all the region around, by documents from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, that St. Mark's was not started till 1805, and the first service within its walls was in 1809.

The story of Laura Secord has had many additions and embellishments—one that she started barefooted for a twenty mile walk, the mother of a family in good circumstances. This is disproved by her own story of losing one shoe in the marsh, and that when she arrived her feet were so swollen that it was difficult to take off her stockings.

How firmly do some people cling to the belief that old china and old furniture they almost worship came over in the Mayflower. It is said that according to the tales told, more furniture came over in that wonderful little vessel than would fill several of the largest steamers now afloat, and that the particular kind of china now claimed as coming then was not manufactured till many years afterward.

When the Prince of Wales, in 1901, visited Niagara, he was treated with figs grown in the open air, but the London Times oracularly said "this could not be true for Canada was such a cold country." Another reporter, in describing Montreal, said that the houses were mostly of wood and brick.

Although the Niagara Society has been exercising great care, I am afraid we have perpetuated a mistake, if not in enduring brass, at least on solid limestone. A marker placed in 1902 gives the position of the Gleaner Printing Office of 1817, and the first Masonic Hall, 1792. This was taken from a document from the Land Board, apparently beyond dispute, giving permission in 1791 to erect a tavern at the east corner of the town, next the river, and a Free Mason's Hall, next to it. Later investigation in the Crown Land office gave the position of lot 33 marked "The Lodge," which we reasonably suppose to be Free Mason's Lodge. Not quite satisfied with this, the next year a ponderous tome was found to give the fuller statement—lot 33, Free Mason's Lodge, and it is a remarkable fact that the present Masonic Lodge, No. 2, stands in this very spot, the building long known as the Stone Barracks, built soon after the war of 1812-14. This discrepancy may be explained in two ways. While the Land Board gave permission to build next to the tavern, this may not have been carried out, and an exchange of sites may have taken place. The other explanation is that while it was to be at the east corner of the town and the other next to it, it may mean the next corner to it, which is exactly where it now stands.

The Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada is a most valuable work. The reviews are frank and fearless; generally kind, but not hesitating to chronicle errors. In Vol. XIII. (for the year 1908) is noticed a volume printed in a sumptuous manner, "The Niagara River," by A. B. Hulbert, in which most astonishing mistakes are found. It is stated that 10,000 United Empire Loyalists landed at Niagara in 1783, no doubt making the mistake from a careless reading of the statement that 10,000 U. E. Loyalists came to British territory, but these were scattered on many shores—Nova Scotia, Niagara, Lake Erie, Adolphustown, and at different dates as far back as 1777. It is also stated that Niagara had a "daily newspaper" in 1792, and that the first newspaper in Upper Canada was printed in "an old ruined stone house" at Queenston in the same year. Neither of these statements is true. But this is surpassed for inaccuracy by the astonishing statement that "the following great Canadians were born in Toronto:—Prof. Egerton Ryerson, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Daniel Wilson, Rev. W. Morley Punshon, Hon. George Brown, Sir Oliver Mowat." However proud Toronto may be of its native born, it will make no attempt to claim as natives these great men born in such distant places.

So far the mistakes have been mostly from inadvertence; but we must now mention others which can only be classed as partisan. One copies from another what is supposed to be true. The beautiful poem, Gertrude of Wyoming, with its idyllic, pastoral scenes made hideous by

what is called the "Massacre," and in which we find the phrase "the monster Brant," gives us a false idea of the well-educated, wise and humane Indian chief, Thayendanegea, who, to crown all, was not present, as proved afterwards by his son to the poet; but the poem remains unaltered, although subsequent editions contained the correction made in fine print in a corner where few would see it.

The celebrated Scalp Story, (but there are two scalp stories, the one easily contradicted, the other with all its gruesome details too dreadful to repeat) has been disproved, but still it lingers. Can it now be believed that at this late day, 130 years after, it is revived in a story by Chambers, "The Maid at Arms"? During the Revolution, near its close, when all seemed lost to the Colonists, there was made public what was said to be a letter to Governor Haldimand, sending barrels of scalps to be sent to the King of England for which a price had been paid, all told with the greatest minutiæ and particularity of detail, so many of soldiers, so many of farmers, so many of women, so many of boys, so many of girls—even to infants, with Indian hieroglyphics as signs of how they had been killed and where. Stone's Life of Joseph Brant says, "This was long supposed to be authentic but has since been ascertained to be a fabrication for political purposes. All was told with such an air of plausibility as to preclude the suspicion that they were ficticious. When the story was disproved, the only excuse made was that something must be done to rouse public feeling. In the "Maid at Arms," by Robert W. Chambers (No. 2 National Series), the dates and names are altered, but the statement is copied almost word for word, and though in a work of fiction it is given as actual fact, a miserable wretch is represented in the act of carrying this horrible burden with a paper stating the price to be paid.

The other scalp story is of a later date, but is too absurd to be believed and is only received with a smile. In the war of 1812, when York was captured by the U. S. forces, the story was told that a scalp was found hanging in the Speaker's chair. This was well known to be a harmless wig left on his chair by the Speaker of the House.

An incident of personal interest may be given. Invited to attend the meeting of an Historical Club across the boundary river, I listened to a paper read by a young lady in which it was claimed that the battle of Lundy's Lane was a victory for the Americans, and an old story was brought forward that the capture of Fort Niagara by the British in Dec., 1813, was accompanied by peculiar barbarity, viz., that the sick men in the hospital were slain. No doubt the origin of this is that an American account to prove the bravery of their men states that the sick men in the hospital rose from their beds to fight, in which case they were combatants and might be treated as such. When called on to say a few words, while complimenting some of the speakers, I said, "Of course you cannot expect me to accept all the statements made. Historians require to use the greatest care, must give the closest scrutiny in their researches. We know that partisan writers give very one-sided views..... .....We know that in the late Boer war one side told of British bar-

barities, and the other of Boer cruelty; and too, in your own Philippine war we have heard of cruelties on each side; but we must weigh carefully before accepting all that is written. War is cruel; the object of each party is to kill or disable the other."

In the Elsie books, so popular for a while in Sunday Schools, one called "Elsie Yachting" was presented to a Canadian S. S., but was fortunately put into the hands of one who acted as censor. The father is described as taking his children to the scene of naval engagements, and hatred of Britain is inculcated in their young minds. An American success is a glorious victory, a British victory is accompanied with brutal ferocity.

In a story by Chambers called Cardigan, all the American soldiers are fine looking, kind, brave; all the British are brutal and cruel, the only exception being Sir Wm. Johnson, who is spoken of as a good man, his goodness apparently springing from a supposition that he was about to join the Revolutionists at the time of his death. It is only lately that from documents never before printed, much light is thrown on dark points. We forget that in the British Parliament one side constantly opposed the other's war policy. The fiery denunciations of Chatham against the British using the Indians on their side were eloquent, the atrocities practised being described in emphatic language; but he was then quite ignorant that the Indians were used by the Americans in fighting before they were enlisted by the British, as told by their own historians, 19th Apr., 1775, at Lexington, and 8th July, empowered by Congress.

We also have partisan writers on the Revolution, but comparatively few. Is it not time, as I have previously said, that, after a hundred and forty years, each party should acknowledge the right of the other to do what he thought best; that those who conscientiously remained loyal to the king should be respected, as well as those who conscientiously opposed him; that each should exercise his right of judgment? Our neighbors have been long in acknowledging this, but we rejoice that of late there has been an improvement in this respect, and that the action of the U. E. Loyalists is better understood. We acknowledge that bitter remarks have not been wanting, but there is some excuse for those who lost all their property, who were imprisoned, tarred and feathered, or executed for expressing different opinions to those in power.

A book lately published by a Canadian, the story of the burning and setting loose of the Caroline in 1838, represents that there were some left on board the burning vessel to drift over the Falls; but this is pure imagination.

Our historian, Col. Cruikshank, could fill a volume easily with corrections of printed statements. I remember turning over the pages of his copy of Lossing's History of the War of 1812. It was full of annotations, whole pages of manuscript inserted and corrections innumerable. Col. Cruikshank deserves the thanks of his country and some public

recognition of his services. Years of his life have been devoted to research, visiting the Parliamentary Library and Archives of Ottawa, the libraries of Albany, New York, Washington, collecting documents in Canada, England and wherever else to be found. His accounts of all the battles of the War of 1812 in our vicinity—Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, Stoney Creek, Beech Woods, Fort Erie; his account of Butler's Rangers, his eight volumes of Documentary History, form a collection of historical lore unsurpassed for accuracy, impartiality and careful research. Only his modesty prevents his merits being better known.

IV.

THE VALLEY OF THE OTTAWA IN 1613.

By Benjamin Sulte, LL.D., F.R.S.C.

The easiest way to speak of the discovery of the Grand River would be to reproduce the narrative written by Champlain immediately after the event; but we have no room for a lengthy composition. Allow me to submit a short epitome of it, with a few remarks.

The whole valley of the Grand River belonged to the Algonquins, but they were not disseminated equally on its shore. In fact, they formed three distinct groups, or nations, as the French styled them.

First, the Iroquets, between Vandreuil, the Rideau and Kingston, roving in that triangular territory, hunting and fishing, having no particular home, only according to season when they moved from one place to another, and lived miserably all the time, because they never settle down for good. Yearly some small parties of their young men went to the north of the State of New York to harass the Mohawks, and these Iroquois used to come every now and then to take a revenge of such aggressions. It was a bloody life on both sides, and we must say that the Iroquois showed themselves in every respect far superior to the Algonquins. They would have conquered the country of their enemies without much trouble, only that they had enough space at home and a more advantageous climate. It must be said also that in 1613 the fur trade question had not yet tempted the cupidity of the Iroquois, therefore the valley of the Ottawa, so rich in the various kinds of fur, could not attract them, as it did afterwards. The war kept the form of a kind of noble sport, repeating constantly what took place during centuries in America previous to its discovery by the Europeans. Our Algonquins were satisfied with that kind of uncertain existence. By the month of May they usually selected a spot on the river shore and encamped there until the fall, when they returned to the forest for the winter. The building of a wigwam was done in part of a day by planting a few sticks of wood in a particular manner and covering the structure with large skins such as that of the moose or wild cow. This wandering life suited their primitive nature, although they knew very well that some of their neighbors had more comfortable lodgings and were steady "citizens" in their villages.

The people of Petite Nation, in the rear of Papineauville now, were quite different and lived in the centre of a marvellous country for hunting and fishing. That tribe was not given to warlike spirit, but to trade and commerce rather. None of the Indians occupying the upper part of the rivers which run to the Ottawa and the St. Maurice carried arms

other than the ordinary weapons used against the animals of the forest; meantime they were in want of many useful articles, on account of the poor nature of their country. The industrious Petite-Nation supplied them with a certain number of these articles, such as birch bark to make canoes with, and in return received some of their natural products in the way of curious stones for ornamental purposes and other things highly appreciated amongst the Small Nation. This latter people had a somewhat comfortable village, and cultivated pumpkins, corn, etc., for their own consumption, so that they needed nothing more and cared very little for the white men when they heard of their arrival in the vicinity of Montreal. Champlain never visited their village, but he speaks of what was told him in that respect. Here and there a few canoes of the Petite Nation would go to Montreal in June or July to barter some skins for knives and other articles of European manufacture, without ever joining the other Algonquins in the wars above mentioned. This peaceful community, nevertheless, was finally destroyed by the Iroquois about the year 1650 because they were friendly to the French.

Between the mouth of the Lièvre and Chat Lake (some 90 miles) many bands of hunters could be seen during the year, but no village, except an occasional encampment. This remark applies also to the Ontario shore of the Grand River.

The tribes located north of the Ottawa at the sources of several waterways came during the summer, by the Gatineau, for instance, to meet any one ready to trade with them, even the Hurons of Lake Simcoe using Rideau River in such travels.

The main body of the Algonquins lived on Allumet Island. They were called the great Algonquins because of their number. Their chief was a sort of a king, a master of the whole, the "fountain of favours," an absolute sovereign. As early as 1603 he had gone to Tadoussac with a retinue indicative of his importance, to see Champlain, and they spent the time in festivities like gallant crowned heads. Allumet Island had a town and all the advantages of Indian civiliation within the means of the district and the aptitudes of an Algonquin organization. Besides hunting, fishing, which was plenty all around, and some tilling of the soil, they understood the benefit of trade at long distance, and, again, no one could pass the river opposite their island without paying a tax arranged after a fixed tariff. This was the case also with the people of Lake Nipissing, and the two powers were at swords-drawn on the subject, and, we must add, all the more because the Nipissings were great rivals in the trade with the northern tribes in the direction of Hudson Bay. Read history, over the world, and you will find that most of the wars had their origin in some rivalry of trade. Nothing new under the sun, not even in Canada.

Altogether, the Algonquins were but a few hundred families in the valley of the Ottawa, forming three groups, as above described. Those of the counties of Vaudreuil, Prescott and Russell fought the Iroquois without the assistance of Petite Nation, but sometimes the Allumet warriors came down to take a share in the fun.

It stands to reason that most of them were glad to see the French coming with their wares and their firearms. Champlain soon found out that he was compelled to follow the red men in the war, otherwise the friendship could not last long between them. He had to give satisfaction to the imperative call of his surrounding allies, no matter if he displeased an enemy whose country was far away from him and not at all in the direction he wished to go, as his principal aim was Upper Canada.

Therefore, in 1609, he made the acquaintance of the Mohawks by firing a few shots amongst them. This, it is said, was the cause of the terrible vengeance exercised for a long time afterward by the Iroquois against the French. Not so. The Mohawks kept quiet enough after 1609; it was only about the year 1630 that they joined the other Iroquois tribes politically and created the strong confederation which is always mentioned as having originated in the early period of Champlain's travels. This happened as much against the Dutch of Albany as against the French of Quebec, and it would not have disturbed the French if the Dutch had not given firearms to the Iroquois, in 1636, with a view to conciliate this people and have them on their own side, for the fur trade is at the bottom of the arrangement—it was not the case in 1609, and at that time a skirmish or two amounted to very little.

Furthermore, if Champlain had avoided the affair of 1609 he was sure to meet it at any moment when the Mohawks would take any chance to attack the Algonquins with whom he was trading.

Now, let us deal with the discovery of the river by Champlain, at the rate of fifteen miles per day in bark canoes.

The departure took place on the 27th of May, 1613, from St. Helen Island, opposite the present city of Montreal, in two canoes, manned by one Indian, Champlain, two interpreters: Vignau and Thomas, and two other Frenchmen.

On the 3rd of June, above Long Saut, they met some Algonquins and an exchange was made with an Indian who was willing to accompany Champlain whilst one of the two Frenchmen returned to Montreal with the party.

On the 4th Champlain noticed the mouth of the Gatineau and was told that river led to the St. Maurice, also that the Algonquins passed that way to reach Three Rivers in order to avoid the encounter of the Mohawks sometimes roving in the lower part of the Ottawa River.

Let us mention here that the name of the Gatineau came afterwards from Nicolas Gatineau, a trader of Three Rivers who adopted that route to meet the Indians of the Ottawa.

Turning his eyes to the other side of the main river, the explorer saw the Rideau Falls: "An admirable sight," he says. "The water slips down with such impetuosity that it makes an arch of 400 paces. The Indians enjoy passing underneath without getting wet except from the

spray produced by the fall. There is an island in the centre, all covered with trees, like the rest of the land on both sides. It is a portage for canoes going southerly, but the Iroquois are sometimes hidden near the place."

The arch mentioned by Champlain was termed curtain (rideau) by subsequent coureurs de bois. No doubt he observed the promontory where the Parliament building stands—without imagining that three centuries later such a construction could be seen there.

As the river from Montreal to the Chaudière is far from being in a straight line, he had somewhat lost his bearing and he took the astrolabe to ascertain his position. "I found," he says, "that we were in 45° 38' latitude." The correct figure is 45° 12', but the astrolabe was always an imperfect instrument. The statue made recently by Mr. Hamilton McCarthy, of Ottawa, represents Champlain in the act of measuring the elevation of the sun, in front of the future capital of Canada.

The 4th of June is, therefore, a memorable day in the annals of this region, and it can be said that, after leaving the Rideau Falls behind, the discoverer stopped, at mid-day, to verify his situation at no great distance from the Chaudière—say at Nepean Point, where the statue above mentioned will soon be erected. (This paper was read June 3, 1914.)

By that time the roaring of the cataract, and very soon the sight of it, attracted his attention: "It is half a league wide with a number of small islands, all rocks, covered with small trees. At a certain place the water falls with such a rage that it has digged out a large and deep basin, so that the current running in there in a circle and making a lot of huge bubbles, has induced the Indians to call it Asticou, which means a kettle."

They did not stop at the place, but went ahead to Des Chênes Lake where they spent the night of the 4th June. On the 5th the Chats were seen, "near three miles wide," and so many other sceneries which Champlain describes en passant.

Finally he arrived at Allumet Island, exhausted with fatigue, half starved, partly eaten by the mosquitoes.

His friend, King Tessouat, could not believe his eye (he had only one eye) at such an apparition. The reception was very cordial and several State conferences took place during three days, but, if on the one hand Champlain obtained copious information concerning the geography of the North and West, he failed to persuade the chief of the necessity of going himself further on his voyage, and he saw clearly that Tessouat intended to limit the exploration of the foreigners to Allumet Island in the hope that the traffic of the Great River would be concentrated there for the benefit of him and his people.

Anyway, Champlain knew from this moment what was the physical form of Upper Canada, because he understood matters concerning Lakes Nipissing and Huron, and he had gained a good idea of the St. Lawrence

to Lake Ontario, Niagara Falls, and further, Lake Erie and the passage called Detroit by which Lake Huron empties itself into the waters of Erie. This was enough for a first trip.

On the 10th he resumed the voyage downward, with the son of Tessouat and 40 canoes loaded with furs. At the Chaudière the Indians paid due homage to the Manitou, or spirit of the water. A collection was made of pieces of smoking tobacco, and a dance followed around the tribute thus gathered, with appropriate songs in fine style; that is, says Champlain, "after their own manner." Then a captain made a warm speech, explaining the ancient and revered custom by which their ancestors had secured the protection of the Manitou against all evils, and especially their enemies—a statement open to doubt. Next, advancing toward the foaming Asticou in great solemnity, they threw the tobacco over the bubbles and raised a loud howling, and went to their canoes.

From Allumet Island to Montreal, where he arrived on the 17th June, Champlain took only seven days, but that was coming down with the current.

V.

GLEANINGS FROM OTTAWA SCRAP-BOOKS.

By Miss Amey Horsey.

Soon after the Ottawa Women's Historical Society was formed, in 1899, the members realized that a great deal of important information was being lost, which in years to come would prove of value for reference, so, in order to preserve these facts, in their proper setting, the work of keeping "Scrap-Books" was begun in the year 1900.

Three "Books" have been kept by this Society—one for the preservation of articles relating to the growth and development of the Capital, another for the principal "Events" of the locality, and a third for general Canadian "Events." For 14 years this collection for the Scrap-Books has been going on, and the work done as faithfully as it was possible, only "Events" of special note having been recorded—those which the collectors thought would bear the test of time.

All "clippings" are correctly dated before they are placed permanently in the "Books."

We will give a short review of the two "Ottawa" Books, touching only on the more important items, to give an idea as to what kinds of information are preserved.

The Ottawa City Scrap-Book.—The changes in the appearance and the growth and development of Ottawa in the past 14 years has been remarkable, as a glance through this book will show. First, we find a number of beautiful new bridges have been built and old wooden ones torn down to give place to handsome steel structures, the principal being the "Interprovincial." This great steel link between the two provinces at Ottawa and Hull was opened to the public for the first time on March 5th, 1901; it was three years in building, and has the distinction of having the longest Cantilever span in Canada (it is 1500 ft. long and cost over a million dollars). The first regular train passed over this bridge April 22nd, 1901.

The Minto Bridges, across the Rideau, built by the Improvement Commission, at a cost of $40,000, were finished in the summer of 1901, and the handsome Laurier Bridge, to replace the old wooden Maria St. one, was opened for traffic in June of the same year. Ottawa has been well called "A City of bridges."

This article furnishes an illustration, from the Dominion Capital, how Scrap Books may be used in the constructive work of local history.

Some of the public buildings erected since 1900 are:—The Royal Mint, Royal Victoria Museum, Dominion Observatory, the Archives Building, Ottawa University, Carnegie Library, Young Men's Christian Association, First Congregational and Sacred Heart Churches, the Laurentian Club Building, the Glebe, Stewarton, and Chalmers Presbyterian Churches, and last, but not least, the beautiful "Chateau Laurier" and Grand Trunk Station, with Connaught Place connecting the two, so completely transforming the centre of our city that one has almost forgotten the existence of the old Sappers and Dufferin Bridges.

Then came the need for "apartment houses," which is a sure sign of a city's growth. The first one of any size built was the "Rideau," at the head of Daly Avenue, and next the " Kenniston " on Elgin St., finished in 1908. They were not only a necessity, but proved to be such good paying investments, that today in all sections of the city you will find apartment buildings, large and small, expensive and inexpensive. In no way has the expansion of Ottawa been more strikingly marked, in recent years, that by the number of new office and store buildings erected. Among these new building achievements is the magnificent store occupied by Henry Birks & Sons, the Canada Life, and the Union Bank buildings, which add greatly to the appearance of Sparks St.

The Ottawa Improvement Commission, which has done so much to beautify the Capital, had its birth in an Act of Parliament passed Dec. 21st, 1899. The Act defined the powers of the Commission, limited its expenditure, and named its first members. They were H. N. Bate, afterwards Sir Henry, chairman; Joseph Riopelle, C. R. Cunningham and the Mayor for the time being. When they commenced the work of beautifying the Capital, they decided to take Rockcliffe Park in the east end, and the "Experimental Farm" in the west, and connect the two. We all know what an elaborate scheme of boulevards, driveways and parks has been carried out. Places which once were eye-sores have been turned into beauty spots, gaining the name of "Ottawa the Beautiful," for our Capital and carrying out "the Washington of the North" idea.

Partly owing to the work of the Commission, we find new residential centres have been opened up in the last few years. "Rockcliffe," where some of our handsomest residences are; along the driveway facing the canal, and that part called "Glebe," where street after street has been laid out and on which are now many comfortable homes.

The population has increased from 60,000, when the Scrap-Book was first started, till now it reaches almost the 100,000 mark.

The first recognition of the founder of Ottawa was made this year, when a bust of Colonel By was placed in a prominent position in the Council Chamber through the efforts of the Woman's Historical Society. The members at present are working for and hoping for an Equestrian Statue of Col. By, which will ere long adorn Connaught Place, with the historic stones bearing the crest of the Royal Engineers and the date of the completion of the Rideau Canal at its base. Ottawa has entered

upon a "New Day"; "old things are passing away," and the city is proving itself worthy of its motto, "Advance."

It has been found that it was our late, much respected citizen, Mr. George Hay, who suggested the name "Ottawa" for the Capital, to the Hon. Thomas McKay, and it was afterwards adopted; he also designed the city's Coat of Arms in 1844, with its motto "Advance."

Book Containing the Local Events.—Glancing over this "Book" we find a full account of the "Great Fire" which visited Ottawa and Hull in April, 1900, when Hull was almost wiped out, a large part of Ottawa destroyed, and thousands made homeless. Again in 1904 a second great conflagration took place, when a large part of the same district was destroyed. Other fires recorded are: the burning of the Ottawa University in 1903, the Gilmore Hotel in 1906, the Sacred Heart Church in 1907, and the old historic St. John's in 1912.

We have a description of the reception to the Ottawa Contingent on their return from South Africa, in Nov., 1900, when the city was gorgeous in color, little flags and bunting on nearly every house, in honor of the returning heroes, and when 40,000 people of the Capital turned out to welcome Ottawa's portion of the brave men who won honor and fame in defence of the Empire. It was one long cheer, we are told, from the station to Parliament Hill, where addresses of welcome were presented. When the "word" came, June 2nd, 1902, that peace was restored in South Africa there was great joy in the Capital; again the streets presented a gala appearance, bells rang out the glad news, all classes rejoiced, even the children seemed to realize what the declaration of peace meant. A monument, the gift of 30,000 children of Ottawa and the Ottawa valley, was unveiled by Mayor Cook's little daughter in August, 1903, to the memory of the Ottawa soldiers who died for their flag, and are now sleeping peacefully under the South African Veldt. Every year since Miss Marjorie Cook has placed a garland of leaves on this Paardeberg Memorial.

Great was the city's sorrow when the sad news came of the death of Queen Victoria, Jan. 22nd, 1901. Its grief was expressed by a resolution of Council, and the whole city went into mourning. On Feb. 1st an impressive memorial meeting was held by the Women's Historical Society, and on the day of the funeral stores were closed, buildings draped, and solemn services held in the various churches.

The year following, in June, the time set for the coronation of King Edward, but postponed on account of his serious illness, again services were held in the churches, not of rejoicing, as it was at one time thought, but of intercession and supplication for the King's recovery. Coronation day, August 10th, 1902, was quietly observed by services in the churches, a military parade and illumination at night.

Then in a few short years we had to record the death of another beloved sovereign, when "Edward the Peacemaker" passed away, May 6th, 1910, and the city paid its last tribute to the ruler it loved. The

great gathering on Parliament Hill, at the burial hour, on May 20th, voiced Ottawa's deep sorrow.

At the time of the Coronation of His Majesty, King George V., June 23rd, 1911, there was great rejoicing. Twenty Ottawans went to London to form part of the Coronation troops. One realizes, when reading these "events," how closely united are joy and sorrow in the lives of a people.

It is interesting to read how Ottawa welcomed the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York when they paid their memorable visit to Canada in 1901, and the citizens of the Capital did all in their power to honor them. Their stay lasted from Friday, Sept 20th, till Tuesday, the 24th, during which time an elaborate programme of entertainment was carried out. There were grand illuminations of the Parliament buildings and grounds, Alexandra, Sappers and Dufferin bridges, and many public buildings, every evening. Their Royal Highnesses had the thrilling experience of running the "slides" at the Chaudière on a "crib," and were afterwards served with woodsman's fare at the Rockcliffe shanty.

It was a fine scene on Parliament Hill when the Duke of York unveiled the monument to Queen Victoria. The "Garden Party" given by their Excellencies, the Earl and Countess of Minto, at Government House on Saturday afternoon, when 1000 guests were present, was a brilliant affair, as was also the Reception in the Senate chamber on Monday evening, when Ottawans paid homage to their future King and Queen.

The Duchess bore away with her a handsome mink cape, the gift of the women of Ottawa, as a souvenir of her visit. Before leaving, their Royal Highnesses expressed to Mayor Morris the hearty appreciation of the entertainment provided for them by the City of Ottawa. They went as they came, amid the cheers of the people. Thousands greeted their entry into the city, and thousands wished them "God speed."

The arrivals and departures of our Governor's-General are always noted—a magnificent farewell being tendered Lord and Lady Minto, after a sojourn of six years in Canada, when they returned to England in Nov., 1904.

The next month a hearty welcome was given Earl Grey upon reaching Canada's Capital, where for seven years he made his home. In October, 1911, Ottawa said "farewell" with general regret to Lord and Lady Grey and their two charming daughters. "We shall never forget Ottawa's farewell, please thank the whole city," were the words of a telegram to Mayor Hopwell from Earl Grey from Quebec. Hardly has good-bye been said than the city is en fête to welcome another Governor, this time a Royal one. On Saturday, Oct. 14th, 1911, H. R. H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught were royally welcomed. Thousands joined in the reception on Parliament Hill, when addresses were presented, and the whole route lined with cheering crowds.

In January, 1912, Her Royal Highness, Princess Patricia, arrived in

Ottawa, and in spite of the lack of public notice a large number gathered at the station to bid her welcome.

The Carnegie Library was opened to the public May 1st, 1906, when the great philanthropist himself honored the occasion with his presence and officiated at the ceremony, the citizens formally thanking him for his magnificent gift.

The opening of our beautiful Driveway was in July, 1904, when Sir Wilfred Laurier, Sir William Mulock, the aldermen of the city and other distinguished guests were tendered a complimentary drive by the Cabman's Association.

The foundation stone of Ottawa's greater University, to replace the one destroyed by fire, was laid in May, 1904, with befitting ceremonies.

The new Roman Catholic Archbishop of Ottawa, Mgr. Chas H. Gauthier, was enthroned with all due ceremony at the Basilica, Feb., 1911. The church was magnificently decorated and the function a very impressive one.

The Convention of New York Bankers held here last year was an "event" of international and historic importance, being the first time the Association had been taken out of its own territory. At the banquet tendered them by the Canadian Government during their stay, expressions of good will and hope for continued peace were heard on every side. James J. Hill, the American railway king, said, "Whatever may be the fate of the general movement among the nations, in favor of peace, those whose mother tongue is English will never again take up arms against one another"; and Premier Borden: "Let us hope that so long as the waters of the St. Lawrence flow, we shall be at peace with each other."

We find a number of noted personages have paid a visit to our city since 1900, among them being: Sir Edward Barton, Prime Minister of Australia; Prince Arthur of Connaught; Prince Fushimi, a distinguished visitor from Japan; His Lordship, the Bishop of London; Rudyard Kipling; Lady Aberdeen and Miss Asquith, daughter of the British Prime Minister; General Sir Ian Hamilton; the British Ambassador, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, and Ex-President Taft, who visited Ottawa for the first time last winter (1913-14).

Accounts of the celebrations of the golden weddings of our older inhabitants have a place in the "Scrap-Book."

We are proud to record when Knighthood is conferred on any of our prominent men, or any honor which one worthy of it receives. And lastly, the passing away of our well-known fellow citizens, as they silently go, one by one, you will always find recorded in the Scrap-Book. But it would be impossible in this paper to mention the names of the many who in their lives have gained distinction, and worked for the welfare and advancement of our Capital City. The contents of the Scrap-Books are

only "history in the making." The "Events" which have been especially mentioned are by us of the present well remembered, but as time goes on they will become history for future generations, and will give a good idea of what Ottawa, the Capital of the Dominion, was like, and the doings of its inhabitants, at the beginning of the 20th century.

243 Daly Avenue, Ottawa.

VI.

THE HIGHWAY OF THE OTTAWA.

By T. W. Edwin Sowter

The Highway of the Ottawa! What pleasure it is to give rein to the imagination and endeavor to reconstruct this old waterway as it appeared in the days of Champlain! What a glorious revelation it must have been to that grand old Frenchman when for the first time he passed up between the shores of the Ottawa! Unblemished by the arts of civilization, how appealing to the eye of the painter or poet must have been the majestic splendor of the savage wilderness! The shores of our great river, bordered by a vast primeval forest and chafed by the resistless rush of mighty falls and foaming rapids, where malignant and fierce-eyed Manitous and Okies glared out of their leafy lairs at the strange men with the pale faces, and the voice of the great Oki of our own Chaudiere Falls roared out his thunderous protest against the advance of a new culture upon his ancient domain.

How changed is all this to-day. The forest has almost disappeared before the axe and the brand, and in its place are green fields and prosperous towns. The voice of the locomotive has frightened the lives out of the malignant spirits and made them seek a more congenial habitat. Even the oki of "The Big Kettle" has lost prestige, as he now receives offerings of sawdust, instead of tobacco, as in the old days.

Our written history of the Ottawa begins with Champlain in 1613; but, long before European contact, the Indians themselves had prepared for us priceless ethnic records of their activities on the Ottawa, and anyone that wishes may read them to-day. These curious old manuscripts are no less than their ancient camping grounds, beach workshops and burial places that lie scattered along the shores of the Ottawa in great profusion. Here, by the old fire-places, where the fires have died out and the hearths grown cold, and their occupants long since departed, we may read much concerning the lives and activities of a now vanished people, before the coming of the white man. The Indians have also left records, in their places of sepulture, that reveal to us much of their past. In answer to the question as to what the camp-site reveals, it may be said that you find there various forms of arrowhead with which the Indian killed his game; the large arrowhead-shaped flint knife with which his better half skinned and cut it up; and the fragments of the earthen pot in which she cooked it for her lord and master.

The writer has in his collection the contents of a single grave found on Aylmer Island. The occupant was well provided with a plentiful sup-

ply of this world's goods, from an Indian standpoint. He had with him, among other things, an iron tomahawk of French make, a small copper kettle, a bone harpoon, three knives and five crooked knives. Among other things that his friends had put into his kit for his trip to the happy hunting ground, was a quantity of fringe made out of a white moman's hair. He also had with him a bone arrowhead that had been driven completely through a segment of his lumbar vertebrae, piercing the spinal chord and still remaining in position. Now, it seems easy to read this Indian's story. At some time in his career he had scalped a white woman, and used her hair for his personal adornment; but later on he had got what was coming to him—so to speak; for that identical portion of his transfixed backbone is at present reposing in the writer's cabinet, and it shows conclusively that its owner died by violence—and served him right.

For the benefit of those who take an interest in the ethnic history of the Ottawa and who may desire to do a little original investigation on their own behalf, a list of the principal camp-sites and burial places, of the Indians, between Ottawa and the Chats Falls, may be of some little service. They are as follows:

Gilmour's Mills—Mr. R. H. Haycock, of Ottawa, reports that in 1859-60 his father, the late Edward Haycock, built a residence on the site of Gilmour's Mill, in Hull. While making excavations for the foundation of a summer house, the workmen laid bare several ash-beds at a depth of from two to three feet below the surface. Amongst other things these beds contained Indian pottery in great abundance. It was customary with the Huron-Iroquois to place their fires in pits, which doubtless accounts for the pottery being found at such a depth.

Gravel Pit, Laurier Ave., Hull—One may observe, on approaching Hull, by the Alexandra bridge, an extensive gravel pit, between the E. B. Eddy Co's sulphide mill and the end of the bridge, and between Laurier Ave. and the river. This is the place from which the late Edward Haycock procured sand for building purposes on the eastern and western blocks of the departmental buildings at Ottawa. During the excavation of this bank a great many Indian relics were discovered, such as women's knives, arrowheads, tomahawks and pottery, but no description of the pottery is obtainable. Here, according to white and red tradition, many bloody encounters took place between parties ascending or descending the river.

Squaw Bay, Tetreauville (Que.)—The western shore of this bay is littered with worked flints, especially the southerly end which juts out into the river.

Bell's Bay (Que.)—This bay, near Fraser's Mill, is an old camp-site, where the writer found a stone celt and arrowheads. There is a considerable quantity of worked flints littered about the shore. A compacted mass of clay and sand, mixed with worked flints, beneath an old oak stump, about two feet in diameter, had been laid bare by the river. It was an old stump of a large tree, yet the arrow-makers of Bell's Bay

had flaked their flints where it stood long before that oak was even an acorn.

Hotel Victoria (Aylmer, Que.)—On the low gravelly flat, just west of the hotel wharf, the writer picked up a very finely made celt, and between that and the outlet of the creek several broken ones. Large fragments of unworked flint, ready for the arrow-maker, were also observed.

Newman's Bay (Que.)—This bay—called by Ottawa people Echo Bay—just below Queen's Park, has yielded more unworked flint than any other beach workshop on the Quebec side of Lake Deschênes. Some few fragments of pottery have also been found.

Pointe aux Pins.—This place was so named by the old voyageurs, and by this name it has always been known to the people of Aylmer, Que. As the pine forest has long since disappeared and a solitary elm stands out in bold relief on the shore, a wiseacre from Ottawa, some years ago, renamed the spot One-tree Point. It is needless to say that this changing of place names increases the difficulties in the way of historical and ethnological investigation, and should be discredited. Place names are sacred and should not be tampered with. However, Pointe aux Pins, which is now the site of Queen's Park, yields worked and unworked flints and arrowheads. One of the latter, picked up by the writer, is apparently very old, as a portion has been broken off, revealing a thick rind of weathered surface of a light buff color. This arrowhead is unique amongst those found on Lake Deschênes. Only one fragment of a similar kind of flint, unworked, is all that the writer has been able to discover, and this was at a spot higher up the river and not amongst the refuse in any of the beach workshops on the lake.

Powell's Bay (Que.)—Large pieces of unworked flint, together with flint chippings, have been observed at this bay and along the shore for a considerable distance up the lake.

Raymond's Point—This point is on the Ontario shore of Lake Deschênes, opposite Aylmer, and is by far the largest beach workshop and camp-site on the lake. From the point to upward of one hundred yards westward, as far as Smith's house, the bare calciferous sandstone shore is thickly strewn with worked flint and chippings of the same material. Arrowheads of several makes have been found at this point. Some have been fabricated from the black flint that is found, in great abundance, in the Trenton limestone at Hull and Ottawa, and are consequently of domestic origin; while others are of a lighter color and are similar to those found in the Huron country. Women's knives, celts, or stone tomahawks, are also found. A woman's knife picked up at this place by Mr. Jacob Smith, of the Interior Department at Ottawa, was made of dark Trenton flint. A similar and beautifully finished flint knife, presented to the writer by Mr. Louis Leroy, of Bryson,, and found at that place, is of light colored flint and is evidently of foreign make. Fragments of pottery are frequently picked up as they are washed by the rains out of the dark sandy loam at high water mark, above the rocky

beach. From what has been seen of these fragments the pottery seems to be referable to three distinct cultures—Algonkin, Huron and Iroquois; but this is only conjecture, as not enough has been procured to settle the matter.

Snake Island Point.—This point is high, dry and flat-topped, and admirably fitted by nature for a camp-site. On the side next to Snake Bay, to the south, it is fringed with large boulders, among which the ground is smothered with flint flakings. Geo. R. Fox, of Appleton, Wis., informs the writer that he has investigated numerous village sites, but does not recall one where he discovered any amount of chips near large stones, which would indicate the selection of such spots as workshop sites. Since hearing from Mr. Fox, the writer has often wondered whether these flakings may not have accumulated about the boulders before the wash of heavy rains, but has dismissed this idea for the reason that rain floods could not have moved them.

Noël's Point.—This point is only a short distance higher up the lake shore. Here we also get the boulders with the flint flakings lying about them, as at Snake Island Point.

Flat Rock.—On the 24th May, 1897, Aldos and David Pariseau discovered a cache of bullets at Flat Rock, near Wilson's Bluff, and just above the summer residence of the late Mr. A. H. Taylor, in the township of South March, Ont. They were found in the sand, in a few inches of water quite close to the shore, and eight hundred were taken from the cache, together with an Indian pipe with the head of some animal moulded or carved on the bowl. Some of these bullets are now in the writer's collection and would run about twenty-five to the pound.

Pointe à la Bataille.—This point is now shown on our maps as Lapottie's Point, a name of recent origin, and doubtless conferred upon it by some ox-witted yokel, who thought it should bear the name of its latest occupant rather than that which probably commemorated some tragic incident of a bygone age. The French-Canadian river-men, however, with much better taste, still retain the name by which it was known to the old voyageurs. Flints are found at this point, both worked and otherwise. Several years ago, Joseph Leclair, of Aylmer, discovered a large cache of bullets at Pointe à la Bataille. Mr. Leclair brought away nearly half a bagful, without exhausting the find. It does not appear credible that so large a quantity of ammunition would have been "cached" by hunters; but, judging from the name of the place, one inclines rather to the supposition that this store had some connection, in the past, with the movements of war-parties, either white or red, operating along Lake Deschênes.

Sand Bay, at the outlet of Constance Creek, in the township of Torbolton, Carleton Co., Ont., is a deep indentation of the southern shore line of the Ottawa, extending inland about a mile. The entrance, or river front of the bay, is terminated on the east by Pointe à la Bataille and on the west by Big Sand Point.

Big Sand Point.—This point is a large dune of drifting sand with here and there a stunted pitch pine and in sheltered places a luxuriant growth of blueberries and poison-ivy. In the summer of 1912 one of the writer's sons discovered an Indian fire-place right on the top of this dune, on the side fronting on the river, in a clear space fully exposed to the action of the winds. The fire-place was about nine or ten feet in circumference and was filled with fine charcoal and sand to the level of the drifting sands of the dune. Overlying this ash-bed was an array of pottery fragments that had the appearance of having been arranged thereon for the inspection of future generations. The fire-place was dug out by hand and pieces of pottery were found all the way down to a depth of about two feet, but the bottom of the pit was not reached. The pottery is either Huron or Iroquois, but the writer is uncertain as to which of the two cultures it is referable.

William M. Beauchamp* is of the opinion that "while the richer Iroquois obtained brass kettles quickly from the whites, their poorer friends continued the primitive art till the beginning of the 18th century at least."

In view of the above statement it appeared at first sight as if this old fire-place bore evidences of the last domestic catastrophe in an Indian household, about two hundred years ago, and that these evidences had not been obliterated by snow or rain or drifting sand in all that time, for this seemed to be the story: Many years ago, when this was an Indian camp, some bustling Indian woman, in hurrying up to get the dinner, snatched a pot of boiling water off the fire, burnt her fingers, dropped the pot, broke it, spilt the water and put out the fire, blamed somebody or something else for the accident and left her broken crockery and her fire-place with the orenda knocked out of them and a tabu on both. After a brief consideration, however, this theory was dismissed on account of its improbability for obvious reasons. A more reasonable supposition seemed to be that a Huron or Iroquois fire-pit, originally two or three feet in depth and filled with ashes, sand and broken kitchen untensils, had been abandoned at some remote period; and that since that time the winds had carried away some of the sand from the top of the dune, together with some of the upper part of the fire-place, thus winnowing the pottery fragments and leaving them accumulated as they were found.

According to the testimony of old residents in the neighborhood, human bones, and in one instance an entire human skeleton, have been washed out of the sands near this dune.

Many uncanny and gruesome stories are associated with the sand mound. They have been transmitted from father to son, from the time of the old French voyageurs.

Wendigo Mound.—According to one of these traditions this sand mound was, in the old days, occupied by a family of Wendigoes. These

*Earthenware of the New York Aborigines. Bulletin of the New York State Museum, Vol. 5, No. 22, October 1898, p. 80.

people were a source of constant annoyance to the dwellers on Lake Deschênes, but more particularly to an Algonkin camp on Sand Bay, quite close to the headquarters of these malignant beings. The old man, who possessed the gigantic proportions of his class, was frequently seen wading about in the waters of the bay, when on foraging expeditions after Indian children, of whose flesh, it is said, he and his family were particularly fond. The family consisted of the old man and his wife and one son. The bravest Indian warriors had, on several occasions, ambushed and shot at the old man and woman without injuring either of them; but, by means of sorcery, they eventually succeeded in kidnapping the boy, when his parents were away from home. Holding the young hopeful as a hostage, they managed to dictate terms to his father and mother and finally got rid of the whole family.

The writer heard this story for the first time one night while camping at the Chats Fall. It was told at the camp fire by a half-breed descendant of the Indians who had the unpleasantness with the Wendigoes. Though far from believing that any sane Indian of the old school would have laid violent hands on even a young Wendigo, the writer is quite satisfied that had one of those legendary monsters of the American wilderness loomed suddenly out of the dark shadows of the forest and approached the camp fire, the poor half-breed who was "spinning the yarn" would have taken to his canoe without a moment's hesitation and left the Wendigo in undisputed possession of the island.

Fight at Big Sand Point.—Life on the old Ottawa, during the greater part of the seventeenth century, was always strenuous, and frequently dangerous. On this rugged old trade route, during the French règime, the fur-traders from the interior, both white and red, experienced many vicissitudes while conveying the products of the chase to the trading posts on the St. Lawrence. Shadowy traditions of those days of racial attrition have been transmitted from father to son, from the old coureurs de bois and their Indian confreres, to their half-breed descendants of the present day. These traditions account for the human bones washed out some years ago at the foot of the old Indian portage at the Chats Falls, and those that lie scattered about at Big Sand Point, lower down the river; also, for quite a number of brass kettles found at one time near the mouth of Constance Creek; for the Indian burials on Aylmer Island, as well as for the presence of arrowheads, stone celts, flint knives and other native implements in the gravel beds at the foot of the Chaudière; and, without pausing to consider whether these relics of a departed people are not the ordinary litter of Indian camp-sites, or the disinterred bones from Indian burial places, tradition, as usual, takes charge of them as the ominous tokens of a period of violence.

A great many years ago, so the story goes, a party of French fur-traders, together with a number of friendly Indians, possibly Algonkin and Huron allies, went into camp one evening at Pointe à la Bataille. Fires were lighted, kettles were slung and all preparations made to pass the night in peace and quietness. Soon, however, the lights from other

camp fires began to glimmer through the foliage, on the opposite shore of the bay, and a reconnaisance presently revealed a large war-party of Iroquois in a barricaded encampment on the Wendigo Mound at Big Sand Point. Well skilled as they were in all the artifices of forest warfare, the French and their Indian companions were satisfied that something would happen before morning. It was inevitable that the coming night would be crowded with such stirring incidents as would leave nothing to be desired in the way of excitement. There lay the Iroquois camp, with its fierce denizens crouched like wolves in their lair; though buried in the heart of the enemy's country, yet self-reliant in the pride of their past warlike achievements, whose military strategy had rendered them as invulnerable as the gloom of the oncoming thundercloud, and as inexorable as the fate of the forest monarch that is blasted by a stroke of its lightning.

Now, the golden rule on the Indian frontier in those strenuous times was to deal with your neighbor as you might be pretty sure he would deal with you, if he got the chance. Of course it was customary among the Indians to heap coals of fire on the head of an enemy; but as it was the usual practice, before putting on the coals, to bind the enemy to some immovable object, such as a tree or a stout picket, so that he was unable to shake them off, the custom was not productive of much brotherly love. Moreover, when the success of peace overtures could be assured only to the party that could bring the greater number of muskets into the negotiations, it will be readily understood why the French, who were in the minority, did not enter into diplomatic relations with the enemy. On the contrary, it was resolved to fight, as soon as the opposing camp was in repose, and attempt a decisive blow from a quarter whence it would be least expected, thus forestalling an attack upon themselves, which might come at any time before the dawn. The French and their allies knew very well that if their plans miscarried and the attack failed, the penalty would be death to most of their party, and that, in the event of capture, they would receive as fiery and painful an introduction to the world of shadows as the leisure or limited means of their captors might warrant.

Towards midnight, the attacking party left Pointe à la Bataille and proceeded stealthily southward, in their canoes, along the eastern rim of Sand Bay, crossed the outlet of Constance Creek and landing on the western shore of the bay advanced towards Big Sand Point through the pine forest that clothed the intervening sand hills, as it does to-day. This long detour, of about two miles, was no doubt a necessity, as, on still nights the most trifling sounds, especially such as might have been produced by paddles accidentally touching the sides of canoes, are echoed to considerable distances over the bay.

The advance of the expedition was the development of Indian strategy; for, by getting behind the enemy, it enabled the French and their allies to rush his barricades and strike him in the back, while his sentinels and outliers were guarding against any danger that might approach from the river front.

The attack was entirely successful, for it descended upon and enveloped the sleeping camp like a hideous nightmare. Many of the Iroquois died in their sleep, while the rest of the party perished to a man in the wild confusion of a midnight massacre.

Such is the popular tradition of the great fight at the Wendigo Mound at Big Sand Point, and the bones that are found in the drifting sands at that place are said to be the remains of friend and foe who fell in that isolated and unrecorded struggle.

This story seems to carry us back to that period of conflict which was inaugurated by the onslaught of the Iroquois upon the Huron towns, which was continued with unparalleled ferocity and terminated only by the merciless destruction of a once powerful nation and the final dispersion of its fugitive remnants, together with such bands of Algonkins as happened to come within the scope of that campaign of extermination. It is supposed that our tradition has reference to one of the many scenes of bloodshed that reddened the frontiers of Canada, while the Confederates were thus making elbow-room for themselves on this continent, and were putting the finishing touches on the tribes to the north of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. At this time all the carrying-places on our great highway were dangerous, for war parties of fierce invaders held the savage passes of the Ottawa, hovering like malignant okies amidst the spray of wild cataracts and foaming torrents, where they levied toll with the tomahawk and harvested with the scalping-knife the fatal souvenirs of conquest.

The Chaudière.—Let us now descend the river, as far as the Chaudière, and we find ourselves once again in the mocassin prints of the Iroquois; for those tireless scalp hunters were quite at home on the Ottawa, as well as on its northern tributaries. War expeditions of the Confederates frequently combined business with recreation. They would leave their homes on the Mohawk, or adjacent lakes, and strike the trail to Canada, hunt along the Rideau Valley until the spring thaws set in, and manage to reach the Ottawa in time for the opening of navigation. Then they loitered about the passes of the Chaudière and waited, like Wilkins Micawber, for something to turn up.

While waiting thus for their prey to break cover, from up or down the river, they devoted their spare time to various occupations. To the oki, whose thunderous voice was heard in the roar of the falls, they made sacrifices of tobacco. While the Mohawks and Onondagas each gave a name to that cauldron of seething water which is known to us as "The Big Kettle," the Mohawks called it Tsitkanajoh, or the "Floating Kettle," while the Onondagas named it Katsidagwehniyoh, or "Chief Council Fire."

Iroquois tradition assigns to Squaw Bay, called also Cache Bay, at Tetreauville, the reputation of having been one of the favorite lurking places of these war-parties. It must have been, in those days, an ideal spot for an ambush or concealed camp, as it occupied, for the purposes of river piracy, as commanding a position on the old trade route as does

one of our present day toll-gates for controlling the traffic on a turnpike road.

Joe Canoe, the chief of the Dumoine River Iroquois, told one of the writer's sons that in the old days his people were in the habit of hiding in Squaw or Cache Bay and capturing canoes coming down with furs or going up with merchandise. They plundered the canoes and scalped their occupants. It is also said that Brigham's Creek, called also Brewery Creek, a narrow channel of the Ottawa, was the old Indian portage route for overcoming the rapids of the Chaudière. It may be seen by glancing at a map of the city of Hull, that parties of Algonkins or Hurons, as the case may have been, upon emerging on the main river at the head of this portage, were liable at any time to receive a warm welcome from some surprise-party of Iroquois visitors at the Squaw Bay camping ground. If descending the rapids of the Little Chaudière, they faced a far worse predicament, as, unable to escape or defend themselves in the swift current, they would have been caught like passing flies in a spider's web.

It is said that Indian cunning was at length successful in evolving a plan to outwit the military strategy of the Iroquois. As the old portage route had become dangerous it was resolved to have an alternative one. In ascending the Ottawa, this new portage started from the western shore of Brigham's Creek at a point now occupied by the International Cement Works. It continued thence in a westerly direction, skirting the foot of the mountain and passed down Breckenridge's Creek to the outlet of that stream into Lake Deschênes. It was rather a long portage of about a dozen miles; but Algonkin and Huron had learned in the school of bitter experience that, in their case, the longest way round was the shortest way home. An aged squaw, who lived in Aylmer many years ago, spoke of a similar forest trail that extended, in the early days, from a point on the Gatineau, near the site of Chelsea, thence by way of Kingsmere to a point on Lake Deschênes, now occupied by the town of Aylmer.

Ossuary at Ottawa.—Residents of the Capital will be surprised to learn that a Feast of the Dead, probably similar to that witnessed by Brébeuf at Ossossane, was once held on the spot now occupied by the Capital brewery, within the angle formed by the north line of Wellington and the west line of Bay streets. The proof may be found in an article in the Canadian Journal, Vol. 1, 1852-1853, by the late Dr. Edward Van Courtland, which describes an Indian burying ground and its contents at Bytown (Ottawa) in 1843.

Dr. Van Courtland states that in 1843 some workmen, who were digging sand for mortar for the old suspension bridge, unearthed a large quantity of human bones. He immediately hurried to the spot and found that the contents of an Indian burying ground were being uncovered. The doctor continues: "Nothing possibly could have been more happily chosen for sepulture than the spot in question; situated on a projecting point of land directly in rear of the encampment, at a carrying-place, and

about half a mile below the mighty cataract of the Chaudière, it at once demonstrated a fact handed down to us by tradition, that the aborigines were in the habit, when they could, of burying their dead near running waters. The very oldest settlers, including the Patriarch of the Ottawa, the late Philemon Wright, and who had located nearby some thirty years before,* had never heard of this being a burying place, although Indians existed in considerable numbers about the locality when he dwelt in the forest, added to the fact that a huge pine tree growing directly over one of the graves, was conclusive evidence of its being used as a place of sepulture long ere the white man in his progressive march had desolated the hearths of the untutored savage." After two doys' digging the results were as follows:

"One large, apparently common grave, containing the vestiges of about twenty bodies of various ages, a goodly share of them being children, together with portions of the remains of two dogs' heads; the confused state in which the bones were found showed that no care whatever had been taken in burying the original owners, and a question presented itself as to whether they might not have all been thrown indiscriminately into one pit at the same time, having fallen victims to some epidemic, or beneath the hands of some other hostile tribe; nothing, however, could be detected on the skulls to indicate that they fell by the tomahawk, but save sundry long bones, a few pelvi, and six perfect skulls the remainder crumbled into dust on exposure to the air; in every instance the bones were deeply colored from red hematite which the aborigines used in painting, or rather in bedaubing their bodies, falling in the form of a deposit on them when the flesh had become corrupted. The material appears to have been very lavishly applied from the fact of the sand which filled the crania being entirely colored by it. A few implements and weapons of the very rudest description were discovered, to wit: 1st, a piece of gneiss about two feet long, tapering, and evidently intended as a sort of war-club; it is in size and shape not unlike a policeman's staff. 2nd, a stone gouge, very rudely constructed of fossilferous limestone; it is about ten inches long, and contains a fossil leptina on one of its edges; it is used, I lately learned from an Indian chief, for skinning the beaver. 3rd, a stone hatchet of the same material. 4th, a sandstone boulder weighing about four pounds; it was found lying on the sternum of a chief of gigantic stature, who was buried apart from the others, and who had been walled around with great care. The boulder in question is completely circular and much in the shape of a large ship biscuit before it is stamped or placed in the oven; its use was, after being sewed in a skin bag, to serve as a corselet and protect the wearer against the arrows of an adversary. In every instance the teeth were perfect and not one unsound one was to be detected, at the same time they were all well worn down by trituation, it being a well known fact that in Council the Indians are in the habit of using their lower jaw like a ruminating animal, which fully accounts for the peculiarity. There were no arrowheads or other weapons discovered."

*Philemon Wright, with 25 followers arrived at the site of the present City of Hull, on the 7th of March, 1800.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the worthy doctor had witnessed the excavation of a small ossuary, bone-pit or communal grave, such as are found in the Huron country in western Ontario. When the doctor raises the question as to whether the bodies had not all been "thrown indiscriminately into one pit at the same time," he suggests a mode of sepulture that was actually observed by Brébeuf at the Huron Feast of the Dead at Ossossané in 1636.

Ossuary on Aylmer Island.—Another small ossuary was uncovered some years ago, on Aylmer Island, called also Lighthouse Island, in Lake Deschênes, when the foundation for the new lighthouse was being excavated. The writer was not present at the exhumation of its contents, but the light-keeper, Mr. Frank Boucher, informed him that the skeletons were all piled together, indiscriminately. It is difficult to estimate the number of bodies interred in this grave, but it yielded about a wagon load of bones. No entire skulls were found but the writer observed that the teeth in all the jawbones were sound, in some cases being worn down quite flat without the least sign of decay. Some single graves have also been found on this island. The presence of this ossuary is also at once suggestive of the celebration, on Aylmer Island, of the weird mortuary rite called the Feast of the Dead.

Embowered in the solemn grandeur of a mighty forest of gloomy pines, old Lac Chaudière—our Lake Deschênes—was a fitting theatre for that weird ceremonial. Resting on the old Algonkin camping ground at Pointe aux Pins—now Queen's Park—some roving coureur de bois might have seen this great sheet of water fading away into the vast green ocean of foliage to the south, and witnessed from his point of vantage the uncanny incidents of the savage drama. From various points on the lake he might have seen, converging on the island, great war canoes freighted with the living and the dead, the sad remnants of a passing race. He might have heard the long drawn-out wailing cries of the living, as they floated out across the water, outrivalling the call of the loon, or the dismal and prolonged howl of the wolf, as they echoed through the arches of the forest; and, as the island rose before his vision, tenanted with its grotesque assemblage of dusky forms, engaged in the final rite of sepulture, he might have mused upon the mutability of human life, in its application to the red denizens of the wilderness, whether in the extinction of a clan, or the dissolution of a tribe or confederation.

But where, to-day, are these people whose reverence for their dead was one of the first rays of light stealing in upon their darkness from the coming morning of a new day? Who felt even in the wind as it played over their brows when spent with toil the caress of a good spirit? Who, longing for that which they knew not, made gods of the blind forces of nature and reached out to them, in their direst need, for assistance and consolation? Did they migrate, finally, to join their kindred in their distant resting places? Did they fade away, by adoption, into other tribes? Or, were they absorbed by the red cloud of massacre, to disappear forever in the darksome shadow of the illimitable wilderness?

VII.

THE COUNTY HISTORY AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL PROGRESS.

By Miss Edith L. Marsh

No book can give a more vivid picture of the lives of the people who are actually working out the evolution of the country than the county history. It brings one in touch with the significant details in the lives of the pioneers and the lives of the men of to-day. In the county history more than any other book we should be able to trace the social systems under which the people of the different generations have lived and to see the effect they have had upon the progress of the country.

The histories that have been written of our country deal with great events and with great men, and there is little space, even in the chapters devoted to social conditions, for the individual pictures that strike home to the reader. The history of the country, picturesque though it may be, is bound to have a far-away sound to those of us who are living our quiet lives in remote parts of the province. But the county history is all our own, is the life we know. A single glimpse of a familiar scene will arouse emotions that remain unmoved by thrilling tales of great events far away. The nearer home the historian brings his readers the more deeply he impresses them.

The social conditions of the red men who had their homes in the different counties of Ontario before the white man claimed the land has a message too often overlooked. They lived under a communal system. With them the productions of the earth were common property. Such a thing as one starving while another had food stored away or monopoly of game was unknown among friendly bands. They were all children of the Great Spirit, and the food that had been given for their needs must be shared by all. What would these people think of such a condition of individualism as exists to-day in many of our cities?

It is a question whether history has ever done justice to the Indians. Certainly many of the children who study history at school and who read Indian stories have exaggerated ideas of the worst side of Indian life and know little or nothing of their better qualities. They have had the white man's version of the red man. In their histories the Indian himself has not spoken. It is important that justice should be done the Indian, not merely for the sake of the Indian, but because of the bearing it has upon the future.

The primitive Indian was a more honest being than modern methods of life have made of the white man. It was a missionary from the far north who declared that when someone asked the Indians there if it would

be safe to leave some supplies in a certain place, they said, "Why yes, there is not a white man within fifty miles."

A few years ago the sister of the Methodist missionary on Christian Island told of witnessing a very striking mirage while driving with a party of friends somewhere in Parry Sound District. They were miles back from the shore, yet suddenly the Georgian Bay appeared just a few yards ahead. There was a little child four or five years old in the party who was fast asleep. Curious to know whether she too would see what they saw they awoke her and she cried with fright and begged them not to drive into the water. Had that been some young Indian brave, who knew nothing about mirage, instead of white people who understood something about such an atmospheric condition, and he had returned to his home and told some explorer that when far away in a certain direction he had come upon a great unknown body of water, and the explorer, scenting the glory of discovery, induced the brave to guide him to it only to find that no such body of water existed, the Indian would have been a great liar, possibly a sufficiently great liar to have branded his whole tribe.

Fortunately there are some records of Indian life left by the Indians themselves. Assikinack, an Ottawa Indian, in writing of his people who in very early days had their homes in the valley of the Beaver River, says that while in the villages they each had their homes, the hunting grounds were common property and also the game that was brought in, and he places much stress upon the fact that children were taught to be honest and to respect the old.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, writing of the Iroquois in "Canadian Savage Folk," says that hospitality is a common virtue among them and that they treat strangers with great respect, preparing for them venison, maize, or other native foods in great abundance. The writer might have gone on to say that the Indians do not ask the stranger who he is, do not consider the cut of his coat or how much property he owns. It is enough for them that he is one of the children of the Great Spirit, and the greater his need the greater their care in providing for him. Condescending charity, such as we hear so much about to-day, was unknown among them. Would they not hold us in contempt if they could see us throwing open our doors to those who need nothing and closing them to those in want?

In reading the letters and speeches of Joseph Brant one wonders whether any statesman of the white race could have a more disinterested desire for the welfare of his people. In his letters the communal ideas of the Iroquois are frequently referred to.

In the history of the County of Bruce, by Norman Robertson, one of the speeches made by a chief at the time of the signing of the treaty by which the Indians surrendered their title to the tract of land comprising the original County of Bruce, expresses the Indian idea of the white man's individual rights. (Robertson's Hist. of Bruce, p. 3.)

In the lives of the pioneers who followed the Indians were many

incidents which show the noble spirit of the builders of the Dominion. In the histories of the loyalist settlers are the well known stories of the historic beef bone that was passed from house to house that it might give each settler's soup a taste, and the story of the bees, where help was given one another, and story after story of the banding together of the settlers to assist, with no expectation of pay, a more unfortunate neighbor. All these show that early settlers understood that on each man's well being depended the future of the country. They lived more in accordance with the communal system of the red men than we do to-day. Little by little this has been disappearing, giving place to selfish individualism.

With that spirit of the early days has gone too much of the knowledge of the wild herbs which the settlers obtained from the Indians. An old gentleman living in Toronto, a member of the York Pioneers, remarked how very little of this had been preserved in history, and he told of an incident worthy of record. It seems that one day when a mere boy he was accompanying a well-to-do early settler in a walk through the woods on his own farm. The farmer asked if he had ever seen Indian glue. The boy replied that he had not. "Then I can show it to you," the farmer replied. When they had walked a little farther he found a stalk, apparently dead. He pulled it up, rubbed it in his hands, then breaking a chip of wood in two he rubbed the bruised stalk against the broken edges and put them together again. In a few minutes he handed it to the boy and told him to try to break it apart again. The boy tried with all his might but the Indian glue held it firm. This plant the farmer explained was dormant through the summer and for that reason very difficult to find.

The old gentleman who told the story said that though he had inquired again and again he had never met with any one who could remember having seen that plant, and he added that when the spirit of competition possesses the people there is little thought of preserving for future generations the wild things that were provided for their use, and some day they will awaken to the fact that they must labor in the heat and the dust to produce a substitute for that which would have grown all ready for use in the cool woods.

Such stories told in local history might make us more careful of the wild things we have left, our game, our birds and our bits of forest which now we try to protect against ourselves by legislation.

The passenger pigeons would have adapted themselves to the changed condition of the country if they had been allowed to live. It was not the so-called savage that exterminated these birds. They thought of the future, but the civilized man killed them off until not one was left, and now he would gladly give a thousand dollars for a single pair. It sounds ludicrous, but it is perfectly true.

In the history of Simcoe County, I read of the little coffee mill that one of the settlers had taken in his scant household outfit to his home in the backwoods and how during the long season of the year when the

Holland River was so swollen with floods that it was impossible for the settlers to cross it and reach Newmarket where was their nearest grist mill, they would come from miles round to grind a few quarts of grain in the little coffee mill and thus ward off starvation. I can see those people yet going back with their little bags of grain. When the historian gives in a few vivid lines such a picture of early conditions it not only makes a lasting impression, but it starts us thinking, and all sorts of comparisons come up between that day and the present time. As that picture lingers in the mind one wonders whether if the man with the coffee mill had lived to-day he would not have demanded an exorbitant amount of grain for the use of the mill and when the flood was over and the farmers once more independent of his mill he would have had a large proportion of their hard earned crops. That sort of thing is creeping into almost every county now.

In one county is a co-operative apple house, that is, a so-called co-operative apple house. The farmers bought stock in the building with the understanding that they would have a storehouse for their apples until they could market them to better advantage. Then they put up a little more money to buy out a cooper shop that they might always have barrels. The scheme looked ideal. But there was an undercurrent that was kept from them until they had paid their money. The result was that the farmers received no benefit at all and one man was made rich.

It is needless to go into detail; everyone knows how that sort of thing is done. It is very easy for a man to make money buying apples when he has at his disposal an apple house and a cooper shop paid for with the money of the farmers. To-day he wears a high collar, rides in his motor car, and is a pillar in the church, while the men who planted the orchards have the choice of leaving their apples lying in piles on the ground or accepting what the buyers choose to give them. Usually they sell them for a dollar or a dollar and a half a barrel on the trees and team them down to the town in the bargain, up hill and down hill, through the cold and storm of November on the Georgian Bay, and if the man of the high collar and the apple house passes them on the way, the chances are he does not so much as stop to pass the time of day.

It is the county historian who can show how gradually the spirit of the early days which laid the foundation of our Dominion has been passing away, and by stating facts as they are can open our eyes to the dangers of the present. A time will come when we have put the power of money in the place where it belongs, when we have ceased to honor men for their wealth until we know how it has been obtained, when men can no longer buy their way into public favor and social prestige. A system that allows monopoly to dispossess the tiller of the soil can never tend towards national greatness.

The county history can do more than any other force to bridge the gulf of inequality that lies between the communal system of the Indians and the early settlers and a grand co-operative social system that is to come. Such a future is not a mere vision. For generations the great

leaders of thought have realized that our competitive system is too wasteful. They have seen that many are struggling with poverty, some in a starving condition, while the few can throw away what would keep a multitude in plenty, and they know that in time we must have a more just and economical system of production and distribution. Nearly four hundred years ago Sir Thomas More wrote his Utopia. In more recent days William Morris tried to carry out in his own factory Utopian ideas, and his "News from Nowhere," which, though not practical but merely a fanciful dream, yet shows that under proper distribution a comparatively small amount of labor will produce not only necessities but luxuries for all.

A story is told of an Indian chief who heard that in a large and wealthy city a child died from lack of proper food. Meeting a white man of his acquaintance he expressed his disapproval of such a condition of affairs. The white man said in extenuation that they did not know of the child's condition. The chief replied that he had always understood the white man was an intelligent being, and an individual of any intelligence whatever would know that under the system of living they had made for themselves such things must happen. Might not the Indian exclaim at our claim to intelligence?

A time will come when we shall live nearer the brotherhood of man and then happy home life will be the privilege of every child. When that time comes we shall not require laws to protect the timid wild things that have made their homes among us.

The county history that helps to straighten out our distorted ideas of the proportion of things does a great work for our social progress. We look back with consternation at much that took place in the far away days of our history, but may not those who come after us look with equal consternation at the conditions we countenance to-day? The goal of our evolution is upwards.

"No wind can drive our bark astray
Nor change the tide of destiny."

VIII.

THE RUSH-BAGOT AGREEMENT OF 1817.

By E. H. Scammell

At the outset I desire to express my indebtedness to my friend Dr. J. M. Callahan, President of the West Virginia University, whose work on The Neutrality of the American Lakes has been my chief source of information.

We are justly proud of the magnificent St. Lawrence, Queen of all rivers, which empties into the ocean the waters of our great inland seas. This river has played no small part in the development of Canada; on her bosom floated the primitive ships of the early pioneers, and, later, the hearts of oak of contending nations. Designed by nature to be a great commercial highway, it is only within the memory of living man that she has entered into this heritage.

The lakes which feed this river have also been the theatre of a series of historic conflicts between rival fleets, struggling for mastery. The limits of this paper will not allow me to refer to the influence of the Great Lakes or of the St. Lawrence on the development of this country, nor can I deal with such fascinating themes as the early story of the Hudson's Bay Co., or the intrepid Champlain, or the war with France, while only a brief reference is possible to the war of 1812.

In that unfortunate conflict Canadian and British forces were victorious on land, but our primitive navy suffered several reverses on our inland seas. Many felt that it would be necessary as a precaution against a further out-break of hostilities to build and maintain an adequate naval defence. On the other hand there were those who considered mutual disarmament a better guarantee of peace than preparedness for war.

During the negotiations which led up to the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on the 24th day of December, 1814, much was said concerning the control of the Great Lakes, and in the Parliamentary and Congressional debates, both sides urged that their own absolute control would be essential to the maintenance of peace. Munroe, then Secretary of State for the United States, on Jan. 18th, 1814, wrote that "Experience has shown that Great Britain cannot participate in the dominion and navigation of the lakes without incurring the danger of an early renewal of the war." On the other hand many in England were proposing a boundary division farther south than the lakes. Nathaniel Atcheson, an English writer, in an article of March 2nd, 1814, on "Points to be discussed in

treating with the United States," said that the great feature of the new line should be "exclusion of the Americans from navigation of the St. Lawrence, and all the congregation of tributary seas and waters. They are the natural patrimony of the Canadas. Water communications do not offer either a natural or secure boundary. Mountains separate but rivers approximate mankind." "Hence," said he, "the prominent boundary should be the heights of land separating the respective territories." This would have given to England Lake Champlain, all of the Great Lakes, and a considerable amount of territory south of the lakes.

On the other hand, the American idea was that the boundary should run from Nova Scotia, southwesterly, west, and northwesterly to Lake Nipissing, from there west along to the Mississippi. If the source of the Mississippi had been as far North as the Lake of the Woods, as it was supposed to be, Great Britain would, by this line, have been excluded from all the lakes except Superior.

It is clear from the records of the Treaty negotiations at Ghent, that Lord Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary, from the first desired to prevent a contest for naval ascendency upon the lakes. In his general instructions to the British Commissioners there is no mention of the subject of naval vessels on the lakes, but in a draft of " instructions relative to the boundaries of Canada," which is marked NOT USED, there is at the close: "N. B. In order to put an end to the jealousies which may arise by the construction of ships of war on the lakes, it should be proposed that the two contracting parties should reciprocally bind themselves not to construct any ships of war on any of the lakes; and should entirely dismantle those which are now in commission, or are preparing for service."

This unused draft is not dated, but it was probably written in July, 1814. For some reason it was considered expedient to make a less liberal proposition upon this subject. By August it appeared to Lord Castlereagh that a boundary through the middle of the lakes, with the right of each country to arm both on water and shore, would tend to create a "perpetual contest for naval ascendency, in peace as well as in war." He, therefore, thought it necessary for the sake of peace and economy to decide to which power these waters should, in a military sense, exclusively belong.. In his instructions to the British Commissioners on Aug. 14, he said:—"Upon the point of frontier you may state that the views of the British Government are strictly defensive. They consider the course of the lakes from Lake Ontario to Lake Superior, both inclusive, to be the natural military frontier of the British possessions in North America."

It appears that the first definite idea of disarmament on the lakes was made by Mr. Gallatin, one of the American representatives, at Ghent, on September 6th, 1814, when the negotiators seemed to have arrived at a deadlock. Although we find one of his co-representatives considered this question outside the pale of their instructions, Mr. Gallatin proposed to refer the matter to his Government. A letter dated October 26th, 1814, to Mr. Munroe, from Mr. Gallatin, is still in existence.

It says, "The right of preserving our naval forces on the lakes to any extent we please is a **sine qua non** by our instructions. Suppose the British proposed mutual restriction in that respect either partial or total, should we still adhere to the **sine qua non?**" No reply to this note has been found, but about the same time Gouverneur Morris, a prominent American, who had been desirous for peace and not desirous for Canada, also suggested an idea for disarmament but solely on the ground of economy. Writing to a friend, he said, " It would be wise to stipulate that neither party should have ships of war on the lakes nor forts on their shores, both being an idle and useless expense."

This discussion seems to have been the genesis of the Rush-Bagot Agreement. The Treaty of Ghent was ratified by the United States on February 17th, 1815, and ten days later the President was authorized "to cause all armed vessels of the United States on the Lakes to be sold or laid up, except such as he may deem necessary to enforce proper execution of revenue laws, such vessels to be first divested of their armament, tackle and furniture, which are to be carefully preserved."

There does not seem to have been any marked activity to put this act into operation. At this time extremely bitter feelings still prevailed along the lake shores and there were numerous events which required careful diplomatic handling between the two governments. It was felt, however, that either both countries would have to increase their naval armament or to agree to mutual disarmament. On November 16th, 1815, Secretary Munroe wrote to John Q. Adams, who was at this time Minister of the United States to Great Britain:

"It is evident, if each party augments its force there, with a view to obtain the ascendency over the other, that vast expense will be incurred and the danger of collision augmented in like degree. The President is sincerely desirous to prevent an evil which it is presumed is equally to be deprecated by both governments. He, therefore, authorizes you to propose to the British Government such an arrangement respecting the naval force to be kept on the lakes by both governments as will demonstrate their pacific policy and secure their peace. He is willing to confine it, on each side, to a certain moderate number of armed vessels, and the smaller the number the more agreeable to him; or to abstain altogether from an armed force beyond that used for revenue. You will bring this subject under the consideration of the British Government immediately after receipt of this letter."

These instructions resulted in an interview between Mr. Adams and Lord Castlereagh on Jan. 25th, 1816. Mr. Adams' proposal was well received by the British Minister, who said that everything beyond what was necessary to prevent smuggling was calculated only to produce mischief; but he was cautious and required time to ascertain whether any ulterior motive lay beyond the proposition. He proposed to submit the matter to his government for consideration, and the interview closed without any indication of the British attitude being given. The debates in Parliament gave little evidence that the proposal would be considered.

They were upon the principle of preserving peace by being prepared for war. Many speeches of a jingo nature were made and one of the Lords of Admiralty told the House of Commons that "bumboat expeditions and pinchbeck administrations would do no longer for Canada; that Englishmen must lay their account for fighting battles in fleets of three-deckers on the North American Lakes." Notwithstanding this adverse Parliamentary attitude, Lord Castlereagh seems to have carried his point, and on April 15th he informed Mr. Adams that the British Government was ready to meet the proposal of the United States, "So far as to avoid everything like a contention between the two parties which should have the strongest force" on the lakes, adding that they had no desire to have any ships in commission or active service except what might be needed to convey troops occasionally. At this time Adams did not feel like concluding the arrangement without further instructions, and it was agreed that the negotiations should be transferred to Washington and that authority be vested in Mr. Bagot, the British Minister to the United States, to act for Great Britain.

After his interview with Mr. Adams, Lord Castlereagh was prompt in notifying Mr. Bagot of his power to act in the matter of arranging naval forces, as well as the matter of fisheries. When the news reached America of the apparently sudden change in the attitude of the British Government there was some speculation as to the probable cause. Was the prosperity of England on the decline? Or was England acting from purely humanitarian motives? Or did she fear some new trouble?

Then began a series of interviews and an amount of correspondence between Mr. Bagot and the American authorities which ended in a letter from Secretary Munroe, dated August 2nd, 1816, in which he set forth a general proposal for disarmament and the maintenance of neutrality on the Great Lakes which was afterward included almost word for word in the Agreement. It was necessary for both sides to be perfectly assured of each other's bona fides. Further, Mr. Bagot wished to be absolutely certain that he had power to agree to a specific number of ships as a minimum. In the course of these negotiations inquiries were made by both sides, as to the respective strengths of rival fleets. According to the report furnished to the American authorities by Mr. Bagot, the British force, on September 1st, 1816, was twenty-seven boats, capable of carrying over 300 guns. Some of these had been condemned as unfit for service, but two 74 gun ships were on the stocks, and one transport of 400 tons. According to the report from Secretary Munroe, the United States' force was about the same, viz.: 22 boats capable of carrying over 350 guns. Several of these ships were either laid by or dismantled, but two 74 gun ships were on the stocks.

Owing to the time taken in the transmission of instructions, and the necessity for consultation with the British authorities, the reciprocal and definite reduction of the naval force on the lakes did not occur until after Munroe had become President. H. R. H. the Prince Regent had agreed to Munroe's definite proposition of August 2nd, 1816, and Castlereagh so informed Mr. Bagot on Jan. 31st, 1817.

Mr. Bagot notified Mr. Rush, who was acting as Secretary of State until Mr. Adams could arrive from London, and, on the 28th and 29th of April, 1817, a formal agreement was entered into by an exchange of notes. This agreement at once became effective. There is no evidence that the British Government ever gave to it the formalities of a treaty, and it was not until April 6, 1818, nearly a year after its enactment, that it was submitted by President Munroe to the Senate at Washington; it was proclaimed by him on April 28th. The exact wording is as follows:—

"The naval force to be maintained upon the American Lakes by His Majesty and the Government of the United States shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is—

"On Lake Ontario to one vessel, not exceeding 100 tons burden, and armed with one 18 pound cannon."

"On the upper lakes to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each and armed with like force."

"On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel not exceeding like burden and armed with like force."

"All other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled and no other vessel of war shall be there built or armed."

"If either party should be hereafter desirous of annulling this stipulation, and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of such notice."

"The naval force, so to be limited, shall be restricted to such service as will in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party."

Never in the history of nations has an international document, so far-reaching in its effect, been compressed into so small a compass as the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817. It is a model of brevity and comprehensiveness, and in many respects a hundred years ahead of the times. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, said that it was "the greatest step in progress toward the maintenance of peace and without precedent in history." The London Times said in reference to it, "No wiser act was ever agreed upon between two nations than the limitation of the naval force on the lakes."

A rapid review of the past century is necessary to understand the effect of this agreement upon the development and progress of the North American Continent. The first twenty-five years after the signing of the Treaty of Ghent witnessed marked industrial progress, and a gradual shifting of population and industry towards the West. Relations between the United States and Great Britain, and particularly between the United States and Canada, became pleasant, and even cordial. In 1837 clouds appeared upon the horizon owing to the strong sympathy of certain Americans with the Mackenzie rebellion. There was much talk of

the abrogation of the Rush-Bagot Agreement and a general arming of the lakes. Probably the principal factor in restraining the American authorities from overt sympathy with the "Patriots" was the fear that Great Britain would lend to the aid of her colony her great naval resources.

Relations were further strained by the Maine boundary dispute, and raids and counter-raids were constant. In order to cope with the situation both Governments chartered boats for coast defence purposes. The United States were afraid we were arming the frontier against them and during the session of 1840 there was much talk of their unpreparedness and our activity. On March 8th, 1840, the following resolution passed the House of Representatives: "That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to this House, if compatible with the public service, whether the Government of Great Britain has expressed to the Government of the United States a desire to annul the arrangement entered into between the two Governments in the month of April, 1817, respecting the naval force to be maintained upon the American Lakes; and that, if said arrangement be not annulled, whether there has been any violation of the same by the authorities of Great Britain."

Resolution after resolution was introduced calling for more and stronger fortifications, each representative speaking for his own locality. Many residents along the southern shores of the lakes, official and non-official, seemed to have become alarmed at the necessary defence preparation we were making. At this time the American Government built at Pittsburg a side-wheeled iron steamer, the "Michigan." She was taken across the country in sections and placed upon Lake Erie in 1843. She was 498 tons burden with an armament of two eight inch Paixhan guns, and four thirty-two pounder carronades. This was in excess of the stipulations of the Agreement of 1817, both as to tonnage and armament, and in 1844 the British Minister at Washington entered a protest. In the correspondence which ensued it was pointed out by him that, although Great Britain had during the rebellion of 1837 maintained in the defence of the Canadas, a naval force exceeding that stipulated, as soon as the Government felt that danger was past it had reduced the force in order to adhere strictly to the rules of the Rush-Bagot Agreement. It appears that the British Government was satisfied that the United States had no ulterior motive in the construction of the "Michigan," and, as they had not availed themselves of the privilege of maintaining four vessels, this ship was allowed to remain, and it continued for about 50 years to be the only American war ship on the lakes.

No sooner were the troubles over the Mackenzie rebellion and the Maine boundary settled, than a difficulty arose regarding the Western Boundary. "Fifty-four forty or Fight" was the slogan of those who were enthusiastic in their ideas concerning the "manifest destiny" of the United States, and even the school boys wrote it on the fences. President Polk proclaimed to the Senate on March 4th, 1846, that "Under this aspect of our relations with Great Britain I cannot doubt the propriety of increasing our means of defence both by land and sea." This trouble

was also amicably settled. They did not get fifty-four forty, nor did they fight.

The American Civil War again brought the question of lake defences to the fore.

The Confederates were reported to have secured some ships which were passing up and down the lakes, flying the British flag, with the intention of engaging in depredations upon the coastal towns and cities of the Union. As soon as the matter was brought to the notice of the Canadian authorities, prompt action was taken by Lord Monck. This, however, did not prevent an agitation in Congress for the abrogation of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, the idea being that with this Agreement out of the way the United States could undertake the immediate construction of a number of war ships. A resolution was introduced by Mr. Spalding, on June 13th, 1864, which was passed on June 18th. The preamble is worth reproduction. It reads: "Whereas the treaty of eighteen hundred and seventeen, as to the naval force upon the lakes, was designed as a temporary arrangement only, and although equal and just at the time it was made, has become greatly unequal through the construction by Great Britain of sundry ship canals; and whereas the vast interests of commerce upon the northwestern lakes, and the security of cities and towns situated on the American borders, manifestly require the establishment of one or more navy yards wherein ships may be fitted and prepared for naval warfare; and whereas the United States Government, unlike that of Great Britain, is destitute of ship canals for the transmission of gunboats from the Atlantic Ocean to the western lakes."

The upshot of these debates was that the Agreement of 1817 was finally abrogated by Congress in February, 1865, although prior to this date the necessary six months' notice had been given to the British Government. This action did not appear to be displeasing to Canada, for on March 2nd, 1865, Mr. Haultain, speaking in our House of Parliament, said:

"I am glad to see that the American Government have given notice of their intention to terminate the convention for not keeping armed vessels on the lakes. I am glad to see that this is to be put an end to, for it was decidedly prejudicial to our interests, and I have no doubt we shall have gunboats on our lakes before the end of the present year. There is no question that should they determine upon going to war with us before the opening of navigation, we might not be able to get a British gunboat on our waters by the St. Lawrence canals, as they are so easily accessible to our opponents, and, without much difficulty, could be rendered useless for navigation."

It was evident that something was needed to combat the feeling that the United States had hostile designs against Canada. Lord Russell suggested that it was time to think of something to take the place of the agreement of 1817 before it should be terminated by the notice already given. Mr. Adams, the American Minister in London, agreed that arma-

ments were expensive, useless, and breeders of suspicion, and he saw no reason for not continuing the Agreement in view of the active efforts of the Canadian authorities. Happily the storm appeared to be clearing, and on March 8th, 1865, Mr. Seward, on behalf of the United States' Government, instructed Mr. Adams to announce that they had decided to abide by the Agreement. There was some ambiguity in Mr. Seward's instructions, which caused misapprehension in England as to whether the previous abrogation had been rendered inoperative. This led to some further correspondence between the two Governments. In Mr. Seward's note to the American Minister he had said:

"You may say to Lord Russell that we are quite willing that the convention should remain practically in force; that this Government has not constructed or commenced building any additional war vessels on the lakes or added to the armament of a single one which was previously its property; and that no such vessel will, in future, be built or armed by us in that quarter. It is hoped and expected, however, that Her Majesty's Government, on its part, so long as this determination shall be observed in good faith by that of the United States, will neither construct nor arm nor introduce armed vessels in excess of the force stipulated for by the convention referred to."

On August 19th, 1865, the British Minister at Washington wrote to Mr. Seward to say that his Government understood from the notice that the Agreement contained in the convention of 1817 would continue in force unless it should be thereafter terminated by a fresh six months' notice. On August 22nd, 1865, Mr. Seward replied that the statement of Her Majesty's Government was accepted as a correct interpretation of the intention of the Government of the United States.

One event which should not be overlooked in the consideration of Canadian-American relations, was the curious refusal of the United States, in 1885, to allow a Canadian troop ship, chartered to suppress the Riel rebellion, to pass through the Soo canal. This action had largely to do with the decision to build a canal on our side of the St. Mary's River, and it is somewhat striking that ninety per cent. of the present traffic through our canal is American.

Another agitation for the abrogation of the Agreement of 1817 arose during the nineties, principally through the development of the American ship-building yards on the lakes. These yards were debarred from competing for the construction of war ships, as the Agreement is extremely explicit, viz.: that they should neither build nor maintain. It was, however, felt that in view of the refusal to grant permission to pass one of our ships through the American canal, the Government of the States could not well ask us to allow them to use our canals for the removal of war ships from the lakes to the ocean.

In 1895, the Venezuelan dispute drew special attention to the Rush-Bagot Agreement. At this time the Detroit Dry Dock Company had been refused a contract for two twin-screw gunboats, on which they had sub-

mitted the lowest tender. Secretary Herbert of the Navy said that if the language of the Agreement had been "build and maintain" instead of "build or maintain" the Detroit firm should have had the contract. In view of present treaty considerations and the dispute over the interpretation of certain words, this remark is somewhat illuminating.

The Agreement of 1817, notwithstanding the voices of Jingoes, and the numerous demands that it be consigned to the waste paper basket, is still nominally in force, although the United States has, by no means, kept it to the letter. At the present time they have a number of war ships on the lakes, used for training purposes. In a speech delivered by the Hon. Geo. E. Foster, in the House of Commons, on December 1st, 1909, attention was drawn to the presence of these ships. Unfortunately we are largely out of court, for in every case permission was granted by the Dominion Government before these ships were passed through our canals. In all, there are nine of these training vessels, armed in a very different manner to the requirements of the Agreement of 1817, but there is no indication that the United States, in transferring these ships to their lake ports, had any other object in view than that of training the youth of the States bordering on the great inland seas, for service in their salt water navy. Doubtless the change in conditions from 1817 to 1914 make it necessary to re-consider the exact wording of the Rush-Bagot Agreement. There is now little chance of its abrogation, but it would appear to be a most desirable thing, if in connection with the celebration of the Hundred Years of Peace between the British Empire and the United States, it could be re-modelled and given the status of a definite Treaty. The spirit of cordiality and amity between Canada and her great southern neighbour is such today that armed conflict is considered to be almost outside the pale of possibility. It is the desire of the great majority of people on both sides of the line that the mutual relations now existing should be still further improved, and that each country should work out its manifest destiny, to the benefit alike of themselves, their neighbours and the world at large.

IX.

EARLY MILITIA MATTERS IN UPPER CANADA, 1808-1842.

By Rev. A. B. Sherk.

The militia are "a body of men enrolled and drilled as soldiers, but only liable to home service." The militia of our country correspond to the "landwehr" of Germany. All nations feel the need of such a force for special occasions. It is said that there was a militia system as early as 1649 in Canada, of course under French rule; but the first Canadian militia law, at least in Upper Canada, was introduced in 1808, just four years before the war with the United States, in 1812. The militia organized in the different districts of the provinces did very efficient service, and but for their help the probability is that Canada would have become a part of the United States. The thorough loyalty of the old settlers, and their training for military service, did much to keep our country from becoming a part of the republic to the south.

At first each Province had its own militia system, but since the confederation of the provinces the system is uniform throughout the Dominion. This gives a much more efficient system than we had under the old arrangement.

My attention was called to the old militia system by papers that fell into my hands. These papers were the property of Jacob Gonder, one of the pioneers of the Niagara peninsula. Mr. Gonder was a great patriot, was connected with the militia from its first organization, and served in the war of 1812. The papers take us back only to 1822. At that time he was Lieut. in a company of the 3rd Lincoln Militia. Samuel Street was Captain of the company, and J. Warren was Colonel of the regiment. Training day was then on the 4th of June of each year. All who were enrolled on the militia list were required to be present at the place designated by the Colonel, answer to their names, and take part in the military drill. Unless there was something special, the militia would be called out but this one day in the year. At first the militia did not require any uniform for training day. It was the citizens of a certain district, in citizens' dress, who met annually to learn how to go through military manoeuvres. Crude as the system then was, it answered the purposes of the day. It was inexpensive, and was the beginning of our present excellent militia system.

On the 2nd of April, 1822, the officers of the different companies were notified by Col. Warren that by act of Parliament "training day"

had been changed from the 4th of June to the 23rd day of April. Why the change was made we are not told, for April would be the most unsuitable season of the year, as the roads in country districts are usually very bad, and farmers are very busy. But such was the order, and obedience was a necessity.

In 1824, an event occurred that did much to stir up patriotism and bring into prominence the militia of the Niagara District. The event was the removal of the remains of General Brock from Niagara to the monument that had been erected to his memory on Queenston Heights. The Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada issued a special order to have all the militia companies present on this occasion.* Col. Warren sent a circular to all the Captains and Lieutenants of the companies of his regiment to obey this order, and meet at John McFarland's, two miles above Fort George, on the 13th day of October. The remains of Sir Isaac, accompanied by a grand military escort, were carried to Queenston and placed in the vault of the monument that the country had put on that eminence. There was a great military display and a great throng of citizens. The monument that stood on the "Heights" as a great historic landmark was destroyed by a miscreant named Ben Lett in 1839. Canada, however, had her revenge, by erecting a second monument, much better and loftier than the first.

Sir Isaac Brock was one of the best men that the home government ever sent to Canada (she has sent many good ones), and it is fit and proper that we should cherish his memory. Americans, too, have paid a high tribute to his character and worth. The last words of the great warrior chief, "Push on, brave York Volunteers," would be recalled as his remains were conveyed up the Niagara River and laid to rest in the receptacle prepared for them. The slow march of the long procession up the river and a fleet of vessels on the water keeping time with those on shore, and the band playing the dead march, must have been very impressive. And what memories it would recall! Memories of bloody strife, brave hearts, fallen heroes, and buried hopes; but best of all the memory of a peace between the two greatest Christian nations, that has now lasted a full century.

A good wide awake and active man usually had fair prospects of promotion to a higher rank in his company. Lieutenant Gonder was such a man; and in 1824 he was made Captain of his company. His commission bears date November 29th, 1824. It would seem that up to this time neither the officers nor the men were required to appear in uniform on training day; but after this the officers were obliged to appear in uniform.

As a matter of curiosity, and as showing the business methods of the times we copy a tailor's itemized account of a captain's outfit.

*Gonder Papers, Niagara Historical Society.

Capt. Gonder to J. Todd.

Making military Coate,	2— 0—0
Buttons for Do.	1—10—0
Padding and canvas	5—0
White Cassimere	3—9
Silk Twist, Thread, Hooks, &c.	3—0
Sleeve Linings	1—9
	£4— 3—6
Blue Cloth for facings, &c., Cottons	7—6
	4—11—0

Received in full
for Making and Trimming—J. Todd.

Niagara, U. C.
April 21, 1825.

Cloth and appaulett, $14	3—10—0
	£8— 1—0
Silk Sash	2—10—0

Received payment for Cloth &
Appaulet & Sash,

J. Warren.

Training day was the great day of the early militia, the authorized day; but still the companies were sometimes asked to meet for "drill and exercise" some days before the general training. Col. Warren issued such an order March 10th, 1824, and said the companies are to be called out "at least once previous to the 23rd day of April" (which was training day). But training day was the big day; it was a general muster, and the men and boys from every section and corner would turn out—even those who were not enrolled on the militia list. Unfortunately there would often be a good deal of drinking; the best efforts of the officers could not prevent it. In the early days of the last century everybody drank; probably most drank in moderation; but others knew not how to restrain themselves. The excitement of the great gathering and the social usages of the times had much to do with this excess. Chum would meet chum; each felt in high glee, and then they must drink each other's health together, not once, perhaps, but many times; and when the day is ended many of the men are unfit for service. Many of the officers, too, would encourage the evil by treating their men. This was expected. Such was an ideal training day three-quarters of a century ago.

The officers of the early militia did not have an easy time of it. They had to keep a record of all in their precincts that were liable to military duty. After training they were required to make a return to the colonel. They had to send in the names of all that were present, and report the names of those that were absent and the reasons for their

absence. This was often an unpleasant duty, for the absentee might be a relative or a neighbour. But absence from training without a reason made one liable to a fine. Some absentees would pay their fine without prosecution by the officers; but where they refused, a court of magistrates would be called, and then there would be the cost of the court in addition to the fine. One of the papers in my possession gives the proceedings of a number of sittings of a magistrate's court called by the militia officers. It was the officers of the company that called the court, and the superior officers always demanded the enforcement of the law. The company's officers could not be lenient if they would, for they were prompted by their superiors. The fines, however, for delinquents, were not very heavy—only about two dollars. Many young persons—children of parents who held non-resistant views—would sooner pay their fines than attend militia training. I have several statements from Col. Warren saying that certain parties had paid their fine to him the next day of the training.

The names of all males from 16 to 60 years of age had to be enrolled; sometimes the law said it should be from 19 to 50 years of age. But there were three classes that were exempt from military duty:—aliens, the sick, and certain religious denominations. Aliens were foreign born persons who had not become naturalized. The sick were required to get a doctor's certificate as a proof that they were unfit for military drill, and so not subject to a fine for neglect of duty. Quakers, Mennonites and Tunkers were exempt from all military duty by special law; but only those who were bona fide members of these churches were exempted. The law did not apply to adherents of these churches. Those who claimed exemption had to bring a certificate from their pastor stating that the bearer was a member in regular standing of the church of which he was a minister. But only members of the three denominations named could claim exemption.

Though the law exempted the Quakers, Tunkers and Mennonites from all military duty, it secured support from them in another way. It laid upon every male member of the church who was over 21 years of age and under 50, a fine or war tax. This was one pound, or four dollars of our money, and had to be paid annually. But sometimes the officers of a company neglected to collect the tax. The Gonder papers give a case where this had been neglected for three years. When this came to the knowledge of the Colonel, he called the Captain to account, who had to collect the fine and what was in arrears.

The Mennonites and Tunkers willingly paid the war tax, but the Quakers refused. They did so on the ground that a war tax was in support of war, and to pay it was as criminal as to bear arms in person and go to the field of battle. The officers of the law might sell a Quaker's goods and chattels, and collect the fine in that way, but it freed the Quaker from responsibility, so far as supporting war is concerned. Even those who hold the non-resistant faith are not fully agreed how far they should go in supporting the powers that be.

Sometimes the non-resistants got themselves into trouble by ignoring militia law and militia officers. The "militia papers" show us a case of this kind, as we see from the following summons: "You, G— W—, are hereby required to attend court for the trial of militia offenders and defaulters belonging to the 3rd Regiment of Lincoln Militia, which will assemble at Jacob Wilson's at the Cross Roads in the Township of Bertie on Friday the 30th day of August instant, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to answer a charge of not paying your exemption as a Menonist."

Dated this 17th August, 1839.

Samuel Street,
Col. Commanding 3rd L. M.

Throughout these papers we find the name of the denomination called Mennonites spoken of as Mennonists. The reason of this is that in Pennsylvania dialect it was usual to say Menist. The militia officers have changed the spelling a little. This people were called Mennonites after the founder of the denomination, Simon Menno, a Holland reformer contemporary with Martin Luther.

In 1827 training day was changed back to the 4th day of June instead of the 23rd of April. We learn from Col. Warren's circular to the officers of the companies of his Regiment that the change was only intended to be temporary. It was again changed in 1847 to the 29th day of June.

Among the militia papers is one of very special interest because it has to do with the re-construction of Brock's monument*. This paper is a printed circular issued by the "General Committee who had this matter in hand. It was dated "Kingston, 29th September, 1842." We learn that the whole country was interested in this enterprise; large sums were subscribed, and even the Indians helped it on. This part of the report says: "That the committee for restoring the Monument erected to the memory of the late Sir Isaac Brock have received with the most lively satisfaction, a letter of the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, written by desire of his Excellency Sir George Arthur, and communicating the munificent donations of the principal Chiefs, and others of the Chippawas of the upper reserve on the River St. Clair, the Chippawas of the lower reserve and Walpole Island on the River St. Clair, the Hurons and Wyandotts of Amherstburg, the Chippawas of the River Thames, the Moravians of the River Thames, the Muncies of the River Thames, the Oneidas of the River Thames, the Six Nations of the Grand River, the Mississagas of the River Credit; the Chippawas of the Saugeen River, Lake Huron; the Chippawas of the Township of Rama, Lake Simcoe; the Mississagas of Alnwick, Rice Lake; the Mississagas of Rice Lake Village in the Township of Otonobee, and of Mud and Balsam Lakes, and the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte.

"And that they have read with great interest the affecting addresses

*Gonder Papers, Niagara Historical Society

in which the principal Chiefs have made known their wishes to the head of the Government.

"The Committee have much pride in finding themselves associated with the brave and faithful Warriors of the Indian Nations, in the design of doing honor to the memory of the lamented General who was loved and admired by all his followers, and it is their anxious wish that the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs should, under the direction of His Excellency, take the most effectual means of assuring the principal Chiefs, that militia and other inhabitants of Canada are very thankful for their kind assistance in this grand design.

"That they feel the greatest respect for the loyalty and for the warm and friendly hearts of their Red Brethren; that they shall take care that their generous gift shall be made the best use of for the purpose they have resolved to join in; and that as long as the Monument shall stand, it shall tell their great Mother the Queen, and all their White Brethren, that the brave and grateful Indians have not forgotten their glorious leader and friend, who flew to their defence in the time of danger, and that they have helped to build the tomb over his grave."

We are sure it was right and proper to make this kindly reference to the Indians in this military circular. The Indians helped to fight our battles and gain our victories in the war of 1812. It was a band of 600 Chippawas that helped to win the victory at Queenston where the noble Brock laid down his life.

The papers we have examined give us reminiscences of a bygone century in the Niagara District, and enable us to see how faithfully the early settlers of Canada did their part to establish law and order in all the settlements, and their earnest and honest endeavours were wonderfully successful. We, their descendants, look back with pride to the pioneer work done by the fathers, and realize that they have handed down to us a goodly heritage. If we do our part as well as they did theirs, Canada must be prosperous; no country can be more so.

It ought to be deeply impressed on us that the best defense of a country is the honesty, integrity, purity and Christian character of a people; but while the world remains as it is, and the nations are what they are, military preparations are a necessity; and the sword must sometimes be used to bring lawless men under restraint and submission. It is sad to think that this is so, but we know the fact.

The papers in my hands were official papers issued between 1822 and 1842. All of them were written with the pen, except the printed one relating to the reconstruction of Brock's monument, and this was provincial, not local. The penmanship of most of the papers is fine, and that of Col. Warren is almost faultless. The composition is careful and guarded. All this goes to show that the writers were men of taste and culture. Everything they said shows promptness and decision. All the papers

were folded, addressed and sealed without the use of envelopes, which came into use later on. To fold a letter in a neat and tasty way was considered a fine accomplishment. The first settlers of our country had few advantages, but they made good use of those they had. The old militia system, with all its defects, was a great training school for the people of an early day; it helped to make them intensely patriotic, and patriotism is the strength and safety of a nation.

315 Don Mills Road, Toronto.

X.

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN LEAGUE, 1849.

By Professor Cephas D. Allin.

Preface.—The origin of the British American League and some phases of its early development have already been traced in considerable detail in a recent work entitled "Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity," in the preparation of which the present writer had a part. It is the aim of this brief monograph to supplement that treatment by a more complete study of the origin of the League, the course of its political development and of the cause or causes of its somewhat mysterious disappearance. In conclusion, an attempt is made to determine, with as impartial a mind as possible, the extent of its contribution to and influence upon Canadian history and politics.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. George M. Jones, of Toronto, for valuable assistance in the preparation of this monograph.

Introduction.—But little is known of the British American League, though for a short time it played an important part in Canadian politics. Two views have found expression as to its origin and character. The first, that of Sir John Macdonald, voices the sentiment of the Conservative party, in ascribing to the League the honor of determining the course of Canadian history.

"Our fellows," declared Sir John, in explanation of the Montreal annexation manifesto, "lost their heads. I was pressed to sign it but refused and advocated the formation of the British American League as a more sensible procedure. From all parts of Upper Canada and from the British section of Lower Canada and from the British inhabitants in Montreal representatives were chosen. They met at Kingston for the purpose of considering the great danger to which the constitution of Canada was exposed. A safety valve was found. Our first resolution was that we were resolved to maintain inviolate the connection with the Mother Country. The second proposition was that the true solution of the difficulty lay in the confederation of all the provinces. The third resolution was that we should attempt to form in such confederation, or in Canada before confederation, a commercial national policy. The effects of the formation of the British American League were marvellous. Under its influence the annexation sentiment disappeared, the feeling of

irritation died away and the principles which were laid down by the British North American League in 1850 are the lines on which the Liberal Conservative party has moved ever since."

The second view is that of his Liberal opponent, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, who presents the League in a most unfavorable light.

"The Montreal disturbances ultimately gave birth to a new organization under the name of the British North American League. The Association was a queer mixture of Tories and Annexationists and comprised all the disappointed items. Like King David's famous army at the cave of Adullam, "Every one that was in distress and every one that was discontented gathered themselves" to the meetings of the League. The Globe and Liberal Journals generally greeted the new political mongrel with a storm of ridicule. They were dubbed "Children of the Sun." After one brief attempt to effect something by their meeting at Kingston, the concern collapsed from the sheer rottenness of its material. They advocated extreme Toryism and extreme disloyalty and finally threatened to drive the French into the sea."

The British North American League.—The grant of responsible government proved the undoing of the Tory party. For many years, the Tories had considered themselves the only loyal party; and they believed that they had merited by their loyalty the favor of the successive governors of the colony and the staunch support of the Colonial Office. But the old order of things had passed away. The day of special privileges in church and state was over. The free spirit of democracy was abroad throughout the land. New principles of social and political liberty were in the ascendency. In the election of 1848, the Tory party went down to a crushing defeat, but fighting bitterly to the end. They could not easily reconcile themselves to the new experience of seeing their disloyal opponents seated on the Treasury bench and monopolizing the places of honor and profit under the Crown. In the bitterness of defeat they took up the cry of French domination and carried the flaming torch of racial and religious hatred throughout the Province. The aftermath of this dangerous agitation, the assault on the Governor General and the burning of the parliament buildings at Montreal, completed the discomfiture of the party. For the moment, the party seemed on the verge of dissolution. The Tory leaders were not equal to the situation; they could neither control the wayward course of their erstwhile supporters, nor formulate a new political program. The rank and file of the party, refusing to foreswear their political principles, wandered around in aimless confusion without an accredited leader or policy. An extreme section of the party, embittered by the series of humiliations they had received from the local and British governments and discouraged as to the future of the country, foreswore their allegiance to the Crown and entered upon an active campaign for annexation to the neighboring Republic. A more moderate group, however, undertook to reorganize the party on a more popular basis and were even ready to adopt some of the democratic principles of their political opponents.

The Reform party likewise was in a process of disintegration. Upon accession to office the old struggle between the radical and conservative elements of the party broke out anew. The radical or Clear Grit wing, who derived their political opinions for the most part from the United States, were resolved to introduce the principles of American democracy into the whole social and political organization of the country. The conservative element, on the other hand, which was more influential in the councils of the government, were averse to any further important constitutional changes. They were alarmed at the spread of republican doctrines within the party and sought to check these dangerous tendencies; but their efforts were far from successful.

In England the whole theory and practice of colonial government had been rapidly changing. After a hard struggle the economic dogmas of Adam Smith had triumphed over the ancient principles of the Mercantile School. The theory of colonial monopoly first gave way to the more enlightened policy of preferential trade. The mother country granted a preference to colonial products and received a corresponding preference in colonial markets for British products. But with the adoption of the tenet of free trade, the whole system of imperial preference was swept aside. However beneficial were the results of the change of policy in England, there can be little doubt but that its effects at first were disastrous to the colonies.

In Canada, the withdrawal of the colonial preference inflicted a crushing blow on the industrial and mercantile community. "Temporary insolvency was the price the Canadians paid for the triumph of English free trade." Much of the capital of the country had been tied up in infant industries which owed their existence to the protective policy of the mother land, and which were not yet strong enough to face the open competition of the world. The Boards of Trade of the province raised their voices in loud protest against the ruinous policy of the English government. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Elgin bitterly described "the downward progress of events. These are ominous words. But look at the facts. Property in most of the Canadian towns, and more especially in the capital, has fallen 50% in value during the last three years; three-fourths of the commercial men are bankrupt owing to free trade. A large proportion of the exportable produce of Canada is obliged to seek a market in the United States. It pays the duty of 20% on the frontier. How long can such a state of things be expected to endure." The local government could render no assistance for it was itself on the verge of bankruptcy. But all these pleadings were in vain. The English government was obdurate and absolutely refused to reconsider its fiscal policy. The unsympathetic attitude of the home authorities drove the colonists to extreme measures. Goaded on by anger and despair, a section of the business community turned for relief to the policy of annexation to the United States.

In England, a new school of political philosophy had arisen which was destined to exercise a powerful influence on imperial affairs. The doctrine of free trade was only one feature of the program of the Man-

chester School. The leaders of the School detested the whole system of imperialism as inimicable to the interests of democracy in England and as destructive to the growth of the spirit of colonial nationalism. The colonies seemed to them to be a happy hunting ground for Tory place hunters, a useless financial burden on the British treasury, an occasion of international discord and a grave danger in time of war. They accordingly advocated the emancipation of colonies from imperial control and their elevation to the rank of free and independent states.

The new political doctrines were received with mingled praise and condemnation in the colony. The Reformers, who had waged a long and apparently hopeless battle against the autocratic officials of Downing Street, were naturally strongly inclined towards the new principles. Although a majority of them were not prepared to go so far as to advocate or accept the principle of separation, they were ready to welcome any doctrine which held out the promise of an enlarged measure of colonial autonomy. But to the colonial Tories, the new dogmas, which placed a stigma on their time honored tradition of loyalty, were wormwood and gall. They could not hear without resentment the open suggestion that the colonies would confer a favor on the mother land and do themselves a service by peacefully cutting the painter. The Canadian public read the signs of the times. There seemed but one conclusion, said the Montreal Gazette. "All parties are convinced that the policy of England is to leave the colonies to themselves in politics and commerce. The withdrawal of colonial protection was followed by the invitation to the colonies to abolish their system of preferential duties. These steps indicate an intention of directing colonial education towards total independence."

Out of the strife of parties and races, the economic distress and social discontent, and the revolutionary change in English political thought and policy arose a new political organization, the British North American League. It would have been strange indeed if the turmoil of men's minds had not given birth to a new political party, with a brand-new set of principles especially designed for the moment. The public were anxiously looking for relief from their distress. No aid or assistance was forthcoming from any existing authority. "There is," declared the Montreal Gazette, "a presentiment of approaching change. At no time has there been greater disaffection or so strong a desire for something different. Men know what they feel without particularly analyzing the causes or tracing them to their sources, although they may not be able to determine definitely the objects they desire or the means of attaining them."

The prime mover in the new organization was the Hon. George Moffatt, an influential member of the Conservative party in Montreal, and a prominent business man of well known moderate views. A strong local society was formed in that city which was made the headquarters of the League. The local executive resolved to start at once an active campaign for the organization of similar associations throughout the country. To this

end, an address to the public was prepared setting forth in detail the social, economic and political evils from which the province was suffering and calling for a provincial convention to deal with these conditions. The address expressly disclaimed any intent to dictate or suggest a political program for the convention. To the convention itself was intentionally reserved the sole right of determining all matters of policy for the League. Upon one question, however, the question of separation, the address came out positively; there should be no impairment of the imperial connection.

The objects of the League were designedly left in a state of vague uncertainty in the hope of attracting all the discordant and disaffected spirits of the country. Notwithstanding the loyalist pretensions of the address, the association in Montreal did not hesitate to admit a large number of annexationists to membership and even honored some of them with important executive offices. At one time it appeared as if the annexationists might capture the local organization and turn it to their own purposes. The loyalist members were thoroughly frightened at the turn of affairs, so much so that the Hon. George Moffatt, according to local rumor, threatened to resign the presidency of the association unless the question of annexation was excluded from discussion at the approaching convention. The struggle between the two factions came to an issue in the election of delegates to the Kingston convention. The loyalists were victorious in the battle of ballots; only one of the five delegates elected being a member of the annexationist group. After this defeat, many of the annexationists withdrew from the association with a view to the formation of a distinct annexation society.

Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Thomas Wilson, a local association was formed in Quebec. The League, he explained, was a non-partisan body whose primary purpose was to devise a means of rectifying the economic and political evils of the country. All persons were welcomed into membership whatsoever their political or religious beliefs. In Quebec, as in Montreal, annexationists joined the association in large numbers and several of them were duly elected to the local executive council. Mr. Wilson, who was chosen president of the local association, came out strongly in favor of a protective policy for Canadian labor and industry and for a legislative union of the British American provinces. He further advocated some radical modifications of the provincial constitution, in particular, the election of the members of the legislative council and the independence of the local parliament, save where imperial interests were involved. While professing the strongest attachment to the motherland, he declared that he would not sacrifice the interests of Canada to maintain the British connection; and he expressly declined to pledge the convention in advance to the maintenance of the imperial tie. But the views of Mr. Wilson by no means reflected the general sentiment of the members of the local association.

In the Eastern Townships, among the Anglo-Saxon population, several branches of the League were formed, mainly out of the remnants of

the old Tory party. In this part of the province, the League was strongly affected by anti-French influences, but some evidences of annexation sentiment were also to be found among the members. Only one of the associations, however, namely, that at Melbourne, came out openly for annexation.

By the French Canadians, the League was regarded with the greatest suspicion. To them, it appeared as the legitimate successor of the old Tory party from whose tyrannical rule they had but recently escaped. And undoubtedly there was considerable occasion for this suspicion, since in its origin and personnel the League was closely associated with the agitation against their race and religion. In many places the primary object of the League was proclaimed to be to unite the English population in a political bond in order the better to oppose the domination of the French in politics. The French-Canadian leaders and press did not fail to exploit this feature of the League's activity to their own political advantage as a means of solidifying the vote of the French electorate.

But it was in Upper Canada, as was to be expected, that the League made the greatest progress. In every city and in all the considerable towns and villages of the west, a local association was formed. The membership was recruited almost entirely from the ranks of the Tory party, although here and there a few annexationists and an occasional disgruntled Reformer were to be found. The new organization was especially welcomed by the moderate or conservative element among the Tories. For some time past, they had been restless under the oligarchical rule of the old Family Compact and dissatisfied with the reactionary opinions of some of the High Church leaders of the party. The recent disgraceful proceedings at Montreal had overwhelmed them with humiliation, and they were glad to escape from the stigma which attached to the old party name and organization. The League held out to them the promise of a more progressive party. Many of the High Church Tories likewise joined the new organization, partly with a view to influencing its policy, but mainly in the hope of finding in it an effective instrument for overthrowing the hated Reform administration. The Toronto Patriot and the Hamilton Spectator, the leading organs of the old Family Compact group, vied with the Toronto Colonist, the mouthpiece of the moderate element of the party in commending the League to the hearty support of their political friends. The annexationists who slipped into the local associations were recruited from several different sources. They were either democratic young Tories like Mr. H. B. Wilson, son of the former speaker of the Upper Canada Assembly, Tories by tradition, democrats by conviction, and annexationists by self interest; or they were extreme partisans, ultra Tories whose feelings of loyalty had been outraged by the liberal sympathies of the Governor General and the bland indifference of the Colonial Office to their demands; or they were ultra Protestants, who fearful of the consequences of French domination, believed that the only way in which they could save their race, language and religion from destruction was by a union with the great Anglo-Saxon nation to the South; or they were members of the business community who saw

in the open markets of the United States the only escape from financial insolvency. With the majority of the annexationist or quasi-annexationist members of the League a political union with the neighboring Republic was as yet but an arriere pensee, an ultimate resort in case all other remedial measures should fail. Only a small number of the group were active propagandists; and even these, in order to obtain a more favorable hearing, found it advisable to limit their propaganda to the advocacy of the principle of elective institutions and a possible separation from Great Britain. The few stray Reformers who threw in their lot with the League were, for the most part, either disappointed and splenetic office seekers, or extreme radicals who were thoroughly disgusted with the conservative policy of the Reform government. The overthrow of the Baldwin administration was in the judgment of the latter, a condition precedent to any real progress towards a true social and political democracy.

An active campaign was undertaken by the leading Tory papers, in conjunction with a few of the local associations, on behalf of the League. The Hamilton association issued an address similar in character to that of the Montreal branch setting forth in somewhat lurid colors the deplorable political and social conditions of the country and especially emphasizing the danger of French domination. Little attempt was made by the press or the responsible leaders of the League to set forth in detail the objects of the League. A few of the leading papers of the party, however, took occasion to repudiate any connection of the League with the annexation movement. For the most part, the League devoted itself to the task of stirring up popular discontent against both the local and English governments. The party press was particularly severe in its attack on the extravagance and pro-French tendencies of the provincial ministry and in its criticism of the unjust and destructive fiscal policy of the Whig party in England. Such discussions as took place within the several associations were mainly concerned with the questions of independence, French domination, and the future constitution of the province. The question of a separation of Upper and Lower Canada, a union of the British American colonies and the political and commercial relations of the colonies with England and the United States were also taken into consideration but aroused much less interest.

Meanwhile the Reformers had been watching the course of the League with jealous eyes. They were quick to seize upon the mondescript character of the League and the annexation tendencies of some of the leaders in Lower Canada as the most vulnerable point of attack. Under the leadership of the Toronto Globe, the entire press and party took up the partisan cry that the League was at heart an annexationist body, and that the Tories of Upper Canada had sold themselves into the hands of a band of conspirators at Montreal.

The election of delegates to the convention aroused considerable interest throughout the province. The two principal questions at issue were separation from the mother country and an elective legislative council. In Lower Canada the contest was particularly keen in regard to the first of these questions. The loyalists were almost uniformly

successful in the several associations and sent a majority of delegates pledged to the maintenance of the British connection. But although opposed to annexation, the delegates were for the most part strongly favorable to a revision of the constitution according to more democratic principles.

In Upper Canada, where the League mustered its chief strength, the overwhelming sentiment of the members was opposed to both independence and annexation. Only two or three avowed annexationists were fortunate enough to command the suffrages of a majority of their fellow members, and even they owed their election to their personal popularity or to the advocacy of other issues than independence or annexation. Mr. H. B. Willson, for example, the most prominent annexationist in Upper Canada, was chosen as a delegate by the Saltfleet Association, largely owing to his earnest campaign on behalf of the principle of the popular election of legislative councillors. In a public statement to the press, he frankly admitted the feebleness of annexation sentiment in the west. The question of annexation, he declared, "would not be broadly broached by its advocates at the convention, but the preliminaries, separation and independence, might be proposed as more likely to win general support." In fact, the result of the election of delegates effectually disposed of the question of separation in advance, and the annexationist leaders were wise enough to accept the verdict.

But on the question of elective institutions there was a much severer struggle within the associations between the progressive and conservative elements of the party. The former put up a valiant fight for the popular election of members of the upper house, and in some of the associations were successful in electing their candidates, but in the majority of the local branches the old Tory party, which still clung to the nomination principle, were victors in the contest.

On July 26, 1849, the delegates assembled at Kingston. The convention was a veritable cave of Adullam in its membership, representing almost every section of the public save the French Canadians. Tories, Annexationists, Orangemen and Radicals sat side by side. There were about 150 delegates in attendance, the great majority of whom were from Canada West. Although the representatives from Lower Canada were comparatively few in number, they wielded an influence altogether out of proportion to their voting strength. The leaders of the Lower Canadian delegation, Messrs. Mack and Montgomerie of Montreal and Mr. Wilson of Quebec, were men of more than average ability and of pronounced and somewhat advanced opinions on the questions of the day. The majority of the delegates from Upper Canada were High Church Tories, but there was a respectable minority of moderate conservatives and a few radicals who played an important part in the deliberations of the convention. Prominent among the delegates from Canada West were Messrs. Gowan of Brockville, Murney of Belleville, Duggan and Vankoughnet of Toronto, Gamble of Vaughan, Willson of Hamilton, MacDonald of St. Catharines, Dixon of London, Ermatinger of St. Thomas, and Strachan of Huron. The Hon. J. A. Macdonald was one

of the delegates from Kingston, but did not take a very active part in the proceedings.

The moving spirit of the convention was J. W. Gamble, the leader of the progressive element of the Tory party. He was actively supported on the floor of the convention by Thomas Wilson of Quebec and O. R. Gowan, a prominent Orangeman, who had distinguished himself by the violence of his attacks on Lord Elgin. The stalwart or ultra Tory group had no outstanding representative in the convention, but Messrs. Murney, Ermatinger and Rolland MacDonald could always be counted upon to defend the traditions of the party. Between these extreme wings stood the moderate group who were principally concerned about formulating a popular but conservative program which would unite all factions of the party and appeal to the sound judgment and patriotism of the country.

The Hon. George Moffatt was chosen chairman of the convention and Messrs. Mack and Brooke, Secretaries. The debates were carried on behind closed doors, none but members being admitted, but the press was furnished by the secretaries with a copy of the proceedings.

The struggle between the progressives and the stalwart or Family Compact factions broke out at the very outset on a resolution of Mr. Thomas Wilson in favor of an elective legislative council. This was met by an amendment by Mr. Ermatinger setting forth in fervid language the loyalty of the convention to the Crown and the principles of the British constitution. On behalf of the resolution, it was maintained that the electorate were dissatisfied with the existing constitution, that some changes of a popular nature were imperatively demanded in order to bring it into accord with public opinion and that the election of legislative councillors would not only secure the independence of the upper chamber from ministerial coercion but would produce an abler and more conservative body of men. Some of the delegates from Lower Canada were particularly severe in their arraignments of the political and economic policy of the imperial government and were correspondingly eager for such an amendment of the local constitution as would prevent the undue interference of Downing Street in colonial affairs. But to the majority of delegates from Upper Canada the resolution appeared to be a departure from the true principles of the British constitution and to be a dangerous step toward separation and the adoption of the republican institutions of the United States. All the speakers, however, agreed in condemning the government for packing the Legislative Council in order to carry the Rebellion Losses Bill. After a spirited debate the amendment was carried by 89 to 19.

The proceedings of the second day opened with the resolution by O. R. Gowan in favor of adequate protection for the manufacturing and industrial interests of the province both as an end in itself and as a means of building up a large and profitable market at home for the agriculturists. Mr. Gowan dwelt particularly on the desirability of having a steady local market for farm produce. He attributed many of the woes of the

colony to the unsatisfactory character of the English market and looked forward hopefully to the time when Canada would be entirely self-contained, when she would do all her own manufacturing, and consume practically all the produce of her farms. Messrs. Gamble, Ermatinger and Wilson supported the resolution in strong speeches. The loss of the English market, it was urged, had forced upon the province the necessity of developing an independent fiscal policy of its own. The feeling of the convention was especially strong against the English government for the withdrawal of the imperial preference, the loss of which was held responsible for most of the colony's woes. In the minds of some of the members the policy of protection was as much a measure of retaliation against Great Britain as a measure for the promotion of Canadian industry and trade. The resolution met the hearty support of the convention and was carried unanimously.

The afternoon session was devoted mainly to a general arraignment of the policy of the government. A resolution by Mr. Gowan in favor of retrenchment was the innocent occasion of a sharp tilt of the speaker with some of the members of the old Tory party. In the course of an unsparing criticism of the different items of the civil list, Mr. Gowan referred rather disrespectfully to the generous liberality of the Family Compact to its own members. This reflection called forth a strong protest from several members of the convention, particularly from Mr. Murney, who staunchly defended the English policy of paying adequate salaries to the servants of the Crown. But the storm proved to be only a tempest in a tea-pot, for after some further desultory remarks by Hon. J. A. Macdonald and others, the resolution was agreed to unanimously.

Two other general resolutions condemnatory of the policy of the government were adopted without opposition after a somewhat perfunctory discussion. The sorry condition of the province, according to Mr. Strachan, was due primarily to the subserviency of the government to their French-Canadian supporters as evidenced by the payment of rebels and the usurpation of the Governor General's authority by Mr. Lafontaine. As a climax to the general condemnation of the ministry, a resolution was presented in favor of the impeachment of Lord Elgin. But the more moderate members of the convention realized that the reputation of the League would be endangered by the adoption of such an extreme measure and they accordingly opposed the motion on grounds of political expediency and constitutionality. Mr. Backus had little difficulty in demonstrating that the resolution was based on false constitutional principles, since under the system of responsible government the Governor General had no option but to accept the advice of the Cabinet and to sign the Rebellion Losses Bill. But Lord Elgin was not permitted to escape scot-free from the wrath of the Tories. A somewhat milder resolution, in which a demand for the recall of the Governor General was coupled with a declaration of unfaltering attachment to the British connection, was carried despite a good deal of opposition. The English government was, likewise, brought to task in a resolution expressing regret that Her Majesty had been unwisely advised to assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill.

The proceedings of the day were brought to an end by the unanimous adoption of a resolution of Mr. Gowan in favor of the formation of a central association with affiliated branches throughout the province.

The third day was given up to the discussion of the most important subject which came before the convention, namely, the union of the provinces. Mr. John Duggan presented a resolution "That in the opinion of this convention a union of all the British North American provinces would most materially conduce to the prosperity of those colonies and to the integrity of the British Empire." In an able speech in support of the motion, Mr. Duggan pointed out, at the outset, some of the fatal defects of the existing constitution. The Act of Union had been a sorry failure; its principal result had been to hand the administration of the province over to the French. Upper Canada was helpless, for the English Government would not consent to a dissolution of the union; and even though the union were dissolved, she could not maintain an independent existence because of the fatal lack of an outlet to the sea. The idea of a federal union of the American colonies was by no means new. It had been advanced by Earl Houlderness in 1755 as a means of resisting the threatening aggressions of the French. A union of the British American provinces would, he maintained, not only establish the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race in Canada, but would raise the colonies to a higher national plane, would open up a larger field for industry, talent and ambition, would augment the strength and resources of the mother land, instead of burdening her as at present, and would set up an equipoise to the preponderant power of the United States in America. If, he concluded, he were obliged to choose between French domination and annexation, he would unhesitatingly choose the latter, a view which found considerable support among the members. In supporting the resolution, Mr. Dixon made the interesting statement that a gentleman of the highest standing and, moreover, intimately connected with the present ministry, had thrown out to him the hint that a federal union of the provinces was under consideration by the government as the best possible solution of the ills of the colony, and might soon be carried into effect if time and circumstances seemed propitious.

But the scheme did not have smooth sailing. An amendment was proposed by H. B. Willson in favor of an inter-provincial union in conjunction with colonial representation in the imperial parliament. He desired to see the present unwieldy colonies divided up into a number of small states, to each of which would be entrusted the management of its own municipal affairs. Matters of general concern to the colonies would then be reserved for the British Parliament to which the several colonies would send representatives. He believed that there were only two courses open to the British American colonies, incorporation into the empire or annexation to the United States. Of these alternatives he preferred the former. The scheme of imperial representation, however, was strongly opposed by Mr. Thomas Wilson on the ground that it would necessarily entail on the colonies a share of imperial expenditure which they were not prepared to bear.

The chief critic of the resolution was Mr. Gowan. He failed to see how a federal union would get rid of French domination. It would, on the contrary, only aggravate the evil, since the French electorate would carry their corporate organization into federal elections, while in the proposed province of Quebec the English population would be left in a hopeless minority at the mercy of their French-Canadian neighbors. He thought that at some future date it might be expedient to divide the country up into a number of small provinces, and then to effect a federation; but at present he did not deem it advisable for the convention to go further than to appoint a number of delegates for the purpose of consulting with representatives from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as to whether a union was possible and desirable.

The suggestion was quickly taken up by Mr. Breckenridge of Kingston who moved as a substitute motion that delegates be appointed to meet at Montreal and consult with delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick concerning the practicability of a union of all the provinces, and to report back to the next convention of the League the results of their deliberations. The favor with which this resolution was received induced Mr. Duggan to withdraw his original motion and Mr. Willson his amendment thereto. The Breckenridge resolution now had the floor all to itself.

In supporting the resolution, Mr. Gamble declared that he was at heart in favor of the independence of Canada provided the consent of Great Britain could be obtained. Although he would have preferred to see a popular amendment of the local constitution and would even have supported the policy of annexation in preference to an inter-colonial federation, nevertheless for the sake of harmony he was prepared to forego his personal opinions and come out in favor of the scheme for a federal union. Several other leading delegates, including Messrs. Backus, Wilson and Vankoughnet, strongly supported the resolution on various grounds. Such a union, it was contended, was the only alternative to annexation, and was, moreover, the best preparation for the day when Great Britain should cast off the colonies, or when the colonies themselves, having attained to the full status of manhood, should desire to separate peacefully from the mother land and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them. Mr. Montgomerie welcomed the proposed union as the most effective means of overcoming the predominant influence of the French. He threw out the further interesting suggestions that there should be a re-adjustment of boundaries in the proposed federation, that the Hudson Bay Territory should be brought under the control of the federal government and that the powers of the local legislatures in the union should be carefully restricted in order to build up a strong federal government.

The scheme of a federal union, it must be admitted, commended itself to the delegates, less on its own merits as a distinctly national policy than as a utilitarian measure well designed to meet the immediate necessity of the time. To the ultra Protestants, it appealed as a means

of overcoming the domination of the French; to the imperialists, it held out the hope of preserving the British connection; to the nationalists, it prepared the way for the country's independence; to the business men, it presented the prospect of a wider market, and to the opportunists, it appeared as a likely means of escape from a horrible embroglio. Thanks to the combination of these discordant elements, the resolution was agreed to unanimously. Throughout the debate, it will have been observed, the majority of the speakers, notably Mr. Duggan, wisely refrained from any express declaration as to whether the union in view should be a federal or a legislative one.

The following representatives were selected to meet the maritime delegates: Moffat, Gamble, Gowan, Breckenridge, Vankoughnet, Montgomerie, R. MacDonald, Crawford, Stuart and Young. To these were subsequently added H. B. Willson, T. Wilson, Vansittart, Duggan, Dixon and Waltom.

On the last day of the convention two resolutions were quickly and unanimously adopted. The first condemned the government for packing the Legislative Council and censured the Colonial Secretary for furnishing blank mandamuses for the purpose. The second, which was moved by Mr. H. B. Willson and seconded by the Hon. John A. Macdonald, referred the question of colonial representation in the imperial parliament to the committee on federal union.

But there was one other question which came up for frequent discussion, notwithstanding the desire of many of the members to suppress its consideration, namely, the question of annexation. The question, in fact, occupied altogether too prominent a place in the public mind to escape some consideration in the convention. Only a handful of the delegates were open and avowed annexationists. For practical purposes they were a negligible quantity. But there was a larger group who considered annexation in a serious light as a possible policy in case all other remedial measures should fail. There was still another section of the convention, ultra Tories for the most part, who though hostile to a union with the United States, were ready to use the annexation cry as a weapon with which to frighten or coerce the English government into a compliance with their demands.

In the debate on the resolution in favor of the election of legislative councillors, the question of annexation was incidentally brought up by the opponents of the elective principle. In a subsequent debate on the organization of the League, the question was directly raised by Mr. Backus, one of the most radical of the Montreal delegates, who declared, "If we are to be told by every succeeding government in England that we are nothing in their eyes, that we are at perfect liberty to go whenever it is our interest to do so, let us raise ourselves at once to the standard of a nation." This frank declaration which was greeted with mingled tears and disapprobation, brought the speaker into conflict with the loyalist members and he was compelled to defend himself against the charge of being an annexationist. "Annexation," he explained, "ought to be

adopted only as a final resort in case all other measures should fail to bring relief."

The unpatriotic sentiments of Mr. Backus and other semi-annexationist delegates called forth from the loyalist members, as we have seen, a strong resolution expressive of the unfaltering attachment of the convention to the British flag. Several of them, particularly Mr. Parsons of Beauharnois, and Mr. Ruttan of Cobourg, attacked the annexation movement in severe terms. The former declared that the convention was under an obligation to vindicate its loyalty against the false representations of their political opponents who had not only misled their supporters as to the real objects of the League, but had also led the American public to expect that the convention would come out in favor of the independence of Canada. No greater calamity than annexation could befall a British subject; but even annexation was preferable, in his judgment, to the introduction of American institutions into a British colony. Mr. Ruttan bitterly assailed the policy of annexation on the ground that it would introduce the accursed institution of slavery into the province and reduce the people of Canada to the level of the slave-holders of the South. The inhabitants of the United States, together with the citizens of France, should be made to realize that Canada would ever remain an integral part of the British Empire.

A clever attempt was made by Mr. Wilson of Quebec and his colleague from Saltfleet to sidetrack the resolution in the interests of their annexationist friends, but the loyalists would not be gainsaid and pressed the issue to a vote. The annexationists did not venture to contest the matter further and the resoluion was carried unanimously.

But the question would not down. It again cropped up in the discussion of the resolution on a union of the provinces. Mr. Duggan, it may be remembered, supported the scheme of an intercolonial federation on the ground that it would give a national character to the British American provinces and enable them to maintain an independent position alongside the great republic. In his judgment, however, annexation was a lesser evil than French ascendancy. The ultra Tories of Upper Canada were particularly vigorous in their denunciations of annexation, though some of them, particularly R. Macdonald of St. Catharines, and Strachan of Goderich, were not averse to threatening the English government with separation unless it would reverse its anti-colonial policy. The loyalists, they declared, might be driven into the arms of the American republic by a continuance of the unfriendly attitude of the Colonial Office.

The most interesting speech of the convention was that of Mr. Gamble, who did not hesitate to declare himself a Canadian nationalist. He was of the opinion that a union with Great Britain, similar to that of the Ionian Islands, would be best adapted to the needs of Canada. Although the policy of annexation held out undoubted material advantages to the province, nevertheless, the vast majority of the inhabitants could not be tempted to lay aside lightly "their inherited British feelings." Annexation could only be regarded as a dernier ressort. He was of the

opinion that before many years had elapsed the slavery issue would rend the United States in twain. Some of the northern states would then desire to form a union with Canada. "The topography of the country and the natural sequence of events marked this out as our ultimate fate." Mr. Wilson likewise indulged in some interesting speculations as to the future of the province. The time, he believed, was close at hand when Great Britain would throw off the colonies as a useless encumbrance. She had already deprived them of all the commercial advantages of the imperial connection and would not hesitate much longer to forego the political advantages she now enjoyed at their expense. Canada, he concluded, should prepare for independence.

The proceedings of the convention showed conclusively that the overwhelming majority of the delegates had no sympathy with the cry for annexation. Undoubtedly many of the delegates were deeply incensed at the conduct of the English government and were prone to express their indignation in harsh and somewhat defiant terms, but nevertheless they could not be induced to foreswear their allegiance or to countenance the seditious proceedings of the annexationists of Montreal. Here and there among the delegates a few low murmurs of disaffection were to be heard, but there was little evidence of a spirit of open disloyalty.

On the motion of the Hon. J. A. Macdonald, a resolution was adopted expressive of the gratitude of the convention "to those members of the House of Lords and House of Commons who had recently come forward to advocate the cause of the loyal people of the colony and had thereby allayed much irritation and convinced the people that their wrongs would be righted when properly laid before the people of England." A vote of thanks was also extended to Messrs. MacNab and Cayley for the efforts they had made on behalf of the loyalists of the colony while on their mission to England.

The election of officers for the ensuing year resulted in the selection of a respectable, if not imposing, body of men, fairly representative of the varying shades of opinion within the League and of the different sections of the province.

President, Hon. George Moffatt, Montreal.

Vice-Presidents—
Hon. William Allan, Toronto.
John Young, Hamilton.
J. R. Forsyth, Kingston.
Thomas Wilson, Quebec.
Colonel Prince, Sandwich.
Hon. William Morris, Montreal.

Secretaries—
Corresponding—W. G. Mack, Montreal.
Recording—Helder Isaacson.

Treasurer—H. E. Montgomerie, Montreal.

Executive Committee—O. R. Gowan, J. W. Gamble, John McGillis, (Glengarry), Daniel Gorrie (Montreal), David G. Sloan (Melbourne), Geo. Duggan (Toronto), J. G. Vansittart (Woodstock), John Langton (Peterboro), William Stewart (Bytown), R Harvey (Maitland).

The work of the convention was completed by the adoption of the following address to the people of Canada:

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

Events so momentous as those which have given birth to this great Provincial Association, have been hitherto unparalleled in the history of this colony.

From the early settlement of the United Empire Loyalists in this Province, until a recent period, its people have evinced an attachment to the Parent State unsurpassed by that of any other colony of ancient or modern times. During a long period, chequered by adversity and prosperity, the people of Canada have in war rallied around the flag of their forefathers, and in peace have endeavored to cement the union with their fatherland by the strongest ties of amity and interest. In return for this devotion, the British Government long extended to the colony a commercial preference in her markets.

The harmony which so long existed—interrupted by an abortive rebellion—was again restored at its close, and the progress of the Colony became almost unexampled under the fostering influence of a wise Imperial Legislation. But, unhappily for Great Britain—an Empire whose Colonies are the strong arm of her power—she has recently opened her ports to foreign nations upon equal terms with her colonies, thus virtually excluding us from her markets, by throwing us into a ruinous competition with those to whom her ports are more immediately and cheaply accessible. In her promulgation of free trade principles, she has lost sight of the interests of her Colonies, with the view of obtaining from all nations reciprocal free trade, and thereby inundating the world with her manufactures.

This new policy of the Empire has recently produced in Canada its inevitable results. Unprotected by an adequate tariff, we have continued to consume a vast amount of British manufactures, whilst our produce, the principal source upon which we rely for their payment, has rarely entered the British markets except at a sacrifice. The result has been a monetary pressure, extensive bankruptcy, and general distress.

Coincident with these disastrous circumstances, a storm arose in our political horizon, which has threatened, and still threatens, to shake the foundations of our social fabric. The legislature, ruled by a faction, (which, for the retention of place and power, has kindled afresh the animosity of rival races) has legalized the principle of rebellion, and has prepared to increase the public debt at a moment of great financial embarrassment, by a provision for the payment of the traitors of 1837 and 1838.

These grievances roused thousands from a state of torpor and inaction. Your fellow-subjects, convinced that a crisis had arrived when it behoved every inhabitant of Canada to exert himself for the regeneration of his country, and rescue it from commercial and political thraldom, met and by combined action established the "British American League." This body extended its ramifications throughout every part of the Province. It established a system of representation by which delegates were to be sent to a General Convention at Kingston. That Convention, assembled by the free election of the Leaguers, according to an established constitution, after this exposition of its origin, now appeals to you to co-operate with the League in the great object it has in view for the welfare of our country.

INHABITANTS OF CANADA:

You are nominally enjoying the privileges of a free constitution—you are in reality chained down by circumstances which wrest from you the exercise of these privileges. You are told that you are fostered by a liberal and prudent government—in reality your efforts for the encouragement of home industry, have been checked in too many instances by hasty and inconsiderate legislation.

The true elements of your country's wealth—the certain indices of her prosperity—can only be developed by the adoption of measures which will fill her cities with the busy hum of industry—make her streams the outlets of that wealth which will be poured forth from the loom and the foundry, and the teeming harvests of her soil, and the produce of her primeval forests.

For the attainment of these results it is essential that a Tariff carefully and considerately adopted, should be so proportioned and levied as to afford just and adequate protection to every industrial class—the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the mechanic—so as to build up the prosperity of the farmer and the artizan side by side with the growing wealth of the manufacturer—so as to create a Home Market for Home Industry, and enrich together consumer and producer. The present Tariff is utterly inadequate to produce results so manifestly essential to the interests of our country.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS PLEDGED TO FREE TRADE PRINCIPLES.

The public expenditure is conducted with a reckless disregard of economy. The excessive salaries of public officers, now increased in number, together with the lavish expenditure of the Legislature, are entirely disproportioned to the financial resources of a young and overburdened country, and unnecessary to the efficiency of the public service. The authorized publications of this Convention, when laid before you, will disclose the facts on which we ground this assertion.

The fostering protection of a good government, to which you all have an inalienable right—which should be the guardian of the public

peace, the bulwark of social order—has been daringly displaced by the dominion of race and faction, introducing the elements of civil discord.

A law has been passed by the present ministry so monstrous in principle that has excited strong abhorrence and disgust in the minds of the loyal people of this colony. That measure, in its naked deformity, has met with no approval. It has been carried merely because the British members of the government dared not to oppose the determined will of the French leader. By sanctioning that measure His Excellency the Earl of Elgin has brought the royal authority into contempt—has disturbed public tranquility, and it is our firm opinion that his continuance in his high position cannot conduce to public peace or prosperity.

An insidious attempt made by the present ministers to increase the French Canadian representation in Parliament by so arranging the electoral districts of Lower Canada as to distribute the British inhabitants in small numbers among overwhelming bodies of the French, we regard with the most profound apprehension, as calculated to perpetuate that civil discord which has tended so much to the ruin of this great province.

A gross violation of constitutional usages has been perpetuated, and a precedent sought to be established which, if it be made a precedent, will have for ever destroyed the independence and utility of the Legislative Council. That body, according to true constitutional law, has distinct legislative functions. It is not intended as the mere register of the decrees of the Legislative Assembly. But the government now in power, in order to carry a particular measure, and in open violation of this principle, suddenly elevated to that House a number of persons of doubtful merit, and previously unknown in public life. By our constitutional law, her most gracious Majesty is alone invested with the authority to make appointments to the Legislative Council—a law, which if carried out, would effect a salutary check over the unscrupulous use of power in the colony—notwithstanding which, her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, transmitted to the Colonial Government blank writs of mandamus, thereby surrendering up into improper hands his sovereign's high prerogative.

The present ministry have also attempted to force upon the country a measure by which numbers of influential men would be deprived of the elective franchise, while the same franchise in Lower Canada was by law extended to a particular class, to whom in the western province the like privilege was denied.

INHABITANTS OF CANADA.

Fearlessly asserting the truth of our declarations, and appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we lay before you these statements on subjects which have engaged our attention. For the most part new to the discussion of public affairs, and not invested with legislative powers, this assembly can only deliberate upon such things as seem to be for your welfare. The attainment of that welfare must be confided to the individual energies, exertions and enthusiasm of every man among you

who would rather behold his country flourishing under paternal, than droop under the withering influence of factious legislation.

Before recommending to you the great questions you should adopt as your watchwords, we earnestly exhort you to shake off now and forever that apathy and indifference which at several momentous crises in public affairs have paralyzed your energies, and which it would seem that moments like these, when all minds are unsettled, can alone arouse to exertion. Perfect in every part of the country a complete and permanent organization. Let every Branch Society of this League become a deliberative body, so as to prepare its future delegates for the deliberations of this Convention. Endeavour to soften down political asperities and sectional animosities, and to unite all men for the welfare of this our common country.

Three subjects amongst those which have engaged our deliberations stand prominently forth—demanding your earnest attention.

By the first of these—a union of all the British American provinces—it has been proposed in this Convention to lay the foundation for making this country a great nation upon a solid and enduring basis.

Impressed with the weight of such a measure, but uncertain as to the sentiments of the sister colonies, this Convention has proposed a conference with those provinces by a delegation of some of its members; meantime it recommends this great question to your mature deliberation.

The second great movement in which we invite your co-operation is that for retrenchment and economy in the public expenditure.

The third is that still more great and vital movement we are prepared to make in favour of protection to home industry.

Inscribe these glorious rallying cries upon your banners—glorious because they will elevate your country from failure to success, from ruin to prosperity. They will unite with you eventually all honest men, all men of reason and true patriotism. Keep them before you in all your assemblies—procure for them the assent and advocacy of your neighbours. Support no man at the hustings who will not pledge himself to wise and salutary retrenchment—who will not agree to raise his voice in favour of protection. So shall you elevate this your country into a great nation of freemen, fostered by and in amity and connection with Great Britain, preserving her time-hallowed institutions, adopting her old trade principles, under which she has flourished for centuries, and her people have grown the richest on the face of the globe—those great trade principles which in the neighbouring union have also been adopted, and have established that mighty and prosperous nation. Forsake these principles, neglect this advice—then prepare to behold your country, notwithstanding the great advantages which God has given you—her boundless forests a source of exhaustless wealth for ages, her noble lakes, and splendid rivers, the natural highways of a nation's commerce—notwithstanding her unlimited water power, her extensive tracts of rich arable land, her immense mineral resources, her industrious and intelligent

population—prepare, we say, to behold your country reduced to a state of misery, degradation, discord and poverty.

To endeavour to avert such calamities is the duty of every freeman—of every lover of his country; and it should also be his high privilege. Rouse yourselves, then, to action; organize—agitate these questions—and rescue your country from present and impending evils.

G. MOFFATT,
Chairman.

Wm. Gordon Mack,
W. Brooke, Joint Secretaries.

Kingston, 31st July, 1849.

The proceedings of the conference had been followed with much interest by the people throughout the province. To the Tory loyalists in particular, the patriotic resolution of the convention brought great satisfaction, for at one time they had almost feared lest the League should be committed to annexation. "We dreaded," said the Montreal Transcript, "lest a handful of disappointed politicians should drag their party, and it might be the country, into the arms of the republican confederation. This intent, we had been told, lurked in the minds of many of the League. Had this folly been committed our opponents would have won a great triumph. Had the question been even seriously discussed, the result would have been most injurious to the country. But thanks to the good sense of the League, the question was shelved. Not even the sense of injustice could extort such a thought from an assembly of British colonists." The moderate conservatives were almost equally pleased at the successful formulation of a good party platform which promised to commend itself to the public by reason of its safe and statesman-like proposals for meeting the country's ills. The more radical members of the League were undoubtedly disappointed at the conservative attitude of the convention, but they comforted themselves with the thought that time was on their side and that their fellow members could not hold out much longer against the democratic tendencies of the day.

To the Reformers, the results of the convention were a great disappointment. They had hoped and even anticipated that the convention would either break up in discord or would commit itself to the policy of independence or annexation. But their prognostications were falsified. The convention had brought its deliberations to a happy conclusion, had demonstrated its loyalty to the empire, hed set forth an attractive political program, had perfected its organization and was preparing for a vigorous campaign against the government. The policy of the League could no longer be flagrantly misrepresented and its supposed treasonable objects held up to scorn and ridicule. Henceforth the League had to be reckoned with as a serious and determined foe of the government.

Soon after the close of the convention, the committee on Union took steps to open up negotiations with the Maritime Provinces for the holding of an intercolonial conference. Owing to untoward circumstances considerable delay was experienced "in the preparation and publication of

the information which it was deemed necessary to lay before the colonists of the Lower Provinces." The committee found themselves face to face with several serious difficulties at the very outset. The question of a federal union was in its nature essentially a ministerial question. The government alone, either on its own initiative or at the instance of the legislature, was properly in a position to make overtures to, or to open up negotiations with, the governments by the sea in regard to the holding of a conference and the framing of a plan of union. But the League was an unofficial body; it had not even a representative character. Since it had no standing, the governments of the Maritime Provinces might choose to treat its representations as those of an officious and unauthorized body of men.

The situation was rendered all the more difficult by reason of the fact that the League was essentially a Tory organization, whereas the governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were of the Reform party. The attitude of the Hon. Joseph Howe was known to be hostile to the League. Soon after the formation of the League, he had addressed an open letter to the Hon. George Moffatt in which he condemned in unsparing terms the unpatriotic and subversive objects of the League. "We gather from the 'scholastic production' to which your name is attached that a convention called by yourself is to supersede the Parliament of Canada. This movement for dispensing with the services of the legislature, it seems to us Nova Scotians, very naturally generated the idea that the building in which it sat was an encumberance; and that its books and papers, fraught with occult sciences and varied superstition, were dangerous to the progress of society. Lord Elgin, who stood in the way of Mr. Protector Moffatt, was pelted as a matter of course; and as the old parliament house was too small for the convention, it was very reasonable that the mob should exclaim: 'Burn it down, burn it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' The promulgation of your manifesto and the occurrence of subsequent events take us somewhat by surprise in this benighted province; but nothing appears more natural than the sequence.

"As you have appealed to North Americans in your address, and as the mob of Montreal have favored us with their interpretation of its contents, I am induced to inquire whether it be the true one, and whether pelting the Queen's representative, dispersing our parliaments and burning our books, are to be indispensable preliminaries in joining the British American League?"

Little could be expected from the Tories by the sea. The grant of responsible government in the Maritime Provinces had disorganized the Tories there almost as much as it had their fellow partisans in Canada. They had been thrown out of office and were experiencing the bitter humiliations of a beaten and discredited party. For the moment they were not in a position to render any material support to their friends in Canada, however desirous they might have been to cooperate. To the best of the Committee's knowledge there was not even a political association in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island or Newfoundland, with

which the Committee could deal. Personal communications were accordingly addressed "to prominent and influential citizens in Halifax" requesting them to cooperate with the Committee by disseminating throughout these provinces "the printed proceedings of the convention accompanied by circulars written for the purpose of inviting the action of those provinces on the proposition for a union of the colonies." But unfortunately, these efforts were not attended with any success.

The correspondence with New Brunswick, however, was productive of different results. At a meeting of citizens of St. John in July, a New Brunswick Colonial Association was formed, somewhat similar in character to the League. Resolutions were adopted calling for an investigation into the depressed economic condition of the colony, for which the free trade policy of the English government was held primarily responsible, praying for an address to the Queen and Imperial Parliament to secure other markets for colonial products on terms of reciprocity and recommending the opening up of negotiations with the other North American colonies for common action in the matter. The Association also determined to appoint delegates to attend a meeting of the League at Kingston in August. This meeting, however, was postponed to a later date.

The rapid growth of the annexation movement alarmed the leaders of the League and hurried on the negotiations of the Committee. Business conditions on the Lower St. Lawrence, especially in Montreal, were apparently growing steadily worse. A large part of the mercantile community, including many of the commercial and industrial leaders of the city, had lost faith in the country and were looking to the United States for a means of escape from financial ruin. Many of the annexationist members of the League had withdrawn upon the decision of the convention to stand staunchly by the British connection. Economic distress now drove a still larger number of members, who were naturally British in their sympathies, into the open arms of the annexationists. A large proportion of the officers of the Montreal branch dropped out of the association. In Quebec, Mr. Wilson found himself unable to call a meeting of the local association because all the executive save himself had gone over to the annexationists. Throughout the Eastern Townships, secessions were almost equally numerous. Fortunately, in Upper Canada, the bulk of the members remained true to their principles of loyalty. Nevertheless the withdrawal of so many prominent members convinced the Federal Union Committee that some immediate steps must need be taken to carry out the primary object of the League, if that body was to justify or maintain its existence.

As there appeared but little prospect of a favorable response from Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, the Committee resolved to proceed with the holding of a conference at Montreal with the Colonial Association of New Brunswick. To this conference, the Colonial Association sent two members, Hon. John Robertson and Hon. C. Simmonds; while the League was represented by Messrs. Gowan, Crawford, Wilson, Montgomerie and Gamble. The conference took place

at a most inopportune moment, immediately after the appearance of the annexation manifesto which had aroused the inhabitants of the city to an unwonted degree of excitement. As a consequence, but little interest was taken in the proceedings of the conference. The press scarcely deigned to pay it any attention. In truth, the citizens of Montreal had lost faith in the League and looked upon the idea of a federal union as a mere chimera.

The first meeting of the delegates took place on Oct. 12th. Mr. T. Wilson was chosen chairman. At the very outset, the conference found itself in difficulty for neither party was prepared to do business. All that the delegates could do was to talk matters over in a general way. The representatives of the Colonial Association "were not authorized to act definitely but only to ascertain the views and the opinions of the British American League" and to report thereon to the association. "We were disappointed," the delegates declared on their return, "in finding that the League or Committee were not prepared with any specific plan of proceeding and had nothing definite to submit for discussion. We stated that we had attended upon the invitation of the League and were anxious to be informed of the course intended to be pursued and especially with regard to the terms upon which they proposed to unite the British American colonies and whether they desired a federal or legislative union."

The two principal questions which engaged the attention of the conference were the economic condition of the colonies and an intercolonial union. In regard to the first of these questions the delegates unanimously resolved:

1. "That the commercial evils now oppressing the British American colonies are to be traced principally to the abandonment by Great Britain of her former colonial policy, thus depriving them of the preference previously enjoyed in the British market, without securing any equivalent advantages in any other market."

2. "That these colonies cannot now remain in their present position without the prospect of immediate ruin and that it is the duty of the Imperial government either (1st) to restore to the colonies a preference in the British market over foreign countries, or (2nd) to cause to be opened to them the markets of foreign countries and more especially the United States, upon terms of reciprocity, one or other of which is considered indispensable to the continuance of our present political connection with Great Britain."

Upon the second and more important question of an intercolonial union it was resolved:

"That a union of the British American provinces on mutually advantageous and finally arranged terms, with the concession from the mother country of enlarged powers of self government (including the unrestricted privilege of making laws to regulate and protect their commercial and industrial interests and to reduce the expenditure of the

civil governments to an adequate scale) appears essential to the prosperity of the provinces."

The discussion of the resolution covered a wide territory. It ranged over the whole field of the social life and constitutional position of the colonies, in addition to the more immediate questions of the expediency of a union and the best form of a constitution for the proposed federation. According to the report of the New Brunswick delegates "it appeared that among other reasons in addition to the influence of the united action of all the colonies why they should be united, an opinion existed that the French Canadian population possessed an undue influence in the representative body entirely disproportionate to their wealth and intelligence, an opinion in which all present concurred; and next to acquire the right to regulate the trade, revenues, post office, etc., and the expenses of the government. The League were opposed to a federal union on account of the great expense of such a measure. We frankly told them on behalf of New Brunswick that we could not recommend a legislative union of the colonies unless Canada would consent that the lower colonies should have sufficient influence in one of the deliberative branches of the legislature (the legislative council) to enable them at all times to interpose an effective check to all measures which tended in any way to their detriment. This, upon full discussion, was on all sides considered reasonable and a proposition that Canada ought not and would not oppose.

"There was a great difference of opinion in respect to the details of carrying out any great plan for these provinces, but should a union be really desired by all the colonies, all their conflicting opinions could be easily reconciled. We did not give any decided opinion as to the course which New Brunswick would ultimately pursue and made no pledges whatever."

It was further agreed that deputations from the British American League and the New Brunswick Colonial Association should meet at Halifax, on as early a date as possible, with such gentlemen from the other provinces as might attend "for the purpose of maturing some general plan for uniting the North American provinces" and for restoring their prosperity. The results of the convention were to be submitted to the public of the several provinces for popular approval. The committee of the League likewise agreed to call a second convention of the League to deal with the various questions which had been raised at the conference.

A call was accordingly issued for a convention of the League in Toronto, early in November. All the old issues of the last Convention were again brought up and threshed out in the several local associations. But there were two outstanding questions upon which it was felt that the League could no longer defer a decisive expression of opinion. The recent course of events in Montreal had forced the annexation question most prominently to the front. With annexation was closely associated in the public mind the question of elective institutions. Upon these two

issues the election of delegates was generally contested. The progressives and the stand-patters again locked arms, this time in a fight to the finish.

Just prior to the assembling of the convention, Mr. J. W. Gamble came out with an open letter to the members of the League in which, after mildly deprecating the policy of annexation on political grounds, he strongly urged the advantages of a protective tariff and elective institutions. Annexation, he admitted, would be preferable to the existing humiliating position of the colonists "as hewers of wood and drawers of water to Great Britain." It would undoubtedly draw capital into the country from the United States but it would not promote the economic independence of the province. "It would merely effect a change of masters by subjecting the industries of the colony to the domination of the United States in place of Great Britain."

The outcome of the election of delegates, so far as the question of annexation was concerned, was never in doubt. A few annexationists were chosen from Lower Canada, but in Canada West the associations came out decisively against annexation. Several of the associations, notably that of Grimsby, specifically instructed their delegates to oppose it at the convention. The selection of Toronto, the center of loyalist sentiment, as the seat of the convention, killed any prospect of a favorable consideration of any project looking to a separation from the mother country.

The battle over the question of elective officials was much more evenly contested. The spirit of democracy had been gaining strength throughout the League. It was no longer possible for the ultra Tories to wave the elective principle aside as a dangerous American innovation. The progressive wing of the party made gains in all directions and came up to the conference in greatly increased numbers.

The conference assembled in Toronto November 1st, 1849, with approximately seventy delegates in attendance. The decided decrease in the number of delegates as compared with the first convention marked a decline in the influence and prestige of the League. The delegates were again a heterogeneous collection of men representing almost all shades of political thought from Toryism to Radicalism, from passionate loyalty to annexation sentiment. Additional interest was lent to the proceedings by reason of the expectation that the convention would deal with the recent annexation movement in Lower Canada and would present a definite policy for meeting the growing dissatisfaction of the country.

At the opening of the convention, Mr. Gamble, who played somewhat the part of floor leader of the House, introduced a series of resolutions calling for remedial measures to allay the political and social discontent of the day. The first of these resolutions luridly pictured the woeful condition of the province. It set out by reciting at length that "exciting and irritating political questions involving the dismemberment of this colony from the empire are openly advocated engendering discontent, discord and fierce political animosities" and concluded by pro-

phesying "anarchy, confusion and civil strife" unless some judicious measures were adopted to calm the unrest of the people. This resolution occasioned a long and animated discussion of the whole political outlook of the colony concerning which the most widely divergent opinions found expression. Some of the speakers objected to the insertion of the reference to the burning of the Parliament buildings without some explanation of the causes leading up to it; others protested against the condemnation of the Montreal manifesto and the censure of the annexationists as likely "to cause several gentlemen belonging to the convention to withdraw." Several of the speakers frankly admitted that the province could not go on much longer as it was, that annexationist sentiment was growing rapidly and that a political union with the United States might needs be accepted as a dernier ressort. To obviate these criticisms, some of the objectionable clauses were expunged, but the resolution was still found so unsatisfactory that Messrs. Gamble and Gowan thought it best to combine forces and recast the whole resolution. A substitute resolution was accordingly presented which declared that "It is the opinion of this convention that these colonies cannot continue in their present political or commercial state." This resolution was carried without opposition.

The second resolution of Mr. Gamble calling upon the Governor General to dissolve the assembly with a view to a general election was withdrawn after some discussion as most of the delegates were opposed to appealing to Lord Elgin for anything, so bitter was the hostility to his Lordship.

The third resolution declared that, since the reforms determined upon at the Kingston convention, namely, protection, retrenchment, and a union of the provinces could not be accomplished without a change in the constitution, it was expedient that the Legislature should authorize the holding of a general convention of delegates from all the provinces to draw up a new constitution for the British American colonies.

In introducing the motion, Mr. Gamble set forth in considerable detail the advantages to the province of a protective tariff. His argument upon this point contained nothing new; it was largely a re-statement of the views expressed in his recent open letter to the League. But on the question of a federal union of the provinces his views had undergone considerable modification since the Kingston convention, for he now came out enthusiastically for an intercolonial union. In his judgment, a large national policy was demanded to stimulate the imagination of the Canadian public. If, he declared, they had a federal government, no more would be heard of annexation, for the province would soon become as prosperous as the United States. An intercolonial conference should be called at once for the country was "on the verge of a revolution." He suggested the partition of Canada into three provinces, which when united with Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland would form a strong, well-balanced federation of seven states. The federal government should be endowed with a rather limited range of legislative powers. To the provinces there should

be reserved all residuary powers and the entire management of their local affairs. He further proposed to amend the constitution by poviding for an elective legislative council and an elective governor. He wanted a governor with a real power of veto and a Legislative Council which would be an effectual check on the Legislative Assembly. These constitutional changes, together with the policies of protection and retrenchment, would, he was confident, bring peace and prosperity to the country and ward off absorption into the neighboring republic.

Mr. Dixon of London moved in amendment that the League should draw up a scheme of union for submission first of all to the people of Canada and the other British provinces, and subsequently, if adopted, to be referred by the several legislatures to the imperial parliament for confirmation.

Mr. Vankoughnet was unable to accept either the original motion or the amendment. He was opposed to the resolution on constitutional grounds because he did not believe that the legislature had the power to delegate authority to the people to appoint delegates to a constitutional convention. He objected to the amendment on the ground that the members of the convention had not sufficient information before them on which to draft a constitution. Messrs. Wilson and Duggan supported the amendment because they believed that such a course would hasten matters and enable the League to lay a definite scheme before the other provinces in case of an intercolonial conference. The New Brunswick delegates, as was pointed out by the former speaker, had expressly declared that the Maritime provinces were looking to the League for political leadership and expected this convention to produce a feasible scheme of union. Mr. Duggan voiced the opinion that there would have been no annexation manifesto if the Kingston convention had acted boldly and had drawn up a definite plan of union. Mr. Gowan and President Moffatt, on the other hand, maintained that the only effective way of reaching the English government was through the local Legislature, the sole constitutional organ which could speak in the name of the province. If the Legislature refused to act, then, in the opinion of the President, the League ought to petition the Governor-General to dissolve the Assembly so as to afford the country an opportunity of expressing itself on the program of the League. If, however, the convention desired to play a more important part in the federal movement, it could draw up a scheme of federation as suggested in Mr. Dixon's amendment. Upon a division, the amendment was declared carried.

Later a resolution was proposed by Mr. Vankoughnet calling upon the local Legislature to take up the question of federation and providing for the appointment of a committee of the League to visit Halifax to take further steps to promote a union of the provinces. Some action, he maintained, should be taken at once on the report of the Federal Union committee. It would be difficult to get men to go to Halifax at this season of the year, but the convention should at least authorize delegates to go. He believed that the local parliament should take up the subject, but he objected to the procedure by which it was proposed that this should

be done. Mr. Dixon, however, opposed the resolution on the ground that the convention, in adopting his amendment, had declared that it was necessary to lay down the principles on which the union should be based before either the people or the Legislature were consulted on the matter. In view of this objection, Mr. Vankoughnet withdrew his motion.

Mr. Dixon thereupon obtained leave to present a series of resolutions setting forth in vague and ill matured terms the general principles upon which the proposed union should be constituted. Briefly stated, they were as follows: first, a guarantee of the full enjoyment of social, religious and political freedom; second, absolute equality of interprovincial rights; third, unrestricted free trade between the provinces; fourth, the development of a spirit of common nationality by the nationalization of commerce and the agencies or instruments of public credit, by the enactment of a general code of criminal law and of uniform laws in respect to currency and bankruptcy, by the establishment of a well regulated system of postal communication and by a general willingness on the part of the provinces to yield minor advantages for the public good.

At the same time, Mr. Strachan presented the rough outline of a federal constitution for the British American colonies. It provided for a Viceroy to be appointed by the Crown, two Houses of Parliament, to which were assigned a wide range of legislative powers, and a Supreme Court with both federal and general appellate jurisdiction. Such a union, he contended, would work wonders for the people of Canada; it would insure a community of feeling as well as interest among the provinces, call forth a higher and more enlightened policy, attract a better class of men into politics, identify the union with the mother land and prevent its attachment to the United States, strengthen the nation in peace and war, diminish the influence of the French, prevent the unfortunate divergence of colonial views at the Imperial Court, increase domestic and external commerce, develop the vast national resources of the country, and produce a higher moral and religious consciousness among the people. Unless some such measure were adopted, Canada, he concluded, would be lost to Great Britain.

To bring matters to a conclusion, Mr. Vankoughnet revived his resolution, minus, however, the clause in regard to the intervention of the local legislature. The resolution read as follows: "That it be resolved that in accordance with the suggestions contained in the report of the conference on the union already adopted, and inasmuch as time does not admit of this conference in its present session digesting the principles of a constitution for the union, a deputation of gentlemen be selected by the central society who shall be requested to meet in the city of Halifax in Nova Scotia, at some early and convenient date to be fixed by themselves, such gentlemen as may then and there assemble from the other provinces to discuss the terms of the union" and that all papers submitted to the convention be laid before the conference "that they may prepare a report to be submitted to the central society and to this or any future convention of the League as also to the public, containing such information

and suggestions as may be thought useful." The resolution was adopted unanimously.

A series of resolutions dealing with the political and economic conditions of the colony were presented by Mr. Wilson in a rambling speech, in which he managed to touch upon a whole variety of subjects including the status of the Governor-General, the mode of electing the Legislative Council, and a political union with the United States. The first of the resolutions declared that "it is essential to the welfare of the colony and its future good government that a constitution should be framed in unison with the wishes of the people and suited to the growing importance and intelligence of the country, and that such constitution should embrace a union of the British American colonies on mutually advantageous and fairly arranged terms, with the concession from the Mother Country of enlarged powers of self government." The resolution was adopted without opposition.

The second resolution dealt with the fiscal question: "that under the altered commercial policy of Great Britain by which the differential duties in favor of colonial produce have been largely repealed and the agricultural and commercial interests of British dependencies subjected to the severest competition in her markets with foreign rivals, independent in their legislative action, it is obviously unjust to perpetuate the imperial power to interfere with the proceedings of the colonial government adopted to foster and advance our social and industrial welfare." The spirited tone of the resolution awakened the suspicion of some of the ultra-Tories who saw, or thought they saw, in it a sinister design to lead "the convention step by step a little further than they would any of them like to go, indeed, to absolute independence," The effect of the resolution, according to Mr. O'Brien, "would be to prohibit the interference of the Imperial Government in our legislation." He moved in amendment a declaratory resolution to the effect that Canada would be driven "to seek the welfare of her own people irrespective of British interests or influences" unless Great Britain changed her fiscal policy and opened up for the colonies the markets of foreign countries, especially that of the United States. The amendment was summarily rejected. Mr. Benjamin thereupon moved in amendment that "if the interests of the British people will not admit of protection to colonial products in the markets of Great Britain, then it will become not merely the duty but the inevitable necessity of colonists to create at home or to seek abroad a market or markets for the products of their own industry," and that "in order to enable us to regulate these markets to our own advantage and for our own safety, it is necessary that we should obtain from Great Britain the control of the river and gulf of St. Lawrence and the power of imposing imposts upon British or foreign goods entering our markets." This amendment was likewise defeated after an animated discussion in which the authorities of Downing Street came in for severe criticism from some of the more radical members. The meddlesome interference of the Colonial Office, it was declared, had become intolerable. Nothing would contribute so much to

bring about a spirit of contentment within the province and to forestall the further growth of annexationist sentiment as the grant of complete self government to the colony. The original resolution was then adopted without a division.

The crucial question of an elective Legislative Council was again raised by Mr. Wilson on a resolution "That having regard to recent events which have proved that the present mode of constituting the Legislative Council is dangerous to its independence, and in view of a union of the British American provinces, it is the opinion of the convention that this branch of the government should be elected." Although advocating the adoption of a more democratic form of government, Mr. Wilson was careful to emphasize the real conservative character of the proposed constitutional changes. He condemned at the outset the existing ultra democratic form of government, in which the Governor and Legislative Council were practically deprived of any real authority in either legislation or administration. An arbitrary unicameral system of government had been set up in Canada in place of the well balanced constitution of England. He strongly favored a permanent Legislative Council, one-eighth of whose members should retire each year. In order to assure its integrity and stability, both the electors of and candidates for the Council should possess a property qualification. In a subsequent statement he endeavored to correct the natural but erroneous impression that he proposed to elect the Council by popular vote. He preferred, on the contrary, that it should be elected by the municipalities and corporations of the province. Such a body, he was confident, would prove a much more conservative chamber than a nominated council whose members were dependent upon the ministry of the day. He was prepared to carry the elective principle even further and to apply it to the office of governor. The governor, he proposed, should be chosen by an electoral college made up of the Legislative Councillors and an equal number of members from the Legislative Assembly.

Over this question the progressive and conservative wings of the convention again lined up in hostile array. The leaders of the convention were about equally divided upon the issue. The struggle was waged the more fiercely because the ultra Tories were firmly convinced that a great fundamental principle was at stake and not simply a difference of opinion as to the best mode of selecting an upper chamber. The real question at issue to them was whether the constitution should be republican or monarchial in form. All the arguments of the last convention were again threshed over; on the one hand, the abuse of the royal prerogative, the subserviency of a nominated House and the natural conservatism of an elective chamber; on the other hand, the superiority of English constitutional principles and the danger of American institutions. The leaders of both factions stood forth as the staunch defendants of the British connection against the designs of the annexationists. By the progressive speakers it was urged that the principle of popular election would not impair the loyalty of the people since history had shown that the colonies with the freest constitutions were the last to

revolt. Moreover, the experience of the early American colonies conclusively proved that the elective system was not incompatible with English principles of government. The principle of popular election had worked well in the district councils and there was every reason to believe that it would prove equally beneficial when applied to the legislature. A republican form of government, Mr. Gamble declared, was inevitable in Canada by reason of its proximity to the United States. The local constitution must be made progressive in order to stop the mouths of demagogues who were continually harping upon the larger measure of liberty enjoyed in the United States as compared with Canada. Unless some such measure were adopted, Canada would inevitably join the United States.

There was, however, a difference of opinion among the supporters of an elective council over the question as to the mode of its election and as to whether it should be a democratic or a conservative body. The more radical members of the convention stood for the principle of direct popular election and a democratic chamber, while the more moderate speakers preferred an indirect system of election as more likely to produce a strong, substantial House, representative of the wealth and social influence of the community.

Some of the delegates sought to tie up the question of a legislative council with the question of an intercolonial union. They desired to incorporate the principle of parliamentary election into the organization of a federal Upper House. Mr. Vankoughnet was strongly opposed to the pupular election of legislative councillors. He had in view a chamber similar to the American Senate in the mode of its constitution and the personnel of its membership. An interesting attempt was made by Mr. Dixon to adapt the royal prerogative to a federal Upper Chamber. He moved an amendment to the effect that the legislative council should be chosen by the local legislatures subject to a right of veto on the part of the Crown in case of the selection of an objectionable member. But the amendment found no seconder. The proviso was unacceptable both to the radical members of the convention and to the federationists; it was incompatible alike with the principle of popular election and with the true principles of federalism. But the first section of the amendment, relative to the election of the legislative councillors by the local assemblies, found favor with several of the delegates, and especially those who were most heartily in favor of intercolonial union.

To the ultra Tories, on the other hand, the principle of popular election was a dangerous American innovation incompatible with the British constitution. The supporters of the elective principle were accused of going too far and too fast in their agitation; they were demanding what Papineau and MacKenzie had been punished for asking. This proposal had been advanced, according to Mr. Murney, "out of deference to the annexationists at the convention." It was in truth an instalment of annexation. If the principle of popular election were once accepted, it would soon be demanded in case of the governor and judges. Great Britain, it was contended, would throw off the colonies

if they adopted such a revolutionary constitution. An amendment by Mr. Murney affirming that it was inexpedient to change the existing constitution of the colony and disapproving of the annexation manifesto was lost by a large majority. A subsequent amendment by Mr. Benjamin, Grand Master of the Orange Order, which aimed to secure the independence of the upper chamber and to prevent the abuse of packing by providing that "the number of members should be limited to and constantly maintained at half the number of members of the legislative assembly" was carried by a small majority; 34 ayes, 30 noes.

The vote was altogether too close to be decisive. The progressive faction was dissatisfied and on the verge of revolt. For the moment it was feared that the labors of the convention might be lost. In order to prevent an open schism, a resolution was presented by Mr. Langton to postpone the final determination of the issue "with a view to the several branches of the British American League pronouncing their opinion and instructing their delegates upon the question of the concession of elective institutions in Canada as an appanage of the British Crown." The convention had reached an impasse. A reference of the whole question back to the associations seemed the easiest and simplest way out of the difficulty. The resolution offered a fairly satisfactory compromise. It held out to the progressives the hope of ultimate triumph in the local associations; it assured to the ultra Tories the maintenance inviolable of the British connection. The progressives, in effect, were permitted to carry on their agitation for elective institutions, but it was determined in advance that the agitation must be strictly loyal and should not be turned to unpatriotic purposes or made to serve the ends of the annexationists. The convention had talked itself out. The members were desirous of returning home as soon as possible. The resolution was adopted unanimously without debate.

The question of annexation was again the most absorbing question before the convention. It came cropping up sometimes fittingly, but usually in the most unexpected and irrelevant manner, throughout all stages of the proceedings. The recent events at Montreal had made it the leading issue before the province and the convention could not well escape passing an opinion upon it. Several of the leaders of the convention were convinced that a mistake had been made at Kingston in smothering the question and that it would have been better if the League had then come out with a clear declaration against annexation. The equivocal silence of the first convention was, in the opinion of some of the delegates, the primary reason for the summoning of the second. The immediate object of the convention, according to Mr. Murney, "was to tranquillize the public mind by a declaration against the manifesto." In any case it was expedient to throw the question open to general debate. Now that a majority of the annexationists had withdrawn from the League, there was less reason to fear the result of a frank discussion of the issue. Moreover, it was only fair to permit those who, either openly or secretly, sympathized with the annexation movement to voice their opinions as to the best means of dealing with the ills of the province. It

could do no harm to allow them to air their grievances since there was no doubt but that the convention was overwhelmingly in favor of the maintenance of the British connection. To attempt to suppress all reference to the question would only outrage their feelings at a time when the exigencies of party politics recommended, in the words of President Moffatt, "the wisdom of cultivating the most cordial relations with the annexationists with a view to joint action against the government at the next election."

The question came up at the very opening of the convention on a resolution of Mr. Gamble relative to the condition of the province. Everywhere, Mr. Gamble declared, the people were talking of separation and annexation, and the government seemed powerless or unwilling to suppress discussion. Although he regretted the appearance of the manifesto, he hoped that the convention would be allowed full liberty to discuss the question. The leaders of the League "regarded it as a dernier ressort and were not going to buck the question." Several delegates spoke favorably of the calm and moderate tone of the manifesto and frankly admitted that annexation would come, if not at once, at least in the not distant future. "It was probably the only remedy that the country would finally adopt." For his part, Mr. Hamilton declared, he did not wish to prate of loyalty when the farmers of the province were suffering from the British connection, whereas their American cousins were prospering. Similar sentiments were expressed by Messrs. Gowan, Wilson and Duggan. The question of separation, it was contended, had been reduced by England to a purely commercial basis; and since England had sacrificed the interests of her colonies for selfish reasons, it was not unpatriotic for Canadians, likewise, to consider the question from a business point of view. Personally, Mr. Wilson stated, "his sense of loyalty was second to that of the interests of his family." Unless England reversed her fiscal policy, there was every probability that the Canadian public would demand a union with the United States. The question of annexation also attracted more than ordinary interest, as we have seen, in the debates on a federation of the provinces and on an elective council.

But the loyalists of the convention were not satisfied with a simple denunciation of annexation in the course of the debate; they insisted upon committing the convention te the maintenance of the British connection. A resolution therefore was introduced by Mr. Miller which read: "that it is a matter of regret to this convention that the subject of a separation of this colony from the motherland and annexation to the United States of America has been openly advocated by a portion of the press and inhabitants of this province; and this convention unhesitatingly records its entire disapprobation of this course and calls upon all well wishers of this country to discountenance it by every means in their power."

The purpose of the resolution, Mr. Miller declared, was to clear the convention of the prevalent suspicion that the League, if not favorable to separation, was at least not opposed to it. This was the more neces-

sary since some of the delegates were desirous of hushing up the question with a view to the further dissemination of the erroneous impression as to the neutrality of the convention. Should such an impression be allowed to gain further currency it would seriously militate against the usefulness of the League. Notwithstanding the professed peaceful aims of the annexationists, there was not, he maintained, the slightest possibility of the peaceful consummation of their policy. "They were dissolving the bonds of society and revolutionizing the country not for the purpose of maintaining the great principles of civil and religious liberty, but for the mere chance of commercial advantage." Annexation, he contended, would not redound to the great economic advantage of the Canadian public as was so loudly claimed by the annexationists, since it would sacrifice the agriculturists of the province to the preponderant farming and manufacturing interests of the United States. He accused the annexationists of perverting the views of the English government and people in regard to the separation of the colonies. The leaders of the Liberal party in England were not anti-imperialists. They had merely disclaimed any intent or desire to hold the colonies in an unwilling subjection. They were not anxious to get rid of the oversea dominions in proposing to extend to the colonies a larger measure of local autonomy. He did not agree with many of his fellow Conservatives that annexation was a mere matter of time; on the contrary, he was convinced that time would develop a deeper sense of attachment to the Mother Land, such as had appeared during the war of 1812.

Mr. R. Macdonald supported the resolution in a ranting pro-British speech. There was not, he believed, a single member of the convention who was an out and out annexationist although there were several who were suspected of annexation sympathies. He hoped to reclaim many of the annexationists (some of whom had signed the recent manifesto out of pique and others with a view to forcing the English government to take notice of the sad condition of the colony) by holding out to them the prospect of the future prosperity of the country. The vaunted prosperity of the United States was fictitious, the result of heavy borrowings of English capital. It would indeed be ungrateful for Canadians to secede at the moment when England had granted to them the full right of self government. Annexation would be disastrous to the interests of Canada. They would lose control of the public lands, the custom duties and the postal system of the province. The liberal grants from the imperial treasury would be cut off. Taxation would be increased and they would be burdened with a part of the United States debt. Even though England should consent to a peaceful separation, which was most improbable, the Canadian people, he declared, would never agree to convert the free soil of the province into a slave state. In conclusion he appealed to both political parties "to clear their skirts of the annexationists" and to unite in pressing upon the British government the necessity of procuring an entrance into the American market for Canadian products.

At this point, Messrs. Gamble and Mack attempted a diversion by

making an attack upon the policy of the English government in inflicting gross indignities, both of a political and economic character, upon the loyal people of Canada. The chief danger of annexation, the latter declared, arose out of the supercilious attitude of the English government toward the colonies and the fatuous policy of the Manchester School. An amendment was proposed by Mr. Hamilton "that it is wholly inexpedient to discuss the question of annexation at this convention, the loyalty of whose members cannot be questioned and amongst whom as a body there is found no individual to advocate any such obnoxious principle." In his judgment, the convention was fully justified in using the threat of annexation as a means of bringing the English government and people to a proper sense of their responsibility to the colony, a view which was largely shared by Mr. J. Duggan and other delegates.

But the convention was suspicious of the amendment. It refused to be diverted from its purpose by the clever attempt of some of the speakers to arouse the smouldering resentment of the delegates against the English government. The great majority of the members were convinced that the League could not afford to shelve the question of annexation again, but must now frankly declare its decision. The amendment was accordingly defeated by an overwhelming majority, only four or five votes being cast in its favor. The original resolution was thereupon adopted unanimously.

The vote of the convention accurately reflected the loyal spirit of the League. There were a few extremists in that body; on the one hand, a small coterie of secret annexationists who would have liked to incite their fellow members to open hostility to the English government; on the other, a group of ultra loyalists, like Colonel Playfair, who would have gladly suppressed any reference whatever to the question of annexation as involving a reflection upon the loyalty of the Canadian people. But the great body of delegates were willing to admit that the subject was worthy of serious consideration as a possible solution of the ills of the country. Yet they were altogether too patriotic to think of adopting such a policy so long as there was any reasonable possibility of saving the country in any other way. The decisive vote of the convention settled the question for the League. Henceforth the annexationists desisted from any active efforts to influence its policy.

The last day of the convention was given up mainly to routine business. A resolution, however, was unanimously adopted to the effect that the retention of Lord Elgin as Governor General was injurious to the interests of the province and calculated to undermine the loyalty of the Canadian people. A resolution was also agreed to in favor of increasing the membership of the Executive Council of the League to twenty members. Mr. Moffatt was strongly urged to reconsider his resignation of the Presidency. The election of officers resulted in several changes, the chief of which was the substitution of Messrs. Gamble and Benjamin for the Hon. W. Allan and the Hon. W. Morris in the list of vice-presidents.

A review of the work of the convention reveals the fact that but

little was accomplished. The former political platform was approved. The condemnation of annexation was the chief contribution of the convention. No substantial progress was made with the question of a federal union. The delegates had nothing definite before them; they did not even attempt to formulate a plan of union or to prepare instructions for their representatives to the Halifax conference. They left the whole subject in the same nebulous state in which they found it. The resolutions and discussions covered much the same ground as at the preceding convention. The debates bear witness to the fact that there was a growth of democratic sentiment among the members, but otherwise the consensus of opinion was practically unchanged. The convention in truth was not a constructive body; it was merely a miscellaneous collection of mediocre, censorious men. A signal lack of leadership and statesmanship was displayed throughout the proceedings. The convention was engaged in fighting out its own internal differences rather than in finding a remedy for the evils of the country. The delegates must have returned home with a sense of keen disappointment. They had not succeeded in settling their domestic troubles and had entirely failed to formulate a constructive policy for the rehabilitation of the Tory party and the salvation of the country.

Immediately after the close of the convention, Mr. T. Wilson, of Quebec, addressed an open letter to John Redpath, President of the Montreal Annexation Association, in which he appealed to that gentleman to drop the agitation for annexation until the policy of the League had had a fair trial. "All are agreed that we cannot remain as we are and many that annexation may be necessary, but only as a last step." But the appeal only called forth a sarcastic reply as "to the futility of the various nostrums" which were occupying the attention of the League. At a subsequent meeting of the Montreal association, the question of the relation of the League to the annexationists was brought up by President Moffatt. "He deemed the expression of an opinion on the annexation movement premature at present but thought that the annexationists might have continued to act with them." He hoped that the day was far distant when the colonists would seriously think of annexation, but if the unfavorable policy of England should force them to do so, he would consider the question entirely as a Canadian issue. But before reaching any final decision, they ought first to ascertain what Great Britain could and would do for the colonies.

The ensuing discussion showed that there was some difference of opinion among the members as to the proper attitude of the League toward the annexationists, but almost all the speakers expressed themselves as strongly opposed to annexation. The election of officers resulted in the selection of a pronounced pro-British executive, the former annexation officers being quietly dropped. By this decisive action the Montreal Association finally freed itself from the suspicion of annexation proclivities. Several of the local branches of the League in Upper Canada likewise took occasion to express "their most decided disapprobation of all attempts being made to sever these British American prov-

inces from the mother country with a view to joining the Republic of the United States of America."

The question of an elective legislative council was duly referred to the several branches of the League with the result that a majority of the local associations declared in favor of the elective principle. The rising tide of democracy had undermined the old Tory party. But the victory of the democratic section of the party failed to bring peace. Although defeated, the Family Compact did not give up the fight, but determined to prevent, if possible, the calling of another convention to ratify the decision of the branch associations. The struggle for political mastery still went on within the party. Every day it became more difficult for the hostile factions to co-operate. Torn by internal dissensions and weakened by the withdrawal of several of its most influential officers, the League could no longer command the confidence of its members.

Early in May the central committee of the League issued a manifesto in which they called upon the members "to urge our Legislature by petition to pass an address to our Governor-General and both Houses of Parliament praying them to authorize by an imperial act the people, to whom they profess to have already granted self government, to hold a general convention of delegates for the purpose of considering and proposing a constitution for the government of this province and with power to act in concert with delegates from such of the other British provinces in North America as may be desirous of forming a federal union with Canada, such constitution to be afterward submitted to the people for ratification." In addition, they again strongly advocated the advantages of a policy of protection for Canadian industries and the necessity for retrenchment in public expenditures, if the province was to recover its lost prosperity.

This manifesto marks the end of the activity of the League. Its propaganda had already ceased. The provincial executive was composed of conflicting elements. It had no outstanding leaders and no effective policy to present. It had nothing to show for all its efforts. The Reform government, as was to be expected, paid no attention to its recommendations. The executive committee, in fact, was powerless to take any further steps to carry out the program of the League, and allowed matters to drift helplessly along. The League had lost prestige; its proceedings were no longer a subject of public interest and discussion. Even the Reform press ceased to poke fun at "the Children of the Sun." It was useless to ridicule or abuse a dying organization. The local associations were left to their own devices and soon fell into a state of apathy and decay. It is impossible to trace out the records of the disappearance of the League. The process of demise was unnoteworthy. The League was never formally disbanded. The membership simply fell off quietly but rapidly so that by the end of the year the League had died of inanition. When the general election came on in 1850 the members of the League were found once again lined up with their comrades in the Conservative party. The League as a separate organization played no part whatever in that campaign. Even its political program was almost en-

tirely neglected. It had been but an ephemeral body and its brief history was soon forgotten.

The causes of the failure of the League are not difficult to discover. In its very origin it was an artificial organization and it never lost that character. Although nominally a non-partisan body, in reality it was an attempt to reconstruct the Tory party on a more popular basis. But that attempt rent the League in twain. The conservative and democratic wings of the organization would not willingly coalesce. They stood for different principles and maintained different ideals. The Tory section of the party always looked upon its opponents with a certain amount of scorn and suspicion as inferior in social and political standing and as tainted with republicanism and other revolutionary designs. Few of the leaders of the Tory party identified themselves with the League in any way; the great majority of them stood coldly apart and allowed the League to work out its own destiny. Even those who, like Allan, Morris and Macdonald, were at first connected with the League, subsequently dropped out of any active participation in its affairs. The democratic section of the League, on the other hand, had no sympathy whatever with the leaders or policy of the Family Compact. They desired the overthrow of the old regime and to create a new political party in sympathy with the democratic spirit of the time. The two wings of the party were too evenly balanced in numbers and influence for the one to dominate the other. The struggle between them was indecisive; it could not go on indefinitely without soon destroying the League.

Unfortunately for the League it failed to develop able leaders to deal with the complicated situation. The President and the other executive officers were men of honorable character and influence in the colony but they were neither astute politicians nor statesmen; they were inexperienced men of mediocre talent who had played but a minor part in the political life of the province. They could not make a commanding appeal to the general public or call forth the devoted services which are gladly rendered to a great party leader. The Hon. John A. Macdonald was the only outstanding member of the League and he failed to take the prominent part in its affairs which his preeminent ability and political astuteness would have warranted.

The policy of the League likewise failed to arouse popular enthusiasm or public interest. Although attractive in appearance, the scheme of a federal union, upon which the reputation of the League chiefly depends, fell signally flat on the electorate. The general public were not prepared to accept offhand such a far reaching constitutional proposal. They were almost entirely in the dark as to the national significance and importance of the proposed federation since no preliminary efforts had been made to educate them as to the advantages of an intercolonial union. Even the League, as we have seen, brought forward the scheme without any adequate consideration of the feasibility and character of the suggested federation. The scheme was presented and adopted as a political makeshift rather than as a careful piece of constructive statesman-

ship. In truth, it must be confessed that the plan of a federal union was probably due as much to the desire to forestall the anticipated action of the provincial government along similar lines, as to a conviction on the part of the convention as to its merits as a truly national policy. The convention was under the immediate necessity of formulating an alternative policy to the popular demand for reciprocity or annexation.

There was at the time a rumor to the effect that the British government was about to propose a plan of union. Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the colonies, was a well known federationist. The previous year he had brought forth the suggestion of a general assembly for the Australian colonies and it was generally believed in official circles that he favored some similar arrangement for the North American provinces. The action of the provincial government in sending two of the ministers to the Maritime provinces to negotiate a reciprocal trade agreement seemed to confirm the belief that a federal union was on the tapis. Several of the papers of the Maritime provinces lent credence to the report that the question of federation had been officially discussed by the representatives of the several governments, though with what result was not yet known to the public. These rumors were not without influence upon the members of the convention in predisposing them to accept the policy of federation. They hoped to dish their political opponents by a previous declaration in favor of a federal union. But the shrewd plans of the League miscarried owing to the apathy of the Canadian public and the suspicion of the people of the Maritime provinces who would have nothing to do with the project. The proposal to hold an intercolonial conference was treated with indifference in every quarter and in a few months time the whole scheme of federation was practically forgotten, though Messrs. Perry and Sherwood attempted to revive it somewhat later.

The policy of colonial protection did not prove as attractive as had been anticipated. In some of the larger commercial centres it was received with considerable favor but in the rural districts it was generally regarded with suspicion. The farmers of the province were much more interested in the efforts of the government to secure an immediate market for their products in the United States than in the promise held out by the League of the future development of a home market by means of a protective policy. Moreover, the recent adoption by Great Britain of the principle of free trade had shaken the confidence of many of the colonists in the efficiency of a policy of protection.

The remainder of the platform of the League contained nothing new or distinctive in character. Some of the more important proposals were stolen from their political opponents. The questions of retrenchment and elective institutions were the peculiar tenets of the Clear Grit party and for some time past had occupied a prominent place in its campaign against the extravagance and conservatism of the Government. Notwithstanding its liberal tendencies, the League could scarcely pose as a democratic organization; at least it could not hope to compete with the radical Reformers in an appeal for democratic measures.

The chief political interest of the time centered in the struggle between the Baldwin Reformers and the Clear Grit party. Many of the latter had gotten entirely out of hand and were no longer subject to party discipline. They freely assailed the policy of the Ministry and demanded an immediate settlement of the vexed question of clergy reserves on pain of the overthrow of the Government. In vain Mr. Baldwin pleaded for moderate counsels. The Clear Grits would be satisfied with nothing less than the overthrow of the whole regime of ecclesiastical privilege. Every day it became more apparent that the Reform party was on the point of disintegration. The demoralization among the Reformers lent fresh hope and courage to the Tories. The latter were gradually recovering from their defeat and humiliation. The leaders of the party again saw the prospect of a restoration to office through the assistance of the conservative wing of the Reformers. Throughout the province the work of reorganization went steadily on; the rank and file of the party were again drummed into line; new recruits were rapidly gained among the disgruntled Reformers; the officials and members of the League rallied once more to the old party standard. The League ceased to exist as an independent body; it was insensibly absorbed into the revived Tory party.

Although the League had but an ephemeral existence its influence on the course of Canadian history was by no means inconsequential. To it may be credited three distinct contributions to the political life of the country: first, the democratization of the Tory party; second, the proposal of a federal union of the British American provinces; third, the advocacy of an independent fiscal policy based on the principle of colonial protection. Undoubtedly it exercised a considerable influence in other directions, notably in resisting the growth of annexation sentiment, but these three factors are, it is believed, the outstanding features of its short-lived career.

Of these three contributions the most important, in its immediate results at least, was the rejuvenation of the Tory party. The new spirit of democracy had swept away the dogmas of political and ecclesiastical privilege upon which the Family Compact had been based. The party had been discredited but not extinguished by its defeat and subsequent humiliation. Although of Tory origin, the League developed democratic sentiments and liberal principles. The question of an elective legislative council was only one phase of the great struggle between democracy and privilege. The League, in reality, completed the disorganization of the old Tory party. It stifled the spirit of arrant Toryism; it threw off the colonial traditions of the past; it introduced a more progressive element into the leadership of the party; it advocated a more liberal and enlightened policy in accordance with the spirit of the age; it broke the dependence of the party on the policy and support of the Colonial Office and it made possible the reorganization of the old Tory party upon a more popular national basis. In short, it created a national Conservative party, differing little in purpose and policy from the more moderate wing of the reformers. From the day of that reorganization it became

almost inevitable that many of the moderate Reformers should pass over into the ranks of the Conservative party. The genius of Sir John Macdonald made the process of transition an easy one. Out of that coalition arose the Liberal-Conservative party of today.

The project of an intercolonial union did not owe its origin to the League, but to the League belongs the credit of first attempting to popularize the policy and make it a distinct political issue. The effort signally failed for reasons we have already discussed but nevertheless the attempt was not altogether fruitless. The scheme was undoubtedly premature for the people of Canada and the Maritime provinces were strangers to one another. Neither social nor economic relations were sufficiently intimate to have developed a community of feeling and interest. Both Canada and the provinces by the sea had much closer relations with Great Britain and the United States than with each other. The imperial connection was the all sufficing bond of union at the time. A national consciousness had not yet arisen. But thanks to the propaganda of the League, the Canadian public were familiarized with the idea of a federal union and were made conversant with some of its chief advantages. The seed, which was sown on unfavorable soil, subsequently sprang up and bore abundant fruit in the confederation of Canada under the British North America Act of 1867.

Under the old Mercantile System of England, the colonies, as we have seen, had been treated as economic appanages of the mother country. But upon the adoption of free trade in Great Britain the colonies were granted fiscal freedom and entrusted with the right of framing their own tariffs. The Reform party in Canada was naturally favorable to the economic principles of its Liberal friends in England, while the Tories, on the other hand, naturally clung to the policy of preferential trade. At the outset, some of the Boards of Trade of the chief commercial cities joined with the Tory party in demanding the restoration of the former colonial system, but the clamor was in vain. The leaders of the League were keen enough to see the folly of further appeals to the British government; the latter was fully committed to the principle of fiscal freedom and would not revise its policy. The colonies were to be no longer treated as favored children of the mother land; they were to be left to work out their fiscal and political salvation by their own unaided efforts. The apron string regime was over; the colonies were cut loose for all time.

Widely divergent were the policies now proposed to meet the emergency. The Reform Ministry pinned its faith to reciprocity, and opened up negotiations with the government at Washington, as also with the Maritime provinces, for the free exchange of a limited list of natural products. A section of the commercial community started an active campaign in favor of annexation. The ultra Tories denounced the policy of the English government in threatening and oftimes seditious language, and demanded the restoration of the old colonial system.

The League rejected the continental and imperialistic policies alike. It came out in favor of a national policy of protection to be based solely and exclusively on the needs of the province itself. This declaration of fiscal independence was undoubtedly due in part to a spirit of hostil-

ity toward the English government and to a feeling of pique at the action of Congress in rejecting the proposals for reciprocity. But it was mainly due to a desire to build up a strong self contained nation, economically independent of the United States and Great Britain and free from the meddlesome interference of the Colonial Office and the Imperial parliament. With the collapse of the annexation movement, the annexationist press of Montreal and the majority of the wealthy and influential members of that party joined forces with the Conservative party in demanding an increase in the tariff. For a time the growth of protectionist sentiment was retarded, especially in the rural districts, by the marvellous expansion of trade which took place under the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. But the desire for protection continued to grow in the chief industrial centers of the country and with the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 the question of protection was forced to the front by the Conservative party and became the dominant political issue of the day. The national policy of Sir John A. Macdonald was the legitimate product of the economic principles of the League.

We may then conclude in the language of Sir John A. Macdonald that the principles which were laid down by the British American League in 1850 are the lines around which the Liberal-Conservative party has moved ever since.