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ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS





LETTERS  
FROM  
CANADA,  
WRITTEN  
DURING A RESIDENCE THERE IN THE YEARS  
1806, 1807, AND 1808;  
SHEWING  
THE PRESENT STATE OF CANADA,  
ITS PRODUCTIONS—TRADE—COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE  
AND POLITICAL RELATIONS.  
ILLUSTRATIVE OF  
The Laws, the Manners of the People, and the Peculiarities  
of the Country and Climate.  
EXHIBITING ALSO  
THE COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF  
NOVA-SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK, & CAPE-BRETON;  
AND  
Their increasing Ability, in Conjunction with Canada, to furnish the  
necessary Supplies of Lumber and Provisions to our  
WEST-INDIA ISLANDS.

BY HUGH GRAY.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME,  
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1809.

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**T. Davison, Whitefriars.**

Regent L. L. Hubbard,  
C. F. +  
1-26-27

## PREFACE.

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**T**HE Author of these letters, from the nature of his pursuits in Canada, was led to direct his attention, in a particular manner, to the laws and the commerce of the country. In the investigation of its laws, ancient and modern, he became acquainted with the nature of the government; and in the views he took of its commerce,—the productions of the country, its commercial regulations, and political connexions in their different bearings, presented themselves to his consideration. Many important facts, and valuable commercial documents and calculations, relative to these interesting countries, were gradually collected and arranged.

During his residence in Canada, and while travelling through it, the manners



## PREFACE.

and customs of the different classes of society did not pass unnoticed ; and the natural beauties of the country, which are every where conspicuous, were not regarded with indifference.

In Canada, nature presents itself in grand and imposing forms. To see, to feel, and to admire, necessarily follow each other. The peculiarities of the country, and of the climate, are striking ; and the phenomena incident to the Canadian winter are extremely curious. These were investigated with all the attention they seemed to deserve.

On his return to England, he found that the state of our political relations with the United States of America, and the northern powers of Europe, was still such as to render all communication with them extremely precarious ; any country, therefore, which could give us the articles we had been in the habit of receiving from them, became doubly interesting. Such is Canada, and such are our other North American colonies. To point out the va-

## PREFACE.

lue of the latter more forcibly, there are added in the Appendix the petitions and memorials from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to the British government, in which the productions and resources of those countries are stated, and the line of policy pointed out, which they imagine most likely to promote their welfare.

The immense regions in North America, which still form a part of the British empire, are very little known to the English nation; and yet the statesman, the philosopher, and the merchant, might there find an ample field for the exercise of his talents. The geographical position of our North American colonies, relative to the United States; their immense extent of territory, and their commercial importance, ought to induce us (particularly at the present moment) to turn our attention that way. To effect this end, is, in a great measure, the object of the present publication.



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# LETTERS

FROM

C A N A D A.

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## LETTER I.

*At Sea, May, 1806.*

I PROMISED to write you, my worthy friend, on my arrival in Canada; I will do more; I will write you before I get there. You may perhaps say, What can be found worthy of notice on the face of the trackless ocean? Not so much, I grant you, as in the cultivated vale, or crowded city. But on the ocean even, we meet with occurrences which highly excite our curiosity, and merit our attention. Our approach to the American shore; our crossing the Gulf of St. Lawrence; our progress up that noble river;

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cannot fail to furnish objects well deserving remark.

The promise I have made you, to communicate whatever is new and interesting, will act as a stimulus to observation, and keep my attention on the alert. Canada is a most important country to Great Britain. It claims our attention from its geographical position relative to the United States; from its extent of territory; from its numerous productions; and from its rising value as a British colony. Few subjects are likely to be more interesting than the topographical description of a country so little known to us, presenting every where features peculiar and striking, and phenomena well deserving the attention of any one the least acquainted with natural history. It is very interesting also to trace the character of a people up to its origin, in the nature of the government and laws; the state of the administration of justice; and the peculiarities of their local situation, and of their climate; from all which, nations receive a bias in their manners, customs, and pursuits. It shall be my endeavour, during my residence in Canada, to elucidate these

points, and make myself acquainted with its trade and political economy.

I am well aware, that to perform this task with propriety requires talents very superior to any thing of which I can boast: but men who are every way qualified will not be found ready to undertake it. The field is not sufficiently productive of either fame or fortune; I look for neither in addressing you, and if I encroach upon the province of an abler pen, I trust I shall be forgiven. Information, in a rude dress, is better than none at all; and here, on the great Atlantic Ocean, I shall attempt to embody in phrase the fleeting thought. A smooth sea and fine weather enable me to commence our correspondence.

The weather hitherto has been pretty favourable, not however without some variety. Indeed, the wind has been sometimes extremely violent, at least what a landsman would call so: on these occasions, the proper place for us *landlubbers* is our cabin; we should *turn in*, as the sailors call it. You may, no doubt, go to *bed*, but you cannot say you go to *rest*, for you are incessantly rocked about in the most



unpleasant manner, from the rolling and pitching of the vessel. Besides, the abominably jarring discordant sounds with which one is constantly annoyed on board ship, are intolerable, particularly in the middle of the night, when all is dark around you, and sleep is wished for in vain. A heavy swell heaves and strains the ship; the waves dashing and roaring under the cabin-windows; the ropes and sails flapping and rattling overhead; the timbers and bulkheads creaking, cracking, and growling; form altogether such a pretty kind of concert, as one might expect to find in the palace of Pandemonium.

A gale came on a few days ago: I could neither sit nor stand without great exertion; but curiosity kept me on deck. The waves ran tremendously high, and the ship seemed ready to be swallowed up. One moment you are elevated, and mount the briny swell; you are then sunk down, immersed in the deep, shut up, as it were, by the foaming surge, which seems to present on all sides an insuperable barrier.

A sudden squall laid the ship almost on her beam-ends; a head sea struck her while

*gunwale under*, and made a clear sweep *fore and aft*; to hold fast is, in this case, your only chance of safety. The ship at length *righted*, and we saw the seamen at the prow, emerging, as it were, from the wave, reeling from side to side, making fast every thing they could, and putting themselves in situations that a landsman shudders even to look at. The waves were running, what those who delight in hyperbolic description would call, *mountains high*. In fact, we were so deeply immersed sometimes, and the waves were rolling so high around us, that we could not see *the top-gallant royals* of a frigate that happened to be within a few hundred yards of us, so that at any rate we must have had *a very pretty specimen* of a storm of the first magnitude.

By and by the gale ceases; your apprehensions of danger subside; and reflection on the past scene satisfies you that it is, in the nature of things, very improbable that a ship should sink. Her whole materials are buoyant; and her form is such, that while the water is prevented from dis-

placing the air contained in her, she can no more sink than can a bladder filled with air, or an empty cask. Such reflections, and a conviction that your vessel is strong and good, prepare you for the next gale. Confidence grows fast upon you, and you cease to be surprised that seamen, who know these things, and who have escaped so many storms, should become callous, in a great measure, to the dangers of the sea.

There is certainly something very sublime in a storm; the scene is awfully grand. Fear has generally been considered as a source of the sublime; and in the case of a storm, I cannot help thinking that it always exists. I cannot imagine, notwithstanding all I have heard seamen say, that they, or any one else, can, *in a storm*, be *entirely* divested of it. Whatever confidence they have in their vessel, they must know that they are liable to a variety of accidents, which will greatly increase their risk and danger.

The being accustomed to any particular danger lessens its operation on the mind; but the danger is not removed, nor is its

nature altered. A manufacturer of gun-powder, for instance, works with as much unconcern as if he manufactured leather; yet we see instances every year of powder-mills being blown up, and every one near them destroyed. A brave fellow of a seaman, by being engaged in a number of *boarding parties*, without receiving the least injury, may go on such enterprises cheerfully, and with little or no fear; yet it does not follow that a man, scrambling up the side of a ship, full of people ready to defend themselves, does not run a great risk of having a pike put through his body, before he himself can act either offensively or defensively.

The mind does not willingly dwell on that which gives it pain. It accommodates itself to its condition; hence seamen, manufacturers of gun-powder, and all those engaged in hazardous occupations, soon cease to reflect on the dangers to which they are exposed.

We are now on the banks of Newfoundland, the region of codfish; and I am called on deck. The ship is *hove to* for the

purpose of fishing: fresh cod for dinner would be not a little acceptable; besides, I understand there is a good deal of amusement in cod-fishing; you shall know what success we have: *en attendant*, Adieu!

## LETTER II.

*Off Cape Breton, May, 1806.*

**LAND-A-HEAD!** Land! Land! repeated half a dozen voices. Joyful tidings! I had just fixed myself in a position to secure me against the rolling of the ship, a very necessary precaution at sea; I had a sheet of paper before me, for the purpose of saying something to you about the banks of Newfoundland and cod-fishing, when my ears were agreeably assailed with the joyful sound of *Land-a-head!* I am very fond of music; yet I can safely say, that the fine tones of a *Catalani*, which I have often heard with pleasure, or the modulation of a *Braham*, which is exquisite, are sounds vastly inferior in their power of pleasing to the shout of *Land-a-head*, after having been tossed and buffeted across the Atlantic Ocean.

Here we are, on the 20th May, in sight of *Cape Breton*. As we left Portsmouth on the 14th of April, our being now in sight

of the *New World* is pretty fair. Five weeks at sea, however, is quite enough to give a high relish for a sight of land of any sort; and you can hardly suppose a greater contrast than the land we have left—the green fields of England—and the barren mountains of the island of Cape Breton: yet we have great pleasure in looking at it. We have still a long voyage to perform, We have to cross the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and go up the river, which may probably occupy a fortnight.

For some days past the great increase of cold which we felt made us conjecture that we approached either snow-clad mountains, or *islands of ice* which are known to float in these latitudes at this season of the year. Those floating islands are of great height, some have been ascertained to rise upwards of two hundred feet from the surface of the sea; their breadth and depth in the water must, of course, have been immense. From the comparative specific gravity of ice and water, the body of ice under water must have been rather more than  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of what appeared above water. These islands are supposed to be

formed on the coast of New Britain, and on the Labrador shore, during the severe winters which reign in those regions for about nine months in the year. The sea, in a gale of wind, dashed against a rock, will be thrown up to a great height, and be arrested, in part, by the severe frost; frequent accumulation will render the mass of great magnitude. When the summer heat begins to melt the snow, and act upon the land, these immense masses of ice are loosened from the shore, and floated off by the north-west winds. They are supposed to continue and float in the Northern Ocean for more than one year; and they, in part, owe their immense height to the snow and rain which fall upon them and freeze. When, in the course of time, they are floated into the more southern latitudes, the warm air, which comes in contact with them, is condensed, and parts with the moisture it held in solution, which appears in the form of mist, and with which these immense masses of ice are constantly surrounded and constantly fed; for during the night the vapour is frozen, and adds to the height of the whole mass.



from taking *an observation* to ascertain his latitude.

We have been so fortunate as to have a favourable and pretty strong wind to carry us across the banks, so that, with the exception of one day, we had no opportunity of fishing for cod.

I was called on deck one day to look at *a banker*; I immediately thought of *Lombard-street*: yet it seemed strange that those who have *so many thousand reasons* for staying at home, should find any to induce them to be on board ship, alongside of us, on the banks of Newfoundland. I found, however, that *the banker* is a small vessel stationed on the banks for the sole purpose of fishing. There are immense numbers of them. They come from Newfoundland, and also from the United States; for we have given the Americans liberty to fish on the banks, and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all our dominions in America.

I doubt much how far it was wise policy in our government to allow the Americans to participate in this trade. There might perhaps be less objection to it in time of

war, when our communication with the continent is so much abridged that we cannot supply their demands ourselves. But in time of peace we could certainly manage the whole of this trade; and in time of war even, there seems no reason why we should not exclusively supply our *West India market*. I do not see how British capital could be employed more advantageously to the country than in a trade which draws real wealth from the ocean, increases our shipping, and augments the number of our seamen.

When one reflects on the great extent of the Banks of Newfoundland, being nearly four hundred miles in length, by about two hundred miles in breadth, besides the smaller banks and fishing grounds on the coast of Cape Breton, and round the shores and islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, there seems room enough for all the cod-fish catchers in the world; and it may seem hard that any of them should be excluded. But as Great Britain has both the right and the power to monopolize this trade, I cannot see any impropriety in her doing so. The allowing the Americans

a share in this trade was an act of pure generosity on the part of Britain. However, a nation ought to be *just* to its own subjects before it is *generous* to those of another country.

For some days past we have seen a great number of enormous *whales* rolling their huge carcasses in the deep. It is curious enough to observe them when several appear near the vessel at the same time. They come to the surface to breathe, or blow, as it is generally called (and with great propriety, for the noise is equal to that of fifty bellows of the largest size), and the water is spouted to an immense height, like the steam of a fire engine.

Amongst the extraordinary things one meets with at sea, it is not one of the least surprising to observe *small land-birds* several hundred miles from land. I was sitting on deck the other day, when, to my great surprise, my attention was arrested by the *warbling* of a bird. I looked up, and saw a *linnet* perched on the rigging, and whistling with as much ardour as if on a bush in a green meadow. It is probable they are driven to sea in a gale of wind, or,

perhaps a fog may conceal the land from them, and by taking a wrong direction, they may proceed to sea; still it is a matter not a little surprising that they should be able to continue on the wing so long as is necessary to fly several hundreds of miles, particularly when the usual shortness of their flight is considered. They continue sometimes with a vessel for several days, and are frequently caught by the sailors; but it is remarked that they seldom live, though every care is taken to give them proper food. When the vessel rolls much, they find it difficult to retain their footing on the rigging, and you see them forced, as it were, to resume their flight in search of a better resting-place: poor little creatures! they look for it in vain. You at length see them drop into the sea. It is surprising what hold such little incidents take of our sensibilities.

To-night we expect to enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence. I trust the weather may continue favourable, and the wind moderate, so as to enable me to write again before we enter the river. In the mean time, I must go on deck, and take another view of Cape Breton.

## LETTER III.

*Gulf of St. Lawrence, May, 1806.*

WE are now in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which we entered a few days ago. The entrance through which we passed is the principal one; it is sixty miles broad, and is formed by Cape North, in the island of Cape Breton, on the south side, and by Cape Raiy, in Newfoundland, on the north side. There is another communication with the ocean, through the Streights of Belleisle, between Newfoundland and the Labrador shore, but it is seldom used, except by *running vessels* from Quebec, that are going to Scotland, or the north of England. The third communication with the ocean is by the *Gut of Canso*, through which, vessels coming from the West Indies, or the United States of America, generally enter the Gulf. This passage, which is very narrow, separates Cape Breton from New Brunswick.

The inland country of Cape Breton ap-

pears very mountainous, and they still (25th May) are covered with snow—a chilling prospect.

We acquired possession of Cape Breton in 1763, and erected it into a separate government in 1784. There is in this island, which is about a hundred miles in length by sixty in breadth, much arable land, which at present abounds with hardwood and pine timber. This country is of great value to Britain, for several reasons. As it commands the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it may be considered as the key of Canada. There are in its neighbourhood very valuable fisheries, which cannot well be carried on without a harbour in the island, and the harbour of Louisburgh is the principal one for that purpose.

Great advantages are likely to accrue from the valuable coal-mines in Cape Breton. There is also abundance of iron. The working of the coal-mines, together with the fisheries, form the chief employment of the inhabitants. Communication with the interior of the island is rendered easy by means of a number of lakes and inlets from the sea, found in every direction.

The gulf is as smooth as a mill-pond. We glide along, almost without being sensible that we are on shipboard. We passed yesterday the *Bird Rocks*, so called from the great number of sea fowls which resort to them. These rocks are not very distant from the Magdalene Islands, to which they are considered to belong. The whole of the rocks and islands were lately granted by government to admiral Sir Isaac Coffin. The islands are valuable only as a fishing station.

These islands are inhabited by the French who left Acadia (now Nova Scotia) after it was secured by France to Britain by the peace of 1763. I am told they are naturally a quiet, good sort of people. Indeed it is well they are so, for they have never been considered of sufficient consequence to give them either laws or a government. They carry on, however, a considerable trade in oil, seal-skins, cod-fish, &c. which they send to Europe, or to Quebec, whence they receive in return the various articles they have occasion for, such as flour, liquors, clothing, &c.

Sir Isaac has lately made an attempt to

bring them under his authority as their lord and master. He has paid them a visit how far he may succeed, time only can shew ; but I understand they would rather be left to themselves than be governed by any body.

To the southward of our course lie Prince Edward's Island, near the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It is a fine island ; the soil is rich, and fit for every sort of grain. It abounds with timber of a variety of kinds, fit for the ship builder, carpenter, and cabinet-maker.

We are now in sight of the island of *Anticosti*, which lies at the mouth of the river St. Lawrence ; it is about one hundred and thirty miles in length, and about thirty in breadth. This extensive tract of country is not inhabited : the length and severity of its winters, and the sterility of its soil, have rendered abortive some attempts that have been made to settle on it and it will not probably be again attempted while so much good *terra firma* remains uncleared and unappropriated. At present the whole island might be purchased for a few hundred pounds. It belongs to



some gentlemen in Quebec, and you might, for a very small sum, become one of the greatest landholders in the world, and a Canadian *Seignor* into the bargain.

When you have passed the island of Anticosti, you may be said to be in the river St. Lawrence; but from its great breadth (being about ninety miles), you still conceive yourself to be in the gulf. The channel between Anticosti and the main land on the south is about fifteen leagues. We have a fine favourable breeze, and in mid-channel we can see both coasts. The mountains appear to be of great height, and they are all covered with snow. They are probably a great way inland; for although we have been directing our course towards those on the south shore the whole day, there seems little or no change in their appearance as to size and height—a proof that both are very great.

I am informed their elevation has never been accurately ascertained; but, if any regard is to be had to appearances, I should suppose they are fully as high as the Pyrenees. The captain of our vessel imagines that we are at least a hundred miles

from them. From this circumstance, a tolerably correct idea may be formed of their height. Sir Isaac Newton has given us principles by which an accurate estimate may be made of the height of an object if you know its distance, and of the distance of an object if you know its height.

When two vessels approach each other at sea, the top-gallant sails are, at first, all that is seen ; the nearer they approach each other, the more they seem to rise out of the water. Seamen discover, from the squareness of the yards, what sort of vessel it is ; they can judge pretty correctly what height of masts she should have, and, therefore, can nearly determine her distance ; a very important matter in time of war, and in case of being chased.

If, according to your reckoning, you run ninety-six miles from the time you first see the top of a mountain until you come near it, you may calculate that mountain to be about a mile in height ; and if you know the height of the mountain, you can ascertain your distance as soon as you see it. Increase the height, and the distance at which the object may be seen increases

in the following proportion: At the distance of 4.18 miles, looking over a smooth surface, you can see the top of an object 10 feet high; at 8.37 miles you can see the top of an object 40 feet high. In order that one object may be seen at double the distance of another, it must be four times higher. The Peak of Teneriffe is from thirteen to fourteen thousand feet high, so that it will be seen just appearing above the horizon at the distance of about 150 miles.

When people on the sea-shore talk of immensely extensive views on the boundless ocean, they are not aware, that these immensely extensive views, reach but a few miles, unless they are on a very elevated situation.

On the south side of the river St. Lawrence, the province of Canada extends to the entrance of the river at Cape Rosier, where you have the district of *Gaspé*, and a bay of that name a few leagues to the south of Cape Rosier. This part of Canada is still inhabited by a few Indians.

On the north side of the entrance of the river you have the *Labrador coast*, and the

islands of Mingan. Amongst these islands there is secure and good anchorage, and they present an excellent situation for a cod, seal, and salmon fishery; they are well adapted also for carrying on a trade with the Esquimaux Indians.

Higher up the river you have *The Bay of Seven Islands*, a secure harbour for ships in any wind. In this neighbourhood are what are called *The King's Posts*. The French king established settlements or posts here for fishing, and carrying on the fur trade with the Indians, who inhabit the country as far north as Hudson's Bay. The King's Posts belong to government, as successors to the rights of the French king. They are held in lease by the *North-west Company*, established in Montreal, who pay 1000*l.* per annum of rent, and they have the exclusive right of trading with the Indians of the Labrador country. Some of the finest furs come from these posts, particularly bears and foxes.

We have proceeded up the river a considerable way, but it still looks like a sea. To-day I witnessed a very extraordinary scene; a fierce battle, in consequence of

a *whale* being attacked by a *thresher* and a *sword-fish*. One would think that the immense size and strength of the whale would put him entirely out of danger, but size and strength must often yield to ingenuity and stratagem; no animal seems exempt from a violent death, not even the whale. Our Canadian pilot informed me that such conflicts were very common in the river St. Lawrence. The *thresher* (the Canadians call it *un fléau*) is from fifteen to twenty feet long; of the flat fish genus, resembling a *sole*, but rather longer in proportion; the back, like that of the sole, is black; and the belly white. He is assisted in his attack on the whale by the sword-fish. It would seem that pure antipathy and mischief are alone the causes of this combination; they have not the stimulus of hunger, as they do not eat the whale when dead. Fish are generally considered to be extremely stupid animals; but here you have a concerted plan, and an instance of ratiocination, approaching to that of the dog or fox.

When the attack is to commence, the sword-fish gets under the whale, and darts

up at him with immense force\*. The whale, feeling the stroke and attack of the sword-fish, flies to the top of the water, where the thresher attacks him. I saw the whale come up, raising his huge back high out of the water. The tail of the thresher was immediately seen brandished in the air, and most part of his body out of the water; flap after flap he struck the whale on the back as fast as I could with a stick, who, feeling the blows, darts down head foremost, raising his immense forked tail in the air, and striking with it on every side, apparently with a view of hitting the thresher, and if it did, instant death most

\* To shew the strength of the sword-fish, it may be proper to observe, that the sword has been found sticking in the bottom of a ship. On the 16th September, 1806, in *Ayre's* ship-yard, in Kensington, near Philadelphia, the ship *Pensylvania packet* was hove down, and it was found that she had been struck six feet below the *bends* by a sword-fish: the sword had pierced the copper sheathing, and bottom plank, to the ceiling inside; the sword was broken short off outside; it had been driven in with such force as to splinter the plank and cause a leak. It is supposed that the sword-fish mistakes the ship for a whale. I believe there is to be seen, in the British Museum, a part of the bottom of a ship, with the sword of the fish which pierced it sticking in it.

probably would follow. The sword-fish again attacks him; the whale rises again, and is again attacked by the thresher; he again descends, but attempts in vain to elude the attack of his enemies. I saw him several times raise his head out of the water, at the moment the thresher's tail was brandishing in the air, and striking him. He seemed to attempt to catch it in his mouth.

The conflict continued in view about an hour. Sometimes they remained under water for a few minutes, but the whale must come to the surface of the water to breathe, or blow, as it is called; and besides, the attacks from the sword-fish, it is to be presumed, were incessant, and would naturally make him rise to the surface. It is probable they did not leave the whale till they had killed him. I understand, from the Canadians, that whales have been found killed by the sword-fish, who at the same time has fallen a sacrifice to his own furious attack, not having been able to draw the sword from its *whale-belly scabbard*.

This latter circumstance, if true (for I

have not myself seen it), is sufficient evidence to prove that the sword-fish assists the *thresher* in his attack on the whale, and I find that the Canadians all agree that the sword-fish has a share in the battle.

It is impossible to conceive any thing more desperate than the conflict appeared to be. To see the tremendous animals in contact, part of both raised high out of the water at the same time; the black back and immense head of the whale, contrasted with the long white and black tail of the *thresher*, in constant action, literally *threshing* the whale most unmercifully; *every blow resounding like the noise of a cannon*: feeling the blows, and galled on all sides by creatures he might well despise, he flounces about, blowing and making a tremendous noise; dashing the water to a prodigious height, and occasioning a sort of local storm.

One would imagine that *Job* alluded to such battles when he describes the *Leviathan*:—"out of his nostrils goeth smoke; he maketh the deep to boil like a pot; he maketh a path to shine after him; one would think the deep to be hoary."



There was something extremely sublime in the whole scene: had a Milton beheld it, he certainly would have given it a place in his writings, clothed with all that fine imagery and lofty diction his wonderful genius could so well bestow.

I perceive my letter is of great length: how can it be otherwise, in talking of the largest river, the largest animals, and amongst the largest mountains in the world? Every thing around me is on the grand scale. Let us have a little respite, however. I dare say you think it is high time.

## LETTER IV.

*River St. Lawrence, off Cape Chat,  
Thirty-eight leagues from Anticosti, May, 1806.*

WE have been *beating up* against a contrary wind since yesterday, and have, *in tacking*, had an opportunity of approaching both sides of this immense river. The appearance of the country is very different indeed from any thing you can see in Europe. The whole, to the very edge of the water, is one continued forest. The trees, however, appearing scraggy and dwarfish, present a most desert and melancholy aspect, without the least appearance of the country being the residence of human beings.

Probably it looks pretty much the same now that it did to *Jaques Cartier*, when, in the year 1535, he sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and *discovered Canada*. The river had its name from his having entered it on St. Lawrence's day. The etymology of the *word Canada*, or *why* the country

received this name, are equally unknown. I have heard a definition, which is more whimsical, perhaps, than true. It is said that the Spaniards had visited the country before the French did; but finding it very barren, and without *gold*, the grand object of *their* pursuit, they frequently, on the eve of their departure, mentioned in the presence of the Indians, "*aca nada*," signifying, *here is nothing*. When the French visited the country, the Indians, in hopes of getting rid of them, and supposing them Spaniards, repeated frequently *aca nada*, which the French, not understanding, thought, might be the name of the country; hence they called it *Canada*. You may take this definition till you can find a better.

To-day we have passed the isle of Bique, and we see some signs of an inhabited country. The face of the heavens appears quite darkened with smoke, arising from the burning of the woods, which is the method taken in this part of the world to clear and prepare the land for cultivation. We see the forest burning at a great distance, and in a variety of situ-

ations. One cannot help regretting this apparent waste of timber ; but the fact is, there is yet as much timber to be found in situations from which it can be easily transported to the river, as the market requires ; besides, the greater part of the timber we see burning is of an inferior quality, and would not be worth the expence of transportation.

When the underwood is thick, which is generally the case where the trees are of an inferior size and quality, the blaze of the burning forest is awful. It continues to burn for weeks together, and you see here and there, amongst the half consumed ordinary sized trees, the trunks of very large trees, scorched black to the very top. The fire lays waste every thing before it for many miles beyond what those who first kindled it, intended, or could cultivate ; and you see a new forest grown up in many places, while the old charred trunks of lofty trees still remain nearly the same as when first burnt ; for it is the quality of charcoal to preserve what it surrounds from corruption.

A few huts appear here and there on the

shore. Their mutual wants and mutual defence induce the settlers to draw near each other. We have here the very rudiments of civil society. The inhabitants of these huts are Canadians ; they have few wants which their own industry and ingenuity cannot supply ; they are their own architects, carpenters, shoemakers, and taylorers ; and except for their hatchets, and a few simple tools, they are very little dependant on foreign assistance.

We have received a visit from some Indians ; they came off to us in a *birch canoe*, on purpose to dispose of some fish they had caught. We took them on board, and as they were the first Indians I had ever seen, they excited my curiosity not a little. Poor, miserable looking creatures they certainly were ; feeble and diminutive in form, they gave us a very disadvantageous idea of their countrymen. It is hardly fair, however, to judge of a people from the appearance of a few fishermen ; at the same time, we ought to recollect that the Indians are all fishermen and hunters, and that therefore those we saw are more likely to be a fair sample of the

whole tribe, than the fishermen or hunters of a nation which employs the great majority of its people in the arts of civil society, are to be considered as a sample of the people of such nation.

We received from them all their fish; they would not take money in return, but seemed highly pleased when we gave them in exchange, a bottle of brandy, and some salted pork. They got into their feeble bark, and paddled off, singing for joy.— Limited, indeed, are the wants of these poor creatures, when such a trifling circumstance could gladden their hearts.

As we proceeded farther up the river, the country assumed a more favourable aspect; the number of habitations increased, and we began to observe marks of cultivation. We passed the Island of Bique, where vessels bound for Quebec and Montreal usually take pilots; for the navigation of the river now becomes more intricate, from the number of islands, banks, and shoals, which abound. At Bique there is good anchorage; and the frigates which come to convoy the Canada ships home, do not in general go higher: it is

the usual place of rendezvous. The vessels from Quebec proceed down to Bique to receive their sailing instructions. It is distant from Quebec about 150 miles, and from Montreal near 350.

After passing Bique, several beautiful islands make their appearance; Green Island, Hare Island, the islands of Kauraskak, and a variety of others, all covered with wood. Some of them are inhabited, and in a state of cultivation; no more wood being left than is necessary for fuel and other domestic purposes. This, in the course of time, will be the case with almost all of them, as the soil of many is very good.

The magnitude of the river now strikes one very forcibly, for though it is about twenty miles broad, I found, on tasting some of the water at half ebb tide, that it was perfectly fresh. I really do believe that there is more fresh water thrown into the ocean from this river, than from all the rivers in Europe put together. I have seen many of the largest of them. A dozen Danubes, Rhines, Rhones, Taguses, and Thameses, would be nothing to twenty

miles of fresh water in breadth, from ten to forty fathoms in depth.

The mountains on both sides are very high, and often terminate in capes or bold headlands, which have a very fine effect. In general, I perceive that there is, on both sides of the river, a tract of land comparatively level, between high-water mark and the first range of mountains, particularly on the south side; and we see parish churches, villages, and a general appearance of cultivation. Yet still the strip of cultivated ground, viewed from the river, is so small, compared with the high wood-covered mountains in the back ground of the picture, that it is scarcely enough to take off the appearance of complete savage wildness. The *sombre* hue of the pine forest is a strong contrast to the lively verdure of the corn-fields. I perceive that the spring is very late in this part of the country: in many places the rising grain is not sufficiently advanced to cover the ground, and the forest trees are not yet in leaf. Vegetation, in general, is very little advanced, although we are now at the end of May.



them clearly and forcibly, which you would have great difficulty in doing after time had familiarized them to you, and weakened your recollection of that country, and of those appearances with which you originally contrasted them. Hence you always find that the truest and most lively descriptions of countries, of people, and of manners, are given by travellers who make a point of noting down, under the impressions of the moment, whatever may strike them as worthy of remark.

Europeans have ever been told that the appearance of America is extremely imposing; and, so far as I have seen, I can safely bear testimony to the truth of the remark. Nature seems to have sketched the picture with a bold hand: the outline is rough, but the effect is grand, and *à la distance*, the scenery is extremely pleasing.

There is not, perhaps, in the whole extent of this immense continent, so fine an approach to it as by the river St. Lawrence. In the southern states you have, in general, a level country for many miles in-

land; here you are introduced at once into a majestic country: every thing is on the grand scale; mountains, woods, lakes, rivers, precipices, waterfalls, all shew the hand of nature in a vast and imposing manner: the stamp, the impression of originality, are conspicuous every where. The pigmy operations of man, the marks of civilization and of cultivation, here and there meet the eye; yet, nevertheless, the country has still the appearance of an immense forest.

When we reflect on the number of years this country has been in the possession of Europeans, we cannot help being surprised that it should still retain so much of its original rudeness: it is now about 260 years since it was taken possession of by the French. However, it must be confessed, they cannot be said to have had peaceable possession. They were very soon attacked by the Indians, who kept them in an almost constant state of warfare; they were never free from alarms; and in this perilous situation they continued for many years. The infant colony seems to have been very much neglected by Old France,

part of the river, and is an extensive range of very heavy ordnance, besides some 13 inch mortars, which, if properly served, must destroy any vessels which might attempt to pass, or come near enough to injure the town.

The river opposite to Quebec is about 100 feet in depth, and affords good anchorage: for a considerable way above Quebec it is navigable for ships of any size. Indeed, large ships go as high up as Montreal, which is near 200 miles above Quebec.

The site of Quebec seems to have been destined by nature for the capital of an empire. The surrounding country is magnificent; and it is seen to great advantage from *Cape Diamond*, which overlooks the great river, and is the termination of *the plains of Abraham*.

It is a very difficult thing to convey by words a correct idea of any town, or give a just notion of the situation of a place, and the appearance of its surrounding scenery. In reading the description of a place, we naturally draw a picture of it in our own mind; but it is always an

erroneous one. Nothing but a *model*, if properly executed and coloured, or a *panorama*, the most excellent of all sorts of painting, can enable one to form so correct an idea of a place as to supersede the necessity of visiting it.

I recollect how much I was struck with the difference between the picture I had drawn in my own mind of many places of consequence and celebrity, the descriptions of which I had read, and their real and true appearance on inspection. Of these the most striking were London; Lisbon and its magnificent Cintra, Gibraltar, Montpellier, Lyons, Paris, and many other places of note on the continent of Europe. Although the picture I had drawn to myself of Quebec was not correct, yet it was fully as near the truth as I expected it would be.

I do not pretend to be a great proficient in the topographic art, but the drawings of Quebec are, in general, so very erroneous, or at least so inadequate to the end proposed, that the aid of description seems extremely necessary, in order that a

are increasing in size daily. The population of Quebec and its suburbs may be reckoned about ten thousand souls.

There is nothing in the appearance of Quebec itself which strikes one as being very different from an English town, except, perhaps, the roofs of the houses; they are generally covered with boards or shingles, and you always see on the roofs, several ladders, for the sake of easy access in case of fire.

A shingle roof so much resembles a slate one, that when they are painted a slate colour, you cannot know the one from the other; the only evil attending them is, that they are liable to catch fire: from this circumstance, Quebec has formerly suffered greatly from fires. A law has been passed encouraging the covering houses with boards in place of shingles, and, indeed, prohibiting the latter altogether.

The dread of fire in Quebec is greater than in any place I have ever known, but when it is considered how much they formerly have suffered from it, one ceases to be surprised.

A society has been formed, called the Fire Society: they elect a president and other office bearers annually. The object of this society is to assist in the extinguishing of fire, for which purpose they have several engines and firemen; indeed, in case of fire almost every man may be said to be a fireman, for every body lends his assistance: poor people who have been very active receive pecuniary reward from the society. Their funds are raised by annual voluntary subscription.

Many of the best houses, and most valuable warehouses are covered with *tin plates*, which make not only a very beautiful and very durable roof, but are also a complete security against fire.

The reason that fire has spread so rapidly in Quebec has been, that the shingles when once inflamed, being extremely light, were blown by the wind to an incredible distance, and operated on other shingle roofs like a shower of fire. Now, the tin-plates receive the burning shingles with impunity; it might be imagined that the tin-plates would rust, but this is not the case. I have

fortifications extends from one side of the peninsula to the other, enclosing the city and *highest part* of Cape Diamond. *There*, a *cavallier* battery has lately been erected, which commands the ground to a considerable distance from the walls; at the extent of the range of this battery, *martello towers* are about to be erected, which will sweep the plains of Abraham, and prevent, in some measure, an enemy from approaching near enough the walls to make a breach. There is no fosse; so that if a breach were once made, a daring enemy would have no difficulty in entering the city.

The ground for a considerable distance to the south-west of the city of Quebec is called *The Plains of Abraham*, famous for the battle in which General Wolfe beat the French. These plains are nearly on a level with the fortifications, and widen as you retire from them, to the extent of from one to two miles, preserving the level nearly throughout, but sloping *a little* both ways, particularly towards the river St. Charles on the north. On the side towards the St. Lawrence the bank is of great height;

almost perpendicular, and generally covered with wood where the slope will admit of it, which is not always the case. Notwithstanding the difficulty of ascent, General Wolfe, with infinite labour, contrived to carry his little army, and a few small field pieces, to the top of the bank, and took his stand on the plains of Abraham.

The French were astonished, on looking out in the morning, to find him there; they came out of the city and gave him battle. He beat them, and followed them close up to the walls of the town.

It was very unaccountable that the French should resolve to come out of a strong fortification (where they might long have resisted the assailants) and put themselves on a footing with their enemies. Besides the troops in the city of Quebec, the French had ten thousand men encamped at *Beauport*, within a few miles of Quebec. If an arrangement had taken place with those troops, that they should attack Wolfe at the moment the garrison sallied forth, his little army must have been cut to pieces. To this error we owe Quebec\*.

\* They were less to blame, perhaps, than General



The French general Montcalm, as well as the brave Wolfe, fell in the engagement; very different however must have been their feelings in their last moments. The conduct of the Frenchman in rashly sacrificing his troops and the interests of his country could not bear reflection. Wolfe saw his troops triumphant; they had beaten the enemy: he died in the arms of victory.

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,  
By all their country's wishes blest!  
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,  
Returns to deck their hallowed mould;  
She then shall dress a sweeter sod,  
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung,  
By forms unseen their dirge is sung.  
There, Honour comes, a pilgrim grey,  
To bless the mould that wraps their clay:  
And Freedom shall awhile repair  
To dwell a weeping hermit there.

I have been on the spot where Wolfe

Murray afterwards was, who, notwithstanding the example of the French having suffered by it, left the fortifications, went out on the plain in the face of a superior army, under the command of the French general Mr. Levi. He was beaten, and obliged to retreat to the city with the loss of his artillery and near a third of his army.

fell, and a stone is shewn on which it is said he was laid. It is very much mutilated, from the curiosity of strangers who wish to carry off a bit of it, as a kind of relic. One cannot help feeling a good deal interested in traversing a field of battle;—the glory which we attach to the death of the hero who falls in his country's cause, sanctifies the ground on which he fell.

The upper town of Quebec being on a very elevated situation, enjoys fine air, and a commanding view of the surrounding country, which affords the most sublime scenery in nature. I have seen most of the fine views in Europe; and I can safely say, they do not surpass, perhaps they do not equal, that from the flagstaff of Quebec on Cape Diamond.

The majestic St. Lawrence under your feet, receiving the waters of the river St. Charles, and forming the bason of Quebec, from three to four miles across;—further on you see the river dividing itself into two branches, forming the beautiful island of Orleans:—on the opposite side of the great river, a finely wooded country, terminating at *Point Levi*, conceals the course and bed

of one of the branches of the river,—the island of Orleans, the falls of Montmorency, strike the observer; and the villages of Beauport, Charlebourg, and Lorette, appear at a distance, and render the woods in which they are embosomed more interesting. The eye follows the northern branch of the St. Lawrence till it is lost amongst the distant mountains. To the southward you look over a level country for upwards of sixty miles, till the view is bounded by mountains. This extensive tract is still in a great measure in a state of nature;—nothing to be seen but the stately forest in all its majesty.

Amongst the fine views which I have beheld with delight, and which combine in them objects sufficiently striking to entitle them to be compared with the view from Quebec, I recollect that from the Rock of Gibraltar,—from the pass of Bellegarde in the Pyrenees,—from the *Place de Peru* at Montpellier,—from Kingsweston near Bristol,—from Edinburgh Castle,—from Cintra near Lisbon,—and from many other places which I could mention; but the view from Quebec is equal to any of them, perhaps I

might even venture to say, that it surpasses them all. It is difficult to imagine a more happy blending of art and nature;—villages, country houses, cottages, corn fields, —are combined with primeval woods, fine rivers, beautiful islands, magnificent waterfalls, towering hills, and lofty mountains.

From the scenery which surrounds Cape Diamond let me return to the Cape itself.

—I had heard that Cape Diamond, and the country in the neighbourhood of Quebec, abounded with marble. I am no great mineralogist; but, from every thing I can observe (and I have taken some pains to examine), I do not find any species of calcareous rock in the whole extent of the ridge, from *Cape Diamond* to *Cape Rouge*. What generally prevails, is a coarse incomplete sort of *schistus*, the laminæ of which, when exposed to the operation of the atmosphere, moulder into a dark brown coloured earth; it never can be used for building to any advantage, unless it is defended from the action of the air.

*Cape Diamond* abounds with very fine specimens of quartz, or rock crystals.—I have myself, in walking on the banks of

the river at the foot of the rocks, found many of them. They are discovered from the brilliancy of their reflecting surfaces:— they sparkle like the diamond;—and hence the place had its name. On examination, I have generally found that they are pentagons, terminating in a point, and possessing *naturally* much of the brilliancy and polish of a cut diamond; and they are so hard, that like a diamond they cut glass.

## LETTER VII.

Quebec, August, 1906.

I FORMERLY observed to you, that Quebec seems admirably situated to become the capital of an empire. Allow me to mention the circumstances which induce me to think so.

The uninterrupted navigable part of the St. Lawrence is of great extent,—near five hundred miles, which is the distance between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Montreal, where, are found vessels of from 3 to 400 tons burden. In its course it receives a number of fine rivers, which open a communication with the country on both sides. The lake Champlain, 120 miles in length, communicates with the St. Lawrence by means of the river *Sorel* (or *Chambly*, as it is sometimes called), and is the natural channel for the produce of the fine country surrounding this lake.

Although the ship navigation ends at Montreal, another species of navigation

commences, suitable to the waters to be navigated, and to the commodities to be transported. Bateaux, and canoes, convey to Upper Canada, and the country round the lakes, and to the north-west territories, the European commodities they want; and with the aid of scows\*, floats, and rafts, carry down to Montreal and Quebec the surplus produce of these immense regions, as yet of trifling amount 'tis true, compared with the commerce of Europe; but when one reflects on the variety of climate, of soil, and of productions, which these extensive countries display; and the facility given to the transportation of goods by means of so many fine rivers and large lakes; one cannot help concluding that it is destined at some future period to be the most commercial country on earth.

The river St. Lawrence must ever be the grand outlét to the ocean for the productions of all that tract of country between the United States and Hudson's bay, including the lakes Erie, Ontario, Michigan, and lake Superior†; and there can

\* These, described in another place.

† Although the lakes are not immediately connected

be no doubt that Quebec is the key of the river St. Lawrence.

When we consider the many millions of

with the Atlantic by any other river than the St. Lawrence, yet there are several rivers that fall into the Atlantic, which rise so near the sources of others that run into the lakes, and each navigable for boats so near their sources, that by means of them, and of a very short land carriage, trade may be carried on between the Atlantic, and the lakes. There are three channels for this trade which particularly demand attention; the first by the Mississippi and Ohio, and thence up the Wabash, Miami, and Muskingum, from the heads of which there are portages of from 1 to 15 miles, to the rivers which fall into the Lake Erie: secondly, along the Patowmack river (which flows past *Washington City*), and from thence into the Cayahoga, Bigbeaver, and Yahogany, to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie: thirdly, along Hudson's River (which falls into the Atlantic at New York), and the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Lake Oneida, and Oswego River, which falls into Lake Ontario. In the course of time there will be a competition amongst the settlers on these different routs, which shall have most of the trade of the Western territory, but they must all yield to the St. Lawrence, which commands a decided preference, because the distance to a port where vessels from the ocean can load, is shorter than by any of the other routs, and the portages are not so long; and besides, during the summer months, the rivers in the United States have so little water near their sources, that the length of the portages must be greatly increased. In the St. Lawrence they are always the same. It



acres which communicate with this river and surround the lakes, where, at present you have only the stately pine, the hardy oak, and many other tenants of the forest; and where in course of time will be seen the golden harvest, the lowing herd, the bleating flock, and the sons and daughters of industry and innocence;—the heart expands with secret pleasure, and tastes in anticipation, the happiness in reserve for posterity.

Man in civilized society is naturally a *commercial animal*; he is seldom satisfied with what he possesses; he must be changing one thing for another; he is prompted to it by his wants, and when he can find in any one place such things as he may desire to have, thither he resorts. This formerly gave birth to fairs; and it has made some cities perpetual fairs. It has made London the first city in the world; and it will continue Quebec as the first city in the Canadas; perhaps it may become the first

It is worthy of notice that a person may go from Quebec to New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, by water the whole way, except about the space of one mile from the source of the Illinois river, to the source of a river which falls into Lake Michigan.

in America, for it has a much more extensive communication with the interior of America than the new city of Washington or any other city of America. Neither the Patowmac, Chesapeake, Delaware, nor Hudson's river, are at all to be compared to the St. Lawrence, either in magnitude or extent of back country.

Quebec is already considerably extended beyond the walls: there may in time be as much difficulty in finding out the old walls and old city of Quebec, as there is in finding the bounds of the old city of London. I fancy I hear people proposing to take a walk to the west end of the town; or to *Wolfe's Square*, in the centre of which may be placed his statue, where *Wolfe's stone* now lies. The river St. Charles, which at present covers unnecessarily a great deal of ground, may be confined to a narrow channel, and will be a fine situation for extending the Lower Town as far as Beauport. Wharfs and quays will of course arise: the situation is excellent for dry and wet docks; and warehouses without number may be eligibly situated. I believe the French had this in contemplation, and even

went so far as to make a plan of it. Long before these things take place, Canada may possibly be no longer a British colony: to this subject I shall direct your attention in my next letter.

## LETTER VIII.

*Quebec, August, 1806.*

**ALLOW** me to make a few observations on the treatment the Canadians have experienced since the conquest.

The length of time Canada may continue under the dominion of Britain, will depend very much on the manner in which the country is governed, and the kind of policy observed towards the inhabitants. It is a subject which is even now discussed every day, and I find that there is a great difference of opinion about it.

We lost the United States by an impolitic course of treatment, and it behoves us to look well to the Canadas. Some people pretend to say that we are better without America, and very ingenious arguments have been brought forward to prove it. One thing we may be assured of is, that the arguments will be favourably received: we are very glad to find palliatives for evils we cannot remedy. I suppose no one will

pretend to say that the loss of our North American colonies, and consequently of our Newfoundland trade, would not be a very serious evil to Great Britain. Although self-interest and the power of custom might induce the people to continue their trade with us, and our Customhouse books might shew higher exports than while they were under our dominion, still if we depended on them for any articles of the first necessity;—party spirit, caprice, or foreign influence, might produce a non-importation act, or an embargo, nay they might even refuse bread and water to our men of war;—injuries to which we never would be liable, were we masters of the country. It appears to me to be decidedly the interest of Great Britain to retain the dominion of her North American colonies, *even though her doing so should retard their progress in population, in arts, and in commerce.* Their individual interests ought to yield to those of the mother country, the head of the empire.

Canada, and Canadians, differ very materially from the *ci-devant* British colonies in America and their inhabitants. These

were Englishmen,—descended from men who had the highest notions of civil and religious liberty, and they inherited the temper and sentiments of their ancestors;—they were impatient under what they conceived to be the tyranny of government, and they brought about the revolution. The Canadians are legitimate Frenchmen,—the descendants of the worshippers of Louis the Fourteenth and of Cardinal Richelieu,—the descendants of men who never once formed an idea, themselves, of the nature of civil and religious liberty, and who, of course, would not be likely to impress it on the minds of their children. The authoritative mandates of the French king have never sounded in their ears in vain;—they were issued with all the arrogance of despotism, and received with implicit and passive obedience. Even now, to reason with the great bulk of the Canadians on the measures of government, is what they never look for; they have no idea of questioning their propriety;—command them *au nom du Roi*, and you will be obeyed.

The government of Britain have thought fit to give to Canada a constitution upon

the same principles as her own ; and have given to the Canadians the right of electing, and being elected members of the legislature. How far it has been wise so to do, appears at least problematical. That which is a positive good in certain circumstances, may be a positive evil in others. Is it clear, that the British form of government is fitted for Canada, and that the Canadians are in a state to be benefited by being allowed a share in the government? Does their knowledge, their education, the whole train and direction of their ideas, prejudices, and passions, fit them for being *legislators*? I suspect that the answer must be in the negative. How can those men attain a knowledge of the principles of government, and of civil and religious liberty, *who can neither read nor write*, which is the case with the great mass of the people, and however strange it may appear, is the case with many of the members of the House of Assembly. This must seem incredible, but is however strictly true; and is of itself a most convincing proof that it was too soon to give them a share in the government.

The state of the country is so low as to arts and letters, that it is impossible to find in the counties, and even sometimes in the towns, men, who in any respect are capable of taking a part in the legislature. Let knowledge be more generally spread through the country; let the people be taught to read and to reason, which Englishmen had long been habituated to before they received *their* constitution, and then, and not till then, ought they to have a voice in the deliberations of government.

I do not deny that some of the Canadians are qualified from their education and general knowledge to take a part in state affairs, but it is the case with very few of them; and to pretend to find in the counties in general, fit men to represent them, is altogether out of the question. The counties are large districts, thinly inhabited, and generally by people who cannot leave their families without great injury to their private interests. In fact, more than one half of the members of the House of Assembly are merchants, shopkeepers, lawyers, and notaries public, living in Quebec and Montreal. The House of Assembly



consists of fifty members, and I will venture to say, that taking away seven or eight of them, whom I could name, the business of the House could not go on at all, such is the incapacity of the rest. Would not a *council*, including these seven or eight members, answer every purpose of a House of Assembly? Nay, be more consonant to the feelings and prejudices of the majority of the Canadians, and to the state of the province both in a civil and military point of view.

I may be told that it is now too late, the Canadians having tasted the sweets of power. It is an observation as true as it is common, that it is never too late to do well. It is to be hoped, and presumed, that the House of Assembly will not in any material point thwart the intentions of the executive, or act contrary to the interest of Great Britain. If they did, I should think it by no means too late for the governor to dissolve them never to meet again, except to be instantly dissolved, which it is in his power to do. It would be doing many of them no great injury to transplant them to their corn fields, or country shops, instead

of allowing them to sit in a House of Assembly where they are mere cyphers, or, at best, tools to a few designing men.

The Canadians themselves seem to have felt their incapacity to act as legislators, for they opposed as much as they could the introduction of the present form of government. It was brought about by the English residents in Quebec and Montreal; but from some mismanagement at home they were completely outwitted. If Upper and Lower Canada had had but one house of assembly, the English party would have always kept the majority. But Canada was divided into two provinces; and as the French Canadians in *Lower Canada* greatly outnumber the English, they have completely the ascendancy in the House of Assembly;—a thing never dreamed of by those who promoted the introduction of the present form of government. The Canadians find that the government of the country is virtually placed in their hands; the English cannot carry a single point if they choose to oppose them; and is it to be expected that a constitution founded

on the purest principles of civil and religious liberty, can be supported, explained, and acted upon, by men, who are as ignorant of such principles, as they are deficient in general knowledge?

The division of Canada into two provinces, with separate and independent governments, was certainly approved of by Mr. Pitt, though it did not originate with him:—the present lord Grenvillè I have understood was instrumental in bringing it about. It appears contrary to principles which Mr. Pitt afterwards applied to another part of the empire. He maintained, and all mankind must allow that union gives strength and vigour; by the union of Scotland and Ireland with England, the strength of the whole is generally allowed to be increased. The same principle will apply to the Canadas. They should not have separate legislatures, because it will in time engender separate interests, real or supposed; and produce a jarring in their co-operation for the general good of the colony, and in promoting the interests of the mother country.

It does not appear attended with much difficulty, even now, to unite the two houses of assembly, as the Irish was to the English Parliament. Let the governor of Upper Canada be in civil, as he now is in military matters, subordinate. The officers of the crown, and the judges, (as in Scotland and Ireland), might continue to act, each for their own district, under such new regulations as might seem expedient. The laws and language of Upper and Lower Canada being different, need be no objection. The same thing exists between the highlands of Scotland and England, though the same legislature serves both. An union of the two governments seems the only line of policy which can ensure to Englishmen that weight in the country which is highly expedient, not only for their own safety and convenience, but for the good of the province, and the interests of Great Britain. If Canada is to have a representative government (which I by no means think necessary), the whole province should have but one legislature, and one head.

The British government have in more

cases than one, acted unwisely, in my humble opinion, in these matters.—There can be little doubt that the kind of government to be given to a conquered country ought to be fitted for the people to be governed, regard being had to their previous habits, and the general state of society.

The English conquered *Corsica*, for instance, and took it into their heads to give the Corsicans a British constitution. Of all the islanders in the Mediterranean the Corsicans are the most savage, and were the least accustomed to think for themselves in matters of government. What was the consequence? Lord Minto, the first viceroy, could tell you. Their savage manners could not be moulded so as to make them fit for deliberating in council. Like the Canadian members of parliament, many of them could neither read nor write. Such men cannot appreciate the value of a free constitution. The English are so fond of their constitution, that they think it is only necessary to shew it to all the world, and it must be accepted with joy.

This way of thinking will naturally enough be adopted by those who have studied politics in their closet, and have never been out of England ;—but, by those who have visited foreign countries, who have contemplated man in a state of ignorance and superstition, very different conclusions, I venture to say, will be drawn. The English constitution is, I imagine, too complex a machine to be at once understood, adopted, and put in motion, by a simple and uninformed people, who have not been accustomed to political disquisitions, and abstract reasoning. We ought to recollect, that even in England, a nation ever forward in its advances to refinement, it was only by degrees that a free constitution was introduced,—the country for many centuries being in a state of probation, as it were. The seeds of liberty, which, in one reign, were sown and began to shoot out, were in the next, trodden under foot and destroyed. Rational and genuine freedom is not the child of theory, it would appear ; it cannot, like a book, be taken up and laid down at pleasure.

A truce, however, for the present, to political discussions. I am going with a party to see *the Falls* in this neighbourhood. The *Fall of Chaudiere* is, I am told, very grand; and the Fall of Montmorency, will, I doubt not, give as much pleasure, on a near view, as we are led to expect from its grand appearance at a distance.

## LETTER IX.

Quebec, September, 1806.

SINCE I last had the pleasure of writing you, I have visited not only the Fall of *Chaudiere*, but also the Fall of *Montmorency*, two of the greatest natural curiosities which this country has to boast of. Neither of them is equal to the far-famed Falls of *Niagara*, in Upper Canada, where the St. Lawrence precipitates itself in a body over a rock about 160 feet of perpendicular height; but they are both possessed of beauties peculiar to themselves, which render them highly deserving the attention of the lovers of the sublime and beautiful.

The river *Chaudiere* falls into the St. Lawrence, about five miles above Quebec, on the opposite side. When a visit to it is in contemplation, a boat must be procured, for which you must be indebted to some of your friends, as there are none for hire: and you must carry meat and drink with you, (if you intend to eat)—a thing never to



be neglected when a jaunt into the country is proposed. A cockney steps into a post-chaise when he makes an excursion from London,—drives twenty miles into the country to some favourite spot,—orders dinner at the inn,—takes his amusement, and returns when he feels an inclination. In all this business, he is a very passive kind of animal. Now, *here*, if you wish to go into the country, you must literally be active;—you must study the tides, procure boats and men to manage them, carry your dinner and drink with you, act the part of cook yourself frequently;—all this, however, serves, I think, to make these little excursions the more amusing.

We went up the St. Lawrence with the tide and a strong breeze, and landed in the mouth of the Chaudière. It is so full of rocks and rapids that you cannot sail up it; and the banks are so steep and full of wood that they admit of no path to the fall. It is situated about three miles from where the Chaudière joins the St. Lawrence; and it is necessary to make a circuit of a few miles in order to get to it. Part of our way was easy enough, as there

is a road cut through the wood ; but the greater part is very difficult, as you are obliged to find your way through a wood where there is no road, nor any visible path to direct you,—at least that I could discern. However, some of the party had been there before ; and were, besides, somewhat acquainted with *the art* of travelling in a wood.

It is surprising what new light experience throws on this way of travelling. An *Indian* or a *Canadian voyageur*, will discern a path or tract where others have passed, and follow it for many days, where you and I never would have imagined a human being had passed before. Those accustomed to travelling in the woods acquire a dexterity in discovering footsteps, truly surprising. The fallen leaves, where I could discover no vestige, shew, to an experienced traveller, infallible marks of it. They are frequently aided by the underwood in finding the route already taken ;— a branch broken in a certain manner, or, the branches twisted, or put into unnatural situations, indicate that some one had passed that way. By their acuteness in

these matters, the Indians follow either foes or friends through extensive forests with as much certainty as the fox-hound follows the fox. If they expect to be followed by their friends, they leave certain unequivocal marks behind them. They break the underwood at every step in a particular manner, and notch the trees as they pass along.

If an Indian or Canadian voyageur wishes to make a journey to any particular place, to which there is no known tract;— he goes into the woods without the smallest dread; he makes a straight course, and will, after many days journey, reach his destination, without a compass, through woods that perhaps never before had been trodden by the foot of man. They tell you, that by narrowly observing the trees, they discover certain marks which indicate to them the points of the compass, even though the sun should be obscured by thick weather. They never *lose their presence of mind*, as those do who are not accustomed to travelling in the woods. For my part, had I been left alone, after penetrating into the Chaudiere wood a few miles, I doubt

much whether I ever could have found my way out again.

There was an instance, not long ago, of a person belonging to Quebec having lost his party who were going to see the Falls. He was never more heard of. It was supposed that he had wandered in the wood till his strength failed him, and that he had fallen a sacrifice to famine. This idea is confirmed from the circumstance of a human skeleton having since been found in the wood. He was a strong, healthy, young man.

It is very well known in this country (from a number of people having from time to time lost their way in the woods, but who accidentally found it again), that the mind undergoes a wonderful change when you find you have lost all traces of your way. A kind of delirium comes on—perhaps the effect of fear. The person is no longer capable of using his accustomed sagacity, and profiting from his own experience. Objects which might have pointed out to him his way, are passed by unnoticed; he often wanders in a circle while he supposes himself pursuing a straight line. Sometimes, after wandering a whole

day, he finds himself within a short distance from his own house, when he thought himself many miles from it; and vice versa.

A gentleman lately told me, that he went into the woods in Upper Canada with his gun, in the near neighbourhood of his own house. In pursuing his game he penetrated deeper into the wood than he had been accustomed to do, and finally lost himself. He did not know which way to go; he persevered however, in hopes of getting to some part of the country which he knew; he travelled the whole day without knowing where he was, and without the least appearance of an inhabited country. Overcome with fatigue of body and distraction of mind (for he had left a wife and family at home), he sat down in despair. After sitting some time, he thought he discerned a house through the trees at some distance;—he started up,—and made towards it. Conceive his astonishment, his joy—it was his own house: he thought himself at least forty miles from it. In fact, he had been travelling all day in a circle, and often in places which he might have known, had his mind been tranquil, and possessing

its usual powers of discernment; but these had fled, the moment he became alarmed at finding he did not know his way.

I have been told many stories of this kind; and I am the more inclined to believe them from my having once experienced something of the same kind myself, on losing my way, and all traces of a road, upon an immense heath in Portugal. The effect, on that occasion, was more visible on my guide than myself. We had set off pretty early in the morning,—had crossed a mountain, and proceeded several miles on a dreary heath, by tracts known only to the muleteers. It was in the month of November; the day was dark and gloomy, and it had rained violently all the morning. By and by, I found that my muleteer stood firm, and would not advance. I called out to him to know what was the matter; he said, we had lost our way. The rain had for a long while so beat in my face, that I had not paid much attention to the ground we were upon. I trusted to my guide. On now looking around me, I found that there was not the smallest trace of a road. “Oh, my God!” cries the muleteer, “we are lost—we shall perish. *Meo Dcos!* so-

*mos perdidos, Jesus! Jesus!*" — He immediately began to cross himself. I knew this to be the *dernier resort* of a Roman catholic when in despair, and that force alone would now make him exert himself. He would neither advance nor retreat; he seemed to have lost his power of judging and reflecting, as well as his powers of acting. I was determined he should advance, and at length, by threats, and a certain degree of coercion, I roused him to action. We did advance, and finally arrived at a part of the country which was inhabited. I was glad to find that we had wandered but a few miles from our way.—Let us return, however, to the woods in Canada.

Our party had no great difficulty in directing their course to the *Chaudiere*. Its noise at last announced its proximity. The *Chaudiere* would in England be considered as a river of considerable magnitude. Its banks at the fall, are highly picturesque; they are very lofty and very steep, yet covered with stately pines of a variety of fantastic shapes. Scrambling along a rock, you approach the brink of the precipice 130 feet perpendicular, where the river throws itself into the abyss below, roaring

and raging along, as if angry at being forced from its native channel, to be lost in the St. Lawrence.

We were much gratified with the grandeur of the fall, and of the surrounding scenery. Looking up the river, the view is not extensive, but highly picturesque; the lofty banks are overhung with wood, and the grey rocks, which now and then shew themselves, add to the wildness of the scene. The water, when not swelled by rain, does not fill the channel, but is seen winding round the points of rocks, and forming into currents, which, according to the quantity of water at the time, separate or join near the head of the fall, and quickening their motion as they approach the brink, are dashed into the gulf below. The view down the river is of the same wild nature as that upwards; rocks and trees, and rolling rapid streams, all confounded together: the sunbeam illumines the rising spray, mixing radiant gems with the sombre hue of the forest. Nature, in this spot, seems just emerging from original chaos—so wild is the appearance and arrangement of every thing around you.



turning your attention altogether from the Fall of Montmorency, you direct it up the river, the scenery is not to be surpassed any where. I have been several miles up the river, and must say I never saw scenery more picturesque.

After viewing the fall, if you turn your attention towards the St. Lawrence and the Island of Orleans, and, following the course of the river, direct your view towards the lower end of the island, by *Chateau riché*, till you reach the mountain called *Cap Tourment*, it must be allowed that it is difficult to imagine an assemblage of objects more interesting, or better calculated to inflame the fancy of the poet, or give life to the canvas of the painter.

Both the Montmorency and the Chaudiere may be viewed either from the top or bottom of the fall. The latter, it is generally thought, is seen to greatest advantage from below. You are pleased and astonished with the

“ Sweeping theatre of hanging woods,

“ Th’ incessant roar of headlong tumbling floods.”

The Montmorency, too, viewed from below, is truly sublime.

And full he dashes on the rocky mounds,  
 Where thro' a shapeless breach his stream resounds ;  
 As high in air the bursting torrents flow,  
 As deep recoiling surges foam below.  
 Prone down the rock, the whitening sheet descends,  
 And viewless Echo's ear, astonish'd, rends ;  
 Dim seen thro' rising mists, and ceaseless show'rs,  
 The hoary cavern, wide surrounding low'rs ;  
 Still thro' the gap the struggling river toils,  
 And still below the horrid cauldron boils.

Who could imagine that this fine description was not made at the Montmorency? Words cannot describe it more happily. A volume of the works of the immortal Scotch bard happened to be on my table while I was writing you, and had nearly finished my letter. I accidentally took it up, and the first thing almost that presented itself to my view was the above poetical effusion. It harmonised so well with the train of my ideas, that I transcribed it immediately, quite happy in the reflection that my letter would now contain something worth reading, something to repay you for the trouble of getting through it. Lest I should be mistaken, however, I will not increase the evil, but for the present bid you adieu.

## LETTER X.

*Quebec, March, 1807.*

THERE is a great deal of misapprehension in Britain relative to this country. It is naturally concluded that, in a British colony such as Canada, a conquered country, those who govern and who give law to it, would be Englishmen. This, however, is by no means the case ; for though the governor and some of the council are English, the French Canadians are the majority in the house of assembly ; and no law can pass, if they choose to prevent it. The English (supposing the governor to exert all the influence he possesses) cannot carry one single question ; and the Canadians have been in the habit of shewing, in the most undisguised manner, the power of a majority, and a determination that no bill should pass contrary to their wishes. They carry things with a high hand ; they seem to forget that the constitution under which

they domineer over the English, was a free gift from Britain ; and that what an act of parliament gave, an act of parliament can take away.

You will naturally imagine also, that in a British colony, the English language would be used in the house of assembly, public offices, and courts of justice. No such thing ; the French language is universally used, and the record is kept in French and in English. The Canadians will not speak English ; and Englishmen are weak enough to indulge them so far as to speak French too, which is much to their disadvantage ; for though they may speak French well enough to explain themselves in the ordinary affairs of life, they cannot, in debate, deliver themselves with that ease, and with the same effect as in their native language.

The Canadians find that they have got the *whiphand* of the English, and they seem resolved to keep it, without being at all delicate as to the means. I can give an instance.—Near the end of the session, many of the Canadians have obtained leave of absence, in order to return to their families

and occupations ; so that it has happened that just so many were left as would make a quorum, of whom about half were English and half French. When the latter found that the English were likely to carry a question, a Canadian has been known to step outside the bar, and there stand while another told the house that they must adjourn for want of a quorum. The speaker did not think he had power to compel the member outside the bar to resume his place ; and thus questions were put off till a decided majority of Canadians could attend.

A French newspaper, called *Le Canadien*, has lately been edited here : the evident intention of which is to raise the Canadian character, and detract from that of the English. It is natural enough for the Canadians to wish to appear in the most respectable light possible ; but they should not attempt to do so by the means they are now following.

I had heard much of *Le Canadien*, and I took it up with a curiosity much excited ; but instead of finding something new, I found the translation of a letter written by General Murray to the British government

forty years ago, in consequence of a quarrel between him and the British settlers, full of the most violent complaints against them. Let these matters be true or let them be false, why should they be brought forward now? It is evident that the Canadians wish to identify the character of the mercantile men of the present day with that of those who were here at the time General Murray wrote his letter. Let us suppose, (without, however, admitting the fact) that every thing General Murray said was true; that the English residents were at that time low bred and unprincipled, and that their conduct was such as might be expected from such people, both General Murray and the Canadians might feel it. It was a matter the Canadians had reason to regret and to complain of; but they might as well regret and complain of the conquest itself, for the one is a natural consequence of the other. What is the usual train of events upon a conquest?

The old laws and regulations are overturned with the government that framed them. A military government at first takes place; its duration is in proportion to the

nature, extent, and value of the colony.— Respectable mercantile men look at the colony with an eye of suspicion; they will not leave places where they are already established, and which they know; they will not trust themselves, their families and property, in a country newly conquered, and which may soon revert to the parent state. Time alone can give confidence to mercantile men, and bring to a conquered country men of capital. Although they will not go themselves, however, they will risk part of their property, and put it in charge of those who may be inclined to try the experiment. Such men remain in the country at all risks, and they are joined by a number of the followers of the army who are known to be characters not the most respectable in the world. Such are always the mercantile men of newly conquered countries.

One of the greatest evils of conquest is, that the ancient laws of the country being destroyed, and the new not understood and properly enforced, the evil-disposed, no longer feeling the restraints of law, break out into frequent excess, and are guilty of

fraud and deceit; *the bad shew themselves*; the good become, in time, less good, from the influence of bad example. This principle operates equally upon the conquerors and conquered, and has been conspicuous in this country. It is ever to be regretted; but with conquest itself it must be endured. In process of time the two countries assimilate; mutual accommodation, mutual good offices, reconcile the people to each other. The military government gives place to civil government; and the equal and impartial distribution of justice by civil judges, keeps in check any attempts at injustice in the conduct of individuals; greater stability and security are given to property; the minds of men are at length brought into proper discipline by the regular operation of just and equitable laws.— Merchants of character and respectability, such as at present are to be found in this country, are attracted from different quarters, and grow up in the country. Their capital gets into circulation, and by their knowledge and industry they supply the public wants, and infuse life and energy every where.



Such is the progress of society, in a conquered country. It is in the nature of things that it should be so. Why then should the Canadians, at this late period, rip up old sores, and attempt to attach to the present mercantile men of this country the character Murray gives of those who came here forty years ago? It is an unworthy, insidious kind of conduct, as distant from justice as from truth. *Le Canadien* seems to commence under the influence of a very *bad spirit*—a malignant *spirit of party*;—perhaps not unconnected with the views of that man whose victories and power are only equalled by his ambition, and his unquenchable hatred towards England.

An idea is very generally entertained, both in Canada and in England, that the French, in their capitulations of Quebec and Montreal, stipulated for, and obtained the use of their own laws; and that we cannot now interfere in these matters. The first time I heard this idea started, was soon after my arrival in Canada. I had been reading the articles of capitulation, and the definitive treaty with France, ceding Canada; but they had left no such impression

on my mind. I had recourse to them again, and remained convinced that no such conclusions could be drawn from them.

The Canadians were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and private property, personal and real, with all their rights, were to be respected; but they are not allowed their ancient laws, or any share in the government.

The only article in the capitulation of Quebec\*, which applies to this point, is the second, in which it is granted, "That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges."—In the capitulation of Montreal†, the 27th article stipulates "That the free exercise of the catholic apostolic, and Roman religion, shall subsist entire in such manner that all the states, and people of the towns and countries, places, and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore without being molested in any manner directly or indirectly. These people shal

\* Dated 18th September, 1759.

† Dated 8th September, 1760.

“ be obliged by the English government to  
 “ pay to the priests the tythes, and all the  
 “ taxes they were used to pay under the  
 “ government of his Most Christian Ma-  
 “ jesty.” Granted, as to the free exercise  
 of their religion ; the obligation of paying  
 tythes to the priests *will depend on the King’s*  
*pleasure.*

The 34th article stipulates, “ That all  
 “ the communities, and all the priests, shall  
 “ preserve their moveables, the property  
 “ and revenues of the seigniories, and other  
 “ estates, which they possess in the colony,  
 “ of what nature soever they may be ; and  
 “ *the same estates* shall be preserved in their  
 “ *privileges, rights, honors and exemptions.*”  
 Granted.

The 37th article stipulates, “ That the  
 “ lords of manors, military and civil offi-  
 “ cers, the Canadians as well in the towns  
 “ as in the country, the French trading or  
 “ settled in the whole extent of the colony  
 “ of Canada, and all other persons what-  
 “ soever, shall preserve the entire peace-  
 “ able property and possession of their  
 “ goods, noble and ignoble, moveable and  
 “ immoveable, merchandizes, furs, and

“ other effects ; even their ships, they shall  
 “ not be touched, nor the least damage  
 “ done to them, on any pretence whatever:  
 “ They shall have liberty to keep, let, or  
 “ sell them, as well to the French as to the  
 “ English, to take away the produce of  
 “ them in bills of exchange, furs, specie,  
 “ or other returns, whenever they shall  
 “ judge proper to go to France, paying  
 “ their freight, as in the 26th article. They  
 “ shall also have the furs which are in the  
 “ posts above, and which belong to them,  
 “ and may be on the way to Montreal ; and  
 “ for this purpose they shall have leave to  
 “ send, this year or the next, canoes fitted  
 “ out to fetch such of the said furs as shall  
 “ have remained in these posts.” Granted  
 as in the 26th article, which excludes any  
 property belonging to his Most Christian  
 Majesty, which must become the property  
 of the King.

The 41st article stipulated, “ That th  
 “ French, Canadians, and Acadians, c  
 “ what state and condition soever, wh  
 “ shall remain in the colony, shall not b  
 “ forced to take arms against his Mos  
 “ Christian Majesty, or his allies, directl

perceptions by a lame or improper administration of justice and government.

Previous to the conquest by the English, I am told that the Canadians were an upright, honest people, fulfilling every engagement, and punctual in the performance of their various duties. The Abbé Raynal must have been wrong, when he says, in describing the Canadians—"There appeared in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue; more religion than probity; a higher sense of honour than of real honesty; devotion took place of morality; which will always be the case wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers."

After the conquest, the people of greatest respectability, both civil and military, retired to France—judges, counsellors, great landholders, governors, and rulers of all sorts: all those who, by example, precept, or authority, were qualified to keep good order in the country, who knew the people, their prejudices, and wants: almost all such left it. In their room came

English governors and judges, who, though well meaning and just men, yet knew neither the people, nor their laws, language, nor customs ; and (from not being brought up in the country) they were unacquainted *with the thousand minute and undescribable impressions and notions acquired in childhood*, which have a strong influence on our character and conduct through life. They could not, in the nature of things, preserve that check on the people to which they had been accustomed under the judges of their own nation.

Man is prone to error—he needs a curb rein. The impressions which the old French government and judges left behind them, wore off by degrees, and the rising generation degenerated. I do not mean to confine this observation to the Canadians alone ; Englishmen felt it likewise ; and all mankind must feel bad effects from an imperfect definition of their line of duty, and a want of good and wholesome laws.

Nothing debases a people so soon or so effectually as *bad laws*, or a bad administration of laws, in themselves good : the latter more frequently occurs than the for-

mer. I have had several opportunities, besides the present, of verifying the observation.

In the countries in the south of Europe, for instance, particularly in Portugal, the laws are good in principle, but they are ill administered. The judges are very corrupt; they are venal in the highest degree, which arises from their salaries being so low that they cannot support that rank in life to which they are entitled. From the gradual depreciation of money, their income has been constantly getting worse.—For some time, the respectability attached to the character of a judge would induce men of education and property to accept of the situation; domestic œconomy would enable them to preserve a respectable appearance: but, in time, their situation ceases to be desirable. Men of inferior rank and education can alone be found to accept of it: bribes are offered, because the judges are known to be poor both in purse and spirit: bribes for the same reasons are taken: but the blame rests with the government;—by not applying a remedy to the evil, which they know to exist, they

may be supposed to wink at it: it increases every day: corruption of every sort creeps in: a bad man will not pay his debts, if by paying part to his judge he can preserve the rest. If an innocent man is assaulted and wounded, or robbed, and the culprit, though condemned upon the clearest evidence, *can purchase* a pardon, the principle of retributive justice is wounded and weakened:—in time it is altogether destroyed.

I knew an instance in Portugal, where a formidable band of robbers had carried on a practice, for some time, of robbing, and murdering in the most barbarous manner. They were, upon undoubted proof, convicted of a variety of crimes of the deepest die;—the mere naming of which would make human nature shudder. They were condemned to death, to the number of, I believe, thirty. They consisted of innkeepers, muleteers, friars, younger sons of respectable families: some women, too, were amongst them; but they were not executed—and why? because they mustered up *twelve thousand crowns*, which being handed over to a judge in Porto, where



they were tried, he procured their pardon. This circumstance is universally known in Portugal: it happened in the year 1802.

Let me ask, what effect such a glaring act of injustice, such abominable venality in a judge, would have on society, particularly on the minds of the rising generation? It is too evident: all idea of right and wrong must be destroyed: the passions must gain strength, and take the lead, no longer kept under by early conviction, that every breach of the law will assuredly be punished: private revenge, deadly feuds, clandestine murder, become prevalent. All these things are, in fact, frequent in Portugal, in Spain, in Italy, in Turkey, and in every other country where the sources of justice are polluted.

In the feudal times *in Britain*, much of the same kind of proceedings were continually occurring: individual caprice, and not the law, governed. Thankful ought we to be that no such abuses now exist. I have always thought there was great wisdom and truth in the answer my Lord Mansfield gave to the King, when he was asked, at the time of the riots in Lon-

don, "whether he thought the government had reason to be alarmed at the apparent increase of licentiousness and corruption in the kingdom?" The answer was, "that his Majesty had nothing to fear, *so long as corruption was kept out of Westminster-hall.*"

I beg pardon for taking up your time with these stories. They obtruded themselves into notice, as illustrative of my assertion, that nothing debases a people so soon, or so effectually, as the mal-administration of justice.

In the application of the principle to Canada, I am very far from thinking that any of the judges are venal or corrupt; on the contrary, they are very upright and independent men. The criminal law of England is administered in its greatest purity; crimes are sure of meeting the punishment attached to them: hence you seldom hear of any acts of violence. In criminal matters, the abuse of justice strikes us forcibly; but, in civil matters also, the abuse of justice has an infallible tendency to corrupt the public mind—whether it arises

from corruption in the judges, or from a defect in the application of the laws, and the arrangement of the proceedings in the courts.

Here it is that Canada is defective; the courts are ill arranged; the forms of proceeding, vague and undefined. The French and English laws and forms, though good by themselves, have made a very bad mixture. There is, in short, something so bad in these matters, that the ends of justice are completely defeated. In Quebec, *civil* justice is really laughed at. A man who pays his debts here, has greater merit than in most other countries; he need not do it unless he thinks proper; he has only to entrench himself behind the forms and quibbles of the law, and laugh at his creditors. Shame! shame! In the extended state of modern commerce, bankruptcy may ensue from unforeseen and unavoidable causes. No man would be more lenient in such cases than myself; but fraud and deceit are the same in all ages, and in all countries;—let them be marked and punished.

If you see the fraudulent bankrupt ca-

ressed and respected, while his fraudulency is notorious; if you see that the courts of justice are no longer *the terror of evil doers, and the praise and protection of those that do well*, but are laughed at by knaves, without any apprehension of their being forced to do justice, or fulfil engagements which it is convenient for them to evade; when you see that this open and avowed injustice is supported by the ingenuity and quibbles of lawyers, because, forsooth, they have received a fee, and must do something for it, were it even to assert things which they, and the whole court, knew to be gross falsehoods; can there be a doubt that the public mind must be vitiated, and the security of property weakened?

In Canada there are no bankrupt laws; and you cannot arrest your debtor, unless you can swear that he is about to leave the country. You cannot put his property in trust for the benefit of his creditors, or deprive him of the power of disposing of it. You may easily conceive what an opening is thus given to those who are fraudulently inclined.

If you sue him, he puts you off from

## LETTER XI.

Quebec, September, 1807.

I HAVE visited the greatest part of Lower Canada from *Kamouraska*, a hundred miles below Quebec, as high up as *Lachine*, near 200 miles above it, so that I have had an opportunity of making some remarks on the Canadians, and their country; and have, besides, had a fair specimen of Canadian travelling.

I shall not go too much into a detailed and minute description of places, or take up your time in making you read a collection of high-sounding inflated words, and technical phrases, in an attempt to paint the natural beauties of the country. Such attempts have been reprov'd as savouring of affectation, because, after all, they come very far short of the true end of description—the giving a correct idea of the place described; serving more to gratify the va-

nity of the writer, than to edify the reader.

Travelling in Canada is certainly not altogether so pleasant as travelling in England. The Canadian *calesh* is a very sorry vehicle, compared to the English *post-chaise*; nor are the *auberges* quite so comfortable as English inns. A person who had been accustomed to travel *only in England*, would say, that a Canadian calesh with its two wheels and single horse, without springs, and without cushions, was no fit for a Christian to be put into: and as to the *auberges*, or inns, that they were such filthy places, that you might lodge in a hog-sty without your olfactory nerves being more offended.

I certainly must say, that there is great room for improvement, both in the form of the calesh, and the comforts and accommodations of the inns. But I have seen worse. In order to reconcile myself to my situation, and extract as much happiness from the moment as it would admit of, I avoided comparisons with English inns and modes of travelling. I recalled to memory Spanish, Portuguese, and even French inns

and conveyances: the balance was much in favour of Canada. I felt myself perfectly comfortable, and thanked my stars that it was no worse.

It adds greatly to the comfort of travelling in Canada, that you are every where treated with the greatest politeness and attention. This, to me, counterbalances a thousand inconveniences. Often have I felt provoked on the continent of Europe, when, after a fatiguing journey,—wet and hungry, perhaps, into the bargain,—stopping at a filthy place, they called an inn, I have looked in vain for the least civility or assistance from the people of the house; frequently obliged to carry in my own luggage, and endeavour to find a place where it might be safe from the thief-like fellows about me—the landlord, perhaps, amongst them. How different is the case in Canada! A Canadian *aubergiste* (*landlady*) the moment you stop, receives you at the door with a degree of politeness and urbanity which is as unexpected as it is pleasing. *Veulez vous bien, Monsieur, avoir la complaisance d'entrer; voila une chaise, Monsieur; asseyez vous s'il vous plait.* If

they have got any thing you want, it is given at once with a good grace. If they have not, they tell you so in such a tone and manner, as to shew that they are sorry for it. *Je n'en ai point, Monsieur; J'en suis mortifiée.*

You see that it is their poverty that refuses you, and not their will. A man must be as savage as a Goth, and as surly as a city epicure over spoiled venison, who, with such treatment, though his dinner should be indifferent, could leave the house in bad humour.

The Canadian innkeeper is frequently a farmer also, or a shopkeeper. Indeed, you need never be at a loss for a house to stop at. There is not a farmer, shopkeeper, nay, nor even a *seigneur*, or country gentleman, who, on being civilly applied to for accommodation, will not give you the best bed in the house, and every accommodation in his power.

The Canadians seem to have brought the old French politeness with them to this country, and to have handed it down to the present generation. One is more sur-



prised to find here courtesy and urbanity, from the little likelihood that such plants would exist, far less flourish, in the wilds of Canada.

During the months of July and August travelling in Canada is very uncomfortable from the great heat of the weather. The thermometer generally shews near 80 degrees: however, where the occasion is very urgent, the inconvenience is not so great as to prevent you. In September the heat is more moderate, and travelling becomes pleasant.

From Quebec to Montreal the distance is about 180 miles. You may either hire a calesh to go the whole way, or take a calesh from post-house to post-house. If you proceed direct, they generally make 24 posts; and you get into Montreal on the morning of the third day, without travelling in the night time. The usual charge for posting is fifteen pence a league, which is much cheaper than posting in England. Indeed, it ought to be so, considering the nature of the vehicle, and your having only one horse; besides, hay and corn are much

cheaper here than in England, and there is no post-horse duty.

In the course of the journey to Montreal you are now and then tempted to stop, or to go a little out of your way, for the purpose of seeing a few places of note. You behold, every where, fine interesting scenery ; the road runs the whole way along the river St. Lawrence ; its banks and islands vary their appearance every hour, and keep the mind continually occupied and amused.

The road differs from all others I have seen, in this, that it may be said to be almost a *continued street* ; one house succeeds another so quickly, that I believe I may safely say there is not a mile without one. Except the town of *Trois rivieres* (Three rivers), you have scarcely any place that deserves the name of a town : but every parish church has a village in its neighbourhood ; and of these there are, between Quebec and Montreal, upwards of twenty. In these little villages we see the beginnings of, perhaps, large county towns ; for here the parishes contain as

much ground as many of the counties do in England.

The quick succession of houses on this road arose from the manner in which the lands were granted. The whole course of the river on both sides, from its mouth to within about thirty miles above Montreal, was divided by the French king into a certain number of *seigneuries*, or lordships, which were given to those who had influence enough to procure them: but they were bound to *concede* them in certain lots, to such of the inhabitants of the country as might apply for them; who were, at the same time, bound to settle upon the lands, and clear them of the woods; keep open the highways, and perform certain other services. The lots ran along the course of the river, a certain number of yards in front, by so many in depth. In front they were very narrow, generally but three square acres; however they run back into the country a considerable way, generally about eighty square acres. The side of a square acre is about 70 yards.

The first thing to be done was to build

a house, and open a road to communicate with their next neighbours. They then, by degrees, cleared and cultivated their land. In this way a road was made, and the country cleared by the sides of the river, where even now the great bulk of the population of Canada is found. The first settlers had additional reasons for clearing the lands, and settling along the course of the river. It enabled them to communicate with Quebec easily by means of canoes; and in winter, when the heavy snows fall, their settling near each other enabled them to keep open the communication, by uniting their efforts, which is still the case.

I am told, that, after a fall of snow, one man drives his sledge to his next neighbour (a very difficult matter sometimes), who joins him with his cattle in going to the next, and so on, till a path is trodden sufficiently hard to bear the horses.

The cultivated land does not extend far back in general. When the *seigneurs*, or lords of the manor, had *granted*, or, as it is called here, *conceded* those lots of their *seigneurie*, or lordship, which fronted the river, they made fresh concessions (be-

hind the first) of the lands which receded still further. On the first *grants or concessions* there is always left a certain portion of wood for domestic purposes, and for fuel; this tract of wood forms a boundary between the first and second concession. When the soil happens to be good, or the situation to be attended with very favourable circumstances, four or five concessions have taken place; and they are now increasing in the ratio of the population. But tracts of primeval wood are still preserved between the different concessions or grants; from which circumstance the country retains, and will long retain, a wooded wild appearance.

When you meet with rivers which run into the St. Lawrence, you see cultivation carried up their banks much further. Indeed, it is on the banks of such rivers where the best land is generally found; such as the river *Ouelle*, river *de Sud*, river *Chambly*, river *de Loup*, &c.

The river *Ouelle* has its source in mountains to the southward; and it falls into the St. Lawrence near one hundred miles below Quebec. For several miles before it

joins the great river, it runs through a level and very fertile country; and the tide flows up for a considerable way, so as to make it navigable for small vessels. This district is well cultivated, and very populous. The neighbouring parishes of Kamouraska and St. Ann's are also populous, and well cultivated.

The configuration of this part of the country is very curious. In the middle of rich plains you see a number of small hills covered with wood; they rise like so many rocks in the ocean. On approaching and examining them narrowly, you find that they are literally bare rocks, of primitive granite, full of fissures, in which pine trees have taken root, and grown to a considerable size so as to cover the rocks. It is probable the great river at some former period covered this part of the country, when these hills were so many islands; and that the rich soil which now surrounds them, is a deposition from its waters. The probability of this conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance, that the islands of Kamouraska, still insulated only at high wa-

ter, resemble in every respect the rocky hills surrounded by the fertile fields.

The river *de Sud* likewise takes its rise in the mountains to the southward. It falls into the St. Lawrence at St. Thomas, after watering a beautiful and rich plain, which runs up into the country for many miles.

This river is one of those which literally *falls* into the river St. Lawrence. This fall is not to be compared to some of the others; but still, when the river is full, it has a fine effect, as the precipice is about twenty feet. It affords excellent situations for mills, of which the lord of the manor has availed himself.

I rode up the banks of this river for upwards of twenty miles into the parish of St. Francis, and was surprised to find so much cultivation; and that, too, in a better style than I had usually seen. Were I to choose a situation as a farmer, it would be on the banks of the river *Ouelle*, or *de Sud*. I am inclined to give these situations the preference, even to the country on the river *de Loup*, although it is near 200 miles further up the St. Lawrence, and

consequently further to the south ; and although there certainly is an extensive tract of very valuable land in that quarter, and situated, too, between Quebec and Montreal.

The country in the neighbourhood of the river *Chambly* does not yield to the others either in fertility or beauty. This river has two names ; sometimes it is called *Chambly*, sometimes *Sorel* ; places thus named being situated upon it. This river is of great value to Canada, because it has its source in Lake Champlain, from whence great quantities of valuable produce, particularly ship-timber and pot-ashes, are annually introduced from the United States. Indeed, it is the only channel acknowledged in law for the commerce of the States, with *Lower* Canada. Hence, at a place called *St. John's*, on this river, near the lake, we have established a custom-house, which takes cognizance of whatever passes to and from the United States.

There is a fort at Chambly, and another at *St. John's* : neither of them are very formidable ; that at Chambly is built of stone —that at *St. John's* of wood. We gene-



rally have some troops at St. John's, as it is the frontier town. The officer who commands the detachment generally examines those who pass either way: it is a kind of check on evil-disposed subjects, but a very ineffectual one, as experience has proved. Those who do not wish to be known, can find many ways of getting from the one country to the other without going by St. John's.

The Canadians are but *poor* farmers.—Indeed, they are generally so, in more senses of the word than one. They are accused of indolence, and an aversion to experiment, or the introduction of any changes in their ancient habits and customs, and probably with reason:—it is the characteristic of the peasantry of all countries.—The improvements that have taken place in Britain have not originated with the peasantry. Commerce has introduced wealth among the middle classes of society. Gentlemen, who farm their own grounds, or wealthy farmers, have generally been the inventors or promoters of useful improvements: now, in this country, you have very few men of this description. It is true

the land is the property of those who cultivate it: but their capitals are generally so limited, and their farms so small, that they cannot afford to make experiments: and when, to this, you add their total want of education, and consequent ignorance of every thing that does not come within the scope of their own limited observation, you cease to be surprised that the country should be so badly cultivated.

Some places, however, deserve to be mentioned, as exceptions to the general rule. I remarked some farms on the rivers *Ouelle* and *de Sud* that would not disgrace Norfolk or Northumberland.

The Canadian farmer is not sufficiently aware of the value of manures, and of artificial grasses: nor does he seem to reflect, that it is more advantageous to have a small farm of good land in high cultivation, than a large farm half laboured or neglected.— He ploughs the same field, and sows in it the same sort of grain, twenty times over; he does not think of a routine of crops, nor does he renovate the exhausted soil by the addition of manures; the only remedy he knows for land so exhausted as to yield

little or no return, is, to let it lie fallow for some time. It is in vain to endeavour to convince him of his error: nothing but example will produce any good effect.— This they begin to have. Some of the farmers are a little more enlightened than the generality of them: they have ventured to listen to reason, and to reflect upon the comparative value of different modes of treating their lands; and they begin to make innovations in their ancient systems of farming.

One of the principal causes of the poverty, not only of the Canadian farmer, but also of all ranks amongst them, is the existence of an old French law, by which the property of either a father or mother is, on the death of either, *equally* divided amongst their children. Nothing seems more consonant to the clearest principles of justice than such a law; yet it assuredly is prejudicial to society.

In this country (or indeed in any other) an estate, with a good house upon it, convenient and appropriate offices, and a good stock of cattle, may be well cultivated, and support, creditably, a numerous family.—

If the head of the family dies, leaving half a dozen children, the estate and whole property is divided amongst them, which happens here every day. Each of the sons takes possession of his own lot, builds a house, marries, and has a family. The value of the whole property is very much lessened. He who gets the lot, with the dwelling-house and offices, which served for the whole estate, gets what is out of all proportion to the means he now has of employing them : he can neither occupy them, nor keep them in repair. The other lots are generally too small to supply the expences of a family, or enable their owners to support that state of respectability in the country which their father did ; so that, instead of one respectable and wealthy head of a family, who could protect and assist the younger branches, giving them a good education, and putting them forward in the world, you have half a dozen poor dispirited creatures, who have not energy or power to improve either their lands or themselves. Without great industry, and *some* capital, new lands cannot be brought into

cultivation, nor can those already cleared be made very productive.

The law alluded to might do very well in such a country as Canada for a few generations, while the new grants continued very large: but the divisions and subdivisions must, in time, become too minute, and be a check on the improvement of the country, in an agricultural point of view; and also, as a natural consequence, retard the increase of population.

This division of property is extremely prejudicial to the interest not only of the landholder but also to that of the merchant, shopkeeper, and mechanic.

When one of the parents dies, an inventory is made of the property, and each child can immediately insist on the share of the property the law allows. The French law supposes that matrimony is a co-partnership; and that, consequently, on the death of the wife, the children have a right to demand from their father the half of his property, as heirs to their mother. If the wife's relations are not on good terms with the father, a thing that sometimes happens,

they find it no difficult matter to induce the children to demand *a partage*, or division, which often occasions the total ruin of the father, because he loses credit, equal, at least, to his loss of property, and often to a greater extent. His powers are diminished, and his children still have a claim on him for support.

One effect of this law, and not one of the least material, is, that the affection between parents and children is likely to be destroyed by it: and, in fact, it is remarked, that in this country the instances of unfeeling conduct between parents and children are extremely frequent, and a spirit of litigation is excited amongst them. One is at a loss to account for such unnatural conduct, until an acquaintance with the laws and customs of the country gives a clue to unravel the mystery.

The law, making marriage a *co-partnership*, and creating *a communauté de bien*, is sanctioned by the *code of French law*, called *Coutume de Paris*, which indeed is the *text book* of the Canadian lawyer; the wife being by marriage invested with a right to half the husband's property; and,

being rendered independent of him, is perhaps the remote cause that the fair sex have such influence in France; and in Canada, it is well known, that a great deal of consequence, and even an air of superiority to the husband, is assumed by them. In general (if you will excuse a vulgar metaphor), *the grey mare is the better horse.*

British subjects coming to this country are liable to the operation of all these Canadian or French laws, in the same manner that the Canadians themselves are.— They are not always aware of this circumstance; and it has created much disturbance in families. A man who has made a fortune here (a thing by the bye which does not very often happen), conceives that he ought, as in England, to have the disposal of it as he thinks proper. No, says the Canadian law, you have a right to *one half* only; and if your wife dies, her children, or, in case you have no children, *her nearest relations* may oblige you to make a *partage*, and give them half your property, were it a hundred thousand guineas, and they the most worthless wretches in existence. Nothing can prevent this but an

the inhabitants of the surrounding country, besides very accommodating to travellers.

The island is about thirty miles in length, by about ten in breadth. The city of Montreal is situated near the upper end of it, on the south side of the island, at the distance of about one hundred and eighty miles from Quebec. It lies in latitude 45-30, being about 70 miles to the southward of Quebec. They pretend to say, that the spring is always earlier than at Quebec by near a month, and I believe it is allowed to be so. One would scarcely think that so small a difference of latitude, should produce such an effect; it would not be so in Europe; there must be some aiding cause with which we are not acquainted.

Montreal was once surrounded by a wall, which served to defend it against any sudden attack from the Indians; but as this is now no longer dreaded, the wall is about to be removed, that the town may be enlarged with the greater facility. The St. Lawrence comes close to the town on the south side, where there is a great depth



## LETTER XII.

Quebec, 1807.

MONTREAL is situated on an island; but the island is so large in proportion to the water which surrounds it, that you are not sensible of its insularity. A branch of the river Ottawas, which falls into the St. Lawrence above Montreal, takes a northerly direction, and forms the island. This branch joins the St. Lawrence at *Repentigni*, where the public road from Quebec is continued by a ferry of about a mile in breadth. A little above the ferry there is an island; on each side of which the channel narrows much, and an attempt has lately been made to build a bridge across—it failed. The masses of ice which came down the river when the winter broke up, carried the bridge away. The attempt however will be renewed upon a different plan, and, it is to be hoped, will prove successful, as it would be of great utility to

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being generally covered with tinned plates, the windows have outside shutters, covered with plate iron.

The island of Montreal is wholly in a state of cultivation; and it is surrounded by a country generally cultivated. What adds much to its consequence is, its being situated near the *embouchure* of several rivers, which bring down from the countries through which they flow a great deal of very valuable produce.

The river *Chambly* opens a communication with Lake Champlain, whence are received large quantities of wood, potashes, salted provisions, wheat, &c. From the river *L'Assomption* much valuable produce is brought. The river of the *Ottawais*, which forms the northern boundary of the island, opens a communication with an immense extent of country. It is through this river that the traders to the northwest territories proceed. They go in birch canoes many hundred miles up this river, till they meet with rivers which discharge in Lake Huron, from thence they get into Lake Superior, and so on to the Grand Portage, where they discharge the goods

they have taken up, and are again loaded with the furs that have been got in exchange for the preceding year's investment. They do not return by the same course, but by way of Detroit, and through Lakes Erie and Ontario. Montreal is at the head of the ship-navigation from the ocean, and the bateaux and canoe-navigation from and to Upper Canada must commence and terminate at *La Chine* near *Montreal*. From these circumstances Montreal bids fair to rival Quebec in commerce:—It is more convenient as a *depot* for *produce*. But as Quebec must ever be the great shipping place, there, *general merchants* will find many inducements to settle.

Although the *St. Lawrence* is navigable for large vessels as high up as Montreal, yet the navigation above Quebec is attended with so many inconveniencies, that in general it is found more advantageous for the vessels to stop at Québec, and for such of their cargoes as come from Montreal, to be brought down in river craft.

The influence of the tide is not felt at Montreal, nor indeed for many miles be-

low it. I understand that it has been observed that the water at the town of *Trois rivières*, rises from the pressure of the tide—it is about half way between Quebec and Montreal. At any rate, it cannot be supposed to have any effect above Lake *St Peter's*, which commences about two league above *Trois rivières*.

This lake is about twenty miles in length, and about fifteen miles in breadth. It is formed by the waters of the St. Lawrence expanding over a level country aided by several considerable rivers, which terminate their course here; such as the *Masquinongé*, *De Loup*, *St. Francis*, &c. The lake is, in general, very shallow and in the ship channel there is not usually found more than from eleven to twelve feet water, as I have already mentioned: so that loaded vessels sometimes take the ground and are under the necessity of being lightened of part of their cargo, which is put into river craft, and taken in again, in deep water. Vessels of a considerable draught of water, instead of taking in their whole cargo at Montreal, take in only such part of it as they can carry across the Lake

and take the remainder below the lake from river craft which accompany them.

The country in the neighbourhood of Montreal is very fine. About two miles from the town there is a very beautiful hill, commonly called *the Mountain*; it is about 700 feet in height from the level of the river. A part of this hill is covered with wood, but much of it is in a state of cultivation. I rode to the top of it, whence you have a noble view of the surrounding country, bounded by the mountains in the state of New York towards the south.

Between *the Mountain* and town of Montreal, there are a great many very fine gardens and orchards, abounding with a variety of fruit of the very first quality, and no place can be better supplied with vegetables than Montreal. Quebec, too, is extremely well supplied with vegetables, and a regular succession of fruit; but cannot vie with Montreal, where both soil and climate combine to produce the finest fruit I have ever seen. The apples are particularly good.—The *Pomme de Neige*, so called from its being extremely white, and from its having the granulated appearance of

snow, when broken ; it also dissolves, almost entirely, in the mouth like snow : the *Fameuse*, *Bourassa*, and *Pomme Gris*, are very fine apples. Peaches, apricots and plums, are found in the greatest perfection ; and, with the protection of glass, you have grapes as good for the table as any I ever saw in Portugal. Currants, raspberries, gooseberries, and every sort of small fruit are found in great abundance. The markets of Montreal are extremely well supplied with all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of the table ; provisions are particularly plentiful in winter, for then their industrious neighbours the Yankees bring in great quantities, such as *fresh fish*, bacon, cheese, &c. The greater distance of Quebec prevents them from receiving this sort of supply from the United States ; but their own resources are copious.

The orchards in the neighbourhood of Montreal produce apples, which yield as fine cyder as ever was drank.

*La Chine* is situated about nine miles from Montreal. It is a place of considerable consequence, from the circumstance, mentioned before, of its being the place



where the bateaux (flat-bottomed boats), and canal navigation commences for Upper Canada, and for the country in the north-west. The first, go by way of Lake Ontario and Niagara; the second, go up the Outawais river towards Lake Superior. They are under the necessity of commencing their voyage from *La Chine* instead of Montreal, because the river St. Lawrence is so rapid between Montreal and *La Chine* that loaded canoes cannot be forced up.

I had the pleasure of seeing both an arrival and departure of canoes from and to the *north-west territories*.—It certainly is a curious spectacle. It is surprising to see the great quantity of goods put into one of the large birch canoes; and it is no less surprising to think, that with such a load, and in such a vessel, they should undertake a voyage of some thousand miles.

The canoe is one of the most frail conveyances you can imagine;—you probably have seen the model of one. The length of the large ones is about thirty feet, the greatest breadth about six feet; they become gradually narrow towards each end,

snow, when broken ; it also dissolves, almost entirely, in the mouth like snow : the *Fameuse*, *Bourassa*, and *Pomme Gris*, are very fine apples. Peaches, apricots and plums, are found in the greatest perfection ; and, with the protection of glass, you have grapes as good for the table as any I ever saw in Portugal. Currants, raspberries, gooseberries, and every sort of small fruit are found in great abundance. The markets of Montreal are extremely well supplied with all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of the table ; provisions are particularly plentiful in winter, for then their industrious neighbours the Yankees bring in great quantities, such as *fresh fish*, bacon, cheese, &c. The greater distance of Quebec prevents them from receiving this sort of supply from the United States ; but their own resources are copious.

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for their trouble, besides their share of the profits of the concern. From Montreal they send up the country large quantities of goods, to be bartered with the Indians for furs. For the conveyance of these goods, and for bringing back the furs, they have employed, generally, about fifty canoes, and upwards of a thousand people; such as canoe-men (styled *voyageurs*), guides, clerks, &c. The capital employed in this trade, in goods alone, is, I have been told, upwards of 100,000l.

The goods are made up in packages of about 80lbs. for the convenience of stowing, and of carrying across these places, where the loaded canoe cannot pass. In many places they meet with rapids and falls, which arrest their progress: in such cases, they unload the canoe, and carry both it and its cargo to the next *canoeable* water. Six men carry one of the largest canoes: its load weighs generally from four to five tons; consisting of a number of small packages, which they carry very expeditiously. These Canadian voyageurs are hardy, strong fellows: they have been known to carry at one time five packages,

weighing about 80lbs. each, over a portage of nine miles.

The canoes, when they take their departure from La Chine, are loaded to within about six inches of the *gunwale*, or edge of the canoe. Instead of oars, they use *paddles*, which they handle with great dexterity. They strike off, singing a song peculiar to themselves, called the *Voyageur Song*: one man takes the lead, and all the others join in a chorus. It is extremely pleasing to see people who are toiling hard, display such marks of good humour and contentment, although they know, that for a space of more than 2000 miles their exertions must be unremitting, and their living very poor; for, in the little space allowed in the canoe for provisions, you find none of the luxuries, and a very scanty supply of the necessaries, of life. The song is of great use: they keep time with their paddles to its measured cadence, and, by uniting their force, increase its effect considerably.

The Canadian is of a lively, gay temper; well calculated for the arduous task

which he has to perform in his capacity of *voyageur*.

The character of the *voyageur* resembles very much that of the British sailor: he is equally rough in his manners and appearance—equally thoughtless and improvident: he endures the greatest fatigue without complaining, and obeys implicitly the orders of the person who has charge of the canoe (his *bourgeois*, as he is called), without ever pretending to question or doubt their propriety: he paddles and sings, and eats and sleeps, regardless of to-morrow. Like the jolly tar, he no sooner receives his wages than he commences a life of extravagance and debauchery. The sailor knows that money at sea can be of no use to him, and he hastens to rid himself of his gold. The *voyageur*, in like manner, knows that money is of no use in the interior of America; and he, too, hastens to get quit of his dollars. Although they act in different situations, yet their minds are operated on in the same way: hence arises a resemblance of character.

From Montreal, Upper Canada is sup-

plied with a great variety of merchandize, which is conveyed up the river St. Lawrence in *bateaux*, or flat-bottomed boats, carrying from four to five tons. They are about forty feet in length, by six feet in breadth. The return cargo is flour, potash, wheat, peltries, &c. They commence their voyage at *Lachine*, go as high as Kingston, situated near the commencement of Lake Ontario, where the goods are put into large vessels, to be carried up to Niagara. The *bateaux* take in a return cargo, and get into *Lachine* after ten or twelve days absence. The distance from *Lachine* to Kingston is about 200 miles.

The government have stores at *Lachine* for the reception of a variety of different sorts of goods, of which they think proper to make presents to the Indians.

You probably expect that I should give you some account of the Indians. Doubtless I have seen hundreds of them; but those were such miserable-looking, disgusting creatures, that I do not undertake the task of describing them with any degree of pleasure.

Indians of different nations, and from

different parts of America connected with Canada, come annually to Quebec, to Montreal, and to other military posts, to receive the presents which the government annually distribute amongst them. Those who come to Quebec encamp at a little distance from the town, on the banks of the St. Lawrence; and I took the earliest opportunity to go and see them, gratifying a curiosity so natural to Europeans.

Conceive to yourself a parcel of men, women, and children, huddled together under a *wigwam*, formed of pieces of wood, seven or eight feet in length, the ends fixed in the ground, and meeting at the top, form a kind of sloping frame, which is covered with the bark of the birch-tree, to keep out the inclemencies of the weather—a very poor covering indeed. They are *half* naked, *wholly* covered with dirt, and oily paints, and swarming with vermin; diminutive, and weakly in their persons and appearance; and having a physiognomy, in which you look in vain for traces of intelligence. I do not mean to say that they are without the reasoning faculty, but they certainly appear excessively stupid. I under-

stand that their numbers decrease every year, —if they were wholly extinct, I do not think that human nature would be a great sufferer by it.

If you wish to see a very pretty story about the dignity of the Indian, you have only to consult *Raynal*, who says a great deal more for them than dame nature warrants. Their stupid apathy and indifference about the objects of civilized society is called *noble independence of spirit*. To the same source is traced their adopting a wandering life, with all its privations and hardships, in preference to a fixed abode, and the culture of the ground. Frequent attempts have been made to domesticate them, by taking them when young children into European families, and treating them with every attention. It is surprising, however, that there is no instance of succeeding in the attempt, or of their learning any occupation and becoming members of civilized society.

Two Indians were in England not long since. They had been employed as common *voyageurs* in the northwest trade, and had learned a little English.—They found means to get to England by way of New



York, and represented themselves to be Indian princes, come to make a representation to government. They were treated in the handsomest manner,—lodged in a hotel in London, and all their expences paid. They returned here lately, genteelly dressed, *a la mode Angloise*, but in a very short time they betook themselves to the woods, adopting the Indian dress and habits; one would naturally have thought, that after visiting London, and having experienced the comforts of civilized life, they would not have so soon assumed their ancient habits; perhaps, there is something in the nature of the Indian, which tells him that a forest is his proper home, and hunting his fellow tenants of the wood, his proper employment.

I may be thought too severe on the Indians, by those who have been on the banks of the rivers Missouri and Mississippi, or in the north-west territories beyond the Lakes. There, Indians are to be seen in their natural, unsophisticated state. Those that I have seen, have occasionally mixt with Europeans. They are extremely fond of strong spirits, in which both sexes

indulge to excess, and are then guilty of the most dreadful cruelties, maiming and murdering their friends and relations in the most *savage* manner.

Amongst the nations in the interior, I am informed there are found individuals who shew great powers of ratiocination; possess many virtues; and who want nothing but education to be equal to Europeans. Whether the generality of them ought to be placed on that footing or not, appears problematical. To form a just estimate of their genius and mental powers, more facts are wanting; a few instances of individual pre-eminence are not enough. Great allowance must, no doubt, be made for the circumstance that their situation in life calls for the display of only a particular kind of talents; and to those naturally will the force of their mental powers be directed. Of their bravery in war, there are many proofs; as also of their ingenuity and dexterity in the chase. The whole powers of their mind have been directed to these objects. Letters have not been introduced amongst them; and reading promotes reflection. It gives to the mind a new kind

of existence ; it strengthens and enlarges the power of its operations.

Whether *nature* has put the American Indian on the same footing, *in every respect*, with the European, as to mental powers, is not to be ascertained in the present day : we want facts from which to judge.— Among all other animals, we see *certain classes or species* of the same *genus* superior one to the other. The Author of Nature has willed it so. It is possible that the Author of Nature may also have made varieties in the human race, differing from each other in their powers both of body and mind ; and that the American Indian, the African, and the European, are illustrations of the fact.

The commerce of the river St. Lawrence differs as much from that of the European countries, as the appearance of Canada does from that of the countries in Europe. From what I have said in my different communications to you on these subjects, as well as on the political state of the country, I trust I have enabled you to form a general idea of them. Many subjects of importance require yet to be illustrated.

I must, at greater length, explain to the nature and value of the exports and ports of the country, its productions, manufactures, &c. in order to shew you value as a British colony.—These matters will form the subject of my next communication.

## LETTER XIII.

*Quebec, December, 1807.*

THE navigation of the river St. Lawrence is now closed—not a vessel to be seen:—like the migrating birds, they have gone in search of a milder climate; immense masses of ice occupy their place, and ride triumphant in the river. Canada has put on her winter clothing, she is wrapped in snow, and the rivers are bound up in ice. We have all assumed our winter dresses; furs and flannels are substituted for nankeens and muslins. The wharfs and quays, lately so moving a scene, are now deserted; business is at a stand. The merchant, and the variety of people employed by him, are now idle; amusements and festivity have assumed the place of the more serious and important occupations of life. The amusements of this country, particularly the winter amusements, have a distinctive character; you would look in vain for any

thing of the same kind, in the temperate climes of Europe. I shall be better able to give you a description of these matters, and of the curious phenomena which the Canadian winter months offer to our observation, when the winter is finished. In the mean time, give me leave to send you the result of my enquiries relative to the productions and commerce of Canada.

The population of Canada at the time it came into the possession of the British in 1759-60, amounted to 75600 souls, as appears from General Murray's report to the British government, immediately after the conquest. At that time the extensive country now called *Upper Canada* was not inhabited by any Europeans. At present the two Canadas contain at least 300,000 inhabitants; of these, *Lower Canada* contains about two-thirds. The descendants of the Old Canadians constitute at least nine-tenths of the population of Lower Canada. They profess the Roman Catholic religion, and are allowed the use of the Old Canadian, or rather French laws, agreeably to the principles laid down in the *Coutume de Paris*, as I have mentioned to you in a former letter.

In Upper Canada, the population amounts to about 100,000. These are all British, at least they speak English, and are governed entirely by the laws of England, both in civil and criminal matters; and in questions relative to real property, as well as in questions relative to personal property. The lands are held by the English tenures, and the courts of justice are regulated agreeably to the forms of the respective courts in England. Niagara was formerly the capital of Upper Canada, but about twelve years ago *York* was laid out for a town, and the seat of government transferred to it, and it is already of considerable size.

From the preceding statement of the population, it is evident that the increase in Lower Canada for these last fifty years has been very great; it has, in fact, nearly tripled. In Upper Canada the increase has been very rapid, as several years elapsed after the conquest before any part of Upper Canada was settled or cultivated. Thirty years ago, Upper Canada was nearly a continued forest;—that a population of 100,000 should in that space of time accumulate, is a proof that the country and

climate are propitious. Indeed, it is generally allowed, that the climate of Upper Canada and its soil are superior to those of Lower Canada.

The country is in general more level and low than the neighbourhood of Quebec and Montreal. The waters of the immense lakes have perhaps narrowed their beds, and left the surrounding country dry, at a later period than has been the case in Lower Canada, where hills and mountains and rapid rivers abound, and where the nutritious parts of the soil may have been carried off. The climate of Upper Canada is temperate, and friendly to vegetation. The warmth of the air will facilitate the decomposition of all vegetable and animal matter, which may be in a state of decay, and in the course of time an accumulation of soil will take place. When the forests are cleared away, and the plough and harrow have performed their functions, the same causes which promoted the growth of the large hardy oak, the stately pine, and the matted thicket, will raise fine crops of wheat, and luxuriant artificial grasses.

In all new countries, such as the Canadas, population must increase much faster



than in old countries, because the production of food for man is much easier; and as their situation precludes the possibility of their indulging in what are called the luxuries of life, their principal occupation will naturally be the production of food. They will clear their lands of wood,—they will sow and reap; next year more will be cleared, sown, and reaped, until the grain, &c. produced exceed the wants of the family. The surplus becomes an object of merchandize. Their disposable capital increases; and it is employed either in increasing production by cultivating more land, or in ameliorating what is already produced. Mills are erected; wheat converted into flour; flour into biscuit; cattle are fattened and prepared for market. This accumulation of the real wealth of a country is the natural cause of an increase of population.

Besides the operation of this cause, the Canadas owe much of their increase of population to emigrations from the United States of America, and from Europe. These emigrations, to a greater or less extent, take place every year. The emigrants generally prefer settling in Upper, rather

than in Lower Canada, as well those from the United States, as those from Europe. There are many reasons for the preference given to Upper Canada. The soil and climate are better; and lands are cheaper, and more easily procured: the tenures are better understood, and better liked than the French tenures in Lower Canada. The great mass of the people speak English, and have English habits, neither of which are to be found in Lower Canada. In case of a dispute with your neighbour, the *cause* is tried in an English court of justice, and in a language you understand; which is not the case in Lower Canada. In short, these causes will continue to draw to Upper Canada a great augmentation to the natural increase of the population and wealth—whilst the *Canadian French population* will only increase in the ordinary ratio.

In proportion to the increase of population, is the demand for manufactures, and for articles of foreign importation. The increase of industry and wealth gives a greater fund to pay for the productions of other countries. That this has been the case in

Canada, is clearly proved by the gradual increase of her foreign trade.

Great Britain is at a considerable regular expence in supporting the garrisons and military establishment of Canada,—besides the value of the presents given annually to the Indians, and the amount of the salaries of a variety of people employed in what is called the Indian department, consisting of superintendants, inspectors, agents, &c. The goods given to the Indians annually are of considerable value, and consist of clothes, muskets, powder and ball, trinkets, hardware, &c.—Yet Canada is well deserving the pains and cost necessary to preserve it. She consumes our manufactures to a considerable amount, as I shall shew you presently; she gives employment annually to about 200 sail of merchantmen, and about fourteen hundred seamen; she furnishes Newfoundland with supplies of flour, bread, &c.—and she supplies our West India islands with a considerable quantity of lumber, staves, punch-eon-packs, hoops, horses, and salt-fish of a variety of kinds. She supplies Great Britain with wheat occasionally; and, what

is likely to be of great importance, the forests of Canada will be found equal to supplying the dockyards with masts and yards for the largest men of war in the navy, and, indeed, for vessels of all sorts, to almost any amount; besides a great abundance of oak, and other ship-timber of a variety of species. Our coopers, too, may be supplied with staves to any amount, and of as good quality as usually come from Hamburgh, Stettin, and Dantzic.

This cannot fail to be of great consequence, when we happen to be excluded from the Russian dominions, and from the Baltic ports, which the capricious conduct of the Emperor of Russia gives too much reason to fear may sometimes be the case.

The quantity of wheat, flour, and biscuit, annually exported from Canada is very considerable: but the crops are precarious, and the quantity as yet not sufficient to ensure to the mother country a regular supply.

The following statement of exports will shew what a variety of articles Canada produces. I have taken the average of *five years*, ending 1805.

		Currency.		
		<i>s. d.</i>	£.	<i>s. d.</i>
Wheat	- - - - 345499 bushels	6 6	112287	3 6
Flour	- - - - 19822 barrels	42 6	42123	17 6
Biscuit	- - - - 21777 quintals, or cwt.	25—	27221	5 0
Pease	- - - - 2266 bushels	5 6	693	3 0
Oats	- - - - 2366 ditto	2—	236	12 0
Barley	- - - - 4301 ditto	3—	643	3 0
Indian corn	- - - - 922 ditto	4 6	207	9 0
Beef	- - - - 1245 barrels	60—	3735	0 0
Ditto	- - - - 429 tierces	90—	1930	10 0
Pork	- - - - 1286 barrels	90—	5807	0 0
Cod fish	- - - - 1704 quintals	17 6	1491	0 0
Oak	- - - - 3534 pieces	40—	7068	0 0
Pine	- - - - 1190 ditto	35—	2084	0 0
Staves	- - - - 840124 at 25l. per 1200	-	17502	11 8
Stave ends, &c.	- - - 9205 at 10l. per ditto	-	3	16 6
Pine boards and planks	80014 at 60s. per hundred	-	2400	8 4
Oak plank	- - - - 796 at 20s. each	-	796	0 0
Handspikes	- - - - 12537 at 7s 6d per dozen	-	391	15 7
Oars	- - - - 544 at 6s a pair	-	81	12 0
Masts	- - - - 134 at 20l. each	-	2680	0 0
Spars	- - - - 144 - - - - - 10—	-	72	0 0
West India hoops	- - - 91290 at 6l. per thousand	-	547	15 0
Shingles	- - - - 91262 at 10s per thousand	-	15	13 0
Madeira pipe packs	- - - 1908 at 15s - - - - -	-	1481	0 0
Puncheon ditto	- - - 627 - - - - - 12 6	-	396	17 0
Tierce ditto	- - - 536 - - - - - 7 6	-	201	0 0
Essence Spruce	- - - 89 boxes - - - - 10—	-	19	10 0
Ditto	- - - - 34 hogsheads at 25l. - -	-	850	0 0
Pot and pearl ashes	- 22084 cwt. - - - - 47 6	-	52449	10 0
Linseed	- - - - 5675 bushels - - - - 5 6	-	1560	12 6
Seal skins	- - - - 3126 - - - - - 3 6	-	547	1 0
Castorum	- - - - 2753 lbs. - - - - - 8—	-	1101	4 0
Horses	- - - - 100 at 20l. - - - - -	-	2000	0 0
Sarsaparilla	- - - 16300 lbs. - - - - - 2—	-	1630	0 0
Tallow	- - - - 20 barrels - - - - 50—	-	50	0 0
Butter	- - - - 199 firkins - - - - 80—	-	796	0 0
Soap and candles	- - - 1576 boxes - - - - 60—	-	4728	0 0
Salmon	- - - - 610 tierces - - - - 65—	-	1982	10 0

Carried forward 299692 19 7

		Currency.	
		£.	s. d.
	Brought forward	s. d.	999692 19 7
Salmon - - - - -	197 barrels - -	45—	443 5 0
Herrings - - - - -	200 ditto - -	20—	200 0 0
Bass, a species of fish, } about size of a salmon }	70 ditto - -	30—	105 0 0
Onions - - - - -	20 ditto - -	25—	25 0 0
Apples - - - - -	300 ditto - -	25—	375 0 0
Cranberries - - - - -	10 barrels - -	15—	11 5 0
Snuff - - - - -	10 kegs - -	100—	50 0 0
Stoves - - - - -	200 - - -	120—	1200 0 0
Hops - - - - -	30 pockets - -	100—	150 0 0
Balsam - - - - -	1780 lbs. - -	—6d	44 10 0
Capillaire - - - - -	100 lbs. - -	1—	5 0 0
Beer - - - - -	100 hogsheads -	100—	500 0 0
Ox and cow hides - -	1000 - - -	15—	750 0 0
Horns - - - - -	2000 per dozen -	3—	24 19 0
Hemp - - - - -	23 cwt. - -	35—	40 5 0
Expences on 180 vessels, pilotage, port charges, &c. at } 200l. each - - - - - }			36000 0 0

There are annually built at Quebec a certain number of vessels on British account, and on British capital; say about 1500 tons, at 10l. per ton, exclusive of sails and rigging - - - - - 15000 0 0

Furs and Peltries exported from Canada for Britain, on an average of three years ending 1805.

		£.	s. d.
Martin - - - - -	23170 at 4s each	4634	0 0
Beaver - - - - -	99076 average } 1½lb. each, at 14s per lb. - - }	92470	18 8
Otter - - - - -	17649 at 17s 6d	33091	17 6
Minks - - - - -	11687 at 2s 6d	1460	17 6
Fishers - - - - -	5657 at 8s 6d	2404	4 6
Foxes - - - - -	8636 at 12s	5181	12 0
Bear and cub - - -	20074 at 40s	40148	0 0
Deer - - - - -	223290 at 5s	55822	10 0
Racoon - - - - -	151710 at 2s	16171	0 0
Musk-wash - - - -	79650 at 1s 2d	4646	5 0
Cat, cased and open	12221 at 7s 6d	4582	7 6
Carried forward		259613	12 8
		354617	3 7

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
	Brought forward	259613	12	8	354617	3	7
Wolf	- - - - - 6425 at 8s	2570	0	0			
Elk	- - - - - 1032 at 10s	516	0	0			
Woolvereen	- - - 1250 at 5s	812	10	0			
Hare, rabbit, ermin, and squirrel	- - } 3062 at 6d }	76	11	0			
					<hr/>		
The expence of the military establishment in Canada, drawn for by the paymaster general, and paymas- ters of regiments, amounts annually to about - -					263088	13	8
Total exports to Britain and British establishments					<hr/>		
					767705	17	3

All exports are to be considered as a remittance in pay-  
ment of imports; and as the military expences are  
paid by England for articles consumed by British  
soldiers, and have nearly the effect of exportation,  
the above sum of 150000l. is classed under this head.

During last year there were *cleared out* at the Customhouse of Que-  
bec 193 vessels, measuring 33996 tons, navigated by 1601 men.

The imports of Canada *from* Britain and British establish-  
ments are not so easily ascertained as the exports,  
because no account is kept at the Customhouse of  
goods which do not pay duty.

The goods which *pay duty* were on an average of five  
years as follows:

			£.	s.	d.		
Madeira	- - 15,455 gal.	10s	7727	10	0		
Port wine	- 43,471 —	8s	17428				
Teneriffe	- - 2,400 —	5s	600				
Spanish, red	- 46,720 —	3s 4d	7786	13	4		
French wine	- 52,776 —	2s 6d	6597				
Brandy	- - 29,051 —	6s	8715	6			
Rum	- - - 517,912 —	{ 4783 puns. 188 hhd. 69 tierces	4s 6d	116530	4		
Molasses	- - 42,052 —	3s	6307	16			
Salt	- - - 89,111 minots	1s 8d	7425	17	10		
Loaf sugar	- - 139,324 lbs.	1s 4d	9288	5	4		
Muscovado	- - 135,790 —	7½d	4243	7	6		
Coffee	- - - 46,748 —	1s 7d	3700	17	6		
Tobacco	- - - 84,500 — manufactured	1s	4225				
Ditto	- - - 71,000 — leaf	9d	2663	10			
Cards	- - - 17,360 — packs	1s.	86710				
					<hr/>		
					204105	17	6

It is to be presumed that the dry goods imported, for which no duties are paid, and of which no account is kept at the custom-house, amount to the difference between the above sum and the value of the exports, viz. about 563,600*l.*—Indeed, it is not improbable that the imports exceed the exports and remittances, for it is very well known, that many of the goods imported are never paid for, the importers becoming insolvent.

Besides the preceding imports, goods of a variety of kinds are annually sent to Canada (as I have formerly mentioned) by the British government as *a present* to the Indians. When these goods are delivered to the proper officer, bills are drawn for the amount in favour of the shipper; but, as the province gives nothing in return for these goods, the bills drawn in payment cannot be considered as a remittance from Canada, for which the province ought to take credit. The Indians give nothing in return for which they are not amply paid. In fact, it is *a present*, and like all other presents *must go to the debit of profit and loss* at home. Did the Indians live a settled life, and employ themselves in agri-



culture, and in increasing the useful property of the province, the *presents* might be considered as a salary, and, like all other salaries and army pay, would be compensated to Britain by labour or services, and the province might take credit for the amount, because in the accomplishment of their duty, their salary is spent in the purchase of various articles of food, which if not consumed in that way might increase the exportations of the province: but this is not the case. The Indian kills his game, eats the carcass, and sells the skin to the merchant, who pays him for it as much as if he had received no present from government.

That government should continue annually to distribute presents to the Indians, is a measure, the expediency of which is very much doubted. They are given with the view of conciliating the affections of the Indian tribes, and securing them in our interests. It is thought that their own interest will teach them that we are their best friends, so long as we take their furs and peltries, and give more for them than they can get elsewhere; when this ceases to be the case, the *presents* will not have great

effect. Indeed, I am well assured that the presents are, even now, almost thrown away, from the circumstance of their being given to the most unworthy part of the Indians, —to fellows who live in the neighbourhood of *Detroit* and *Michilimakinack*, and whom these *presents* keep in a state of idleness and dissipation; while the real hunters, the active Indians who furnish the furs, and are truly useful as well as formidable, get little or nothing. They stand no chance with the *Detroit* or *Michilimakinack* Indians, or those in the neighbourhood of these places, whose knowledge of, and *connexions* with, the commanders and men in power, secure to them a large share of what the British government send to this country. The *Micmac* and other Indians that come to receive their presents at Quebec and Montreal, are too insignificant to be feared, or to be taken much into consideration.

It certainly would be improper, nay highly unjust, to stop all at once the giving presents; but I find it is the general opinion that the thing might be done gradually; and that it would not only be a consider-

able saving to Britain, but really, upon the whole, an advantage to the Indians not to receive presents. It would be better that they should spend their time in hunting, than in coming to our military posts and destroying themselves with spirits, which they get in exchange from *British subjects*, for the very presents they had just received from government; so that they very often return as completely divested of their presents, as when they came out of their native forests. I have heard that some years ago very great abuses were committed by those concerned in this department, who are said to have inveigled the Indians to part with their presents for liquors, and that the goods were afterwards appropriated to their own use, whereby large fortunes were made.

An important part of the commerce of Canada is carried on with the United States of America, the consideration of which I shall reserve for my next letter.

## LETTER XIV.

Quebec, December, 1807.

I HAVE just returned from taking a walk, though the weather is bitter cold. You will be surprised that any one could shew their nose to it, when I shall have told you how cold it is; on that subject you shall hear from me by and by: in the mean time let me continue my mercantile disquisitions. I have to lay before you the commercial connexions of Canada with the United States.

Besides the trade which Canada carries on with Britain and her colonies, a very considerable trade is carried on with the American states. The law acknowledges but one place in *Lower Canada*, through which goods can be introduced from the United States, as I mentioned in a former letter. It is by the river Chambly, which connects Lake Champlain with the St. Lawrence: At St. John's, on this river, there is a custom-house for the

purpose of taking cognizance of such goods as are brought in from the States.

The imports by way of St. John's in the year 1806 were as follow.

		s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Souchong tea	- 1521lbs.	-	3 9	-	285	3	9
Hyson skin	- 84105	-	3 3	-	13667	1	3
Bohea	- 20	-	2 0	-	2	0	0
Hyson	- 750	-	5 6	-	206	5	0
Ditto, single	- 22246	-	3 6	-	3893	1	0
Coffee	- 235	-	1 6	-	17	12	6
Chocolate	- 9880	-	1 4	-	658	13	4
Foreign spirits	607 gallons	-	-	-	151	15	0
Leaf tobacco	- 14611 lbs.	-	0 6	-	365	5	6
Manufactured, ditto	30646	-	0 7	-	893	16	10
Indigo	- 928	-	6 0	-	278	8	0
Butter	- 4039	-	0 8	-	134	12	8
Cheese	- 31714	-	0 6	-	792	17	0
Codfish	- 11100	-	0 6	-	277	10	0
Fresh pork	- 67943	-	0 4	-	1132	7	8
Salted ditto	- 631 barrels	-	70 0	-	2208	10	0
Indian corn	- 5873 bushels	-	2 9	-	807	10	9
Shoes	- 7356 pairs	-	5 0	-	1839	0	0
Sole leather	- 83880 lbs.	-	1 4	-	5592	0	0
Boots	- 1307 pairs	-	25 0	-	1633	15	0
Saddles	- 65	-	40 0	-	130	0	0
Linseed oil	- 528 gallons	-	6 0	-	158	8	0
Pig iron	- 32134 lbs.	-	0 3	-	401	13	6
Hams	- 1200 lbs.	-	0 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	37	10	0
Hat bodies	- 2950	-	2 0	-	295	0	0
Nankeen	- 3230 pieces	-	5 0	-	807	10	0
Horses	- 15	-	130 0	-	97	10	0
Mahogany	- 1500 feet	-	2 0	-	150	0	0
Ditto, boards	1000 feet	-	1 2	-	58	6	8
Pine plank	- 503700 feet per 1000 feet	60	0	-	1511	2	0
Do. boards & plank	431000 per ditto	50	0	-	1077	10	0
Oak (square)	188150 per square foot	1	0	-	9407	10	0
Shingles	- 20000 per 1000	-	10 0	-	10	0	0
Staves, pipe	55800	-	L. 30	0	0	0	0
Ditto, hogsheads	248000 per ditto	7	10	0	1860	0	0
Potash	3669 bar. 11007 cwt.	40	0	-	22014	0	0
Muscovado sugar	215 lbs.	-	0 7	-	6	5	5
Loaf ditto	- 35 lbs.	-	1 0	-	1	15	0
Mapple ditto	- 500 lbs.	-	0 6	-	12	10	0
Honey	- 899 lbs.	-	1 0	-	44	19	0
Molasses	- 45 gallons	-	3 0	-	6	15	0
Snuff	- 134 lbs.	-	0 9	-	5	0	6
Tallow	- 130 lbs.	-	0 9	-	4	17	6
Hogalard	- 1090 lbs.	-	0 9	-	40	17	6

Carried forward L 774650 5 4

		s. d.		l. s. d.	
		Brought forward		74650	5 4
Beans	- 20 bushels	-	3 0	-	3 0 0
Pease	- 16 ditto	-	3 4	-	2 13 4
Oats	- 96 ditto	-	1 4	-	6 3 0
Wheat	- 326 ditto	-	5 6	-	89 13 0
Flour	- 19 barrels	-	40 0	-	38 0 0
Rosin	- 141	-	40 0	-	232 0 0
Tar	- 18	-	20 0	-	18 0 0
Hops	- 10670 lbs.	-	0 9	-	400 2 6
Cotton wool	- 158 lbs.	-	1 8	-	13 3 4
Pimento	- 60 lbs.	-	1 0	-	3 0 0
Gunpowder	- 25 lbs.	-	2 0	-	2 10 0
Stockings	- 373 per pair	-	2 0	-	37 16 0

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L. 75546 11 6

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Besides the preceding articles, there are a variety of others introduced from the United States. Some by way of St. John's, some by other channels, besides what is sent into Upper Canada. Where there is so extensive a line of boundary as that which separates Canada from the United States, it is not to be supposed that strict attention will be paid to the law making St. John's the only legal channel for goods into Lower Canada. Smuggling to a great extent is carried on. Of the articles not enumerated, I am well informed that there are at least 20,000 pieces of white cotton, at about 17s. 6d. a piece—a large quantity of blue cotton—silk handkerchiefs—East India checks and stripes—East India silks—French cambricks and crapes,

besides groceries and a variety of other articles. I am assured that these and other non-enumerated articles do not amount annually to less than 100,000*l.*;—and, therefore, the whole imports from the United States into Canada must amount annually to 175,546*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

The exports from *Canada* by way of St. John's to the United States are correctly known. In the year 1806 they were as follows.

		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Beaver skins	29115 lbs.	18	9	27395	6	3
Bear	3112	each	30	0	4668	0
Racoon	21776		2	0	2176	14
Deer	901		3	9	168	18
Musk rat	128837		1	4	8589	2
Musk	1818		2	6	227	5
Buffalo	39		20	0	39	0
Martin	28379		4	0	5675	16
Fox	600		6	0	180	0
Fishers	800		5	0	200	0
Wolf	5532		7	6	2074	0
Cat	503		7	6	188	12
Otter	10427		20	0	10427	0
Calf	967		3	4	161	3
Ox hides, raw	597	each	20	0	597	0
Salt	9091 bushels		2	6	1136	7
Fish	1097 barrels		30	0	1645	10
Articles not particularised					1036	13
Amount of exports from Canada				66,586	8	2
Amount of ditto from United States				175,546	11	6
Balance against Canada				L. 108,960	3	4

This balance the Americans carry out of Canada in cash. There are a great variety of coins in circulation in Canada:—

we have the Spanish, French, American, and British, gold and silver coins. The Spanish dollar is in most general use, and these the Americans prefer, because they generally bear a premium in New York and Boston, to the amount sometimes of 2 per cent. The Americans want them for their China trade.

There does not appear any way of preventing this drain of the circulating medium while the trade remains on its present footing: nor do I think it is of much consequence. The old notion that it was ruin to a country to allow its specie to be taken from it, is now very generally exploded. Wherever money is wanted, and there is something to be given for it, *there* it will flow while there is such a thing in existence as commerce. In the present case, if the Americans by carrying cash out of Canada create a scarcity, both the government and the merchants will find a difficulty in procuring it. The government want large sums for paying the troops, and the expences of the civil department—the merchants want money to pay for the *produce* they purchase for exportation. They



draw bills on England, which they sell to the holders of cash. Now, when the holders of cash find that money is much wanted, they will give it to those who for 100*l.* bill on England will take the smallest amount of cash from them. Payments are made in the currency of the country. *Sterling* is  $11\frac{1}{4}$ th per cent. more valuable—this is the *par of exchange*. When there are many *drawers*, the number of bills for sale, lowers their value; and the demand for cash raises its value; so that the holders of cash can get sterling bills under par, that is, they get a bill for 100*l.* sterling for less currency than 111 $\frac{1}{4}$ *l.*—Suppose five per cent under par—five pounds are deducted from one hundred pounds, and currency, *at par* is given corresponding to 95*l.* sterling, by which there is evidently a gain to the holder of cash, and a loss to the drawer of bills—95*l.* sterling being equal to 105*l.* 1*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* currency, which he gets instead of 111*l.* 2*s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the par. It follows that the holders of cash wish to lower the exchange, and the drawers to raise it. If I want a bill on England, to remit, the less currency I give for it the better for me; and if I

wish to dispose of a bill, the more currency I get for it the better for me.

The Americans by taking cash out of the country, increase the value of what remains, and the exchange falls. It has sometimes fallen so low, that sterling has been given for currency, whereby drawers of bills suffered a loss of  $11\frac{2}{7}$  per cent.

In New York and Boston, the exchange on Britain is in general high, that is to say, bills on London bear a premium, sometimes as much as eight per cent. For a 100*l.* bill, you get currency corresponding to 108*l.* Cash is more plentiful than bills. —In Canada it is quite the reverse; and when the exchange is, in consequence, low, it becomes extremely advantageous for the holders of cash, in Boston and New York, to send it to Canada for the purchasing of bills (which they get at a discount), rather than purchase bills at home, which are sold at a premium. Thus the cash carried out of Canada by one set of men, is brought back again by another set. In consequence of which, the exchange in Canada approaches *par*, and the circulating medium regains its level.

Government, as well as individuals, who have occasion to draw bills in Canada, suffer very heavy losses by the discount on bills. I cannot help thinking that it would be a very easy matter for government to prevent any great loss by exchange. All they have to do is to keep themselves advised of the state of exchange in New-York, and draw at three or four per cent. more favourable for the holders of cash than the course at New-York offers. There can be no doubt that the cash would immediately come into Canada. Instead of government bills in Canada being at a discount of seven or eight per cent. they would rarely be below par; for in New-York bills in general bear a premium sufficiently high to induce the holders of cash to carry it to Canada for government bills, at par, or very little below it. The expence of bringing in cash from New-York, to Quebec or Montreal, is not above three to three and a half per cent. insurance included. The risks to be insured against are, thieves, and the danger of loss in crossing lakes and rivers\*.

\* Very large sums are brought in from the States. In summer the conveyance by land is in a carriage, and

In casting one's eye over the articles which Canada receives from America, it is evident that almost every one of them might be produced in Canada, or imported from Britain and her colonies, if the trade were under proper regulations.

By the treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce, with the United States, in 1794, it is provided in the third article, " that all  
 " goods and merchandize, whose importa-  
 " tion into *his said Majesty's territories in*  
 " *America* shall not be entirely prohibited,  
 " may freely, for the purposes of commerce,  
 " be carried into the same, in the manner  
 " aforesaid, by the citizens of the United  
 " States; *and such goods and merchandize*  
 " *shall be subject to no higher or other duties*  
 " *than would be payable by his Majesty's*  
 " *subjects on the importation of the same*

on the lake, and crossing the St. Lawrence a canoe is used. In winter, the land carriage is a sleigh, and the same conveyance is used on the lake, and on the river, as soon as the ice is strong enough. From 20 to 30,000l. have been brought in at one time by one man, openly enough to convince the people that it was money; yet I have never heard that any robbery has been committed; which is saying a great deal for the honesty of both the Americans and Canadians.

“ *from Europe into the said territories:* and  
 “ in like manner all goods and merchan-  
 “ dize, whose importation into the *United*  
 “ *States* shall not be wholly prohibited,  
 “ may freely, for the purposes of commerce,  
 “ be carried into the same, in the manner  
 “ aforesaid, by his Majesty’s subjects; and  
 “ such goods and merchandize shall be  
 “ subject to no higher or other duties than  
 “ would be payable by the citizens of the  
 “ United States on the importation of the  
 “ same in American vessels into the At-  
 “ lantic ports of the said States.”

This clause carries with it an appearance of reciprocal advantage to Great Britain and America; but there is in fact no reciprocity in it. Why adopt the duties laid on by us on goods imported by the river St. Lawrence, as the measure of reciprocal charge on the introduction of goods from America by the line of boundary? If the British government, or provincial legislature, think proper to allow their own merchants to import certain articles by the river St. Lawrence, free of duty, are the Americans to say, you must allow us to import the same articles on the same terms by way of Lake

Champlain;—they certainly ought not to be allowed to say so, nor to do so. Cogent reasons may exist for the one, and not for the other.

The object to be attended to,—the justice of the case, is reciprocity of duties on the goods which pass from the one country to the other. It may suit the policy of Britain that no duties be charged on certain articles shipped by her merchants for Canada, and at the same time be very contrary to her interest or wishes, that the Americans also, should be allowed to send the same articles to Canada, free of duty. Whatever duties are charged on goods coming from one side of the line, may be charged on goods coming from the other, if thought advisable: here the reciprocity would be perfect.

The Americans lay a duty of about 15 per cent. on almost every thing they get from Canada, while they annually send into Canada goods to near three times the amount, on which no duties are paid.

Formerly, Canada was supplied with teas, cotton goods, silk, and all other East India articles by the British merchant, but

at present the large quantities of East India goods used in Canada, are supplied exclusively by the Americans. In the article of tea alone, it will be seen by a reference to the list, that the amount is near 20,000l. a year, which is a trifle even, compared to the sums annually paid for cotton goods.

By the 13th article of the treaty of commerce, 1794, "His Majesty consents  
" that the vessels belonging to the citizens  
" of the United States of America shall be  
" admitted and hospitably received in all  
" the sea-ports and harbours of the British  
" territories in the East Indies; and that  
" the citizens of the said United States  
" may freely carry on a trade between the  
" said territories, and the said United  
" States in all articles of which the im-  
" portation or exportation respectively to  
" or from the said territories shall not be  
" entirely prohibited."

In consequence of this permission, the Americans have gone largely into the East India trade; and, from a variety of advantages attached to a neutral flag, they have been able (particularly since the commencement of the French revolution) to

import India goods into America, and transport them into Canada, so much cheaper than can be done by the British merchants that the latter are entirely cut out of the trade. Not only the East India companies are sufferers by it, but also the British mercantile and shipping interests. Add to this that the money carried out of Canada in payment of these goods, creates a scarcity of cash, which lowers the rate of exchange and occasions thereby an increase of price on every article of produce exported from Canada; and this increase falls on the person for whose account the produce is exported. Canadian produce is increased in price to the European consumer; and, in the English market, is less able to compete with the same sort of produce brought from America and elsewhere; and all this arises in consequence of the article in the treaty before quoted, allowing the Americans to carry into Canada, East India articles, groceries &c. duty free. I, therefore, humbly conceive that if the advantage of the mercantile and shipping interests of Britain is consulted the above article ought to be abolished, or rather so modified that the British merchants



might send his goods into market on the same terms that the Americans do.

To strike effectually at the root of the evil, I believe the best way would be to prohibit the Americans from going to India. If the goods are once in the United States, it will be next to impossible to prevent their being carried into Canada, their line of boundary being so extensive. I cannot pretend to say what advantages result to our East India possessions, from the Americans having liberty to go there; but, it strikes me, as being very much against the mercantile and shipping interests of Britain.

The Americans for some years past, have supplied, not only Canada, but likewise the West India islands, and the Spanish main, with a variety of Asiatic produce, brought from thence in American bottoms, which, it is presumed, must have been brought in British bottoms, had the trade not been thrown open to America. I do not pretend, however, to be sufficiently informed on this matter, to embrace the question in all its different bearings.

I understand that a new treaty is now on the stocks between Britain and America. If the first ten articles of the treaty of 1794 are still declared permanent, particularly the third article, and this, after maturely considering its operation in Canada, and weighing the information which the merchants connected with Canada are ready and able to give, we may presume that something more is taken into consideration by our legislators than we are aware of, otherwise they would not do that which seems to every one who knows the Canada trade, to be contrary to the best interests of Britain.—I say of *Britain*, for I hold it to be a thing certain that *the footing on which the trade at present stands, is the best that can be for Canada*; for it assuredly is advantageous to Canada, to receive tea, groceries, and East India goods in great abundance, and at a cheaper rate than she can from England. But, it is disadvantageous to Britain both in a commercial and political point of view, that her colonies should draw their supplies from any other quarter than from Britain; it would in time render them independent

of Britain, and more attached to the country from which they receive their supplies than to the mother country. *This is likely to be the case with Canada (and perhaps the West Indies too), and well deserves the serious consideration of government.* The more supplies received from America,—the more encouragement that is given to that trade, the less dependence will Canada have on Britain, and the less inclined they will be, to resist any attempts the Americans may make to get possession of the country. The interests of the colonies, and of the mother country, are sometimes at variance, as in the present instance, and when that is the case, I would without hesitation, sacrifice the former to the latter, and frame treaties accordingly.

I should think that it would be much better that all mercantile regulations in treaties, should have a limited duration; the situation and circumstances of nations undergo great change, and it seems proper that the mercantile regulations in their treaties should be capable of receiving such changes as circumstances may shew to be necessary.

If experience demonstrates that treaties are founded on principles of justice and of reciprocal advantage, they can easily be continued from time to time ; but if they should not be founded in justice, and are without reciprocity (such as the third article of the treaty of 1794), and yet be declared permanent, the good faith and honour of the nation aggrieved, may induce them to adhere to the treaty ; but it will be with a bad grace, and create *bad blood*, they will be glad to embrace any opportunity of coming to a rupture, in order to bring about a new treaty. This would be avoided if there were a limitation to the operation of the oppressive articles ; they would be endured with patience, until the time should arrive when a new arrangement could be made.

Although the first ten articles of the American treaty are declared permanent, it does not follow, that, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, they are unchangeable: the act contains several articles, which, in their nature, were not permanent, hence it became necessary to use some appellation for those articles which had an

unlimited duration, and the term *permanent* was adopted, not probably meaning that they should *never* be touched, but merely to distinguish them from the others: they were to be permanent till changed by mutual consent.

Our North American colonists look homewards just now with all that anxiety which men naturally shew, when their best interests are under discussion; the Americans are able negociators, and their local knowledge of this country, and the great attention they pay to the most minute circumstances tending to their advantage in a commercial point of view, require on the part of our ministry, much circumspection, and all the aid they can get from men of commercial habits, who have studied the interests of the colonies on the spot, and whose inferences are drawn from the evidence of facts.

## LETTER XV.

*Quebec, 1807.*

HAVING gone at some length into the political connection between Great Britain and America, as far as relates to our transatlantic possessions, permit me to resume the consideration of the productions and exports of Canada, to Britain and elsewhere.

It will be observed on examining the list of Canadian exports, that they already consist of almost every necessary of life; and, were the Canadians as active and industrious as their neighbours in the United States, the amount of exports would very rapidly and greatly increase; as it is, they will gradually increase as population increases.

Wheat is the most considerable article of exportation from Canada; upwards of one million bushels have been exported in

one year; not half that quantity however was exported on an average of five years ending in 1805.

Canada wheat is of an excellent quality: it is thought superior to the Baltic wheat, being harder, and yielding more flour in proportion to the quantity. The bushel usually weighs 60lbs. and upwards. It is what is called spring wheat; the seed is put into the ground in May, and the harvest is finished in the beginning of September.

The farmers are very negligent in preventing the growth of weeds, so that the wheat when threshed is very foul; it is in general purchased from the farmers, by the country shopkeepers, who are usually corn dealers, and that too from necessity, as it is frequently the only way by which they can be reimbursed for the goods they have sold during the year. These shopkeepers, and corn dealers are applied to by the merchants in Quebec and Montreal when grain is wanted.

Wheat is sold by a French measure called *a minot*, which is to the Winchester bushel as 108,765 is to 100,000, being

somewhat more than  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cwt. larger than the Winchester bushel.

Wheat is generally purchased by the merchant from the country shopkeeper in the months of February, March, and April. It is brought to Quebec and Montreal as soon as the ice breaks up, and the navigation opens in the river St. Lawrence. From its being so very foul, it is seldom or never in a proper condition to be shipped, until it is cleaned. For that purpose it undergoes the operation of being once or twice put through what is called *the cribbles*, the expence of which, as well as the expence of bringing it from the place of its growth, is paid by the merchant exporter. It is brought by the river in small vessels, on which no assurance is ever effected, although there is considerable risk of loss, or at least of damage: this risk the merchant takes upon himself. When the grain is shipped, an account is made of all expences, and a consideration added for risk of river craft: all of which, with first cost, fixes the price *on board*. A commission of 5 per cent. is charged for shipping, and



the amount is drawn for immediately, in bills at sixty days sight.

The principal objection to the importation of Canada wheat into England, is the price: 6s. 6d. was the average price for five years, ending 1805, and it is frequently shipped as high as 7s. 6d. per bushel. Even at that price, it generally pays very well in Spain and Portugal. In the west of Scotland, particularly at Greenock, it brings generally a better price than in the London market, and sells there even higher than English wheat. In that part of the country, the seasons are so wet and backward, that the wheat seldom comes to maturity, at least it does not acquire a sufficient degree of hardness to grind well, and become good and useful flour. The Canada wheat, being remarkably hard and dry, is mixed with it. It then grinds well, and the flour is fit for the bakehouse. Freight to Britain is usually about 2s. per bushel.

It seldom happens that the number of bushels shipped at Quebec *holds out* at the port of delivery, which arises from the

manner of measuring in Canada. A half bushel is used in general; and they are extremely dexterous' in measuring. The grain is put in and out of the bushel so quickly, that it has not time to feel its own weight, as it were, and settle down. I knew an instance of a man having measured, and put into the sacks in which it was carried on board, 6400 half bushels in the space of eleven hours and a half, which is near ten times in a minute.

The next articles of consequence in the list of exports, are flour and biscuit. The average amount of flour for five years, ending 1805, was 19,822 barrels at 42s. 6d. per barrel, 42,123l. 17s. 6d. The flour exported from the river St. Lawrence comes principally from Upper Canada, where the wheat is of a superior quality to that of Lower Canada, and yields very fine flour. They have many inducements for sending flour rather than wheat. It has a long inland navigation on the lakes, and down the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec. It is brought down in *bateaux* (flat-bottomed boats), of from four to five tons burthen, navigated with oars, poles, and sails

and in scows. From the length of the inland navigation it becomes an object of importance to compress the bulk, and concentrate the value of the article, in order to save freight; and besides, when flour is well packed, it is not so subject to receive damage as wheat would be: it resists the water better. The country, too, is benefited by the wages of labour in manufacturing the article, and consequently augmenting its value. It gives employment to a number of people in the grinding, making casks, &c. A public inspector at Montreal and at Quebec examines all flour previous to its being shipped, to see that it is of a proper merchantable quality.

5. A *scow* is a vessel with four sides, an oblong square, in length forty to fifty feet, in breadth thirty to forty, and from four to five feet deep, flat-bottomed. The sides are not perpendicular; they are inclined outwards, for the purpose of carrying a greater weight.

The scows are built on the lakes in Upper Canada. A large one will carry 500 barrels of flour, and costs about 50*l*. They are built for the farmers, for the purpose

of transporting to Montreal flour, potash, &c. and are navigated by long oars or sweeps, and poles. They have a mast and sail, too, which they can use in the lakes when the wind is favourable: on these occasions they steer with an oar; and they have anchors and cables to *come to* with in the lakes, when the wind blows strong against them. They are made of pine, planked, and calked outside, like a ship, but have no deck. When they have discharged their cargo they are of no further use, except for breaking up for domestic purposes, and they are sold generally for a very few dollars.

The advantage to the country is carried still further when the flour is manufactured into biscuit, and exported in that shape. There was exported from Canada, on an average of five years, 21,777 hundred weight at 25s.—27,221*l.* 5s. The Canadian biscuit is of an excellent quality, and generally much cheaper than the British biscuit. Considerable supplies of it are sent to Newfoundland and to Halifax, for the use of our navy, and other shipping in that quarter.

The other species of grain, such as pease, barley, oats, and Indian corn, are produced in considerable quantities; but the surplus produce is not sufficient to render them of importance as objects of foreign trade.

It is only within these very few years that barley has been known in this country. It was introduced by a gentleman who erected a distillery near Quebec. He imported the seed from England, and after much pains taken to overcome the antipathy which the Canadian *habitant* has to experiments, he succeeded in prevailing upon them to give it a trial. He gave them the seed gratis, and bound himself to pay them a *certain* sum for each acre they should sow, whatever the produce might be. In this way he overcame their prejudices; and barley is now very common in all parts of the country.

The barley of Canada makes very good malt; and several breweries have been erected for making ale, of which enough is now made to supply the demands of the country, besides considerable quantities exported to the West Indies, &c.

The Canadian soil and climate are friendly to the growth of *hops*, of which enough is raised to supply the wants of the brewers. They grow very luxuriantly, and the flowers are very large; larger indeed than I ever remember to have seen in Kent. They are likely to become an article of consequence for exportation. Small quantities have already been sent to England.

Government have lately taken much pains to introduce the cultivation of *hemp* into Canada. The soil and climate are very well calculated for it; and some attempts that have been made, have completely succeeded. Government have lately sent out agents, who have had lands assigned to them for the cultivation of hemp, and for the purpose of shewing the people how to cultivate it; as example in aid of precept is most likely to be efficient. They have great hopes of being able to succeed in their endeavours to any extent that may be wanted. Time, of course, is necessary; for it is no easy matter to induce a poor ignorant farmer to embark in a species of agriculture with which he is unacquainted: he

naturally prefers certainty to hope; he knows he can both raise and sell wheat. However, as government have agreed to pay the farmer a *price certain* per ton, and as this price is more than what he would receive for the wheat produced on the land that produced the hemp, it is probable the quantity raised in the country in general, will increase very fast.

There is one thing that it is imagined will retard the business, which is, that according to the existing laws hemp *pays no tythes to the clergy*, who have great influence with their parishioners, and who, it is feared, may use that influence in counteracting the views of government. It would perhaps be a proper thing to make hemp a tytheable article, and thereby give the clergy an interest in promoting its cultivation equal to what they have in other things which the farmer produces. Wheat and all other grain pays one-twenty-sixth part in lieu of tythes.

It certainly is an object of great importance to Britain to draw from this country a constant supply of hemp. This would make her more independent of Russia,

from whose despotic, capricious government our trade is subject to great risks and losses, and even to a total stoppage. The importation of hemp from Russia has annually amounted to no less than 30,000 tons for the general consumption of the country, and for the use of the royal navy.

No part of the productions of Canada is likely to become of more importance to Britain than the produce of the forests, which consists of an abundance of different kinds of wood, fit for the purposes of the dockyard, as well as for the use of the house carpenter, and cabinet-maker. The dock-yard can be supplied with masts of the largest size. Some have been brought down to Quebec, 120 feet in length, and about four feet in diameter. It is the white pine which arrives at this immense size, and may be stiled the monarch of the Canadian forest.

There is a great variety of fine oak timber. The Upper Canada oak is considered next to the British in quality, and superior to what comes from the Baltic. It is of a more open grain than the British oak, is softer, and



consequently does not last so long. There is no crooked oak timber in Canada, which is a disadvantage in ship-building, as there is a want of the timber necessary for knees. I cannot well inform you why there is no crooked oak in Canada. Perhaps it arises from the trees growing so close to each other in the forest, that they have not room to spread out their branches like the British oak; or perhaps the soil being very moist and rich, constantly covered with vegetable matter, the growth is too rapid to admit of all those twistings and elbows which seem so natural to the British oak. Or perhaps the Canada oak may be somewhat of a different species from the British. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is undoubted. The want of crooked timber for knees is remedied in some measure by the substitution of pine roots, which, the carpenters say, answer perfectly well, and are to be had in abundance.

The length and straightness of the Canada oak fits it for planking for ships, and for every other purpose for which oak

plank may be wanted. Staves for casks of all sorts are made to great advantage from the Canada oak.

Of the various kinds of wood fit for the purposes of the cabinet-maker and carpenter, with which the forests of Canada abound, I may mention maple, elm, ash, birch, hiccory, cherry-tree, and red cedar: of some of these there are different species. The curled maple and bird's-eye maple make beautiful furniture. The cherry-tree also is highly esteemed; the others are very useful for domestic purposes, and making implements of husbandry, &c.

No part of the Canada lumber is likely to become of more value than *Staves*, and the quantity might be increased to almost any extent, were the population of Canada more considerable. Staves, even at present, form a leading article of exportation. They are becoming daily better known, and better liked in Britain, as well as in the wine countries, particularly in Portugal and Madeira.

Staves are sold at so much per long thousand of 1200 *standard staves*. The standard stave is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch

thick, and about 5 inches broad. The price increases one-fifth for every half inch increase in the thickness. Staves one inch thick are charged two-thirds of the price of standard. Staves  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, are reckoned three for two standard.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, are reckoned two for one. The  $2\frac{1}{2}$  are reckoned the same as  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , because they are generally broader, being for heading.

The Canada staves are generally shipped in the rough. They are split, not sawed; and of course, are what is called *feathered*, that is, thicker at one side than at the other; but they are always measured at the thinnest side.

A full, well-built vessel ought to take 1200 staves for every ten tons *register*. And it is generally found that 1200 standard staves, when carefully and closely packed, take about 15 tons *measurement*. Freight is generally from 45*l.* to 47*l.* per 1200.

Staves of any dimensions may be got by giving previous notice. Contracts may be entered into with those who prepare them, and who will cut them to any given size. Some have lately been shipped, 5

inches thick; and it is probable that staves of that thickness will answer extremely well wherever labour is cheaper than in Canada, or where ingenuity or machinery can abridge the labour of splitting or sawing. The average price *on board* has been considered about 33*l.* per 1200 *standard*.

An act of the provincial parliament has lately been passed for the proper regulation of the lumber trade of Canada. Much benefit is expected to arise from this law, as none but proper merchantable wood will be allowed to be exported as merchantable, and it will have an appropriate mark to distinguish it from what is not merchantable.

All the timber shipped at Quebec is floated down the river in what is termed *rafts*: a *raft* is the general name; but they vary greatly in their construction, according to the kind of wood of which they are composed. The large masts are laid close to each other, and have pieces of oak fastened to them, in order to keep them together, which is not an easy matter in some of the rapids.

The rafts of oak timber and staves are

of a different form. A great number of large pieces of pine are strongly fastened together with wooden pins, making a kind of frame in the form of a gridiron. To this frame the pieces of oak are fastened, and thereby buoyed up; for they are so heavy, they would not float of themselves. These floats or rafts are so well put together, that they resist the strong concussions in coming down the rapids; and it is remarkable there is not a piece of iron about them: their only fastenings are wooden pins, and the twigs and young shoots of trees, of a tough and pliable nature. The cables even, which they use as a fastening to prevent their being carried up the river by the flowing tide, are nothing but young shoots of trees (chiefly hiccory, I believe), fastened and twisted together. By these floats not only the oak, both squared and in plank, is brought down, but also staves: and they are of vast dimensions. They are managed and directed by the force of large oars or sweeps, from 30 to 40 feet long, having their *fulcrum* near the edge of the raft. The rowers are stationed at the proper distance to give effect to their exertions on the *lever*;

and, it must be allowed, a great power is wanted to give a direction to such an unwieldy mass. Fifteen to twenty people are employed on some of them: a house is erected on them, in which the people sleep and eat; for they have cooking utensils, a fire-place, and beds,—such as they are. After the wood is sold, the float and house are also disposed of; and, like the *scow*, generally for very little money.

Some very handsome ships are annually built at Quebec and Montreal: they are contracted for by the carpenters at about 10l. currency per ton, exclusive of sails and rigging, which are imported from Britain, as well as every article of copper that may be necessary. Most of the iron work may be found of Canada manufacture. This business is of immense advantage to Quebec and Montreal, as it gives employment, *summer and winter*, to a great many carpenters, and other tradesmen and labourers. There is not a less sum than 20,000l. annually circulated in Quebec and Montreal in the business of ship-building; and as it is a winter as well as a summer em-

ployment, they have a resource in it when all others fail them.

*Pot and pearl ashes* are shipped at Quebec and Montreal to a considerable extent, as will appear by a reference to the list of exports: but it is an article for which Canada is indebted almost entirely to America. The ashes are usually made by the Americans, and brought to Montreal, where there is a public warehouse for their reception, and where the quality is ascertained by an officer appointed for that purpose.— They are afterwards sold, and either shipped at Montreal, or sent down in river craft to Quebec, where they are put on board for England. Such as come to Quebec, without going to Montreal, are examined by the public inspector at Quebec, and their quality ascertained.

Although the most considerable quantity of the pot and pearl ashes comes from the United States, yet the whole does not come from thence. The Canadians make a small quantity for exportation. It is a custom amongst the people in Canada, to preserve the ashes of the wood burnt in

their stoves : part they make use of themselves in the manufacture of the soap necessary for their own families (almost every family in Canada makes the soap used in their own houses) : the remainder they sell to potash manufacturers, who collect it through the country, and pay in general about tenpence per bushel.

It is a pity the Canadians do not turn their attention to the manufacturing of potash ; there is no want of wood, nor indeed of any thing but industry and exertion on their part ; for there can be no doubt that their time is not fully occupied in the management of their farms ; and were they more industrious, it would make up in some measure for the want of population.

The best ashes are made from beech, elm, and some other hard woods. None of the pine genus, nor any of the soft woods, answer the purpose.

The process of making potash is very simple : the wood ashes are collected as free from extraneous matter as possible : they are put into wooden pots of a considerable size, with small apertures in the bottom : the ashes are saturated with water,



which filters through these apertures, carrying with it the salts of the ashes. More water is added, until the ashes are entirely deprived of their salts.—The water now holds in solution a very strong vegetable alkali: by boiling it in large kettles, the water is evaporated, and the salts remain: they now receive the appellation of potash. The potash is sometimes calcined to deprive it of all extraneous colouring matter: it becomes extremely white, and is denominated *pearl-ash*.

Potash sells in Canada usually for from 40l. to 50l. per ton. The pearl-ash is, in general, somewhat higher.

The *fisheries* of the St. Lawrence have never been followed up with spirit: an establishment has been formed on the Labrador shore, from whence considerable quantities of salmon, cod-fish, mackarel, and shad, are annually brought to Quebec, and either used in the country, or re-shipped for the West Indies. A species of herring, and a fish about the size of a salmon, called *bass*, are caught, salted, and sent to the West India market, in considerable quantities,

A seal and porpoise fishery has been carried on in several parts of the St. Lawrence, and was formerly very productive both in skins and oil; at present little advantage is derived from it. These articles are likewise brought from the *King's posts*.

The *fur trade* of Canada, in point of value, and of importance to *Great Britain*, is *nearly* equal to any other branch of the Canada trade. The duty paid in England on furs and skins, imported from Canada, amounted per annum on an average of four years, ending 1806, to 22,055*l*. The *lumber trade* is of more real value to *Britain*, because timber is of more real use in society. The corn trade is, perhaps, more valuable to the Canadians than the fur trade; but the trade in furs employs a great number of people, and a large capital.

The *North-west Company*, who have entirely monopolized to themselves the fur trade, are a self-created company, not acknowledged by government, but who have united their capital and exertions for their mutual benefit. As they have at present no competitors in the north-west territory, they have the trade in their own power in a great measure; but they are

obliged to pay a considerable price for the skins, because the Indians have been so long accustomed to the trade, that they have long ago learned that a beaver skin is worth more than a two-penny knife, or a sixpenny trinket.

The business in the north-west territory is managed by young men employed by the company; who go into the Indian country, and establish *trading posts* in different quarters, some of them an immense distance beyond Lake Superior;—so far, that it requires more than one summer to send the goods to them, and get returns. These young men remain in these distant regions for several years, subject to many hardships and privations: they live almost entirely on the produce of their hunting; they never see, for years together, either bread or salt: and, what is rather surprising, although animal food is their only resource, they enjoy very good health. It is a very solitary mode of living; for there are not more than two or three Englishmen at the same post. They have under their command several Canadians, who act as canoe-men, hunters, &c.

These pursuits, the collecting the furs

and bringing them down to Montreal, seem congenial to the *common* Canadian ; he appears better pleased to be employed in hunting and fishing, with all their attendant dangers, than to earn his bread quietly by cultivating the soil. Many of these *voyageurs* save their wages, return to their own parish, and employ themselves in clearing and cultivating the land ; many of them, too, it must be allowed, acquire habits of dissipation, which they never afterwards are able to correct.

Another *fur company* has lately been established under the title of the *South-west Company* ; from the furs in which they trade being brought from the south-west parts of America, in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio. This trade had been carried on by a variety of individuals, who, by interfering in each other's concerns, did themselves a great deal of harm, which is now avoided by their being united. They are sometimes called the *Michilimackinack Company*, because they have an establishment in that quarter.

The profit in the fur trade ought to be very great, for the capital employed is a long time in returning. The goods to be

bartered with the Indians are shipped from England in the spring, and arrive in Canada in the course of the summer. They are shipped at twelve months' credit. These goods are sorted during the summer and winter, and sent up the country the following spring; and it is perhaps six months before they get to their destination; sometimes, it is more than twelve months, when the posts are at a great distance; they are bartered for furs, which take as long a time to come to Montreal; and by the time the furs get to London and are sold, and in cash, three years at least have elapsed. So that the profits ought to be at least triple the profits of a trade where the capital is turned once a year.

Besides the furs shipped for the British market, the United States have been in the habit of taking off large quantities of furs from Montreal, as will appear from the list of exports to America. These purchases form the principal counterpoise to the large importations from the States.

An attempt has lately been made to establish a *fur company* in New York, to trade to the *south-west*; whether they will succeed or not, time only can shew. Those who

know the trade for some time past, think that it must be a losing concern to any man, or body of men who may undertake it; reasoning on the principle, that if the *Makinack* company (who do the business on the least expence possible), with difficulty get a *living profit* by it, what must be the situation of a *Charter Company*, acting by governors, managers, and agents, who always do their business at a greater expence than individuals; and whose exertions, in general, are only commensurate to their interest in the concern. It is a matter that I cannot determine; but, I dare say the *savages*, the catchers of wild beasts, will, in the course of a very few years, settle the point.

A variety of articles for domestic purposes, which used formerly to be imported from Britain, are now manufactured in this country.

Of the manufactures of Canada, the *iron forges* take the lead. There are two works of this kind in the province; one near *Three Rivers*, called the forges of St. Maurice; the other at *Batiscam*, near St. Ann's, on the road from Quebec to Montreal. The forges of St. Maurice were established by the French king many years

ago, and his Britannic majesty at the conquest succeeded to his rights. The works are let on lease to a mercantile house in Quebec, who carry on the business with spirit and success.

The chief articles manufactured at these forges, are stoves, bar-iron, and cooking utensils. Besides what is necessary for the use of Canada, there is a considerable exportation of cast-iron articles, particularly of stoves.

Formerly almost all the *candles and soap* used in Canada were imported; at present, enough is made for the use of the country, and a considerable exportation besides.

There was a regular importation of *hats* formerly; at present, however, they are made here in sufficient quantity for the use of the country. But there is still a considerable importation of *hat-bodies*, which are put into form and finished here. It might be thought that as the beaver fur goes from Canada, it would be cheaper here than in England; but this is not the case. Indeed, furs of all sorts can be purchased in London at a *cheaper rate*, and of a very superior appearance to any that

can be got in Canada. The English furrier knows his trade better, and the extent of his transactions enables him to take a smaller profit than the Canadian.

*Leather* has hitherto been, and indeed continues to be imported in large quantities, principally from the United States. But this probably will not long be the case, because *tan works* are becoming more common, and, at Quebec, are on a pretty large scale.

Canada has long been famous for the manufacture of *snuff*. The use of tobacco in different shapes is very common. From the time a Canadian *habitant* awakens in the morning, till he goes to bed at night, the tobacco pipe is seldom out of his mouth. The men smoke so much that they have not time to take snuff; but the snuff-maker is amply compensated by *the ladies*, who, of all ranks and of all ages, are greatly addicted to *snuff taking*;—and a filthy custom it is. It most assuredly assists their stoves and dry winter atmosphere, in giving them a withered appearance, and premature marks of age.

A species of *sugar* is made in Canada



from the *maple tree*, which is extremely good, when purified. The method of making it is this:—

In the months of March and April, when the *sap* begins to rise, an incision is made in the tree about three feet from the ground, and the sap soon begins to run out. It is received into a vessel placed for the purpose; a piece of wood is stuck into the incision which conducts the sap into the vessel, and it is carried to the boiler. Those who wish to make sugar, go into the woods, and encamp among maple-trees. They carry boilers, and other necessary apparatus with them; and they remain in the woods for several days, till the whole process is finished.—The quantity of maple-sugar made in Canada is equal to two-thirds of the whole consumption of the country. From the number of maple-trees with which the woods abound, one might imagine that enough might be made to render it an article of trade and exportation. But they are deterred from it by the general abundance of West India sugar, which can be purchased nearly as cheap as maple-sugar, being often at five pence per pound; while

this is the case, the Jamaica sugar will always have the preference.

Before closing this account of the trade of Canada, I must mention a district of it, called the *Inferior district of Gaspé*. It is situated to the southward of the river St. Lawrence, from Cape Chat downwards, and comprehends a considerable extent of country on the west coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in which are found two deep bays, viz. *Gaspé Bay*, and *Chaleur Bay*.

The district of *Gaspé* has a governor appointed by the king, and there is an inferior court of *King's Bench* for the decision of such civil suits as do not exceed 20l. and to take cognizance of criminal matters that are not *capital*.

At present the population, if you reckon resident settlers only, is not more than 3,500. In the summer time a great many more are attracted for the purpose of carrying on the fishery, which is done in all its different stages.

The bays and coasts of *Gaspé* abound with codfish, salmon, and many other sorts of fish. There are several fishing stations along the coast; those of most im-

portance are at *Percé* and *Chaleur bay*: The trade employs annually about a dozen square rigged vessels, besides a great many small craft. Fish, to the value of 60,000*l.* a year, including what is sent to Quebec to be re-shipped for the West Indies, and elsewhere, or used in the country, are cured and sent to a market. The greatest part, however, is sent direct from Gaspé to the West-Indies or Mediterranean.

So much for the production and exports of Canada; and I wish I could, in addition, give you a correct idea of the character of the *mercantile men* of this country. I will venture to make a few observations. They are very industrious, and by no means extravagant in their expences and style of living; and yet, I will venture to say, that there is no place on either side of the Atlantic where there have been so many bankrupt estates. It is a surprising circumstance, and no less true than surprising, that of the great variety of mercantile houses which have been established *here* during the last forty years, *not above five in a hundred of them* have paid their debts. I have seen a list of the whole, and the manner in which they made their exit;

else, really, I could not have believed it possible. These houses have been almost wholly British. Very few of the Canadians have ever engaged in foreign commerce, and those who have tried it, have generally failed in the attempt.

I have endeavoured to discover the causes of the great number of failures in this country; to enable one to do so, it is necessary to look back a little, to the events which have occurred.

When we acquired the country, the population was trifling; and from the previous derangements in the French treasury, the people were very poor. The mercantile adventurers from England, who came to the country, were strangers to the people, and to the kind of goods which suited them; of course, they sold their goods to great disadvantage. They persevered for a year or two, but bankruptcy very frequently ensued. When they began to be a little acquainted with the sort of goods that were wanted, and the people that might be trusted, and when the general state of the country had been considerably ameliorated, the American war broke out: it threw every thing back, and put a stop in

a great measure to business; the goods that were imported, from the high rate of freight and insurance, came to an immense price; and when peace took place, there were many sufferers. Another calamity befel the country, of rather an uncommon kind to produce bankruptcy, viz. *a great facility in making remittances*. A public officer drew bills on government to a great amount from time to time, which he gave to the merchants *on credit*—they calculated on paying for them when they collected their debts in the course of the winter; many of them never did pay; but the worst of it was, that calculating on the facility of getting bills, they gave large orders, which were executed with promptitude, as the English merchant, having received remittance of government bills, supposed that what he had received were *bona fide* bills, paid for; and that his correspondent was a man of property. As soon as the supply of government bills stopped, from a want of punctuality in fulfilling engagements, remittances failed, and bankruptcy ensued.]

A great many bankruptcies may be traced up to these causes, which were however of a temporary nature, and are not

likely ever to recur. There are other causes of bankruptcy which arise out of the nature of the country, and might have operated in aid of the preceding temporary causes. Perhaps, the long continuance of the winter lessens their power of doing business to the extent they would be able to do, were the navigation of the St. Lawrence open all the year. During six months of the year, from November till May, no business is done except by those engaged in the dry goods line, who continue to supply the wants of the shopkeepers; but these are not great, for the country people have laid in their winter stock before the navigation closes. An important cause of bankruptcy, I should suppose, has been the want of capital to begin with, aided sometimes by their not being acquainted with the laws and customs of the people, and aided also by the bad custom which has got into general use of giving long credits to the country shopkeepers. Credit is easily procured in England by the foreign merchant, but it is not procured for nothing. Interest is charged after a certain time, and runs on during *winter* as well as during summer. If long credits are given here to the shopkeepers,

and even when monies are due, if payments are not punctually made, remittances must fail. Interest accumulates in England; and in Canada considerable expences of housekeeping, &c. are unavoidably incurred. If the profits do not meet these, or if the merchant has the misfortune to make bad debts, the consequence is evident, bankruptcy must ensue.

As the mercantile men in this country draw their resources from Britain, their real situation is not known except in Britain. They are often in Canada imagined to be men of fortune, when they are in fact on the verge of bankruptcy. By and by their drafts come back *dishonored*, and the bubble bursts; then fortunate is he who has had least to do with them\*.

\* To shew the increased production and trade of Canada, there is added in the appendix a statement of the exports and imports of last year, 1808.—It forms a curious illustration of the efficiency of a brisk market, and high prices.

## LETTER XVI.

*Quebec, 1807.*

CANADA, and the other British colonies in North America, have of late acquired an additional degree of importance to the mother country, from the existing differences with the United States; and assuredly neither our West-India planters, nor our timber merchants, can trust to the States for supplies, as confidently as they have done heretofore; they must look elsewhere, and to no quarter so naturally as to our own colonies.

The obvious question for our consideration is, can our West-India planters, our timber merchants, and our dockyards, get the necessary supplies from our North American colonies? or, to what extent can they be supplied?

The West Indies require to be supplied  
with     Dried codfish,  
          Barrel or pickled fish,  
          Salmon, herrings of different species,  
          mackarel, and oil.

Lumber, viz. squared timber, scant-



ling, planks, and boards ; shingles, clapboards, oak staves, and hoops.

Biscuit and flour; Indian corn and meal; pork, beef, butter, cheese, potatoes, and onions.

Live stock, horses, oxen, hogs, sheep, and poultry.

Our timber merchants, and dockyards, require *lumber* of all sorts;—masts, yards, squared oak timber, plank, staves, pine-timber, deals, hemp, &c. Upon reference to the list of exports from Canada, it will appear that a supply of the whole of the preceding articles can be procured, but probably not to the extent necessary, except fish, which certainly can be got in any quantity in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, if not in Canada, and in the Gulf and river St. Lawrence.

The fisheries of our American colonies have had little or no direct encouragement from our government, though frequent representations have been made on the subject. It has been recommended to government to grant bounties, and to withhold from the Americans a share in the carrying to the West Indies, fish, lumber, &c. the produce of our colonies. It is a cir-

cumstance well known, that great part of the fish which the Americans carry to the West Indies, is caught and cured in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and sold to the merchants of Boston, who, from a variety of causes, can carry them to the West Indies, cheaper than our own colonists can. The American government have taken great pains to encourage this fish trade, by giving bounties, which operate strongly against the colonists: so much so, that they are in a great measure driven out of the trade.— This they say was not the case formerly, because, for nine years, viz. from 1785 to 1794, while American ships were excluded from the West Indies, they were so well provided with articles of the first necessity, that vessels from the northern colonies were frequently unable to find sale for their cargoes in our own islands, and were obliged to go to the foreign islands for a market.— Codfish at that time generally sold for less than five dollars per quintal, which proves its abundance, and consequently that the allowing the Americans to import fish in American ships was not a measure of necessity. It seems to be decidedly the opinion of the best informed people here,

that with proper encouragement from home, the West Indies could be amply supplied with all sorts of fish, at moderate prices, from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Gaspé\*.

It is certain that the *fisheries of the United States*, by the encouragement given to them by their government, increase to a great degree, although they labour under many disadvantages from the local situation of their country: while the British fishery, with the advantage of carrying on the fishing on their own coasts, declines every year, for want, it is presumed, of adequate encouragement from the mother country, and from the interference of the citizens of the United States, in a variety of shapes.

I have in my possession a very important document, shewing the amount of the provisions and lumber imported into our West India colonies, in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806, and distinguishing the countries whence imported. By compar-

\* See appendix.—Memorial, and petition, of the merchants and other inhabitants of New Brunswick; also, petition of the merchants and inhabitants of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and memorial referred to therein.

ing the amount of these importations with the whole produce of our North American colonies, we shall be able to judge how far these colonies are likely to supply the wants of our West India islands.

The *average* importation of the West Indies, for the *three years*, ending 1806, was as follows :

CORN.			Bushels.
United Kingdoms	-	-	183,168 $\frac{1}{2}$
British North American Colonies	-	-	3,276 $\frac{1}{2}$
America	-	-	406,189 $\frac{1}{2}$
Other countries	-	-	4,435 $\frac{1}{2}$
Making a total of			<u>597,069<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>

BREAD, FLOUR, &c.			Cwt.
United Kingdoms	-	-	34,498 $\frac{1}{2}$
British American Colonies	-	-	2,789 $\frac{1}{2}$
America	-	-	463,505 $\frac{1}{2}$
Other countries	-	-	7,667
Making a total of			<u>508,460</u>

RICE.			Barrels.
United Kingdoms	-	-	53 $\frac{1}{2}$
British American Colonies	-	-	18
America	-	-	11,740
Making a total of			<u>11,811<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>

BEEF and PORK.		Barrels.
United Kingdoms	-	54,571 $\frac{1}{2}$
British American Colonies	-	1,642 $\frac{1}{2}$
America	-	47,424 $\frac{2}{3}$
Other countries	-	385 $\frac{1}{2}$
Making a total of		<u>104,013<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>

FISH, dry.		Barrels.
United Kingdoms	-	395
British American Colonies	-	337 $\frac{2}{3}$
America	-	569
Making a total of		<u>1,303<math>\frac{2}{3}</math></u>

FISH, dry.		Quintals.
United Kingdoms	-	3,302 $\frac{2}{3}$
British North American Colonies	-	101,692 $\frac{2}{3}$
America	-	138,484
Other countries	-	3,298 $\frac{2}{3}$
Making a total of		<u>246,778</u>

FISH, pickled.		Barrels.
United Kingdoms	-	51,694 $\frac{2}{3}$
British American Colonies	-	27,467
America	-	38,171 $\frac{1}{2}$
Other countries	-	990 $\frac{1}{2}$
Making a total of		<u>118,323<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>

BUTTER.		Firkins.
United Kingdoms	- -	49,814 $\frac{2}{3}$
British American Colonies	-	210 $\frac{2}{3}$
America	- -	8,041 $\frac{1}{3}$
Other countries	- -	80
Making a total of		<u>58,146<math>\frac{2}{3}</math></u>

CATTLE.		Number.
United Kingdoms	- -	8
British North American Colonies		3
America	- -	4,175
Other countries	- -	1,123
		<u>5,309</u>

SHEEP and HOGS.		Number.
United Kingdoms	- -	
British American Colonies	-	44
America	- -	3,488
Other countries	- -	318
		<u>3,850</u>

OAK and PINE BOARDS and TIMBER.		Feet.
British American Colonies	-	942,122
America	- -	38,354,312
Other countries	- -	101,330
		<u>39,397,764</u>

SHINGLES.		Number.
British American Colonies	-	332,925
America	- -	43,051,704
Other countries	- -	13,333
		<hr/> 43,397,962 <hr/>

STAVES.		Number.
British American Colonies	-	525,360
America	- -	17,602,354
Other countries	- -	267,500
		<hr/> 18,395,214 <hr/>

\* An attentive perusal of the preceding statements will shew how much the West India islands are at present beholden to the United States for their supplies. In some articles, such as bread, flour, and rice, the States have a decided advantage: these are of a superior quality; besides, their vicinity lessens the expence of carriage. These articles might, no doubt, be carried in British bottoms, instead of American; but they will probably be always furnished cheaper from the States than from our provinces, even supposing the quantity could be procured. This may be the case in the course of a few years, though, at present,

\* For a more detailed account of the imports to the West Indies, see appendix.

it appears that there is more flour and biscuit consumed in the West Indies, than the *whole* exportation from our North American colonies.

*Beef and pork*, though supplied at present by the United States, to the extent of near half the consumption of the West Indies, may certainly be supplied by Great Britain and her colonies, particularly in time of peace, when the great consumption of the navy will in some measure cease.— Besides, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Canada, afford abundance of fine pasture, particularly some of the islands in the St. Lawrence, which abound with salt marshes, yielding plenty of luxuriant grass and hay, such as the *Isle au Grue*, where there are salt marshes of many miles extent, and where many thousand head of cattle might be fed all the year round.— Even now, both summer and winter feeding is carried on there to a considerable extent.

Although it appears that nearly one half of the fish used in the West Indies is furnished by America, yet there can be no doubt that the whole might be got from our own provinces, were the Americans



prohibited from going to the islands; and the colonists enabled, by bounties, to be their own carriers, instead of employing the Americans, who have besides a bounty from their government of twenty shillings a ton on all vessels employed in the cod-fishery.

In the different articles, under the denomination of *lumber*, the Americans appear to have a most decided superiority; but, it must be remarked, that part of their imports to the West Indies, is procured from New Brunswick, which already produces upwards of ten millions of feet annually. As every year is adding to the population of our provinces, their power of supplying lumber annually increases; for it is want of population, and not want of wood, that prevents our colonies from supplying any quantity that might be required.

The West India planters and merchants may say, "It is true we may be supplied from our own colonies, but not at so cheap a rate as from America; our interest induces us to give them the preference."—It may be so; but it becomes a question,

whether the Mother Country is to listen to such a reason. There are, perhaps, interests paramount to theirs which must be attended to;—the great interests of the empire are to be taken into consideration.

The British North American colonists argue with much plausibility in support of their claims to an *exclusive* supply of the West India islands. They grant that it is the interest of the West India planters, and of the Americans, to have a free trade to the islands; but, they contend that the planters have no right to expect supplies from a neutral nation, merely because it affords them at a cheaper rate than the British colonies. If the Americans should obtain by treaty an indulgence of a free trade, it would greatly check the prosperity of our northern provinces, and throw the whole of the trade into the hands of the Americans; so that the islands would depend on them entirely for supplies: and, if at any time hereafter, differences should take place between Britain and America, from what quarter are the islands to obtain supplies? The diminished trade and fisheries of the colonies

may demonstrate, when too late, the fatal policy of throwing into the hands of *foreigners*, a trade, which, with due encouragement, might have been almost entirely confined to British subjects. The supplies required by the islands cannot greatly increase;—and the northern colonies, from their great extent, and growing population, will every year be more and more able to furnish every article that may be wanted.

This question between the West India planters and our North American colonies, is the case of two children applying to an impartial mother for a preference in some particular request. She will grant that which best suits the general good of the family, however hard or unjust either party may think it. The interests of colonies ought ever to give way, when they interfere, or are at variance with, the interests of the Mother Country.

## LETTER XVII.

Quebec, 1808.

THE genial influence of a May sun has broken the icy fetters with which Canada has been so long bound up. The winter is now past—we begin to see *the face of the earth*, which we have looked for, in vain, these six months. You cannot conceive what pleasure arises from discovering a piece of ground which the snow has deserted—the eye rests upon it with delight; our pleasurable sensations resemble those we enjoy, when, after a long absence, we meet a dear friend.

A Canadian winter is truly a subject of curiosity to the natives of Britain, or of any of the southern countries of Europe. It presents a view of nature perfectly new, and a variety of phenomena so highly interesting, that they cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one at all conversant in natural philosophy.

In Canada there cannot well be said to be more than two seasons of the year, summer and winter. The earth hath scarcely laid aside her mantle of snow, when you begin to feel the force of summer heat; and although the weather in September is mild and pleasant, it partakes more of the summer than of the autumn of temperate climates. The season of vegetation seems kindly prolonged, till surprized in a manner at once by the return of winter, without much of what may be called autumn weather.

Frost is felt in October, but the sun still retains enough of power to make the weather, during the day, tolerably warm.

During the month of November the frost becomes daily more severe, and snow begins to fall. Your house is now put upon the winter establishment; stoves are put up in your rooms, and in your passages; the windows are well secured and made tight; and you lay aside your summer dress, and adopt flannels and furs.

One snow storm now succeeds another, till the whole face of the country is covered. The eye in vain looks for a bit of

ground to rest upon—the trees alone remain visible—the chilling grasp of winter is every where felt, and every precaution is taken to resist its effects.

There is something very awful and terrific in a Canadian snow storm. A heavy fall of snow is generally accompanied by a violent gale of wind, which driving along the snow with immense velocity, and forming a thousand eddies and turnings, according to the inequalities of the surface, and resistance consequent thereon, you are able to form an idea of the velocity of the wind—it becomes, as it were, visible. The most severe snow storms they experience in Canada, come from the north-east, the frozen regions of Hudson's bay and Labrador.

During summer the woods of Canada abound with birds of a great variety of sorts and sizes—partridges, woodcocks, pigeons, and singing birds without number. The lakes and rivers abound with aquatic birds, such as ducks, geese, snipes, &c. Some of these pass the whole summer in Canada; others, such as the pigeons, are only found at certain seasons, as they pass from the southern to the more northerly parts of the

American continent, and vice versa. No sooner does the frost set in, than almost all the feathered tribes take the alarm, and leave the country; even the hardy crow is obliged to take himself off. A species of partridge, called the *pine partridge* (from its living on certain parts of the pine tree, of which it tastes very strongly), alone remains—but it is very rarely seen. Few quadrupeds are to be seen; some *hares* are found, but to see them is difficult, for they have changed their colour to as pure a white as the snow in which they lie—a kind precaution in nature to conceal them from their enemies. Many other quadrupeds, no doubt, remain in this country during the winter. Like the bear, they probably do not change their lodgings while the snow is on the ground, but remain stationary, and in a torpid state.

The Canadians change their appearance as much as a complete change of dress can do. The hat and *bonnet rouge* are laid aside, and they use fur caps, fur cloaks, fur gloves, and worsted hose, over, as well as under boots. Thus defended, they venture with impunity into the severest frost.

The snow soon covers the ground to the depth of several feet, and wheel carriages can no longer be used: the wheels would sink so deep, that it would be impossible to advance a step. In place, therefore, of wheel carriages, a sort of sledge is used, which in Canada is called a *cariole*. It passes over the snow without sinking deep. It is placed on what they call *runners*, which resemble in form, the irons of a pair of skaits, and rise up in front in the same manner, and for the same purposes. The *cariole* is generally from nine to twelve inches above the snow. Some, called *high runners*, are about eighteen inches. The body of the *cariole* varies in shape, according to the fancy of the owner. It is sometimes like the body of a phaeton, sometimes like a chair or gig, sometimes like a *vis-a-vis*, and sometimes like a family coach or chariot. The *cariole*, in short, is the name for all sorts of vehicles used in winter, from a market cart, up to a state coach.

The generality of them are light, open carriages, drawn by one horse. The snow,



after being trodden on for some time, becomes compact enough to bear the horse, and gives very little resistance to the cariole. Some people are extremely fond of driving out in carioles; for my own part, I think it is a very unpleasant conveyance, from the constant succession of inequalities which are formed in the snow *by* the carioles. These inequalities the Canadians call *cahots* (from the French word *cahoter*, to *jolt*), and they certainly are very well named, for you are jolted as if you crossed a field with very deep furrows and high narrow ridges. The motion is not unlike rowing in a boat against a *head-sea*—a thing that requires to be only once tried, to be disliked.

As no other sort of carriage can, however, be used in this country, custom and example reconcile one to it: all ranks use them, of one sort or other. Sometimes you see them conveying a dashing buck up one street and down another at a gallop, to the no small annoyance of people who are fond of keeping their bones whole, a thing those gentlemen seem very careless about,

Sometimes you see the close covered family ones, conveying an old lady quietly and steadily to church, or to have a little gossiping with a friend; and sometimes you see them coming in from the country conveying beef and mutton, turkies and geese, for the supply of the market.

When the navigation of the St. Lawrence becomes impracticable, little business is done by the merchants, who then appropriate a considerable part of their time to amusements. It is necessary to do something to give a little variety to the sameness of a six months' winter. They have parties of pleasure in town, and parties of pleasure in the country, in which you have dancing, music, and the social enjoyments of conviviality.

There is a public assembly once a fortnight, which is very well attended. If you are fond of dancing, you have an opportunity of indulging in it; if you like *a sober rubber*, you find very good whist players. The civil and military gentlemen mix very cordially together. Such of the Canadians as can afford it, and have an inclination, join in the amusements that are

going forward, particularly the assemblies and dancing parties; and, indeed, they are an acquisition, as many of the ladies want neither beauty nor the accomplishments necessary for their gracing an assembly.

One should naturally suppose that very bad consequences would be likely to arise from being heated by dancing in so cold a climate. This, however, is not the case: both the ladies and gentlemen in the coldest weather, are dressed in the assembly-room as thinly as they are in England in summer; and the rooms are very comfortable, being kept moderately warm by a stove. Immediately after dancing, and while very warm, the company go into the open air in the middle of the night while the cold is extreme (from 20 to 30 degrees below the freezing point), without next day feeling the least inconvenience. It is true, they take every precaution necessary, by clothing themselves very warmly.

People are less liable to suffer from cold in Canada than they are in England, notwithstanding the greater severity of the weather. Many reasons are assigned for this fact. The Canadians take care not to

expose themselves to the external air without being warmly clothed; particular attention is paid to keeping the feet, the hands, and the head warm.

The air is extremely dry in winter, being deprived of its moisture by congelation; the intense frost causes naturally a deposition of the aqueous particles, in the shape of hoar frost. Now, it has been accurately ascertained and proved by experiments, that cold *dry* air is not so good a conductor of heat from our bodies as cold *moist* air; it follows, therefore, that the thermometer may shew a very low temperature in cold dry air, such as we have here, without our being sensible of a great degree of cold; and, that in cold *moist* air, such as you have in England, the thermometer may not be under the freezing point, and yet the quantity of caloric or heat carried off from your body, be greater than if the thermometer shewed a temperature many degrees below freezing. Were the effect of the cold here on one's feelings, to increase in proportion as the thermometer falls, and go as far beyond what it is in England, as the real quantum of caloric in the atmosphere is more there

than here; it would be impossible to exist in this country; but the evil carries its cure along with it, the frost deprives the air of its moisture, and consequently decreases its power of carrying off from our body the heat it contains. If we wish to know how the weather is to affect us, we should consult a hygrometer as well as a thermometer.

When the cold dry air of this country enters your apartment, and is warmed by the heat of the stove, its drying power becomes very great. To be convinced that this is the case, it is only necessary to observe how much the furniture of the house suffers from it. The very pannels of the doors shrink so much as almost to fall out of the frame, and the frame itself shrinks to such a degree that the bolt loses its hold.

I recollect to have remarked the very same effects from the hot easterly wind, which blows occasionally, in the end of summer, in the southern countries of Europe. The Italians call it the *siroc wind*. It is equally known and dreaded, for your sensations are extremely disagreeable; the effect on furniture is the same as that of

the air of this country, heated by the stove; but its effects on your body are much more severe. The skin, when the westerly wind blows, is covered with a gentle moisture, but as soon as the easterly or siroc wind blows, the skin becomes dry and parched, and your sensations are oppressive, and undecribable. When the air here is very much heated by the stoves, you feel in some degree the same sensations and effects; but you have a remedy at hand: you have only to open a door, and you get a fresh supply of cold air. There is no avoiding the siroc wind—let your doors and windows be ever so tight before it begins to blow, it soon makes a passage for itself through the crevices of the shrunk pannels.

An Englishman can with difficulty form an idea of the cold of Canada, or of its effects, till he feels and sees them. The coldest weather is generally during the month of January. The thermometer fell last January to 60 degrees below the freezing point, and it continued at that temperature for several days. The medium temperature in December and January is about 22 degrees below freezing.

About the beginning of December all the small rivers are frozen so completely, and covered with snow, that bridges for passing them, are no longer necessary, and very little attention is paid to keeping in the summer roads. Where they are hollow, or where there are fences, the roads are so completely filled up with snow, that they are on a level with the fields on each side.

The country people who first form the winter roads on the snow, direct their *Carrioles* by the nearest course where the snow is most level; and they go in as straight a line as possible, to the place to which they are destined. They put up branches of trees on each side the new track, as a direction to others who wish to go that way. These they call *des balises*, or beacons. When they can conveniently follow the course or bed of a river it is generally done, because the surface is evener than over the fields, and there is less snow on them, as they do not freeze till after a considerable quantity of snow has fallen on the fields.

Even the great river St. Lawrence is

arrested in its course. It freezes completely over, a few leagues above Quebec, and serves occasionally as a road to Montreal. It seldom freezes over, opposite to Quebec, or in the bason. As the river narrows here, the current is increased, and the tide sets up and down with such force, that it generally keeps the floating masses of ice in motion. When the river freezes over, opposite to Quebec, it is called, in the language of the country, *a pont*, because it answers the purpose of a bridge to the people who live below Quebec, and who then bring up provisions, and fire-wood in great quantities.

A variety of circumstances must combine to form *a pont*; when many very large masses of ice happen to come in contact, and fill the whole space between one side of the river and the other, they become stationary. If this happens at neaptides, and in calm weather, the frost fixes the whole, and it becomes a solid mass before the rising tides derange it; when it has stood a few days, it generally acquires strength enough to resist every



impulse it may receive, till the warmth of the April sun affects it.

All these circumstances so seldom happen at the same time, that it is about ten years since the river *took* opposite to Quebec. This year, however, I have had the pleasure of seeing it in that state, and it certainly is an interesting and curious sight. For the distance of eight miles, you see an immense sheet of ice, as smooth as a mirror. Thousands of people crowd upon it every day, and booths are erected for their entertainment. In one quarter, you see numbers of people enjoying the amusement of skating; in another, you see carioles driving in different directions; for the ice is so strong, that horses go on it with the greatest safety. Sometimes you see cariole races: they go over the ice with great swiftness. In short, when the *pont, takes* (as they term it), it occasions a kind of jubilee in Quebec.

In one point of view, it is a subject of real rejoicing to the city; it is accompanied with substantial advantages.—Provisions of all kinds, and firewood, a no

less necessary article in this country, fall in price, from an increase in quantity, as soon as the *pont* enables the people in the country below Quebec, to bring their surplus stock to market, in *their carioles*, without the expence and risk of passing the river in *canoes*. These canoes are not such as have been before described, used in the north-west trade. They are one solid piece of wood, the trunk of a large tree scooped out, and formed in the outside something like a boat; some of them are very large, carrying easily 15 or 20 people.

The passing of the St. Lawrence in canoes, in the middle of winter, is a very extraordinary operation. The time of high water is chosen, when the large masses of ice are almost stationary. The canoe is launched into the water, where there is an opening: the people are provided with ropes, boat-hooks, and paddles. When they come to a sheet of ice, they jump out of the canoe upon it; draw the canoe up after them; push it to the other side of the sheet of ice; launch it into the water; paddle till they come to another sheet of ice;

again haul up the canoe, cross the ice, and again launch—and so on till they reach the other side. You see twenty to thirty canoes crossing in this way at the same time; and you cannot help trembling for them, when you see two immense masses of ice coming together, and they between, apparently in the greatest danger of being crushed to pieces; but the people extricate themselves with great dexterity.

Custom has taught them to avoid the danger which seems to threaten them with destruction: they dexterously jump upon the first piece of ice with which they come in contact, and haul the canoe after them. I have never, myself, been under any necessity to pass the river in this way; and I must own that it seemed fraught with so much danger, that I never from mere curiosity was induced to attempt it. One might, by the aid of the people, escape drowning, if one even did fall into the water; but I conceive that a *ducking* in the river St. Lawrence, in the month of January, and remaining half an hour or more in wet clothes, would be likely to put

a period to one's existence as effectually as drowning.

In my next I shall enable you to form some idea of Canadian winter travelling, and make you acquainted with some phenomena incident to that season of the year.

## LETTER XVIII.

*Quebec, 1808.*

To see the Canadian winter in all its majesty, and to feel it in all its rigour, it is necessary to take a journey into the different parts of the country. This I have done. I have made a tour as high up as Montreal, and gone into the province of Vermont, in the United States. Lake Champlain, 120 miles in length, was frozen over: we crossed it on the ice.

Having provided myself with a good horse and cariole, and laid in a stock of provisions and liquors, and, moreover, having taken the necessary precautions to guard against the severity of the climate, I left Quebec in one of the coldest mornings I had ever experienced. The wind blew fresh from the north-west; the sun shone bright, and glistened on the dry pellucid snow, which the wind raised into the air,

whirling it about, and dashing or darting on my face the minute crystals, like a shower of needle points, occasioning a smarting sensation, which made me feel more keenly the severity of the cold. Whoever has travelled in Canada in the winter season, will be at no loss to recognize the kind of morning I describe.

What a strange figure a Canadian winter traveller is, wrapped up in his various vestments! In addition to the usual number of coats and waistcoats, I had a very large double cloak, a large fur cap, and fur tippet; and, what added greatly to my comfort and defence against the cold wind, I had a very large muff, in which was often obliged to bury my face when the wind blew keen; for you will recollect, that as the cariole is an open carriage, it affords no defence from the cold. With all the clothing and coverings you can put on, still you can with difficulty keep yourself warm.

When a journey of any extent is to be made, a cariole must be used; but if you wish to deviate from the public beaten track, or to go into the woods, or cross

fields, either from necessity or for amusement, you must use what are called *snow shoes*. They are made of a kind of network, fixed on a frame, shaped like a boy's paper kite; they are about two feet long, and 18 inches broad, and therefore take in so much of the surface of the snow, that you sink but a very few inches. The military, in Canada, are all provided with snow shoes, and are marched out on them, that it may be no novelty in case of their taking the field in winter. For the same reason they are sometimes encamped amongst the snow.

You can take a great deal of exercise in winter, without being fatigued, and can walk with ease and agility under a load of waistcoats and coats, under which you would sink in summer. When a person proceeds to take off all his coverings, it puts one in mind of the grave-digger in Hamlet, to whom modern actors have given many more waistcoats than even a Canadian grave-digger in *winter* would require.

The winter travelling in Canada is sometimes very expeditious. It is surprising with what speed a good Canadian horse

will travel, drawing a cariole over the ice. There have been instances of a single horse having drawn a cariole, with two people in it, no less than 90 miles in twelve hours which is more than mail-coach rate, with all their changes. When this happens, the roads must be very smooth and hard, which is generally the case when a severe frost has succeeded a thaw.

The Canadian horse is a remarkably hardy animal: his best pace is a trot. He is accustomed to a great deal of bad usage and hard work, and he is the most *willing creature* in the world (as the jockeys term it), for he never *refuses the draught*. You will see them brought from the country into Quebec in the coldest weather, and left standing in the open air without covering for hours together, while their owners are transacting their business, or drinking in a public house; and they seem not to be the worse for it.

In the winter time the Canadian horse, like all the other quadrupeds of the country, acquires an increased quantity of fur to protect him from the cold; and the Canadians never use the currying comb.—



When the horses have been heated by fast driving, in a cold day, they appear to have a sort of icicle at every hair, and really make a very grotesque appearance ; and you frequently see icicles two or three inches in length, hanging at their noses.

Previous to my commencing my tour, there had been a heavy fall of snow for some days, so that the roads were in bad order for expeditious travelling. I seldom went more than from thirty to forty miles a day. I had not proceeded far, ere I found the great difference, in point of beauty, between the winter and summer scenery.— Instead of the fine variety, which, in summer, presented itself, in tracing the course of the river,—the gaiety, the liveliness of the moving waters, and passing vessels—the fine tints of the forest, and of the corn-field—the labourer employed in the business of the farm—every surrounding object reflected from the surface of the river; nothing now was to be seen but one continued solid plain—one indiscriminate field of snow;—no rivers—no waters—no ships—not an animal in view, man nor beast, except now and then a muf.

fled-up traveller, hurrying along, as if anxious to get to a place of shelter.

The St. Lawrence was so full of shelving masses of ice, which the frost had fixed in that position, that a road could not be made upon it; we continued therefore in the summer road, till we came to the river *du Loup*, which gave us for several leagues a pleasant road, free from *cahots*. From the river *du Loup* to the river *Maskinongé*, the distance is short, and we followed the course of the *Maskinongé* for several leagues, till we came to the St. Lawrence, on which we found a good road as far as Berthier.

Berthier is one of the best cultivated and most beautiful settlements in Canada. In summer it bears some resemblance to part of Gloucestershire, on the banks of the Severn. —In the St. Lawrence, opposite to Berthier, are several islands of considerable size, abounding with very fine timber, and yielding rich pasture for cattle. In summer, they have a charming effect; but, in winter, all is dreary and deathlike—nothing is left but the mere skeleton of a wood.

Which way soever you direct your at-

tention, nothing presents itself to your observation, but ice and snow; so that you may suppose there can be very little variety in a winter journey. After the first day, your curiosity is perfectly satisfied.

The country people, pass their time in winter, very idly. Their only care seems to be to keep themselves warm; and their principal occupation is cutting and bringing home firewood. They make a journey to Quebec or Montreal occasionally, to dispose of any surplus provisions they may have, and procure some of the comforts of life; such as replenishing their rum bottle, and renewing their stock of snuff, pipes, and tobacco.

Those who live on the banks of the St. Lawrence, where the tide ebbs and flows, occupy themselves occasionally in fishing, or catching a species of fish, which come up the river in the winter time, in great abundance, and form a seasonable supply for those who will take the trouble to attend to it.

They are from four to nine inches long, and resemble a cod in every respect, except

size. The Canadians call them *petite Morue*; the English call them *Tommy cod*.—Some people think that it is a different fish from the cod; for my own part, I cannot see why. The principal reason for their being supposed a different fish from the cod is, that they are found full of spawn, which, it is alleged, could not be the case with cod at so early an age, and so small a size. This does not appear to me enough to warrant this conclusion. It is not, I believe, ascertained at what age or size the codfish begins to propagate; and I have yet to learn why this may not take place when the fish is six inches long, as well as when it is a foot, or two or three feet, long. If size were the criterion, it appears as extraordinary that a fish, which grows to the length of three or four feet, should propagate when at the length of one foot, as that it should do so at the length of six inches.

The manner of catching these fish is to cut holes in the ice, and put down either nets or lines. Between Quebec and *Three Rivers* immense quantities are taken. They are easily preserved without salt; the frost

answers the purpose; and you may see them piled upon the ice in large quantities, all frozen. It is a remarkable thing, that the *Canadian horses* eat them. One can scarcely help smiling at the idea of a horse *eating fish*, but, you may rest assured, it is a fact.

Great quantities of these fish are caught at Quebec, with lines. The manner of doing so is odd enough: A hole is dug in the ice, and a temporary house is built over it, large enough to hold half a dozen people, and a stove to keep them warm. Those who cannot afford to purchase deals to make a house, substitute large pieces of ice, with which they form a kind of defence from the weather. The middle of the night is the best time for fishing. They place a strong light near the hole, which attracts the attention of the fish, and brings them round the hole, in large quantities; so that they are caught as fast as they can be pulled in. These houses are erected on the river St. Charles, in great numbers; and have a singular appearance in a dark night, particularly those made of ice, the transparency of which, gives them the effect of so many lanterns.

It is a singular fact, that these fish, if not bruised, will, when put into cold water several days after they are caught, return to life, and swim about as well as ever. At the time they are caught, they are thrown into a basket, and in the course of a minute or two, they become frozen stiff. When carried home, and put into cold water, they become thawed, and begin to swim. How long they would continue out of the water in the frozen state, and afterwards shew signs of life, I cannot determine ; but I can speak to the fact, for several days. I have tried some that had been taken, and been in a frozen state for eight days, but they did not recover, or shew any signs of life.

It is a curious circumstance : certainly the vital principle had not been destroyed. Perhaps the ice, or sudden freezing, had not penetrated much below the surface ; and, by forming a kind of covering, having the properties of a non-conductor, may have preserved the vital heat from escaping into the cold air. Perhaps, a kind of torpor came on, like that of the bear and other winter sleepers. Probably the cause is beyond our reach, for nature generally

draws a veil betwixt us and her most extraordinary operations.

On my arrival at Montreal, I found the good folks employed in precisely the same way, that those I had left in Quebec, passed their time. In all countries, people pass their leisure hours pretty much alike; that is, they dedicate them to amusement. In Canada, as most of their *winter* hours are leisure hours, there is, of course, some ingenuity necessary to give such variety to their amusements as may prevent them from becoming insipid by frequent repetition. Hence, in Quebec and Montreal, to the *regular* town parties, are added, *irregular* country parties. *Pic-nic* feasts, where every one carries with him a ready-dressed dish, are very common; and as the place of rendezvous is generally a few miles out of town, the ladies and gentlemen have the pleasure of a little *carioling* before dinner; the roads, it is true, are often abominably bad, being a constant succession of *cahots*, in which you are jolted most unmercifully; not to say any thing of cariols being very frequently upset, and their contents, ladies, gentlemen, soup, poultry, or roast beef,

tumbled into the snow, to the no small amusement of the rest of the party. It is also any thing but *excessively pleasant*, after having dined, danced, supped, and passed the evening in festive glee, enlivened by the song and the catch, to drive home in the middle of the night, let the wind blow, and the snow drift as much as they please. Besides, there sometimes come on such *dreadful storms*, that neither man nor horse can shew their face to them. The consequence is, the party remain all night; the fiddlers again strike up the merry dance, and the whist players again cut for partners; what cannot be cured, must be endured. Day-light comes at last, and enables the party to take the road homeward without the danger of losing their way, which most probably would have been the case with some of them had they attempted it in the course of the night. The little hardships, disasters, or inconveniences of these country parties, give a zest however to the more elegant amusements of the town.

A stranger in Canada, who has had a respectable introduction, is well received,



and meets every where the greatest hospitality.

To travel from Canada to the United States, is, in England, considered to be a most arduous and perilous undertaking. In truth, it is not without its dangers and difficulties, particularly in winter; yet, with all the inconveniences attending it, the journey is performed very frequently. The Americans are constantly coming into Canada, particularly to Montreal. They bring provisions, and various sorts of dry goods, generally in Sleighs, which resemble the Canadian *cariole*, except that they are placed on *high runners*, and are larger and more commodious than the *cariole*. The high runners give them one great advantage, which is, that they do not form in the roads those inequalities the Canadians call *cahots*, which jolt you so much, and are one of the principal drawbacks to winter travelling in Canada.

I procured one of the *Yankie sleighs*, as they are usually termed, and left Montreal in a very cold, hazy morning. Our first stage was from Montreal cross the St. Lawrence to Laprairie, a distance of about nine miles.

After travelling about two hours on the river, we began to think it was more than time to reach the other side. We continued our course for half an hour more; still no appearance of the place of our destination. In fact, we had lost our way. The weather was so thick and hazy we could see but a very short space, and our driver had struck into a wrong track. There were a variety of tracks on the river, formed by the people coming from different parts of the opposite side, with fire-wood, &c. for Montreal. Indeed, I reckoned from 2 to 300 *sleighs* on that part of the river alone, all directing their course to Montreal.

On inquiring of some of these people we found that instead of crossing the river we had taken a direction upwards, and were very near the rapids, a little below a part of the country inhabited by a tribe called the *Caghnawaga* Indians, at a considerable distance from Montreal. We had to retrace our steps; and in about two hours more, we arrived at Laprairie.

This circumstance is trifling in itself. I mention it merely to shew you the liability to go astray, when travelling over a

and no sooner does this happen, than they rise in the water, float on one side, are drawn out on strong ice, the noose of the rope is loosened, and respiration recommences; in a few minutes the horses are on their feet, as much alive as ever. This operation has been known to be performed two or three times a day, on the same horses; for, when the spring advances, the weak places in the Lake, become very numerous; and the people, whose business leads them often on it, frequently meet with accidents. They tell you that horses which are often on the lake, *get so accustomed to being hanged, that they think nothing at all of it.*

Pray, tell me, do you not think that this is one of those *stories* that *travellers* imagine they may tell with impunity, *having a licence?*—Seriously, you are wrong.—Though this manner of saving horses, and getting them out of the water, appears extraordinary, yet, I assure you, the thing is very common, and known to every one who has been accustomed to travel on the lakes and rivers of this country, during winter. The attempt however does not always succeed. It sometimes happens, that both

sleigh and horses go to the bottom ; and the men too, if they cannot extricate themselves in time. There was an instance of it on Lake Champlain, a few days before I crossed it.

These weak places of the ice, which prove so treacherous, have been later in freezing, than the surrounding ice. In all lakes, and large bodies of fresh water, there are some places which never freeze ; and some which freeze much later than others. It is to be accounted for, probably, in this way. The great body of the water, is of a higher temperature than the atmosphere, although the surface has been cooled down below the freezing point, and become ice. The water is constantly giving out its heat to the atmosphere, at some particular place, which thereby is kept from freezing for a considerable time ; by and by, when the frost becomes very intense, that place at length freezes, but does not acquire the strength necessary to support the horses.

There is another source of danger to the traveller on the lakes, which it is difficult to account for : viz. large cracks or openings, which run from one side of the lake to the other ; some of them, six feet

broad at least. I had not proceeded many miles on the lake before I met with a crack; but instead of an opening, I found that at this place the ice had shelved up to the height of several feet; and I learned that this was an indication of there being an opening further on. At the distance of eight or ten miles from this place, I was surprised to observe the driver put his horses to their full speed: I could see no cause for it. In a few minutes, however, I saw the crack or opening, about five feet broad: we were at it in a moment; it was impossible to check the horses, or to stop and consider of the practicability of passing, or of the consequences; the driver, without consulting any one, had made up his mind on the subject,—the horses took the leap, and cleared the opening, carrying the sleigh and its contents with them. The concussion on the opposite side was so great, however, that the runners of the sleigh were broken, and there was a great chance of our being thrown, by the violence of the concussion, out of the sleigh, into the gulf we had crossed: this had very nearly taken place; but I was fortunate enough to regain my

seat. By the help of some cords, we repaired our damage, and proceeded on our journey. We met with several other cracks, but as they were not in general above a foot or two in breadth, we passed them, without fear or accident. When the ice is cleared of snow, which was frequently the case, I could see that it was about a foot in thickness; yet it made a crackling noise as we went along, and seemed to *give* to the weight of the sleigh and horses, as we advanced, which produced sensations not very pleasant.

There are a great many islands in Lake Champlain, which are generally inhabited; you find inns on them, too, where you can get provisions, and beds if necessary. I shall embrace another opportunity of making some observations to you about this Lake and the surrounding country; but for the present, shall, in my next letter, communicate to you some further particulars relative to the Canadian winter.

## LETTER XIX.

Quebec, 1808.

**T**HE range of the thermometer in Canada, is very extensive. The heat in summer runs into as great an extreme, as the cold in winter. The range, during the last twelve months, has been no less than 120 degrees ; and, what is not a little surprising, it has reached 60 degrees precisely, on each side of the freezing point (32). In summer the thermometer rose to 92, and in winter it fell to 28 below zero. I have been told, that the cold has been known in this country to freeze mercury, the thermometer having fallen below 40 under zero.

The severity of the cold has its advantages as well as disadvantages. The quantity of snow with which the ground is covered, renders it necessary for the farmer to *house* all his cattle and sheep, and to put

his hay, straw, and corn, under cover.— So soon as the ground is covered, and the frost completely *set in*, the cattle and sheep, which are destined for winter use, are killed; and also poultry of all kinds, before they have lost any of the fat they had acquired during the summer and autumn.— No salt is necessary to preserve them: they only require to be exposed to the frost for a short time, and they become as hard as ice. When in this state, the poultry, and indeed the beef and mutton too, are packed in casks or boxes amongst snow, and at the end of four or five months, are still perfectly sound and good. I have to-day (10th May) eat of a fowl which has been killed upwards of four months; and I really think it could not easily be distinguished from a fowl killed but a few days. Frozen meat is thawed by keeping it in cold water about twelve hours—warm water would render it useless.

After the meat is hard frozen, the principal thing to be attended to, is, to preserve it from the external air when the temperature is above the freezing point, which is frequently the case in March and April.—



Snow being a good non-conductor of heat, answers this purpose : blankets, too, are frequently used. The frost not only preserves beef, mutton, and poultry, but also *fish*, so long as you can keep it in a temperature below freezing. The fish market, during winter, is pretty well supplied, owing, not a little, to the great industry of the people of the United States, who come even from Boston to Montreal, a distance of 420 miles.

Provisions of all kinds are more plentiful, and consequently cheaper, in winter than in summer. The market is supplied from a greater extent of country. The lakes and rivers being frozen, and the people without work, they bring to market all sorts of meat and poultry, from a great distance. Being hard frozen, it can be stowed in their carioles without receiving the least injury from the great length of carriage.

Good beef and mutton are sold at from 3d. to 4d. per lb. ; good fat fowls at 20d. to 2s. per couple ; turkeys 2s. to 2s. 6d. each ; geese and ducks in proportion : so that the expense of housekeeping in these articles, is not great in winter. In summer, as meat is supplied in the towns by the

town butchers alone, the price advances considerably. The great heat of summer renders it impossible to bring meat from any considerable distance.

It is a fortunate thing for the people in the towns of Canada that provisions are cheaper in winter than in summer; for, the winter subjects them to a heavy expense for *firewood*, which is, as you may well believe, a *sine quá non* in this climate.

The expense of fuel to a family in Quebec or Montreal, is fully equal to what the same family would require in London; and it is to be regretted, that there is no prospect of its becoming cheaper. On the contrary, in proportion as the woods are cut, and the distance of carriage increased, the price is augmented; so that in time it will be cheaper to import coals than purchase wood. Firewood is generally laid in, during the summer. It is brought to Quebec and Montreal, on the river, in immense rafts. The wood is cut into junks, and piled upon a float sub-divided into compartments of a certain size, containing so many cords. In winter, it is brought from

the country in sleighs, and sold at so much per cord, or per sleigh load. No coal has yet been found in Canada, probably because it has never been thought worth searching after. It is supposed that coal exists in the neighbourhood of Quebec; at any rate, there can be no doubt that it exists in great abundance in the island of Cape Breton, which may one day become the *Newcastle* of Canada.

At present, coals are to be purchased very cheap in Quebec. Many of the vessels from Scotland, and from the north of England, take in coals as ballast, and sell them very cheap; sometimes as low as 17s. per chaldron. Even the kennel coal, which is difficult to be met with in many parts of England, is sold at 36s. per chaldron, which is not above half the price of Newcastle coal in winter in the neighbourhood of London. People who have been accustomed to burn wood, do not like to burn coal. They tell you that the smell is extremely disagreeable to them, and, besides, that coal does not answer for stoves so well as wood. This prepossession against coals,

accounts for their being proportionably cheaper than wood.

It is well that we have either wood or coal, for the effects of frost in this country are with difficulty guarded against, and are really in themselves very curious. I made an experiment, which, to most people, will appear very surprising. I BURNED my hand with a COLD IRON. This may seem incredible; but a little explanation will convince you of the truth of what I have asserted.

In one of those very cold mornings we had in the month of January, when the thermometer had fallen near 60 degrees below the freezing point, I put my hand to a piece of *iron* that had been exposed to the frost in the open air all night. At first, I felt the sensation arising from extreme cold; in a few seconds I felt the sensation of heat; and it soon became so strong, and so painful, that I was as glad to quit my hold, as if it had been a hot iron. Indeed, I found that I had kept it too long, because the part that had been in contact, blistered, in the same manner it would have done had

it been a hot iron, and it was cured in the same way. No surgeon in England, had he been called in, could have suspected that it was not the effect of coming in contact with a *hot* iron. In truth, *heat* was the *cause* of the wound ; and you will readily allow that I am correct, when I have explained to you a few circumstances.

Burning by a hot iron is produced by the heat, or what is technically called, *caloric*, passing in such quantity, and with such rapidity, *into* the part in contact with the iron, that the continuity and arrangement of the part is destroyed. Burning with a *cold iron* arises from the heat passing in such quantity, and with such rapidity, *out of* the part of the body in contact with the cold iron, as to produce the same effect. Heat in both cases is the cause ; and its going *into* the body *from* the iron, or *into* the iron *from* the body, does not alter the nature of the effect.

It is the nature of heat to spread itself equally and uniformly through all bodies. Some receive it, and part with it more quickly than others do ; their conducting

powers are different. When two bodies, of different temperatures, come in contact, the greater the difference is, the more violent will be the transmission of heat from the one to the other. Now, when you reflect that the temperature of the blood is 66 degrees above the freezing point (the freezing point is 32. of Fahrenheit, making 98. as the temperature of the blood), and that the temperature of the cold iron, which burnt me, was 28. below zero, that is, 60. *below* the freezing point, you have a difference of 126 degrees of heat. This difference is greater than what exists between the temperature of our blood (98.) and the temperature of boiling water, 212. which is only 114 degrees; so that it is not at all surprising that the transmission of heat should have been violent, and that burning should have been the consequence.

You will excuse me for leading you a little into these abstract matters. To assert that I was *burnt* with a *cold* iron, required something more to support it than the mere *ipse dixit* of the narrator, whatever his character for veracity might be. The thing, on a superficial view, is so contrary

to our common-received opinions, that it was some time before I was quite reconciled to it. In theory, it was not new to me; and, as an opportunity occurred for proving the theory by practice, I was resolved not to neglect it\*.

Analogous to being *burnt* with a *cold iron*, is the effect produced on the face when it is exposed to a *very cold wind*.—The sensation is nearly the same as when it is exposed to a *very hot wind*, and the effect is precisely the same. When travelling in

\* The idea of being burnt by a cold iron appears paradoxical, but it has been long familiar to chemists. Our great poet Milton, too, makes an allusion to the like effect of cold in his description of the residence of Satan and his compeers.—After describing Styx, he says,

“ Beyond this flood a frozen continent  
Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms  
Of whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land  
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems  
Of ancient pile; or else deep snow and ice,  
A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog  
Betwixt Damiata, and Mount Cassius old,  
Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air  
Burns *frore*, and cold performs th’ effect of fire.”

Paradise Lost, Book II.

*Frore* is an old word for frosty.—We have also in Virgil, Georg. I. 1. 93.

——— Boreæ penetrabili frigus adurat.

a hot climate, and exposed to the operation of a warm wind, I have found that my face became red and inflamed, and, as it were, scorched. If rubbed with any kind of strong spirit, it smarted exceedingly, and perhaps the skin partially came off. The same sensations, and the same effects, are produced by a very cold wind. The principle on which they act, the cause from which they proceed, is the same—the too violent passage of heat *into*, or *out of*, the part affected.

There is another effect very frequently produced by cold in this country, which bears no analogy (as in the preceding example) to any thing produced by external heat; and a dreadful effect it is—I mean *frost bitten*.

When the weather is very cold, particularly when accompanied by a smart wind, instances of people being *frost bitten*, frequently occur. Not a season passes, without some of the sentinels being frost bitten on their posts. Sometimes, their hands and face, sometimes, their feet, are affected; and a mortification of the part generally follows, if the proper remedy is not applied



in time. The remedy will seldom be applied, if you are attacked in the dark, which is often the case with those who travel at night, as well as with sentinels. Their own feelings do not inform them of the presence of the enemy ; and they are not likely, in the dark, to have him discovered by other people. He insidiously makes a breach ; and if he can keep his ground but for a short time, it is in vain afterwards to think of dislodging him. In the towns, during the day, there is less danger, because you will be stopped by the first person who observes the symptoms. This is readily and easily done, as the part frost bitten becomes white, while the rest of the face is very red.

In so critical a moment, people do not stand on any ceremony, as you may suppose. They know you are not conscious of your situation ; and they also know, that before they could convince you that you are frost bitten, and on the point of losing your nose perhaps, it might actually be too late to apply the remedy ; they instantly take a handful of snow, and either rub the part themselves, or make you do it.

It certainly is enough to startle a stranger, to see a person, perfectly unknown to you, come running up, with a handful of snow, calling out, "*Your nose, Sir,—your nose,—*you are frost bitten;" and, without further ceremony, either themselves rubbing it without mercy, or making you do so.

When this is done in due time, the tone of the part, the circulation of the blood, is restored; and, instead of losing a nose, you get off with the loss of the skin perhaps.—An acquaintance of mine, who has not been long in the country, was stopped in the street the other morning.—"*Your nose, Sir,*" was the salute; "it is frost bitten;—rub it with snow instantly, or you will lose it." The advice came from a quarter that commanded instant attention. Snow was immediately applied, and the bad effects prevented.

I myself, have guarded against being frost bitten, by using every necessary precaution; but I have not escaped altogether. A few days ago, had I continued a little longer exposed to the cold wind, I must have experienced its effects to a much

greater extent than I did. I had been walking quickly against the wind, which was *bitter cold*. I felt so much pain at last, that I was glad to turn my back on it, and get home as fast as I could. I found that one side of my face was somewhat swelled, much inflamed, and very hot. I am assured, that had I persevered in walking against the wind, I most undoubtedly would have suffered severely.

If I had continued under the influence of the frost a little longer, the painful sensation I felt, would have gone off, and I should have supposed that the wind had become milder; whereas, the ease I should have felt would have arisen from my sensations being blunted, the blood vessels at the surface having lost their tone. After this happens, the longer one continues exposed to the cold, the greater is the progress of insensibility. It ultimately pervades all the extremities; drowsiness ensues. You would willingly lie down on the snow, were no one near to prevent you.— You would fall asleep, never to awake again!

I know a gentleman, who was so far

gone, that he lay down on the snow, several times, from a desire to sleep; and nothing but the roughest usage from a person who fortunately was with him, prevented his doing so. It was absolutely necessary to kick and buffet him, to keep him awake. Had he gone to sleep, it most assuredly would have been the sleep of death!

Were one to choose their manner of weakening the grasp of the grim tyrant, there is not, probably, so easy a way of doing so, as by the benumbing, soporific influence of frost.

A friend of mine, some time ago, found a man lying on the snow, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, quite dead; he was at a little distance from the road; he had probably got benumbed by the cold, and had stepped aside to indulge, for a few minutes, his desire of sleep. Poor man! he awakened no more! His countenance bore no marks of suffering: it was as placid and unruffled as if the heart had still continued to beat, and the blood to circulate.

The manner in which a *cold iron* and a *cold atmosphere* affect the body, is very different. The cold iron deprives the body

of its heat in such a violent manner, as quite to derange the part in contact, rupture the blood vessels, and destroy their continuity. The cold atmosphere deprives the parts (on which it acts) of their heat in a less violent manner: the blood vessels are not ruptured, nor the continuity of the parts destroyed, but both are so strongly acted upon that their functions are destroyed. The blood vessels no longer retain the powers of expansion and repulsion. It is well ascertained, that air is decomposed in the lungs, and parts with its *caloric* to the blood, which carries it through the system. Shall I hazard a conjecture? Heat (in cases where frost proves fatal), is perhaps taken off from the body, faster than it can be supplied by the lungs to the blood, and carried into circulation. A general torpor, a stoppage of the circulation of the fluids,—death, in short, ensues.

One would naturally enough suppose, that an effect occasioned by *cold* should be removed by *heat*. This idea has occasioned the loss of many a limb. It has generally been supposed, that cold is a material substance, of a nature directly opposed to

heat. This is now generally allowed to be an error, there being no such substance as cold—no such *thing* in nature. The *word* expresses a negative quality, viz. the absence of heat.

Impressed with the idea that heat must be a good remedy for evils produced by cold, hot water has been often applied to parts that have been *frost bitten*, and the consequences have always been fatal. The reason appears to be this, that the part *frost bitten*, having become diseased by the heat of the body rushing violently, and in great quantity, out from it, the application of hot water will make the heat rush violently into it; and if any part of the work of destruction remains undone, the heat of the warm water will do it. Experience has proved, that the application necessary to restore the parts to their wonted tone, must be of a very moderate degree of heat—very little, indeed, above freezing. The heat may then insinuate itself so gradually and gently, as not to increase the evil. Snow, or cold water, have been found to be the most efficacious applications, being of a temperature sufficiently

low, yet still possessing a degree of heat sufficient to produce an effect on the parts, and restore circulation; or, perhaps, the caloric, or animal heat, meeting with snow, a non-conductor, may remain in the part frost bitten, and, of itself, restore it to its proper tone.

Excuse me for troubling you with these speculations. I own that they are rather out of my province, though not altogether foreign, in considering the effects of a Canadian winter. I have yet some details to give you of the effects of frost, which must be quite new to you. Professing to make you acquainted with this country, I should but ill perform my task, did I omit any point of information essential for giving you a knowledge of winter, which occupies one half the year. In my next communication I shall endeavour to make good my promise.

## LETTER XX.

*Quebec, 1808.*

**I**N giving you the striking features of the Canadian winter, I ought not to omit, that during the most severe cold in January, a great and very sudden change takes place almost every year, and continues for a day or two. From a most severe frost, when the thermometer shewed 60 degrees below the freezing point, it suddenly became so warm, that the thermometer shewed three degrees above freezing. In short, the weather this winter changed in a few hours from nearly the greatest degree of cold that ever was known here, to a complete thaw.

It is a law of nature, that when fluids become solid, heat is given out to the atmosphere. On this principle, when water becomes ice, heat must be given out; and an accumulation of this heat may produce



the thaw experienced in Canada, in the middle of winter.

Such a great and sudden change is productive of very unpleasant sensations. The stoves, and winter clothing, are quite oppressive; and yet, it is dangerous to attempt to dispense with either, for you, *every hour*, look for a return of the cold weather. Fortunately, it does not in general continue many days; sometimes, however, it has been known to last ten or fourteen days; and, when this is the case, it is of very serious injury to the country in a variety of ways. It is extremely prejudicial to the health of the people. The streets are so inundated with water from the melting of the snow, that you cannot walk out; and the roads become so soft, and the rivers so full of water, that you cannot use a cariole, or travel, indeed, in any mode. But, what is a much more serious evil than all these things, the provisions which were destined to serve through the winter, become thawed, and are either destroyed altogether, or greatly injured.

It is surprising, that although this circumstance has occurred frequently, and

the people are subject to it every year, yet there is not much attention paid to putting the provisions in such a situation; and packing them up in such a manner, as to effectually prevent their being accessible to the warm air, during the thaw. It might be done very easily: Let them be packed in a tight box or cask, after being completely frozen, and this box or cask put into another, large enough to admit of its being surrounded with pounded ice and snow, which would act as a perfect non-conductor of heat, and preserve the contents of the inner box in their frozen state for a great length of time. The outer box should have holes in its bottom, to allow any water to run out, which might arise from the melting of the snow. This method has, I believe, been tried with success; but it is by no means in general use.

During the thaw, a very extraordinary effect is produced, sometimes, on the trees. The Canadians call it a *ver-glas*. The tree, from the trunk to the point of the smallest branch, becomes incrustated with pure ice. There may be a small degree of frost during the night, which will freeze

the moisture that covered the trees during the day; and it is probable that the external parts of the trees themselves, being cooled down below the freezing point, by the extreme cold of the previous weather, freeze the vapour, the moment it comes in contact with them; in the same way that the glass of a window in winter becomes incrustated with ice by the freezing of the moisture in the air of a room. The branches become at last so loaded with ice, that they can with difficulty support the weight of it; and if there happens to come a storm of wind, which was the case lately, the branches infallibly break off, and the destruction amongst trees of all sorts is immense. I see every day the effects of the last *ver-glas*. Branches of trees, from six to twelve inches in diameter, are seen every where hanging from the trees, completely broken down.

I am told, that there can be nothing more curious or beautiful than one of those ice-incrustated trees when the sun shines upon it. Indeed, one can easily conceive that it must have the appearance of fairy work, or enchantment.

In order that I might be able to ascertain correctly the state and changes of the atmosphere, both external and internal, I kept a thermometer suspended in a northern exposure, both on the outside and inside of the window. The thermometer on the inside was within half an inch of the glass. I observed a circumstance which marked strongly the extreme cold of the external atmosphere.

It was between three and four o'clock in the afternoon; the room had been kept very warm during the whole of the morning; and, at the time, I observed that the thermometer shewed 73. though almost touching the ice on the window. Notwithstanding of this, the inside of the window remained covered with ice, in the way you sometimes see it in England, in the morning, after a severe frost.

This not only proves the severity of the frost, but also that glass is a very bad conductor of heat; else it would have been affected, and penetrated by the heat, in such a manner as to counteract the operation of the cold air of the atmosphere; but the cold was so intense, as to destroy and ab-

the walls in streams. All rooms which are not meant to be frequently used, such as assembly rooms, ought to be plastered on *laths*, or, what would be better still, papered, or painted on canvas. In the latter case, at least, I should suppose they never would be so cold as to condense the air, and produce the effects above mentioned.

I must own, I am a friend to warmth. It is said, that by custom, we may inure ourselves to cold, in such a manner as to render our bodies in some degree *insensible to it*; but supposing this to be attained, it does not follow that its pernicious effects on us are prevented. Rheumatisms, and other diseases, may be the consequence.

The Canadians keep their houses very hot; and they themselves, while excessively warm, go immediately into the cold air, without seeming to feel any inconvenience from it; which would induce one to believe that the sudden transition from a hot room into the cold air, if the person be properly clothed, were not so dangerous as is generally imagined. This is further illustrated by the instances I have formerly mentioned of ladies and gentlemen going

into the cold night air, out of a warm ball-room, without suffering any inconvenience from it.

I am disposed to join in the opinion of those who think that the living in a warm room, so far from weakening and making you delicate, as it is termed, and rendering you unfit to bear cold, is the best preservative against the bad effects of cold, when you may be under the necessity of exposing yourself to it.

It has been observed by an eminent philosopher, that if, during the time we are sitting still, the circulation of the blood is gradually and insensibly diminished by the cold which surrounds us, it is not possible that we should be able to support a great additional degree of cold, without sinking under it. We should be like water, which, by exposure to moderate cold in a state of rest, has been slowly cooled down below the freezing point; the smallest additional cold, or a small degree of agitation, changes it to ice in an instant; but water, at a high temperature, will support the same degree of frost, for a considerable time, without appearing to be at all affected by it.

In giving you facts, illustrative of the

severity of a Canadian winter, let me mention to you the experiments on bomb shells, made at Quebec some years ago, by a Major Williams, of the Artillery. I am acquainted here, with some gentlemen who witnessed the experiments: they were made in order to ascertain the force of the expansion of freezing water: they are curious; and you, perhaps, have not met with them in the course of your reading.

These experiments were made on iron shells of different sizes, from the 13-inch shell, to the cohorn of four inches diameter. The shells were nearly filled with water, and an iron plug was driven in at the fuze hole, by a sledge hammer. It was found, however, that the plug could never be driven so firmly into the fuze hole, as to resist the expanding ice, which pushed it out with great force and velocity, and a bolt or cylinder of ice immediately shot up from the hole: but when a plug was used that had springs, which would expand, and lay hold of the inside of the cavity, so that it could not possibly be pushed out, the force of the expansion split the shell.

The amazing force of expansion in congelation is also shewn from the distance to

which these iron plugs were thrown out of the fuze hole. A plug of *two pounds and a half* weight was thrown no less than 415 feet from the shell; the fuze axis was at an angle of 45; the thermometer shewed 51 degrees below the freezing point. Here you see ice and gunpowder performing the same operations. That similar effects should proceed from such dissimilar causes is very extraordinary.

The expanding force of freezing water acts powerfully on all bodies exposed to its operation. Wherever water lodges, and is at all confined, as in the cracks and fissures of rocks, or in the walls of houses, the effects of its expansion are felt. Masses of rock are severed from the mountain's brow, and precipitated into the valleys below. There the frost again acts upon them, and they are reduced from one size to another, until they become an earth.— In agriculture, the effects of the expansion of freezing water are well known. The farmer finds, that by ploughing a strong soil, and exposing it to the operation of the winter's frost, the hard clods are broken down and pulverised, and the soil is better



fitted to receive the seed, and give it nourishment.

In Canada, the walls of the houses are usually plastered on the outside, to preserve the stone from moisture, and the consequent destructive effects of the frost. They find it, however, a very difficult matter to get plaster to adhere; particularly if exposed to the easterly wind, which, in one winter, destroys almost any plaster they can use. A composition has lately been tried, which promises to answer better. About a couple of pounds of Muscovado sugar are mixed with a bushel of lime; and it makes a very hard and durable mixture, for *rough casting*. In places the most exposed to easterly wind, it has remained hard and fast, after a fair trial.

Before I close this letter, let me mention to you the assistance the Canadians receive from their *dogs*, which they employ for a variety of domestic purposes. I formerly mentioned to you the speed and the hard work to which the Canadian horse was frequently put; but he is not the only beast of *burden* here, or, I should rather say, of *draught*. The Canadians make

much use of dogs for drawing light weights. You frequently see a single dog draw a small cart, or sledge, loaded with more than 200lbs. weight of different articles.— In the winter, in addition to this weight, you see the man who drivess, tanding on the sledge, and dragged along with great speed, if there is a gentle declivity. The weight they are made to draw, is really incredible. Nor are they very large dogs, or of any particular species: you see thém of all sorts and sizes, with carts or sledges, in proportion to their strength. The butchers employ them for transporting meat to their customers in different parts of the town: they use small carts in summer, and sledges in winter; the dogs are fitted with a complete set of harness, and two or three of them are sometimes yoked to the same cart or sleigh. People employ them too, in bringing water from the river; in dragging small carriages with children; and, in short, in all domestic purposes where a moderate weight is to be transported. They certainly might be used in Britain with great advantage, in many cases; because a boy can attend them, and make *them draw* a great deal more than *he can carry*.

## LETTER XXI.

Quebec, 1808.

No part of the Canadian winter is more interesting than the conclusion of it, when the snow begins to disappear, and the ice in the rivers to break up, which is the case in the end of April.

One would naturally suppose, that six months frost and snow would have become insufferably tiresome to a stranger. I can assure you I have not found it so.

The winter may be divided into three seasons, or portions, as it were: for two months at the beginning, the snow is falling, and the frost becoming daily more severe. We are amused by making observations upon it, and by the novelty of our situation, and our consequent habits. The middle two months of severe frost is not without interest: we then see winter in all his majesty, after he has bound up the lakes and rivers in fetters of ice, and covered the earth as with a mantle.

The last two months are interesting, because we are anxious to see by what means, and in what manner, such an immensity of snow and ice is to be got rid of.

The influence of the sun is little felt in February. In March, however, you are sensible of its power; and, during this month, the weather in general is very beautiful; the frost is still sufficiently severe to keep the roads hard and good; the sky is clear, the sun shines bright; it is pleasant to get into a cariole, and drive a few miles into the country. During the month of April, the influence of the sun has been so great, as powerfully to affect all nature.—The snow has nearly disappeared about the first week in May; the ice in the lakes and rivers is broken up, by the increase of water from the melting of snow, and it is floated down to the great river St. Lawrence, where it accumulates in immense quantities, and is carried up and down with the tide.

At this time the St. Lawrence presents one of the most extraordinary scenes in nature. You cannot form an adequate idea

of it, without being a spectator. From bank to bank, it is quite choaked up with immense masses and sheets of ice; some of them from 4 to 500 yards in diameter.—The tide forces them on one another, breaks them into smaller pieces, and raises them in shelving and fantastic forms, considerably above the surface. This mass of moving ice fills the whole bason, and is seen as far up the river as your eye can reach—a distance altogether of twelve to fifteen miles.

While the river was in this state, we were astonished to see a vessel from England come round point Levi, into the bason. The arrival of the *first* vessel from England is hailed as a joyful circumstance. You cannot imagine what a crowd of pleasurable ideas fills the mind on this occasion. All classes and descriptions of people are interested in it. The merchant, the tradesman, and the labourer, have an immediate prospect of beginning their operations, of putting a period to a state of idleness, and of supplying the wants of their families, which, necessarily, will often

be felt, after being six months with little or no employment. The military men have a more immediate prospect of communicating with their friends at home, and of having more frequent intelligence of what is going on in Europe. In short, a thousand agreeable associations are formed in the mind, which may be more easily conceived than described.

The vessel arrived on the 28th of April, which is about a fortnight sooner than usual. Indeed, for these last forty years, I am well informed, there have been only two vessels that have arrived so soon. The river being still full of ice, it was curious, and at the same time terrific, to see the vessel, with all sails set, surrounded by, and fixed amongst, these immense pieces of ice, moving backwards and forwards with the tide, whichever way it led. Anchors and cables were of no use; the only object,—the only chance of safety, was to take advantage of some occasional opening amongst the sheets of ice, by which she might be forced out of the stream. An opportunity fortunately occurred; it was imme-

diately seized, the wind being strong and favourable; and she was brought to the quay, and safely moored.

People went off to her assistance immediately on her appearing, and they had much difficulty in reaching her; but they did so at last, with the assistance of canoes, which they paddled when an opening occurred, and hauled over the ice when necessary. It was an extraordinary sight to see people jump off the sheets of ice, into the main-chains of the vessel.

One might have thought, that these immense masses of ice coming against the sides of the vessel, would have stove them in; she received no injury however. In fact, the ice at this season has been so acted upon by the warmth of the weather, that its hardness is greatly lessened. It seems to preserve much of its thickness; but it has become perforated, honey-combed, and full of water, so that the concussion on the vessel was reduced to almost nothing. Ice of the same apparent magnitude, in the month of Jauuary, would have squeezed the vessel to pieces.

Notwithstanding this vessel suffered no injury, there was a considerable risk of her being forced on shore.

In the fall of the year the risk of shipwreck is greatly increased, from the snow storms prevalent at that time. These storms not only prevent the sailors from seeing the coast and the landmarks, and consequently from directing their course properly; but the cold is then so severe that the men cannot remain exposed to it. The cordage becomes incrustated with ice so that it cannot run through the blocks; and the sails become frozen in such a manner, that there is no possibility of working the ship; besides, so much ice gets about the rudder that it becomes immovable. Many vessels have been lost from these circumstances, and almost every winter some vessels sail in expectation of getting out of the river; but, being caught in a snow storm, are very fortunate if they escape destruction, by getting into some bay or place of shelter, where they remain fixed for the winter.

No sooner is the influence of the April sun felt, than you see birds of various kind



returning to their summer quarters; and vegetation about the 10th of May is very strong. The snow is nearly gone, and the frost is sufficiently out of the ground to allow the farmer to commence his operations. This takes place after the snow is gone, sooner than one would imagine. The frost does not penetrate so deep into the ground, as from the intensesness, and long continuance of the cold, might be expected.

In countries where you have six months frost, were the soil exposed to its influence all the while, it would have penetrated so deep, that I question if the heat of a whole summer would eradicate it. But Providence has furnished a remedy: it has kindly decreed, that when water is cooled down to  $32^{\circ}$ . it shall freeze, and be converted into ice and snow. The rivers become covered with ice, the surface of the earth becomes hardened, snow falls to a considerable thickness, and by these means the water and the land are protected from the influence of that immense volume of cold, dense atmosphere, which presses on, from the polar regions towards the south,

when the sun retreats after the solstice. The natural heat of the earth is about 42; the thermometer stands at this point in the deepest mines that have been sunk. This natural heat, as well as the heat accumulated in the earth and water during summer, is prevented, by the ice and snow, from making its escape; and as soon as the return of the sun has brought warmth enough to banish the frost from the atmosphere, the latent heat of the earth and water lends its aid in dissolving the snow and ice, and forwarding vegetation. Snow is peculiarly well calculated for preserving warmth in the earth; because it is full of air, which is known to be a very bad *conductor* of heat, and will, of course, the more effectually prevent its escaping from the surface. It is a thing very well ascertained here, that vegetation has made some progress under the snow, before it has deserted the ground.

The long continuance of winter in Canada is certainly a circumstance which must retard its progress in improvement, and the increase of its trade. Some people pretend to say, that it must ever prevent its becoming a great, populous, and

## LETTER XXII.

Quebec, 1808.

I HAVE now, my worthy friend, been a sojourner in Canada for a considerable length of time. If it is not a land abounding in all the luxuries and elegancies of life, it undeniably is a land of peace and plenty.

My further experience has enabled me to confirm the truth of the statements I have already sent you, relative to the commerce of Canada; and to verify the observations I have ventured to make on the country, and its inhabitants, in physical and moral points of view.

I did not imagine that my letters would have reached the extent they have done. One thing leads on to another; and it is difficult to know where to stop. Perhaps *you* could have told me very easily; be that as

it may, I must go on a little further. I have proceeded so far in drawing *a portrait* of Canada, that I should be sorry to omit any feature which might leave the resemblance doubtful. It would be more correct, were I to say the *outlines* of a portrait, for it is devoid of colouring and of ornament; yet I think it will be recognized by those who know the original.

I have, in a former letter, made some remarks on the government of Canada; but I have not said any thing, either as to the precise nature of the constitution, or the exact boundaries of the country. Several points connected with these objects demand attention, particularly the state of the public mind, in so far as regards the connexion with, and dependance on, Great Britain.

By the act of parliament, passed in 1791, it is enacted, "That there shall be, within each of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, a legislative council, and house of assembly, who, *with the consent of the governor*, appointed by the king, shall have power to make laws."—Bills, though they have passed both the assembly and

the council, may, by the governor, be referred to the king, and do not become laws till his assent is procured. When the governor assents for his Majesty, the bill becomes a law : but copies of such laws are sent home to the Secretary of State, and his Majesty may declare his dissatisfaction at any time within two years.

5 The legislative council is to consist of not less than seven members for Upper Canada, and fifteen for Lower Canada, to be summoned by the governor. The members are to hold their seats for life, unless forfeited by four years continued absence, or by swearing allegiance to some foreign power. The king may grant hereditary titles, by letters patent ; with a right of sitting as legislative counsellors. But this right of creating a Canadian nobility has not as yet been exercised.

6 The house of assembly is to consist of not less than *sixteen* members for Upper Canada ; and not less than *fifty* members for Lower Canada ; to be chosen by the freeholders in the several towns and counties. The members for the counties are chosen by those who possess real pro-

perty of the yearly value of 40s. The voters for the towns must possess a house, or land, of the yearly value of 5l. sterling; or have been residents a year, and paid 10l. a year rent. The council and assembly are to be called together at least once a year; and every assembly is to continue four years, unless sooner dissolved, which it is in the power of the governor to do, as soon, and as often, as he pleases. Every voter must, if called upon, take an oath that he is qualified to vote according to law. The governors of the two provinces are perfectly independent of each other in their civil capacity. In military affairs, the governor of Lower Canada takes precedence, as he is usually created *Captain General* of his Majesty's forces in North America.

By an act passed in the parliament of Great Britain, in the 18th year of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxations by the parliament of Great Britain, in the colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America, and the West Indies," &c. Parliament restrained

restrained itself for ever, from imposing taxes or duties in the colonies, except for the regulation of trade; the produce of such taxes or duties to be disposed of by the provincial legislature.

Whether the British government did right in giving Canada a provincial assembly, has been frequently a subject of discussion here. Much, of course, may be said on both sides: for my own part, I have no hesitation in saying, that, in my opinion, it was premature.

An infant colony is something like an infant child, and should be treated in the same manner. It would be considered extremely unwise to put a very young man, of large fortune, in possession of his estates, and allow him to have the management of them. The most promising youth would not be trusted to such an extent: but if he was known to possess strong passions, and, instead of being well grounded in his education, he had been neglected,—his mind uncultivated, bad habits acquired, strong prejudices and antipathies against his guardians imbibed, with every wish to be troublesome to them, every desire to

throw off their superintending care, and either to take the reins into his own unsteady, feeble hands, or invite to his aid the greatest enemies the guardians have, would not the guardians be justly accused of acting a foolish part, were they, notwithstanding all this, to put it in the power of the young man to accomplish his wishes either in whole or in part?

This is precisely the case of the British government and Canada. The comparison I have made between the Canadians and an ignorant headstrong youth, will no doubt be deemed by them highly *Anti-Canadian*, yet I think it will hold good in every point.

They will pretend to be indignant at the idea of their having a wish to throw off the superintending care of Britain, and to give a preference to France; and I do believe that a great many of them would be sincere in their indignation, because prudential considerations might predominate with these; or they may have reasoned themselves into the conviction that any change must be for the worse: but I would not do the great body of the people the in-



justice to suppose, that they have not the wish again to see the French in Canada. I judge of them from myself, and from what I conceive to be the necessary tendency of human nature. Were Bonaparte and his Frenchmen to get possession of Canada, or Nova Scotia, I do not believe that there is a British subject in either of these colonies, unbiassed by considerations relative to his own personal emolument, who would ever cease to wish for the return of their countrymen.

Children would imbibe prepossessions against the French; they would be accustomed to hear lamentations for the days that were passed; their young minds would be early impressed with the greatness and goodness of the British nation; prejudices and antipathies would take possession of them; it is not in nature that it should be otherwise. Were the English (as the French are now) the majority in this country, would the French put the government into their hands? Most assuredly not: the English would not expect it; nor would they expect to have places of trust, of confidence, and of emolument. They

would naturally say, the French cannot be blamed for preferring their own countrymen and friends ;—it is an effect of conquest, and though unpleasant to us, must be endured, like many other unpleasant effects of it. We have the fullest protection for our persons and property, there is no bar to our industry, no hinderance to us in the exertion of our talents in every branch of trade ; we enjoy the free exercise of our religion ; we are eligible to all the offices under government, if we have interest enough to get them ; and, indeed, our not having it, is no great loss, as most of these situations are not worth having ; an industrious man with a certain degree of talent being almost always able to do better by his own personal exertions, in either commerce, manufactures, or agriculture. In short, what have we to complain of—that the French are richer than we are—that they are more commercial—that they are more trusted by their countrymen than we are?—Ought we to complain of these things?—Certainly not. If we have not capital, or industry, or knowledge, it is not their fault ; there is no bar to our acquiring those

things; and as we are the majority, our countrymen would certainly give us the preference both in purchases and sales, if they found their account in it.

By thus changing sides with the Canadians, the argument appears in a stronger point of view. I really do not see what they have to complain of; and yet they are very much dissatisfied.

Their dissatisfaction has lately had vent through the medium of a *newspaper* edited at Quebec in the French language. I have taken notice of it in a previous letter. They call it "*Le Canadien*." It affords to a certain class of the community a mode of expressing their feelings, to which they wish to give as extensive a circulation as possible. If one were really to believe that there are grounds for all that has appeared in this paper against the English, it would be concluded that the Canadians are the most oppressed people in the world.

I have taken pains to find out if they have any real cause of complaint—if they are oppressed or maltreated in any one way; but I have looked for it in vain. I have every wish to do them justice, and

would gladly state to you any circumstance to justify their apparent dissatisfaction ; but really, I cannot find any. I am afraid I must look for it only in their own tempers and dispositions, *influenced by the peculiarity of their situation*, as descendants of those who formerly had entire possession of the country, and of its government, civil and military ; and who feel sore at being deprived of any part of the inheritance of their fathers.

Perhaps they are displeased that they have not a greater share of what are called the *loaves and fishes* ; and I have heard them express great displeasure at an Englishman having received a pension on the Canada establishment, or an increase of salary.

As to the loaves and fishes, their discontent is extremely unreasonable ; they expect a line of conduct from the English, that the English would not experience from them, were situations changed ; but the fact is, they hold a large share of the public employments.

As to pensions on their establishment, their displeasure on that account arises

from their not knowing the real state of the finances and resources of the country. The more pensions that are granted to Englishmen *residing in Canada*, the better for the country; the province gains by it.

The civil list, including the whole civil expenditure of the province of Lower Canada for 1806, amounted to 36,213*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$  sterling; but of this sum the province paid only 16,227*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$  as appears by the accounts laid before the House of Assembly; the remainder was paid out of the *military chest*, from funds raised by draughts on the British government. Now as Britain already pays more than the half of the civil list, it is evident that every pension added to this list is paid by the British government. Every additional pension operates in the same way that an additional regiment sent to the country does; and I doubt not that the Canadians are well aware, that, independent of defence, the more troops that are sent to the country the better; the demand for the fruits of their industry is increased.

It is to be regretted that those amongst the Canadians who are looked up to by

their countrymen, and whose opinions pass current under the idea of their having been formed after due deliberation, and after having well studied the matter, should be negligent of their duty to their countrymen, as to publish opinions, and make assertions not well founded, and without having duly considered and well understood the subject; such men do great injury to society. If any discontent exists in the country, any idea of oppression, or mal-administration in government, such men are the cause of it.

It certainly is a *possible case*, that "*Le Canadien*" is connected with French politics, either directly or indirectly; either by agents of Bonaparte, or by agents of the French party in America. The agents of France have been detected in almost every nation on earth. They have been detected in Ireland, and they infest every court of the continent of Europe. They have spread over Persia, and the peninsula of India. They have been very successful in the United States. Is it then to be thought that Canada alone, where circumstances

are so favourable to their exertions, should be exempted from their attacks ?

The great mass of the people are quiet and inoffensive. If left to themselves they would be troublesome to no body; and notwithstanding their natural predilection for the French (*nos pauvres gens*, our poor people, as they *still* call them), I believe, that at present **any order** from our government would be as much attended to in Canada, as in Britain.

It is true, the government has sometimes attempted measures which have failed. But this, perhaps, arose from want of perseverance on the part of government; or from their not adopting means adequate to the end in view. Amongst other measures which have failed, I could mention the introduction of the English language into the country. As this is a very important point, I shall make it the subject of another letter.

## LETTER XXIII.

*Quebec, 1808.*

AT the time of the conquest, forty year ago, Canada contained such a mere handful of people, that it would have been no difficult matter to have introduced the English language very generally, in the towns at least. Some steps have been taken for that purpose from time to time but have failed of success, from want of energy on the part of government. English schools have been established in some parts of the country, but few, or none, of the Canadians have ever sent their children to them.

Government, from the beginning, instead of shewing a decided preference to their own language, adopted a temporising system, which left the Canadians without a motive to learn English. Had the knowledge of the English language always been held



out as a recommendation to favour, and a preference given on that account, where other qualifications were equal—had English alone prevailed in the courts of justice, and in all departments of state, and public offices; it is highly probable that it would have been the general language of the country at the present moment: at least, it would have become a necessary part of the education of the better sort of people; as they could not have appeared at the governor's without it, nor have had any thing to say, either in the provincial parliament, or courts of justice. Had the leading men of the country been *Englified*, their influence would have been felt by the lower classes; and you might now, in a great measure, have had a colony of Englishmen, instead of Frenchmen. I may be told that language is only sound, and that a man may have good principles, whatever language he speaks. All that may be very true; but I deny that the descendants of Frenchmen, retaining the French language, manners, and customs, and constantly talking of the French as their progenitors, can ever be good British subjects, or enter heartily into her interests. The French-

man's *amor patriæ* is not easily rooted out ; nay, nor any other man's *amor patriæ*. It can only be done by giving a proper direction to the minds of young people ; to accomplish which not the least pains are taken in Canada.

It seems highly expedient, and decidedly for the advantage of the Canadians themselves, that the English language should be universally prevalent in Canada. In making this assertion, I am aware that I am flying in the face of the opinions of the Canadians—opinions strongly supported by all those passions and prejudices so natural to humanity. I do not greatly blame them. We all have opinions and prejudices, of which we cannot easily get the better ; and which, indeed, like the Canadians in the present case, we are at no great pains to conquer. But this does not alter their nature ; they still are wrong. Could the Canadians leave their minds open to conviction, I think they would scarcely be able to continue opposed to the conclusions I shall draw.

Canada is become a part of the British empire, and the more closely it is connected

with the body of the empire, the better for the whole. It is acknowledged universally, that the strength of a whole is increased by the union of the parts. If the junction of the branch to the trunk is defective, if a fracture exists, the nourishment given is checked—the advantages mutually received are weakened. This has ever been considered an axiom both in the natural and political world. Every *impediment* to a close connexion between Britain and Canada ought to be removed or avoided, in order that they may fully enjoy all the benefits arising from their connexion. I, for my own part, have no doubt that the English language not being the language of Canada, is an impediment of this sort. Did the Canadians speak the German language, the Italian, or any other language, the effect would be the same. I do not mean to enter into any view of the comparative value of the French and English languages; but one thing I will venture to say, which is, that the English is the language which the Canadians would find *the most useful*; and I think I can prove it to their satisfaction.

I know well that it is generally said that

the French is the language most generally known; and that all the world speak French. These observations are far from being literally true. No doubt, most gentlemen, who have had a liberal education, know the French language; and you occasionally find some who speak it pretty well; but these are not the people with whom the Canadians are likely to be principally connected. Canada must, in time, become a great, populous, and trading country. Nature has given a great facility to mercantile intercourse; the large lakes and rivers open up a vast extent of country; and they will infallibly be surrounded by a people *who speak English*. The Canadians (of *Lower Canada*, to whom I beg leave to be understood to refer,) ought to recollect, that Canada forms a part of America; and that the language of America is *English, and ever will be English*. This too is the case with Upper Canada; a circumstance which they ought not to overlook. I also take upon me to assert, that no language on earth is so generally and universally spoken, both as to the extent of the countries which use it, and the number of their inhabitants. This

may be thought a bold assertion, but it is true.

English is the language not only of the British islands, but it is the language of the *whole extent of America*, from the frozen ocean to the gulf of Mexico. It is the language of a great part of the *West Indies*; it is the language of government, and mercantile men in the whole extent of the *East Indies*, a country as large as Europe; not to mention its being the language of New Holland, (an immense continent of itself;) and of the Cape of Good Hope, and many other British settlements: and, next to their own, it is the language generally used by mercantile men and seamen in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the Russian empire: so that the English language may be said to be *at present even*, but will most assuredly, in the course of time, be the most universal of all languages.

What the Canadians ought principally to regard is, that they must infallibly be surrounded by people who speak English, with whom it is their destiny to buy and sell, to traffic, and treat. They cannot turn to the right hand nor to the left with-

out being spoken to in English. If they go into *Upper Canada*, there they meet it; if they pass the bounds of the Seigneuries, in Lower Canada, again they find the want of the English language. It presses upon them on all sides; so that, on this account alone, it is evidently the *interest* of the Canadians to learn English; not to mention how much it is their *duty* also to learn the language of the head, and executive part of the government. And let me remark, that those should be convincing arguments which shew us that both our interest and duty are connected with conviction.

It is not in these different points of view alone, in which it is the interest of the Canadians to encourage, in their young people, a knowledge of English: they ought to look a little into futurity; their neighbours are more advanced in useful improvements than they are; and although *their* parents have not done them justice, by putting it in their power to derive every advantage from their situation which it can yield, they ought not to retaliate on their children, by keeping them in equal ignorance. How can they profit from the ex-

perience of their neighbours, if from an ignorance of language they cannot communicate their ideas to each other ?

It certainly is surprising that the British government have paid so little attention to this point. So long as there is peace in Canada, the language (to Britain at least) is of less consequence ; but, in case of war with America (which is at all events a *possible* case), the speaking French, *and French only*, must be a bar to the Canadians co-operating with British troops, or acting with effect under the command of a British officer. In this view of the case, the conduct of our governors has, I think, been contrary to every principle of common sense and prudence.

In Lower Canada there are about 60,000 militia. They are mustered at stated periods ; and in the towns, they are clothed and armed, and have learned the business of soldiers so well, that they are fit to be brigaded with the troops of the line. One would naturally have supposed, that the Canadians and the English would have been mixed together, and taught their exercise *in English*, so as to do away, as much as

possible, the distinction of nations; and that they might all be in the habit of obeying a British officer, and acting under British command. Precisely the reverse of all this has taken place. The English and Canadians are divided into separate corps. The Canadians are *officered* by their own people; taught their exercise in French; and form a perfectly distinct body from the English. If brigaded with English troops, they could not understand the word of command, nor act with effect. In short, if the governor of Canada had intended to make them fit materials for Bonaparte to use against us, he could not have resorted to a better plan than what has been adopted here: upon this point all the world cry out; indeed it seems so absurd, it is hardly credible.

There seems to be no doubt, that government, by a temperate and steady application of the influence and powers they possess, might long ere now have made *English* the prevailing language in the towns at least, and probably amongst the leading people in every part of the country; and I



have no doubt that by the same means it may still be done.

It is supposed (and I believe not without good grounds), that the principal check to the prevalence of the English language is, that the clergy *silently* oppose it. An attempt should be made either to induce them to second the wishes of government, or at least to remain neuter. The most effectual means of doing so would be to abolish tythes, and pay the clergy a fixed salary out of the public purse. It would be a very easy matter to raise a fund for this purpose. The abolition of tythes would be attended with a great many advantages, agricultural, as well as political. It is an event greatly wished for, I believe, in England: there, however, many obstacles present themselves, which do not exist here; and I doubt not that it would be so popular a measure, that the clergy, with all their influence, could not oppose it. Indeed, it is a matter of some doubt whether they would not themselves prefer a sum certain,—paid at once, to the vexatious operation of collecting tythes from a hundred hands.

If we take a view of the increase of population in Upper and Lower Canada for some years past, we shall see that the increase of those speaking English has been much greater, *in proportion to the original stock*, than of those speaking French; so that, in time, these will be left in the minority. This arises from the great influx of people from Europe, and from the United States, who generally prefer settling either in Upper Canada, or in the *Townships* of Lower Canada, where land is more easily procured, and the *tenures* better understood. That you may completely understand the distinction of tenures, it may be necessary to explain to you how lands are granted and held in Canada; this I shall attempt to do in my next letter.

## LETTER XXIV.

Quebec, 1808.

AT the conquest of this country by the English, the Canadians were allowed to retain their private property, as well real as personal; and as they were afterwards indulged with their own laws, the lands continued to be held by the old French tenures.

All the land on both sides of the river St. Lawrence from the gulf, up to the boundary of Lower Canada, about thirty miles above Montreal, was granted by the French king to certain individuals, who became *seigneurs*, or lords of the territory. The *tenure* was of a *feudal nature*: they held *immediately* of the king *en fief* or *en roture*, and rendered him *foi et homage* (fealty and homage) on their accession to the property; on a transfer of the

*seigneurie*, they pay a fifth part of the value, called the *Quints*. This is still the case; it is paid to the receiver-general, who gives you a receipt on your title, and puts you in possession.

These *seigneuries* are large tracts of country, and they have from time to time been conceded by the seigneurs in a variety of lots to those who might want to settle on, and improve them. These grants or concessions are also of a feudal nature; the grantees are the vassals of their lord. There is seldom any consideration given at first, but they are bound to pay a small sum, generally about 5s. a year, besides a bushel of wheat, and a couple of fowls in name of rent. They also pay *lots et vants* (mutation fines) on every subsequent transfer of the property, by sale, or by long lease, called *Bail am- pheteotique*. They are to perform certain annual services to their lord, and they must carry to his mill all the corn they wish to have ground, of which he retains a fourteenth part, as *mouture*, or miller's fee.

Since the English have had possession

of the Canadas, the whole of Lower Canada not before granted to *seigneurs* has been surveyed by government, and divided into townships. These townships are about ten miles square, and have been granted to a variety of individuals, who have had influence enough with government to procure them. They are held by the English tenure of *free and common soccage*.

The Quebec act (1791) declares that nothing therein contained shall extend to lands held *in free and common soccage*; hence it has been argued that the old laws of Canada do not reach such lands: many are still of opinion, however, that the Canadian laws, and common Canadian mortgages in particular, do extend to the townships. It is a point on which the learned in the law differ, and I will not pretend to decide it.

The original grantees of the townships are bound by their titles to have a certain number of settlers on their lands in a given time. No mention is made what sort of people these are to be; and as the Americans have in many places cultivated their lands up to the Canadian line of

boundary, the townships lie very convenient for them; accordingly, immense numbers of Americans (about 15,000 I have heard) have settled on the townships, and continue to do so. It may be proper here to trace the line of boundary between the United States and Canada.

The boundaries of Canada are very ill defined on the side of the United States.— They have been the subject of much difference of opinion, and of a great deal of unpleasant discussion, from the time of the declaration of American independence, up to the present day. In the discussions on this subject, in a diplomatic point of view, the Americans have uniformly had the advantage of us; and that from many causes. Their local knowledge was perfect; they had the most minute information as to the value of the territory in all its different bearings; and they knew how to estimate the importance of territory, and the use of rivers; for they looked forward to the period when tracts of country, though then covered with almost impenetrable forests, should be cleared and become populous districts. The short space

of time in which this has happened, shews how correct they were in their views; and leaves us no alternative, but to regret that our commissioners should have been so easily persuaded to extend the line of boundary in the manner they did.

The second article of the definitive treaty of peace runs thus:—“ And *that all disputes* which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are, and shall be, the boundaries, viz. from the north-west angle of *Nova Scotia*, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north, from the source of St. Croix river, to the highlands; along the said highlands, which divide those rivers which empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the 45th degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river *Iroquois*, or *Cataraguy*; thence along the middle of the said river

“ into lake Ontario, through the middle of  
“ said lake, until it strikes the communi-  
“ cation by water between that lake and  
“ lake *Erie*; thence along the middle of  
“ said communication into lake *Erie*;  
“ through the middle of said lake, until it  
“ arrives at the water communication be-  
“ tween that lake and lake *Huron*; thence  
“ along the middle of the said water com-  
“ munication into the lake *Huron*; thence  
“ through the middle of the said lake to  
“ the water communication between that  
“ lake and lake *Superior*; thence through  
“ lake *Superior* northwards of the *Isles*  
“ *Royales* and *Philippeaux* to the long lake;  
“ thence through the middle of the said  
“ long lake, and the water communication  
“ between it and the lake of the *Woods*,  
“ to the said lake of the *Woods*; thence  
“ through the said lake to the most north-  
“ western point thereof, and from thence  
“ on a due west course to the river *Missis-*  
“ *sippi*; thence by a line to be drawn along  
“ the middle of the said river *Mississippi*,  
“ until it shall intersect the northernmost  
“ part of the 31st degree of north latitude;



“ south, by a line to be drawn due east,  
“ from the determination of the line last  
“ mentioned, in the latitude of 31 degrees  
“ north of the equator, to the middle of  
“ the river Apalachicola, or Catahoutche ;  
“ thence along the middle thereof, to its  
“ junction with the *flint river* ; thence  
“ straight to the head of St. Mary’s river,  
“ and thence down along the middle of St.  
“ Mary’s river to the Atlantic Ocean ; east,  
“ by a line to be drawn along the middle  
“ of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in  
“ the Bay of Fundy, to its source, and from  
“ its source directly north to the aforesaid  
“ highlands, which divide the rivers which  
“ fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those  
“ which fall into the river St. Lawrence,  
“ comprehending all islands within twenty  
“ leagues of any part of the shore of the  
“ United States, and lying between lines,  
“ to be drawn due east from the points  
“ where the aforesaid boundaries between  
“ Nova Scotia on the one part, and East  
“ Florida on the other, shall respectively  
“ touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlan-  
“ tic Ocean, *excepting such islands as now*

*“are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.”*

Doubts arose as to the true river St. Croix, and commissioners were applied to by both governments to ascertain it, which was done accordingly. The report is dated 25th of October, 1798.

The river St. Croix discharges itself into Passamaquoddy bay, in the bay of Fundy, latitude 45 degrees, 5 minutes, 5 seconds, north—longitude 67 degrees, 12 minutes, 30 seconds, west.

There are several islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, which have been claimed by the Americans, but to which they have no right, as they have ever been considered within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia; and it is to be hoped, that government will not yield a point which seems to be thought of considerable importance to New Brunswick, frequent representations having been made from New Brunswick on the subject, to which we trust proper attention will now be paid\*.

\* See Appendix, in which some of these representations are inserted.

In the late treaty with America (negotiated with Lord Holland), which was rejected by the president, very little alteration was made in those articles of the former treaty, which were most found fault with. It appears very extraordinary, that the Americans should see cause to reject the treaty, and that we should see cause to rejoice that they had done so; yet, I will venture to affirm, that no one, who is acquainted with the commercial relations between the United States and our American provinces, will hesitate to say, that he conceives it fortunate that the late treaty was rejected.

On the termination of the American war, it appears to have been the intention of government to make the river *Penobscot*, in the district of *Main*, the boundary line of the two countries. At that time, there were no settlements to the eastward of that river. Unfortunately, the English commissioners (probably from not being personally acquainted with the country, and not being sufficiently instructed on the point, or, from being over persuaded by the Americans), abandoned that line of

boundary which was clear and well defined, and adopted the river *St. Croix*, which has produced so much dissension and discussion. The map clearly shews, that the *Penobscot* was the preferable boundary, in every sense of the word ; and we have only now to regret the passiveness, and neglect of British interests, which our commissioner displayed on that point. It is equally conspicuous in his consenting that a line drawn *due north* from the source of the river *St. Croix*, to the highlands, should be the boundary ; without ascertaining how far that line would be convenient and proper in its whole course. In fact, it has turned out quite the reverse ; because the communication between Canada and New Brunswick is completely cut off by it—the route for many miles passing through American territory. This ought to have been looked into, and the line, instead of going directly north to the Mountains, ought to have turned to the westward, so as to allow a free communication between New Brunswick and Canada, along the only route practicable and convenient, viz, by the river *St. John*, and the lake *Tiniskuata*.

This circumstance is not generally known ; but ministers ought to attend to it, and remedy it, if possible ; for, in case of any disturbance with the Americans, it may be of very great consequence to preserve a communication between New Brunswick and Canada. Even now, the regular post for the conveyance of mails and dispatches from Nova Scotia to Canada, passing through a part of the American territory, is liable to be stopped by that government, either from political motives, or from any other cause.

The route, at present, from New Brunswick to Canada, is up the river St. John, in the bay of Fundy, through the woods towards the river St. Lawrence. From St. John's to Frederic Town, the distance is 90 miles ; from thence, to the grand falls, 180 miles ; from thence, to the settlement of *Madawaska*, 45 miles ; from thence, to the source of the river St. John, the lake *Timiskuata*, 45 miles ; from thence, cross a portage, or tract, in a very rugged country, to the *Riviere des Caps*, in the St. Lawrence, 36 miles. This last part of the journey must be performed on foot, there be-

ing no regular formed road; the previous part of the journey can be performed in canoes. From the *Riviere des Caps* to Quebec, the distance is 121 miles; there is a good carriage road, and you can travel *post*.

In many cases, the making a ridge of mountains a boundary betwixt two countries, may be very distinct and well defined; such as the Pyrenees, for instance, where the course of the mountains is continued in one undivided chain; the ground, the water of which runs into France, belongs to France; and the ground, the water of which runs into Spain, belongs to Spain: but the highlands, mentioned in the American treaty, are, from every thing I can learn, neither so boldly marked, nor continued in that undivided manner, so as to make them a boundary sufficiently distinct. Such as they are, however, we must abide by them; and it is ever to be regretted, that, since that principle was adopted in one part of the line, it should not have been adopted in another, viz. the borders of Lake Champlain, which discharges itself into the river St. Lawrence, and naturally belongs to Canada.

Had the north side of the Vermont mountains, and the lake, as high as Skeensboro, or even Crown Point, been included in Canada (and which, I have been assured, would have been granted had it been insisted upon), the advantage to Canada now would have been very great; and if, instead of the line 45, the line of boundary had run from Skeensboro, or even Crown Point, due west, it would have included the whole river St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and rendered the river infinitely more valuable to Canada. At present, it is a line of boundary for a considerable way, and would, in case of war, be of no use to either party.

The distance from the mouth of the river St. Croix, to the termination of the line north, in the highlands, separating the waters which run into the St. Lawrence, from those which run into the Atlantic, is from 3 to 400 miles; from thence, south-west, along the line of highlands (for the American geographers have laid down a very pretty chain of mountains in the very course they could wish them to be), to where the *Connecticut river* crosses the pa-

ralled 45, the distance is about 400 miles; from thence, the parallel 45 crosses the lower end of Lake Champlain, and comes to the St. Lawrence a little above Lake St. Francis, a distance of about 150 miles; so that there is a line of boundary of from 900 to 1000 miles between Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and the United States. The line which separates Upper Canada from the United States is continued from the parallel 45, up the St. Lawrence, through the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Lake Superior, Lake of the Woods, and so on to the north-west, through an immense extent of country, known only to the Indians, who wander through it, and to the *North-west Company*, who go to trade with them.

It is particularly well known to Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who, with a laudable ambition for discoveries, and a bold and manly line of conduct, accomplished in 1793 a journey to the Pacific Ocean, over a country that had never been trodden by the foot of a European. By this journey, and another which he made to the Northern Ocean, he ascertained two very



important points, viz. the practicability of opening an overland trade with the shores of the Pacific, and from thence with China, and with India; and the impossibility of there being any north-west passage from Europe to China, by the Northern Ocean.

The line of boundary between *Lower* Canada, and the United States, would, in case of a war, attract much attention. Although it is extensive, there are, comparatively, few places where an army could enter. The greatest part of the country through which the river St. John runs, is a continued forest, and impassable; and the country to the north of the highlands, from thence as high up as Quebec, except near the St. Lawrence, is pretty much in the same state, without any thing like a road, till you get as high as the river *Chaudiere*, which falls into the St. Lawrence a little above Quebec. It rises about a hundred miles up the country, in the highlands, forming the line of boundary. A road is formed up this river for a considerable part of its course; but, I believe, it is not continued quite through; the townships in its course, not being all settled,

The banks of the St. Lawrence, from the lowest settlement, up to this river, are not cultivated backwards to a great distance, seldom above 10 or 15 miles, in a direct line from the river. The distance of the American line, from the river St. Lawrence, is not well ascertained; it must vary, as the highlands advance or recede; upon an average, it is probably about 50 to 60 miles. When you get as high as the river Chaudiere, the highlands retire towards the south, leaving a country between them and the St. Lawrence of the breadth of near a hundred miles. It contracts again as it approaches the St. Lawrence on the parallel 45. In this tract of country are the *southern townships* of Canada; they run behind the *Seigneuries* the whole way from Bique, 150 miles below Quebec, to the termination of the parallel 45 in the St. Lawrence, upwards of 200 miles above Quebec; but they lie principally between the river Chaudiere and the river Chamblie. The *Seigneuries* do not in general recede from the river above eight or ten miles. In the country backwards, as far as the American line, are found the townships.

In each township, the crown, when it makes a grant, reserves one-seventh for future disposal, and one-seventh for the future support of the protestant clergy.—The crown reserves also the right of cutting wood fit for ship-building.

Besides the road on the river Chaudiere, there is another on the river Yamaska, about a hundred miles further up. This river discharges itself into that part of the St. Lawrence called Lake St. Peter's.

A third road, a little farther to the west, comes from Burlington, on the east side of Lake Champlain, and down the river Chamblie.

A fourth road comes in from the state of New York, by Odlestown to Laprairie, opposite Montreal.

Besides these roads, there may have been some opened very lately, and perhaps there may be a few tracks, known only to the natives, which, in case of war, might be serviceable to Americans; though they would not be so to British soldiers. An American is at home in the woods, and could easily find his way, and live; where an Englishman would lose himself and die.

The unfortunate soldiers, who attempt to desert from Quebec by the Chaudiere road, find the impossibility of passing through woods with which they are unacquainted. They, almost without one instance to the contrary, are brought back, after having delivered themselves up to some of the country people, to be conducted to Quebec.

If we should unfortunately go to war with America, the less our troops are in the woods the better. I am not qualified to give an opinion as to the best manner of defending Canada. In case of an attack, every thing that soldiers can do, will be done; for the troops are kept in excellent order, and in good spirits. I should suppose that Upper Canada is more vulnerable than Lower Canada. It not only has no strong holds, but as the line of boundary runs through the lakes, boats might be prepared, and troops might be carried over in any numbers, and landed at any given point, unless they were obstructed by our navy; for on those lakes we have a navy, which rides as triumphant as that of the ocean. During the American war we had several armed ships on the lakes, and

even now we have a few, with a regular establishment of officers.

I do not know if it was the intention of government that Americans should be allowed to settle in the townships. Whether it is sound policy or not, is a question which has been much agitated here; and it certainly involves many difficulties. In one point of view the Americans are preferable to any other people, because there are no people who so well understand the business of clearing a new country, and making it productive. They are active, industrious, hardy, and enterprising, to a degree, that is scarcely to be credited, till ocular demonstration convinces you of the fact. In these points, the Canadians are not to be compared to them; nor are any of the emigrants from Europe by any means so valuable. In short, the American, *when he makes a pitch* (as they term it, when they make an establishment in the woods) is quite at home, and following the profession he has been habituated to from his infancy. The emigrant from Europe has every thing to learn; and, besides that, he has to unlearn all his European habits.

There can be no doubt, that the greater

the number of inhabitants such a country as Canada possesses, the greater will be the amount of its productions, and the better market will it be for the manufactures of the mother country. The more industrious and enterprising the people are, the better; because over and above their own wants, a large surplus produce will be found for exportation, raising thereby a fund to pay for manufactures imported. It is this which will make Canada of consequence to Britain; and the most expeditious method of bringing about such an end would naturally be adopted, were there no political considerations to be attended to; but Britain, in order to increase the productions of Canada, and open a larger market for her manufactures, must not adopt means which would have a tendency to deprive her of the country altogether.

Canada is a desirable country for emigrants, particularly the south-west parts of it, where the climate is moderate, as is the case in Upper Canada. In fact, population increases fast both in Upper and Lower Canada, as you may well be convinced of, since, in the course of little

more than forty years, the increase has been from 75,600 to 300,000, which is nearly doubling every 20 years.

Government have not hitherto interfered with the proprietors of the *Seigneuries* and townships; they have been suffered to dispose of their lands in any way they thought proper, and to any people they chose, whatever their principles, religious or political, might be; and whatever country they might come from.

Since the commencement of the present misunderstanding with the United States, some doubts have arisen as to the propriety and policy of allowing so many Americans to come into Canada, and particularly to giving them tracts of land on the back of the townships, contiguous to their own boundaries. It seems more advisable to confine them to the neighbourhood of the *Seigneuries*, where they would be more under the eye of government, and the cognizance of the law.

There exists amongst the old Canadians a strong prejudice against the Americans; they are jealous of their increasing numbers in Canada; they hate them most cor-

dially: indeed, that is not surprising, for they have, from the first establishment of the colony, been almost constantly in a state of warfare. *Les sacra Bostonois*, is the usual epithet for all Americans, from whatever part of the country they may come. It is not the old Canadians alone who have imbibed prejudices against the Americans; the British seem to have caught the infection, for which, indeed, they are a good deal predisposed from their early prepossessions at home. This prejudice will cease, or give way, gradually, as they know each other better. The Americans are, I should suppose, just as fit materials to make good subjects of, as any other people. All mankind require good laws over their heads, and that justice should be strictly and impartially administered; wherever this happens, you will have quiet and good subjects, *in course of time*, of whatever country they may have originally been.

Some people think that there is more to be apprehended from Bonaparte than from the Americans. His ambition and thirst for dominion are pretty evident; he would



rejoice to get possession of Canada: he wants *colonies and commerce*. It is thought that a few thousand French troops, *could they find their way* into Canada, would be well received by the Canadians, and would very soon possess themselves of the country: at least, they would unhinge our government, and confine our power to Quebec. In this point of view the Canadians are as dangerous as the Yankees.

I should suppose we need not be under any apprehensions from either. Let the Canadian endeavour to eradicate from his mind any remaining partiality for France; for surely no nation has so completely vilified itself. Well may the descendants of old France say, "You are a reproach amongst the nations—we know you no more!" The Canadian ought to fraternize with those around him: he ought to be thankful for the blessings he enjoys under the auspices of Great Britain—a nation which rears its head amongst the nations of the earth; because honor, energy, and good faith, are in her councils;—virtue, integrity, and industry, amongst her people.

The policy of the mother country, in regard to the management of colonies, is complex. The principal object is to preserve their allegiance and dependence, and have such command of their resources, as to be able to bring them forward at any time, when the mother country may have occasion for them. Every thing will naturally be done by the mother country to increase those resources, and promote the general prosperity of the colony, so long as the primary objects are not endangered.— Were there any risk of that sort, I should have no hesitation in adopting a line of conduct calculated to preserve these primary objects in full force, though the growth of the colony might thereby be checked.

It has been said, that we have lost nothing by the United States becoming independent, because they take our manufactures to a greater amount than they did before they became independent. Suppose they do, the conclusion does not follow as a matter of course. I am inclined to think, that our losing the sovereignty of the United States has been a very great

misfortune. It probably would have been better for Britain to have preserved America in due allegiance, and to have had the command of her resources, and of her market, though her population, instead of six millions, had only reached to four, and that our exports had not been half of what they have been for some years past. *Better half a loaf than no bread.*—We should not have been annoyed by non-importation acts and embargoes, commercial interferences, disputed treaties, &c.—Let us look well to our remaining North American colonies, lest the same thing should befall us.

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

*Duties payable in Canada, on Importation, under  
several Acts of the British Parliament.*

		Sterling.
		<i>£. s. d.</i>
6 Geo. II. c. 13.	Foreign sugars, per cwt. - -	0 5 0
	Ditto, white or clayed, per cwt. - -	1 2 0
	Foreign indigo, per lb. - -	0 0 6
	Ditto, coffee, per cwt. - -	2 19 9
4 Geo. III. c. 15.	Madeira } Wines, per tun	7 0 0
	Fayal }	
	Teneriffe }	
	Portugal, Spanish, and other wines, } from Great Britain, per tun	0 10 0
6 Geo. III. c. 35.	British plantation coffee, per cwt. - -	0 7 0
	Molasses, per gallon - -	0 0 1
	British pimento, per lb. - -	0 0 0½
	Brandy, or other spirits, manufac- } tured in Britain, per gallon	0 0 3
	Rum, or other spirits, imported } from the West Indies, per ditto	0 0 6
	Ditto, from Colonies in America	0 0 9
	Brandy, or other foreign spirits, } imported from Britain - -	0 1 0
14 Geo. III. c. 88.	Rum, or spirit, the produce of Co- } lonies in America, not under } the dominion of his Majesty, } imported from any other place } than Great Britain - -	0 1 0
	Molasses, in British bottoms - -	0 0 3
	Ditto, in any other - -	0 0 6

*Additional Duties laid on by the Provincial Parliament. Acts 33 Geo. III. cap. 8.—35 Geo. III. c. 9.—and 41 Geo. III. c. 14.*

	Sterling.
	£. s. d.
Foreign brandy, or other foreign spirits, per gallon	0 0 3
Rum, per gallon	0 0 3
Molasses and syrups, per gallon	0 0 3
Madeira wine, by one act 4d. and by another 2d.	0 0 6
Other wines, by one act 2d. by another 1d.	0 0 3
Loaf, or lump sugar, per lb.	0 0 1
Muscovado, or clayed sugar, per lb.	0 0 0½
Coffee, per lb.	0 0 2
Leaf tobacco, per lb.	0 0 2
Playing cards, per pack	0 0 4
Salt, per minot	0 0 4
Snuff, per lb.	0 0 4
Tobacco, manufactured in any other way	0 0 3

*Duties imposed by a Provincial Act, for building Gaols, to continue six Years, from the 25th March, 1805.*

Bohea tea, per lb.	0 0 2
Souchong, black, per ditto	0 0 4
Hyson	0 0 6
Green teas	0 0 4
Spirits, or other strong liquors, per gallon	0 0 3
Wines	0 0 3
Molasses and syrups	0 0 2

Goods sold at auction, 2½ per cent. on amount of sales.

## No. II.

*Allowances at the Custom-house.***Deduction of Weight.**

On coffee, in bales or bags, 3 lbs. for every cwt.  
 in casks, 12 lbs. per ditto.

Loaf sugar, in casks or boxes, 15 lbs. per cwt.

Leaf tobacco, in casks, 12 lbs. per cwt.

Leakage on wines, spirits, and molasses, 3 gallons on every hundred.

For waste of articles, subject to duty by weight, an allowance of three pounds on every hundred pounds.

On salt, an allowance of 3 minots per hundred.

The import duty on salt is 4d. per minot. Salt landed below the east bank of the river Saguenay, on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and below the east bank of the river Grand Mitis, on the south side, is not subject to duty. There shall be drawn back, at the Custom-house, 4d. on every bushel of salt exported from the port of Quebec, to any place beyond the above limits; 7d. on every tierce of salmon; and 4d. on every barrel of salted beef or pork, or salted fish of any sort, exported from this province.

## No. III.

*Post Office Regulations.*

At the beginning of every month a packet sails from Falmouth for North America, having on board a mail for Quebec. In the summer months she puts in at Halifax, in her way to New York, and there delivers the mail for Canada. From Halifax they are forwarded by land to Quebec. In the months of November, December, January, and February, the packets pass Halifax, and deliver the mails for Canada, to the agent for British packets at New York, who forwards them through the United States by post to Montreal.

A mail for England is dispatched from Quebec once every fortnight in summer, and once a month in winter, to be sent by first packet for England.

A mail for Burlington, in the United States, is made up at Quebec every Thursday, and at Montreal every Saturday, by which conveyance letters may be sent for Europe, under cover, to a friend at New York, on paying the Canadian postage. The post for Montreal leaves Quebec every Monday and Thursday, and leaves Montreal for Quebec on the same days. Post arrives at these places on Wednesdays and Saturdays. A monthly communication, by post, between Lower and Upper Canada, has been lately opened.

## No. IV.

## Roads and Distances in Canada.

*From Quebec to Halifax.*

	Miles.
From Quebec to Point Levi, cross the river	1
Thence to the Portage at Riviere de Cap	121½
Thence to Timiskuata	36
Thence to the settlement of Maduaska	45
Thence to the great Falls in river St. John	45
Thence to Frederick town	180
Thence to St. John's	90
Thence to Halifax	189½
	708

*From Quebec to Michelemakinak, at the entrance of Lake Huron.*

To Montreal	184
To Coteau de Lac	225
To Cornwall	266
To Matilda	301
To Augusta	335
To Kingston	385
To Niagara	525
To Fort Erie	560
To Detroit	790
To Michelemakinak	1107

*From Quebec to New York, by way of Montreal.*

To Cape Rouge	9
To St. Augustin	9
To Jacques Cartier	15
To St. Anne's	30
To Three Rivers	22
To Riviere de Loup	27
To Berthiere	22
To Repentigné	32
To Montreal	18
	184
Carried over	184



	Brought over	Miles.	
To Laprairie	-	9	184
To St. John's	-	14	
To Isle au Noi	-	14	
To Windmill Point	-	12	
To Savage's Point	-	6	
To Sandbar	-	20	
To Burlington, the first post town in the States	-	14	
		<hr/>	89
To Skeensboro'	-	78	
To Fort Anne	-	12	
To Dumont's Ferry	-	24	
To Waterford	-	24	
To Albany City	-	12	
		<hr/>	150
To Hudson City	-	34	
To Rhinebeck	-	31	
To Poughkapsie	-	17	
To Peckskill	-	34	
To Kingsbridge	-	34	
To New York	-	15	
		<hr/>	165
		<hr/>	588

## No. V.

*List of Governors of Canada, from the Conquest,  
with the Date of their Appointments.*

James Murray, 21st November	-	-	-	1763
P. M. Irvine, President, 30th June	-	-	-	1766
Guy Carleton, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, 24th September	-	-	-	} 1766
Ditto, 26th October	-	-	-	
H. T. Cramahé, President, 9th August	-	-	-	1770
Guy Carleton, 11th October	-	-	-	1774
F. Haldiman	-	-	-	1778
H. Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief	-	-	-	} 1784
H. Hope, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief	-	-	-	
Lord Dorchester, Governor General	-	-	-	1786
A. Clarke, Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief	-	-	-	1791
Lord Dorchester, 24th September	-	-	-	1793
Robert Prescott	-	-	-	1796
Sir Robert Milnes, Lieutenant Governor	-	-	-	1799
Thomas Dunn, President, and superseded by	-	-	-	} 1807
Sir James Craig, Governor and Captain General	-	-	-	

## No. VI.

*List of the Counties in Lower Canada—the Number of Representatives in the Provincial Assembly—and the Number of Parishes.*

	Parishes.	Members.
Gaspé - - - -	none	1
Cornwallis - - - -	11	2
Devon - - - -	6	2
Hertford - - - -	7	2
Dorchester - - - -	4	2
Buckinghamshire - - - -	12	2
Richelieu - - - -	7	2
And for the town of William Henry, in ditto		1
Bedford - - - -	1	1
Surrey - - - -	5	2
Kent - - - -	4	2
Huntingdon - - - -	7	2
York - - - -	5	2
Montreal - - - -	9 } for town	4
	county	2
Effingham - - - -	3	2
Leinster - - - -	8	2
Warwick - - - -	4	2
St. Maurice - - - -	9 } county	2
	Three } Rivers	2
Hampshire - - - -	7	2
Quebec - - - -	5 } county	2
	town	4
Northumberland - - - -	1	2
Orleans - - - -		1

An Account of the principal Articles of Provision and L  
 1804, 1805, and 1806: distinguishing each Year; e  
 such Articles were imported.

1804.

SPECIES and ISLANDS.		The UNITED KINGDOM.	BRITISH Continental COLONIES.	STATES of AMERICA.	OTHI COUNTI
		Bushels.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bush
<b>CORN.—</b>					
Antigua	16,048	2,025	179,065	.....	
Barbadoes	40,894	811	26,242	1,	
Dominica	8,642	.....	3,828	.....	
Grenada	13,558	.....	17,626	.....	
Jamaica	21,666	1,111	70,533	.....	
Montserrat	2,499	.....	4,617	.....	
Nevis	5,693	.....	22,846	.....	
St. Kitts	17,244	.....	12,619	1;	
St. Vincents	13,195	.....	25,641	.....	
Tortola	1,012	.....	894	.....	
Trinidad	3,657	101	14,304	.....	
Demerara	8,180	84	14,386	.....	
St. Lucia	3,452	.....	7,727	.....	
Surinam	3,088	.....	4,703	.....	
Tobago	6,712	24	27,755	.....	
Total....	165,540	4,156	432,786	4,	
<b>BREAD, FLOUR, and MEAL.</b>					
Antigua	790	52	36,417	.....	
Barbadoes	2,015	264	93,457	.....	
Dominica	45	.....	13,755	.....	
Grenada	2,860	773	22,456	.....	
Jamaica	12,075	1,020	165,740	.....	
Montserrat	125	.....	1,914	.....	
Nevis	1,925	.....	7,213	.....	
St. Kitts	1,600	.....	27,483	2,	
St. Vincents	610	1,373	15,578	.....	
Tortola	5	.....	2,179	.....	
Trinidad	160	26	42,735	.....	
Demerara	440	19	95,096	3,	
St. Lucia	.....	.....	9,322	.....	
Surinam	20	700	20,517	.....	
Tobago	865	9	14,345	.....	
Total....	23,535	4,236	568,207	6,	

The Account

SPECIES and ISLANDS.	The UNITED KINGDOM.		RATES of the WEST INDIES.		OTHER COUNTRIES.	
	Barrels.		Barrels.		Barrels.	
<b>RICE....</b>						
Antigua .....			439		—	
Barbadoes .....	31		2,373		—	
Dominica .....			455		—	
Grenada .....			436		—	
Jamaica .....			4,094		—	
Montserrat .....			6		—	
Nevis .....			12		—	
St. Kitts .....			238		45	
St. Vincents .....			186		—	
Tortola .....			8		—	
Trinidad .....			985		—	
Demerara .....	47		1,008		—	
St. Lucia .....			229		—	
Surinam .....			505		—	
Tobago .....			106		1	
<b>Total....</b>	<b>78</b>		<b>11,100</b>		<b>46</b>	
<b>BEEF and PORK. }</b>						
Antigua .....	1,392		2,135		—	
Barbadoes .....	16,761		25		118	
Dominica .....	2,554		2,475		—	
Grenada .....	1,361		817		—	
Jamaica .....	29,151		9,567		—	
Montserrat .....	126		416		—	
Nevis .....	45		157		—	
St. Kitts .....	396		1,575		37	
St. Vincents .....	482		1,844		—	
Tortola .....	46		182		—	
Trinidad .....	1,708		6,234		89	
Demerara .....	1,659		8,168		—	
St. Lucia .....	193		1,521		—	
Surinam .....	1,332		2,246		—	
Tobago .....	97		1,864		—	
<b>Total....</b>	<b>57,303</b>		<b>39,226</b>		<b>244</b>	
<b>FISH, DRY.—</b>						
Antigua .....	0	16	540		—	
Barbadoes .....	0	13	55		—	
Dominica .....	6	80	8,351		0	2
Grenada .....	0	399	981		—	
Jamaica .....	257	748	25,039		—	
Montserrat .....	0	100	54		—	
Nevis .....	16	10	89		—	
St. Kitts .....	0	10	637		0	15
St. Vincents .....	50	41	2,424		—	
Tortola .....			488		—	
Trinidad .....	0	15	20,492		0	4,41
Demerara .....	174	917	40,562		—	
St. Lucia .....	35	0	12,785		—	
Surinam .....	45	116	26,962		—	
Tobago .....	0	32	5,509		0	2
<b>Total....</b>	<b>583 &amp; 2,497</b>		<b>144,968</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>4,51</b>

## The Account of Provisions and

1804.

SPECIES and ISLANDS.	The UNITED KINGDOM.	BRITISH Continental COLONIES.	STATES of AMERICA.	O COU
	Barrels-	Barrels-	Barrels-	B
<b>FISH, } Antigua .....</b>	20	98	2,962	...
<b>PICKLED. } Barbadoes .....</b>	220	3,211	1,974	...
Dominica .....	46	224	685	...
Grenada .....	2,205	184	805	...
Jamaica .....	43,853	17,691	18,161	...
Montserrat .....	130	.....	558	...
Nevis .....	50	.....	637	...
St. Kitts .....	1,787	414	2,399	...
St. Vincents .....	293	343	778	...
Tortola .....	.....	.....	175	...
Trinidad .....	33	277	2,271	...
Demerara .....	285	298	5,118	...
St. Lucia .....	.....	.....	850	...
Surinam .....	12	289	3,805	...
Tobago .....	2,015	6	966	...
<b>Total....</b>	<b>50,949</b>	<b>23,035</b>	<b>42,144</b>	
	Firkins.	Firkins.	Firkins.	Fir
<b>BUTTER.—Antigua .....</b>	672	.....	38	....
Barbadoes .....	15,035	.....	775	....
Dominica .....	3,648	.....	1,040	....
Grenada .....	3,019	16	68	....
Jamaica .....	21,965	39	1,867	....
Montserrat .....	70	.....	7	....
Nevis .....	416	.....	63	....
St. Kitts .....	2,499	.....	238	....
St. Vincents .....	416	.....	301	....
Tortola .....	1,218	.....	39	....
Trinidad .....	1,041	.....	1,351	....
Demerara .....	805	.....	3,408	....
St. Lucia .....	604	.....	529	....
Surinam .....	978	.....	943	....
Tobago .....	76	.....	400	....
<b>Total....</b>	<b>52,462</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>11,047</b>	
	No.	No.	No.	No.
<b>COWS and } Antigua .....</b>	.....	.....	401	....
<b>OXEN. } Barbadoes .....</b>	1	7	1,369	....
Dominica .....	.....	.....	235	....
Grenada .....	.....	.....	134	....
Jamaica .....	.....	.....	.....	1
Montserrat .....	.....	.....	.....	..
Nevis .....	—	—	—	—
St. Kitts .....	2	.....	136	....
St. Vincents .....	.....	.....	307	....
Tortola .....	.....	.....	.....	....
Trinidad .....	.....	.....	255	....
Demerara .....	.....	.....	535	....
St. Lucia .....	.....	.....	287	....
Surinam .....	.....	.....	203	....
Tobago .....	.....	.....	209	....
<b>Total ...</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4,076</b>	<b>2</b>

## The Account

SPECIES and ISLANDS.	The UNITED KINGDOM.	WEST INDIA.	OTHER COUNTRIES.
	No.	No.	No.
<b>SHEEP and HOGS.</b> } Antigua .....	152	—	
} Barbadoes .....	293	34	
} Dominica .....	389	127	
} Grenada .....	125	12	
} Jamaica .....	662	136	
} Montserrat .....	50	—	
} Nevis .....	—	—	
} St. Kitts .....	31	—	
} St. Vincents .....	98	—	
} Tortola .....	—	—	
} Trinidad .....	918	—	
} Demerara .....	477	—	
} St. Lucia .....	70	—	
} Surinam .....	48	—	
} Tobago .....	75	—	
Total.....	3,388	309	
	Feet.	Feet.	
<b>OAK &amp; PINE BOARDS and TIMBER.</b> } Antigua .....	10,470	—	
} Barbadoes .....	15,078	50,000	
} Dominica .....	15,550	4,000	
} Grenada .....	10,862	—	
} Jamaica .....	11,734	—	
} Montserrat .....	15,908	—	
} Nevis .....	18,000	400	
} St. Kitts .....	13,38	12,000	
} St. Vincents .....	15,150	—	
} Tortola .....	17,045	—	
} Trinidad .....	16,423	—	
} Demerara .....	39,950	—	
} St. Lucia .....	12,273	2,000	
} Surinam .....	18,800	—	
} Tobago .....	58,549	—	
Total.....	10,075	68,400	
	No.	No.	
<b>SHINGLES.</b> —Antigua .....	42,406	—	
} Barbadoes .....	155,950	—	
} Dominica .....	88,500	—	
} Grenada .....	81,400	—	
} Jamaica .....	121,756	—	
} Montserrat .....	197,000	—	
} Nevis .....	88,000	—	
} St. Kitts .....	110,175	3,000	
} St. Vincents .....	118,000	—	
} Tortola .....	157,000	—	
} Trinidad .....	128,774	—	
} Demerara .....	168,000	—	
} St. Lucia .....	101,000	—	
} Surinam .....	124,000	—	
} Tobago .....	128,771	—	
Total.....	907,732	3,000	

## The Account of Provisions and Li

1804.

SPECIES and ISLANDS.	The UNITED KINGDOM.	BRITISH Continental COLONIES.	STATES of AMERICA.	OTHER COUNTIES
	No.	No.	No.	No
<b>STAVES.</b> —Antigua .....		17,800	545,798	.....
Barbadoes .....		796,641	834,994	45,
Dominica .....		12,840	293,000	.....
Grenada .....		9,000	539,897	.....
Jamaica .....		120,494	8,174,884	.....
Montserrat .....			30,500	11,
Nevis .....			302,800	.....
St. Kitts .....			452,862	12,
St. Vincents.....		15,800	977,900	.....
Tortola .....			97,000	.....
Trinidad .....		7,000	436,150	.....
Demerara .....		2,600	1,479,862	.....
St. Lucia .....			187,534	.....
Surinam .....		30,400	134,743	.....
Tobago .....			816,012	.....
<b>Total....</b>		<b>1,012,575</b>	<b>15,366,936</b>	<b>68,</b>





## No. VIII.

*An Account of the real Value of Exports from England to all Parts of America and the West Indies (exclusive of the United States), in the Years, ended the 10th of October, 1806, 1807, and 1808 ; distinguishing British Manufactures from foreign Merchandize.*

	British Manufactures.	Foreign Merchandize	Total.
	£.	£.	£.
Years, ended 10th October, 1806.	7,275,911	696,495	7,972,406
- - - - 1807.	8,635,860	650,761	9,286,621
- - - - 1808.	12,041,320	817,775	12,859,095

## No. IX.

*An Account of the real Value (according to the average Prices of the last three Years) of all Imports and Exports between Great Britain and the United States\* of America, for three Years, ending 5th of January, 1808, distinguishing each Year, and the principal Articles of such Imports and Exports; and also foreign Merchandize from British Produce and Manufactures.*

**Real Value of Imports from the United States  
of America.**

	1805.	1806.	1807.
	£.	£.	£.
Annotto - - -	6,290	71,353	64,402
Ashes, Pearl and Pot - -	102,952	138,498	144,326
Cochineal - - -	720	77,817	9,104
Coffee - - -	18,259	25,904	66,636
Corn, Grain and Meal -	151,322	422,429	922,308
Hides - - -	15,985	12,406	18,590
Indigo - - -	12,756	47,297	69,909
Pitch and Tar - - -	48,511	34,378	40,266
Seeds; viz. Flax and Linseed	1,652	11,590	7,050
Skins and Furs - - -	68,691	65,062	26,116
Sugar - - -	13,866	51,173	13,039
Tobacco - - -	313,487	417,946	447,883
Turpentine - - -	118,308	100,822	77,638
Wood; viz. Deals & Fir Timber	36,164	64,758	131,741
— Mahogany - - -	30,378	29,432	81,482
— Masts - - -	5,519	10,121	5,355
— Staves - - -	106,681	130,203	146,724
Wool; viz. Cotton - - -	2,927,818	2,566,729	4,115,136
Other articles - - -	97,444	73,825	143,704
<b>Total Imports.</b>	<b>4,076,803</b>	<b>4,360,743</b>	<b>6,531,410</b>

\* Including Louisiana.

**Real Value of Exports to the United States  
of America.**

	1805.	1806.	1807.
	£.	£.	£.
Brass and Copper Manufactures	90,342	82,142	168,004
Cotton Goods	3,267,843	4,645,730	4,609,211
Glass and Earthenware	165,563	175,526	162,542
Haberdashery	245,433	313,764	310,862
Hats	98,904	99,260	64,620
Iron and Steel	739,049	684,678	773,188
Lead	72,003	44,619	31,166
Linens	319,950	289,044	306,821
Salt	60,830	84,689	81,574
Silk Manufactures	465,442	425,165	417,418
Tin and Pewter	56,550	79,189	75,875
Woollens	4,621,827	4,866,178	4,239,118
Other articles	815,732	599,495	606,114
British Produce and Manufactures. }	11,019,468	12,389,488	11,846,513
Foreign Merchandize.	427,471	476,063	251,429
<b>Total Exports.</b>	<b>11,446,939</b>	<b>12,865,551</b>	<b>12,097,942</b>

## No. X.

*Exports from Quebec.—1808.*

		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Wheat	- - 186708 bushels.....	6	8	31,118	0	0
Cribblings	- - 150 ditto.....	3	0	22	10	0
Pease	- - 52934 ditto.....	5	6	14,556	17	0
Oats	- - 2669 ditto.....	2	0	266	18	0
Barley	- - 5994 ditto.....	3	4	999	0	0
Indian corn	- - 3467 ditto.....	4	0	693	8	0
Hayseed	- - 13830 ditto.....	6	0	4149	0	0
Flour	- - 42462 barrels.....	47	6	100,847	5	0
Biscuit	- - 32587 quintals....	24	0	39,104	8	0
Pork	- - 179 tierces.....	140	0	1,253	0	0
Ditto	- - 732 barrels.....	100	0	8,660	0	0
Beef	- - 1509 ditto.....	60	0	4,527	0	0
Oak timber	- - 12873 pieces.....	60	0	37,116	0	0
Pine ditto	- - 14510 ditto.....	30	0	21,765	0	0
Maple walnut	- - 188 ditto.....	40	0	376	0	0
Staves and heading	- 1,824861 (per 1200) L.40	0	0	60,800	0	0
Ditto ends	- - 62453 per ditto....	60	0	156	0	0
Boards and planks	- 194467 per ditto....	100	0	972	0	0
Oak planks	- - 209 each.....	15	0	156	15	0
Handspikes	- - 4144.....	1	0	207	4	0
Oars	- - 6723 per pair....	6	0	1,008	6	0
Masts	- - 3994.....	108	0	35,946	0	0
Bowsprits	- - 373.....			3,357	0	0
Yards	- - 6.....	60	0	18	0	0
Spars	- - 1612.....	15	0	1,209	0	0
Hoops	- - 215500.....	120	0	1,293	0	0
Lathwood	- - 130215 pieces.....	250	0	1,350	0	0
Scantling	- - 2426.....	5	0	606	10	0
Punch, and hhd. packs	- 1469.....	15	0	2,203	10	0
Madeira do.	- - 2026.....	15	0	1,519	10	0
Cod fish	- - 2949 quintals....	14	0	2,064	6	0
Salmon	- - 794 tierces.....	80	0	3,176	0	0
Ditto	- - 61 barrels.....	50	0	152	10	0
Herrings	- - 519 ditto.....	12	6	324	7	
				381,974	4	6

	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
		Brought forward	381,974	4	6
Pickled fish	-	83 tierces .....	124	10	0
Ditto	-	519 bbls.....	519	0	0
Lard	-	50 ditto.....	400	0	0
Ditto	-	393 kegs.....	786	0	0
Butter	-	2660 do. and firks...	5,200	0	0
Soap	-	1142 boxes .....	1,855	15	0
Tallow	-	1 keg .....	1	0	0
Candles	-	886 boxes .....	2,436	10	0
Pickled tongues	-	45 kegs .....	67	10	0
Rounds beef	-	7 pun..... L. 90	0	0	0
Ditto	-	83 bbls. ....	332	0	0
Ditto	-	39 kegs ....	38	0	0
Hams	-	14 tierces.....	300	0	0
Ditto	-	107 pieces .....	10	0	0
Oxen	-	26 .....	100	0	0
Horses	-	60 .....	300	0	0
Calves	-	4 .....	10	0	0
Sheep	-	215 .....	15	0	0
Turkies	-	118 .....	2	6	0
Essence of spruce	-	150 casks .....	100	0	0
Iron stoves	-	127 .....	80	0	0
Shingies	-	6050 .....	10	0	0
Ox horns	-	6485 .....	0	1	0
Apples	-	396 bbls.....	20	0	0
Onions	-	83 ditto.....	20	0	0
Wool	-	8 bales.....	200	0	0
Hemp	-	4719 lbs. ....	0	4	0
Ditto seed	-	8 bbls. ....	10	0	0
Oil	-	5260 gallons.....	2	0	0
Hops	-	1319 lbs. ....	2	0	0
Mats	-	143 .....	0	6	0
Birch	-	50 boards .....	5	0	0
Castor oil	-	2 cases .....	60	0	0
Castorum	-	9 kegs .....	5	0	0
Capillaire	-	17 punch.....			
Ditto	-	9 casks.....			
Malt	-	9263 bushels.....	5	0	0
Pot and pearl ashes	-	107652wt. 0qrs. 7lb. }	55	0	0
		30438 barrels .....			
New ships	-	3750 tons .... L. 10	0	0	0
Beer	-	29 bhds. ....	80	0	0
Ditto	-	300 ditto.....	7	6	0
			732,970	5	10
FURS.					
Beaver	-	126927 .....	18	9	0
Martin	-	9330 .....	3	4	0
Otters	-	7230 .....	20	0	0
Alink	-	9108 .....	2	0	0
Fishers	-	3866 .....	4	0	0
			129,496	7	11

	r.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward			129,496	7	11
Foxes - - - - -	1038	5 0	259	10	0
Bears and cubs - - - - -	1298	25 0	1,621	10	0
Deers - - - - -	103875	3 4	17,312	10	0
Cased and open cat - - - - -	57:8	3 4	953	0	0
Racoons - - - - -	123307	2 0	12,226	14	0
Muskcats - - - - -	6515	1 6	488	9	6
Wolf - - - - -	18	7 6	6	15	0
Elk - - - - -	662	15 0	496	10	0
Woolvereens - - - - -	39	5 0	2	15	0
Seals - - - - -	10	4 0	9	0	0
Buffalo - - - - -	1	20 0	1	0	0
Furs .....			162,979	1	5
General .....			732,970	5	10
			895,949	7	3
Add expence of the military department, which has been more this year than usual.			200,000	0	0
			1,095,949	7	3

334 vessels cleared at the Custom-house.  
70275 tons.  
3330 men.

To illustrate more fully the above tonnage in 1808, as increased by the natural amelioration of the country, and by the embargo in America, let us compare it with the tonnage of the shipping of the years 1806—33,996.

1807—42,293.

The increase is conspicuous.

## No. XI.

*To the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of  
Majesty's principal Secretaries of State,  
&c. &c.*

*The Memorial and Petition of the Merchants and other Inhabitants  
of New Brunswick,*

Humbly sheweth,

THAT after the settlement of this province by the American loyalists in the year 1783, its inhabitants eagerly engaged in endeavouring to supply with fish and lumber the British possessions in West Indies, and by their exertions they had, within the first years, built ninety-three square-rigged vessels, and seventy-one sloops and schooners, which were principally employed in that trade. It was the most flattering prospect that this trade would have rapidly increased, when the late war breaking out, the Governors of West India islands admitted, by proclamation, the *vessels of United States* of America to supply them *with every thing wanted*; by which means the rising trade of this province has been materially injured, and the enterprising spirit of its inhabitants verely checked. For the citizens of the United States, having none of the evils of war to encounter, are not subject to the high rate insurance on their vessels and cargoes, nor to the great advance in the wages of seamen, to which, by the imperious circumstance of the times, British subjects are unavoidably liable. And being admitted by proclamation, they are thereby *exempt* from a transit and parochial duty of two and a half to five per cent. exacted in West India islands from British subjects.

Admission into the British ports in the West Indies having been once obtained by the Americans, their government has spared neither pains nor expence to increase their *fisheries*, so essential to that trade. By granting a bounty of nearly 20s. per ton on all vessels employed in the cod fishery, they have induced numbers to turn their attention to that business, and now the principal part of the cod fishery in the Bay of Fundy is engrossed by them.



The county of Charlotte being separated from the United States only by a navigable river, the Americans have, under the foregoing advantages, been enabled to carry off annually (to be *reshipped* for the West India market) nearly three millions of feet of boards cut in that part of this province, and also a large proportion of the fish caught and cured by British subjects in the Bay of Passamaquoddy.

These discouraging circumstances have prevented the trade in fish and lumber from this province to the West Indies from increasing since the year 1793, and would have totally annihilated it, had not the province possessed advantages in point of situation so favourable for that trade, as to enable its inhabitants to continue the establishments already made for that purpose. What those advantages are, your memorialists now beg leave to state to your Lordship.

The sea coast of this province abounds with cod and scale fish, and its rivers are annually visited by immense shoals of herrings, shad, and salmon. The numerous harbours along the coast are most conveniently situated for carrying on the cod fishery, which may be prosecuted to any extent imaginable. The herrings which frequent the rivers of this province are a species peculiarly adapted for the West India market; being equally nutritious with the common herrings, and possessed of a greater degree of firmness, they are capable of being kept longer in a warm climate. In such abundance are they annually to be found, that the quantity cured can only be limited by the insufficient number of hands employed in the business.

The interior of this province, as well as the parts bordering on the sea coast, is every where intersected by rivers, creeks, and lakes, on the margin of which, or at no great distance from them, the country for the most part is covered with inexhaustible forests of pine, spruce, birch, beech, maple, elm, fir, and other timber, proper for masts of any size, lumber, and ship-building. The smaller rivers afford excellent situations for saw-mills, and every stream, by the melting of the snow in the spring, is rendered deep enough to float down the masts and lumber of every description, which the inhabitants have cut and brought to its banks, during the long and severe winters of this climate, when their agricultural pursuits are necessarily suspended. The lands in the interior of the province are generally excellent, and where cleared, have proved very productive.

Great advances have not hitherto been made in agriculture for want of a sufficient number of inhabitants, yet within a few years

there has remained, beyond our domestic supply, a considerable surplus in horses, salted provisions, and butter, for exportation. And your memorialists look forward with confidence to a rapid increase in the exports of those articles, for which the soil and climate of this country are well adapted.

Possessing so many local advantages, your memorialists feel themselves warranted in stating to your Lordship, that, *were not the Americans admitted* into the British ports in the West Indies, the fisheries of this and the neighbouring colonies, if duly encouraged, would with the regular supply from the united kingdoms, furnish the British West India islands with all the fish they would require. And that in a few years the supply of lumber from this province, which already exceeds *ten millions* of feet annually, would, with the exception of staves only, be equal to the demand in the said islands. And your memorialists farther confidently state, that these provinces would furnish shipping sufficient to carry from the United States the flour, corn, and staves, which the British West Indies would stand in need of beyond what the Canadian provinces could furnish.

During the peace from 1783 to 1793, American vessels were not admitted into the British West India islands, (the whole trade to those islands being carried on during that period in British bottoms) and at no time have the supplies been more abundant or more reasonable. Were the Americans excluded from those islands, this and the neighbouring provinces could now furnish a much larger proportion than formerly of the supplies required, and a rapid and progressive increase might annually be expected. But should the Americans obtain *by treaty a right to participate in that trade*, not only will the farther progress of improvement in this province be interrupted, but many of its most industrious inhabitants, unable to procure a subsistence here, will be urged to forego the blessings of the British constitution, to which they are most sincerely and zealously attached, and to seek for an establishment in the United States of America. That great advantages would result to the British nation from providing a sure and permanent supply of those essential articles for the West India islands, independent of foreign assistance, must be obvious. The inhabitants of those islands, *forming commercial connections only with their fellow subjects*, would continue the more unalterably attached in their dutiful affection and loyalty to their parent state; and there would be the less reason to dread the conse-

quences of any misunderstanding that might hereafter arise between Great Britain and the United States of America. The introduction into the West Indies of contraband articles, particularly teas, and all kinds of East India manufactures, (a traffic which the Americans now carry on to an enormous extent) would thereby be checked, and the whole benefit of the trade of those islands secured to British subjects. If thus aided and supported against the views of the Americans, the trade of these northern provinces would speedily acquire new and increasing vigour, and (which may be an important consideration) soon render them valuable nurseries of seamen for the British navy, that grand security to the commerce and prosperity of his majesty's kingdoms and colonies.

Your memorialists therefore most humbly pray, &c.

Saint John, New Brunswick, 11th May, 1804.

## No. XII.

*To the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, one of His  
Majesty's principal Secretaries of State,  
&c. &c.*

*The Petition of the Merchants, and other Inhabitants of Halifax, in  
the Province of Nova Scotia,*

Humbly sheweth,

THAT the trade of this province arises principally from the fish caught on its coasts, great quantities of which are exported annually by your petitioners to the West India islands. That in the pursuit of this commerce, your petitioners are rivalled by the citizens of the American States, to whom the ports of those islands are ever open, and who are exempt from duties and other expences to which your petitioners are liable. Your petitioners have heard, that in the existing negociation, relative to the twelfth article of the treaty with America, the Americans aim at a further extension of their trade with the British West India islands, which, if obtained, would utterly ruin the already declining fisheries of the British colonies, whence the nation has long derived much wealth, and its navy a supply of hardy seamen.

That the coasts of this province, as well as the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, abound with fish of the most valuable sorts; so that with encouragement these colonies would satisfy, to its utmost extent, the demand of the West India islands for dry and pickled fish.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your Lordship, and his majesty's other ministers, would take the premises, and the annexed memorial, into consideration, and would protect the trade and fisheries of his majesty's subjects in these colonies against the views of the Americans, by granting to the British colonists the ex-

clusive privilege of supplying their fellow subjects in the West Indies  
with the article of fish caught on the coasts of North America.

(Signed)

*William Sabatier,*  
*William Smith,*  
*George Grassie,*  
*James Fraser,*  
*William Lyon,*

Committee appointed by the Merchants, and other  
Inhabitants of Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, March 23d, 1804.

*Memorial and Statement of the Case referred to in the annexed  
Petition.*

AS every British province and island in these northern climates is individually able to furnish the West India islands with some essential article of consumption, which in whole, or in part, is deficient in others, the Petitioners, in the following statement, have extended their observations beyond the limits of the single province in which they reside.

The West India islands require to be supplied with the undermentioned articles, *viz.*

*From the Fisheries.*—Dried cod fish, barrel or pickled fish, *viz.* salmon, herring (of various species), and mackarel and oil.

*Forest.*—Lumber, *viz.* squared timber, scantling, planks and boards, shingles, clapboards, hoops, and oak staves.

*Agriculture.*—Biscuits and flour, Indian corn and meal, pork, beef, butter, cheese, potatoes, and onions; live stock, *viz.* horses, oxen, hogs, sheep and poultry.

*Mines.*—Coals.

Of these articles, the following are produced by the several colonies.—New Brunswick produces, in the greatest abundance, lumber of every kind, except oak staves; it yields already many of the smaller articles which serve to complete a cargo, and its shores abound with various fish fit for pickling. Nova Scotia produces lumber of all sorts, except oak staves, but in a lesser degree than New Brunswick; horses, oxen, sheep, and all the other productions of agriculture, except wheat and Indian corn; the Eastern and Northern parts of the province abound in coal, and its whole coast yields inexhaustible quantities of cod fish, and others fit for pickling.

Cape Breton and Prince Edward islands; the former yields coal in abundance, its fisheries are considerable; but without dealing directly with the West Indies, they serve to increase the exports of Nova Scotia. Both these islands supply Newfoundland with cattle, and with due encouragement would rival some of the more opulent colonies, in articles of agriculture; their fisheries also may be greatly extended, as the whole circuit of these islands abound in fish.

Canada can supply any quantity of oak staves, as well as flour and Indian corn, for six months in the year. Newfoundland yields little

lumber, but its trade in dried cod fish has hitherto, in a great measure, supplied all Europe and the West Indies, and it is capable of still greater extension

The petitioners have therefore no hesitation in affirming, that these mother colonies are able to supply the West Indies with dried fish, and every species of pickled fish, for their consumption; and that at no very distant period they could also supply all the other articles herein before enumerated, except, perhaps, flour, Indian meal and corn, and oak staves.

Having stated the foregoing facts, the petitioners beg leave to request the attention of his Majesty's ministers to the peculiar circumstances of this province, the permanent establishment of which took place about fifty-four years ago; for previous to the settlement of Halifax, there were few inhabitants in it, and but little trade. The mother country, sensible of the favourable situation of this colony for fisheries, that its harbours are seldom more than a few miles from each other, and that its extensive sea coast teems every season with shoals of fish of the most useful sorts, made every effort to establish them. The fisheries, however, until the close of the American war, languished from one cause only—the want of inhabitants. The influx of inhabitants at that time, and since, has promoted industry and domestic comfort, and a race of people born on the soil have become attached to it. The clearing of the lands, and other causes, have improved the climate; and by a late survey of the interior of the Province, it is discovered that the lands are not only better than had been imagined, but superior to the greater part of the rest of North America.

The present situation of this Province with regard to its trade, resembles that of New England at the close of the seventeenth century; and unless checked at this crisis, it has the most reasonable expectation of a more rapid increase than the latter ever experienced.

Encouraged by the prospect before them, and conscious of the abuses that have crept into the fisheries, the Petitioners are looking forward to the aid of the Provincial Legislature, and to other means, for correcting those abuses and for establishing and improving the fisheries, that great source of wealth to the parent state, the colonial husbandman, and merchant: but they perceive with regret, that their efforts will prove ineffectual, unless the citizens of the United States, according to the *ancient policy* of Great Britain towards foreigners,

are wholly or partially excluded from the islands, or a permanent equivalent is granted to the colonists.

The American Legislature has rejected the 12th Article of the late Treaty; the citizens of the United States would have been excluded from the West Indies, if the governors of those islands had not, under the plea of necessity, by proclamation, admitted them. In this trade the Americans possess the following advantages over the colonists.

First,—In the Islands of Barbadoes, Antigua, Saint Kitt's, and Jamaica, a stranger's duty of two and a half, or more, per cent. is imposed on imports, and in the Island of Saint Vincent, *British subjects* exclusively are subject to a duty of three per cent. which must be paid in specie, and to procure which a forced sale is frequently made of part of the cargo to great disadvantage. From this duty the *Americans*, being invited by proclamation, are *except*.

Second,—During the late and present war, the citizens of the United States, being neutrals, have not been burthened with the heavy charge of insurance against the enemy, which to the colonists has increased the premium ten per cent. to the smaller islands, and twelve and a half per cent. to Jamaica.

Third,—The northern States have granted a bounty of near 20 shillings per ton, on vessels in their fisheries.

From those circumstances, so unable are the petitioners to contend with the Americans in the West India markets, that they derive greater advantage by selling their fish at an inferior price in the United States; whence the Americans re-export them to the West India Islands under the above-mentioned advantages, so as to make a profit even on their outward voyage.

It is well known, and in an ample report made to Congress in the years 1790 and 1791, by the now President of the United States, then their Secretary of State, it was set forth, that the fisheries of New England were on the verge of ruin, and he recommended, what was afterwards adopted,—the grant of a bounty to counterbalance the disadvantages the trade then laboured under. At that period, the fisheries of Nova Scotia made a rapid increase; the whale fishery alone from the port of Halifax consisted of twenty-eight sail of ships and brigs from 60 to 200 tons burthen; but the succeeding war and other unfavourable circumstances soon destroyed this important branch of the fishery. By the aid of bounties from the State Legislature, the American fisheries recovered their former vigour, and are now car-



ried on with great spirit, increasing their trade with the West Indies to an incredible extent; considerable numbers of our best fishermen have emigrated from Newfoundland and this Province, to the United States, within a few months, and more are daily following them: thus it appears evident, that a wise policy, steadily pursued, will preserve a sinking trade, and that this Province is not wanting in exertion, when favourable opportunities for it are offered.

Should the Americans obtain by treaty an indulgence of their trade in fish with the West Indies, it will prove the ruin of that of the British Northern Colonies, and draw away from them their most industrious inhabitants. The islands will then depend on Foreign States for supplies of all the articles before enumerated; and if at any time hereafter differences should take place between Great Britain and the American States, from what quarter, it may be asked, are the Islands to obtain their supplies; the ruined trade and fisheries of those colonies may prove, too late, the fatal policy of throwing into the hands of foreigners a trade, which, with a little encouragement, might have been almost, if not entirely, confined to British subjects.

From these considerations the justice and policy of giving encouragement to the Northern Colonies are evident. Should the stranger's duty, imposed in the Islands, be taken off; should a bounty equal to that granted by the State Legislature be allowed, and the present war succeeded by a peace, then may the West India Islands receive from these Colonies supplies of all kinds of dried or pickled fish, on terms as advantageous as they are now furnished with them from a Foreign State. It is obvious that the Americans, and the West India planters, have a mutual interest in the free trade to the Islands, but the planters have no right to expect supplies from a neutral nation in time of war, merely because it affords them at a cheaper rate than the British Colonies; they should bear the inconveniences of war as well as their fellow subjects, who have been driven into these northern regions by their zealous loyalty in support of the happy constitution under which they now live. The supplies required by the Islands cannot greatly increase; while the Northern Colonies, from their great extent and growing population, will every year be more and more able to furnish those supplies. The Islands are, in a measure, limited in their extent; but the Northern Colonies are almost unbounded.

The inhabitants of those colonies have acquired their present con-

dition, which, at best, is mediocrity, by a continued exertion of industry and frugality, under a climate and a soil, which yield the blessings to persevering exertion alone. The West India planters have ever been in a different situation, and can afford to wait a reasonable time for the accomplishment of those expectations which are justly entertained by the colonists; in the interim, they ought to give a fair equivalent for the articles of which they stand in need, and to expect, at an inferior price, commodities whose value the imperious circumstances of the times have tended to enhance. The north-western colonists have struggled with all the difficulties incident to a young country, and they are now arrived at a period, when, if duly encouraged, they may be enabled to reap the fruits of their honest labour, but restricted in their trade to the Mediterranean by an ancient relation, which obliges them to land their cargoes in some European port, before they can proceed on homeward-bound voyages, and burthened also in the manner here stated in the West India trade, the petitioners cannot contend with the Americans, and look forward with the most distressful prospects to means of procuring a future subsistence, unless his Majesty, in his goodness, shall be pleased to afford them protection and relief. They therefore anxiously hope, that the observations contained in this memorial may appear unworthy of the attention of his Majesty's ministers, but whatever temporary indulgences may be granted to the American citizens, the British colonists, agreeably to their former solicitations on that subject, may be permitted to return to America, without entering at any port in Great Britain.

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My Lord,

Halifax, Jan. 30, 18

WE the Committee of the merchants and inhabitants of Halifax, Nova Scotia, who presented to Lord Hqbart, your Lordship's predecessor, a petition, praying that the British colonists might have the exclusive right of supplying his Majesty's West India islands with fish, have lately seen, in print, a letter written to your Lordship by G. W. Jordan, Esq. Colonial Agent for Barbadoes, containing observations on our petition, and the memorial annexed to it; we think it our duty briefly to answer those observations, and to enquire the object of our petition.

Mr. Jordan's first remark is founded on a misconception or perversion of the allegation of the petitioners : we assert in our memorial " that in the islands of Barbadoes, Antigua, Saint Kitt's, and Jamaica, a stranger's duty, of two and a half per cent. is imposed on " imports, and that in the island of Saint Vincent, British subjects, " exclusively, are subject to a duty of three per cent.;" no charge is therefore made, that the duty is not general in the island of Barbadoes ; the charge is clearly confined to the single island of Saint Vincent.

We are not alarmed, my Lord, at the reference made by Mr. Jordan to papers which were not intended for his inspection, but for private information only ; since those papers contain no other facts than such as can be proved. The practice in the West India islands of keeping the ports always open to the Americans, amounts, in our apprehension, to the grant of a free trade ; and that goods of foreign manufacture are by these means introduced into the islands no one who is at all acquainted with the character and practices of the American traders can doubt. We lament that, even in these colonies, into whose ports no American vessels are admitted, except fishing vessels, which by treaty are allowed to resort to our coasts, such quantities of foreign goods do find admittance, that it is to be feared more than half the East India goods consumed in this province is supplied from the neighbouring States of America.

We do not, as Mr. Jordan is pleased to assert, claim a right of selling our own commodities at our own prices in time of war ; but we contend that, when the article of fish is furnished from the northern colonies, in abundance, although increased in price by the war expences, the West India colonists ought not, on that account, to require or permit the introduction of it from foreign states, and in foreign bottoms ; especially as the fish is generally paid for in the produce of the islands, of which the planters take care to raise the price in proportion. That these northern colonies can supply the islands with their whole consumption of fish, and at reasonable prices, can be easily proved, and that they are, therefore, entitled to do so, *exclusively*, Mr. Jordan himself admits.

The right of the West India colonists to obtain from the American States all articles of the first necessity, which they cannot adequately obtain from the dominions of Great Britain, is not disputed by us ; but we assert that the article of fish can be adequately ob-

tained from the British colonies. That the allowing supplies to be imported in American bottoms has been destructive to the British carrying trade, has been lately demonstrated by a very able writer on the subject; and that the indulgences granted to the Americans have injured the fisheries, and *greatly reduced* the tonnage and seamen employed in these colonies, we can assert from our own sad experience. An inspection into the imports and exports of the island of Jamaica for one year, as laid before their House of Assembly, and published in the Jamaica almanack for the last year, will shew how large a portion of the West India carrying trade is engrossed by the Americans.

If, my Lord, we have stated in our memorial that it is, now more advantageous for the merchants of this colony to dispose of their fish in the United States, than to send it to the West India islands,—we have made it a subject of complaint; and at the same time have set forth the reasons why the Americans rival us in that trade. Were our commerce with the islands placed on a fair foundation, the same British ships would convey our fish thither, which now carry it to the American markets. But burdened as that trade is with insurances against the enemy, and confined as it is, and ought to be, to a fair dealing in legitimate merchandize, we contend in those ports with the Americans at every disadvantage.

Had Mr. Jordan *fairly* observed on our petition and memorial he would not have asserted that the positive affirmation in the former, “that these provinces can supply the West Indies with fish, was shaken by a subsequent observation, “that, under certain circumstances, the trade and fisheries of these colonies would be ruined, which, with encouragement, might be almost, if not entirely, confined to British subjects.” The observation referred expressly to the trade in *all* the articles enumerated in the memorial the affirmation is confined to the single article of fish. One reading of the paragraph referred to will entirely refute Mr. Jordan’s remark.

Having already, my Lord, observed that the increase of the price of fish, occasioned by war, is no just ground for the introduction of that article, from foreign ports, and in foreign vessels, we shall not follow Mr. Jordan in the curious inference he undertakes to draw from our admission, that, in war time, the Americans can undersell us in fish. So little are we disposed to require an extrava-

price for our fish, that we most readily would accede to Mr. Jordan's proposal, of fixing the maximum price of cod fish at eight dollars, in time of war; and, indeed, could we obtain even three-fourths of that price, generally, during the war, the fisheries would soon flourish again, and the islands be at all times amply supplied with fish.

On the two facts with which Mr. Jordan closes his observations, we shall only remark that the former is conceded by us as to the flour and grain imported into Nova Scotia from the United States; and it is perfectly consistent with our memorial, in which we confess that *this province* is deficient in the articles of wheat and corn. The other fact we must dispute; and although we are not provided with documents to ascertain the tonnage employed between the British North American provinces and the West India islands, for the particular year 1791, yet we are furnished with returns of the tonnage employed in the trade to and from the West India islands for the year 1792, and entered at the Custom-house in Halifax, being for one only of the two districts into which this province is divided, and which we beg leave to insert, as follows:

1792.	<i>Outwards.</i>		<i>Inwards.</i>	
Spring quarter,	-	886	-	719
Midsummer ditto,	-	1436 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	3605
Michaelmas ditto,	-	2397	-	385
Christmas ditto,	-	1770	-	1862 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Tons	<u>6489<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>	Tons	<u>6571<math>\frac{1}{4}</math></u>

It is therefore incredible, that, in the year 1791 only, 4837 tons were employed in the trade between all the British northern provinces and the West India islands, when, in the subsequent year, it appears by an authentic return, that in one district, of one province, upwards of six thousand tons were actually engaged in that commerce.

Here, my Lord, we conclude our observations on Mr. Jordan's letter; nor shall we presume to intrude on your Lordship's patience further than to state one fact, which must demonstrate the efficiency of the British colonies, or at least of British shipping, to supply the demands of the West India markets. From the year 1785, to the year 1794, American ships were excluded from the West

India islands, yet they were, during that period, so well provided with articles of the first necessity, that ships from these colonies were frequently unable to find a sale for their cargoes in our own islands, and were obliged to resort to foreign islands for a market. By returns collected from the merchants of this province, engaged in the West India trade, we find that the prices obtained by them for cod fish, from the year 1785, to the year 1792 inclusive, never exceeded five dollars per quintal, and sometimes fell short of half that sum. In the year 1793 we meet with a single instance of cod fish selling for six dollars; but the common price, even in that first year of the war, was not more than three and a half dollars per quintal. The cheapness, therefore, of this article clearly proves the abundance of it in the West India islands, and consequently that the allowing the Americans to import fish in American ships was not a measure of necessity.

We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient and most humble servants,

(Signed)

*William Sabatier,*

*William Smith,*

*George Grassic,*

*James Fraser, and*

*William Lyon.*

*The Right Hon. Lord Camden,*

*&c. &c. &c.*

## No. XIII.

## NEW BRUNSWICK.

*Address respecting the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay.*

To the Honourable GABRIEL G. LUDLOW, Esquire, President of his Majesty's Council, and Commander in Chief of the Province of NEW BRUNSWICK, &c. &c.

The joint Address of his Majesty's Council, and the House of Representatives of the Province of New Brunswick, in General Assembly.

SIR,

HAVING long entertained a confident hope, that the possession of Moose Island, Dudley Island, and Frederick Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, *usurped* by the State of Massachusetts, would never be sanctioned by any act, or avowed acquiescence on the part of his Majesty's government; but that his Majesty's indisputable right to these islands would in due time be effectually asserted; it is with very great concern that we now find, from a passage in a letter from Mr. Merry, to your honour, stating the communications made to him by Mr. Madison, the American Secretary of State, on the subject of these islands, that the United States do actually consider their present possession as having been so sanctioned; and that they are prepared to construe his Majesty's forbearance in this behalf, as having already warranted their claim of an entire right to these islands.

In the letter above referred to, Mr. Merry states, "that the American minister observed to him, that since his Majesty's government have allowed the United States to remain in possession of

“ the above-mentioned islands, the *waters* which surround them, to  
 “ the distance to which the jurisdiction of any territory is usually  
 “ understood to extend, *ought equally to be considered as American* ;  
 “ and added, that although he could not properly refer, on this oc-  
 “ casion, to the convention between his Majesty and the United  
 “ States, concluded in London, on the 12th of May, 1803, because  
 “ it had not been ratified, nevertheless, by that convention, the  
 “ islands in question were declared to belong to the United States ;  
 “ an arrangement which would probably be confirmed whenever the  
 “ matter of the boundary line between the two territories should  
 “ again be brought into discussion ; the more so, because it was *not*  
 “ the article respecting the eastern boundary on the side of New  
 “ Brunswick which occasioned the convention to remain unra-  
 “ tified.”

As a hope may be entertained that the convention referred to by  
 Mr. Madison respecting these islands may *not* yet be ratified, we  
 request your honour to transmit to his Majesty's ministers this our  
 joint address, on a subject of such importance to his Majesty's  
 government, and the rights and interests of his faithful subjects in  
 this province.

After the full discussion of the question of right to these islands,  
 in the correspondence between his Majesty's ministers and his excel-  
 lency the lieutenant-governor of this province, on former occasions,  
 particularly his excellency's dispatch to his Grace the Duke of Port-  
 land, dated 5th August, 1799, and the letters and documents therein  
 mentioned, it may be thought superfluous to do more than generally  
 to refer to those papers on the present occasion. We trust, however,  
 that the magnitude of the object will justify our attempt to bring  
 within a small compass the result of those discussions, adding thereto  
 some further observations which more immediately press upon our  
 attention, and which we hope will merit the consideration of his  
 Majesty's ministers.

That part of the second article of the treaty of peace between his  
 Majesty and the United States which respects the present question  
 is expressed as follows : “ East, by a line to be drawn along the  
 “ middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy,  
 “ to its source, &c. comprehending all islands within twenty leagues  
 “ of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between  
 “ lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid



“ boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other part, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.”

The islands hereby granted are evidently such, and such only, as are within twenty leagues of the coast, and also lie between those parallels of latitudes by which the shores of the ceded country are limited at their northern and southern extremities. Hence all islands, *not* within those parallels, however near they may be to the shore, are clearly excluded from the grant; and of those which *are* within the parallels, all such as then were, or ever had been, within the limits of Nova Scotia, are also excluded. From the treaty of peace, therefore, the United States can derive no shadow of claim to the islands in question; and his Majesty's original right to them remains entire and incontestable.

For, we believe, it has never been controverted, even by the American government, that these islands, always before the treaty of peace, were comprehended within the limits, and constituted a part of the province of Nova Scotia, which it was the obvious intention of the treaty to reserve to his Majesty, by its utmost limits; a reference to the original boundaries of the province in Sir William Alexander's patent, and to the description of the boundaries in all the commissions to his Majesty's governors of the province, and the actual grant of two of these islands to Francis Bernard, and others, by letters patent under the seal of the province of Nova Scotia, bearing date the 30th October, 1765, place this fact beyond all dispute.

These islands, at the time when the province of New Brunswick was erected in the year 1784, were all possessed and inhabited by his Majesty's subjects; they were, by an act of the General Assembly of the province, passed in January, 1786, for the purpose of dividing the several countries into towns and parishes, expressly made a part of the parish of West Isles, in the county of Charlotte; and their inhabitants yielded obedience to the laws of the province, in attending to the several duties which they were called upon to perform by the courts and magistrates established and appointed in that county; and we cannot but consider it as a matter of serious regret, that the possession of these islands, shortly afterwards usurped by the State of Massachusetts, and hitherto continued, has given rise to a

claim of territorial right, on the part of that State, founded merely upon that possession.

We now beg leave briefly to hint at some of the mischiefs and inconveniences which have resulted from this continued usurpation. Very large quantities of lumber, furnished from the neighbouring parts of the province, are purchased by the American subjects, and carried to these islands for exportation; which lumber is paid for with prohibited articles from the United States; and they in the same manner engross almost the whole of the produce of the fisheries among these islands, which is also paid for in the same manner; and thus we sustain a double injury. The West India islands are, in a great measure, precluded from receiving their supplies of fish and lumber in British bottoms; and large quantities of contraband goods are introduced into this province, to the great injury of the commercial interests of Great Britain, as well as of the fair merchants and traders residing here.

Their situation enables the inhabitants of these islands to engross a very great proportion of the *plaster* trade from this and the neighbouring province of Nova Scotia, which is now become of great magnitude and extent, whereby his Majesty's subjects are deprived of a very highly valuable carrying trade in this article.

These islands are become places of refuge for insolvent debtors, and disorderly persons of every description, particularly of deserters from his Majesty's service: all attempts to recover whom are insolently resisted.

By the possession of these islands, great facility is given to the conveyance, in small vessels, of contraband articles of every description to various parts of this province and Nova Scotia; so that the *fair* British merchant can have no equal competition with these illicit traders, even in the sale of British and West Indian goods.

Whereas, on the contrary, if these islands were in the possession of his Majesty's subjects, very large quantities of fish and lumber would be thereby furnished by them for the supply of the British West India islands, the present ruinous contraband trade greatly interrupted, and a very beneficial carrying trade, in the article of plaster of Paris, in a great measure secured.

Or, if the Americans were dispossessed of these islands, there is no other situation in that neighbourhood which could give them the advantages and opportunities to injure the trade of this province, which they now enjoy.

To these considerations it may be added, that in case of hostilities at any time in the United States, or countenance given by them to hostile attacks from any other country, the province, by the possession of these islands, would, in that quarter, be rendered more secure from attack, and capable of defence.

Impressed with the importance of the foregoing considerations, we indulge the hope, that the transmission of this address by your honour to his Majesty's ministers may be productive of important benefits to the interests and welfare of his Majesty's subjects in this province.

(Signed)

*G. D. Ludlow, Speaker of the Council.*

*A. Botsford, Speaker of the House of Assembly.*

Presented in March, 1807.

Transmitted in June, 1807.

## No. XIV.

*Declaration as to the Boundaries of the River  
St. Croix.*

THOMAS BARCLAY, DAVID HOWELL, and EGBERT BENSON,  
Commissioners appointed in pursuance of the fifth Article of the  
Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Bri-  
tannic Majesty and the United States of America, finally to de-  
cide the Question, "What River was truly intended under the  
Name of the River St. Croix, mentioned in the Treaty of Peace,  
between his Majesty and the United States, and forming a Part of  
the Boundary therein described."

## DECLARATION.

WE, the said commissioners, having been sworn impartially to  
examine and decide the said question according to such evidence as  
should respectively be laid before us, on the part of the British go-  
vernment and of the United States, and having heard the evidence  
which hath been laid before us by the agent of his Majesty, and the  
agent of the United States respectively appointed, and authorized to  
manage the business on behalf of the respective governments, have  
decided, and hereby do decide the river hereinafter particularly de-  
scribed and mentioned, to be the river truly intended under the name  
of the river St. Croix, in the said treaty of peace, and forming a part  
of the boundary therein described; that is to say, the mouth of the  
said river is in Passamaquoddy Bay, at a point of land called Joe's  
Point, about one mile northward from the northeru part of St. An-  
drew's Island, and in the latitude of forty-five degrees five minutes  
and five seconds north, and in the longitude of sixty-seven degrees

twelve minutes and thirty seconds west from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, in Great Britain, and three degrees fifty-four minutes and fifteen seconds east from Harvard College, in the University of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; and the course of the said river, up from its said mouth, is northerly, to a point of land called the Devil's Head, then turning, the said point is westerly, to where it divides into two streams, the one coming from the westward, and the other coming from the northward, having the name of Chiputatecook, or Chibnitcook, as the same may be variously spelt, then up the said stream so coming from the northward to its source, which is at a stake near a yellow birch tree hooped with iron, and marked S. T. and I. H. 1797, by Samuel Titcomb and John Harris, the surveyors employed to survey the abovementioned stream coming from the northward; and the said river is designated on the map hereunto annexed, and hereby referred to as further descriptive of it by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. and L.; the letter A. being at its said mouth, and the letter L. being at its said source: and the course and distance of the said source from the island, at the confluence of the abovementioned two streams, is as laid down on the said map, north five degrees and about fifteen minutes, west by the magnet about forty-eight miles and one quarter.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, at Providence, in the State of Rhode Island, the twenty-fifth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight.

*Thomas Barclay, (L. S.)*

*David Howell, (L. S.)*

*Egbert Benson, (L. S.)*

(Witness)

*Edward Winslow,*

Secretary to the Commissioners.

THE END.

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